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RESIDENTS OF MOLDOVAN AUTONOMOUS SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC (1924-1940) AND MOLDOVAN SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC (1940-1941, 1944-1956) ON SITES OF THE GULAG.

SUMMARY

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The conceptual landmarks of the research

Timeliness and importance of the topic addressed

A few months of democratic relaxation after the fall of Tsarism (but under war conditions), the Bolsheviks staged a coup d'état/ putsch (on October 1917). Coming to power, in time, they established a totalitarian regime that subjugated the society, making people conform to the new rules, support the communist authorities. Based on the ideology of intransigence towards the so-called "exploiters of man's work by man", the Bolshevik regime identified enemies (real or imaginary), among them also being called "chiaburii/ kulak or wealthy", for example the wealthy people from villages, who according to the Bolshevik vision upon the new society they were to be annihilated - removed from the rural communities, where they had authority among the villagers.

To solve this "problem", the communist authorities applied deportation of people considered to be hostile to the Soviet Power. Moreover, the Soviet state set out to build large industrial enterprises, railway networks, canals, to extract various underground natural deposits (as a rule – in the remote northern or eastern regions of the Soviet Union), and for this the state needed cheap labor force. These (at least) two factors motivated the Soviet repressive organs to deport thousands of people from MASSR (1924-1940) and MSSR (1940-1941, 1944-1956) to remote regions of the SU.

Various authors have written about the conditions of detention (living, working, surviving) of the deported persons, but we do not have in the historiography a study, regarding the repercussions of the deportations on the Transnistrians and Bessarabians born and raised in the relatively mild climatic conditions compared to the severe climate of the northern and eastern part of the SU.

Therefore, it is necessary to examine the conditions in which the Transnistrians and Bessarabians deported to Siberia found themselves, to study the work performed by them, and remunerations made by the commanders. Closely related to the above information, it is particularly important to analyze the consequences of the severe climate and of the hard work performed by the deportees from MASSR and MSSR, on the health of people (elderly, but also of children), on the moral state within their family. Especially while survivors of deportations are still alive, and their children were born in Siberia. Some of them came to their parents' native places, but others remained to live in places where their parents were deported and where they were born.

Thus, we consider that the topic we are addressing is current and important. It refers to the tragedy of thousands of deported families, but also to the drama of our people. We believe, it is important to learn some lessons from those tragic events that our predecessors went through, not only because history has a habit of repeating itself, but also because a nation without memory is doomed to perish, disband, disappear.

In recent years, interest in the fate of those who have been deported, about whom we have little knowledge, has increased, and we have lost too many sources of knowledge of the realities of that time. With the passage of time we lost human potential, which could have told us about life and work in the Gulag.

Recently increased the interest in the destiny of those who were deported, about whom we know too little and we have lost too many sources of information of the realities of those times. In time we also lost human potential who could have told us about the life and work in the Gulag. Lately, there were taken some measures by historians to recover the memories of the victims of communism, ending in the editing of eight volumes of verbal history studies carried out by teachers and students, published in the "Archives of Memory", and the project "Expeditions of Memory", which had as achievements several documentary short movies about people identified in Siberia, with several published articles and scientific works.

Another argument for the relevance of the given topic is the fact that during the Soviet period this subject was not discussed, historians did not have the opportunity to research the life of the deportees. Researches could not be carried out due to the classified archives, but also because there was still a fear of talking about this subject, and those who suffered from the communist regime were also afraid to talk about their life in Siberia.

Through this thesis we would like to show a different image of the deported residents of MASSR and the SU, the difficult conditions in which the convicts had to work, in order to contribute to the development of agriculture and industry of the USSR.

About the forced labor to which our ancestors were subjected in the peripheral areas of the Soviet Union, very little is known, both within society and among historians. That is why we consider that it can be included in the list of those subjects which has been particularly very little studied. All these considerations constitute an important argument that it is a topic of scientific and public interest, and

that must be developed more widely, and more quickly, because every year the number of those who were deported, and managed to survive, and who can provide us information on life in deportation, drops very fast.

The purpose and objectives of the thesis. Considering the difficult degree of research, the complexity and character of the problem, the content of the historical sources we had, we set ourselves as a goal to examine in complexity the character of the work performed by the Transnistrians and Bessarabians on the Gulag construction sites of the living conditions (survival) and of the remuneration. In order to achieve the goal, we will clarify such aspects as: *a)* the conditions under which Transnistrians and Bessarabians were forced to work in the Gulag, *b)* the detection of difficult labor norms that they had to face, *c)* how to obtain the food ration and survival in the conditions when they did not have the work experience for the performed job, *d)* lack of necessary clothes and shoes in the climate conditions of cold regions; *e)* how the deportees from MASSR and MSSR managed to withstand the hardships in the Siberian forests with its swamps, the wild world and the insects. Another aspect that we proposed to investigate, is the study of the concrete conditions of the places where the residents of MASSR and MSSR were deported, for various reasons. Due to cases, we also examined the fate of the people deported from northern part of Bukovina. Because those people were deported under the same conditions as people of MASSR and MSSR even lived in the same barracks, as some sources show, and left important testimonies for our study.

In our research, we also indirectly treated the aspects of the daily routine of our people, outside the working hours, spending the little free time they had, preserving traditions, customs and culture, spending religious holidays, maintaining their mother tongue.

According to the requirements, we examined in the first chapter the historiography and the sources regarding the work in the Gulag, we presented unpublished documents from the funds of the archives which have an essential role in the reconstitution of the historical truth of work in the Gulag. We also analyzed the records published by the survivors of the Gulag. Analysis of case studies published in the volumes "Archives of Memory", and of case studies made within the project "Expeditions of Memory" which are a source of truthful life facts from deportation and imposed working conditions of exiled.

Chronological framework. The chronological part examined in the thesis includes the periods: 1924-1940, the initial chronological limit is marked by the creation of the Moldovan Autonomous Soviet

Socialist Republic. The final limit presents the dissolution of the Moldovan Soviet Socialist Autonomous Republic, then 1940 is the year of the beginning of the first Soviet occupation of Bessarabia (1940-1941), on August 2, 1940 being proclaimed the Moldovan Soviet Socialist Republic. 1944 marks a new occupation of Bessarabian territory by the Soviet regime, and in 1956 even the Communists condemned what they called “Stalin cult of personality”, the crimes committed by the leadership of the USSR, headed by Stalin. Also in 1956, decisions were made to drop the slave labor of the Gulag prisoners.

