

SUMMARY

Part 1

SOVIET PROJECT: APPRAISALS, OPINIONS, ATTITUDES

Dmitry Teplyakov

Omsk State University n.a. F.M.Dostoevsky

Omsk, Russia

E-mail: dmitryteplyakoff@yandex.ru

Alexandr Bogdanov's Idea of Proletarian Culture 5

The paper discusses Alexandr Bogdanov's idea of proletarian culture, in particular the way he saw the problem of cultural continuity. Bogdanov distinguishes between proletarian culture and culture of socialist society. The paper also compares Bogdanov's concept of 'fetishism' and Berdyaev's 'fantasm'. The conclusion is made that in his understanding of proletarian culture, Bogdanov, on the one hand, ignores the existence of ethno-national culture (the national 'cultural code', national mentality), especially in relation to peasant communities, which constitute the 'core of the cultural code', and, on the other hand, seeks to emphasize the universal and supra-class nature of proletarian culture.

Key words: Alexandr Bogdanov; Marxism; proletarian culture; socialism; creation; science; education; intelligentsia; historical memory; intellectual history

Alexandr Fokin

Chelyabinsk State University

Chelyabinsk, Russia

E-mail: aafokin@yandex.ru

Alternative Soviet Project in 'Notebooks of Verkhneuralsk Political Isolator'¹. 15

At the beginning of 2018, documents dating from 1932 and 1933 were found in Verkhneuralsk prison. These documents came to be referred to as the 'Notebooks of Verkhneuralsk Political Isolator' and, among other things, comprised several notebooks entitled 'The Crisis of the Revolution and the Targets of the Proletariat'. This sub-corpus of the texts is the program of 'Bolshevik-Leninists', which reflects their views on the optimal national and international policy of the Soviet state. Criticizing the Stalinist regime, the authors of these texts proposed their own, alternative model of the Soviet project.

Key words: Bolshevik-Leninists; left opposition; Verkhneuralsk Political Isolator; Soviet project

¹ The author is grateful to the Main Directorate of the Federal Penitentiary Service in Chelyabinsk region for granting him access to the documents.

Oleg Ermishin

House of Russia's Emigrant Culture and History n.a. Alexandr Solzhenitsyn
Moscow, Russia

E-mail: oleg_ermishin@mail.ru

Nikolay Alexeev's Views on the Soviet Project. 22

The article discusses the views on the Soviet regime expressed by Nikolay Alexeev (1879–1964) in his works ‘On Soviet System and its Political Opportunities’ (1926); ‘On the Ways to Russia of the Future (the Soviet System and its Political Opportunities)’ (1927); ‘Soviet Federalism’ (1927); and others. Alexeev was a lawyer, philosopher and alumnus of the Moscow State University. Since 1920, he lived in emigration, and since 1922, he taught at the Russian Law Department in Prague. While many Russian emigrants were prone to demonizing the Soviet regime, Alexeev tried to analyze the performance of the Soviet state, weighing both its shortcomings and achievements. For example, Alekseev positively assessed the federal state system in his article ‘Soviet Federalism’. At the same time, he expressed a negative attitude towards communist ideology, which, as he believed, impeded successful development of the country. Alekseev has written the book ‘The Ways and the Fate of Marxism. From Marx and Engels to Lenin and Stalin’ (1936) about Soviet ideology. In his article ‘About the Future Political System of Russia’ (1938), he pointed out the importance of the personality and the law in the government of Russia in future.

Key words: Soviet state; law; federalism; Marxism; communism; socialism; ideology; policy; revolution

Mark Meerovich

Irkutsk National Research Technical University

Irkutsk, Russia

E-mail: memark@inbox.ru

USSR as a Mega-Project. 28

The article discusses the conceptual and theoretical foundation of the Soviet policy as well as the stages and mechanisms of its implementation in the sphere of housing, urban planning, industry, migration and so on between 1917 and the 1930s.

The article describes the reasons for the radical change in the country's former ‘spatial framework’ and the methodological basis for establishment of the new administrative and territorial division, which embodied the labor-military mobilization model of HR management. This model was developed and realized as a part of the first five-year plan. The reasons behind the creation of such settlement types as the ‘garden city’ or ‘mono-city’ are discussed.

Key words: accommodation industry; settlement; administrative zoning; ‘Sotsgorod’; ‘garden city’; teleology

Valentina Shepeleva

Omsk State University n.a. F.M.Dostoevsky
 Omsk, Russia
 E-mail: vshepel@rambler.ru

**Soviet Project (Revolution, NEP, Stalinism)
 and the Problems of Modern Historiography..... 40**

The article focuses on the so-called ‘Russian studies’, in particular those dealing with the nature and history of the Soviet project. Modern historiographical interpretations of the Revolution, NEP and Stalinism are discussed in the context of post-non-classical theories.

Key words: ‘Russian studies’; Bolsheviks; Vladimir Lenin; October Revolution; Civil War; NEP; historical philosophy; Marxism

Oxana Yatsenko

State University of Management
 Moscow, Russia
 E-mail: yatsenkoox@mail.ru

**Philosophy Behind the New Social Model: Following
 the Objective Logic of Development or Ideological Expansion? 51**

The article compares the ideological premises of building a global society in comparison with the implementation of the ‘Soviet project’ in the 1920s and 1930s. The comparison thus focuses on the model of ‘consumer society’ and the corresponding ideology of economic community as opposed to the socialist ideals of the Soviet state. The analysis reveals a number of characteristics shared by the current situation and the ‘Soviet project’ period.

Key words: global development; new economic policy; economic methods; ideology; ideal; economics

Nailya Baybatyrova

Astrakhan State University
 Astrakhan, Russia
 E-mail: aulova83@mail.ru

**The Soviet State and the Soviet Person in the Works
 of Exiled Russian Writers of the Third Wave..... 62**

The article analyzes the works of exiled Russian writers of the ‘Third Wave’, in particular those devoted to the topic of the Soviet state and the Soviet person. The author examines the diversity of opinions and evaluations in these works and discusses the contribution of these Russian writers to the development of social and political thought.

Key words: Soviet Union; Soviet person; emigration; Third Wave; Russian writers; journalism.

