

# Stalin vs Gypsies

*Roma and Political Repressions  
in the USSR*

Elena Marushiakova  
& Vesselin Popov



## Stalin vs Gypsies

# Roma History and Culture

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*Roma and Political Repressions in the USSR*



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# Introduction

*No one is forgotten, nothing is forgotten.*

Olga Bergholz

This book is the fourth published in frames of the RomaInterbellum Project, as part of the Series, completing the triptych that includes the volumes: *Roma Voices in History: A Source Book. Roma Civic Emancipation in Central, South-Eastern and Eastern Europe from the 19th Century until World War II* (Marushiakova & Popov, 2021), *Romani Literature and Press in Central, South-Eastern and Eastern Europe from the 19th Century until World War II* (Roman et al., 2021), and *Roma Portraits in History: Roma Civic Emancipation Elite in Central, South-Eastern and Eastern Europe from the 19th Century until World War II* (Marushiakova & Popov, 2022).

This triptych is devoted to various aspects of the overall history of the Roma (then called Gypsies) civic emancipation movement in Central, South-Eastern and Eastern Europe. It covers about one century – from the appearance of its first steps (mid-19th century) to the middle of the 20th century (more precisely until World War II). We studied this movement in the context of the entangled history of the whole region as an integral part of the general historical processes in the context of the modern era. Our starting position is that Roma are not an outcast social phenomenon, a hermetically isolated and self-sufficient social and cultural system. They have always existed simultaneously in at least two main dimensions (Marushiakova & Popov, 2016c, p. 15). This fundamental principle is based on the juxtaposition between ‘community’ and ‘society’; the distinction ‘community – society’ is used here with altered content cleared from its evolutionary hierarchy (Tönnies, 1887). In our understanding, it concerns the relations between two simultaneously existing typological phenomena intertwined in one inseparable unity. In this case, ‘community’ refers to the Roma as an ethnic formation that is clearly distinguished from its surrounding population, and ‘society’ refers to the Roma as ethnically based integral parts of the respective nation-states of which they are citizens. These two main dimensions may, in short, be called ‘ethnicity’ and ‘civic nationality’ (Marushiakova & Popov, 2016c, p. 15).

As an integral part of the Soviet society in the early USSR, the Roma were an object of the general Soviet national policy during the 1920s and 1930s. Regardless of its designation, definitions and ultimate goals in the near or longer term (cf. Martin, 2001; Hirsch, 2005; O’Keeffe, 2022), this affirmative action policy was primarily expressed in the overall support of individual

nationalities, including the so-called Gypsies. It provided designing, guidance and curation of the main directions and forms in forming and developing the identity and culture of the early USSR. In this way, the Communist Party and the Soviet state (which were entangled into one entity) during this period were an effective and extremely important (even to a large extent determining) factor in the processes of Roma civil emancipation. While the first three books mentioned above, we wrote in this leading discourse, the current one is a clear counterpoint. In this book, we present Roma no longer as just one of the many nationalities cared for by the Soviet state in the early USSR but as an integral part of Soviet society, which as a whole became a victim of mass political repressions, which unavoidable reflected on them as well.

This approach makes it possible to avoid the so-called Roma-centrism, which continues to be one of the most severe problems of contemporary Romani studies. The stigmatisation of Roma as a unique historical phenomenon and their placement in the centre of the research attention often leads to neglecting the existing realities determined by the general historical or current context. With this interpretation of the world (both historically and in the present) through the 'Roma-centric prism', Roma practically are transformed into a kind of a centre of the world, around which all human history revolves, which is obviously not true. Such an approach practically stigmatises the community yet again, transforming the Roma into something different from all other peoples and discrediting Romani studies by sending them into "splendid isolation" (Willems, 1997, p. 306) of the academic ghetto.

We fully agree that "the Roma history is not peripheral to that of the majority population" and that it "needs to be an integral part of the national and European canons of history" (Mirga-Kruszelnicka & Dunajeva, 2020, p. 28). Still, we do not think that to achieve this, academic historical knowledge must put Roma history "at its centre—where it should belong" (Ibid.). Therefore, in this book, the repression against the Roma is considered and explained as a constituent and inseparable part of the mass political repression in the USSR during that specific historical period. Nowadays, there is a widespread mantra in academic circles that only non-Roma have written about the Roma and their history so far, from which it follows (implicitly or directly said) that this is not the "real" history of the Roma. An example in this direction from a book that has the ambition to synthesize scientific knowledge in the main areas of Romani studies:

All the information that we have about earlier phases in the life of the Romani people is based on the accounts and impressions of outsiders, Romani history is therefore one-sided, reflecting the perspective of those who came into contact with the Roma but not of the Romani communities themselves (Matras, 2015, p. 157).

It is unclear from this text what should be understood by “earlier phases”, but in this statement, there is nothing unique about Roma and different from almost all other European peoples. The first accounts of them (or of their ancestors) appeared in ancient Greek and Roman authors, and centuries had to pass before their own historical schools appeared; however, it is not clear why this should be emphasized specifically for Roma alone. The first reports of the arrival of Roma ancestors in Central and Western Europe date from the beginning of the 15th century; at the end of the 18th century, the first Gypsy-Hungarian Glossary appeared, prepared with the involvement of a Roma, Mihály Vistai Farkas; in the second half of the 19th century, the first historical, linguistic and literary texts about history, culture and language of Gypsies appeared, written by another Roma, Ferenc Nagyidai Sztojka (Marushiakova & Popov, 2021; 2022); in the first half of the 20th century, a large number of books, newspapers and journals written by Roma appeared, reflecting various aspects of Roma history (Roman et al., 2021). Comparisons with the history of other European nations show that in this respect, the history of the Roma does not fundamentally differ from theirs. After Caesar described the Gauls and Tacitus the Germans, centuries passed (everyone can calculate how many) before these peoples (or their successors) began to write their own history. Suppose a comparison with other European peoples who (like the Roma) did not create their own state or established it for the first time only in the 19th and 20th centuries, or some peoples living in the European part of Russia where authors writing about their people appeared only in the conditions of the USSR. Such comparison shows that the situation with the Roma is not much different, and that the Roma-centric approach is not reasonable. A significant reason for the emergence of this approach to Roma history lies in the fact that a vast majority of the authors writing about the history of Roma (both in the past and nowadays) are not historians (neither by education nor by professional specialisation), who are not sufficiently familiar with general European history and comparative-historical methodology.

At the heart of Roma-centrism is a widespread stereotypical perception of Gypsies/Roma as “part of our world and yet distinct from the rest of us” (Stewart, 1997, p. 12). In the work of many scholars, the Roma continue to be a people radically different from all other European nations and, therefore, segregated to a particular position, which practically takes them out of the main trends in the general historical development. This perception of Roma is closely related to another, also a widespread mass public stereotype, according to which Gypsies (nowadays Roma) do not have their homeland. The dominance of these stereotypes explains why in the field of Romani studies, the emphasis has so far been and continues to be primarily on Roma as a ‘community’ and their community identity. At the same time, ‘society’ is perceived

only as a context and not as one of the forms of existence of Roma. Accordingly, the Roma national civil identity as part of the general structure of their identity remains unnoticed. However, our research so far, particularly the publications mentioned above within the framework of the RomaInterbellum Project (Marushiakova & Popov, 2021; 2022), have clearly shown the complete impossibility of this initial conceptual position. There are no historical grounds for separating the Roma in Central, South-Eastern and Eastern Europe from the other peoples of the region, and the processes of national development and civil emancipation among the Roma from the general processes of national development there (Ibid.). The Roma in this region have their homeland. They are a constituent and integral part of the civic nations in the countries where they live; moreover, this national civic identity is preserved even in the conditions of migration to the West today (Marushiakova & Popov, 2018a; 2019).

For all these reasons, our chosen approach is the opposite of Roma-centrism. The current book focuses on the Roma as a 'society', as an integral part of Soviet society, within which they exist as a separate community ('nationality' in the then-used terminology). Accordingly, leading in our study is the general social and political processes in the Soviet state (more specifically, the mass repressions), directed at the entire society, and the Roma became their victims as part of this society and not as a separate community.

At the beginning of this book, we would like to emphasise that even though Stalin's name appears in its title, this is not a book about Stalin but about Roma as victims of political repression in the USSR. Connecting these repressions with the name of Stalin can hardly surprise anyone. The leading anti-Stalin discourse, imposed by Nikita Khrushchev at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in 1956, transferred the responsibility for these mass repressions to Stalin personally and proved highly durable. It not only quickly became dominant in the East but also in the West, beyond the Iron Curtain, and to a very high degree, continues to be relevant these days. So, linking the political repression against the Roma with the name of Stalin is fully justified because regardless of the extent to which he had the Roma in mind in his state policy, they also became its victims.

In passing, in the interest of historical truth, we must note here that throughout the vast written heritage of Joseph Stalin on a wide variety of topics, repeatedly published and reprinted, is not a single word (sic!) about Gypsies. There is no historical evidence that he was interested in Gypsies. Moreover, Stalin has never visited a performance of Theatre *Romen* or held special meetings and receptions with Gypsy artists in the Kremlin (despite legends about such receptions widespread among Roma). However, he often attended performances in various other theatres in Moscow. Stalin repeatedly saw some plays

he particularly liked (such as his favourite, *The Days of the Turbins* by Mikhail Bulgakov). The only historical documented testimony revealing the existence of any interest and manifestation of any attitude of Stalin towards the Gypsies is a telegram he sent to Theatre *Romen*. He signed it as Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces during the so-called Great Patriotic War (this is the term designating the war of the USSR against Nazi Germany in the USSR and subsequently in Russia). The telegram was with the following text:

I ask you to convey to the Moscow State Theatre *Romen* employees, who raised 75,000 roubles for constructing a bomber that will receive the name *The Gypsy Theatre Romen*, my fraternal greetings and gratitude from the Red Army.  
I. Stalin (RGALI, f. 2928, op. 1, d. 481, l. 6).

In recent years, some media articles and popular literature have written about the “Gypsy origin” of Stalin’s wife, Nadezhda Alliluyeva (see, for example, Montefiore, 2003; Радзинский, 2016). For the first time, this version appeared in the public space in the book of Stalin’s daughter, Svetlana Alliluyeva, *Twenty Letters to a Friend* (Alliluyeva & Johnson, 1967), who wrote that her paternal grandmother was a Gypsy. However, there is no evidence in this direction. What is more important for us in this case is that no sources indicate that Nadezhda Alliluyeva ever showed any interest in the Gypsies, i.e., we must exclude the possibility that she influenced Stalin in this regard.

The interconnection of the topic of Roma victims of mass political repressions with the personality of Stalin is at the base of the chronological framework of the book. The starting point marks the so-called Great October Socialist Revolution and the establishment of the new Soviet state (officially named the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in 1922). Stalin himself was a member of the first Soviet government as People’s Commissar for Nationalities Affairs (see Blank, 1994); subsequently, in the 1920s and 1930s, he gradually became the “Grand Leader of the Soviet People and the World Proletariat” and remained such until he died in 1953. The endpoint of the book is self-explanatory. We close our study with the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union held in 1956 that denounced Stalin’s personality cult and, more importantly, ended mass political repression. Still, the political repression did not cease, but from here on, they will already be on a personal level. The death of Stalin started the rehabilitation of the victims (a long and slow process which lasted until the so-called perestroika in the mid-late 1980s and is not finalised until today).

We should also emphasise that our book does not aim to reveal Stalin’s place, role and responsibility for mass political repressions (including concerning the Roma) nor to seek an overall assessment of Soviet and world history. In this

sense, we are trying not to enter a particular and predetermined discourse – anti-Stalinist or pro-Stalinist. From the point of view of global history, the problem of these two leading discourses is not so relevant (and it shouldn't be). Still, in the last three decades, the history scholars in the Russian Federation have stuck to one of them, while in the West as a whole (with few exceptions), the anti-Stalinist discourse laid down by Nikita Khrushchev and dominant during the Cold War continues to be the leading one. To a greater or lesser extent, we must consider this as it determines the methodological approach, the results obtained, and their overall interpretation (which should have no place in academic research).

In this regard, the approach of the late Viktor Zemskov (1946–2015), one of the best connoisseurs of Stalinism, is closest to us and, above all, the most successful and acceptable. Although he positions himself as an anti-Stalinist in many of his public appearances, in his research, he brings forward the available historical evidence and documentary materials, emphasising that he leaves it to the readers to draw their conclusions and general assessments. As an explanation of this choice of ours, it is worth quoting an assessment of Viktor Zemskov made by Sergey Kara-Murza:

Historian V. N. Zemskov has been busy with painstaking but very important work for almost ten years: he systematises archival data reflecting the activities of the GULAG and publishes detailed reports on all categories of the repressed. He publishes without emotion in special journals on history and sociology. He is not a Stalinist, which is reliably stated in publications. He is not a Stalinist but respects the facts. Democrats try not to notice him and not enter into polemics with him (*Kapa-Myp3a*, 2000, p. 268).

As it often happens in our time (unfortunately), such a quest for historical truth does not find support from the two opposing camps of adherents to one or other discourse (a situation already well known to us from our other publications). To avoid possible manipulative and speculative interpretations and conclusions regarding our book, we need to make some clarifications. In our text, we repeatedly discuss the number of Roma victims of political repression in the USSR and the place of the Roma within the total number of victims. The data we gathered conflicts with the widely distributed, highly inflated and even fantastic figures that continue to circulate constantly in the public space (including in academia). The reasons for exaggerating (to put it mildly) the numbers are contextual, not substantive, and are caused by various ideological, political, and geopolitical factors beyond scholarly research. Here, we will again refer to Viktor Zemskov:

The killing of innocent people cannot be justified, be it one person or millions. But, the researcher cannot confine himself to a moral assessment of historical events and phenomena. His duty is the resurrection of the true image of our past. Especially when certain aspects of it become the object of political speculation, all this fully applies to the problem of statistics (scale) of political repressions in the USSR (Земсков, 1994, p. 107; 2009, p. 89).

The rejection or at least challenging of the manipulative and speculative overestimation of the number of victims of political repression (both in general and of the Roma) and the effort to reveal the true dimensions should not be interpreted as an effort to belittle or even deny the victims suffering. For us, the overall evaluation of historical events is not a matter of statistics. In this sense, arithmetic calculations are not so important (which does not mean they are entirely unnecessary). The number of victims (both in this case and in other similar cases) does not change the nature of the repressions; therefore, its increase is unnecessary. Whatever the motives of the various authors who consciously or unconsciously went down this path, they cannot be justified. The end cannot justify the means, and our goal in this book is to uncover the historical truth about Roma as victims of political repression in the USSR.

We are fully aware that (at least in the social sciences and humanities) complete personal detachment of the author and complete objectivity, as well as the achievement of absolute truth, cannot exist. Therefore, the subjectivity of the perception of the past and its interpretation and evaluation are always inevitable. However, this does not mean at all that we should not strive to achieve (at least within some relative frameworks) an objective approach, cleared (at least as far as possible) of any subjective biases conditioned by a variety of ideological, political, geopolitical, personal, and other factors. Suppose one more and more actively accepts the trend imposed in our time to deny, in principle, the possibility of any objective historical knowledge. It ultimately means that history will de facto cease to be a science and become subjectivised propaganda of certain personal concepts which are ideological and geopolitically determined. In passing, this path of subjectification of academic knowledge is also quite successfully followed by social anthropology, which (especially given the adopted principle of anonymisation of research sites) increasingly turns into a specific form of artistic literature.