During this period, arrests and deportations of people uncomfortable for the communist regime took place, the tragic history of thousands of residents of MASSR and MSSR begins. They were taken to sites of the Soviet Gulag, where for the Moldovan deportees, the obstacles and conditions were very difficult, for some of them even fatal. Many of them have not been able to reach their destination, and some of those who have reached their destination have died, either because of the cold climate, harsh Siberian winters, of hunger or exhaustion. In exile, those who survived went through extreme, very difficult moments.

A large part of the deported people were released after 1956, many returned to their homeland, but most remained forever in the places where they were deported.

Working hypothesis. In the Gulag, the residents of MASSR and MSSR performed forced, inhumane work, which marked the destinies of men, but also of women, children, elderly people, more than even war did, and led to the loss of thousands of people. The prisoners of the Gulag carried out difficult tasks, starting with the grubbing up of the lands, cutting down the forests and ending with the extraction of gold from the most dangerous mines. The Bessarabians worked like slaves. The regime considered that this is how it succeeds, firstly, to "re-educate" the deportees, and secondly, those people were used for the development of the national economy of the USSR. People from the MASSR and MSSR were hastily deported, in violation of even Stalinist legislation. The deportees arrived in very severe living and working conditions, and suffered more in comparison with other prisoners from Gulag, because the Transnistrians and Bessarabians were not used to low temperatures from Siberian regions and a large part of them died in the first year after deportation.

Research methodology

Research methods, specific to the historical field, build the way of a truthful and complex analysis, the way of achieving a certain goal, using a pragmatic and the best tool for carrying out a work. In order to achieve the proposed goal and objectives, we used the problematic-chronological and comparative method. We also applied the empirical method (we studied the official documents of the Soviet state on the work of Gulag prisoners), we also used the statistical method, customization and generalization, induction, and inference.

There was used the analogical method which relies on comparisons between facts as scientific arguments. The results concern particular or general knowledge, without being able to make references from the particular to the general or from the general to the particular. However, the conclusions may be uncertain, although probable.¹

The statistical method has an important role in developing of this research. Starting from the 19th century, statistical sources appear, and already in the 20th century their number will increase significantly, and this is essential in researching the number of problems. The presence of statistical data provides historians with a lot of information, and their absence forces us to rely on less objective data.

The method of analysis was the basis of our research activity, as an advanced method of the evolution of science. Regarding the topic "Residents of MASSR (1924-1940) and MSSR (1940-1941), (1944-1956) on sites of the Gulag", but generally in the field of history, when it is not enough just to fix the events, but they must be subjected to a thorough analysis such as: developing the lists for deportations, reasons for deportation, why the initial lists have undergone changes, etc.

The method of generalization and synthesis gave us the power to generalize and synthesize the researched historical fact, through the imaginary union, in thought, of the component parts or elements of the process, the investigated phenomenon, its research entirely.

These tools of scientific work have allowed to achieve the planned purpose.

The theoretical importance of research. This work represents the first attempt of systematic and complex treatment of the peculiarities of the work of Transnistrians and Bessarabians in the Gulag. We consider innovative the way of conceiving and elucidating the issue of the doctoral thesis, with

¹ Ovidiu-Ștefan Buruiene, *Metodologia cercetării istorice*, Iași, Editura Universității „A. I. Cuza”, 1995.

the aim of examining the working conditions in the Gulag, studying its remuneration both for men, women and children. We systematized and generalized a set of documents, specialized literature, testimonies, which allowed us to identify the jobs that the deportees did, how many hours a day they had to work, what kind of tools they had to fulfill their norms of work, how they managed to manage without clothes and a poor ration. There was highlighted, for the first time, and introduced into the scientific circuit, things that were intentionally overlooked in Soviet historiography.

The thesis opens other research perspectives, such as comparative studies on labor productivity in conditions of the Gulag and in conditions of relative freedom (in the USSR), etc.

The novelty and scientific originality of the work are reflected in the analysis of the historiography that deals with the theme of work in the Gulag. The detailed examination of both archival documents and collections of published documents, regarding the life in deportation, especially the work in the Gulag of the residents of MASSR and MSSR, which until now it has not had a detailed approach in Romanian historiography. Also, the scientific novelty of the work is also reflected in interviews conducted in the field, both in communities from the Republic of Moldova and in the regions of Tomsk, Novosibirsk and Tyumen in Siberia, the Russian Federation, where our citizens were deported and who remained to live there.

The practical importance of the work. The significance and applicative value of the work lies in highlighting the life and working conditions in the Gulag. Rigorous from a scientific point of view, the study has a didactic character, tending to report in a summarized and clear form the results obtained from the investigation. The study will contribute to a balanced and objective reflection of the events both at the national level, European and worldwide level. The work may be necessary both for scientific experts and for all those interested in developing with the support of other disciplines as mature, free, vast and multilateral thinking.

Implementation of scientific results: Results of the present research were presented and approved in reports presented within the Doctoral School (SUM) and communications presented at national and international scientific conferences, some of them can be found in eleven scientific publications, as well as within an edited book. The results obtained from the research can be used to create articles, studies and monographs related to the present subject.

The Basic Content of the Thesis

The doctoral thesis was written according to the requirements submitted by the National Agency for Quality Assurance in Education and Research. In the **Introduction**, the actuality of the researched topic is analyzed, the purpose and objectives of the thesis, the theoretical importance and the applied value of the work are also argued. The thesis also contains the list of abbreviations, annotations in Romanian, Russian and English, three chapters made up of several sub-chapters and paragraphs, Conclusions, Bibliography, Appendices, and the author's resume.

Chapter I, called *the Gulag-Object of Historical Research*, is divided into three subchapters. In the first being examined the notion of the Gulag and its economic dimension. Details about the evolution of the Gulag and its role in the economy of the USSR are exposed. In Russia, the concentration camp appears with the beginning of the civil war. On February 17, 1919, Ceka obtained the right to arbitrarily intern any enemy of the revolution in "concentration camps". And on April 3, 1919, it was created within the Ceka, The Directorate of Forced Labor Camps.² These camps were instruments of that meant the terror of Soviet power. Although Ceka would use within them the same rhetoric speech of "re-education" or "remodeling"; these camps were designed and set up in such a way that they do not duplicate ordinary penitentiaries. They were outside the jurisdiction controlled by other Soviet institutions, they had special regulations and harsher punishments for escape, and tougher regimes.³ The inmates between the walls of these camps were not always convicted by ordinary courts, sometimes even not convicted at all.⁴

We expounded in this subchapter and we concretized the fact that on September 15, 1919, the Soviet Government published a law that differentiated two types of camps: first, there were the penitentiary systems where those convicted by decisions of justice were interned and were called "correctional labor camps". Through these camps there was intended to replace the prison by serving its sentence to work. Among the categories found in these camps were the officials of the old regime.⁵

² *Ibid.*

³ Applebaum, Anne. *Gulag. A history*. Bucharest: Humanitas Publishing House, 2011, p. 48.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 49.

