AGAINST THEIR WILL
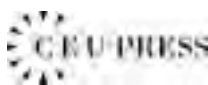
AGAINST THEIR WILL

The History and Geography of Forced Migrations in the USSR

by
Pavel Polian

The builders of Egypt treat the human mass as building material in abundant supply, easily obtainable in any quantity.

<div align="right">

OSIP MANDELSHTAM [1923]
[tr. Jane Gary Harris, 1991].

</div>

There is no way communism can be founded on permanent domicile: neither is there any joy for it, nor an enemy.

<div align="right">

ANDREY PLATONOV [193?]

</div>

The peasants keep disappearing from the countryside, and those employed in manufacturing are not genuine "muzhiks" any longer.
Where are those millions? It seems right to say: the peasants, the real ones, are now on trains.

<div align="right">

MIKHAIL PRISHVIN [1935?]

</div>

To Comrade Beria: We must crush them into oblivion.

<div align="right">

JOSEF STALIN [1940?]

</div>

*Dedicated to Robert Conquest and Alexander Nekrich,
the first researchers of Soviet deportations.*

Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

Foreword
to the English Edition

Dear Reader!

A relatively brief time has passed since the Russian edition of this book was published; and, it seems, all that a new edition of the book or its translation to a foreign language may require is mere correction of minor inaccuracies rather than any serious update.

However, this is not the case with regard to the studies of deportations. Nearly every month brings about fresh publications that contain new data and often shed more light upon familiar facts and events. Even every new visit to the archives often involves surprises and additional findings.

There is no lack of current political events either: in the North Caucasus, Crimea, Baltic republics, Moldavia and Western Ukraine. These events are typically largely predetermined by the surviving legacy of the deportations that once took place.

All the factors in question condition constant reconsideration of the content of *Against Their Will*, which is likely to lead to the appearance of an entirely new book.

Nevertheless, certain chapters of general significance, namely the introduction, first chapter and the conclusion, including a comprehensive list of 53 deportation operations conducted by the USSR, were improved specifically for the present edition.

Supplements 1 and 2 underwent considerable changes, involving certain amplifications and the introduction of additional data.

The rest of the chapters do not contain changes apart from corrections of minor mistakes and typos.

The author regards it as his pleasant duty to thank Nikita Okhotin who came up with the idea of the translation of *Against Their Will* into English, the Central European University Press that responded to the

idea, Anna Yastrzhembska who took the trouble of translating the ever resisting text, and three friends of mine: Evgeniy Permyakov, the publisher of the Russian edition, John Crowfoot for his valuable comments on the translation and Nikolay Pobol for his support in providing prompt responses to numerous inquiries on the translator's part.

PAVEL POLIAN
Moscow–Cologne, March 2003

Introduction

There is no established terminology in the selected area. This is the reason why corresponding basic and key notions should be defined in the first place (original Russian terms follow in italics).

Forced migrations denote resettlement [*pereseleniye*] by the state of large numbers of people, either its own citizens or foreigners, using *coercive methods*. The coercion itself may be *direct* or *indirect*.

In the former case we are dealing with *repressive migrations*, or *deportations*.[1] The latter term denotes "*voluntary–compulsory*" *migrations* [*dobrovolno-prinuditelnyye*],[2] i.e., those instances when the state imposes circumstances and factors that influence individual decision taking regarding resettlement in such a way that it leads them to take the decisions preferred by the state. Putting it another way, in the former case we mean the overtly repressive (coercive) impact the state exerts on its citizens (or foreign subjects); the latter refers to the purposeful administrative pressure to determine individual choice.

There is a subtle though important nuance here. Pressure is exerted by all states on their citizens and is a universal feature characteristic of their relations; in some sense it is both common and normal. However, the citizen is left to take his or her own decision and, with whatever qualifications, the decision is voluntary. That is why non-repressive or "voluntary–compulsory" migrations are not covered by this study, and are instead referred to when making comparisons with migrations of the repressive type. Such migrations can be interpreted as impelled by force in certain exceptional cases, when the state "goes too far." As an example one could cite the resettlement of demobilized Red Army servicemen and women on warrants issued by military registration and enlistment offices; and most instances of "planned resettlements to the plain," which were an economically

conditioned measure in the highland areas of the Caucasus and Central Asia, also come into this category.

Deportations (repressive migrations) are one of the specific forms or types of *political repression*.[3] They also represent a procedure designed by the state to persecute its political opponents and keep track of them—it does not matter whether the latter are real or imagined. Cases where virtually an entire group (social, ethnic, or confessional), rather than only part of it, is subjected to deportation are referred to as *total deportations*.

We have intentionally tried to avoid the term "ethnic cleansing." This came into common usage in the 1990s in the course of familiar events in Yugoslavia. In our view, the term is too vague and inclusive. In addition, certain types of deportation, which are commonly referred to below as *sweep operations* [*zachistki*],[4] of territories or border zones, were not determined by ethnic factors.

Two features qualify *deportations* as a distinctive type of *repressive measure*: their *administrative* (i.e., non-judicial) *nature* and their *collective application*, i.e., they focus on an entire group, which meets criteria imposed from above and is sometimes rather numerous, rather than on particular individuals. As a rule, decisions concerning deportation operations were issued by the ruling Communist Party and Soviet government following initiatives taken by the security service (OGPU-NKVD-KGB) and by other agencies. This locates deportation operations outside the judicial field of the Soviet system of justice,[5] and outside international and Allied legislation concerning POWs. It also draws a sharp distinction between the system of special settlements [*spetsposeleniya*], on the one hand, and the systems of prison labor camps and POW and internee camps, the GULAG and GUPVI "archipelagos," on the other.

Throughout its existence the USSR was a country of intensive population mobility. However, this mobility was not due to citizens' free choice of their place of residence, based on their individual preferences, market situations or variations in living standards. Rather, it was a different type of mobility characterized by its planned, large-scale and coercive—or, in short, forced—nature. "Mobility" of this type culminated in population deportations that are justifiably recognized as one of the essential components of the Stalinist repressive system.

The clear intention of *uprooting large numbers* of people from

their habitual living environment and, therefore, *resettling* them sometimes many thousands of kilometers away, is another component linking the subject of forced migrations to that of "classical migration" research, and qualifies this area as requiring a *geographical perspective*.

During or immediately after the end of the Civil War (1918–1921), localized operations for the forced resettlement of certain population groups were first launched in the USSR. In the 1930s and 1940s forced deportation was practiced with such intensity and enthusiasm in the Soviet Union that the impressive achievements of the world's "first workers' and peasants' state" in this respect are hardly surprising. Nevertheless, it would be incorrect, in our view, to consider forced migration a phenomenon exclusively specific to the USSR or socialist systems in general. The Soviet Union was neither the trailblazer nor the only practitioner as far as deportations were concerned. It was, rather, the regime that most consistently and insistently *implemented* such a policy.

One cannot resist mentioning the unprecedented *rational justification* and *cruel simplicity* of the deportations carried out in the USSR, which predetermined their extraordinary expansion and smooth *technologized methods*, and—as a consequence—their unthinkably *large scale*. This careless toying with millions of souls, manipulating the fates of entire peoples (Germans and Chechens, in particular) cannot but astound one in a most chilling way!