How successful we have been in our strove to achieve an objective approach will be seen most clearly by the results obtained; in the case of this book, the evaluation of which will ultimately be given by its readers.

When presenting the victims of political repression in the USSR, it is also necessary to clarify an important terminology. In the text of our book (and,



accordingly, in separate chapters), as well as in the Annexes with the database on the repressed Gypsies, we use two main categories – ‘victims of administrative acts’ and ‘victims of judicial (quasi-judicial) decisions’. The basis of this distinction is the division made by the International Historical, Educational, Charitable and Human Rights Society *Memorial* that divides victims of political repressions in the USSR into these main categories with the following explanation:

I. The first mass category – people arrested on political charges by state security agencies (VChK – OGPU – NKVD – MGB – KGB) and sentenced by judicial or quasi-judicial institutions (OSO, “Troika”, “Dvoika”, etc.) to death or various terms of imprisonment in camps and prisons, or exile. [...]

II. Another mass category of those repressed for political reasons are peasants who were administratively expelled from their place of residence during the campaign to “destroy the kulaks as a class”. [...]

III. The third mass category of victims of political repression is the people who were deported as a whole from their places of traditional settlement to Siberia, Central Asia and Kazakhstan. These administrative deportations were most extensive during the war, 1941–1945. Some were evicted preventively as potential abettors of the enemy (Koreans, Germans, Greeks, Hungarians, Italians, Romanians), and others were accused of collaborating with the Germans during the occupation (Crimean Tatars, Kalmyks, Peoples of the Caucasus) (Рачинский et al., 2016).

Along with these main categories, the creators of the *Memorial* Society’s databases also note other types of repressed, which should also be taken into account, such as the deportees in 1939–1941, those deported after the end of the Second World War from the “new territories” of Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Western Ukraine, Western Byelorussia, Moldova (Ibid.). According to other criteria, these categories should also encompass the “socially harmful elements” or “socially dangerous elements” and parts of the repatriates from Germany after the end of the Second World War.

Further, the text will repeatedly refer to severe discrepancies in determining the victims of mass political repressions in the USSR. These discrepancies are often due to the basic definition of who should be included in the category of ‘victims of political repression’. A colleague of ours, commenting on the manuscript of our book, stated that it lacks some categories of victims, such as the Soviet citizens deported back to the USSR from Germany and its occupied territories, the residents of the territories annexed by the USSR after the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact and the beginning of the Second World War, militarily mobilised by the Soviet authorities, etc. However, we believe that such an extended interpretation of the category “victims of political repression” is not appropriate, at least for our research purposes. It is true that all those deported to the USSR after 1945 went through the so-called filtration camps. The official

statistics reflect those with convictions, and we report them accordingly. And if one goes down the path of taking into account all possible types of political repressions in the USSR, and this track goes all the way, one can reach a truly absurd situation. Seen from a contemporary point of view, in the USSR, there were many legal and administrative norms that today we may define as political repression, e.g., a ban on travelling abroad and receiving guests from abroad without special permission from the authorities, legal prohibitions on marriage with foreign citizens (from 1947 to 1953) and abortions (from 1936 to 1955), etc. If this highly extended interpretation of the category “victims of political repression” is accepted, then (in theory) all Soviet citizens were such during the entire existence of the USSR.

Based on these considerations regarding categorising the victims of political repression in the USSR in our research, we decided to use a more straightforward categorisation to present a clear picture of Gypsies, victims of political repression, in our book. In the structure of the study, we are using the two main categories of the *Memorial* Society, which fit Gypsies. First, these are all administratively repressed according to different criteria, which can be social-class and national-ethnic. Apart from the presence of a specific administrative act based on which they were carried out, it is also that their primary tool is deportation and settlement in special settlements. This category of repressed we define shortly as ‘victims of administrative acts’.

In the second place are those repressed by judicial (or quasi-judicial) means with political charges, which we define as ‘victims of judicial decisions’ (although in many cases, the definition ‘quasi-judicial’ would be more accurate). Under these judicial (quasi-judicial) decisions, they (except those who received the death penalty) had to serve their sentences in two types of correctional institutions, the so-called Correctional Labour Camps and Correctional Labour Colonies (the latter housed those sentenced to a term of up to three years, i.e., for minor offences).

We are aware that the designations we chose – ‘victims of administrative acts’ and ‘victims of judicial (quasi-judicial) decisions’ – are not entirely precise and may be subject to criticism from different perspectives. Nevertheless, such a division is needed, both from an instrumental point of view (the more systematised presentation of materials and their analysis) and simply because it exists. Therefore, we took the risk of possible criticisms in adopting them for a better exposition of the whole text and named the book chapters accordingly. Summarising both categories, we present under the general term ‘victims of political repression’.

Here, it is necessary to make another crucial terminological clarification regarding the category ‘victims of political repression’ itself. The very question of who can (and should) be considered a victim of political repression in the

USSR is fundamental because although it is posed relatively less often, it turns out to be of crucial importance for the many discrepancies in the study of mass political repressions in the USSR (and especially in terms of their scope and number of victims). In this plan, there are two slippery moments, the different approach to which gives correspondingly (and naturally) different results.

The first significant issue in this direction is whether the victims of political repression should include the repressed participants in various types of collaborationist armed formations in the territories of the USSR occupied by the German army and its allies during the Second World War (such as the Russian Liberation Army of General Andrey Vlasov), as well as the associates of the local self-government bodies of these territories. Likewise, it remains an open question whether all accusations in times of political repression should be presumed to have been fabricated and all the accused innocent. Whether among those charged with espionage, there were not also people who performed deliberate actions in the service of foreign countries, which was always and in all countries of the world considered (and continues today) a severe crime. These speculations lead to another question of whether these individuals should be included in the general category of 'victims of political repression'. For us, the answer to these questions is not a problem given the fact that (both in theory and in practice) the very possibility of Gypsies being among the repressed in frames of these categories is negligible. We take a very pragmatic approach – we accept that, in general, the accusations of a political nature against Gypsies in the course of mass political repressions are fabricated (even if, in more or fewer cases, this was not the case). We do not discuss these issues in the text (except for some individual cases regarding exceptions to this principle).

The case with the second issue is more complicated, namely, whether all Gypsies, repressed in some way under the conditions of the USSR during the studied historical period, should be considered victims of mass repression, regardless of what charges (political or criminal character). We fully agree that criminality, which occurred (and occurs) among the Roma, should not be excessively overexposed. Still, it should not be neglected entirely (as is often the case, although it usually is done with the best intentions – so as not to feed the existing mass negative public stereotypes in this direction). It is clear to everyone (or at least it should be) that in every nation, there were (and are) individuals with deviant behaviours, carrying out particular criminal (prohibited by law) activities, and it is too naive to think that Roma may (and should) be some unique exception in this regard.

As already said, the Roma are not isolated within the borders of their community; on the contrary, they are an integral part of the respective society in which they live. Thus, they are under the constant influence of leading

public discourses. According to the dominant public discourse, introduced by Khrushchev in the 1950s and further developed by Soviet dissidents and multiplied in the West and after the collapse of the USSR in the East, and in the newly independent states that succeeded the USSR too, the mass political repressions in the USSR were officially and publicly denounced. In these conditions, the oral history of the Roma was retrospectively re-edited. Therefore, a widespread phenomenon, which we repeatedly encountered during our research in the entire post-Soviet space, is all Roma repressed in the conditions of the former USSR (in whatever form and with whatever accusations, including criminal) are considered by their relatives and heirs as a victim of mass political repression (even though there is no memory of exactly what they were repressed for). We must explicitly emphasise that re-editing one's family-ancestral history is not a specifically Roma phenomenon but common to the societies in which Roma live today (cf. the widespread joke in today's Russia is that if we trust the evidence of oral history, then in the Russian Empire, the majority of the population were high aristocrats or at least nobles, and the peasants were an insignificant minority).

Without entering into unnecessary debates, we will only repeat that, in this case, our approach to this issue is instrumental and pragmatic. Therefore, we accept the existing facts, or in other words, we consider politically repressed those Gypsies who are present in the databases on the victims of political repression. Moreover, the existing mass practice, which will be discussed more than once in the text, during the political repressions was to give political interpretations to those arrested for criminal offences (far from only concerning the Roma, but for all Soviet citizens), not the other way around.



The topic of mass political repressions (including various types of mass deportations of specific categories of the population) is one of the relatively most developed and publicly popular topics in the history of the USSR, where it has its political (or geopolitical) dimensions. At the same time, we are talking here not only about an imposing amount of academic (or, unfortunately, quite often, quasi-academic) publications but also about the vast and practically immeasurable array of published documents, memories, etc., including fiction narratives. A mere bibliography of the literature on this subject (if it could ever be done at all) would exceed this book's volume many times over. Amid all this endless sea of materials on the subject, the issue of Roma, victims of political repression, seems relatively insignificant, but it has its place there.

For the first time, the topic of Roma as victims of political repression in the USSR became the object of our special attention more than ten years ago when we were browsing the website of the Gypsy Ensemble *Ame Roma* (We, the Gypsies). In the forum of this site, an extensive material (now defunct) of 9 parts, entitled *List of Gypsies Repressed During Stalin's Years (All Over the USSR)*: “Maybe someone will need it” (Романо Рат, 2011), was posted. The material was signed with the pseudonym *Romano Rat* (‘Gypsy Blood’ in the Romani language), which suggested the author’s ethnic belonging. Further, it was noted that he is from the city of Samara. Although we made great efforts during our travels in the Russian Federation over the following years, we could never identify the author with certainty and meet him. We do not know what his motives were for remaining anonymous.

The work done by the anonymous author of the material is awe-inspiring. In the list he prepared of Gypsies, victims of political repression during the period of Stalinism, a total of 403 names of Roma who were convicted or deported (he separates these two categories) are included. They are also in our database, which is in the *Book of Memory* to this book (Annexes No.No. 1.1 and 1.2). One should bear in mind that Romano Rat made the search among the vast array of information contained in the older version of the database *Victims of Political Terror in the USSR*, prepared by the International Historical, Educational, Charitable and Human Rights Society *Memorial*, which he accessed in 2011 (Жертвы политического террора, 2007–2016). We should underline that this database was not equipped with a universal search system, which practically means that he had to review dozens and hundreds of Internet pages one by one, which is genuinely a titanic task. Moreover, the unknown author makes the results of this work available completely free of charge (as can be seen from the title he puts on the list of names he discovered) for the use of all who would be interested in the subject, without even wanting his name to be remembered by generations.

The database made by Romano Rat reflects an early search stage for the names of all the victims of political repression in the USSR. In this sense, the data available needs to be supplemented and corrected. Nevertheless, it has unique value, not only (and not even so much) as a historical source but as a vivid testimony that the Roma are keenly interested in their community’s history and highly appreciate its importance for its modern development. The enormous work done by Romano Rat not only comes into sharp contradiction but also refutes the many mass stereotypes widespread even in the academia, that Gypsies/Roma are not interested in their history at all, that they live only in the present without thinking about the future, etc. (see for example Stewart, 1997, p. 28).

The most important and primary source of our research is the summarised results of the multi-year activity of the International Historical, Educational, Charitable and Human Rights Society *Memorial* and its numerous divisions and various types of subordinate or partner organisations in the Russian Federation and other similar organisations in other countries from the post-soviet space. We want to emphasise this circumstance because the authorities of the Russian Federation declared the *Memorial Society* “a foreign agent” in 2013–2014 and closed it in the fall of 2021. In 2022, *Memorial* received the Nobel Peace Prize. One can hardly find a person in the world who suspects this organisation of concealment or manipulation or a tendentious interpretation in a pro-Stalinist discourse of the data on the victims of political repressions in the USSR.

As the leading source in our research, we used the latest version of the database *Victims of Political Terror in the USSR* (Жертвы политического террора, 2017). This version is the most recent, updated and supplemented. It includes the results of several other databases, made in frames of the projects of the *Memorial Society* or by other organisations and institutions (such as Возвращённые имена, 2003; Открытый список, 2016; Бессмертный барак, 2018). The 2017 *Memorial* database also uses data from dozens of other locally limited sources, which list the victims of political repression according to different administrative regions or individual Soviet republics and different types of repression, such as deportations, labour mobilisations, etc. Most of these databases result from the past *Memorial Society*’s activities and generally repeat the information (sometimes with minor additions). In our work, we also used other databases that contain new materials (such as Украинський мартиролог ХХ ст.).

The *Memorial Society* and its divisions and subordinate organisations achieved such impressive results in direct relation to the opening of the archives in the Russian Federation (started already in late USSR during the time of perestroika) and other countries of the former so-called socialist camp, which some researchers even define as an “archival revolution”. Despite its controversial assessments (Raleigh, 2002, pp. 16–24; Plamper, 2003, pp. 57–69), the results of open access to the archives, at least in the case of sources about political repression, brought about a radical breakthrough in their research and revealed a multitude of new possibilities for clarifying and detailing their scope.

We used a variety of sources in the preparation of this book. The first level is the primary sources, i.e., the data we collected from literature in various archives in the Russian Federation. In the second level, we used a series of editions of *Victims of Political Repressions* and *Book of Memory*, published after

the collapse of the USSR. These books, some of which are based on different criteria, present data from primary sources of individual former Soviet republics (now independent states) and federal subjects (over 80) of the Russian Federation. The volumes of this second level of the source base are awe-inspiring. By the end of 2017, a total of 412 books were prepared in Russia alone (sic!), and new volumes are also published nowadays (in hard copies or digital versions, and sometimes in both).

In the independent states that arose after the breakdown of the USSR, the situation differed according to local conditions. In some of them (in Central Asia and the South Caucasus), only separate volumes are available, or there may be no editions. In Belarus, most of the published databases stress those who died in the Second World War. The situation is comparatively better in Ukraine, where the analogue of the Russian *Book of Memory* is the Series *Rehabilitated by History*, and so far, appeared in more than 110 volumes, in which the emphasis is on mass repressions.

At the primary baseline level, existing archival data are incredibly numerous and heterogeneous, and it is hardly within the power of any academic institution or team of researchers to at least identify and summarise them as a bibliography (let alone describe, catalogue, digitise, etc.) within a foreseeable time and in their full extent. There is another severe obstacle here, which, at least at this stage, seems intractable. We are talking about the personal files of the repressed, stored in the system of archives of the Federal Security Service, which inherited a large part of the archives of the VCheKa – GPU – OGPU – NKVD – NKGB. In principle, access to them is not prohibited. Still, in practice, it is constrained due to the requirement that they be provided only to the heirs of the specific repressed person or to persons authorised by them.

The above-mentioned summarised databases of the *Memorial Society* are the third, highest level in the pyramid of the source base we used in the present study. As we have already said, the *Memorial Society* created its databases based on the primary historical sources stored in the different archives – national, regional, local, institutional, or personal, and supplemented them with secondary sources, such as memoirs, periodicals, etc.

Naturally, one specific study cannot cover all this colossal source base (as it is in our case). Therefore, we have focused our work primarily on the top of the pyramid. We are quoting the secondary sources according to the relevant databases and the primary ones only in specific cases. This decision was dictated above all by pragmatic considerations – bringing the complete archival and bibliographic data would not only complicate our work enormously and extend the time of preparation of our book. Still, they would also significantly increase its total volume.