⁵ Trike, Gabriel. *A history of the Soviet Gulag*. <https://historia.ro/sectiune/general/o-istorie-a-gulagului-sovietic-582281.html>, visited 29.06.2021

The second type was the "concentration camps", which stipulated that the punishment has to be replaced by "re-education" through work. Opponents of the Soviet regime were part of these categories.⁶

Similarly, details are reflected about the disappearance of the term camp from official Soviet documents, being replaced by "colony" and "settlement", so that in January 1960, the "Main Directorate of Labor Colonies" was abolished.⁷ It is mentioned that some of those detained here were released, the camps coming under the administration of the Ministry of Justice.

The second subchapter is called *The Historical Writings on the Gulag*. In October 1924, the leadership of the USSR decided to create on the territory of Ukraine the "Moldavian autonomy" with the stated aim of annexing Bessarabia, Sovietizing Romania and the Balkans. In June 1940, the USSR will annex Bessarabia, the north of Bucovina, the Herța Province and create MSSR, including the territories of Romanian Bessarabia, without south and north, joining instead some districts to the left of the Dniester (from the former MASSR). Thus, we considered it necessary to examine the history of the residents of the former MSSR in the subject that interests us: the deportations and the work of Transnistrians on the construction sites of the USSR, and from 1940-1941, 1944-1956 and of those from MSSR.

A great contribution in the elucidation of the problem of deportations from MASSR, of the work of the Transnistrians on sites of the Gulag, has the historian Alexei Memei, who after long studies in the archives published the monography called "Teroarea comunista in RASSM (1924-1940) and MSSR (1944-1947) - The Communist terror in MASSR (1924-1940) and MSSR (1944-1947)".⁸ Alexei Memei studied in detail the actions of Ukranian administration and interior forces in deporting the wealthy citizens, called "kulaks" (Russian: "culachi") carried out in May 1931. The author established the number of persons deported from the districts of Grigoriopol, Ribnita, Tiraspol, Slobozia, etc., detected and exposed the abuses committed by the authorities towards the persons subjected to deportation.⁹

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ Courtois, Stephane. *Dictionary of Communism*. Iași: Editura Poliromk, 2008, p 566.

⁸ Memei, Alexei. *The communist terror in the ASSR (1924-1940) and the MSSR (1944-1947). Documentary testimonies*. Chișinău: Editura Serebia, 2012.

⁹ Idem. *The communist terror in the MASSR (1924-1940) and the MSSR (1944-1947). Documentary testimonies*. Ed. a II-a rev. și actualizată, Chișinău: S.n, 2014, p. 126.

Alexei Memei presented the deportation process in details, the localities from where wealthy peasants and intellectuals, who were inconvenient to the regime, were deported, noting that they were sent "to the North", "to Siberia", without indicating the regions and the work performed there by the Transnistrian deportees. A complex monography, where the author devotes an entire chapter to the subject of the deportation of peasants from the MASSR to Siberia and the Northern districts of the USSR. Also, Alexei Memei provides several case studies, comes with information about population displacements in MASSR, provides details of people who were forcibly sent to work in coal mines and military factories, such as: at the Kuzbas coal mine, the Vostok coal mine, the Cheleabinsk coal mine, the military factory from Nizhni Taghil Town and the military factory from Zlatoust City. Moreover, the author provides information about the fact that due to hard work, without any remuneration, with poor quality and very little food, some of those deportees sent to work in coal mines and military factories have even begun to desert, and those who refused to go to work were liable to be prosecuted.¹⁰

In other studies, published even after the removal from print of the monography of the historian Alexei Memei, the deportations from the districts on the left bank of the Dniester were only mentioned without analyzing the places of deportation and the character of the performed labor works.¹¹

The tragedy of the deportations from the MSSR and the conditions of survival in the Gulag were approached by the Bessarabian authors only in 1989, under the conditions of the restructuring and transparency policy promoted by Mikhail Gorbachev. That year, the writer Alexei Marinat published two articles on his destiny from deportation.¹² The initial period 1989-1996, when the historian Valeriu Pasat defended the PhD thesis in history on the issue of deportations from MSSR¹³, was the time when the authors published articles, memoirs, documents from archives, was a period of gathering of historiographical material, published in specialized journals and thematic volumes.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 681.

¹¹ *A history of the Transnistrian region from ancient times to the present*. Compendiu, Chişinău: Editura Civitas, 2007, pp. 270-272; Popa, Ioan, Popa, Luisa. *Românii, Basarabia și Transnistria*, Bucharest, Artemis Publishing House, 2009; the book was also translated into Russian: Попа, Иоан, Попа, Луиза. *Румыны, Бессарабие и Приднестровье*, Chişinău: Editura Prut Internațional, 2010, pp. 62-63.

¹² Marinat, Alexei. *Amintiri, of, amintiri*, în *Orizontul*, 1989, nr. 3, pp. 68-78; Idem *Crâmpeie din vârtoarea timpurilor*, în *Nistru*, 1989, nr. 6, pp. 44-63.

¹³ Pasat, Valeriu I. *Deportations from the territory of the MASSR, 1940-1951* Moscow, 1996.

This work continued annually. Analyzing the information published in the Bibliography dedicated to our issue¹⁴, in the period 1989-2018 there were published three hundred eighty studies; these exhibited at scientific conferences; memoirs and documents, both in Romanian and in other languages as Russian, English, German, were developed. We will mention the historians who studied both the deportation of Bessarabians and some aspects of their life in the Gulag (especially their effort): Valeriu Pasat, Anatol Petrencu, Elena Postică, Ion Șișcanu, Viorica Olaru-Cemârtan, Igor Cașu, Ivan Duminiță, Nicolae Fuștei, Ludmila Cojocar, Lidia Pădureac, Ion Xenofontov, Mariana Țăranu, Veronica Pârlea-Conovali, Ludmila Chiciuc and others.¹⁵

When writing this work, Romanian, Russian and Western historiography is studied and analyzed. Studying the bibliography related to the topic of the doctoral thesis, there were found the following aspects: historians from the Republic of Moldova and Romania have sufficiently examined the tragedy of the Stalinist deportations of the residents of MASSR and MSSR. The nominated authors (and others) have presented in scientific articles and monographs the causes (reasons) that led to the decision to deport people from the MASSR and the USSR to the remote regions of the Soviet Union, these being ideological, political, economic, religious, etc. Deported persons were labeled as "thugs" (that is, "exploiters of man's work by man"), members of political parties, called by the Soviets "bourgeois" and "anti-communist", mayors of communities, called "collaborationists", as well as their family members, who were absolutely innocent.

