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Social and Economic Dimensions of Southern Ural Dekulaked Peasants (1930-1934)

Alexey A. Rakov *

Abstract: This paper envisages a regional case study of a major turning point in the rural history of modern Russia, namely, the elimination of well-to-do peasants as a group and the collectivization of agriculture. By making a database “Dekulaked Peasants of Southern Ural (1930-1934)” (database “DPSU”) that is enough representative and consists of 1024 dekulaked peasant families (11.8% of the general set) social and economic attributes of Southern Ural dekulaked peasants are considered in order to analyze what Southern Ural dekulaked peasants were. It is also an explicit test of the property rights argument. It is important to disentangle the effects of the property rights regime change and of the loss of human and physical capital on agricultural productivity.

1. Introduction

1.1. Historiographical Context

In 1927 the 15th Conference of VKP (b)¹ accepted “Instructions for Five-Year Plan Composition” where besides all the necessity of industry accumulation was clearly set out. For the countryside it meant inevitable funds’ transit from agriculture to industry that was certainly linked to *non-economic coercion methods*. Failure of state grain procurements ruined NEP² and initiated *mass collectivization of agriculture*. One of the most dramatic episodes of collectivization was undoubtedly *dekulakization*³ (“*raskulachivanie*”).

By “*social and economic dimensions of Southern Ural dekulaked peasants*” we here mean the compiled on the base of local archives materials, quantitative and qualitative descriptions of Southern Ural dekulaked peasants and their households.

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¹ VKP (b) – All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks).

² NEP – New Economic Policy.

³ *Dekulakization* (“*raskulachivanie*”) is a name for dispossession of the *kulaks*. *Kulak* (“*fist*” – in direct translation) is a rich peasant who put himself against the Soviets.

Social science history researches on a subject of *dekulakization* are widely spread in the post-soviet Russian historiography (Rakov 2007), mainly as a result of the opening of the Soviet archives, though until now not all archives are opened. The necessity of searching social and economic dimensions of Southern Ural dekulaked peasants became more obvious after researches dealing with other categories of repressed people, disfranchised and “former”, were published (Smirnova 2000; Slavko 1996).

Thus it is necessary to note that as a result of democratic transformations in Russia a stress in the subject of *dekulakization*, no less than in other historical issues, has been reconsidered. The point of view about *dekulakization* has changed from traditional (Soviet), about inevitability of *dekulakization* due to the needs of modernization and industrialization of the country, to more realistic one, about repressive methods of the state in relation to village in 1930s and raising of the question whether the end justifies the mean or not.

It is quite natural that due to declassification of new archival documents in the last decade we have an inflow of the works describing *dekulakization* in various regions of Russia. At the same time, on the one hand, within the framework of Southern Ural the given subject remains poorly studied, and on the other hand, after death of the outstanding major expert on a history of the Soviet and Russian peasantry of 20th century V.P. Danilov (04/03/1925 – 16/04/2004) the research interest to *dekulakization* was significantly diminished⁴, though the subject is far from being settled.

The latest researches concerned those areas which for a long time have been thoroughly investigated by the historians worth on a general recognition on vanguard positions in their researches in 1970s and 1980s years already. As examples of such careful sequence in a history works of Russian historians we can name V.P. Danilov, I.E. Zelenin, N.A. Ivitsky. Working together with some western colleagues, experts in the same area (an agrarian history, a history of economy), such as L. Viola, R. Manning, R. Davis, S. Witkroft, Russian historians have begun the publication of a lot of the documents supplied with scientific comments⁵.

Being aware of historiographical discussion on the case of *dekulakization* in different regions we are to show the features of *dekulakizations* in Southern Ural.

⁴ Large collections of documents “The Soviet Village by the Eyes of VChK – OGPU – NKVD. 1918-1939 (*in Russian*). Documents and materials. In 4 volumes” and “The Politburo and Peasantry: Deportation and Special Resettlement. 1930s-1940s: In 2 books (*in Russian*)” prepared to a large extent by V.P. Danilov, have been completely published already after his death. And that once more has emphasized what outstanding researcher was lost for a history.

⁵ Mironenko, S.V. (ed.), History of Stalin’s GULAG. The end of 1920s - first half of 1950s: Collection of documents in 7 volumes / V. 1. Mass Reprisals in the USSR (*in Russian*). Moscow, ROSSPEN, 2004. P. 59.

1.2. The Primary Focus, Goals and Hypothesis

The *primary focus* of the given research is to reveal social and economic dimensions of Southern Ural peasants who were dekulaked in the beginning of 1930s. This primary question is carried out by accomplishing the following *goals (subquestions)*:

- making prosopographical⁶ (Yumasheva 1992) database, based on the unpublished materials of Southern Ural archives in which the property status of dekulaked peasants is described;
- analysis of the compiled descriptions of the Southern Ural dekulaked peasants;
- compare the average figures of Southern Ural dekulaked peasants we'll get with those describing Ural dekulaked peasants in the modern historiography, e.g. at T.I. Slavko's researches (Bedel / Slavko 1994: 14), mainly because Slavko's figures are almost the same as average figures of not dekulaked Ural peasants⁷, though presumably dekulaked peasants are richer than ordinary ones and this also means larger family of *kulaks* than *non-kulaks*.

The *hypothesis* of the given research is that the whole weight of *dekulakization* campaign was put on strong households of peasants of average means, which were not *kulak ones* at all. This hypothesis is grown up from the author's experience he has got while researching the subject (Rakov 2003; Rakow 2004). I therefore suggest that *dekulakization* in Southern Ural has essentially led to the loss of business initiative by Southern Ural peasants. After the *dekulakization* peasants' households were stuck in their economic development and the agriculture itself was stagnated for a long time. In order to *test* my hypothesis, firstly, I am going to carefully investigate and examine from the viewpoint I stated in my hypothesis the materials of local, regional and central archives about *dekulakization* and, secondly, by using our database "Dekulaked Peasants of Southern Ural (1930-1934)" (database "DPSU") I am going to get estimated mean values of Southern Ural dekulaked households and their households based on the unpublished data from local archives.