Of the summarised databases at the third, highest level, the leading one in our work is the database *Victims of Political Terror* in the USSR, in the 2017 version, which continues to be constantly replenished (ЖЕРТВЫ ПОЛИТИЧЕСКОГО ТЕРРОРА, 2017). Our choice here was also entirely pragmatic – compared to other such summarised databases, it offers the wealthiest information and the most extensive universal search system according to various criteria. Just one comparison – when searching using the specification “Gypsy nationality”, the *Open List* database, which presents itself as “the completest database of victims of political repressions in the USSR (1917–1991)”, the result is 374 names (Открытый список, 2016, last visited on April 24, 2024). At the same time, the *Victims of Political Terror in the USSR* database found 459 names (ЖЕРТВЫ ПОЛИТИЧЕСКОГО ТЕРРОРА, 2017, last visited on April 24, 2024). Therefore, this particular database is the leading one for us. Materials from other existing databases are attracted only to the extent that they offer new, additional information missing in the primary source we use.

In the same way, when creating the database of Roma victims of mass deportations and political repressions presented in the *Book of Memories* with two subdivisions – Annex No. 1.1. Victims of Administrative Acts and Annex No. 1.2. Victims of Judicial (Quasi-judicial) Decisions, – we used the stencil to record the victims established in the database *Victims of Political Terror in the USSR* and other similar publications.

In cases where the source of specific information is from other databases or other archival or bibliographic sources, we have tried to bring the records to the already accepted template form, which we compiled according to the primary columns of the official forms used by the Soviet institutions. Ideally, this stencil form may include the following points, which vary from case to case:

1. Year of Birth; 2. Place of Birth; 3. Social Origin; 4. Nationality; 5. Party Affiliation; 6. Education; 7. Place of Residence; 8. Address; 9. Occupation; 10. Place of Work; 11. Measure of Restraint; 12. Arrested; 13. Date of Arrest; 14. Indictment; 15. Deciding Body; 16. Date of Decision; 17. Verdict; 18. Date and Place of the Execution; 19. Place of Burial; 20. Place of Serving the Sentence; 21. Death in Imprisonment; 22. Release; 23. Rehabilitating Body; 24. Reason of Rehabilitation; 25. Date of Rehabilitation; 26. Additional Information; 27. Source.

However, this form is only ideal. In practice, no one database or *Book of Memories* follow it consistently and completely (e.g., until 2017, only three of the *Books of Memories* noted the nationality of the repressed). The reasons for this state of the data are many and varied, and there is no point in discussing them here because we are dealing with the existing facts (i.e., what is available in sources).



We have also shortened some of the points to avoid repetition and lighten the database prepared for this edition. Since most repressed Gypsies do not have a 'Party Affiliation' and are marked as 'Non-partisan', we note this point only in cases where they have one. In the same way, the entry 'Measure of Restraint' is omitted because, in almost all cases, it is 'Arrested' (in fact, there is only one exception, where this measure is a 'House arrest', which we noted).

We should note the database on Gypsies, the victims of political repressions in the USSR presented in the *Book of Memory* – Annex No. 1.1 Victims of Administrative Acts; and Annex No. 1.2 Victims of Judicial (Quasi-judicial) Decisions – are significant. According to Arseny Roginsky, the first chairman of the *Memorial* Society, one of the inalienable human rights is the right to a name and a grave, and the database of all the repressed, which *Memorial* Society prepared, gives descendants the right to reclaim memory (Мишина, 2019, p. 2). That is why we have designed this *Book of Memory* (i.e., the main source base of our study), however incomplete it may be (especially regarding the Roma victims of administrative acts). Our aim was not to omit a single name (therefore, we included some names that may be controversial).

The fact that our leading resource is the synthesised third-level historical information contained in the aggregated databases does not mean we underestimate the primary sources. On the contrary, from the very beginning of our research project, we had planned to do careful research in selected regional and local archives to cross-check the historical sources between the top and the bottom of the pyramid. Thus, we tried to check for any discrepancies in the two levels and to see in what direction they are (i.e., which of these two levels is more exhaustive). Therefore, we used other archival materials that we and our collaborators discovered in the archives of the Russian Federation, Ukraine and Belarus, particularly in many national, departmental, regional, local and personal archives (see more detailed list in Archives). Unfortunately, the restrictions imposed by the COVID-19 pandemic and the war in Ukraine disrupted our plans. It became impossible to do more work in the archives in Ukraine and the Central Archive of the Federal Security Service of Russia (which stores many of the personal files of the repressed). Despite these difficulties, the data collected up to this point appear sufficient to present the studied phenomena comprehensively.

In addition to the primary and secondary historical sources, the information from the community's historical memory, preserved in its oral history and folklore, also deserves special attention. Oral history requires a methodological approach that "classical" historians rarely use. In our previous texts, we have expressed our reservations about the information from the oral history and folklore, which in many cases arose secondarily and far from always reflecting the actual deeds and facts (Марушиакова & Попов, 2022). Still, it is possible to

use such data, but it is mandatory after cross-checking and verifying them with other historical sources. The materials of oral history and folklore of the Roma related to the topic of our research were collected by us (albeit unsystematically) during our fieldwork within the framework of various projects during the last two decades throughout the post-Soviet space (Russian Federation, Ukraine, Belarus, the Baltic countries, South Caucasus, and Central Asia).

The main goal we set for ourselves in preparing this book was to present a complete picture of a general plan of political repressions in the USSR, which predetermined its internal structure. In our book, we also decided to include two specific studies (separated respectively into two authors parts in Chapter 4) dedicated to the political repression of one Roma group, namely the Kelderari, and of one family, namely the Demeters. The authors of these parts of the book are our colleagues, Alexander Chernykh (4.1.) and Nadezhda Demeter (4.2). The last name is particularly symbolic because Nadezhda Demeter is a direct descendant (granddaughter) of Stepan (Ishtvan) Demeter, a victim of political repression. Alexander Chernykh also prepared the source documents for Annex 2.



We need to make some clarifications regarding the terminology used in our study. The two key terms used in the sources and the authors' texts are 'Roma' and 'Gypsies'. There is no need to pay attention here to the public debate surrounding the use of these terms, in which two discourses (political and academic) are wrongly mixed; this debate is closely correlated with the development of contemporary Roma activism and is under the decisive influence of current political structures at international (mainly European) and national levels (see Marushiakova & Popov, 2018, pp. 385–418). In this case, we take a pragmatic approach and consider it sufficient to explain briefly the principles underlying the use of the two key terms in this book.

Since the Middle Ages, Roma communities have lived in the region of Central, South-Eastern and Eastern Europe and were denoted by the surrounding population with different names. Such denominations are 'Ἀθίγγανοι' (Byzantine Empire, Greece), 'Kıbtı' and 'Çingene' (Ottoman Empire, Turkey), 'Цигани' (Serbia, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Украина), 'Țigani' (Romania), 'Zigeuner' (Austro-Hungarian Empire, Austria), 'Cigányok' (Hungary), 'Cikáni' (Czechoslovakia, Czech Republic), 'Cigáni' (Czechoslovakia, Slovakia), 'Cyganie' (Poland), 'Цыгане' (Russian Empire, USSR, Russian Federation), 'Čigonai' (Lithuania), 'Čigāni' (Latvia), 'Mustalased' (Estonia), 'Mustalaiset' (Finland), etc. Over time, and especially after the First World War, when the old empires collapsed, and new ethnic nation-states emerged in the region, some

of these names turned into official terms and became political denominations of the Roma communities in their respective countries.

All these denominations are usually translated into English (today's language of global academia) with the ethnonym 'Gypsies', which causes serious problems for English-speaking readers. The word 'Gypsies' in the English-speaking world, including in the scholarly jargon, is used to signify diverse nomadic communities regardless of their ethnic origins and identity (Hancock, 2010, pp. 95–96). In this way, two meanings of the term 'Gypsies' are formed. On the one hand (as it is in the region of Central, South-Eastern and Eastern Europe), this umbrella term reflects the common origins and underlying unity of the heterogeneous communities whose ancestors migrated a millennium ago from the Indian subcontinent; on the other hand (as it is in the Anglo-Saxon world), it is a term describing not origin and ethnicity, but the "social phenomenon of communities of peripatetics or commercial nomads, irrespective of origin or language" (Matras, 2004: 55–56), which can include in its scope even such exotic cases as the so-called 'Sea Gypsies' of South-Eastern Asia (White, 1922; Ivanoff et al., 1997).

To escape from this translation trap, we use the term 'Gypsies' in both senses; moreover, this approach most adequately reflects the existing situation in the USSR (and in the Russian Empire before that). Here, the term 'Gypsies' ('Цыгане/Tsygane' in Russian) can refer both to the Roma (and the few related Sinti) living mainly in the European part of the country (later resettled or displaced to Siberia, the Far East and Central Asia), as well as to many heterogeneous communities living in the regions of the South Caucasus and Central Asia. In the South Caucasus, these are the first two parts of the common triad 'Dom-Lom-Rom' (differentiated based on the dialects of the Romani language they speak or at least spoke in the past), which respectively use the self-appellations Dom (and who are called by their surrounding population Garachi/Karachi) and Lom (called Bosha/Posha by their surrounding population). In Central Asia, the picture is even more complicated. Here live many ethnically heterogeneous communities, settled at different times in the region, with different self-appellations (most often Mughat, but also Mazang, Tavoktarosh, Agha, Kavol, Multoni, Chistoni, Parya, etc.), most of them with a native Tajik language, which the local population collectively call Dzhugi (in the Tajik language) or Lyuli (in the Turkic local languages), and in the Russian language, including in the official documentation from the time of the Russian Empire, 'Цыгане/Tsygane' (see Marushiakova & Popov, 2016a).

It is also interesting to note that the Roma activists themselves from the Soviet time, except in the cases when writing in the Romani language, also used the term 'Цыгане' (Gypsies) and in the struggles for the civic emancipation of

their community they proceeded from precisely this official discourse set out in USSR. It should not be a surprise also that it was in the early USSR that, for the first time, the issue of replacing the public name of the community with its ethnonym was raised only by a non-Rom, namely by Daniil S. Savvov, who was employed at the Narkompros. In an article published in the Romani language journal *Romany zorya* (Gypsy Dawn) in 1930, he wrote: “You have your own name ‘Rom’, the history tells that Roma come from India. It would be good to call yourselves ‘Indo-Rom’” (Романы зоря, 1930с, р. 9). In the same issue of the journal was published a poem, *A Call from the Kolkhoz*, by an author who used the pseudonym Indo-Rom (Романы зоря, 1930а, р. 46); this pseudonym is, in fact, used only by Georgy Lebedev (for more details see Marushiakova & Popov, 2022, pp. 470–485). However, this proposal of Daniil S. Savvov finds little resonance among the Gypsy activists. They did not perceive the public denomination ‘Цыгане’ as insulting to Roma, which is clearly seen from the article by Andrey Taranov, the Chair of the All-Russian Union of the Gypsies, *The Thirteenth Anniversary of October Revolution*, which states: “Tsarist Russia [...] called Uzbeks ‘Sarty’, Jews ‘Zhidy’, Ukrainians ‘Khokhly’, Gypsies ‘Pharaons’ and so on” (Нэво дром, 1930б, р. 1).

The only reverberation to the proposal for a new public community name (‘Indo-Rom’) reappears in the 1930s when, at the time of funding the Theatre *Romen*, possible variants of its title were discussed. Among the proposals, one can also find a version connected with the term ‘Indo-Rom’, such as *Indo-Romsky* (or *Indo-Romensky*) Theatre, i.e., ‘Indo-Roma Theatre’ (Бессонов, 2013, р. 454). Still, in the end, the name State Gypsy Theatre *Romen* (i.e., belonging to the Roma) was established.

Of course, in numerous books, journals and newspapers published in the Romani language, the self-appellation ‘Roma’ is used, which in Russian translations is rendered as ‘Цыгане’ (Gypsies). Based on the above, it becomes clear why in this book we use the English term ‘Gypsies’, although only in historical discourse, i.e., when the text quotes or retells historical material; modifying them in historical sources would mean de facto rewriting and falsifying history (including the published historical sources) from a contemporary (largely politically determined) perspective. We use the designation ‘Roma’ also, but from a modern point of view. In our case, fortunately, there is no major discrepancy between the political discourse, in which ‘Roma’ in many cases (mostly within the framework of European institutions) is used as the umbrella label for a particular political category (Marushiakova & Popov, 2018b, pp. 385–418), and the academic discourse, in which this designation is used as an ethnic category (Marushiakova & Popov, 2016a, pp. 7–34).

Our chosen approach is also largely justified from the point of view of the existing historical realities because, as will be seen later, mass political repressions mainly affect the Roma, while the rest of the 'Gypsies' are hardly affected by them; in the few cases (which are rather exceptions), when these Gypsies are their victims, the necessary additional explanations are made. And one more thing, which is no less important – without the distinction of these two terms ('Gypsies' and 'Roma'), it is impossible to understand their specific use in official Soviet documentation.



We need to say also a few words about the technical details of the text of this book.

In the *Book of Memory*, Annexes No.No. 1.1 and 1.2, prepared by us, which represent databases on Gypsies victims of political repression, the source format's intervention is minimal. We made where needed spelling, phraseological and stylistic edits and corrections.

In particular, the geographical nomenclature (more precisely, the names of the settlements) in the Annexes are, in many cases, left unchanged (except for the corrected spelling in case of typographical errors) because, often, these settlements have been renamed more than once (including up to the present day), or it was not possible to identify their exact names (especially if the settlements are outside the borders of the USSR). Changes were also not made for some visible errors (such as indicated in the source "Romania, city of Kherson" or "Romania, city of Belgrade") when it is not clear what exactly the error is (whether the country or city name is wrong). The transliteration of the names of the cities is according to the language of the original documents and also with the official language during the time of the Russian Empire.

In the same way, we left unchanged the territorial-administrative affiliation of these settlements, as recorded in the documents. If needed, we added explanations placed in square brackets []. Here, it should be borne in mind that, in general, we adhere to the original (e.g., those born in the Russian Empire are recorded according to the territorial-administrative division of the USSR used at the time of issuing the documents) as the critical thing for us is the geographic location of a region.

In Annex No. 2, we present excerpts from several investigative cases of repressed Roma so that the reader can get a complete idea of what the official Soviet documentation related to political repressions is, which is our primary source base.

Annex No. 3 presents the main legal documents that were the basis of the various forms of mass political repression in the USSR.

At the end of the book, we attach a *Dictionary of Abbreviations and Soviet Neologisms* used in the book's text and the annexes.

The omitted parts or reductions, which are eliminated in the English translation of quotations, are indicated with square brackets [], and only in some of the Annexes are additional notes and comments to the sources' texts. A similar approach is used when further clarification is needed to better understand the meaning of individual words or phrases.

Some of the terms used, which do not have an adequate English translation, are left in the original language and are in italics when used for the first time. Italics also indicate words and phrases that are in Romani or other languages.

In many places in the texts for the names of the institutions, their abbreviations and neologisms, which originated on this basis, have been used. They convey the era's spirit as part of the new language policy in the early USSR, so we have kept them. Because these abbreviations and neologisms are often incomprehensible even in the modern Russian language, a special Dictionary of abbreviations and neologisms used during the Soviet era has been included. This Dictionary also includes other commonly used abbreviations in countries throughout the region.