Historians have detailed the moments of picking up people from their homes, moving them in wagons, lists of deportees, etc. Numerous case studies have been brought with particular families, particular villages, etc. The conditions in the wagons, in which people were taken to Siberia, there were examined and exposed: cattle wagons, some of which were uncleaned.

All the torments, sufferings of those in the death trains were presented: lack of food, but especially of water, medical assistance, etc. There were presented all the torments and sufferings of those from the "trains of death", as: the lack of food, but especially water, medical assistance, etc.

¹⁴ *Deportations from the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic. Bibliography*, Chișinău: Biblioteca Științifică (Institut), Secția Editorial-Poligrafică, 2018, p. 168.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 37-82.

At the same time, our research proves that historians have not analyzed at all or have presented fragmentarily the conditions of life, work (the object of work, work instruments, work safety and security), remunerations, the medical assistance provided to the deported persons, etc.

Therefore, the need to fill this gap appeared in the national historiography. It is necessary to study and objectively expose the survival conditions of families deported from MASSR and MSSR.

In the third subchapter of this chapter, entitled the *Historical sources of work in the Gulag*, in order to achieve the intended purpose, we analyzed a set of documents. First, we researched the documents from the archives of the Republic of Moldova, but also documents from the personal archives of deported people and their descendants. Based on the study of files, we have established the true picture of what really happened in these “labor extermination camps”. The archival files outline a picture of the geography of the deportees and provide truthful information regarding the state of health, partly the correspondence of the deportees with people from their homeland, but also the superior courts. Also, the living and working conditions are reflected on the pages of archival documents.

The documentary basis is the unpublished documents that elucidate the work of the deportees in the Gulag, stored in the DGAN funds of the ANA and the DAOSP of the ANA. Those documents represent the files drawn up to the families deported by the representatives of the NKVD that, for several decades, have been secret documents.

In 2010, at the insistence of the interim president Mihai Ghimpu, these documents, which were kept in the special warehouses of the Information and Security Service and in the Ministry of Internal Affairs, were declassified and transmitted to the ANRM.

The files of the deportees are drawn up according to the norms of the time and presents the official position of the authorities, which is why their critical research was imposed during the study.

The unpublished sources were completed and analyzed, compared with *the edited sources* – collections of edited documents, memoirs, verbal historical studies.

The memoirs volumes published recently, which aimed at the historical valorization of memories of victims of the totalitarian-communist regime, had an essential role in the elaboration of this thesis, because these publications contain unique and unpublished information, and contain the greatest amount of truth regarding the work from deportation, being stories of those who went through the trauma of the Gulag, and no one can describe the reality better than them.

The previous publication of the memoirs by former deportees, such as: Vadim Pirogan, Vasile Țepordei, Margareta Spânu-Cemârtan, etc. offered us a fundamental basis of written sources for research.

The information provided by survivors of the deportations and collected within the State Program "Recovery and historical valorization of the memory of the victims of the communist totalitarian regime in the MASSR", offered us a solid documentary basis and gave us the chance to research how the deportation affected the destiny of subsequent generations. Living conditions, work in deportation, human relationships occupy a special place in the testimonies included in the respective volumes.

Also, an important source in carrying out this research are case studies of the thirty-one interviewees that we identified in Novosibirsk, Tomsk and Tyumen regions of the Russian Federation within the "Expeditions of Memory" project. The identified interviewees told us new things about Siberia and life there. It is about people who were deported, their children and locals who lived in towns with our citizens and who were able to tell us about the life they led in deportation. Likewise, there were used ten interviews we managed to do with the people who returned to their homeland, in the Republic of Moldova, as a documentary basis.

A real documentary source served us recordings of deportees' testimonies, presented on the youtube.com, where survivors revealed trauma they went through.

Both the researched historiography and the variety of studied documents, allowed us to detect real conditions of living, work, survival, but also the thousands of residents' deaths of MASSR and MSSR, deported to Siberia.

Chapter II of the work, the *Residents of MASSR (1924-1940) and MSSR (1940-1941) on the gulag sites* consists of two subchapters, entitled: *The work of the exiled residents from MASSR in Siberia in 1924-1940 period* and *The exploitation of the deportees from the MSSR in Siberia 1941-1944 period*. This chapter includes the study on the forced labor work of exiled people from MASSR in Siberia during 1924-1940 period and of deportees from MSSR during 1940-1941 period. It also contains analyses of the Transnistrians and Bessarabians convicted individually and sent to difficult labor work in the USSR, as well as people deported in the first large wave of deportations on June 13, 1941. The reasons why the deported persons arrived in Siberia are allegedly exposed, as well as working and living conditions in the Gulag are analyzed.

Deportees to Siberia, from communities with colder temperatures, somehow survived more easily. For our citizens this phenomenon meant to wage an unimaginable struggle to survive. The natural conditions were different than in MASSR and MSSR, even mosquitoes or flies are different in Bessarabia than Siberia, moreover swarms are bigger and their bites have created great problems that led to serious diseases. There are described some case studies regarding that in this paper.

Peasants worked enormously hard for a loaf of bread, making even two or three shifts to survive and receive the food ration during deportation. They were forced to steal or trick in order to survive. Needs forced them to such gestures, because in Romania people did not steal (perhaps with small exceptions), while in Siberia due to the Stalinist regime they had to. Bad conditions in which they were forced to work and live were downright disastrous. Initially they received any payment for their work, only food and that in rather small quantities.

People practically suffered the most from hunger and cold. They had to eat camel meat or fat, in Romania the camel meat missed and was not consumed, but in Siberia they ate it out of necessity.

Furthermore, these dislocations also correspond to the second war period, and everything that was produced was sent to the front. Labor force was missing, especially men. In addition to all this, orders were often sent to kolkhozes from the Recruiting Circle to send people for different assignments, requested being mostly men, and there they were also sent from among deportees. For this reason, women were also forced to hard work tasks, which normally should have been performed by men.

Even the deported children were hired to work in order to receive the necessary food, in these conditions our deported citizens were like slaves. They were not allowed to leave the places where they were deported, they had to be always under the observation of law enforcement, those interned in the concentration camps there were also counted in the morning, when they went to work, and in the evening, when they turned back.