Even the semantic meaning of some terms was distorted. For example, what happened to millions of former Ostarbeiter [East European forced labor workers] and Soviet POWs in the post-war period led to the loss of the neutral meaning of such concepts as *repatriation* and *repatriate*, which acquired the semantic "shade" of the adjective that justifiably complemented them; in other words, the terms "repatriation" and "forced repatriation" became synonyms in a sense.

One can maintain, however, that the practice of deportations as a repressive method used to restrain citizens is a specific feature typical of *totalitarianism* in general: after all, the German Nazis would never shrink from either driving millions of Ostarbeiter and evacuees into the Third Reich, nor deporting and methodically exterminating Jews and Gypsies!

T. F. Pavlova appears to be right in saying: "…It was only a totalitarian society that was capable of producing such a phenomenon as forced expulsion of peoples."[6] It is also appropriate here to refer to

P. Sorokin and his valuable and shrewd remark that totalitarian regimes feel comfortable only under the conditions of crises and cataclysms: the more profound the cataclysm, the more thorough the totalitarian inversion of being.[7]

This work represents *historico-geographical research of forced migrations in the USSR*, those that were carried out by the Soviet organs endowed with respective powers both on USSR territory (*internal forced migrations*) and beyond the borders; and those that were practiced by corresponding bodies of the Third Reich on USSR territory (*international forced migrations*).

In their entirety, *internal forced migrations*—from the deportation of Cossacks in 1919 up to the deportation of "spongers" in the mid-1950s—represented a large-scale historical phenomenon that involved around 6 million people. These deportations constituted a part of the USSR state totalitarian migration system, which was conditioned by a number of political and economic factors. It was the so-called "kulak exile" along with the total deportations of the "punished peoples" [*nakazannyye narody*] during the Great Patriotic War that became the key and determining components, or milestones, of the deportations.

International forced migrations affected an even greater number of people. For example, the number of Soviet citizens that were deported by German occupying forces to the Third Reich as forced labor force exceeded 3.2 million persons. The majority of these people were repatriated to the USSR in the first post-war months with, as a rule, overt elements of violence and coercion threaded into the process. The total number of the repatriates was considerably larger than the number of the civilian workers that had been driven into the Third Reich, for the repatriates also included some other categories of Soviet citizens (POWs, refugees, etc.) that were returned home. The deportation of ethnic Germans from the countries of Southeast Europe (which was not the most significant in terms of numbers of deportees, especially as compared to other groups) can be characterized as extremely important typologically, as Stalin's attempt to spread the Soviet rules of the game to the occupied European countries, and simultaneously acquire an additional source of labor.

All these—large in their scope, and seemingly chaotic—removals of millions of people produced a most serious demographic and eco-

nomic impact in the regions of their departure and destination, and in the entire country.

Since the moment of their launch and nearly until the late 1980s, the forced migrations were one of the taboo topics in the USSR. Neither any information concerning the deportations and deportees, nor even as much as mentioning the exiled peoples were allowed in public (and—to a considerable extent—even in official) discourse up until the mid-1950s, when first disclosures were made by Khrushchev.

The only way for a common person to learn about the existence of Ingushetians or Kalmyks, for example, was by comparing corresponding reference sources (encyclopedias, administrative maps) issued before and after the deportations. The ban on publishing "unnecessary" information was not completely lifted even after the partial rehabilitation was decreed, and the non-disclosure strategy thus remained prevalent. Apart from the official interpretations, some exceptional toned-down factual allusions to the matter were allowed (and as a rule, in some upbeat context containing analysis of the party and Soviet bodies' activities in particular regions in certain periods of time).

It was in the West that the forced migrations in the USSR were first publicly discussed. It was from there that information filtered out, and conclusive and systematic research appeared for the first time, and early into the process at that. For example, as early as in 1960, i.e., only three years after the beginning of the rehabilitation process with regard to the "punished" ethnic groups, the book *Soviet Deportations of Nationalities* by Robert Conquest came out.

Robert Conquest saw the war-time ethnic deportations in the USSR as a logical extension of tsarist Russia's colonial policy, which was facilitated by the Russian Empire's compact configuration and its being a land power. He based his research on extremely scarce sources, namely those produced by Soviet officialdom (for example, administrative maps and encyclopedias, compared as was mentioned above; the population censuses of 1926, 1939 and 1959; materials concerning the campaign for the exposure of Shamil as an agent of British imperialism; and even the lists of the Soviet subscription press periodicals!), along with the testimonies given by Austrian POWs that had been repatriated from Kazakhstan (where they had encountered Chechens), and even the reports of English mountaineers about their

expedition to the Elbrus mountain region (when the Balkars were returning).[8] Much was gathered from the confessions of Soviet defector Lieutenant Colonel Burlitsky, a participant of all deportation operations (except the Balkar one),[9] and from Khrushchev's "secret" speech at the 20th CPSU Congress (which omitted mention of the Soviet Germans and the Crimean Tatars).[10]

Notwithstanding the scarcity of the sources, Conquest succeeded in drafting the very first—and rather realistic at that—chronology and statistics of the deportations of the "punished peoples," and even made a fragmentary and somewhat more tentative estimation of the statistics concerning the death rate of the deportees during the resettlement. He also drew a logical conclusion that it was Georgians in the Caucasus and Ukrainians in the Crimea that "gained" most privilege and advantage from the deportations.

In addition, Conquest drew the first (rather provisional and not quite accurate) map of deportations of the "punished peoples" in the USSR.[11] In 1972, the first edition of the *Atlas of Russian History* by Martin Gilbert appeared, which included a map of general directions of the ethnic deportations in the USSR (it was more accurate than Conquest's, but still rather sketchy).

In a general context of Stalin's repression, dekulakization and ethnic deportations were depicted by Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn in *The Gulag Archipelago*. In essence, the deportation of any particular group always "delegated" the group's most prominent and "dangerous" leaders to the GULAG (on an individual basis, one might say). In "History of our sewage system" (second chapter of the *Archipelago* first volume), Solzhenitsyn described the majority of the deportation "flows," which perfectly matched the time span of 1918–1956. While, perhaps, overestimating the extent of the GULAG's "power" as an NKVD structural component to a degree, he did not exaggerate its collective semantic meaning or its widely spread perception as a common term. The impact of this epic, creative and truly experienced research work, published all over the world, cannot be exaggerated: taking into account the numerous translations of *The Gulag Archipelago* into every significant literary language, the theme of Stalin's deportations was exposed on a truly global scale.