We write the names of administrative units, cities, villages, geographical designations, etc., from the time of the USSR in their Russian form. We are giving the same appellations in their modern form in cases where they are now in the independent states that emerged after the collapse of the USSR in 1991.

The words and expressions in the Romani language (as and other languages) are maintained as in the original, followed by the translation in round brackets. Italics, in some instances, are used to designate the names or titles, e.g., of organisations, Roma groups, newspapers, kolkhoses, literary works, etc.

The names of the personalities in the text we give in the usual order – name, father's name (if any), surname, although in the original spelling in Russian languages in the official documentation is an inversion of this order (i.e., surname, first name, father's name). We preserved this official name order in the repressed database published in Annexes No. 1 and 2. We made exceptions only in cases of the so-called Roma names (i.e., those used in the community), which are often different from the "official" ones (i.e., those in their state-issued documents). We write them according to the common practice of Roma (personal name, patronymic, surname).

In the text of the book, in cases where words or expressions in the Romani language are used, they are written in italics, using the officially adopted

alphabet of the Romani language in the early USSR based on the Cyrillic alphabet (when it comes to texts published in this language), or the generally accepted nowadays standard spelling form based on the Latin alphabet (when first mentioned, we also point to commonly accepted Romani spelling in the Latin alphabet in cases different from the latter).

Quotations in the text we mark in two ways – by detached, clearly separated paragraphs or double quotation marks (“/”) when they are part of a sentence. Single quotation marks (‘/’) stand for the individual terms used in the different texts.

To maintain a form of language equality, all archival and media sources and bibliographic data, including references to the text, are displayed in the language and alphabet of the original.

Separate references we make to the archival and media (newspapers and popular journals) sources, according to their respective rules.



We would like to thank all who contributed so that this book became a reality. Many people from the Russian Federation, Ukraine and Belarus supported us directly or indirectly in the preparation and writing of this book, too numerous to be listed. Our gratitude goes to all colleagues and friends who supported us in our work and the staff of the archives, libraries, and museums we visited, who are too numerous to list.

We also want to mention our gratitude to the late Nikolay Bessonov and his daughter Valeria Yanyшева, as well as Valdemar Kalinin, who allowed us to work in their personal archives and use all the necessary materials.

We also owe special thanks to our colleagues who provided us with the archival materials they discovered: Alexander Chernykh, Andriy Zhyvyuk, Iraida Nam, Nadezhda Demeter and Niko Rergo.

Most of all, we would like to express our sincere thanks to the man known to us only by his pseudonym, Romano Rat. We still hope that someday we will be able to meet him to express our deep appreciation in person.

## Gypsy Politics and Gypsy Activism

To properly understand the nature and dimensions of the mass political repressions against the Roma in the USSR, we have to consider their place in the general historical context of the time. While in our previous books, we have explored exhaustively the position of the Roma in the social context of the USSR, in the present one, we make a summary with some additional information and analysis. First, it is important to comprehend the historical phenomenon of political repressions, and second, to consider the repressions against the Roma as an integral part of this political phenomenon, which had occurred in a given historical period. To avoid repetition of well-known and much-discussed issues (both in the academy, in socio-political life and in the public space), we skip the first part. Just the compilation of a bibliography on this subject (without ambitions for comprehensiveness) would take many years of work, and its volume would exceed many times the size of this book. That being the case, we have chosen a different approach. Our attention is not focused on the phenomenon of mass repression as such (assuming that the readers of this book know enough about it or can read about it elsewhere) but on the subject of our research, the Roma in the USSR.

We start with a review of the Roma demographic, ethno-social and ethno-cultural profile.

The starting point for determining the number and relative share of the Gypsies in the USSR is the data from the Population Censuses in the Russian Empire. As a basis for comparison, the most suitable are the data from the first (and, in fact, the only one) General Census in the Russian Empire in 1897. This Census determined the number of the Gypsies according to the 'native language' criterion. The Roma who lost their native language, such as the Ukrainian-speaking and the Tatar-speaking Roma, were not counted as Roma. Gypsies with other native languages, such as Dom (speaking Turkic and Kurdish languages) and Lom (speaking Armenian), as well as Gypsies from Central Asia (speaking Tajik, Turkic, or other languages), were not included either.

According to the Census data, the population of the Russian Empire (excluding Finland) at that time was about 125.7 million people, with Gypsies totalling 44,582 people, of whom 38,031 lived in villages and 6,551 in cities (Тройницкий, 1905, Table XIII; Crowe, 1994, p. 170). Their geographical distribution was as follows: 8,636 of them lived in Bessarabia, 1,056 in Poland, 1,750



in Latvia and Estonia, 3,003 in Lithuania and Byelorussia, 3,177 in Ukraine, 14,300 in Novorossiia, 1,433 in Crimea, 2,829 in North Caucasus, 212 in South Caucasus, 2,138 in the South Volga region, 1,080 in the North Volga region, 3,223 in the Central Black Earth region, 2,784 in Central Russia, 2,021 in Northern Russia, 6,238 in Siberia, 143 in the steppes, and 628 in Central Asia (Bauer et al., 1991, Vol. A, p. 199; Vol. B, pp. 144, 212–469; Crowe, 1994, p. 170).

The first population census in the USSR was conducted in 1926 when significant parts of the former Russian Empire (Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, today's Western Belarus and Western Ukraine, and the Republic of Moldova) were excluded from the territory of the new Soviet state. Unlike the Census in 1897, which determined the number of individual nationalities (140 in total) according to their native language (Алфавитный список народов, 2005), in 1926, the authorities prepared a list with more than 160 nationalities in advance of the Census (Всесоюзная перепись, 1926). The respondents had to choose and declare their nationality. In addition to *Цыгане* (i.e., Gypsies), the list also included *Боша/Bosha* (i.e., Lom) nationality, which was chosen by only 31 persons in the Transcaucasian SFSR (Ibid.). This result shows that the processes of preferred (and mostly publicly demonstrated) ethnic identity were already strongly manifested. The total population of the USSR, according to this Census, was 120,520,852 people plus 192,949 'foreigners' (i.e., foreign citizens). There were 61,234 Gypsies, of whom 12,823 lived in cities and 48,411 in villages. Their distribution in the separate Soviet republics was as follows: 40,948 people in the RSFSR (8,935 in cities and 32,013 in villages); 3,013 people in the Byelorussian SSR (168 and 2,198); 13,578 people in the Ukrainian SSR (2,540 and 11,038); 405 people in Transcaucasia SFSR (42 and 363); 3,710 people in the Uzbek SSR (1,082 and 2,628); and 227 people in the Turkmen SSR, (56 and 171) (Всесоюзная перепись, 1926).

The Gypsies represented about 0.051% of the general population of the USSR and ranked 44th by number among the other nationalities. The Census recorded them according to their residence. Since, at that time, there were few permanently settled Gypsies in the villages, and only in some regions (for more details, see below), we can assume that most Roma who registered in villages were nomads.

According to the 1939 Census, the total population of the USSR was 170,557,093 people. Among them, there were 88,242 Gypsies in total, with the following distribution in the Soviet republics: 61,262 lived in the RSFSR; 10,443 in the Ukrainian SSR; 3,632 in the Byelorussian SSR; 727 in the Georgian SSR; 400 in Azerbaijan SSR; seven in the Armenian SSR; 190 in the Turkmen SSR; 5,487 in the Uzbek SSR; 1,193 in the Tajik SSR; 4,257 in the Kazakh SSR; 644 in the Kyrgyz SSR (Всесоюзная перепись, 1939). In the entire USSR, 20,406

Gypsies lived in cities and 67,836 in villages; in the RSFSR, 13,769 lived in cities and 47,493 people in villages (GARF, f. A 259, op. 1, d. 632, l. 60c). The Gypsies represented about 0.052% of the total population and ranked 43rd by number among the other nationalities in the USSR (i.e., the changes from the 1926 data were insignificant).

Another Census, held in 1937, is noteworthy for its consequences. It was completed within one day, January 6, 1937. When the first results appeared in the spring of the same year, the leadership of the USSR People's Census Bureau of the Central Administration of Economic Accounting of *Gosplan* (The State Planning Committee – the institution that led and organised the Census) was arrested and subsequently shot. A Decree of the USSR SNK dated September 23, 1937, declared the organisation of the Census unsatisfactory. Accordingly, the results were declared defective and were cancelled (Жиромская et al., 1996). There are various explanations for this decision of the Soviet authorities, which are irrelevant in our case as they don't affect the Gypsies. We should note that the Census organisers approached their tasks very carefully, as evidenced by the preparation of a Dictionary of Nationalities (Словарь национальностей, 1937) as a tool to facilitate the Census and the interpretation of the results. The List of Nationalities in this Dictionary included the terms 'Dom', 'Rom' and 'Servi' as alternative designations of 'Цыгане' (Gypsies). There was an instruction to mark with specific codes the Gypsies whose native languages were Armenian, Tajik, and Uzbek. Armenian Gypsies, with specifications 'Bosha', 'Gnchu', and 'Lom', were included under Armenians. Central Asian Gypsies, namely 'Dzhugi', 'Kashgari' [Kashgar Lyuli – authors' note], 'Lyuli', 'Mazang' and 'Moltani' (with Tajik or Uzbek native languages) were included, respectively, under Tajiks or Uzbeks (Ibid.). Apparently, the authors of the Dictionary were relatively well acquainted with the communities designated as 'Gypsies' (although there are some mistakes) as well as with the phenomenon of the preferred (and publicly declared) ethnic identity of some of them.

The 1937 Census results were never published; they were revealed to the public only after the end of the USSR (Жиромская et al., 1996). The results are shocking from the point of view of the number of the Gypsies. According to the 1937 data, the Gypsies were only 2,211 people in total and 1,791 in the RSFSR (Ibid., pp. 86, 91). There is no satisfactory explanation for the drastic discrepancy with the data from the previous (1926) and the following (1939) Censuses. There was a decrease in the numbers of other nationalities as well (such as Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Poles, Kazakhs, etc.), although not in such dramatic proportions as in the case of the Gypsies. While for other nationalities, this decrease is the logical consequence of collectivisation, mass starvation,

emigration, etc., it is not the case with the Gypsies, who were not subject to mass collectivisation. Even if we assume that the Roma and other communities united under the label 'Gypsies', had decided to declare another identity in the 1937 Census, it is still unclear what happened after the Census in 1926 that made them change their choice as well as why they started declaring their identity again, two years later, in the 1939 Census.

If we assume that the decreased number of Gypsies in the Census data resulted from falsification on the part of the institutions that organised and conducted the Census, new questions arise. First, how could this have happened without any documentary evidence to this effect? Given the participation of a vast bureaucratic apparatus, only the census takers were more than 1 million and 250 thousand people. Second, and even more importantly, it is not clear why it was necessary to falsify only the results for the Gypsies, a nationality which has never been the focus of national policies in the USSR, as discussed at several points in this book. So, the question of how (and why) the 1937 Census had registered a dramatic decrease in the number of the Gypsies remains unanswered. Of course, the data about the number of any other nationality in any Census is never absolutely accurate. There is always some discrepancy between the Census data and the actual state of affairs worldwide. This fact also applies to the Gypsies, and even to a greater extent compared to other communities. The census data on the 'Gypsies' is always incomplete for several reasons. Their actual number is higher than the official data, including the standard deviation (usually 3–4 per cent). The population censuses in the USSR in 1926 and 1939 were no exception to this rule. Their results sharply contradicted the numbers provided by Roma activists from the then *All-Russian Union of the Gypsies* (Всероссийский союз цыган). The Union's action plans and funding requests were drawn on the basis of 500,000 (in another version 600,000) Gypsies in the USSR (GARF, f. P 393, op. 43 A, d. 1763, l. 7–8). These figures, however, were not accepted by the authorities, who planned and audited the work related to the Gypsies on the basis of the official figures.

After the dissolution of the All-Russian Union of the Gypsies in 1928, Roma activists continued disputing the 1926 Census data in their interaction with the authorities, claiming that the number of the Gypsies was significantly higher. They indicated different figures, most often around 500,000, also 600,000, 800,000, and even very fantastic 1,000,000 (GARF, f. P 3260, op. 6, d. 44, l. 5; f. P 393, op. 43 A, d. 1763, l. 80; f. A 259, op. 9 Б, d. 4233, l. 22; f. P 3316, op. 17, d. 188, l. 3). Nevertheless, the Soviet administration preferred to work with the official data for obvious bureaucratic reasons, revealed in the ON VTsIK Report from 1935, which pointed out that if the figures provided by Gypsy activists were

accepted, then the share of the employed Gypsies would have been no more than 15%; however, more correct would be to take as granted the Census data and then the share would rise to 30–35% (GARF, f. P 1235, op. 123, d. 27).

The Roma activists usually pointed out two main reasons for providing higher numbers, which significantly exceeded official data. The first reason was that in the Census, many Gypsies self-identified as Romanians, Hungarians, and Bulgarians, while others were supposedly not counted as Gypsies because they had foreign passports. This statement is accurate because the Census registered all foreign nationals according to their citizenship, not ethnicity. Thus, the Gypsies, who were foreigners (mainly Kelderari and Lovari), could not be counted in the total number of the Gypsies. On the other hand, the number of “foreign” Gypsies in the country was not so significant to cover this vast discrepancy. Secondly, Roma activists emphasised that the Census supposedly could not cover Gypsies who were not domiciled. This argument is not convincing enough either because the Gypsy camps were usually located on the outskirts of the settlements and were thus easily accessible by the census takers. It is likely that the Census did not cover all Gypsies; however, the number of those who were not counted was hardly big enough to alter the total number significantly. Moreover, it should be borne in mind that, at that time, the Gypsies were clearly distinguished from their surrounding population, not only in appearance but also in their traditional clothing (or some elements of it). They could hardly mislead the Census takers, even if they wished. Thus, with all the inaccuracies and incompletions in the data from the Censuses in 1926 and 1939, the actual share of the Gypsies in the total population of the USSR in the interwar period could not exceed 0.1%.

We emphasise this share (0.1%) at the beginning of our text because the insignificant percentage of the Gypsy population in the total population of the USSR is a relevant consideration in the subsequent parts of our study. We must always consider it when analysing the place of the Gypsies in the Soviet nationality policy as well as in the mass political repressions.

At this point, we need to pay attention to the internal heterogeneity of the Roma community and the main units (Roma groups and their subgroups) in the general mosaic of the Roma population living on the territory of the Russian Empire and, subsequently, in the USSR (Marushiakova & Popov, 2012). We will briefly introduce the larger Roma groups.

The biggest Roma group is *Ruska* (Russian) *Roma*. They are the first Roma who arrived in Russia in the 17th and 18th centuries, from Germany through Poland. Their descendants gradually migrated throughout the European part of the Russian Empire, some reaching the Urals and entering Siberia and the Far East.

Another large Roma group is the *Servi*, who settled in the 16th century in the Ukrainian lands, then moved to the east, to Russia's neighbouring regions; parts of them gradually lost their language and became Ukrainian-speaking.

To a large extent, the *Vlakhi* (*Vlaxi*) group lived in the same territories. Their ancestors migrated there in the 17th and 18th centuries from Wallachia and Moldova and further settled in the North Caucasus, the Volga region and Siberia.