Absolutely all their rights were violated. The children's right to learn was violated, because most of the deported children from Transnistrian and Bessarabian did not attend school anymore, being forced to work in order to receive the food ration themselves. And the fact that they did not know Russian, further deprived them from any opportunity to overcome this situation.

Also, in this chapter there were described what kind of work our exiled citizens were subjected to do.

The thing in me. The Soviet Union was an enormous state, and its natural resources were equally great, but the biggest problem backward and during the second World War was the economic underdevelopment. Because of this, there was a lack of high-efficiency specialized machines to replace some of the manual labor in the Gulag. This necessity arose from the fact that practically all operations in a mine were done by hand, with manual tools of poor quality. For a better management of the metallurgical and mining enterprises, a main center was established within the Gulag, which dealt with the management of the business in the field of metal, coal, etc. extraction.¹⁶ Within the Gulag, 46.5% was nickel, 40% cobalt, 76% tin, 60% gold, and precious metals represented 40% of the total amount produced by the Soviet Union up to 1940. Already in 1949, 100% of the production of platinum and diamonds were extracted in the Soviet colonies, more than 90% gold, 70% tin, 40% copper and 33% nickel.¹⁷ Starting with '20s of the XXth century, after the obtaining victory in the civil war, the Bolsheviki proceeded to creation of the USSR and the establishment of new directions in the field of economy, active research of the northern USSR was started to discover various reserves of underground deposits.

Work on cutting down forests. Interviews with people who were subjected to Stalinist repressions demonstrated that the economic orientation within the Gulag was very diverse. One of the main activities of deportees was related to the cutting of forests and the processing of wood at the sawmills. The USSR possessed the largest forest reserves around the world due to the vast forest, which begins from the Breansk region and ends at Vladivostok. Here grew numerous coniferous trees of tens of meters, which were and are till nowadays extremely important not only for the Russian industry, but also for the entire world industry.¹⁸

Work in kolkhozes, sovkhozes and factories. Working in kolkhozes and sovkhozes was not an easy activity at all. People were forced to work in brigades/ teams at a distance of 10-15 kilometers from the kolkhoz. In many cases the families were separated. The women, who had children to breastfeed, had various activities starting with loading trucks with wheat and other cereals, on farms, in the fields, etc. No one was allowed to take anything from kolkhoz as wheat, potatoes or other products, because they were always monitored and it was dangerous too. Those who worked in brigades received half a kilo of bread a day and twice a day "balande". The meat wasn't aloud. The bread they received had to

¹⁶ *Gulag*, <https://ewikiro.top/wiki/GULAG>, visited 14.02.2022.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ Țepordei, Vasile. *Memories of the Gulag*. București, 1992 p.75.

share with elderly people and children, who could not work. Because the place where they worked was far from the huts, where the workers lived, they would take turns going and getting the food to people at home till the evening. The children also worked, especially in the summer: gardening, planting peas, taking out carrots, collecting cabbage. In most cases the children did not go to school, they were taken out to gather wheat, to weed the grass, to clean the fields of thistles, to clean the land for mowing.

Fishing, work practiced by Bessarabians in the Gulag. Another hard and dangerous work that deportees did was fishing and processing the fish.

Women were forced to work together with men, in the winter they had to break the ice, which was very thick, from half a meter, a meter and more. There was a working shift and protocol for fishing, and if they did not manage to catch and bring the amount of fish that was planned, they did not receive the portion of food. This work was extremely hard, they had no proper clothes for, they always walked wet in a -40°, -50° below zero climate, so they got sick very often.

The work of the deportees in infrastructure and construction. Colonies for the deportees were built in the most remote places of the Soviet Union, so that prisoners could not even think of any possibility to escape. Many colonies were built in the places where underground deposits were found, but the proper infrastructure for this almost did not exist. In the road construction, railways, bridges, phone lines fields, etc., detainees who were experts in these domains were involved.

We have shown through case studies carried out in the territory, especially in Tomsk, Novosibirsk and Tyumen regions, that the deported people managed through their work to survive in the places of detention, becoming good householders with the most beautiful built dwellings, with the neatest vegetable gardens, with the most advanced work tools. These things were told to us even by the citizens of Siberia who knew deported Bessarabians families.

Chapter III, *The work of the inhabitants of MSSR deported in 1944-1956 period to Siberia*, consists of three subchapters. The first called The Resumption of repressions in Bessarabia in 1944 and the exiles to work in the Gulag contains information about the starting period of the campaign of annihilation of people undesirable to the Soviet regime in the MSSR, which was masked under the so-called "anti-fascist" struggle, triggered immediately after the return of the Soviet troops to the

Romanian territory in August 1944.¹⁹ The process of convictions and exiles to work in the USSR of the so-called "enemies of the people" was constant in 1944 – 1953 period. In the last quarter of 1944, the Military Tribunal of the NKVD Armies of the MSSR judged 459 cases of the "traitors of the motherland", and in the first quarter of 1945, there were filed 625 cases.²⁰

Subsequently, there were also numerous indications from the organs of the Communist Party and the Soviet Power, to the local public administrations to send labor arms to the USSR, and these indicators were fulfilled by the decisions of the Local Public Authorities. Thus, on December 13, 1944, at the meeting of the Cimislia District Executive Committee, the decision is taken to send, by the request of the relevant bodies from the USSR, 113 persons to the city of Cherci in the Autonomous Republic of Crimea, to the factory No. 502, "for the development of industry".²¹

At that time, there was a form of repression and forced mobilization of young Bessarabians aged between 16 and 18 years old, from vocational-technical schools, called in Russian "fabricino-zavscoe-obucenie" or abbreviated FZO. After graduation of these schools, young people were forced to work at the place where they were assigned. The district and city leadership in the country was assigned the plan of mobilization of young people, starting with 1945. Every year in October, the soviet authorities from villages were asked to compile lists of young people between the ages of 17 and 18.²² The refusal to attend classes or work after their graduation was punishable by criminal penalties.²³ The mines from Donbas, the construction sites in Siberia were not at all attractive, because they were like prisons. Harmful and heavy working conditions, very low salaries that were not paid fully, they were given only a few "Rubles" for food, permanent supervision, strict discipline and the distance from homes. Thus, the communist regime enslaved tens of thousands of young people who were forcibly recruited from Moldova. The Ministry of Labour from MSSR dealt not only with the recruitment of citizens to the construction sites, but also with the displacement of entire families in the sparsely populated places of Russian Federation and the Kazakh SSR. Very many inhabitants of MSSR became workers in the

¹⁹ Țicu, Octavian. *An illustrated history of the Romanians east of the Prut from 1791 to the present*. Chișinău: Editura Litera, 2018, p. 227.