Part 2
SOVIET PROJECT: AUDIO-VISUAL REPRESENTATIONS

Anastasia Kochkina

Municipal secondary school № 71
Nizhny Tagil, Russia
E-mail: nastasya.kochkina@mail.ru

Representation of the 1917 Revolution in Soviet Historical Films. . . . 68

The article focuses on representations of the 1917 Revolution in Soviet films (from the 1920s to the 1980s). The main emphasis is placed on the ideological content of these films, which were used for spreading state propaganda, particularly the myth of the Revolution. Nowadays, Soviet historical films can prove to be a useful tool that can enable the modern spectator to develop critical thinking and gain a better understanding of Russian and Soviet history.

Key words: cinema; visual source; revolution; text; ideology; historical films; image

Ludmila Mazur

Ural Federal University
Ekaterinburg, Russia
E-mail: lmaz@mail.ru

**Early Soviet Cinema as a Medium of Militarization
of Mass Consciousness ('War Syndrome')². 73**

The article discusses the concept of 'war syndrome' and its characteristics in the context of early Soviet society. Cinema played a significant role in the militarization of mass consciousness, in particular the so-called 'defence films', which accounted for a large part of Soviet cinema in the 1920s and reached the peak of their popularity in the pre-war period. In the diversity of genres and themes characteristic of Soviet war cinema, we can identify the main types of propaganda and describe the techniques of agitation employed to create the images of the propagandist discourse (just war, enemy, ally, soldier, and so on); their evolution; and their transformations in the 1920s and 1930s. In combination with other forms of agitation, these images contributed to the creation of the Soviet war myth.

Key words: war syndrome; war films; Soviet cinema; image of war

² This research is supported by the grant of the Russian Science Foundation (project № 16-18-10106 'Early Soviet Society as a Social Project: Concepts, Mechanisms of Realization, and Results').

Irina Murzina, Andrey Murzin

Institute of Education Strategies
Ekaterinburg, Russia
e-mail: mail@instos.ru

Artistic Representations in the ‘Soviet Ural’ Project 86

The article investigates the influence of the Soviet myth on the formation and transformation of the image of the Urals in mass consciousness. The myth of the Soviet Urals was one of the many regional myths created by the official ideology. This myth was determined by the general trends of regional development in the twentieth century, but also by spiritual culture of Ural people and their sense of regional identity.

Ural art of the 1920s and 1930s abounded with representations of the Soviet myth. The authors analyze artistic representations of the Soviet Urals shown at regional art exhibitions of this period. The conclusion is drawn that the image of the Soviet Urals came to play a major role in the development of painting in the following periods.

Key words: Soviet myth; regional myth; Ural art of the 1920s-1930s; art exhibitions; artistic representation

Olga Ryzhkova

Russian State Professional Pedagogical University
Nizhny Tagil, Russia
E-mail: olimp_a49@mail.ru

Visual Representations of ‘Sovietness’ in ‘Murzilka’ in the 1920s and 1930s. 98

Magazines for children played an important role in the ‘sovietization’ of school children’s consciousness in the USSR. The article analyzes the structure, content and dynamics of visual representations of ‘Sovietness’ in magazine ‘Murzilka’.

Key words: ‘Murzilka’; magazine for children; visual images; ‘Sovietness’; indoctrination; 1920–1930s.

Igor Sibiryakov

South Ural State University
Chelyabinsk, Russia
E-mail: sibirjkovig@mail.ru

Popular Soviet Songs of the 1920s as an Instrument for Constructing the New Soviet Reality 104

The article examines various aspects of popular Soviet songs of the 1920s. This historical phenomenon appeared due to a number of complex factors, but

the crucial role in this process was played by the Soviet cultural policy. Popular songs were used as means of legitimation of the new social and political reality. The analysis of the most famous Soviet songs of this period leads the author to the conclusion that the crisis that the Soviet popular song experienced in the late 1920s was inevitable.

Key words: popular songs; musical images; Soviet music; 1920s

Nonna Tarkhova

Independent researcher

Moscow, Russia

E-mail: nstarkhova@mail.ru

Magazine ‘Krasnoarmeets’ in the 1920s:

Visual Representations of the Red Army 113

The article discusses visual representations of the Red Army soldier in covers and illustrations of magazine ‘Krasnoarmeets’ in the 1920s, which leads the author to conclusions about the mutual influence of art and the military sphere in Soviet society.

Key words: historical sources; visual representation; Red Army; magazine ‘Krasnoarmeets’; 1920s

Andrey Trofimov

Ural State University of Economics

Ekaterinburg, Russia

E-mail: 2519612@rambler.ru

Soviet Mythologemes in Magazine ‘Krokodil’ in the 1920s and 1930s ... 123

The article discusses Soviet mythological constructs transmitted by magazine ‘Krokodil’ in the 1920s and 1930s. The author addresses the Soviet mythologemes in this magazine by focusing on the following three dimensions: conceptual, imperative, and personal.

Conceptually, the magazine juxtaposed ‘the domain of light’ and ‘the domain of darkness’: the former was associated with socialism, the Communist Party, the five-year plan, and so on, while the latter was represented by such concepts as ‘capital’, ‘class enemies’, ‘White Guard’, and ‘NEPmen’. The texts of the magazine also conveyed the imperative to ‘destroy the old world’, ‘give up religion’, ‘reject art’, ‘transform the world of the capital’, ‘condemn the enemies of the people’, and ‘stop hooligans’. The magazine also presented a number of mythologized figures such as ‘big people’, ‘strangers’, ‘cultured people’, ‘active people’, and ‘ordinary people’.

Key words: Soviet mythologemes; ‘Krokodil’; 1920s-1930s

Part 3

SOVIET MYTHOLOGY: SOURCES AND TRANSFORMATIONS

Jakub Sadowski

Jagiellonian University

Krakow, Poland

E-mail: jakub.sadowski@uj.edu.pl

Condensation of Political Mythology.**Mythologeme in Totalitarian Texts 132**

The article analyzes the process of transformation of non-totalitarian signs and texts into their totalitarian equivalents, as well as the role of the mythologeme as a concept that condenses mythological content in linguistic and textual units. The article relies on the material provided by the classical texts of the Stalinist era, in particular the so-called 'Stalin's Constitution of 1936', the 'History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks). Short Course' and Grigory Alexandrov's musical comedy 'Tanya' (or 'The Bright Path'). These texts are compared with those of the pre-totalitarian period, for instance, the Constitution of Soviet Russia of 1918, Mikhail Pokrovsky's historical works, and Alexandrov's 'Jolly Fellows' (or 'Moscow Laughs').