On the Crimean Peninsula, during the time of the Crimean Khanate, annexed to the Russian Empire at the end of the 18th century, there were two Roma Muslim communities. One is *Dajfa/Tajfa* (*Dajffa/Tajffa* in Romani spelling), whose ancestors came to these territories probably from Asia Minor and the Balkans during the times of the Ottoman Empire, around the 16th to 17th centuries. Today, they are Tatar-speaking and have a preferred Tatar identity. The other group are the *Krimy/Krimurya* (*Krimurja*), descendants of migrants from the Balkan Peninsula through Wallachia and Moldavia in the 17th to 18th centuries. In the context of the USSR, part of them resettled in the North Caucasus and, during the Second World War, also in the South Caucasus.

The accession of Bessarabia to the Russian Empire in 1812 filled the mosaic of Roma communities with Roma groups of nomadic *Kishiniovtsi* (*Kišiniovci*) and Romanian-speaking *Lingurari*.

At the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries, before the First World War, *Kelderari* and *Lovari* groups entered the Russian Empire from Austria-Hungary. Some scholars (e.g., Lemon, 2000; O'Keeffe, 2013) use the linguistic term 'Vlax Roma' for their designation as it is customary in the USA. It is not wrong in principle, but in the case of the USSR, it is not precise enough. The term 'Vlax Roma' (or 'Vlax Rom') in Europe refers to the entire language community of the so-called North Vlax (or New-Vlax) dialects of the Romani language. In the USSR, there are several Roma groups who speak dialects from this dialectal group (such as Vlaxi, Kishiniovtsi), and the *Kelderari* and *Lovari* are just two of them (Черенков, 1985; Marushiakova & Popov, 2013). Thus, the use of the general term for the distinction of two of the groups could be misleading.

In the conditions of the Russian Empire, Roma (like other Gypsy communities) led a way of life defined as 'service nomadism', which is different from other types of nomadism such as the hunter-gatherers, pastoral, trans-human, and equestrian nomadism, etc. Service nomadism is characterised by the combination of nomadic and settled forms of living as well as by the dependence of the service nomads on the resources produced by the settled population. The service nomads engaged in continuous cyclical wandering (with renting a shelter in the villages for the winter and wandering in the warm season), usually in

familial groupings, which sought economic niches for their services. In situations of uncertainty, to maintain their existence, service nomads changed their place of living; access to and availability of resources being the determining factors of the groups' mobility and scale as well as the direction of their travels (Hayden, 1979, pp. 297–309; Марушиакова, 2004, pp. 322–340; Marushiakova & Popov, 2016b, p. 41). Relocation to new territories was part of this way of life, brought about by the search for a “better quality of life” (Matras, 2000, p. 33).

In the Russian Empire, individual Roma groups (similarly to the Gypsies in general) kept their professional particularity. While women generally begged and told fortune, men did horse trading (Ruska Roma), iron smithing (Servi and Vlaxi), producing, repairing and tinning copper vessels (Kelderari), etc. These specialisations, however, were not rigidly fixed, and it was not uncommon for Roma from all groups to change the group profession according to the conditions and the situation (e.g., in all groups, one can find professional musicians, singers and dancers). With the changing social conditions, all Roma groups followed a trend for a settled life. The crisis of nomadism, caused by the advancing of the modern age from the mid-19th century, was already clearly visible on the eve of the October Revolution (more robust in the developed central parts of the Empire and much weaker in its far peripheries). Some Roma communities (such as Servi in Ukraine and Ruska Roma in North-West Russia) gradually and voluntarily adopted a settled way of life. They began to buy houses (in villages or small towns), limited the duration of their travels and undertook temporary wage labour (mainly in agriculture). More specific were the changes in the nomadic way of life among the Kelderari, who started using modern transportation (railway transport) and preferred larger urban centres (Marushiakova & Popov, 2003).

A new phenomenon of Roma occupations emerged in the conditions of the Russian Empire, and in addition to the old, “traditional” community elite, which was preserved among the itinerant Roma (still the predominant part of Roma in the Empire), a new, different elite was born. This is the so-called musical elite. The beginning of the Roma settlement processes in the Russian Empire's big cities was closely related to the famous Gypsy Choirs. The first such mixed (men and women) choir was set up by Count Alexey Orlov in 1775 on his estate in Pushkino, near Moscow. Ivan Sokolov (succeeded by his nephew Ilya Sokolov) was the conductor of the choir. At the beginning of the 19th century, the choir members were freed from serfdom and moved to live and work in Moscow. Count Orlov's Gypsy choir was very popular among the Russian aristocracy. Other similar choirs were set up, paving the way for the growth of generations of famous Gypsy musicians. Gypsy musicians moved mainly to the two metropolises (St Petersburg and Moscow) and were registered in urban

estates. After several generations, Gypsy musicians and actors became a particular social stratum and created famous artistic dynasties with high social positions and standing. Gypsy musicians regularly met the highest circles in the Russian Empire – the aristocracy, wealthy merchants, famous poets, writers, musicians, etc. (Щербанова, 1984; Деметер et al., 2000). Already in 1833, George Borrow noticed this unique social position of the Gypsy music elite:

Those who have been accustomed to considering these people [the Gypsies – authors' note] as wandering barbarians, incapable of civilisation and unable to appreciate the blessings of a quiet and settled life, will be surprised at learning that many of those in Moscow inhabit large and handsome houses, appear abroad in elegant equipages, and if distinguishable from the genteel class of the Russians [are] only so by superior personal advantages and mental accomplishments (Borrow et al., 1911, p. 61).

The way of life of the Gypsy musical elite can be understood from the memories of Ivan Rom-Lebedev. On the eve of the First World War, his family built a large two-storey house of their own, richly furnished (with prestigious and modern “leather furniture” at the time), with servants, including a cook, a maid, a governess for the children and a janitor, who lived in a separate wing. The tiny homes of young Roma women recruited in the choir from the countryside were located in the house's large yard (Ром-Лебедев, 1990, pp. 87–88). Many celebrities frequented the Lebedevs' home, where they were entertained with Gypsy songs and dances. Rom-Lebedev described one such visit (at the end of 1915 or the beginning of 1916) by the famous Grigory Rasputin, who was accompanied by a suite and police guard. He had listened to Gypsy songs, danced Russian folk dances with Ivan's grandmother, and talked to Empress Alexandra from their home phone. After Rasputin's assassination in late 1916, it was revealed that the leading conspirators in this assassination, Prince Felix Yusupov and Grand Duke Dmitry Pavlovich, were also frequent guests to the Lebedevs' home (Ibid., pp. 94–96).

The public positions and the public image of the Gypsy musical elite in the Russian Empire are also illustrated by their mixed marriages with people from the high society, such as the well-known cases of Gypsy girls marrying Prince Golytsin (GARF, f. 109, op. 3 A, d. 2769), Feodor Tolstoy (a close relative of the famous writer Lev Tolstoy), Sergey Tolstoy (the brother of the same writer), Prince F. Masalsky, Prince G. Wittgenstein, the millionaire from the Ural, Nechaev, and others (Баиров, 1996, pp. 19–25). Particularly interesting is the testimony by the famous reporter Egon Erwin Kisch about Nikolay Pankov's family history (Nikolay Pankov is a renowned Gypsy activist in the early USSR, like Rom-Lebedev) told him that he has an aunt who lives as an immigrant

in Nice in the 1920s. She was a countess, General Solsky's widow (Kisch, 1992, p. 119). Another relative of Nikolay Pankov, his "great-grandaunt" (his paternal grandmother's sister) Anna Masalskaya (not to be confused with the famous singer Anna Vasilyevna Masalskaya, who married Nepokoychitskaya), had a long relationship with a member of the Romanov's dynasty, His Royal Highness Prince George Yurovsky, the son of Tsar Alexander II and his second, morganatic wife, Princess Yekaterina Dolgorukova (Ibid.). In 1900, Princess Dolgorukova married her son to end his relationship with the Gypsy woman with whom he had two children. For understandable reasons, in the conditions of the Soviet state, Nikolay Pankov avoided publicising these family ties with the former Tsar dynasty (in his entire archive, there is no word about this family history) and told the story only to a foreigner (in our case Egon Erwin Kisch).

It is crucial to understand the divergent social positions of the Roma in the Russian Empire. In contrast to the Gypsies elsewhere, the Roma in the Russian Empire did not occupy the lowest social stratum. Nikolay Shtiber's account is telling:

According to our legislation, the Gypsies [here is meant only Roma – authors' note] are not singled out as a special tribe or a particular class. They are not even included anywhere in the composition of *inorodtsy* ['foreign-born people'; that was a special category designating many subjugated peoples in the Russian Empire, with more or less limited civil rights – authors' note] (Штибер, 1895, p. 550).

In the complex structure of the Russian Empire, the majority of the Roma in the 19th century (including the nomads) were assigned to the categories of 'state peasants' and 'meshchane' (city dwellers, small producers). In modern language, these statuses translate approximately to 'lower middle class' and 'upper lower class'. Some Roma belonging to the so-called musical elite in the big cities even registered at the lower levels in the *kupechestvo* (upper merchants' estate). The main problem for the authorities in the Russian Empire, which determined their overall policy towards the Gypsies, was to ensure that the Gypsies fulfilled their tax obligations as members of certain estates (a task which they accomplished with negligible success). Given the unique social position of the Gypsy musical elite in the Russian Empire, part of it, after the October Revolution and the Civil War, joined the so-called *White émigré* to France and China (Marushiakova & Popov, 2004). Another part remained in the USSR and integrated into the new Soviet Gypsy elite.

The correct understanding of the vicissitudes in the historical fate of the Roma in the conditions of the Soviet state (including their place in the mass



political repressions) requires grounding the analysis of the processes and the specific events in the general socio-political context of this era.

The October Revolution and the creation of the USSR (formally in 1922, with the first Constitution of the new state adopted in 1924) marked the beginning of a new historical era in which the ultimate goal of the communist policy was to create a new type of society, free from all previous problems of humanity – social, cultural, national, etc. (Slezkine, 2017).

The nationality policy of the new Soviet state pursued the fulfilment of this great task. One of the first state acts of the new government, issued on November 2 (15th in the old style), 1917, was the Declaration of the Rights of the Peoples of Russia, signed by Vladimir Ulyanov (Lenin) as chairman of the Council of People's Commissars (SNK) and Joseph Jughashvili (Stalin) as the People's Commissar for Nationalities. The Declaration proclaimed the equality of the peoples of Russia and their right to free self-determination ("up to secession and the formation of an independent state") and to free development (RGASPI, f. 2, op. 1, d. 24219, l. 1–2). It formed the basis of the new nationalities' policy of the Soviet state, an integral part of which was the policy towards the Roma, inseparably linked to the general basic principles and leading tendencies.

When discussing the Soviet nationality policy towards the Roma (included at that time under the general designation 'Цыгане/Gypsies'), researchers must consider the following important yet often neglected circumstance: The Gypsies in the early USSR were citizens with equal rights, which also applied to the so-called foreign Gypsies (i.e., the holders of old, foreign citizenship passports), who, in practice, were treated like other 'local' Gypsies. Thus, all Gypsies living in the USSR enjoyed the same civil rights as other Soviet citizens, and, as such, they were subject to the mainstream state policies. In addition, as representatives of a separate nationality, the Gypsies were subject to a special nationalities policy, which was also built on the same common Soviet basis. In other words, in the early USSR, the special state policy towards the Gypsies was an inseparable part of the general nationalities' policy during this historical period, which, according to Terry Martin's (2001) accurate definition, can basically be defined as affirmative action policy. We prefer to use the term 'affirmative action policy' because it is more general and more relevant to the essence of the process, compared to the term *korenizatsiya*, which has been used in recent years. The word 'korenizatsiya' is a creation of the Soviet bureaucratic language (although it is relatively rarely used) and reflects only a few aspects of the process and, in the first place, the appointment of indigenous representatives in the power structure of the Soviet authorities. More importantly, in the case of the Gypsies, the notion of 'affirmative action policy'

expresses most accurately the attitude of the Soviet state towards them. At the same time, the terms 'korenizatsiya' and 'nativisation' (cf. Dunajeva, 2021ab) do not make sense concerning the Gypsies who did not have their administrative apparatus to be 'korenised'. The use of such terminology is ridiculous and even comical also because the 'Gypsies' cannot be defined as 'indigenous' or 'native people' given that, in historical terms, the Roma were relatively recent migrants to the Russian Empire and without an established territory of settlement. Moreover, in the entire archive material processed within the RomaInterbellum Project (Marushiakova. & Popov, 2021; Roman et al., 2021; Marushiakova. & Popov, 2022; see also here Archives), as well as nowhere else in the Soviet scientific literature, in the Soviet periodical press and the numerous published texts in the Romani language, we have not been able to find a single (sic!) case that the term 'korenizatsiya' was ever used concerning Gypsies in the early USSR.

Some authors interpret the Soviet state's policy of affirmative action regarding the Gypsies as follows: "if one nation decides to 'elevate' another without consent, this means the imposition of power, at the very least, or worse, suppression" (Abakunova, 2022, p. 73). However, it is not clear how this "consent" should be obtained and why the author assumes that the Roma did not agree to this policy, introduced and implemented under the conditions of constant cooperation of the authorities with the All-Russian Union of Gypsies and with the direct involvement of Gypsy activists after its liquidation. Moreover, if one follows this logic, then all pro-Roma affirmative policies realised today, including all activities in this direction of the international institutions, the European Union, the member states, the network of Open Society foundations, NGOs, etc. should be qualified in the same way because it is also not clear whether they have a "consent" on the part of the Roma (whatever that means). On the contrary, there are quite a few cases of expressed disapproval of these policies and specific activities by representatives of Roma. As for the statement that when evaluating the Gypsy policy in the early USSR "has to consider the intention rather than its practical implementation through which the Roma arguably benefited" (Ibid.), at least in our opinion, for history, the most what is essential remains above all and after all what happened (which does not mean at all that the intentions of the "creators of history" should not be taken into account). Moreover, in this case, we do not see what is reprehensible in the "intentions", namely in the goal set by the Soviet authorities to turn the Gypsies into equal nationality in the USSR, as well as in the basic directions and principles of this policy. Already in 1921 (i.e., even before the formal creation of the USSR as a state), in the adopted Resolution of the 10th Congress of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks), the main task of the Party was "the elimination

of factual national inequality” by providing active assistance to the ‘*невеликорусские народы*’ (non-Great Russian people), to overcome their historical backwardness (Егоров & Боголюбов, 1983, p. 366) and this palpable includes the Roma. Mikhail Kalinin (formally head of state of the USSR) explicitly emphasised in his article from 1923 with the indicative title *What is Required of a Communist?* that to fulfil this task, the small nationality (in our case, the Roma) should be placed in “noticeably better conditions” (sic!) compared to the big one (Калинин, 1960, p. 420). Defining these “intentions” as “suppression” is a very eccentric interpretation that does not correspond to historical realities, and studying how the state realised these publicly declared intentions in practice is the genuine and most important goal of historical knowledge.