²⁰ ANA, DAOSP, F. 51, inv. 3, d. 39.

²¹ Ambulance-Balmuș, Anastasia. *Urge to not forget, pages from the history of Bessarabia 1940-1949*. Cimișlia-Ploiești: Editura Dorința, 2016, p. 256.

²² *Ibid.*

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 258.

USSR, being caught up in the campaigns of labor mobilization and organizational recruitments, carried out regularly in the post-war years.

In archival documents, there is information that proves that since June 15, 1946, 466 people were deployed to work in special settlements, in Karelo-Finnish camp. In the archive fund, "Collection of documents of persons expelled and deported from the territory of MASSR and MSSR in the years 1930, 1941-1951", F. 3397, Inv. 3, d. 3, there are information that following the Ministry of Internal Affairs directive of the USSR No. 43/12 -84663 of June 15, 1946, 466 people "vlasovtsy" / vlasovtŷy (former Soldiers of the Soviet Army who sided with the Germans and fought against the Soviet Union, who were in Ukraine), based on the decision of the State Defense Committee (ГOKO) No. 9871 of 18.08.1945 and the MoIA Directive of the USSR no. 97 of April 20, 1946.²⁴

And in 1947, lists of the residents of the MSSR were drawn up to be sent to work in so-called "special settlements". It is about a list of 50 people that was drawn up in October 1947, based on MoIA Directive No. 97 of the of the USSR of 20.04.1946, where policemen and "Vlasovtsevs" were also targeted, and these persons were to be deployed in the Karelo-Finnish camp in the USSR – St. Murmansk.²⁵ In March 1947, another list of 114 people was drawn up and sent to work at st. Tuimaz, at the Kuibyshev railway, which was subordinated to the "Bashneftistroi" trust. Also, former policemen and "vlasovtsevi"/ vlasovtsy were sent.²⁶ This list was approved by the head of the department that was fighting the "dangerous" people of the MoIA of the MSSR, Culciŷchii on March 27, 1947.²⁷

On January 14, 1947, the Secretaryship of the Central Committee of the Communist Party (b) of Moldova decided to organize the recruitment of 50 thousand people from the villages to work at the enterprises and in construction sites from the South. Because the work in the industry and especially in mines was a difficult one, already the first mobilizations generated mass "desertions". In 1947, 36,635 people were recruited, most of them, or 31,788 people, were sent to Donbas businesses and mines. In the second part of 1947, out of this number of recruits, 6199 people left their own work and returned to their permanent place of living. In order to clarify the causes of this fluctuation, a group of responsible workers of the republic was sent to Donbas, who established that "no working and

²⁴ ANA, DGAN, F. 3397, inv. 3, d. 3, f. 1.

²⁵ ANA, DGAN, F. 3397, inv. 3, d. 6, f.2.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, f. 110-113.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, f. 113.

living conditions have been created for those recruited from Moldova. It was not taken into account that the vast majority of those recruited are villagers that have never worked at industrial enterprises and mines, and that most of them do not know Russian."²⁸

The displacements from the MSSR were not reduced only in the conditions mentioned above, two large waves of deportations also took place. The second wave of mass deportations from July 1949, took place four years after the end of the Second World War. During that time frame, the Soviet regime preferred to operate with repressions at the individual level and small groups.²⁹ Known as operation "Iug" ("South"), the deportations from 5-6 July 1949 is the largest wave of deportation of the population from the MSSR. Like the deportations from 1941, the bolsheviks goal was to clean up elements considered to be anti-Soviet, the territories annexed after 1939-1940 and re-occupied by the Soviets in 1944. The main social strata that was the target of the deportations of 1949 were the "chiaburii- wealthy". They were considered "class enemies" and an obstacle to the process of collectivization and Sovietization of the villages from MSSR. In fact, the deportations were a blow to the villagers. Another category targeted in the 1949 deportations were those who had collaborated with the Romanian administration, former gendarmes, and policemen, but also those considered agents of the foreign secret services. The operation was carried out on the basis of Decision no. 1290-467 of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Cpsu of 6 April 1949, strictly secret, and the deportation was to take place in June 1949, but was postponed due to the slow process of files preparation. Initially, at the beginning of December 1948, the first list of persons to be deported was 33,640 people out of whom 9,259 people were heads of a family, the other members of the families, this list being compiled by the Ministry of State Security of the MSSR. At the end of December, the lists were extended to 40,506 people, out of whom 7,385 were heads of family in the "kulaks" category, constituting 26,975 people together with family members. By the Decision approved by the Soviet authorities on April 6, the number of "kulaks" and other "enemy elements" was fixed at 11,280 families, representing 40,850 people. On May 9, the lists amounted to almost 14,000 families, and then the number of people to be deported reached to 23,000 families, which was doubled by the Decision of the Soviet Power.³⁰ The deportation operation took place on the night of July 5 and 6,

²⁸ Pasat, Valeriu. *The harsh truth of history. Deportations from the territory of the MSSR in the years 40-50*. Chişinău, 2000, p. 394-395.

²⁹ Caşu, Igor. *The class enemy. Political repressions, violence and resistance in the Moldovan SS(A)SS 1924-1956*. Chisinau: Editura Cartier, 2015, p. 234.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 257-258.

1949. According to the data provided by Valeriu Pasat, 11,606 families were displaced in this operation: out of whom 9,864 men, 14,033 women and 11,889 children.³¹ They were to be deployed to the regions of South Kazakhstan, Karaganda, Djambul, as well as to the Altai, Kurgan, Tyumen, Tomsk and Irkutsk regions.³² Unlike the deportees in 1941, those from 1949 were allowed to take with them personal valuables, the daily ones (clothing, dishes, agricultural inventory) and a reserve of food products for the whole family up to 1,500 kilograms. The fortunes, however, were to be confiscated.³³

The third wave of deportations from 1951 included 723 exiled families: 2,617 people, including 808 men, 967 women and 842 children,³⁴ most of them from the North region of the country. Trains with deportees started their trip on the night of April 1 and 2, 1951, and the destination was Tomsk region.³⁵ This wave of deportations, also known as operation "Sever" ("North"), which had target groups other than those of the first two waves, members of the religious, as Jehovah Witnesses.