Key words: text; sign; transformation; mythologeme; totalitarian language; totalitarian culture

Tatyana Pantyukhina

Kurgan State University

Kurgan, Russia

E-mail: prokopiewa.m@yandex.ru

Political Mythmaking in the Soviet Union 147

The twentieth century saw the increasing influence of myth on public consciousness and, therefore, the growing interest in myth as a widespread cultural phenomenon and a cognitive mechanism. Ideological myths created images of alternative social reality.

Key words: mythmaking; mythological consciousness; political consciousness; political mythmaking

Oleg Gorbachev

Ural Federal University

Ekaterinburg, Russia

E-mail: og_06@mail.ru

Concept of Soviet Space: from Reality to Myth³ 151

³ This research is supported by the grant of the Russian Science Foundation (project № 16-18-10106 'Early Soviet Society as a Social Project: Concepts, Mechanisms of Realization, and Results').

The article aims at exploring how the representations of the Soviet space were formed in the 1920s and how they were replaced in the 1930s by the Stalinist spatial mythology. The notion of social space helps us to connect spatial representations and social processes that occurred in that period.

It is demonstrated that in the course of the 1920s the spatial representations were successively affected first by the idea of the world revolution and later by national policies and economic zoning projects. It is also shown how industrialization policies engendered administrative utopia of mastering the space. The difference between this administrative utopia and Stalinist spatial mythology is highlighted.

The main features of Soviet spatial mythology in the mid-1930s are described. The symbolic role of maps is emphasized, because maps conveyed not merely visual but verbal information and appealed to temporal rather than spatial imagination.

Key words: social space; territory of the USSR; political development of the USSR in the 1920s-1930s; spatial mythology; boundary; mapping

Tatyana Solovieva

Ural Federal University

Ekaterinburg, Russia

E-mail: solovyeva-tv@e1.ru

The Myth of the GOELRO Plan⁴ 164

The article discusses the most significant cases of misrepresentation of information about the creation and implementation of the GOELRO Plan. The myth of the GOELRO Plan was started in the 1920s and 1930s as an ideological instrument. This myth has been alive ever since. At the core of this myth lies the conviction that the Plan was a successful economic project that relied on the unified effort of the government and the people.

Key words: GOELRO Plan; electrification of Russia; social mythology

Olga Nikonova

South Ural State University

Chelyabinsk, Russia

E-mail: olga-nikonova@yandex.ru

**A Magic Adventure in Taiga or Gender-Related Characteristics
of the Heroic Myth about the Inter-War USSR176**

Conceptualization of women's history in the context of early Stalin's society is an essential step towards creating a complex interpretation model of this society. In terms of ideology, Bolshevism as a project of modernity was

⁴ This research is supported by the grant of the Russian Science Foundation (project № 16-18-10106 'Early Soviet Society as a Social Project: Concepts, Mechanisms of Realization, and Results').

aimed at creating a society of ‘new people’, in which everybody would be equal, regardless of gender. The policy of women’s emancipation in the Stalinist regime was accompanied by active mythmaking. Women-centered mythology was intertwined with the patriotic discourse and was secondary in relation to the established socialist realistic canon of the masculine pattern, analyzed by H. Gunter. The images of the heroes personifying the sons of the Great Soviet family were ‘adjusted’ for the female audience through the images of women pilots M. Raskova, P. Osipenko and V. Grizodubova. The article investigates the technology of this ‘adjustment’ and the construction of the ideal types of women within the mythological socialist realistic canon by dwelling on the case of the heroic non-stop flight of the ‘Rodina’ crew in 1938 and the media coverage it received.

Key words: Stalinism; gender history; mythmaking; women pilots; ‘Stalin’s Falcons’

Part 4

INSTITUTIONS, LAW, AND POLITICS:

UTOPIAS OF PEOPLE’S POWER AND REALITY OF STATE-BUILDING

Vadim Rynkov

History Institute, Siberian Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences

Novosibirsk, Russia

E-mail: vadsvet@list.ru

Soviet Social Policy in Siberia at the End

of the Civil War (1919-1922)⁵ 185

The article investigates the Soviet social policy implemented in Siberia between 1919 and 1922 and shows that this policy to a great extent was a part of the general national policy, although it did have certain peculiarities. On the one hand, it was necessary to ensure the successful integration of Siberian region into the Soviet space, which required extreme measures, such as labour mobilization and property confiscations, to accelerate the transformations. On the other hand, the government had to be careful and flexible not to lose the social support base. Due to the lack of resources, the government was unable to provide for the whole population and instead chose to focus on specific social groups – workers and families of Red Army soldiers. Thus, social discrimination of the opponents of the Soviet regime, who were not entitled to social benefits, was used to weaken them and thus to reduce their protest potential.

Key words: social policy; Civil War; Sibrevkom; support base; discrimination

⁵ This research is supported by the grant of the Russian Foundation for Basic Research (project № 18-09-00580).

Vladimir Sapon

Nizhny Novgorod State Pedagogical University n.a. Kuzma Minin
Nizhny Novgorod, Russia
E-mail: vladimail2008@mail.ru

**Formation of the Regional Soviet Elite in 1918–1921:
‘New Party Layers’ Against ‘Those Who Stayed Too Long
in the Office’ (the Case of Nizhny Novgorod Province) 193**

The article investigates the complex process of development of the new Soviet elite in Nizhny Novgorod province between 1918 and 1921. The author questions the view that the opposing sides of the elite were the ‘innovators’ (or those appointed by the centre) against the ‘conservatives’ (representatives of the local community) and shows that in reality, both of these groups relied on the support of the same social forces. During the Civil War, the optimal strategy for the Bolsheviks was to concentrate power in the hands of one party rather than follow the democratic traditions, which explains the choices made by the representatives of the Party’s Central Committee in Nizhny Novgorod province.

Key words: Nizhny Novgorod province; 1920s; provincial administration; regional Soviet elite

Sergey Vorobiev

Institute of History and Archeology, Ural Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences

Ekaterinburg, Russia
E-mail: svorob.hist@gmail.com

**Nikolay Ufimtsev and Ekaterinburg Provincial Committee
of the Bolshevik Party: Conflict with the Center and its Consequences . . . 204**

The paper discusses the conflict in 1922 between the new leadership of Uralburo of the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party and the Party’s Ekaterinburg Provincial Committee. The author analyzes the causes of the conflict and shows that this confrontation forced the Bolshevik leaders in the centre to intervene in this ‘squabble’, taking the side of Uralburo. Following the arrival of the Party Secretary Vyacheslav Molotov in Ekaterinburg, the conflict was resolved, leading to Ufimtsev’s resignation.