We can accept the critical remarks made by Brigid O’Keeffe (2019) about the racialising role of the Soviet affirmative action policy regarding the Gypsies as fair but only in the discourse of the contemporary debate in the USA about ‘Ideologies of Race’. From the point of view of European history, however, in which the key concept that defines state policies is not ‘race’ (except in Nazi Germany) but ‘nation’ and its derivatives (‘national minority’ in post-Versailles Europe, ‘nationality’ in the USSR), the overall assessment of this policy must be different and more nuanced. Indeed, from the point of view of American realities, one can say that the Soviet national policy essentialises and racialises the Gypsies (Ibid.), but it must be added (and even especially emphasised) that this is valid not only for this policy (and not only concerning the Roma but also to all nationalities in the USSR); moreover, this can also be said for all historical and contemporary policies regarding Roma at European, national or local level, which are carried out nowadays by the European Union, by the Member States, by International organisations and foundations, from the Open Society network and the multitude of NGOs, because all these policies and projects in practice define their target (Roma) based on the same approach as in the early USSR (Marushiakova. & Popov, 2018b), i.e., if the conclusions are upheld, they must also lead to the racialisation of Roma.

A fundamental principle of the USSR’s national policy in the 1920s and 1930s was the support for the development of all nationalities which inhabited the former Russian Empire. All nationalities were initially accepted as equal and were given (at least in theory) the opportunity to create their own national structures at different territorial and/or administrative levels (Soviet and Autonomous Republics, Oblasts, Okrugs, Rayons, village councils) as well as public organisations, schools, etc., even individual labour production units. As a result of this approach, e.g., only in the RSFSR in 1930, in addition to the National Autonomous Republics, Oblasts and Krai, existed also 33 National

Rayons, 110 National Volosts, 2,930 National Selsoviets (Вдовин, 2013, p. 28), and their number is constantly increasing over time.

There were no specific criteria for which nationalities were entitled to which national structures. Each case was decided individually, but in general, the leading line in the national politics of the early USSR was its ideology of affirmative action concerning individual ethnicities/nationalities (Martin, 2001; Hirsch, 2005), including the Gypsies.

This policy did not last long. In the second half of the 1930s, there was a radical shift, which culminated in the adoption of the Decree *On the Liquidation of National Rayons and Selsoviets* in 1937 (see details below). Related to this development, for the purposes of the Census in 1939, there was a new categorisation of the nationalities. Despite all changes in the final version of the general Census list, the ‘Gypsies’ remained in the “first-class” group (unlike, for example, “the people of the North” or “nationalities of Dagestan”). In other words, for the needs of the Census, the Gypsies were included in the list of “major nationalities”, most of which (but not all) had their national territorial-administrative units (Hirsch, 2005, pp. 301–304).

It is imperative to emphasise that, contrary to some arbitrary interpretations, the Roma (or Gypsies as was their common public name in the USSR) were never treated as a separate category, distinct from the numerous other nationalities in the vast multinational state, throughout the existence of the USSR. The interpretation of historical realities from the perspective of contemporary concepts and legal categories has resulted in an inadequate and misleading picture. A typical example is the statement: “In 1925, the State classified Roma as a ‘national minority’, devoting special departments to Romani affairs within the National Minorities Sector of the Ministry of Culture” (Lemon, 2000, p. 132–133; 2001, p. 228). Analysing this text, we can tolerate a ‘minor’ mistake which disregards the fact that, in 1925, there were no ministries. The ministries appeared only in 1946. Before that, the People’s Commissariats (Narkomats) had similar functions. In 1925, there was no Ministry of Culture; it was established for the first time in the history of the USSR only in 1953. More importantly, there were no “special departments [devoted] to Romani affairs” in the Narkompros (which included in its portfolio cultural institutions and activities), either in 1925 or at any other time of its existence as an institution. Another problem is the terminology. Even if such departments had been created, they would have been called *Gypsy*, not *Romani*. Such statements or wording should be supported by reference to the relevant historical sources (which, for obvious reasons, is missing in the quotation mentioned above). Furthermore, in this instance, there is historical evidence to the contrary. All

sources clearly and unequivocally illustrate that Gypsy activism in the early USSR was supervised (and, in fact, led) by the Department of Nationalities of the VTsIK (ONVTsIK) and by the Council of Nationalities at the TsIK SSSR (SN TsIK SSSR), and not by the Narkompros.

Lack of knowledge of historical realities in this case has led to confusion of two different Soviet institutions – ON VTsIK and SNK (Sovnarkom). A Decree by the SNK RSFSR on March 22, 1921, established the Council for the Enlightenment of Peoples of Non-Russian Languages at the Narkompros. With the liquidation of the People's Commissariat of Nationalities of the RSFSR, led by Stalin, SNK RSFSR's Decree of October 5, 1925, transformed the Council into the Central Council for the Education of National Minorities of the RSFSR, which was often abbreviated as Sovnatsmen (from 1929 to 1934 – the Committee for the Education of National Minorities of the RSFSR). The term 'national minority' appeared in the context of language education policy concerning "small" nationalities whose native language is not Russian. However, it did not replace the official term 'nationality', which remained in public use (including in the numerous forms and questionnaires that Soviet citizens were required to complete) until the end of the USSR. Furthermore, in 1926, the Central Council for the Education of National Minorities of the RSFSR declined a request on the part of the ON VTsIK to appoint a person responsible for the education of the Gypsies. The Council's response emphasised that "even larger nationalities" (this wording being another evidence that the Gypsies were considered one of the nationalities within the USSR – authors' note) did not have their representatives in the Council, and the latter would delegate this function to a member of its staff (GARF, f. P 1235, op. 120, d. 27).

The inaccurate translation of the term '*национальность/natsionalnost'* as 'national minority' rather than 'nationality' (cf. also O'Keeffe, 2022, p. 16) is not only a matter of linguistics but also concerns the legal and political history domains. The early USSR was not built on the principles of the Versailles system. On the contrary, it was a multinational state, as stipulated in the 1924 and 1936 Constitutions (Конституция, 1925; 1936). Thus, there was no one leading nation and no 'national minority' category. Even the euphemism "elder brother", widely used after 1937 to refer to the Russian people, was not present anywhere in the official jurisdiction of the Soviet state (Вдовин, 1992; 2002).

For this reason, the official names of the Soviet institutions included the term 'nationality' (for example, Department of Nationalities at the VTsIK, Council of Nationalities at the TsIK SSSR, etc.). The use of the term (but not the legal category) 'national minority' in official records and public discourse (including the title of the Council for the Education of National Minorities at the Narkompros, mentioned above) did not attach any legal and political meaning to it as this term did not override the primary legislative acts and established

norms. In this sense, defining the Gypsies in the USSR as a 'national minority' is unjustified and leads to other mistakes, such as the statement: "In reality, the status of the national minority had been withdrawn from the Gypsies in the Soviet Union in 1936 along with the associated schools, newspapers and even independent collective farms and workshop co-operatives" (Stewart, 2001, p. 74). It is not possible to withdraw something which was not attributed. What is astonishing in this case is not so much that similar conclusions appear in texts by non-historians but that this obvious absurdity continues to be repeated in academic publications even today (cf. Dunajeva, 2019, p. 107; 2021, pp. 66–68).

In this terminological context, the qualification 'backward' with respect to the Gypsies, which is also a subject of many modern interpretations, deserves special attention. The term 'backward' (or 'culturally backward') was commonly used in the nationality policy discourse of the early USSR, and it was a crucial concept in the policy towards the Gypsies (O'Keeffe, 2010; 2013; 2022). In this context, the term did not have derogatory connotations. On the contrary, it referred to people who did not have the opportunity for national awakening due to oppression in tsarist Russia. As a result of this history, they received special attention from the Soviet state, aiming to elevate them to the status of equal Soviet citizens. Already in 1903, the famous ethnographer Lev Sternberg formulated the reason for including the Gypsies in this category: "The Gypsies, to a large extent and perhaps even completely, are victims of the historical injustice imposed on them by the surrounding nationalities" (Штернберг, 1903, pp. 304–308). In this way, curious as it may sound, the modern concept of anti-Gypsyism is *de facto* justified, among others, through the Soviet ideological lenses. Therefore, the qualification 'backward' or 'culturally backward' referred to all peoples who were an object of special care on the part of the Soviet state and for whom the state designed its nationality policy. Authorities in the early USSR often accorded various privileges to the disadvantaged nationalities. As a matter of fact, all nationalities in the USSR, except the Russians, Ukrainians, Georgians, Armenians, Jews, and Germans, were considered "culturally backward" (Martin, 2001, pp. 42–43, 179–180).

Moreover, there was competition among the 'backward nationalities', which of them was more backward, respectively deserved greater special care (which in practice meant greater privileges). Alexander Khatskevich's statement at the Consultative Meeting of the SN TsIK SSSR, on January 04–05, 1936, best illustrates this point: "That is why we must take special care of Gypsies who were most backwards in the past" (GARF, f. P 3316, op. 28, d. 794, l. 77).

It should be emphasised that the Gypsies were far from a passive object of the Soviet nationality policy. Roma leaders ('Gypsy activists' according to the terminology adopted at the time) in the early USSR consistently sought to be

active partners of the Soviet state and creators of their history (in more detail about the leading activists during this period – Ivan Rom-Lebedev, Andrey Taranov, Mikhail Bezlyudsky, Georgy Lebedev, Ilya and Trofim Gerasimovi, Ivan Tokmakov, Nikolay Pankov, Alexander German, Nina Dudarova and Olga Pankova – see Marushiakova & Popov, 2022).

In many cases, the Gypsy activists were the active party in the relationship with the Soviet state. They proposed the leading ideas and concepts of the state's policy for the Gypsies, which the Soviet authorities then accepted, modified, or rejected. This complex relationship between the Soviet state and Gypsy activists is visible already with the emergence of the Soviet Gypsy policy. It began with the establishment of the *Union of the Gypsies Living on Territory of the RSFSR* (this was the official name of the Union at the time of its registration in 1925, but in the administrative documentation and in the public space, it was usually called the All-Russian Gypsy Union). According to Ivan Lebedev's memoirs (later Rom-Lebedev), in 1923, a Komsomol cell of five young people was created in the ranks of the Gypsy choir of Yegor Polyakov, including Dmitry Mikhailov, Georgy Lebedev, Sergey Polyakov (son of Yegor Polyakov), Konstantin Leontiev and Ivan Lebedev himself. It was this Komsomol group that started the future Gypsy Union (Ром-Лебедев, 1990, p. 160). The picture emerging from the available historical documents, however, is different from Lebedev's account. On January 10, 1924, a Constituent Assembly was held, attended by 11 people, most of whom were members of Yegor Polyakov's Choir and his family. Ivan Lebedev's name does not appear among the founders; most of the members of the Komsomol cell were not present either (except Sergey Polyakov). The chairman of the meeting was Yegor Polyakov, and the Secretary who took the minutes was Alexander Polyakov (his son). The Assembly decided to establish the *Society for the Organisation of Backward Proletarian Gypsy Masses of the City of Moscow and the Moscow Governorate*. The phraseology shows that the founders had adopted the spirit and the prevailing ideological norms of the time. The Statute of the organisation was approved, and the comrades Stepan Osipov and Sergey Polyakov were assigned to petition the respective authorities for approval of the Statute and the legalisation of the new organisation (GARF, f. P 1235, op. 119, d. 9, l. 3).

Ivan Lebedev became involved in the activities of the emerging Gypsy organisation during the *Meeting of the Initiative Group of the Founding Members of the Gypsy Proletarian Society*, held on April 3, 1924. Alexander Polyakov signed as Chair of this Initiative Group, and Ivan Lebedev was its Secretary. The initiative group heard Stepan Osipov's report on the submission of the draft Statute to the TsIK SSSR and its amendment by TsIK's co-chairman, Nariman Narimanov. The initiative group unanimously adopted the amendments and

took the following decision: "All activities of the Society are conducted under the leadership of the TsIK SSSR" (*Ibid.*, l. 8).

The case of Stepan Osipov is somehow obscure. He had a leading position in the formulation of the first documents for the establishment of the organisation. The last mention of his name was in a statement of the Initiative Group to the Presidium of the ON VTsIK of September 23, 1924, which was signed by Stepan Osipov, but his name was deleted and replaced by the name of Andrey Taranov, handwritten (GARF, f. P 1235, op. 119, d. 10, l. 14). Judging by the List of the Initiative Group, Stepan Osipov had been a member of the VKP(b) since 1918, participant in the Civil War, and his profession was 'Soviet service'. It is unlikely that a Gypsy with such a background would stay away from the Gypsy movement, so it seems more likely that he was a non-Gypsy, engaged by the Union's founders to demonstrate the presence of the VKP(b) in the organisation, and replaced when a Gypsy was found for this position. The involvement of Andrey Taranov (participant in the Civil War in the famous 1st Cavalry Army of Semyon Budyonny, member of the VKP(b) since 1922, and student at the Communist University of the Toilers of the East) and Ivan Lebedev in leading positions suggests an aspiration for ideological and political strengthening of the organisation by increasing the presence of VKP(b) and Komsomol members in it, which was also required by the Soviet institutions.

The VKP(b) and the Soviet institutions clearly expressed their support for the establishment of a new Gypsy organisation. In a letter to the NKVD of May 30, 1925, ON VTsIK defined this organisation as "extremely appropriate" and asked for its expeditious registration (GARF, f. P 393, op. 43 A, d. 1763, l. 12). Particularly impressive is the letter from the sub-section National Minorities, APO at TsK VKP(b), of June 12, 1925, which stated:

In view of the fact that the Gypsies, for the first time, are trying to create a Soviet public organisation among themselves, and given that, thus far, we have not had any approach to them, I consider it appropriate to register their Statute. We will follow their work, and maybe we can find among them quite suitable elements for introducing their population to a new life (*Ibid.*, l. 17).

As the letter shows, the Party leadership was surprised by the initiative of the Gypsies to engage in civic activities and hoped to find the necessary staff to run the new organisation, in line with the Party policy to integrate the Gypsies in the 'new life'. A telling fact is that the letter was signed by the Deputy Head of the Department, Semyon Dimanstein, who was one of the leading theorists of Soviet nationality politics during this period (see Martin, 2001). The crucial role of the Party in building the new organisation's structure is beyond doubt. After a long process of coordination between the Soviet institutions,



and only after receiving approval from the central and Moscow Party and the Soviet bodies, the NKVD registered the new Gypsy organisation on July 23, 1925 (GARF, f. P 1235, op. 120, d. 27, l. 89–94; f. P 393, op. 43 A, d. 1763, l. 89–94).

The membership of the All-Russian Gypsy Union (VSTs) had grown rapidly since its registration, and in 1927–1928, 640 people were counted as its members (Вся Москва, 1927, p. 233; 1928, p. 211). In 1927, the documentation of the VSTs revealed that there were 674 filled membership questionnaires, of which 417 were from Moscow (GARF, f. P 1235, op. 140, d. 752, l. 3–4). Eighty per cent of the Union members were horse dealers from Moscow, 1% were rural inhabitants, 19% were ‘Estrada’ artists, and 5% were workers. Of all registered members, only 82 people paid the membership fees, i.e., according to the rules, only they can be considered full members of the Union (GARF, f. P 393, op. 43 A, d. 1763, l. 76). Interestingly, the VSTs membership cards had on their cover page the slogan “Proletarians of All Countries and Oppressed Peoples All over the World, Unite!” (a paraphrase of the famous Communist Manifesto slogan by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels (1848)), written in Russian language. On the inside page of the card, the same slogan was written in Romani language, but with quite different content: “Roma of All World, Unite!” (*Рома сарэ свэто-стыр скэндэнтинэ кхэтане*).