A special consideration should be given to the book *The Punished Peoples* by Aleksandr Nekrich, which was written in the early 1970s during the author's stay in the USSR and appeared in 1978–79 (first

in Russian and later in English). It was in this book that ethnic deportations in the USSR were looked at as an integral, poorly researched and—importantly—*academic* matter. Some chapters are devoted to the deportations from the Crimea, Kalmykia and the North Caucasus, to the period when the "punished peoples" held the status of "special resettlers" [*spetspereselentsy*], and to the process of their returning (or non-returning) to their homelands. Nekrich used scarce Soviet and foreign publications on Second World War history as factual sources (NB: the Soviet archives were strictly inaccessible even to the majority of historians holding party membership[12]). He also made use of sources dealing with party development in the remotest areas of the USSR during the war and post-war period: these sources sometimes contained "grains" of information valuable for the study of the "punished peoples"; and of oral testimonies by repressed peoples' representatives themselves. Nekrich refers to his predecessors as "pioneers in the field" naming A. Kh. Dzukayev (who wrote about the Chechens), Kh. I. Khutuyev (the Balkars), Ch. S. Kulayev (the Karachais), D-Ts. D. Nodinakhanov and M. L. Kichinov (the Kalmyks), V. I. Filkin and S. N. Dzhuguryants (the Chechens and Ingushetians) and R. I. Muzafarov (the Crimean Tatars). While paying due esteem to these academics that were focused, as a rule, on the history of one particular people or region, we would like to put additional stress on the achievement of A. Nekrich himself, who produced a study on the "punished peoples" as an independent academic problem, and who undertook the first, and thus especially arduous, steps in investigating and analyzing the issue.

It was not until the late 1980s, i.e., the Perestroika time, that Soviet academic papers and publications dealing with the topic first appeared. Gradual opening of the relevant reserves of central and regional archives in Russia and other CIS countries resulted in an explosion of interest in the problem, and stimulated the appearance of numerous publications and deportees' memoirs, starting from the early 1990s. Among these publications, the most prominent works were produced by the following authors: S. U. Aliyeva, V. A. Auman, V. G. Chebotareva, N. F. Bugay, M. A. Vyltsan, A. Ye. Guryanov, V. P. Danilov, A. N. Dugin, I. Ye. Zelenin, V. N. Zemskov, Kh. M. Ibragimbeili, N. A. Ivnitsky, V. A. Isupov, G. N. Kim, A. I. Kokurin, S. A. Krasilnikov, V. N. Maksheyev, O. L. Milova, T. F. Pavlova, V. S. Parsadanova, V. I. Passat, D. B. Shabayev, and others (predominantly histori-

ans, archivists, and ethnographers). Publications (collections of materials prepared using archaeographic methodology) by N. F. Bugay, V. N. Zemskov, O. L. Milova, and V. I. Passat, which gave publicity to hundreds of the most consequential documents, deserve a special merit. Thematic collections of papers about repression of Poles and Germans prepared by historians from the Memorial Society are significant. Among the works dealing with the outcomes of the deportations, in particular with the process of rehabilitation of the repressed peoples and with ethnic conflicts, books by A.G. Zdravomyslov and, especially, by A. A. Tsutsiyev about the Ossetian–Ingushetian conflict, and by A. G. Osipov on the ethnic discrimination of Meskhetian Turks in the Krasnodar region are of considerable note. The research by V. A. Kozlov concerning outbreaks of mass unrest in post-war USSR, including the protests involving repressed peoples in the locations of their exile, also adds greatly to our understanding.

Russian publications of the 1990s contain plentiful empirical data that reflect many aspects of the forced migrations, in particular related to the legal system, ethnic matters, statistics, organizational issues and national economy. However, most of these publications badly need further archaeographic and semantic commentaries along with historical interpretation. Attempts to systematize the accumulated empirical data are far more uncommon. Among the most significant of such attempts are monographs by N. F. Bugay *L. Beria to I. Stalin: "Following Your Order…"* (1995) on the deported peoples, and by N. A. Ivnitsky *Collectivization and Dekulakization (The Early 1930s)* (1996) on "kulak exile," and a series of papers about "kulak exile" by V. N. Zemskov.

In the West, the theme of Stalin's repression in general, and that of the labor camps in particular, has forced the problem of forced migrations away from the limelight to a certain extent. I can only refer to a few historians who wrote monographs, or at least a series of papers, dealing with the topic. Combining empirical data analysis with their traditional adherence to literary sources (predominantly memoirs), Western historians sometimes produced more accurate colligating evaluation and conclusions than their Russian and Ukrainian colleagues.

The topic is still being elaborated on in Germany and the USA. German historians studied the deportations of Germans from the Volga region (A. Eisfeld, V. Herdt, D. Dahlman), and the history of

the "kulak exile" (S. Merl). Papers by American academics are characterized by highly efficient critical study of highly diverse and heterogeneous sources. Among these are works by M. Gelb (about the deportations of Koreans, Finns, and other national minorities) and P. Holquist (about the deportation policy practiced in tsarist Russia during the First World War, and in Bolshevik Russia during the first years of the Soviet rule; this author should be merited for showing the continuity that clearly can be traced throughout pre- and post-revolutionary Russia). The deportations, or rather the deportees, are paid significant attention to in the monograph by J. Pohl about the USSR prison system. An interesting new perspective is offered by N. Naimark and T. Martin in their analyses of the deportations of Chechens, Ingushetians, and Crimean Tatars in the broader context of ethnic cleansing in Europe in the 20th century (remarkably, they incorporated substantial empirical data from the Russian archives on academic "circulation").

The problem of the *Westarbeiter*, i.e., civilian German "internees" deported to the USSR during the first post-war months and used as a labor force, remains scarcely researched. Some studies, directly or indirectly dealing with this theme, were published in the West (monographs by G. Weber et al., S. Karner, and other authors). It was in 1994 that the first publications on the topic came out in Russia (papers by V. B. Konasov & A. V. Tereshchuk, P. N. Knyshevsky, M. I. Semiryaga).

As yet no works that cover the full scope of forced migrations have been produced either in Russia or in the West. Similarly, no analytical publications specifically dealing with the geographical aspect of the deportations have appeared so far. And yet, there is a pressing academic demand for systematizing all available empirical data, discerning particular logic behind the related facts and events, and searching for common—in particular geographical—patterns of the deportations.

It is to the above-mentioned demand that this book hopefully has become a response. The research covers repressive forced deportations that involved the Soviet population and were launched in the very first years of the Soviet rule, gained a powerful momentum during the years of dekulakization, and underwent further intensive development in the second half of the 1930s, the period of Second World War and the post-war years. In fact, forced migrations contin-

ued in the USSR until the mid-1950s. This study deals with both forced migrations inside the Soviet Union and international ones that involved the Soviet population, as well as those which were initiated by the USSR and destined for the Soviet territory, but targeted foreign citizens (in particular Romanian, Hungarian, Yugoslavian, Czechoslovakian, German and Polish nationals). It should be noted that those international forced migrations that were carried out by Germany, and not by the USSR, remain outside the scope of this book (for example, driving civilian population from the occupied regions into the Third Reich).

An especially careful consideration is given to the *territorial aspect* and *historico-geographical features* and regularities of the forced migrations in the USSR, their evolution and resulting space pattern, along with their impact on the economy of the regions of departure and destination at the moment of deportation up until today.