Key words: Ekaterinburg Provincial Committee; Uralburo; Central Committee of the Bolshevik party; Nikolay Ufimtsev, Vyacheslav Molotov

Valery Bondar

Ural Federal University

Ekaterinburg, Russia

E-mail: bondar1213@yandex.ru

Local Bolshevik Party Committees and their Role in the Early Soviet Social Project⁶ 216

At the early stage of the Soviet project, local Bolshevik Party organizations made a compromise between ideological considerations and governmental necessities to a greater extent than the superior governmental agencies. On the one hand, these local bodies sought to consolidate as much power as possible; on the other hand, they hardly had the resources to do so.

After the unsuccessful attempt to put Marxist ideas into practice immediately and directly, Party organizations gradually evolved into a part of the state apparatus. This process ran both on the national and local levels. On the local level, particularly in rural areas, Party committees often tended to focus so much on controlling and supervising the activities of Soviet and economic bodies that these functions of control and supervision sometimes totally replaced the functions the committees had originally been intended to perform.

At the first stage, when the organization of local committees was not considered a priority task by the centre, they could remain both fighting organizations of the pre-October period and copy the structure of superior agencies by using the available human and other resources. At the next stage, the structure of local organizations became simpler and the centre strengthened its control over the local committees.

Key words: Bolshevik Party; early Soviet society; social engineering; Party Committee; state apparatus; control

Alexandr Sysov

South Ural State University

Chelyabinsk, Russia

E-mail: Sysov_1975@mail.ru

Modernization in the South Urals in the 1920s and 1930s: Soviet and Communist Party Bodies. 223

Building the new Soviet society required accelerated modernization in the 1920s and 1930s. The success of Soviet modernization depended on the efficiency of the state apparatus, which underwent significant centralization and unification. Unfortunately, the actual outcomes of the reforms turned out to be radically different from the original plan. Why this happened is the question that this article seeks to address by focusing on the case of South Urals.

Key words: modernization; industrialization; collectivization; totalitarian regime; South Urals; Communist Party and state elite

⁶ This research is supported by the grant of the Russian Science Foundation (project № 16-18-10106 ‘Early Soviet Society as a Social Project: Concepts, Mechanisms of Realization, and Results’).

Yury Belonogov

Perm National Research Polytechnic University

Perm, Russia

E-mail: ugb78@mail.ru**Evolution of the Soviet Labour Law in the Pre-War Period 233**

The article discusses the evolution of the Soviet labour law in the industrialization period within the framework of Luckmann and Berger's theory of the social construction of reality. The author shows that the state policy aimed at enhancing work discipline contradicted workers' ideas of labour and just remuneration; analyzes the reasons for the shift towards the criminalization of absenteeism; and identifies the factors that resulted in the institutionalized stricter labour policy. The conclusion is drawn that this policy was the government's reaction to the changing behavior of workers. As a result, the legitimacy of this policy was low in the pre-war period.

Key words: work discipline; staff turnover; criminalization of absenteeism

Tatyana Arkhipova

Russian State University for the Humanities

Moscow, Russia

E-mail: archipova-iai@yandex.ru**RSFSR in the Second Half of the 1930s: Institutional Aspect 240**

The article examines the place of the state apparatus of the RSFSR within the framework of the union state; the organization and activities of all its constituent bodies in the post-constitutional years; their relationship with the allied bodies on the eve of the Great Patriotic War; reorganization of government bodies; and the development of the administrative and command system.

Key words: Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic; USSR Constitution of 1936; RSFSR Constitution of 1937; Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR; Council of People's Commissars of the RSFSR; Soviets; administrative and command control system, persecutions.

Alexandr Khlevov

Crimean Federal University n.a. V.I.Vernadsky

Simferopol, Russia

E-mail: hlevov@mail.ru**The 'Future War' as a Soviet Military Strategy Project of the 1920-30s 249**

From the very beginning, Soviet Russia (and later the Soviet Union) faced the need to build its military strategy and tactics in anticipation of the almost inevitable military confrontation with the capitalist world. Due to the fact that the

country had to face World War I on the Eastern Front and the Civil War, it had to develop its own original strategic and tactical solutions within the framework of the Soviet military tradition, which explains the significant differences in the interwar development of the Soviet military thought from its Western counterparts. The ideas of V.K.Triandafillov are particularly interesting in this respect as they were considerably ahead of their time. An important contribution in the sphere of aviation strategy was also made by A. N. Lapchinsky, V. M. Lozovoy-Shevchenko and others. The article demonstrates the advanced character of the Soviet military strategy project in comparison with the achievements of Western strategists. This comparative analysis can lead us to some interesting conclusions, especially if we compare the interwar differences in military thought with the post-war situation on both sides of the 'Iron Curtain'.

Key words: Soviet military strategy; interwar period; World War II; military science; armed forces; tactics

Part 5

SOVIET ECONOMY: RATIONALIZATION OF UTOPIA

Alexey Kilin

Ural Federal University

Ekaterinburg, Russia

E-mail: Alexey.Kilin@urfu.ru

Commodity-Money Relations in Early Soviet Society:

Rejection – Acceptance – Modification⁷ 259

The article discusses the theoretical and practical aspects of the transformation of commodity-money relations in early Soviet society. These relations stemmed from the social division of labour, diverse forms of ownership, and international trade. It was the ratio of planned economy to market economy that determined their development in the Soviet state. During the 'War Communism' period, the Bolshevik leaders rejected the significance of commodity-money relations in Soviet society, but in the NEP years, these relations were declared 'socialist' and were used to stimulate production. Autarky and central planning resulted in commodity-market relations keeping their form but changing their content as they started to play an auxiliary role in the system of accounting and distribution and 'materialized' only in the shadow sector and in foreign economic relations.

Key words: history; economy; socialism; capitalism; market; plan; commodity-money relations; early Soviet society

⁷ This research is supported by the grant of the Russian Science Foundation (project № 16-18-10106 'Early Soviet Society as a Social Project: Concepts, Mechanisms of Realization, and Results').

Elena Bespyatova

MIREA – Russian Technological University
 Moscow, Russia
 E-mail: elena_besp@list.ru

Institutionalization of Socio-Economic Relations in the NEP Period . . . 271

The article deals with theoretical and practical issues related to the institutionalization of socio-economic relations during the NEP period. It was found that the emerging institutional system was able to ensure the adjustment of the economic policy within the framework of mixed economy. As a result, a special model of socio-economic and political development was created.