The leading ideas in the work of the Union were presented in a special poster printed in 2,000 copies in 1927. The poster made an appeal *To Gypsy Inhabitants of the RSFSR* on behalf of the All-Russian Union of the Gypsies Living on the Territory of the RSFSR. It begins with the political slogan ‘Proletarians all over the world, unite!’ In a concise form, the goals of the VSTs are formulated as follows: “[...] By gradually directing the Gypsies to agriculture, eradicating illiteracy, teaching them crafts, and uniting them into Sections, the Union will raise the self-awareness of our backward people and put it on a par with other peoples who are participating in the building of our Soviet state” (GARF, f. P 9550, op. 2, d. 2010, l. 1; published in Marushiakova & Popov, 2021, pp. 712–718). The poster was signed by the VSTs’ Chairman, Andrey Taranov; the Secretary, Ivan Lebedev; and Board Members, Nikolay Pankov, Nina Dudarova and Dmitry Polyakov (Ibid.).

In early 1926, the VSTs’ leadership adopted an ambitious Union Work Plan as well as a detailed Work Plan for its Cultural Department (GARF, f. P 1235, op. 120, d. 27). These two texts briefly outlined the main ideology defining the activities of the Union. According to their postulates, written in the language of the time, the Gypsies were subjected to brutal persecution and class exploitation for centuries. The October Revolution and the Soviet state gave them the opportunity for free and equal development:

The essence of the Soviet rule, as a Union of workers and peasants of all nationalities, requires equal participation of all nationalities in building the economy and the state. [...] In line with the goals of the [Soviet] national policy, which is based on the recognition of the equality and sovereignty of peoples to organise their lives and on assisting the economic and cultural development of backward peoples, it is needed to support this organisation [Gypsy Union – authors' note] in its aspirations (Ibid., l. 184).

The history of the Gypsies presented in these texts is fragmentary (with an emphasis on the persecutions in the Middle Ages) and even manipulative (e.g., it is claimed that the Orthodox Christian church in tsarist Russia burned Gypsies at stakes as heretics and sorcerers, for which there is no historical evidence). Nevertheless, the main conclusion that nomadism among the Gypsies is a direct result of their non-acceptance by society is accurate. It also has relevance today, when one can still find in academic works the questionable view that the nomadic way of life of the Gypsies is their most important and essential feature, a key pillar of their community identity (Marushiakova & Popov, 2020b, p. 265). In the historical context of the Soviet state, designed to solve the problems of oppressed classes and peoples, the expectation of the Gypsy visionaries is simple and straightforward, formulated by Ivan Lebedev and Andrey Taranov as leaders of the VSTs: “Gypsies must be helped to become a people, which is equal in all respects with other nationalities inhabiting the USSR” (Известия, 1925, p. 6).

Andrey Taranov's programmatic article *War against anti-Gypsyism*, published in the Gypsy journal *Nevo drom*, defined one of the main directions of the movement for Roma civil emancipation in the USSR (Нэво дром, 1931b, pp. 1–3). The concept of anti-Gypsyism was first formulated by Alexander German in his article *The Gypsies* (Безбожник, 1928, pp. 11–13) and was further developed in the article *What to Do with the Gypsies?* in which the authors, Georgy Lebedev and Alexander German, devoted a separate section on the *Roots of anti-Gypsyism* (Комсомольская правда, 1929, p. 4).

After the rediscovery of the concept of anti-Gypsyism at the end of the 20th century, in a new, modified form (Hancock, 1987; 1996; for more details, see Holler, 2014, pp. 82–92), anti-Gypsyism has become not only one of the leading concepts in the field of Romani studies but also a basic premise, shaping European policies towards the Roma, as illustrated by the European Parliament's Resolution on the need for a strengthened post-2020 Strategic EU Framework for National Roma Inclusion Strategies and stepping up the fight against anti-Gypsyism, 2019/2509(RSP).

The concept of anti-Gypsyism in the early USSR emphasises the overall policy of “rotten tsarist anti-Gypsyism” in the Russian Empire, which was defined as

inherent to the feudal and capitalist epochs and set for elimination by the Soviet state. Carefully worded notes in the publications devoted to the topic revealed remnants of anti-Gypsyism in Soviet society. Their existence is explained by the insurmountable legacy of the old social order against which the Soviet state must fight constantly. As a rule, the Soviet authorities responded quickly and effectively to manifestations of anti-Gypsyism by the majority population because they were seen as a severe violation of the dominant ideology of proletarian internationalism as well as a violation of Soviet legislation, which prohibited discrimination on a national basis. Some titles of articles in the mainstream press are illustrative in this respect, e.g. *The Chauvinist Language – The Language of the Class Enemy: Shameful Belching of Great-Power Chauvinism at the Smolensk Pedagogical Institute* (Большевистский молодежник, 1931, p. 2). This article described a case of bullying and theft allegations against a Gypsy student by his colleagues. Some press headlines reported cases of persons brought to court on charges of anti-Gypsyism, e.g. the article *This Is Where the Enemy Works: The Ridiculous Gossip of the Chauvinists Must Be Put To an End* (Борьба, 1931a, p. 3) and the article *Provocateurs before the Court: The Myth of Child Abduction* (Борьба, 1931b, p. 3), which describes the case of several people who spread rumours about Gypsies stealing children, for which they received effective prison terms.

In the same spirit are also the articles *Hit the Great-Power Chauvinists Hard: Culprits Harassing Gypsy Workers Brought to Justice* (Тверская правда, 1931a, p. 3), *Cut Off the Dirty Paws of the Chauvinists: The Culprits Persecuting Gypsy Workers Soon Will Be Brought before the Proletarian Court* (Тверская правда, 1931b, p. 3), and *In Response to the Sortie of the Chauvinists, the Front of International Education Is Being Strengthened* (Тверская правда, 1931c, p. 3) about the sentencing of two workers to forced labour for one year because of ethnic mockery of a Gypsy colleague. It is hardly necessary to clarify that ‘chauvinists’ should be understood as ‘Great Russian Chauvinists’. Therefore, the sharp criticism against the ‘Great Russian chauvinists’ in the publications by Gypsy activists is not surprising. The fight against this phenomenon was a major trend in the national policy of the early USSR (see Martin, 2001). This context provides a logical explanation for the emergence of the anti-Gypsyism concept among Gypsy activists.

The Gypsy activists’ campaign against anti-Gypsyism was not limited to the USSR but also included regular information on the persecution of Gypsies abroad. This approach corresponded to the Soviet propaganda discourse, which comprehensively presented to the Soviet society the class, race, and ethnic oppressions in the “world of capital” while promoting the Soviet model of a non-class society, free from racial and ethnic injustice. A classic example

is the highly admired film *Circus* (1936), telling the story of a woman who gave birth to a child with a black father. She was persecuted in the US but found a happy life in the USSR, where racial hatred did not exist. There are numerous materials on anti-Gypsyism in the West prepared by Gypsy activists. Alexander German, who spoke several foreign languages and regularly monitored the Western press, was especially fruitful in this regard. An example is the article *Lynch Law in Czechoslovakia*, which describes the anti-Gypsy pogrom in Slovakia (the case in Pobedim village in 1928) and the anti-Gypsy law against nomadism. The article summarises: “The life of the Gypsies in Czechoslovakia is the same as the life of Negroes in America and Jews in Tsarist Russia” (Нэво дром, 1931а, р. 22–23).

Immediately after its official registration, the VSTs sent representatives to the leading Soviet institutions, which were supposed to initiate and implement the Soviet policy regarding Gypsies. Ivan Rom-Lebedev was appointed as the Union representative in the Department of Nationalities of the VTsIK (Ром-Лебедев, 1991, р. 163). Mikhail Bezlyudsky and Andrey Taranov were elected as Union representatives in the newly established Commission for Employment of Toiling Gypsies at VTsIK. Subsequently, the Department of Nationalities of the VTsIK appointed Mikhail Bezlyudsky to the Commission for Land Allocation for Gypsies at the Resettlement Department of Narkomzem (GARF, f. P 3260, op. 6, d. 44, l. 12). Nikolay Pankov represented the Union in the Narkompros (LANB, f. Николай Панков; PAVK, f. Nikolay Pankov), etc. In this way, Gypsy activists had the opportunity to participate directly in the work of the Soviet bodies, which determined the Soviet Gypsy policy. Moreover, the leadership of the VSTs had ambitions to carry out the activities implementing this policy, which ultimately turned out to be fatal for the existence of the Union itself.

One of the first actions by the VSTs Presidium after the registration of the Union Statutes was the submission of an Application to the VTsIK, dated September 05, 1925, which requested an amendment of the just registered Statute. A new Draft Statute was prepared with amendments aimed at “giving the Union the opportunity to organise production workshops and other enterprises” (GARF, f. A 259, op. 9 Б, d. 4233, l. 5), i.e., to develop their own economic activity. The request of the VSTs for changes in the Union Statute, which would enable the Union to build its own economic (production and trade) activity, was the beginning of a substantial official correspondence, which lasted nearly two and a half years and which, apart from the VSTs, included many leading Soviet institutions and their internal structures – VTsIK, TsIK, TsK VKP(b), SNK, NKVD, Moscow authorities, etc. This epistolary saga could be collected in several volumes. Briefly, some institutions supported the request for

amendments to the Statute, others opposed them, and others changed their opinion several times (GARF, f. A 259, op. 9 Б, d. 4233; f. P 1235, op. 120, d. 27; f. A 259, op. 10 Б, d. 2253, l. 39; f. P 393, op. 43 А, d. 1763). In turn, the VSTs not only rapidly began developing many economic activities through the so-called educational production workshops but continued submitting new requests to institutions, for example, for tax benefits to commercial enterprises of the Gypsy Union, for permission to set up a mutual aid fund, to open a cinema, to run a theatrical lottery, etc. (GARF, f. P 1235, op. 120, d. 27; f. A 259, op. 10 Б, d. 1924; f. P 393, op. 43 А, d. 1763, l. 136).

With the approval of the new version of the VSTs Statute by the NKVD on July 15, 1926 (GARF, f. P 393, op. 43 А, d. 1763, l. 11–116), the issue with the economic (production and commercial) activity was formally resolved. The first Gypsy production artels in Moscow were established already in 1925 (Рогин, 1934, p. 17), but their heyday began in 1926, after the amendment of the VSTs Statute. A number of production artels were organised in the same year in Moscow: furniture and upholstery, knitting, packaging (chemical), toys, chandlery and others (Герман, 1931, p. 52). In most cases, however, there were no Gypsy workers in these artels (either their number was minimal, or they were fictitiously employed). Nevertheless, the artels received the necessary certificates from the VSTs management that they were “Gypsy”. Almost all of these pseudo-Gypsy artels ceased to exist after the liquidation of the VSTs, and only a few of them continued their activities in the 1930s (GARF, f. P 3316, op. 28, d. 794, p. 93).

Despite the rapid development of the Gypsy (at least formally speaking) production cooperatives and artels, the VSTs faced growing financial difficulties. At the end of 1926, a full audit of VSTs activities was executed on behalf of the ON VTsIK (GARF, f. P 1235, op. 140, d. 498), followed by more inspections by the Moscow Workers and Peasants' Inspectorate (GARF, f. P 393, op. 43 А, d. 1763). The audit found numerous financial violations and even fraud, such as the use of fake stamps and letterheads and misuse of the ON VTsIK's name. With fake documents and hiding behind the authority of the institution, the enterprises obtained loans and deficit materials, which were then sold on the private market for higher prices; loan interests, salaries and insurance were not paid; production workshops defaulted on contracts and engaged in many other profiteering activities, mainly performed by suspicious ‘experts’ employed by the VSTs. In this profiteering activity, they were assisted by the VSTs' leadership, who lobbied for them before the Soviet institutions (Ibid.).

In the course of numerous inspections and discussions of the VSTs' problems at various levels of Soviet institutions, it turned out that there were disagreements between these institutions about the future of the Union. The

ON VTsIK tried to preserve the VSTs by proposing different solutions, such as closing the so-called training and production workshops and banning the economic activities (GARF, f. P 393, op. 43 A, d. 1763, 136; f. P 1235, op. 140, d. 498), and even replacement of the entire VSTs' leadership. However, the Moscow authorities, which were directly responsible for the activities of the VSTs, insisted on its liquidation, which would rid them of the problems that the VSTs' activities constantly created for them. The different opinions of the Soviet institutions delayed the VSTs' liquidation. This process was an instance of a rare and improbable protraction and boycott to the decision of the highest Party authority. The extended meeting of the Subdivision of National Minorities at the Department for Agitation and Propaganda of the TsKVKP(b) on May 3, 1927, made the following decision:

[1.] Since the All-Russian Union of the Gypsies did not fulfil its main work – cultural and educational, [and] despite repeated instructions from the APO at TsK VKP(b), it took up production activities, which incurred a large debt that the Union could not repay, we should agree on the official liquidation of the Union with the recognition of its insolvency.

2. To organise work among the Gypsies; to convene a consultative meeting of the Gypsy communists for organising an initiative group of 3 people to work among the Gypsies.

3. After thoroughly checking the work of the newly organised Troika at the Moscow level, the question will be raised of setting up a body for work among the Gypsies at the RSFSR level (GARF, f. P 393, op. 43 A, d. 1763).

It is clear from the quoted document that the Soviet state did not aim to deprive the Gypsies of their national organisation; on the contrary, the state wanted such an organisation to exist and gave a new opportunity to the Gypsy activists to create it in line with the requirements of the authorities. Despite this unambiguous decision, the VSTs' leadership, in cooperation with various Soviet institutions, managed to delay its implementation. This epic story concluded with the NKVD Decree of February 13, 1928, which closed the Union of the Gypsies Living on Territory of the RSFSR (GARF, f. A 2306, op. 69, d. 1357, l. 9–906).

An interesting question concerns the reasons for the liquidation of the VSTs and whether the allegations of wrongdoing in its economic activities were not, in fact, a mere pretext for its closure. In three Memorandums addressed to the highest Soviet institutions, the VSTs leadership did not deny any of the allegations of wrongdoing but tried to justify them by emphasising the Union's need for funds to develop its activities (see Marushiakova & Popov, 2021, pp. 732–759). It is difficult to assess the credibility of these justifications and explanations. As a matter of fact, the production cooperatives and artels

operating under the emblem of the VSTs did not invest any funds (literally not a single kopek) earned from their dubious economic activities for supporting the Union as a public organisation. The specific reason for the liquidation of the VSTs was the numerous financial irregularities, which was also the explanation for the public (Вечерняя Москва, 1927, p. 4). Accusations regarding the class composition of the VSTs' administration, which "included nine people horse dealers, four 'Estrada' artists, one Komsomol member, one Party member candidate, and five people employees" (GARF, f. P 393, op. 43 A, d. 1763, l. 7), fully corresponded to the spirit of the epoch but were not the leading reason for its liquidation. In fact, the real and main reasons for the liquidation of the Union were presented clearly in the NKVD Decree *On the Closure of the Union of the Gypsies Living on Territory of the RSFSR* of November 15, 1927, which stated: "The Union of the Gypsies [...] was unable to do anything in organising the Gypsies masses, attracting them to participate in the work of the Union" (GARF, f. A 2306, op. 69, d. 1357, l. 9–10; f. P 393, op. 43 A, d. 1763, l. 145–148; f. P 1235, op. 120, d. 27, l. 236–238). This accusation is difficult to challenge given the undisputable fact that for the entire period of its existence, since its official registration in July 1925, the Union failed to establish a single (sic!) operating unit outside Moscow (GARF, f. P 393, op. 43 A, d. 1763; f. P 1235, op. 140, d. 498).