The second *Bessarabian subchapter on the Gulag construction sites from 1944-1949* and the third *Deportations from 1951-1956 to the labors in Siberia* contain information about the work done by those exiled from the MSSR after the Second World War in the Eastern regions of the USSR. This chapter contains an analysis of how our villagers came to work in the USSR after the end of the war, the amount that was exiled, the reasons why they were convicted and taken to the construction sites in Siberia and also the way of life in exile, the fight that led to their survival. We have also discovered the working rules and working conditions of the deportees during this period, if there was a difference between the working and living conditions, about the payment received for the work performed by those previously deported. And we found that although the dislocations of 1945-1956 were already after the end of the war, yet the living and working conditions in deportation did not change. The deportees encountered the same problems – famine, lack of clothes, fear of the wildness of Siberia, animals, swamps, etc. Working conditions were just as difficult as the Second World War period, grueling work to which they were forced and extremely high working plans, which were practically impossible to do. It was not considered that most of deportees were residents of rural communities and did not work at industrial enterprises and in mines, in Siberia they were forced to do so. It was

³¹Pasat, Valery. *Difficult pages of the history of Moldova in the 1940-1950s* Moscow 1994, pp. 124, 554.

³²Țicu, Octavian. *Op. Cit.*, p. 385.

³³Olaru-Cemîrtan, Viorica. *Deportations from Bessarabia, 1940-1941, 1944-1956*. Chișinău, 2017, p. 116.

³⁴Țicu, Octavian. *Op. cit.*, p. 385.

³⁵Olaru-Cemîrtan, Viorica. *Op. Cit.*, p. 199.

not also considered that they did not know Russian and it was quite difficult for them to survive in such conditions. The deportees were not free even during these years of deportation, they could not leave the places where they were got, they continued to be supervised/ surveilled.

Women were also involved to very hard-working tasks. The children also had to work, even though they should attend school (according to the laws of the USSR).

One thing we can note is that in the most cases entire families were deported, fewer individual cases existed when the heads of the families were separated from other members compared to the exiles, until the end of the war. And this somehow given them a better psychological comfort. The most part of deportees were taken to the so-called "special settlements", they founded sites, they built educational institutions, and their remuneration was also extremely poor, in the first years they even received the same food ration as the deportees until 1945.

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Following the analysis of the specialized papers of Romanian historians, we can conclude that no complex scientific works were elaborated to address the subject of labor in the Gulag, the working conditions, the working norms and the remuneration of deported residents from MASSR and MSSR.

There was done an extensive analysis of the archival materials and we were able to make a genuine rendering of what really happened in these labor extermination camps. The documentary basis in this work is largely the archival documents that are kept by the state in the DGAN funds of the ANA and the DAOSP of the ANA. We also used the collections of archival documents existing on the topic of deportations, both from the Russian Federation and from the Republic of Moldova. We have leveraged these archival documents in our research thesis to provide a relevant and complex documentary topic.

There was found that the volumes of memoirs published also had an essential role in the elaboration of this work, because these publications contain unique and unpublished information and detailed data about the life and work in deportation, because these are stories of those who went through the trauma of the Gulag. The publication of the memoirs by those who were deported provided us with a base of written sources for research.

Also, an important source in carrying out this research will be the case studies of the interviewees identified in Novosibirsk, Tomsk and Tyumen regions of the Russian Federation, who told us special things about Siberia and their life there.

After studying the archival documents and the specialized literature, we came to the following conclusions: the Transnistrians were the first who went through the trauma of deportations and extremely hard work in the Gulag. People deported from MASSR and later from MSSR in the first year of life in Siberia, a good part of them died of cold and hunger.

Transnistrians and Bessarabians fought hard to survive. Natural conditions, colds, swamps, mosquitoes, flies became huge problems to face for them.

Bessarabians also worked in construction of factories, in the fields, forests cutting, farming, constructions, railways, mines, etc. Working well and honestly, especially in landing and animal farming, they were often appreciated by the leadership of authorities.

It is noted that the most of the families were deported together, they were able to take with them products, clothes and other goods, which for a while saved them from famine and cold, which our citizens did not have during deportation until the end of the war.

In conclusion, we can say that deported people to the Stalinist Gulags were like real slaves.

Our research has shown that corruption flourished in the Gulag as well: offering bribes, brigadiers or colony chiefs could offer small advantages such as, for example: easier work, lower working norms, or better and more food, etc.

The study shows that Bessarabians and Transnistrians who knew Russian were able to communicate with heads of the camps and natives, and solve certain problems. People who did not know the Russian language survived much harder.

For decades it was considered important to grow the industrial product on the economic level in certain branches, such as coal, steel, oil, etc. At first perhaps the so-called planned economy showed successes, but later it proved to be ineffective, and eventually led to the collapse of the Gulag system.

There were also found that the effectiveness of the work, many times, simply did not make sense, and had absolutely no economic value. The costs of maintaining these camps, which were more of extermination than re-education and economic importance, were very high. There was a lot of speculation, an increased production was written only on paper, as in most spheres of economic and political life in the USSR.

The usage of forced labor to uplift the economy of the USSR, which nevertheless proved to be ineffective work, as Stalin's successors later realized, a work with too much expenditure of financial resources, but especially of human resources.

Recommendations:

1. We consider that through this study we did not cover all aspects of the work of the deportees from MASSR and MSSR to Siberia. Therefore, the topic of deportation and life in the Gulag still needs extensive research of various aspects unknown nowadays. Because the Gulag did not mean only work, the Gulag was also famine, cold, disease, suffering, deaths, etc. In exile there was also daily life and holidays, births and marriages. Those who managed to survive, managed to become hardworking people away from their native homes. Many did not return back for various reasons, but especially

because in Moldova, their houses were confiscated, they already had other householders, or in Siberia they had already built good households. Prominent personalities from Bessarabia were deported by the totalitarian communist regime, few had the chance to return alive, most of them passed away on foreign lands. The memoirs of the deported persons make an essential contribution to the rehabilitation of the memory of those who suffered from the Soviet regime.

2. We consider that the topic of deportations and survival of Transnistrians and Bessarabians in Siberia should be studied in schools and universities. Let there be special titles on this topic (as an alternative to the subject of the Holocaust).

3. There should be elaborated and launched periodically radio and TV programs, not only when commemorating the victims of the communist regime.

4. We recommend wide-ranging research of this topic related to this tragic page of our people life. The Government of the Republic of Moldova should support projects related to this topic. According to the needs, documents of all archives, both national, municipal, district and those with special warehouses, which hold information on deportations should be made available. It is also necessary to support a state program which would aim to know our history by involving young people in discovering and capitalizing of the memory of the victims of Stalinism. It is necessary to introduce courses for studying the subject on deportations in schools, to organize as many events as possible that would present this topic, to initiate exhibitions and round tables dedicated to the topic of deportations. These are necessary for the population of the Republic of Moldova to better understand the criminal essence of Stalinism.