Key words: institutionalization; NEP; mixed economy; socialism

Olga Semerikova

Ural Federal University
 Ekaterinburg, Russia
 E-mail: olgasemerikova8@yandex.ru

**Soviet Agricultural Communes as an Element of Future Society:
 Mechanisms of Creation and Operation⁸ 282**

The article focuses on the Soviet project of creating agricultural communes in rural areas between 1917 and the early 1920s. The introduction of the concept of commune to the life of rural communities allowed the government to significantly increase peasants' involvement into communal practices. In reality, however, this process did not always go according to the theory and the plan, which affected the legislative activities of the state and led to spreading of the mythologized concepts of commune among the population. Such mythologization, in its turn, influenced the creation of new and the operation of old (traditional) mechanisms of internal regulation in rural communities.

Key words: agricultural commune; Communist project; early Soviet period

Vladimir Ilyinykh

History Institute, Siberian Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences
 Novosibirsk, Russia
 E-mail: agro_iwa@mail.ru

**Agricultural Projects of the 1920s:
 A Viable Alternative or 'Gradovschina'? 295**

The article analyzes the two projects of Siberian agricultural development: The Strategic Plan for Agricultural Development in Siberian Region of 1926

⁸ This research is supported by the grant of the Russian Science Foundation (project № 16-18-10106 'Early Soviet Society as a Social Project: Concepts, Mechanisms of Realization, and Results').

and The General Plan of the National Economic Development of 1930. It is shown that both of these plans contained a number of unrealistic and far-fetched assumptions. The article also describes the archetypes of the Soviet long-term planning practices.

Key words: Soviet project; long-term planning; rural economy; agricultural projects; A.V. Chayanov; A. Platonov

Mikhail Feldman

Ural Institute of Management
Ekaterinburg, Russia
E-mail: feldman-mih@yandex.ru

Between Genplan and the First Five-Year Plan: Promotion of the Soviet Industrial Project in Mythological Space..... 304

The article discusses the evolution of approaches applied by economists and the Soviet government to the country's modernization between 1927 and 1932. The article analyzes materials of the five Gosplan congresses and the three plenums of the Central Committee in 1928; 'The General Plan for the Economic Development of the Urals in the Period Between 1927 and 1941 and Prospects of the First Five-Year Period (Materials for the General Plan of the RSFSR and USSR)'.

The debate at the 1928 plenums can be interpreted as a clash between the two key vectors of Soviet history: the modernization industrial project and the utopian vision of 'socialist building'. The 1928 plenums and Gosplan congresses demonstrated that there was a viable alternative to the 'leftist line'. This alternative relied on applying the NEP principles to industrialize the country and to transform peasant economy and the economy of private business. Despite the internal censorship and patron-client relationships, the participants were able to openly express their views, which showed that some of them were able to change their position regarding socio-economic development and that they considered alternatives that did not require the use of force and coercion by the state.

Drawing from the available statistical data, the author makes a conclusion that if the opportunities for the development of cooperation, the taxation system, internal and external credit, cost-cutting and the improved pricing policy had been used effectively, such scenario would have allowed the country to avoid the Stalinist version of socio-economic development.

The results of the first five-year plan were studied and discussed by members of the academia, Gosplan, government and Party officials. These discussions resulted in the introduction of the 'neo-NEP' elements in 1932, which, to a certain extent, were an attempt to mitigate the downsides of 'socialist building'.

Key words: five-year plan; NEP; socialist economy; Plenum of the Central Committee; Gosplan

Irina Shilnikova

Higher School of Economics

Moscow, Russia

E-mail: shilnikova.i@gmail.com

**‘Give us the Money or We’ll Refuse to Work’:
the Use of Financial Incentives at Soviet Industrial
Enterprises During the First Five Year Plans⁹.....317**

The transition to the policy of forced industrialization in the late 1920s led the Soviet leaders to set the task of maximizing labour efficiency. Wage differentiation, which was the basis of the tariff reform of the early 1930s, was supposed to reduce the staff turnover, attract workers to the priority sectors of economy, increase labour productivity, and reduce the defect rate. However, the success of these measures was impeded by such violations as late payments and frequent payroll deductions, which happened unbeknownst to workers. Moreover, workers complained about being cheated out of their wages. These ‘abnormalities’ during the first five-year plans were quite widespread and were a constant source of dissatisfaction among workers, often resulting in an open conflict.

The author analyzes archival sources to identify the causes and consequences of the above-mentioned violations in the sphere of labor remuneration and to evaluate the efficiency of the government’s attempts to address these problems.

Key words: forced industrialization; five-year plans; labor incentives; wages; trade unions; labor conflicts

Nikita Melnikov

Institute of History and Archeology, Ural Branch of the Russian Academy
of Sciences

Ekaterinburg, Russia

E-mail: meln2011kit@gmail.com

**Illusory Success of Industrialization: The Key Problems of Creation
and Development of Soviet Tank Production in 1929-1945¹⁰ 325**

In the late 1920s and early 1930s, the Soviet government bought British and American tanks and tank engines to modernize the Red Army with new models of armored vehicles. Soviet factories launched mass production of tanks. The limited industrial and human potential, however, prevented the USSR to successfully implement the program of tank production until the end of World War II. Even though the production rates grew steadily, the quality of tanks and engines left much to be desired. Thus, the success of ‘Stalin’s’ industrialization was illusory.

Key words: economy; war; tank building; mass production; tanks; engines

⁹ This research is supported by the grant of the Russian Foundation for Basic Research (project № 17-06-00702 ‘Mechanisms for Settling Labour Disputes in Soviet Industry: from NEP to Industrialization’).

¹⁰ This research is supported by the grant of the Russian Foundation for Basic Research (project № 16-01-00308 ‘Mechanisms for Settling Labour Disputes in Soviet Industry: from NEP to Industrialization’).

Part 6

CITY AS AN OBJECT AND SPACE OF SOCIAL ENGINEERING

Elena Barysheva

Russian State University for the Humanities
Moscow, Russia
E-mail: barysheva.ev@gmail.com

Soviet Architectural Projects: Utopia vs. Reality 335

New mechanisms of agitation and propaganda affected the organization of urban space in the Soviet state. In the 1920s – 1930s, the idea of modernizing and reconstructing cities in accordance with the current ideological tasks became very popular. Plans for socialist construction involved developing complex spatial layouts that were supposed to reflect ‘proletarian ideology’ and to be a ‘powerful weapon of class struggle’.