1.3. Theoretical Framework

The aspect of *loosing property by peasants as a result of dekulakization* is considered within the framework of *property rights theory*. Speaking of this theory we must at least mention names of R.H. Coase, A. Alchian, H. Demsetz,

⁶ *Prosopography* in the most common sense from the beginning of 90s is the genre of research supposing studying of mass sources with the purpose of creation on their basis dynamic "collective biographies" of certain social groups etc.

⁷ See Condition of an Agriculture and Work in Ural Countryside (*in Russian*). Based on Materials of Ural Statistical Department (Uralstatupravlenie) etc. Sverdlovsk, 1929. P. 8-9.

Y. Barzel, T. Eggertsson who have done a lot for developing the concept. The significant criteria for efficiency of property rights, in Demsetz' neoclassical concept, are (1) universality – all scarce resources are owned by someone; (2) exclusivity – property rights are exclusive rights; (3) transferability – to ensure that resources can be allocated from low to high yield uses.

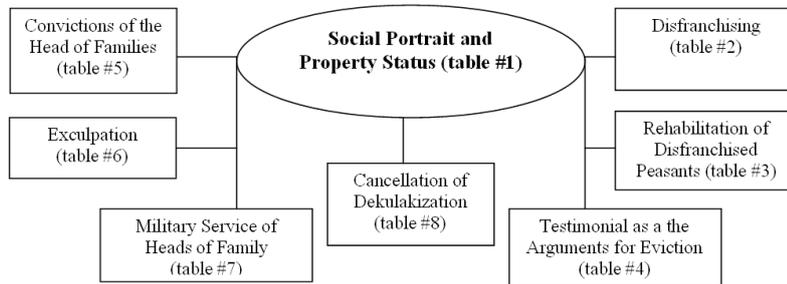
Nevertheless one of the most outstanding researchers who brought the historical arguments to the property rights theory is undoubtedly *Douglass C. North*, Nobel Prize winner (1993). Considering examples of Netherlands and England (North / Thomas 1976: 18) early North (1976) argues that maintaining and developing system of property rights actually lead to the economic growth. Later North (1990) tried to explain the existing exceptions or why not all the countries around the world are economically growing if the system of property rights is already set up. He put himself along with Karl Marx and Adam Smith in a sense that they both saw successful growth as dependent on the development of efficient property rights, though all of them did it differently (North / Thomas 1976: 157-158). In our case we can say that property rights regime changed and, thus, peasants lost their capital that certainly had a very negative influence on the agricultural productivity and the economics in whole, especially in a long term perspective.

1.4. Methodological Issue

In order to investigate the character of *dekulakization* in Southern Ural we used the *sample approach*. We sent 44 letters of inquiry to all archives that are now on the territory of Southern Ural and to some neighboring ones. We got 7 letters in which the availability of needed materials was clearly confirmed. All of these archives were carefully researched with the respect to materials we needed and *all of investigated data* was collected and transferred to the database "DPSU". It is important to note that we collected all data we physically could. The tool for measuring social and economic dimensions of Southern Ural dekulaked peasants' households that were the *object* of our survey was *prosopographical database "DPSU"* we made in database management system (DBMS) Microsoft Access.

Database "DPSU" consists of *1024 families (or entries)* which give us *11.8% of the general set* that is enough for representative sample. All entries are placed in *8 tables* (one basic and seven additional, as it is shown on the Figure 1) and *34 fields*.

Figure 1: Scheme of the database “DPSU” tables



The structure of database “DPSU” is given in Table 1.

Table 1: The structure of the database “DPSU”

Number	Attributes in the database “DPSU”	Number of the table from the scheme (see Figure 1)
1.	Family name and initials of the head of family	(1)
2.	Sex of the head of family	(1)
3.	Nationality of the head of family	(1)
4.	Age of the head of family	(1)
5.	Ability to work ⁸ of the head of family	(1)
6.	Number of microfamilies ⁹	(1)
7.	Size of the family	(1)
8.	Number of members of the family able to work	(1)
9.	Number of members of the family unable to work	(1)
10.	Agricultural Soviet ¹⁰	(1)
11.	District	(1)
12.	Okrug ¹¹	(1)
13.	Year of disfranchisement ¹²	(2)

⁸ Ability to work (“trudosposobnost”) was defined as being at the age of 15-63, if otherwise was not stated separately.

⁹ 1 microfamily has at least 1 able to work representative of one generation. If it was not the case than all relatives counted as 1 microfamily.

¹⁰ “Agricultural Soviet (sel’sovet – A.R) is the supreme authority within its jurisdiction and the borders of its area” (Regulations of VTsIK about agricultural Soviets from 26/01/1922). For details see: Ural after Zoning (*in Russian*). With foreword by D.G. Sulimov and the enclosed maps and cartograms of the Ural region. Sverdlovsk, 1926.P. 3.

¹¹ Okrug is a territory inside Ural region. Ural region by 1930 consists of 16 okrugs. In turn, each okrug consists of districts.