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ADNOTARE

Autor: *Zinovii Maria*

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Structura tezei: Introducere, trei capitole, concluzii, adnotări (în limbile română, rusă, engleză), bibliografie din ...surse, ... pagini de bază și anexe.

Cuvinte cheie: RASSM, RSSM, Gulag, Siberia, totalitarism, teroare, deportare.

Scopul tezei constă în cercetarea condițiilor de muncă din Gulag, a normelor și remunerării persoanelor exilate din RASSM și RSSM la muncile forțate din Siberia de către regimul sovietic stalinist.

Obiectivele lucrării se axează pe analiza istoriografiei și izvoarelor referitoare la munca deținuților în Gulag, studierea condițiilor de muncă a locuitorilor RASSM și RSSM pe șantierele NKVD în anii 1924-1940 și 1944-1956.

Importanța teoretică a cercetării constă în examinarea condițiilor de muncă din Gulag, studierea remunerării acestora atât pentru bărbați, femei și copii.

Noutatea și originalitatea științifică a lucrării își găsesc reflectare în examinarea mai amănunțită atât a documentelor de arhivă cât și a celor publicate, privind viața din deportare în special a muncii locuitorilor din RASSM și RSSM exilați în Gulag, temă care până în prezent nu a fost abordată amănunțit în istoriografia românească.

Importanța practică a lucrării constă în utilizarea ei la elaborarea studiilor și lucrărilor de sinteză ce se referă la fenomenul deportărilor, a totalitarismului. Studiul și concluziile tezei vor fi utilizate în procesul educativ al elevilor, studenților, masteranzilor.

Implementarea rezultatelor științifice: Rezultatele cercetării de față au fost expuse și aprobate în referate și comunicări prezentate la conferințe științifice internaționale și naționale. Rezultatele documentării se regăsesc în cartea „Ne-au povestit calvarul”, lucrare editată în baza interviurilor făcute în teren și anume în regiunile Novosibirsk și Tomsk în cadrul proiectului „Expedițiile Memoriei”, 2019 și completate cu documente de arhivă ce se află la păstrare în fondurile Agenției Naționale a

Arhivelor, Direcția Generală Arhiva Națională, precum și în 12 publicații științifice. Rezultatele obținute în urma cercetărilor pot fi folosite la realizarea articolelor, studiilor și monografiilor referitoare la subiectul dat.

АННОТАЦИЯ

Автор: *Зиновий Мария*

Тема: *Люди, проживающие на территории МАССР (1924-1940) и МССР (1940-1941, 1944-1956) на стройках ГУЛАГа, докторская диссертация по истории, Кишинэу 2021.*

Структура диссертации: Введение, три главы, выводы, аннотация (на румынском, русском и английском языках), библиографические источники, основной текст и приложения.

Ключевые слова: Гулаг, Сибирь, тоталитаризм, террор, депортация.

Цель диссертации заключается в необходимости исследования условий труда во времена Гулага, норм и оплаты лиц высланных из МАССР и МССР на принудительные работы в Сибирь советским сталинским режимом.

Задачи диссертации сосредоточены на изучении условий работы и выживания жителей МАССР и МССР в Гулаге, нормирование и оплаты труда.

Теоретическая ценность исследования заключается в проведении анализа работы жителей МАССР и МССР, депортированных в сибирские лагеря, в установлении условий труда в Гулаге, изучении и выявлении условий труда для мужчин, женщин и детей.

Новизна и научная оригинальность данной работы отражаются в глубоком исследовании архивных документов и опубликованных работ, в изучении жизни депортированных жителей из МАССР и МССР, условия в Гулаге – тема, которая до нынешнего дня не была изучена исторической наукой.

Практическая ценность работы состоит в ее использовании при разработке учебных материалов и обобщающих работ, которые относятся к феномену депортаций, условий труда в Сибири и выживания жителей южных регионов (МАССР и МССР). Материалы данной научной работы могут быть использованы в образовательном процессе школьников, студентов, магистров.

Реализация научных результатов: результаты этого исследования были представлены и одобрены в опубликованных статьях на межнациональных и национальных конференциях, часть из которых можно найти как в 12 научных публикациях, так и в опубликованной книге,

написанной на основе результатов исследований автора на местах (Сибирь, Томская и Новосибирская область). Полученные результаты во время исследований могут быть использованы для написания статей, научных работ, монографий, относящиеся к данной теме.

ANNOTATIONS

Author: Maria Zinovii

Theme: The Residents of MASSR (1924-1940) and MSSR (1940-1941, 1944-1956) on Site of the Gulag, PhD thesis in history, Chisinau 2021.

Thesis structure: Introduction, three chapters, conclusions, annotations (in Romanian, Russian, English), bibliography from ... sources, ... basic pages and annexes.

Keywords: MASSR, MSSR, Gulag, Siberia, totalitarianism, terror, deportation.

The purpose of the thesis is the need to research of working conditions in the Gulag, the norms and remuneration of exiled people from MASSR and MSSR to forced labor in the USSR by the Soviet Stalinist regime.

The objectives of the thesis are focused on the analysis of the historiography and sources related to the work of prisoners in the Gulag, the study of working conditions of residents of the MASSR and the USSR on the NKVD construction sites in 1924-1940 and 1944-1956 period.

The theoretical importance of the research consists in carrying out an analysis of the work done by the Bessarabians deported to the Siberian camps, to establish the working conditions in the Gulag. To study and expose working conditions for women and working conditions for men. Whether or not it was economically relevant.

The novelty and scientific originality of this work are reflected in the more detailed examination of both archival and published documents of living in deportation, especially the work in the Gulag, which there was not addressed in details in Romanian historiography.

The practical importance of the paper consists in its use in the elaboration of studies and synthesis that refer to the phenomenon of deportations, and totalitarianism. This will be used in the educational process of pupils, students, Master degree students. Implementation of scientific results: results of this research was presented and approved in papers and papers presented at national and international scientific conferences, some of which can be found both in twelve scientific publications and in a published book. Obtained results from the research can be used to write articles, studies and monographs on the subject.

MARIA ZINOVII

**THE RESIDENTS OF MASSR (1924-1940) AND MSSR (1940-1941, 1944-1956) ON SITES
OF THE GULAG.**

611.02. THE HISTORY OF THE ROMANIANS (BY PERIODS)

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