Remarkably, the space scope appears to comprise several levels: predominantly the USSR itself within its pre- and post-war boundaries. However, while dealing with the war-time deportations to the USSR territory, one cannot avoid touching upon a broader European context. The chronological span of the main research covers as much as one-third of the century starting from 1919–1920, up until the mid-1950s (yet the historical preamble has no temporal limits; and the discussion of the problems surrounding the "punished peoples" rehabilitation and the consequences of the deportations in chapter 4 takes into account events that happened in the most recent period until 1999 inclusive).

While working on the book, we aimed at addressing the following mutually linked and specific tasks:

– Retrospective consideration in a broad historico-political context of the forced migrations as a historical phenomenon; eliciting from the historic roots of the Soviet deportation policy and practice;

– Elaboration of related terminology, and development of a comprehensive classification of forced migrations;

– Generating a comprehensive list of available literary and archival data related to particular operations and stages of the forced migrations (including the witnesses' testimonies introduced into academic circulation), and critical analysis and systematization of these materials;

– Creating a data bank on forced migrations in the USSR (following the model: "period"—"legal basis"—"target group, its size and administrative status"—"regions of departure"—"regions of destination"), which would be organized chronologically and tied to the spatial context as strictly as possible;

– Determining the scale of forced migrations in the USSR, as far as both particular operations and stages, and their totality, are concerned;

– Analysis of the USSR deportation policy, its evolution, the magnitude of its social and spatial outreach and its associations with various forms and types of migrations;

– Historico-geographical evaluation of the outcomes that the forced migrations in the USSR brought about, and of the spatial patterns of these outcomes.

In terms of methodology, the research is based on the following three principles:

a) addressing trustworthy, reliable facts;

b) putting them into a system;

c) search for regularities, analysis and interpretation.

Based on the proposed classification and space-time systematization, the research suggests a structural geographical description of the forced migrations in the USSR, and attempts to discern their hallmarks and common geographical patterns as linked to the political, social and economic development of the USSR and to the contemporary situation in the CIS countries and Baltic states.

The book is an attempt to provide an analysis of the Soviet repressive migration policy and practices, and an evaluation of the impact they produced on the political and economic situation in the entire country and its particular regions both at the time of their implementation and at present (the origins of some of today's hot spots, for example the Ossetian–Ingushetian conflict, can be traced back to the deportation policy of the Soviet state).

While revealing the historic excesses of the Soviet Union, one of the most powerful totalitarian countries of the 20th century, and disclosing the state's repressive system and its mechanisms, the book also represents a rather topical study. First of all, it concerns the regions where the rehabilitation process has not been completed and thus caused countless problems. There is no doubt that the book's topicality is also enhanced by the apparent "popularity," in the late-

20th century, of tackling ethnic conflicts by means of deportations and other methods of territorial "cleansing" (e.g., recent events in Africa, in the Balkans, and—regrettably—once again on the territory of the former USSR).

The *information basis* of research comprises primarily *archival data* and *academic publications*. International migrations were approached with predominant reference to primary archival sources (namely, those from the GUPVI and RGVA collections), while internal migrations are documented by materials published by Russian academics in recent years (the monographs by N. F. Bugay and N. A. Ivnitsky were used as principal sources). In addition, oral history documents and memoir testimonies were referred to in the work, but their role is rather limited.

Dealing with "voluntary–compulsory" migrations, which made a setting for the forced migrations, we relied on the materials provided by the Russian State Archive of the Economy (RGAE), particularly on the vast holdings of the Agricultural Ministry Chief Resettlement Agency, which maintains a compiled collection of materials produced by all predecessors of the organization starting from 1924, naturally with certain blanks and gaps, not least due to endless structural reorganizations and changes of the official affiliation of the country's resettlement headquarters (RGAE, h. 5675). In this context, it is also worth mentioning the reserve of the Resettlement Department of the RSFSR (GARF, h. A-317), a similar organization distinguished for its employment of "alleviated compulsion" and typically engaged in performing tasks in the sphere of compensatory migrations.

In the early 1990s, regional archives started to be explored too. These archives sometimes contain records providing a level of detail that can rarely be found in central archives. With regard to this, it would be appropriate to pay due tribute to works by S. A. Krasilnikov and his colleagues, and V. A. Isupov and V. N. Maksheyev, who used the reserves of the Novosibirsk and Tomsk regional state archives. Regrettably, archives possessed by some official bodies are still hardly accessible, although there is an urgent need for this material; and this makes any exhaustive research unrealistic.

As a rule, the text omits references to various decrees, resolutions, rulings, orders and other legal documents authorizing various official practices and operations in the area of forced migrations in the USSR. A compiled annotated list of these documents, which was

compiled as a result of the examination of academic sources, is offered as an attachment.

The bibliography contains two separate lists: of monographs and article collections, and of papers and articles. The bibliography comprises only titles of fundamental sources from the field and those papers that are referred to in the text on more than two occasions. Other sources are cited in the footnotes to the chapters.

The author has been studying forced migrations since the early 1980s. He has approached the area from different perspectives during this period: first by exploring the migration processes in the Caucasus related to the so-called planned resettlement of highlanders from mountain regions to the plain. Later the author was engaged in elaborating a classification of forced migrations in the USSR, chiefly of ethnic deportations and compensatory migrations. Intense efforts were made in 1991–1996 while inquiring into the subject of forced migrations in the course of writing the book *Victims of Two Dictatorships: The Ostarbeiter and POWs in the Third Reich and their Repatriation* (1996), which dealt with the forced resettling of Soviet POWs and civilians from the USSR territory to the Third Reich by the German authorities, and the consequent—essentially imposed—repatriation in accordance with the Yalta agreement. Simultaneously, materials were gathered and analyzed with regard to the deportation of ethnic Germans that were "interned and mobilized" by the USSR in a number of European countries.

The research area is located at the intersection of geography, history and demography, and the monograph is designed for experts in corresponding fields. However, it is also aimed at numerous victims of deportations in the USSR and their family members, who are interested in understanding and comprehending their individual fates in a broad context of Soviet history.

The book was based on the doctoral dissertation "Geography of Forced Migrations in the USSR," defended by the author in April 1998. Compared to the dissertation, the text of the monograph was thoroughly updated. At the same time, some chapters devoted to international forced migrations, elaborately analyzed in the book *Victims of Two Dictatorships* (1996), were omitted in this monograph.

Work on the book was carried out in closest the contact with Russian historians, ethnographers, demographers, and archivists, for example N. Bugay, A. Vishnevsky, A. Guryanov, V. Danilov, S. Zakha-

rov, Zh. Zayonchkovskaya, V. Zemskov, N. Ivnitsky, R. Kuliyev, Sh. Muduyev, D. Nokhotovich, N. Okhotin, N. Petrov, T. Plokhotnik, N. Pobol, A. Roginsky, and others. Besides, substantial valuable advice, comments and information came from foreign colleagues: S. Debski (Kraków), G. Klein (Freiburg), G. Superfin (Bremen), F. Ther (Berlin), P. Holquist (Ithaca, USA), P. Gatrell and N. Baron (Manchester), and others. Memorial Society members and experts of the State Archives of the Russian Federation A. Eisfeld (Göttingen) and A. Nikolsky (Moscow) provided significant help in selecting illustrations.