One of the characteristic features of architecture of the 1920s – 1930s was gigantomania, both in terms of buildings and architectural space. The article discusses the projects of monumental propaganda (Tatlin Tower, the Palace of Soviets), which were designed as ideological centers of urban space.

Key words: Soviet architecture; architectural projects; symbolism; ideology; Tatlin Tower; Palace of Soviets; Palace of Labor

Demyan Valuev

Smolensk State University
Smolensk, Russia
E-mail: valuev.demyan@mail.ru

History of the ‘House-Commune’ in Smolensk ¹¹. 343

The idea of collectivization of everyday life was popular among the Soviet elite in the 1920s and 1930s, which led to the creation of such an unusual building as the ‘House-Commune’ in Smolensk. Designed by O.A.Vutke, it was constructed in 1930-1932, thus becoming the first high-rise building in the city. On numerous occasions, the construction process was hindered by the lack of qualified workforce, the shortage of building materials and equipment. Soon after the residents moved in, they started having problems with water supply, canalization, and heating. In the late 1930s, the local authorities and members of the local creative community criticized the house as a manifestation of ‘leftist deviations’ in architecture. After the war, the house underwent renovation and people moved in again. Since the late 1970s, when the house was deemed unfit for

¹¹ This research is supported by the grant of the Russian Foundation for Basic Research (project № 17-11-67002-OIG ‘Spiritual Life of Provincial Soviet Citizens: Horizons and Direction’).

human occupancy, this unique monument of Constructivism has been abandoned and its condition has been slowly deteriorating.

Key words: Smolensk; House-Commune; Constructivism; socialization of everyday life; worker housing building cooperative

Konstantin Bugrov

Ural Federal University; Institute of History and Archeology, Ural Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences

Ekaterinburg, Russia

E-mail: k.d.bugrov@gmail.com

Krasnouralsk: Forgotten ‘Socialist City’ of the First Five Year Plan¹² 353

The paper deals with the history of Krasnouralsk – the city which was founded and built in the first five year plan as the construction site of a powerful copper factory. Despite the fact that ‘socialist city’ Krasnouralsk was built in the fashionable Constructivist style, and despite the fact that the copper factory was considered to be an ‘industrial giant’, the architectural heritage of Krasnouralsk has so far remained largely unstudied by specialists of Soviet avant-garde architecture. This paper is thus aimed at bridging this gap and providing a general description of Krasnouralsk’s urban and architectural heritage. We consider the most important Constructivist buildings that determined the image of Krasnouralsk in the 1930s – residential and communal buildings (the city council, bathhouse, house of engineers, technical school, club) and industrial (factory, mines). We also consider the time of their construction and the strategies of visual representation of Krasnouralsk’s architecture.

Key words: Krasnouralsk; Constructivism; avant-garde; urbanism; city planning, industry

Laurent Pugnot Lambert

CRHS, University Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne

Paris, France

E-mail: laurentpugnotlambert@yahoo.fr

Everyday life in the Sotsgorod of Uralmash: An Attempt to Address the Housing Question during the First Five-Year Plan (1928-1933) 365

The ‘socialist city’ was a type of settlement conceived as a planned town that was supposed to provide communal facilities and services to its inhabitants and to radically transform their way of life. This article discusses the nature and results of this project by focusing on the everyday life of Uralmash *sotsgorod*, built from 1928 to 1933 near Sverdlovsk. The launch of the first five-year plan led to the abandon-

¹² This research is supported by the grant of the Russian Science Foundation (project № 16-18-10106 ‘Early Soviet Society as a Social Project: Concepts, Mechanisms of Realization, and Results’).

ment of the original city's layout design, which resulted in a chaos: a severe housing crisis broke out and the workers' sheds were overcrowded. The article shows how domestic space became a battleground between the 'old' and 'new' ways of life in the period between 1928 and 1933.

Key words: everyday life; housing; socialist city; Uralmash; first five-year plan.

Part 7

THE 'NEW PERSON' AND 'RELICS OF THE PAST':
ASSERTION OF THE SOVIET IDENTITY

Olga Porshneva

Ural Federal University

Ekaterinburg, Russia

E-mail: porshneva@yandex.ru

Consciousness and Behaviour of People in Early Soviet Society:

Factors, Stages, and Trends¹³ 372

The article describes the main stages and trends in the transformation of the consciousness and behavior of people in the early Soviet era. The preconditions, factors, and results of this process, which had its own nature and logic, are shown. The achievements and limits of the social engineering project aimed at creating the 'New Man' are described.

Key words: Early Soviet society; social engineering; 'New Man'; consciousness, behaviour

Leonid Borodkin

Moscow State University n.a. M.V.Lomonosov

Moscow, Russia

E-mail: lborodkin@mail.ru

Mechanisms of 'Reforging' and Incentivizing in the Early GULAG 383

The article focuses on '*perekovka*' or 'reforging' of prisoners during the early years of the Soviet penal system, which involved state-organized forced labour of millions of people during the first five-year plans. The author discusses the evolution of the GULAG system and discusses the questions whether this system could have functioned without the introduction of incentives (moral and material) to stimulate prisoners' performance and how effective these incentives were.

Key words: 'reforging'; 'labour education'; forced labour; GULAG; incentives; White Sea-Baltic Canal

¹³ This research is supported by the grant of the Russian Science Foundation (project № 16-18-10106 'Early Soviet Society as a Social Project: Concepts, Mechanisms of Realization, and Results').

Marina Perova

Kurgan State University

Kurgan, Russia

E-mail: perova_marina91@mail.ru

‘A Pioneer is an Example for All Kids’: The Pioneer Organization as a Mechanism for Creating the ‘New Soviet Person’ 392

The article discusses the development of the pioneer organization in the 1920s-1930s and the attitude of pioneers, adults and the Soviet authorities towards it. The author shows that the reality did not always correspond to the ideal, in particular because the government regulations often conflicted with children’s wishes and feelings and children are usually more difficult to control than adults. Nevertheless, the pioneer organization played a significant role in the creation of the ‘New Soviet Person’ and formation of the Soviet system. The text examines the influence of membership in this organization on children’s value systems, the degree of pioneers’ involvement in social and political life and their dependence on pioneer counselors and teachers.