14.	Reasons for disfranchisement	(2)
15.	Year of rehabilitation after disfranchisement	(3)
16.	Reasons for convictions	(5)
17.	Exculpation	(6)
18.	Military service (if yes, in what army)	(7)
19.	Year of dekulakization	(1)
20.	Rank of dekulakization ¹³	(1)
21.	Cancellation of dekulakization	(8)
22.	Area under crops, in dessiatna ¹⁴ per year before dekulakization	(1)
23.	Haymaking size, in dessiatina per year before dekulakization	(1)
24.	Number of horses	(1)
25.	Number of draught oxen	(1)
26.	Number of cows	(1)
27.	Number of small cattle	(1)
28.	Number of sheep	(1)
29.	Number of pigs	(1)
30.	Outdoor buildings built, sum in roubles	(1)
31.	Agricultural tax, sum in roubles in the year before dekulakization	(1)
32.	Individual tax, sum in roubles in the year before dekulakization	(1)
33.	Testimonial as a the arguments for eviction	(4)
34.	Archive that contains the data	(1)

Making database “DPSU” set *two main goals*:

- *analytics*: database “DPSU” is an effective tool for careful considering social and economic dimensions of Southern Ural dekulaked peasants;
- *inquiry*: database “DPSU” may be used as a part of the specialized data-bank and also may be offered to regional and local archives, since up to now archives receive inquires concerning the destinies of concrete people and families.

There were *three basic sources* for our database, taken from *seven archives (one regional and six local ones)*:

- 1) lists of the *kulaks*’ families subjected to resettlement,

¹² Some attributes in the table are set off in *italics*. It means that these attributes are alternative and may not always be filled out in the database.

¹³ There were 3 *ranks of dekulakization*: *1st rank* – execution by shooting, *2nd rank* – execution by eviction out of the region and *3rd rank* – execution by eviction out of only native *district*.

¹⁴ *Dessiatina* is Russian measure of area, equal to 1.092 hectare.

- 2) lists and testimonials of people who were disfranchised (we selected from them only those who were dekulaked),
- 3) forms and record cards of special resettlers¹⁵.

The most of these sources are unpublished and are taken into consideration with scientific approach for the first time. It is important to note that these are sources with different forms, that's why regardless of relative completeness of database "DPSU" five fields out of 34 were filled out on less than 90%.

Using database "DPSU" and techniques of *descriptive statistics*, including average mean, median, mode, which are to be found using statistical package SPSS, we therefore come closer to investigate social and economic dimensions of Southern Ural dekulaked peasants.

1.5. The National Context and the Choice of the Region

Today researchers are more focused on the aggregated data that allow them make integrating reasoning which covered large areas and thus local archives and personal documents of dekulaked peasants are left uninvestigated. This is exactly the situation with the territory of Southern Ural¹⁶ one has to intently look at. Primary sources from local archives of Southern Ural are worth to be materials for *microhistory research*. Another reason to start investigating Southern Ural is to reveal the peculiar features of *dekulakization* in this region. Keeping in mind features of social and economic development of Southern Ural such as difference of *okrugs* in specialization (agricultural and industrial), landscape differences, remoteness from the center of the country and others allow us to suggest an assumption that the peculiar features of *dekulakization* will derive from these differences.

As time goes by, Southern Ural settled down in incongruous territories of: Ural region (existing during 03/10/1923 – 17/01/1934), its successor, Chelyabinsk region (17/01/1934 – separation of modern Kurgan region, 06/02/1943 – present time) and actually Ural as an economic, geographical, historical social and political area.

"Ural is a special geographical, historical, cultural and economic region of Russia. Its name as well as delimitation varied in time"¹⁷. This was also recognized by experts in zoning: at the end of 1920s they recorded that "the question on territory is the most disputable and difficult as a result of existing of several

¹⁵ "*Special resettlers*" is a name until 1934 year for dekulaked peasants evicted on resettlement.

¹⁶ By *Southern Ural* in the given research we mean the territory of 3 following *okrugs*: Chelyabinsky, Troitsky and Zlatoustovsky. *Ural* is a big social, political and geographical region of Russia.

¹⁷ Ural Historical Encyclopedia. 2nd ed., rev. and sup (*in Russian*). Yekaterinburg, Akademkniga, 2000. P. 542.

divergent sources and absence of the undisputable criterion for their estimation”¹⁸.

Also we shall note the concrete factors of changes in the economic and geographical position of Southern Ural: it “repeatedly changed under the influence of shifts in economic life of the country, in placing of its productive forces, progress of technique and involving of new natural resources in economic usage” (Komar 1959: 8).

These factors became an obstacle in realization of Ural zoning reform in 1920s: “Realization of Ural zoning reform was especially complicated by the absence of undisputable criteria for fractional zoning”¹⁹.

Picture 1: Map of the agricultural areas of the Ural region in 1929 (Konstantinov 1929)



Borders of Southern Ural *okrugs* on the map are marked with black.

¹⁸ Districts of the Ural Region (*in Russian*). Schematic Characteristics of okrugs and districts, the basic statistics, maps of okrugs and districts. Sverdlovsk, 1928. (In “Explanatory to the Tables of District Parameters”)

¹⁹ Ural after Zoning (*in Russian*). With foreword by D.G. Sulimov and the enclosed maps and cartograms of the Ural region. Sverdlovsk, 1926. P. V.

It is important to note that as geographical and ethnographic borders of researched region do not coincide with administrative ones. “Southern Ural” in the given research is meant as the historical and economic region²⁰ occupying in the beginning of 1930 territory of three Ural *okrugs*, namely Zlatoustovsky, Troitsky and Chelyabinsky. To consider the territory they formed, let’s take a look at Picture 1.