Most sincere gratitude and appreciation are addressed to all these people.

NOTES

1 From the Latin *deportatio*: exile, banishment.
  The Russian calque *deportatsiya* has the English meaning of forcible expulsion of one or many individuals from a city or territory. Specialized terms (see below) distinguish the various forms of punitive banishment and internal exile (*ssylka*, *vysylka* etc.) and those to whom such measures are applied: *ssylny*, *vyslany* and so on.
2 This paradoxical formulation is common in the old Soviet bloc, applying to relatively innocent activities like *subbotniki* ("voluntary" work days by the free population), and to the most brutal forms of repressive measure.
3 From the Latin *repressio*: punitive measure of retribution, aimed at suppression or putting an end to particular events. Cf. the formulation in the Russian Federation Law "On rehabilitation of victims of political repression," 18 October 1991, Art. 1: "By political repression is meant various measures of coercion imposed by the state for political considerations and taking the forms of: deprivation of life or freedom; forced placement in psychiatric institutions; expulsion from the country and deprivation of citizenship; removal of population groups from their homelands; sending [individuals and groups] into [internal] exile; special resettlement or deportation; forced labor under conditions of restricted freedom; along with other types of deprivation or infringement of the rights and liberties of persons recognized as socially dangerous to the state or political system on the basis of social, national, religious, or other criteria. These measures are executed in accordance with decrees issued by courts or other bodies endowed with judicial authority, or through administrative measures implemented by executive power organs, officials, non-government organizations or their branches endowed with administrative power."

4 We make rather wide use of the term "sweep operation," which is expressive and precise, although it was hardly ever employed in documents produced during the epoch under consideration.

5 Neither the Criminal nor Civil Codes were taken into account and even such Soviet surrogates of justice as the "troika" or Special Council [Osoboye Soveshchaniye] were not involved. (Often the latter issued juridical decisions providing for "banishment to remote areas of the USSR" after a term in the GULAG or supervision by the special settlement bodies that were responsible for "ordinary" [internal] exiles but this is a different matter.)

6 Pavlova, *Spetspereselentsy v Zapadnoy Sibiri*, 28.

7 Cited in *Yusupov*, 181.

8 See R. Jones "Climbing with Russians," *Geographical Magazine* (June 1959).

9 Published in journal *Life* on (5 July 1954).

10 In addition, some information originated from Soviet "non-returnees" who managed to avoid the post-war repatriation. In particular, according to Conquest, the Kalmyk Diaspora headed by Naminov was especially active and well organized, and it constantly addressed international organizations appealing to public opinion in both Western countries and in the East.

11 Conquest, *Soviet Deportations of Nationalities*, 94.

12 This mere fact renders any criticism regarding Nekrich's unawareness of archive materials rather inappropriate (see Bugay, Gonov, 25, 26).

Forced Migrations: Prehistory and Classification

FORCED MIGRATIONS BEFORE HITLER AND STALIN: HISTORICAL EXCURSUS

World history has seen many examples of "deportations" and "forced migrations." It will suffice to recall a succession of events described in the Old Testament, largely involving accounts of particular episodes from the life of Jews "resettled" in Egypt, Babylon, and other countries of the Old-Testament Diaspora.

At the other end of the Eurasia mainland, back in the 3rd century BC, Chinese emperor Qin Shi Huangdi ordered the execution of 500 scholars and the resettlement of hundreds of thousands of families from northern to southern China. The Incas practiced forced resettlement too.

There is much in common between the intercontinental "resettlement" of black slaves from Africa to America and the driving of the Ostarbeiter into the Third Reich, and between the dekulakization and Mao's Village Campaign in China. The driving forces behind forced migration practice have not changed significantly during the centuries: they are motivated by a particular combination of *political and pragmatic factors*.

Political motives—preventing rebellions, dispersing discontent, weakening and suppressing protests, homogenizing regions of either departure or destination, and so on—often dominate. However, the role of *economic* factors is colossal, and it tends to gradually overshadow the initial political momentum: deportees are a cheap (and even preferably free, or almost free) labor force that is moved to a particular location at a particular time at the discretion of the authorities administering the deportation.

There is also an evident connection between outbursts of forced migrations and historical cataclysms.

One conspicuous example is the African *slave trade*. Approximately 11 million black slaves were brought to America in the period from the 16th through the mid-19th century. Taking into account those who perished while hunted or during the journey, the figure for the number of people "affected" by the slave trade should be increased to 15 million.[1] Table 1 shows approximate "bottom line" estimations of the numbers of black slaves deported from Africa, by century and colonial empire:

Europeans operated primarily on the West African coast, while the East coast was exploited by Arabs for the same purpose, and from much earlier than the beginning of the European trade (i.e., starting from approximately the 13th century): in particular, slave labor was used at sugar cane plantations near Basra. Gradually, the "reservoir" of black slaves on the African coast became exhausted: the "depleted zone" which could not maintain an active slave trade, which initially appeared in the area of contemporary Senegal, shifted in the direction of the Ivory Coast, then to Nigeria, and then, by the late 19th century, to Congo and further south up to Angola, which by this time had already been "drained" by the Portuguese and Brazilians. The Arab slave trade continued even after Europe abandoned the practice and dissociated itself from slavery, following the European colonization of Africa: in Oman and Zanzibar slave markets were still functioning at the end of last century.

The history of *the Jewish people* is another rich in examples of

Table 1. **Deportations of black slaves from Africa by some European countries in the 16th–19th centuries** (thousands persons)

Country	Century				
	16th	17th	18th	19th	TOTAL
Portugal	50	600	2,000	1,200	3,850
Spain	75	300	600	600	1,575
England	—	300	1,800	—	2,100
France	—	160	1,400	50	1,650
Holland	—	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	1,000
TOTAL	125	over 1,360	over 5,800	over 1,850	10,175

Source: Meyer J. Sklaverei und Sklavenhandel Mitteilungen. AvH-Magazine, Nr. 57, July 1991, 6.

deportations and forced resettlement. Just recall the "special resettlement" to Egypt, and the Exodus, along with the First (Assyrian and Babylonian) and Second (Rome) Diasporas, etc. In both ancient and contemporary times, the intensity of Jewish migrations has been extraordinary. And very rarely were these migrations voluntary.

In essence, the entire contemporary history of the Jewish people has been a succession of ceaseless migrations, a sequence of mass wandering and suffering. This is a history of "The Galut," or expulsion.

In 1290, all Jews were expelled from England, and then from France in 1292. The expellees settled predominantly in Spain. However, in 1492—under the pressure of the Inquisition—all Jews (except those baptized, or *Marranos*) were driven out of Spain, and in 1497 from Portugal too: they moved to Italy, North Africa, and Turkey. Approximately at the same time, a mass resettlement of Jews from Germany to East Europe, particularly to Poland and Lithuania, was taking place.

After most of these territories were integrated into Russia, it was this country that was destined to become—and for a long time—the Jewish Diaspora's demographic leader. And yet, simultaneously, Russia turned to the implementation of a tough anti-Semitic state policy that comprised the introduction of the Pale of settlement and episodic banishment of Jews who managed to evade the anti-Semitic Russian legislation by fair means or foul.