Key words: pioneer; Soviet school; Soviet childhood

Andrey Baranov

Kuban State University

Krasnodar, Russia

E-mail: baranovandrew@mail.ru

Public Opinion about Socialist Building among the Southern Russian Peasantry in the 1920s. 401

The article shows the correlation of endogenous and exogenous factors in shaping the public opinion about socialist building among the southern Russian peasantry in the 1920s. Such factors include developed agriculture, greater affluence of the population; the ethno-social split between the Cossacks and the ‘*inogorodnie*’ (non-native) peasants; conflicts over land and taxes; and the Civil War. The Cossacks perceived the Soviet regime as hostile and imposed upon them while the ‘*inogorodnie*’, on the contrary, welcomed the Soviet project as a salvation from the dominance of the Cossacks. The ideological campaigns of the 1920s had little influence on the public opinion in the south of Russia and aggravated tension rather than relieved it.

Key words: public opinion; peasantry; building of socialism; southern Russia; 1920s

Nadezhda Makarova

Magnitogorsk State Technical University n.a. G.I.Nosov

Magnitogorsk, Russia

E-mail: makarovanadia@mail.ru

The ‘New Man’ in Magnitogorsk:**Everyday Life and Formation of the Soviet Identity 408**

The article analyzes the concept of the ‘New Man’, widely used in Soviet discourse, and realization of this idea in Magnitogorsk, a ‘new’ Soviet city. The ‘New Man’ in Magnitogorsk, however, was no more than a myth invented by Soviet propaganda. While in theory labour was expected to play the central role in the life of the Soviet ‘New Man’, in reality workplace discipline on Magnitogorsk construction sites was weak and workers often lacked professionalism.

Key words: history; USSR; industrialization; Magnitogorsk, ‘New Man’

Maxim Kail

Smolensk State University

Smolensk, Russia

E-mail: mvkail@mail.ru

Biographies of Orthodox Believers in the Context**of the Soviet Project¹⁴ 419**

The article analyzes biographies of Orthodox believers, more specifically, those of the high-ranking clergy, in the context of Soviet social history and the Soviet social engineering project. The biographical approach to modern history of Orthodoxy in Russia allows us to gain a more in-depth understanding of the Soviet past, in particular the relationship between the state and the Church.

Key words: Orthodoxy; biography; confessional practices; (self)representations; personal history

Galina Bykovskaya, Vladimir Chernykh

Voronezh State University of Engineering Technologies

Voronezh, Russia

E-mail: istoria_vrn@mail.ru

State-Church Relationship in 1917-1937:**Soviet Project or Attempt to Survive? 427**

This article discusses the relationship between the Russian Orthodox Church and the Soviet state in the twentieth century. The anti-religion campaign was seen by the Bolshevik government as a priority and involved property nationalization; persecutions of the Patriarch, hierarchs, and the laity, and an attempt to deliberately

¹⁴ The research is supported by the grant of the Russian Foundation for Basic Research (project № 18-09-00618A).

provoke internal division within the Church by supporting various revisionist groups. Between 1917 and 1937, a new system of relations between the atheist authorities and the Church evolved. In this regard, it is particularly interesting to look at the role that Metropolitan Sergius (Stragorodsky) played in shaping the Church policy in these new social and political conditions.

Key words: state-church relationship; twentieth century; Soviet church policy; Russian Orthodox Church

Part 8
SCIENCE AND EDUCATION:
THE BATTLE FOR THE NEW INTELLIGENTSIA

Lidia Baranova

Ural Federal University
Ekaterinburg, Russia
E-mail: balida48@mail.ru

‘We will Build our New World’: Promotion of the Socialist Way of Life among Ural Students in the 1920s 433

The author argues that it was the second programme of the Bolshevik Party that determined the key characteristics of the Soviet identity and its formation. The second programme was adopted in the Civil War period but these ideas were later elaborated by the Party leaders during the NEP period and took their final shape in the 1930s. To implement their plans, the Bolsheviks needed specially trained people, that is, the Soviet intellectuals, which is why in the early 1920s the Party established full control over learning and instruction in Soviet universities.

Key words: socialist building; socialist way of life; communist upbringing; proletarianization; students; atheism; new morality; ideology; Vladimir Lenin; Nadezhda Krupskaya; Anatoly Lunacharsky; Nikolay Bukharin; Joseph Stalin

Evgenia Dolgova

Russian State University for the Humanities
Moscow, Russia
E-mail: Dolgova-evg@rambler.ru

The Institute of Red Professors (1921–1938) as an Investment Project 442

The article focuses on educational institutions created after the 1917 Revolution to train ‘new’ teaching and research staff in the field of socio-economic studies. The author investigates the history of the Institute of Red Professors, which was one of the state projects in the sphere of science and elite education. The aim of the article is to evaluate the performance of the Institute as a research and education

centre by analyzing the data on the government funds allocated to this organization, state loans, salaries of the academic staff, student scholarships, and so on. Thus, the author draws conclusions about the efficiency of state regulation and state projects in the 1920s and 1930s.

Key words: Institute of Red Professors; state funding; education; research; state regulation.

Elena Sinelnikova

Saint Petersburg Branch of S.I. Vavilov Institute for the History of Science and Technology, Russian Academy of Sciences
St.Petersburg, Russia
E-mail: sinelnikova-elena@yandex.ru

Constructing Soviet Science: Scientific

Societies in the 1920s..... 454

Scientific societies were crucial for pre-revolutionary Russian science along with the Academy of Sciences, universities, and laboratories. The Bolshevik leaders, who came to power after the Revolution, were adherents of scientism, that is, they believed in the dominant role of science and technology in socialist building. The new Soviet science was supposed to rely on collectivism and Marxist methodology. Research institutes were to become the basic units in the organization of science.

The article focuses on the way scientific societies were treated by the Soviet regime and how these societies interacted with the authorities and other institutions. In the 1920s, the new government set about ‘constructing’ Soviet science: this process involved reorganization of all the elements of pre-revolutionary science, including scientific societies. In general, the Bolsheviks’ attitude to scientific societies in 1917-1932 can be described as contradictory: on the one hand, the authorities sought to retain the academic staff and the country’s scientific potential; on the other, they wanted to establish full control over scientific societies and transform them into mass organizations. As a result, by the late 1920s, scientific societies had all but lost their independence and ceased to play an important role in the academic community.