1.6. Sources for the Research

Source base of the research is presented by several groups of historical sources, including both *archival* and *published materials*: *acts*, *secretary documents*, the various *statistical data*. From archival documents, first of all, we have to carefully look at:

- a) Funds of the United State Political Administration (*OGPU*) of the USSR (Fund R-9414. Inventory 1) and of 4th Special Department of the People’s Commissariat for Internal Affairs (*NKVD*) of the USSR (Fund 9479. Inventory 1) stored in the State Archive of Russian Federation (*GARF*);
- b) Funds of the State Planning Committee of the USSR (Fund 4372. Inventory 28, 32), Economic and Statistical Sector of the State Planning Committee of the USSR and Central Statistic Agency (*TsSU*) of the State Planning Committee of the USSR (Fund 1562. Inventories 74, 78) that are in the Russian State Archive for Economy (*RGAE*);
- c) Fund of Political Department of People’s Commissariat of Farming (*Narkomzem*) of the USSR for 1930-1935 (Fund 112 Inventory 41, 56) stored in the Russian State Archive of Social and Political History (*RGASPI*).

Besides in the given work sources of a personal origin (memoirs, recollections) describing *dekulakization* in Southern Ural have also been used.

Legislative and secretary materials (published and unpublished) are represented by acts (first of all, decrees and orders of the Central Electoral Committee (*TsIK*) and Council of People’s Commissars (*SNK*) of the USSR) and the administrative documentation (resolutions, instructions), reports as a special kind of the administrative documentation, the current correspondence, the planed and control documentation and also reports, including some statistical data.

Published legislative and secretary documents used in our work are considerably presented in large collections of documents from which we shall choose four, namely: “Tragedy of the Soviet Village. Collectivization and Dekulakiza-

²⁰ We consider Southern Ural as historical and economic region, but not as geographical area as some editions like *Brokgauz and Efron Encyclopedia* (in the article “Ural Mountain Ridge”), *Big Soviet Encyclopedia* and *Concise Russian Encyclopedia* did.

tion. 1927-1939. Documents and materials. In five volumes”, “The History of Stalin’s GULAG. The end of 1920s – first half of 1950s: Collection of documents in seven volumes”, “The Soviet Village by the Eyes of VChK – OGPU – NKVD. 1918-1939. Documents and materials. In four volumes” and “The Politburo and Peasantry: Deportation, Special Resettlement. 1930-1940: In two books” all published by “ROSSPEN”.

Taking into account that each of volumes of the specified collections contains archival information in details describing documents contained in the edition, we shall be limited to the brief characteristic of collections interesting us and the reference to materials mentioned.

“*Tragedy of the Soviet Village. Collectivization and Dekulakization. 1927-1939. Documents and materials. In five volumes*”. The collection contains the diversified documents: from materials with a stamp “Top secret. Is subject to burning immediately” up to the documents published in periodicals of that time. The revealed documents are taken from funds of the Central Archive of Federal Security Service (*FSB*) of the Russian Federation, GARF, RGAE, RGASPI, Russian State Military Archive (*RGVA*) and the State Archive of Novosibirsk Region. These are generalizing documents of Communist party, state, cooperative establishments and the organizations containing data of all-union or republican value and documents of local establishments and individuals, covering on a concrete historical material realization of decisions of Communist party and the Soviet authorities, collectivization of an agriculture and *dekulakization*²¹.

“*The History of Stalin’s GULAG. The end of 1920s – first half of 1950s: Collection of documents in seven volumes*”. N. Vert points out that the most significant group of materials is correspondence between heads of court, Office of Public Prosecutor, *OGPU*, *NKVD* with Stalin, Molotov, Kaganovich etc.; reporting documentation of *OGPU*, *NKVD*, Offices of Public Prosecutor, the Supreme Court (reports, inquiries); analytical documents (reports, reviews etc.). These documents reveal different stages of *dekulakization* which are in fact waves of different intensity. A subject of the third volume is the general characteristic of economy *OGPU – NKVD – Ministry of the Interior (MVD)* of the USSR and also activity of these state structures as the economic departments. The fifth volume consists of normative and organizational documentation of *SNK* of the USSR, *SNK* of *RSFSR*, *OGPU*, *NKVD – MVD* of the

²¹ Danilov, V. (ed.) and others. *Tragedy of the Soviet Village. Collectivization and Dekulakization. 1927-1939 (in Russian)*. Documents and materials. In five vol. V. 1. May 1927 – November 1929. Moscow, “ROSSPEN”, 1999. P. 68-70.

USSR, GULAG, Offices of Public Prosecutor of the USSR represented by orders and circulars of these organizations²².

“The Soviet Village by the Eyes of VChK – OGPU – NKVD. 1918-1939. Documents and materials. In four volumes”. The collection is made of information materials of central staff of OPGU, republican GPU and republican plenipotentiary representations OPGU (*PP OGPU*) which allow tracking interrelation available between them at gathering and the analysis of the information. The majority of documents of this collection is published for the first time and describes various aspects of a life of agricultural population of the USSR in 1932-1934. This edition includes documents from two archives Central Archive of *FSB* of the Russian Federation and *RGAE*²³.

“The Politburo and Peasantry: Deportation, Special Resettlement. 1930-1940: In two books”. Composers note that five thematic files have been used in the collection. All files are from fund of Politburo of Archival of President of the Russian Federation. Appendices to these files are from the funds of four federal and departmental archives made of documents (*GARF*, *RGASPI*, *RGAE*, Central Archive of *FSB* of the Russian Federation) which reflect development and realization of “*depeasantrisation*” (“*raskrestianivanie*”) in the villages. Documents of the given collection display the different sides of interaction between state machinery and special resettlements²⁴.

Therefore, in these editions the extensive material from funds of *GARF*, *RGASPI*, Central Archive of *FSB* of the Russian Federation and Archive of President the Russian Federation was published. First of all – reports, information and inquiries *OGPU* that allow in dynamics to track any change in *dekulakization* and in a reality to see the mechanism of work of reprisals and leading role of *OGPU* in their organization.