At this point, it is worth underlining that such Soviet deportation practices have a substantial pre-Revolutionary precedent. Furthermore, it was not exclusively Jews that were the victims.

Until 1861, in the Russian Empire it was only the serf peasants whose great number and degree of personal subjection exceeded those of the Jewish population. And yet after 1861, it was the Jews themselves who were "inferior" to every other equivalent group. Expulsion and other types of repression of Jews only increased in the late 19th century, thus placing increased pressure on them to leave and triggering a new wave of mass Jewish emigration from Russia, predominantly to the USA, and to Palestine, when possible.

It was large-scale deportation of Jews from Moscow and Rostov-on-Don in 1891–1892 that played the decisive role in this process. The Jewish population in Moscow comprised categories holding different status. Merchants, qualified physicians, engineers and lawyers enjoyed

the right to *unconditional* residence, along with retired (so-called *Nicholas'*) soldiers. Craftsmen, chemists, pharmacists and apprentices enjoyed a *conditional* residence right, i.e., valid only when they were actually employed in the trade indicated in their "craft" identity cards. A number of categories—such as personal secretaries or clerks—were permitted to stay only provided they possessed the local administration's authorization.[2]

On 29 March 1891, Alexander III issued a decree that banned Jewish craftsmen from settling in Moscow and the Moscow Oblast, and envisaged the expulsion of those that were already living there. In actual practice, the decree was extended to many other categories of Jewish population. On 14 July, a secret order was issued allowing for the expulsions to commence but also stipulating the right for deferment for various time periods, with the maximum of one year. Few permissions to stay were issued: virtually the only one was given to Isaac Levitan. And yet, a part of the Jewish community did stay, although—to use Vermel's expression—at the cost of "moral migration," i.e., converting to Christianity (typically to Lutheranism).

From 14 August to 14 July 1892[3] (depending on deferment terms), Moscow railway stations were overcrowded with great numbers of Jews. Many of them departed to places beyond the "Pale of settlement," predominantly to the territory of the former Kingdom of Poland (first of all, to Warsaw and Łodź), and to the south, namely to Odessa. According to an indirect estimation made by S. Vermel, approximately 38 thousand people were deported from Moscow during the period of 1891–1892.[4]

Most of them headed directly abroad, primarily to German seaports. This event, though it seemingly affected only Moscow and was hardly statistically significant, nevertheless had a colossal aftermath, namely, it produced the decisive momentum for mass Jewish emigration from across the entirety of Russia to North America. S. Vermel maintains that 42,145 Jews emigrated from Russia in 1891; and as many as 76,417 in 1892. And this was happening despite the closure of American ports at the beginning of 1892 due to the threat of epidemics.[5]

In 1895, a new ruling on the expulsion of Jews from Russia followed. This time it concerned Persian Jews (several hundreds of natives of Herat and Meshkhed had settled primarily in the Merv region). Soon, however, the expulsion was replaced by permission to

stay in the Transcaspian Obl. though with the status of "temporary residents." However, in 1910 virtually all Herat Jews were expelled from the Russian Empire as foreign Jews.[6]

As it has already been mentioned, Jews were not the only group subjected to forced migrations in tsarist Russia. For example, at the very beginning of the 19th century, during the Russian–Turkish wars in the Black Sea region, the entire Muslim population (Tatars, Turkomans, and the Nogays) was deported from the Prut–Dniester interfluve area (or the Budzhak Steppe) to the Crimea.[7]

Deportations and resettlement in general came to be a well-established method of fighting the Caucasian war and consolidating hard-fought territorial gains. Even in the course of, or in conjunction with, some military actions, many highland *aul*s were moved to the plain or enlarged. For example, the whole population of the Larger Kabarda was grouped into as few as 33 big *aul*s. Thousands and sometimes even tens of thousands of Chechens were moved from the "piedmont" areas to the plains, namely the places allotted to them by the Russians.[8]

The Russian authorities also made attempts to impose their order on the internal arrangement of highlanders' settlements. For example, the merging of smaller Chechen *aul*s into larger ones undermined the internal clan [*teip*] unity.[9] Shamil realized the danger the stable domicile and enlarged settlements represented for his cause, and made the principle of establishing small auls and even forest camps a constituent of his settlement policy, which naturally placed additional pressure on the ordinary population.

After Shamil was captured and the Caucasian war came to a victorious end in the eastern Caucasus, the Russian government intended a total resettlement of the highland Chechens from the Caucasus. The plan was even partly implemented, but merely with regard to small—most uncompromising—sections of the population.

After the Russians achieved victory in western Caucasus too, and—to an extent—under the influence of Turkish propaganda, mass moving of so-called Mukhadjirs, highlanders from the conquered western Caucasus, to Turkey took place. During the period of 1863–64, the total of some 418 thousand Adyghians, Abazians, and Nogays left their homelands for Turkey, and around 90 thousand were moved to the plain, namely to the left-bank Kuban region (obviously, internal deportation was the only alternative to emigration,

which, as a matter of fact, stimulated the latter process). Some 20 thousand highland Muslims that resided in the Tsebeld, Abkhazia, were subjected to administrative expulsion to Turkey in 1866, after they organized a revolt and tried to storm Sukhum. Another 100 families were resettled to Turkey from the Trans-Katal Okrug.[10] Those emigrants' descendants still live in Turkey as well as in other Middle East countries, in Western Europe, and in the USA.[11]

Turkey, however, was not the only destination of the tsarist repressive deportations. For example, participants of the 1871 revolt in the western Daghestani district of Unkratl were resettled to Siberia, inner Russian *gubernias* and other parts of Daghestan.[12] Participants of the uprising led by imam Ali-Bek in 1877 in the Vedeno Okrug were partly resettled to the plain and partly left as labor force for making cuttings through the forests. Administrative expulsions (on a scale of up to several hundred persons) were still occasionally practiced in the Caucasus later: for example, the fact of the expulsion of 300 Ossetians for anti-government insurgent actions in 1905–1906 has been established.[13] The actions of Chechen gangster leader Zelimkhan Gushmazukaev and his gang in 1905–1911 (attacks on trains, treasuries, shops, etc.) once again made the government contemplate deporting "evidently vicious persons with their families"[14] or at least "the male lineage of any gangster along with their family"[15] from the Caucasus to East Siberia. Roughly 3 thousand of Zelimkhan's relatives were indeed exiled or resettled, and they were not allowed to return until the beginning of the First World War.[16]

The First World War brought about an unprecedented scale to the forced migrations in Russia (affecting both Jews and non-Jews). It was tsarist Russia (although it was not only Russia) that initiated and implemented the policy of "preventive ethnic cleansing" and deportations.

There was nothing unusual about this, since it was the Russian Empire that possessed the notoriety of having gained long-term practice and ideological justification of such dubious activities. "Military statistics"—traditional and typically one of the principal subjects taught at the General Staff Academy—was a discipline responsible for developing and perfecting the techniques. Due to its dependence on the acquisition of conscripts, the army was extremely interested in reliable data on, and studies of, the geography of the Russian population.