Key words: scientific societies; science; Soviet regime; public organizations; 1920s, Soviet Russia; social history of Russia

Isabella Ogonovskaya

Ural Federal University
Ekaterinburg, Russia
E-mail: izabella-irro@mail.ru

Russian History in Soviet Schools as an Instrument

for Upbringing of the ‘New Soviet Man’..... 463

The article deals with the problem of school history education in the USSR in the 1920s and 1930s and analyzes the school curricula and text books of that period.

In the 1920s, Russian history in Soviet schools was taught as a part of social studies but since 1934, it became a separate discipline. The conclusion is made that the course of Russian history was seen as an essential element of Soviet education and as an important instrument for conveying Soviet ideals and norms to younger generations.

Key words: Soviet history; Russian history; USSR; history books; school; history education; education

Anton Mokhov

Ural Federal University
Ekaterinburg, Russia
E-mail: rkb2004@mail.ru

**Changing Trends in Soviet Historiography of the 1930s,
or the Article that was Never Published 478**

The ideological transformation of the 1930s led to the re-evaluation of the significance of certain events in Russian and world history, in particular the period of Kievan Rus and its Christianization. In the State Archive of Sverdlovsk Region, there is an unpublished manuscript of historian Mikhail Syuzumov entitled 'The Byzantine State and Byzantine Culture in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries'. Syuzumov sent it to *'Istorichesky Zhurnal'* ('Historical Journal') but the journal rejected the paper on the grounds that it exceeded significantly the word limit. Therefore, the author was recommended to prepare another publication entitled 'Byzantium and Kievan Rus Between the Ninth and Eleventh Centuries'. Mikhail Syuzumov was also advised to emphasize the progressive role of the Christianization of Rus and in his interpretation of this period follow the general approach outlined in the 'Brief History of the USSR' (edited by Andrey Shestakov). The available archival documents do not provide us with the information as to whether Mikhail Syuzumov agreed with these recommendations or not. His original paper remained unpublished. A small fragment of 'The Byzantine State', dealing with one of the aspects of Russian-Byzantine relations in the ninth and tenth centuries, was published in journal *'Vestnik Drevney Istorii'* ('Journal of Ancient History') in 1940.

Key words: Soviet history; 1930s; historiography; source studies; Mikhail Syuzumov; history of Byzantium.

Karina Kapsalykova

Ural Federal University
Ekaterinburg, Russia
E-mail: carinne.kapsalikova@gmail.com

**Soviet Guidelines for Cultural Heritage Protection
and Archeological Excavations of the 1920s and 1930s:
New Archeology, Old Rules 487**

In the 1920s and 1930s, Soviet cultural heritage laws changed significantly. The Decree of the Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's

Commissars of 7 January 1924 delegated the responsibility to ensure the protection of architectural monuments to local executive committees. Following that, guidelines for registering and protecting cultural monuments and programs for collection of archaeological data started to be published all across the country.

This article analyzes the archeological guidelines and programs published in this period in different regions of the USSR. The author believes that the key provisions of these documents were adopted from V.A.Gorogtsov's 'Guidelines for Archeological Excavations' (1914) and the guidelines for archeological exploration written by A.A.Spitsyn (1908). The Soviet documents were intended for the general public: museum workers, teachers, geological field parties, tourists, and hunters. Interestingly enough, these guidelines did not mention the role of local history societies and organizations in collection of archeological data and protection of cultural heritage.

Key words: history of archeology; cultural heritage; historiography; source studies; archeological guidelines

Part 9

'BROTHERHOOD OF NATIONS': NATIONAL ASPECTS OF SOVIET BUILDING

Ivan Anfertiev

Russian State University for the Humanities

Moscow, Russia

E-mail: ivananf52@gmail.com

Integration of Ethnic Territorial Units into the RSFSR and USSR in the 1920s and 1930s 496

In the 1920s and 1930s, national and territorial transformations of the country were among the main concerns of the Soviet government, which was trying to deal with the consequences of the post-revolutionary period, when a number of Russian *guberniyas*, enclaves and borderland areas sought independence. Eventually, Finland, Poland, and three Baltic *guberniyas* declared their sovereignty.

This article discusses the views of the Bolshevik leaders on settling inter-ethnic conflicts and disputes over national boundaries. The author also describes the methods the Bolshevik government used to overcome separatist sentiments in the country and the steps they took to reclaim the territories that had belonged to pre-revolutionary Russia. By analyzing documents of the Party's Central Committee, it was found that the Bolshevik leaders did not have a clear action plan and that the debates about what was to be done continued in the 1920s. Vladimir Lenin and his associates were trying to develop a policy that would, on the one hand, allow them to embrace federalism and anti-colonialism ('nations' right to self-determination'), at least in appearance, and, on the other, to gain and maintain control over non-Russian regions. In settling inter-ethnic conflicts, the Soviet government relied on

military force. In order to weaken the national elites' ambitions for more autonomy, the government applied the principle of social stratification by fostering the divide along the line of class (the poor vs. the rich) within local communities.

Key words: Bolshevik Party; protest movement; Vladimir Lenin; Joseph Stalin; archival documents; Political Bureau; Central Committee

Anna Gagieva

Komi Republican Academy of State Service and Administration

Syktyvkar, Russia

E-mail: gngkol2@mail.ru

Public Organizations in the Komi Republic

in the 1920s and 1930s. 507

The article discusses public organizations (clubs and societies) that started appearing in the Komi Republic (Komi ASSR) in the 1920s and 1930s and analyzes their activities, functions and the reasons for their shutdown.

Key words: local history society; Komi region; Writers' Union of the Komi ASSR, military sport clubs

Margarita Shushkova

Russian State University for the Humanities

Moscow, Russia

E-mail: margyritta@yandex.ru

National Delimitation in Central Asia

in the Interpretations of Modern Tajik Historians 515

The article deals with the process of creating Soviet statehood on the territory of Turkestan. The author concludes that the delimitation and demarcation of boundaries between Central Asian states, which took place in 1924 and 1925, has a significant influence on the political map of this region. According to Central Asian historians, the most disadvantaged nation were the Tajiks, whose interests were not represented at the meetings of the Central Asian Bureau that oversaw the issue. The results of this 'Soviet experiment' seriously affected the formation of the post-Soviet space after the collapse of the USSR.

Key words: Turkestan; delimitation; Central Asia; Central Asian Bureau of the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party; national policy; Turkestan; Tajikistan