Unfortunately, there are distinctions in groupings of the information in documents of various archives, inside archives as well as in funds. If to work, for example, with private files, each of which is selected into separate unit of storage, than at throughput ten files per day in order to investigate files at Information Centre (*IC*) of the Main Internal Affairs Directorate (*GUV**D*) of Sverdlovsk region (more than 6000 files) two years of continuous work would be required almost. However, even at presence of sufficient resources to engage in processing of documents at *IC* it is not obviously possible as, despite of past “*limitation period*”, documents of a kept corpus stored there are not de-

²² Vert, N. (ed.) and others. History of Stalin’s GULAG. The end of 1920s – first half 1950s: Collection of documents in seven volumes / V. 1. Mass Reprisals in the USSR (*in Russian*). Moscow, “*ROSSPEN*”, 2004. P. 57-89.

²³ Berelovich, A. (ed.) and others. The Soviet Village by the Eyes of VChK – OGPU – NKVD. 1918-1939 (*in Russian*). Documents and materials. In four volumes / T. 3. 1930-1934. Book 1. 1930-1931. Moscow, “*ROSSPEN*”, 2003. P. 65-70.

²⁴ Pokrovsky, N.N. (ed.), The Politburo and Peasantry: Deportation, Special Resettlement. 1930-1940: In two books (*in Russian*). Book 1. Moscow, “*ROSSPEN*”, 2005. P. 5-8.

classified that it is no wonder: the regional Commissions on *declassification* (“*rassekrechivanie*”) are overloaded.

The question on the location of the big corpus of the personal data on dekulaked peasants deserves separate research: even the cumulative data of *IC* and the archives of the Chelyabinsk region do not give general set in numerical expression. Thus, we shall note that after Great Patriotic War many archives have been closed because of shortage of rooms under hospitals and other establishments and documents were kept a maximum on 10% from a premilitary level. The most important documents thus were sent in the regional center. There were also fires: e.g., in 1948 the archive in Kopeisk²⁵ has burned down.

Besides it is impossible to forget and about existing practice of “cleanings of archives” when appropriate departments make so-called “selection lists” of archival documents on destruction which are considered by the Expert and Testing Commission which till 1964 took place in structure of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. As one of authors of the authoritative textbook on source study V.V. Kabanov notices, “almost any of archival funds of large Soviet or party body (and also funds of a personal origin) has not avoided “cleaning”. Many documents, including confidential, have been destroyed by the special commissions or officials from ministries, departments and establishments on a straight order from authorities”²⁶. The history of “migration” of concrete documents could be tracked on fund in which all data on moving of materials are accumulated, but who will accept the researcher to files of secret fund if yet all files are not completely declassified?

Thus, the investigated files of sources are sufficient for achievement of the declared goal and allow to reveal and illuminate *dekulakization* in Southern Ural at an individual level (memoirs; the periodical press; the mass sources containing personal data) and also to trace tendencies and features of researched region (legislative and secretary materials and the statistical data).

2. Database “DPSU” Analysis: Social and Economic Dimensions of Southern Ural Dekulaked Peasants

We managed to reconstruct social and economic dimensions of Southern Ural dekulaked peasants using database “DPSU”. In order to statistically consider our sample let’s take a look at the Table 2 where prevailing values (absolute or relative) of the database attributes are set off in italics.

²⁵ *Kopeisk* is a small town in the Southern Ural.

²⁶ *Danilevsky, I.N. (ed.)* and others. Source study: the Theory. A history. A method. Sources of the Russian history (*in Russian*). Moscow, Russian State University for Humanities, 1998. P. 581.

Table 2: The most frequent meanings of the main database “DPSU” attributes

Number	Name of the database “DPSU” attributes	Meaning of the attributes	Percentage of the attributes out of the general set
1.	Sex of the head of family	<i>Male</i>	<i>90.1%</i>
		Female	9.9%
2.	Nationality of the head of family	<i>Russian</i>	<i>87.9%</i>
		Ukrainian	9.9%
		Tatar	1.6%
3.	Age of the head of family	26-35 years	18.5%
		<i>36-45 years</i>	<i>28.4%</i>
		46-55 years	25.3%
		56-65 years	17.3%
4.	Ability to work of the head of family	<i>Able to work</i>	<i>91.3%</i>
		Unable to work	8.7%
5.	Number of microfamilies	1	62.4%
		2	32.4%
6.	Size of the family	4	18.2%
		5	19.7%
		6	14.8%
		7	11.9%
7.	Number of members of the family able to work	2	35.0%
		3	22.1%
		4	21.7%
8.	Number of members of the family unable to work	0	19.9%
		1	21.2%
		2	22.6%
		3	17.2%
9.	Disfranchisement of the head of the family	<i>Disfranchised</i>	<i>60.0%</i>
		Not disfranchised	40.0%
10.	Year of disfranchisement	<i>No data</i>	<i>43.5%</i>
		1926	9.6%
		1929	13.2%
		1930	18.1%
11.	Reasons for disfranchisement	<i>Exploitation of farm hands and agricultural machinery</i>	<i>72.9%</i>
		Kulak	5.1%
		Taxed individually	3.4%
12.	Rehabilitation after disfranchisement	Rehabilitated	2.1%
		<i>Not rehabilitated</i>	<i>97.9%</i>
13.	Convictions of the head of the family	Convicted	25.1%
		<i>Not convicted</i>	<i>74.9%</i>
14.	Exculpation of the head of the family	Exculpated	3.9%
		<i>Not exculpated</i>	<i>96.1%</i>