At the end of the 19th century, leading Russian military statisticians A. Maksheyev, N. N. Obruchev, and especially V. A. Zolotarev, developed a specific doctrine that could be appropriately summed up as the "geography of unreliability."[17] It was based on the actual geography of "reliable" and "unreliable" populations, and on their ratio within particular territories: the former group included the population of Slavic origin, and the latter predominantly comprised Jews, Germans, Poles, and the peoples of the Caucasus and Central Asia. Only those regions where the Russian population exceeded 50% were evaluated as favorable in terms of the population's reliability. The degree of reliability, according to Zolotarev, decreased the further you looked for support from the center to the outskirts of the empire. The Military Academy students—future officers and commanders of the Tsarist, White and Red Armies—listened to this, studied it, and definitely took note.

Military statistics were not limited to mere assessment and speculation. To be sure, they were used to support an active and evolving policy that dealt with the "reliability" differentiation among Russian territories: regions with a highly concentrated unreliable population were registered and kept under control. In case of war it was recommended to "improve the situation," especially in frontier zones. Taking civilian hostages, confiscation or liquidation of property and cattle, along with *deportations based on national and ethnic group membership* were identified as the most efficient and practical measures. Based on this doctrine, special punitive military units were created honed on the use of systematic cruelty in stamping out any minor manifestations of discontent or rebellion against the Russian colonization of the empire. In particular, such operations were carried out in Central Asia, where it was not deportations but civilian killings that were used as the extreme measures of choice.[18]

In fact, the Jewish deportation from Moscow in 1891 was a mere actualization of a concept of Jewish population redundancy in the city, which was scientifically grounded by military statisticians. All the more, this was so with regard to the deportations carried out in the western frontier zones of Russia in the course of the First World War. As P. Holquist remarks, such measures cannot be explained solely by military necessity: "Their logic becomes clear only if one accepts the idea of the possibility to transform the population structure by means of either the introduction of particular elements into the structure or

their removal."[19] According to some evaluations, the deportations in the west of the country affected around 1 million people, with Jews constituting half of this number and Germans one-third.[20]

The haste and simultaneous efficiency that distinguished the deportation operations conducted by the Russian authorities might seem surprising. However, everything becomes clear in the context of the concepts taught at the Military Academy of the General Staff of the Russian Empire.

As early as the night of 18 July 1914 (Old Style), i.e., even before the official declaration of war, Russia launched arrests and deportations of German and Austro-Hungarian nationals.[21] The number of the latter that were subjected to the measures was high (the total amounted to at least 330 thousand people). They had lived for decades in Saint Petersburg, Moscow, Odessa and Novorossia, in Volyn, Poland and the Baltics. Deportees were sent to remote inland regions (in particular, to the Vyatka, Vologda, and Orenburg Gubs.; residents of the Siberia and Primorsky Kray were exiled to the Yakutsk Oblast). In the second half of 1915, they were removed to considerably harsher environments: deportation destination shifted to the Trans-Ural part of the Perm Gub., Turgaysk Obl., and Yeniseysk Gub. Not only "espionage suspects" were subject to deportations, but also all men of conscription age (as a preventive measure against their joining the enemy armies). Along with Germans, Austrians and Hungarians, Poles, Jews and others were deported too (the only exception was allowed for Czechs, Serbs and Rusyns who signed a pledge "not to undertake any harmful actions against Russia"). Germans from Volyn were subject to exceptionally cruel treatment: virtually all of them were sent to Siberia in summer 1915.[22] Incidentally, the exile was carried out at the expense of the deportees themselves. If they did not have sufficient means for relocating, they were conveyed to the destination as prisoners.

In fact, people were often interned indiscriminately; they were termed "civilian POWs." This arbitrary policy reached its climax at the point when General N. N. Yanushkevich,[23] the chief of staff of the Supreme Commander-in-Chief, issued an order on 5 January 1915 to cleanse a 100-*verst*-wide[24] zone along the Russian Baltic coastline of all German and Austro-Hungarian nationals aged from 17 to 60. Those who refused to leave were labeled German spies. It was only some time later that these measures were weakened to an extent—

mainly for sections of the Slavic peoples—under public pressure and due to a number of negative results, which they had brought about.[25]

Besides, Turkish nationals were exiled (at least 10 thousand people, with many Crimean Tatars among them). According to S. Nelipovich, they were deported to the Olonets, Voronezh, Kaluga, Yaroslavl, and Kazan Gubs. In his turn, E. Lohr believes the destinations were the Ryazan, Kaluga, Voronezh, and Tambov Gubs., and—especially—the region of Baku, where a 5,000-capacity camp with horrific conditions was created for the deportees.

Naturally, Jews were not forgotten either. In 1914–1915, 250–350 thousand Jews were deported from the territories of Poland, Lithuania, and Belorussia into inland Russian gubernias; and they were allowed only 24 hours to get prepared. It took even shorter time for the local population thoroughly to plunder the houses and shops left by Jews. (Ironically, despite the Jewish deportation, the military still managed to claim that the Jews were responsible for the subsequent Russian military failures.)

The Jewish population of the town of Janowiec, Radom Gub., was the first to be deported. A little later, Jewish residents of Ryki (most likely located in the same gubernia), Myszyniec in the Lomzyn Gub., and New Aleksandria in the Lublin Gub. were deported (in two stages: 23 August and at the beginning of September). In October, all Jewish residents were ousted from the towns of Piaseczna, Grodzisk and Skierniewicy in the Warsaw Gub., in particular 4 thousand people (including a 110-year-old woman) from Grodzisk. Later they were allowed to return, but were deported again in January 1915, along with Jewish settlers of another 40 towns and villages (remarkably, as in the case of Sochaczew, a number of Jews were taken hostage, and some of them were later hanged). In March 1915, on the eve of Jewish Easter, 500 families were expelled from Radoszczicy, Radom Gub., and from Mniew in Kieleck uyezd. The majority of expelled Jews headed for Warsaw, where their number climbed to 80 thousand, but subsequently they were banned from entering large cities.

However, as noted by S. Vermel, the author of a series of general papers on the topic, all these individual expulsions and adversities "…pale beside the monstrous mass expulsion from Kovno and Kurland Gub." Due to the rapid advance of the German army, the Russian military authorities issued orders for the immediate deportation

of all local Jews from Kurland Gub. and then from Kovno, and partially from Suwalki and Grodno Gubs., on 30 April 1915 and on 3 May 1915 respectively. The total number of Jews expelled then from Kurland Gub. was around 40 thousand[26]; and 150–160 thousand were deported from Kovno Gub. A number of uyezds of Poltava, Yekaterinoslavl and Taurida Gubs. were assigned as destinations of new settlements of the deportees.[27]

Baltic general governor P. G. Kurlov opposed the deportation of Jews from Kurland. It was for this reason that he visited the commander-in-chief and convinced him that the latter's order should be cancelled. During the course of the German advance, the authority over deportation-related matters was transferred to military commanders, who had neither time nor willingness to deal with such issues. As a result, the actual implementation of deportations was often at the discretion of middle-ranking police officers or even counter-intelligence services.[28]

Nevertheless, the process of expulsion of Jews—which expanded this time to cover the southwestern region, namely Podolsk and Volyn Gubs.—was resumed in June 1915. All this was happening in spite of the fact that at least one member of nearly every Jewish family was fighting at the front, and Jewish young men, including those expelled, were still drafted into the army!

(At this point, it would be appropriate to divert from the subject and make a somewhat premature comment: while at the initial stage of the Soviet rule Jews were freed from discrimination, the deportations of Jews were recommenced later, yet only barely on a lesser scale. So, in the 1920s some residents of Daghestani and Azerbaijani highland villages, populated by Tats and highland Jews, were "moved down" to Derbent and Kuba. Iranian Jews were deported from the border zone of Turkmenistan's Mary Obl. in its northern deserted part, within the 1937–1938 policy envisaging the deportation of foreign nationals. In 1940, Jewish refugees who escaped from the German-occupied western part of the former Polish state were deported from the Polish territory annexed by the USSR.[29] One has to note that this saved them from the Nazi genocide.[30] Due to the absence of respective direct documentary evidence, we will not touch upon the deportation of Jews to Siberia allegedly planned by Stalin in 1953.)

So how many Russian "displaced persons" did the First World

War produce in all? The estimation made by Ye. Volkov based on the data of state authorities and the Tatyaninsky Committee appears to be the most reliable: 7.4 million as of 1 July 1917, with 6.4 million of them refugees and the rest deportees.[31]

However, it is not mere numbers that matter. As P. Gatrell accurately observes refugee status came to be a type of "civil status" in Russia, i.e., refugees turned into a *new* informal *social class*, cast to the very marginal position in society, to say the least, by the force of circumstances. This was a group of people that had lost (temporarily, or at least so they hoped) everything they possessed: dwelling, property, occupation, and particular social status. In no time, respectable and independent citizens were rendered a gathering of "vagrant elements," hordes of homeless beggars, fully and totally dependent on the state and private and charitable initiatives arranged by non-refugees. And to a greater extent, even, the above refers to deportees.

On the whole, we have to state that *the tsarist government's treatment of interned "adversary nationals" was a remarkable precursor of the horrifying deportation policy implemented by the Soviet state*.

However, Russia was not the first country in the 20th century to produce deportees. This phenomenon was first noted in the Balkans, as a result of two Balkan wars (some sort of prelude to the First World War) between Bulgaria and Turkey in 1912 and 1913. At least 500 thousand persons were displaced from their homelands and became refugees. In 1913, after the Second Balkan War had ended, Bulgaria and Turkey signed an agreement that provided for the resettlement of national minorities (an actual total of around 50 thousand people was deported by either side).[32] Turkey and Greece made a similar agreement in 1914, and Greece and Bulgaria in 1919.[33] One of the most gruesome episodes of "ethnic cleansing" in world history occurred in Turkey in 1915, when a massive massacre of Armenians took place accompanied by the flight of escapees abroad, in particular to Soviet Armenia.

The Greek–Turkish Treaty on population exchange of 30 January 1923 and the Lausanne Treaty of 23 July 1923 stipulated an exchange of citizens unprecedented in its scale. It was not an exchange of national minorities that Turkey and Greece agreed on, but mutual peaceful "ethnic cleansing" of larger parts of the countries' territories[34]: around 400 thousand Turks were expelled from Greece to Asia Minor, from where around 1.2 million Greeks were deported in their

turn. This instance set a "promising" precedent for international dispute and conflict resolution through ethnic cleansing.

After the defeat of Germany in the First World War and the consequent reduction of its territory, around 1 million Germans resettled from the Baltic states to the remainder of German territory. Simultaneously, a current of refugees rushed from eastern Ukraine and Belorussia to Poland.

According to different estimates, numbers of emigrants from the Bolshevik Russia ranged from 1.5 to 3 million persons. However, these were refugees rather than deportees (with perhaps one exception of the *Philosophers' ship* with some 150 people aboard). In 1921 a Refugee Settlement Commission headed by Fridtjof Nansen was founded under the aegis of the League of Nations. A so-called Nansen-Amt was organized in 1931, and a Refugee Convention was concluded in 1933. The subsequently issued International (or *Nansen's*) passports, and the activities of the Nansen Foundation and other organizations helped millions of people, in particular Jewish refugees from Germany, to survive and assimilate.

FORCED MIGRATIONS AND THE SECOND WORLD WAR

It was the Second World War and events related to it that caused an unsurpassed boom of forced migrations. The war introduced all too many new and tragic twists to the concept of forced migrations. As a result of military operations, some 30 million people were forced out from their places of residence in Europe alone. After the war, some 13.5 million displaced persons were registered. Such huge numbers in such a short space of time had been unheard of in the history of mankind!

The first powerful momentum came from Spain seized by the Civil War. Some 2 million people fled the territory controlled by General Franco's forces and crossed over to the Republicans; and around 0.7 million left Spain altogether (mainly heading for France and its North African colonies, but also for Latin America and the USSR). After the end of the war, some 180 thousand Spanish nationals stayed in France.[35]

The total number of refugees in France itself amounted to 5 million persons, including 70 thousand Alsace residents that fled in 1940,

after the German annexation, being unwilling to seek glory in battles wearing the *Wehrmacht* uniform.

If one looks upon the war as a global fight between two coalitions, one has to recognize the fact that both sides contributed to the ensuing historical and human catastrophe. However, first of all blame can be attached to the individual totalitarian leaders of the coalitions, namely the Stalin Communist regime and Nazism under Hitler.

Merely in the USSR some 15 million people fell into the category of "forced migrants," including those deported by Germany to its territory. However, since the USSR will be essentially dealt with in what follows, now it would be interesting to describe the deportation policies implemented by the enemies of the Soviet Union (first of all, Germany and Japan) and even by its allies (e.g., the USA).

Undoubtedly it was primarily Germany that was able to rival the USSR when it came to forced migrations. And in the case of Nazi Germany it was the *ethnic* criteria that played the foremost role in corresponding practices. The two peoples that received singular and most careful attention on the part of the Nazis were Germans and Jews.

As far as the German population residing outside the Third Reich (so-called Volksdeutsche) was concerned, the Hitler state developed—and consistently implemented—resettlement projects, that were far-reaching and impressive in scope.

On 6 September 1939 (i.e., right after the German conquest of western Poland), Hitler delivered an inflamed speech in the Reichstag: there should be clear and precise boundaries dividing the European nations, which requires resettling hundreds of thousands of the Volksdeutsche. As soon as the next day, a special Reich commission on strengthening the German nation was founded under the leadership of Himmler, which was assigned to implement the following tasks: a) repatriation of all Volksdeutsche residing abroad into the Reich in the shortest possible time-frame; b) prevention and suppression of all possible harmful influences dangerous for the "German nation"; c) formation of new settlement areas for ethnic Germans through repatriating Germans—primarily from East and Southeast Europe—to these new locations.

This was the beginning of the *Heim ins Reich!* (Back home, to the Empire!) campaign. Only two matters remained to be settled for successful completion of the project: a scientific way to distinguish a