15.	Military service of the head of the family	Served	33.2%
		<i>Not served</i>	66.8%
16.	In what army head of the family served	<i>In "white"</i>	49.4%
		In "red"	8.2%
		In tsarist	38.5%
17.	Year of dekulakization	1930	77.4%
		1931	12.5%
		1932	9.3%
18.	Rank of dekulakization	1st	9.6%
		<i>2nd</i>	61.9%
		3rd	28.5%
19.	Cancellation of dekulakization	Cancelled	0.3%
		<i>Not cancelled</i>	99.7%
20.	Area under crops, in dessiatna per year before dekulakization	0-4	25.6%
		4-8	19.2%
		8-12	18.9%
		12-20	25.7%
21.	Number of horses	0-2	44.1%
		3-4	37.2%
		5-6	13.5%
22.	Number of draught oxen	0	72.9%
		1	8.7%
		2	8.8%
23.	Number of cows	0-2	51.0%
		3-4	34.5%
		5-6	9.3%
24.	Number of small cattle	0-2	56.9%
		3-4	9.6%
		5-6	7.7%
25.	Number of sheep	0-5	55.9%
		6-10	18.4%
		11-15	10.7%
26.	Number of pigs	0	78.4%
		1	8.0%
		2	7.9%
27.	Testimonial as a the arguments for eviction ²⁷	<i>Exploitation of farm hands</i>	75.8%
		Owner of the agricultural machinery	39.1%
		Propertied	20.9%
		Kulak	14.9%

²⁷ *Four arguments in average* were listed in the testimonial for every householder. In the Table 2 they are listed in the frequency decreasing order. Each of the arguments was one of the reasons for eviction.

Now based on the data of our sample we can reconstruct social and economic dimensions of Southern Ural dekulaked peasants in the Table 3.

Table 3: Reconstruction of the social and economic dimensions of Southern Ural dekulaked peasants (1930-1934)

Number	Attributes of the database "DPSU"	Arithmetic mean or the most frequent value
1.	Sex of the head of family	Male
2.	Nationality of the head of family	Russian
3.	Age of the head of family	45.5
5.	Ability to work of the head of family	Able to work
5.	Number of microfamilies	1
6.	Size of the family	5.1
7.	Number of members of the family able to work	3.0
8.	Number of members of the family unable to work	2.1
9.	Year of disfranchisement	1929-1930 ²⁸
10.	Reasons for disfranchisement	Exploitation of farm hands and agricultural machinery, kulak, taxed individually
11.	Rehabilitation after disfranchisement	Not rehabilitated
12.	Convictions of the head of the family	Not convicted
13.	Military service of the head of the family	Not served
14.	Year of dekulakization	1930
15.	Rank of dekulakization	2nd
16.	Cancellation of dekulakization	Not cancelled
17.	Area under crops, in dessiatna per year before dekulakization	9.9
18.	Number of horses	3.2
19.	Number of draught oxen	0.7
20.	Number of cows	3.1
21.	Number of small cattle	4.8
22.	Number of sheep	7.2
23.	Number of pigs	0.6
24.	Testimonial as a the arguments for eviction	Exploiter of the hand farms, owner of the agricultural machinery

²⁸ In the Table 3 for 43.5% of disfranchised householders we have no data about their year of disfranchisement. Number of disfranchised householders in 1929 (81) in our database is close to the value of 1930 (111).

Unfortunately, there is no full data for taxes (only 27% from database “DPSU”), but in order to understand the scale of Ural peasant taxation let’s just take a look at a couple of figures we found in the file of “Financial plan of USSR. 1934” in the fund of the State Planning Committee of the USSR (*Gosplan*). In 1932 aggregate agricultural tax (individual householders and collective farmers) in Ural region was about 503.6 million rubles, of these only 121.5 million rubles were of collective farmers, and 382.1 million rubles were paid in the Ural budget by individual householders. One has to understand what kind of burden it was for the Ural peasants: it’s enough to say that *this figure (382.1 million rubles) might be entirely compared to profits tax of all Ural factories and plants of heavy industry for the same period (388.3 million rubles)*. It’s not a surprise then that expected performance of agricultural tax for the next year was already 763.3 million rubles²⁹, just a huge sum of money. Besides, voluntary rate-paying, at first contributing only 35% of agricultural tax, later was significantly increased. Only in Ural region voluntary rate-paying brought to the local budgets 485.3 million rubles which is much more than all the rest local taxes (420.5 million rubles³⁰).

These high values might be explained by the fact that for the *kulak* households a special scale of income with a great progression was set by the tax legislation as it is shown in the Table 4.

Table 4: Dependence of the tax rate from the level of income of kulak households (Ivnitsky 1994: 183)

Income, rubles	Tax rate
500	20%
500-700	30%
700-1000	40%
1000-3000	50%
3000-6000	60%
Более 6000	70%

The dynamics is such that as time passed the households became poorer and poorer. It was very evident that in order to save your life and family it was necessary to divide your own property among relatives supplemented by the escape after all. However, even this way was banned for the peasants.

We shall now comment on the most frequent for our sample arguments for eviction from Table 3 – “exploiter of the hand farms” and “owner of the agricultural machinery”, keeping in mind the rest for later consideration.

²⁹ Russian State Archive for Economy (RGAE). Fund 4372 (State Planning Committee of the USSR (*Gosplan*)). Inventory 32. File 71. Sheets 6, 31, 32.

³⁰ *Ibid.* S. 19.

It's quite a paradox that during the NEP period the Soviets agreed on waged labour, but banned it immediately after NEP collapsed. As a result, the number of waged labour in Ural region, according to five-year plan realization, significantly decreased in 1930-1933 from 82.7 to 70.7 million and from 13.7 to 13.2 million people in the state and cooperative sectors, correspondingly³¹.

Nevertheless, one has to know that *collective farmers* ("kolkhozniki") themselves were forced to hire *individual farmers* ("edinolichniki") and their family members. As a base for payment only 1.5 kilogram of bread was allowed, the rest was paid by money³². In Ural region daily requirement for harvesting was about 465 thousand people, while in fact there were only 390 thousand people³³.

A real phenomenon is that having agricultural machinery was a reason for disfranchisement and eviction, although already before *dekulakization* campaign in the report about the Ural Regional Executive Committee (*Uralobklistpolom*) activity it was clearly stated that "one of the reasons for backwardness of Ural agriculture is its insufficient supply with agricultural machinery"³⁴. At the same time, according to the Ural Agricultural Bank (*Uralsel'khozbank*) data, the bigger number of loans for machinery construction was given to the peasants of average means (61.7%) and poor peasants (28.9%). It's interesting that before collectivization farm hands also get some loans (0.2%)³⁵.

Analysis of peasant crediting by way of cooperation in 1929 showed that after significant increase of the loan size there was no expected modernization of peasant households. To a great extent it is closely related to the class policy of loan distribution: peasants of average means and poor peasants got more than 90% of the loans during NEP while at the same time delinquency of the loans were up to 30% (Petrova 2004: 35).

3. Conclusions

We now revealed social and economic dimensions of Southern Ural dekulaked peasants, but unfortunately we don't have similar archival data for the whole Ural region, though we have some Ural data estimated by other historians.

³¹ RGAE. Fund 4372 (State Planning Committee of the USSR (*Gosplan*)). Inventory 28. File 53. Sheet 119.

³² Russian State Archive of Social and Political History (RGASPI). Fund 112 (Political Department of Narkomzem of the USSR for 1930-1935). Inventory 56. File 12. Sheet 38.

³³ Ibidem.

³⁴ Report about the Ural Regional Executive Committee (Uralobklistpolom) of Council of workers', peasant's, Red Army soldiers' and Cossack deputies of VI convocation activity. 1927 – April, 1929 (*in Russian*). Sverdlovsk, Uraloblistpolkom, 1929. P. 74.

³⁵ State of Agriculture and Work in Ural Village (*in Russian*). Based on materials of Ural Statistical Bureau (Uralstatburo) and others. Sverdlovsk, Ural Regional Committee (Uralobkom), 1929. P. 81.

Table 5: Main attributes of social and economic dimensions of dekulaked peasants

Number	Attributes	Southern Ural (data-base "DPSU")	Confidence intervals for Southern Ural attributes with confidence probability P = 95%	Ural region (in average for one peasant non-kulak family) ³⁶	Ural region ³⁷ (in average for one peasant kulak family)
1.	Nationality of the head of a family	Russian			Russian ³⁸
2.	Size of the family	5.1	± 0.1		4.2
3.	Number of members of the family able to work	3.0	± 0.1		1.6
4.	Number of members of the family unable to work	2.1	± 0.1		2.6
5.	Year of disfranchisement	1929-1930			1929
6.	Rehabilitation after disfranchisement	Not rehabilitated			Not rehabilitated
7.	Rank of dekulakization	2nd			2nd ³⁹
8.	Cancellation of dekulakization	Not cancelled			Not cancelled
9.	Area under crops, in dessiatna per year before dekulakization	9.9	± 0.6	3.6	2-3
10.	Number of horses	3.2	± 0.1	1.7	1
11.	Number of cows	3.1	± 0.2	1.4	1
12.	Number of sheep	7.2	± 0.6	3.9	3

³⁶ Data is taken from: State of Agriculture and Work in Ural Village (*in Russian*). Based on materials of Ural Statistical Bureau (Uralstatburo) and others. Sverdlovsk, Ural Regional Committee (Uralobkom), 1929. P. 8-9.

³⁷ Ural region data, except for attributes "Nationality of the head of family" and "Rank of dekulakization", are cited from researches by T.I. Slavko and A.E. Bedel. For more details see.: *Bedel / Slavko* 1994: 14; *Slavko T.I.* 1996: 3-4; *Slavko* 1995: 60.

³⁸ Aggregated data about nationality is missing, but it's clear that Russians take the first place and Ukrainians are on the second. For more details see: *Zemskov* 2003: 43.

³⁹ State Archive of Russian Federation (GARF). Fund R-9414 (OGPU of the USSR). Inventory 1. File 1943. Sheet 10. Let's bring also opinion of the historian V. Vinogradov: "<...> the general body of dekulaked consists of those dekulaked on 2nd rank". For more details see: *Berelovich, A. (ed.)* and others. *The Soviet Village by the Eyes of VChK – OGPU – NKVD. 1918-1939 (in Russian)*. Documents and materials. In four volumes / T. 3.1930-1934. Book 1. 1930-1931. Moscow, "ROSSPEN", 2003. P. 11.

In Table 5 the following data we collected is presented:

- arithmetic mean or the most frequent value in our sample for Southern Ural;
- confidence intervals for the quantitative data with coefficient $t=1.96$ so that confidence probability $P=95\%$;
- statistical data of 1928 on some attributes in average for one peasant *non-kulak* family in Ural region;
- finally, some aggregated for dekulaked households of Ural region that were found only in researches by T.I. Slavko and A.E. Bedel.

Taking into consideration that data of Ural region average figures of dekulaked peasants (T.I. Slavko and A.E. Bedel) happened to be lower than the similar attributes of the same region, but *before collectivization*, it was important for us to build the confidence intervals. Nevertheless let's consider possible reasons for such surprising difference.

On the one hand, difference in the size of a family for Southern Ural (database "DPSU") and Ural region (T.I. Slavko, A.E. Bedel) might be explained through quite a big value of standard deviation for our sample (2.1) given that average size of a family is 5.1. This means that our sample for taken attribute is dissimilar.

On the other hand, substituted data says us about the size of a family in Ural much bigger than T.I. Slavko and A.E. Bedel presented: "average size of a worker family is 4.7 that is almost two times less than in normal average size of a family in the peasants' household of the region"⁴⁰. One explanation here might be that householders were withdrawn from dekulaked families by *OGPU* and, therefore, calculation of the size of a family might have been different, though this works only for families dekulaked on 1st rank and their number is statistically much less than on 2nd and 3rd.

Distinction in the average figures of able / unable to work members of a family and ratio of these figures might be understood by considering the fact that population Southern Ural was highly agricultural and dealing mainly with cattle breeding and grain production. Large part of such population consists of *Cossacks*⁴¹, who were more successful economically than the rest and that created in Southern Ural favourable conditions for demographical growth and welfare.

Besides, given by T.I. Slavko and A.E. Bedel ration between able to work and unable to work members of a family as 1.6:2.6 is contradicting to the recommendation from the Center that defined this ratio as 6:4 (3:2). However this

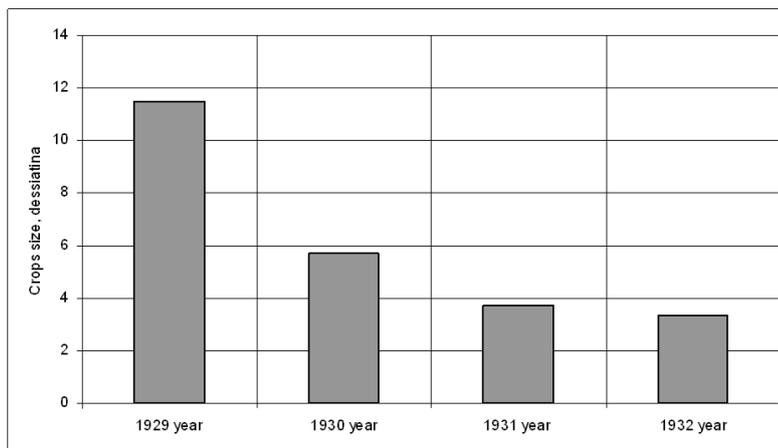
⁴⁰ Waged Labour in an Agriculture of Ural (*in Russian*). The Ural Regional Bureau of Labour Statistics. Sverdlovsk, 1926. P. 99.

⁴¹ *Cossack* – one of a warlike, pastoral people, skillful as horsemen, inhabiting different parts of the Russian empire and furnishing valuable contingents of irregular cavalry to its armies, those of Little Russia and those of the Don forming the principal divisions (Webster).

recommendation is nicely examined by the figures of our sample – 3.0:2.1. Moreover, not all males, but only males able to work should be dekulaked⁴².

More than time difference in the figures of area under crops (9.9 des. for Southern Ural and 2-3 des. for Ural region by T.I. Slavko and A.E. Bedel) is explained by several factors: firstly, heterogeneity of our sample (from 0 up to 85 dessiatina), and secondly, majority of our sample for area under crops was of 1929-1930 years with relatively high value of area under crops figures as it is shown on the bar chart below⁴³.

Chart 1: Dynamics of the fall of average area under crops in the dekulaked households of Southern Ural



The picture of the fall of area under crops on the bar chart is logically supplemented by data about decreasing the area under crops in the period before collectivization (1926-1928) from 4885 thousand to 4556 thousand dessiatina⁴⁴.

We can now go on to last three attributes from the Table 5 which describe property status of the dekulaked peasants. Higher values for Southern Ural might be considered from the same point of view as we did while dealing with area under crops – heterogeneity of our data and weight of 1929 in our sample.

⁴² Pokrovsky, N.N. (ed.), *The Politburo and Peasantry: Deportation, Special Resettlement, 1930-1940: In two books (in Russian)*. Book 1. Moscow, "ROSSPEN", 2005. P. 388.

⁴³ Chart 1 starts from 1929 because the area under crops in the database is reflected for the year before *dekulakization*, and the chart is finished with 1932 because 1933 is presented statistically insignificant.

⁴⁴ *State of Agriculture and Work in Ural Village (in Russian)*. Based on materials of Ural Statistical Bureau (Uralstatbuuro) and others. Sverdlovsk, Ural Regional Committee (Uralobkom), 1929. P. 5.

However analysis of archival data gives us another average value of the area under crops for individual households in Ural region – 4.2 *des.* on 01/07/1927⁴⁵. Value of the average area under crops in Southern Ural (database “DPSU”) without extremely high meaning of 1929 – year before *dekulakization* – is 4.8 *des.* Than the average value of the area under crops in Ural region 4.2 with confidence probability P=95% will be within the confidence intervals of our sample: 4.8 ± 0.7 or from 4.1 to 5.5 *des.*

Thus, we considered social and economic dimensions of Southern Ural dekulaked peasants and compared values we got with figures for Ural region in order to state and possibly explain inconsistency between these figures. We can now conclude what the dekulaked peasants in the Southern Ural were. In fact the Soviets in the village fought with the most mature and economically initiative householders grown from NEP period; with peasants who were just 2-2.5 richer than the average ones; and after all these peasants happened to be victims of adaptation to NEP. Loss of the property right eventually led dekulaked peasants to the *kolkhozy*, because business initiative was killed for a long time. In a long-term perspective these strong householders might have been a real support of the Soviets in the village, but needs of modernization and accelerated industrialization buried this idea – the *kulaks* were claimed to be enemies and were forced to be energetic donors for the arising Soviet industry.

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⁴⁵ It is calculated as a ratio between total area under crops (5206.7 thousand *des.*) to the total number of the individual households (1240.3 thousand). Calculated from: RGAE. Fund 1562 (Economic and Statistical Sector of the State Planning Committee of the USSR and Central Statistic Office (*TsSU*) of the State Planning Committee of the USSR). Inventory 74. File 47. Sheets 28, 34.

⁴⁶ Let’s note, that the personal data about dekulaked peasants and their families is basically contained in the funds of executive committees of *district* and *okrug* levels of local and regional archives of Chelyabinsk region. Data taken from these archives is to form the database “DPSU”.

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