The liquidation of the VSTs was not the result of a special NKVD operation against the Gypsies. It was part of the general process of re-registration (actually cleansing) of public organisations, carried out after the adoption of the Provisions on Societies and Unions on February 6, 1928, which lasted until 1930 and resulted in a significant reduction of such organisations (Ильина, 2000, p. 80; Шаповал, 2020, pp. 198–199). The Soviet state considered that the model of working with standard public organisations of diasporic nationalities was inappropriate and decided to look for other forms and methods to continue working with them (and, accordingly, to control them).

Viewed through the prism of anti-Gypsyism, the liquidation of the VSTs was a repressive measure of the Soviet authorities against the Gypsies in the USSR and their activists. The analysis of the historical material, however, leads to a quite different interpretation. The liquidation of the VSTs did not mark a change in the strategy of the state affirmative action policy towards the Gypsies but only a change in the tactics of its implementation. In fact, after the liquidation of the Union, the Soviet state took the Gypsy policy into its own hands, and this was the time of its most impressive results.

Soviet authorities were apparently committed to pursuing the affirmative Gypsy policy despite the shortage of politically trained personnel. This explains the seemingly strange circumstance that the VSTs' leaders, despite their undoubted responsibility for the violations committed in the Union's

economic activities, were not subject to any persecution. On the contrary, all of them received positions at low levels of the Soviet nomenklatura – in the editorial staff of the Gypsy journals *Romany zorya* (Gypsy Dawn) and *Nevo drom* (New Way), in the Gypsy National Sections of various Publishing Houses, and in the newly created State Gypsy Theatre *Romen*.

Moreover, the VSTs continued to exist, albeit under a new name – *Functionaries of the Moscow Gypsies* (Актив Московских цыган). This group included the same people who were in the leadership of the former Union. It was not officially registered as an organisation but performed largely the same functions as the VSTs. The group wrote official letters to the Soviet institutions on various occasions and even sent representatives to these institutions, for example, to the Assistance Bureau for the Gypsy Board in *Promkooperatsia* (Artisanal Cooperative) at the All-Union Council of Workers Cooperatives (GARF, f. 5449, op. 1, d. 1412, l. 27).

The beginning of the 1930s saw a new stage in the relations between the new Gypsy Soviet elite (Roma activists) and the Soviet state. This new stage is associated with the name of Ivan Tokmakov. According to his personal data, filled in for the All-Union Party Census of VKP(b) in 1926 and stored in the Party's archive (RGASPI, f. 17, op. 9, d. 3642, l. 37–38), Ivan Tokmakov was born in 1888. He was orphaned early and raised by his sister, who lived in Kamyshlov, near Yekaterinburg. He studied for only one year at a parochial school, and from the age of 8 became a wage labourer (starting a job at such a young age was not uncommon in the Russian Empire) and worked for six years as a *kono-patchik* (a worker who is plugging cracks in wooden surfaces) (RGASPI, f. 17, op. 9, d. 3642, l. 37). After the October Revolution, the life and career of Ivan Tokmakov are a typical example of the social elevators created by the Soviet state for the proletariat. In November 1919, he became a member of the VKP(b) without having previously been accepted as a candidate member of the Party (Ibid.), which was a relatively rare case in the practice of the time.

This was the starting point of Ivan Tokmakov's career in the nomenclature. In 1921, he completed a three-month training course at the local Soviet Party School and was promoted to a Party Secretary of the Kamyshlov railway station collective, where he had worked until then, and spent two years in this position (Ibid.). In January 1924, he was sent to study at the Ural-Siberian Communist University in Yekaterinburg for two and a half years. After completing his studies in 1926, he was promoted again and appointed Party Secretary for the Ural Agricultural Machinery Plant in the city of Votkinsk (now in the Udmurt Republic of the Russian Federation) (Ibid.). This career development seems very fast at first glance. However, we must bear in mind that at that time, the Soviet state was in dire need of qualified people for the Party



governing apparatus, with “correct” class (i.e., proletarian) origin and regardless of nationality. A logical stage in this development was Ivan Tokmakov’s enrolment in 1930 in the Institute for Postgraduate Students at the Sverdlovsk Communist University, established by the Soviet state, where he was trained for senior Party leadership.

Ivan Tokmakov’s admission into the position of instructor at the ON VTsIK in 1931 (GARF, f. P 1235, op. 121, d. 31, l. 266) had a significant symbolic meaning. For the first time, a Rom took an official (not consultative as it happened previously) position in the highest structures of the Soviet state (albeit in a relatively low administrative position), i.e., became part of the higher central nomenclature. Even more important are the practical dimensions of this appointment. As the only representative of the Gypsies in the central Soviet administration, Ivan Tokmakov received a large part of the official correspondence of the Soviet institutions concerning the Gypsies, as well as all letters from Soviet citizens related to this issue. In this way, he not only found himself at the centre of the Soviet policy towards the Gypsies but also had the opportunity to influence decision-making on specific issues and, more generally, to offer his ideas and proposals for the directions and dimensions of the Gypsy policy of the Soviet state. Admittedly, his opportunities to impact the policy were limited by the Soviet institutional and administrative framework and especially by the leading tendencies in the general political processes. Nevertheless, we should not underestimate them.

Moreover (and more importantly), Ivan Tokmakov’s official position and capabilities turned him into a *de facto* informal (and undisputed) leader of Gypsy activism, i.e., the leading and defining figure in the process of Roma civic emancipation in the USSR of the 1930s. There is no doubt that he was in a much stronger position to influence the general Soviet Gypsy policy compared to the leadership of the former VSTs. Along with Tokmakov, other Gypsy activists from the 1920s continued to be active participants in the state policy for the Gypsies despite the failure of the VSTs. In other words, Gypsy activism and the movement for Roma civic emancipation, in general, continued to develop, but in new forms, in close relationship with the Soviet state and its Gypsy policy, which made this policy much more effective.

The specific dimensions of the early USSR policy towards the Gypsies, considered in the general context of the 1920s and 1930s, reveal five leading priorities:

1. Encouragement and assistance to nomadic Gypsies for a transition to a sedentary lifestyle and establishment of national Gypsy kolkhozes;
2. Establishment and development of national Gypsy artels;
3. Creation and development of national Gypsy education;

4. Creation and development of national Gypsy literature and art;
5. Emancipation of the doubly discriminated (in society and in the community) Gypsy woman;
6. Formation of national Gypsy elite.

These priorities, which corresponded to the needs of the particular community, were also part of the common national policy framework (and, more generally, of the overall strategy for social restructuring of the Soviet state).

Surprisingly, it appears at first glance that the active side pleading for the sedentarisation of Gypsy nomads in the USSR was the Gypsy activists themselves. Already in the Application of the Initiative Group to establish a Gypsy Union, dated September 23, 1924, the authors emphasised that the Group convened with the goal of “organising the proletarian Gypsy masses and raising their cultural, educational and political level, and their transition to a settled way of life” (GARF, f. P 1235, op. 119, d. 10, l. 14). Both the Union’s Draft Statute of January 1924 and the Registered Statute of July 10, 1925, underwent changes concerning the issue of the nomadic way of life. Initially, the Gypsy activists were much more radical in their desire to see the Gypsy nomads settled. In their 1924 Draft Statute, they emphasised the issue of nomadism as one of the main tasks of the organisation. They spoke directly about the need for a “transition to a sedentary lifestyle” (GARF, f. P 1235, op. 119, d. 9, l. 4. In the Registered Statute, on the other hand, this problem was deemphasised. The wording is much softer and less engaging: “Conduct moral fight against social evils among the Gypsies ... such as drunkenness, fortune-telling, begging, gambling, nomadism” (GARF, f. A 259, op. 10 B, d. 2253, l. 21), which means that the fight against nomadism was the Union’s last goal.

Almost immediately after the registration of the VSTs, its leaders started writing requests to change the organisation’s Statute. The Motives of the first request, addressed to the VTsIK and dated September 05, 1925, demanded consideration of the “inconsistencies in the clauses of the approved charter with the practical work of organising nomadic and sedentary Gypsy masses”. The authors underlined that one of the Union’s most important tasks is “the fight against nomadism, poverty, and against all remnants from the tsarist legacy” (GARF, f. A 259, op. 9 B, d. 4233, l. 2). In the new Draft Statute from 1926, submitted for approval and re-registration to the NKVD, Art. II (Aims of the Union), § 1, reads: “The Union aims at uniting and organising the Gypsy working masses living on the territory of the RSFSR; protecting their economic and legal interests; raising their cultural level; organising mutual support; and transferring nomads to productive and agricultural way of life” (Ibid., l. 5). The new Statute of the Union, approved by the NKVD on July 15, 1926, however, had a different wording of the issue. Art. III (Method of Implementation), § 6d

reads: “The Union [...] conducts a moral struggle with the social evils among its members, such as drunkenness, fortune-telling, begging, gambling, nomadism” (GARF, f. P 393, op. 43 A, d. 1763, l. 112). This wording of the approved Statute, apparently influenced by the Soviet institutions, suggests that, at least at that stage, the authorities did not consider the sedentarisation of Gypsy nomads an issue of great importance and, therefore, did not want to force activities in this direction.

The Soviet authorities’ reaction to VSTs’ demand for combatting Gypsy nomadism and for sedentarisation policy was not accidental, as demonstrated by the following example. In 1927, the NKVD received a letter from the Tver Governorate in which the local authorities complained about “thefts and scams” by Gypsy nomads and sought to limit the “activity of this parasitic element”, i.e., they asked for administrative measures against Gypsy nomadism. NKVD’s reply, dated September 20, 1927, was definite and unambiguous:

The Central Administrative Department of NKVD clarifies that compulsory restriction of Roma nomadism is inadmissible as a matter of principle. The Soviet legislature does not envisage the proposed measures for combatting tribes that lead a nomadic way of life (GARF, f. P 393, op. 71, d. 6 A, l. 2).

Incredible as it may appear, in this case, the NKVD rejected forced sedentarisation as a measure violating Soviet law. In the same spirit, the Soviet authorities consented only to a ‘moral struggle’ against nomadism in response to the appeals by the Gypsy activists. Despite reservations about the sedentarisation of the nomadic Gypsies and the establishment of national Gypsy kolkhozes, the Soviet authorities did not reject the idea in principle and took some measures in this direction. The first official document relating to the Gypsies is the Decree of the TsIK and SNK SSSR from October 1, 1926, *On Measures to Facilitate the Transition of Nomadic Gypsies to a Settled Way of Life* (Постановление, 1926). This Decree stipulated priority allocation of agricultural land for the Gypsies wishing to settle and the right to all privileges of the so-called *pereselentsy* (resettlers).

Series of documents, including correspondence between the Secretariat of the Presidium of the USSR and the TsIKs in the respective Republics (RSFSR, Ukrainian SSR, Byelorussian SSR, Transcaucasian SSR, Uzbek SSR, and Turkmen SSR) on the implementation of the Decree of TsIK and SNK SSSR from October 1, 1926, mentioned above, reveal striking details in this direction. On March 1, 1927, the Armenian SSR reported that the Gypsy nomads had obtained land in Novo-Mykolaivka, Chatkran, and Sagmosavan, but this is the only evidence of this sort. From here on, all three republics (Azerbaijan

SSR, Armenian SSR, and Georgian SSR), united in Transcaucasian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic (TSFSR), as well as Turkmen SSR, responded to all questions from Moscow concerning the allocation of land to nomadic Gypsies who expressed a wish to be settled uniformly: in the Republic, there were no nomadic Gypsies who wanted to settle, no applications were received from Gypsies for land allocation, etc.

More evasive was the response from the Uzbek SSR. The authorities there explained the specificity of the Lyuli and declared that they were working on moving with the matter (GARF, f. P 3316, op. 19, d. 588). The situation in the Uzbek SSR and the newly established (in 1929) Tajik SSR, however, gradually changed, and Gypsy kolkhozes and artels started to be created (Назаров, 1969; Marushiakova & Popov, 2016d).

The second Decree of the VTsIK and SNK RSFSR from February 20, 1928, *On Land Allocation for Gypsies in Transition to Working Settled Way of Life* (Постановление, 1928) not only confirmed these privileges but also extended them by covering the costs for settling from the state budget. In this way, the Gypsies enjoyed privileges that were inaccessible to most of the village population in the USSR. Following the RSFSR model, on February 28, 1927, the VTsVK and RNK Ukrainian SSR issued a Decree *On the Assistance Measures for the Transition of Nomadic Gypsies to a Working Settled Life* (TsDAVO, f. 413, op. 1, spr. 239, ark. 6).

These two Decrees gave impetus to the process of sedentarisation of Gypsy nomads and the establishment of Gypsy national kolkhozes. In this text, the umbrella term 'kolkhoz' designates any form of agricultural collective. In the 1920s, there were three types of collective land cultivation, with some differences between them – *tovarishchestvo* (from *товарищ* 'comrade', i.e., 'comrade-hood'), *artel* and *commune*; in the 1930s, during the process of mass collectivisation in agriculture, all these formations were called kolkhozes.

Significantly, the first issue of the journal *Romany zorya* published the article *About the Land for Gypsies* by Andrey Taranov (Романы зоря, 1927b, pp. 4–6). This is a leading topic in publications by Gypsy activists in the central Soviet press as evident from their titles: e.g. *From Nomadism to Sedentarisation* by Andrey Taranov (Известия, 1927, p. 6) or *Let Us Put Aside the Past Nomadism: We Will Include Gypsies in the Construction of Socialism* by Georgy Lebedev and Daniil Savov (Комсомольская правда, 1930, p. 3).

The VSTs' leadership directly supported the nomadic Gypsies who wanted to settle down. Two months following the Decree of the TsIK and SNK SSSR from October 1, 1926, the VSTs received a letter by former nomads, residents of the *khutor* (a type of rural settlement) Krikunovo, dated December 27, 1926. The letter revealed that the founders of the *khutor* Krikunovo had learned

about the Decree from the VSTs. The khutor Krikunovo itself was founded in the spring of the same year, around half a year before the issuance of the Decree, i.e., part of the Gypsy nomads had an aspiration for a sedentary way of life already before the Decree. This is quite understandable given the general situation in the USSR after the devastating Civil War, which depopulated many regions. Under these conditions, the nomadic way of life became more complicated; meanwhile, many uncultivated land areas remained free. Agricultural work thus appeared as an alternative for survival. The khutor was named after Alexander Krikunov, the leader of the inhabitants, who presented themselves as former “red partisans”. They had served in the Red Army during the Civil War and moved to a sedentary way of life after that. Twenty families (87 people) had founded the khutor, joined later by another 25 families. The signatories of the letter asked the VSTs to assist them in their request to the local authorities to obtain new land and to expand the plot received by the khutor at its inception.

Chronologically, the letter from the khutor Krikunovo was not the first one written by Gypsies, asking for land allocation for agriculture. As early as the summer of 1926, the Gypsies from the village of Gribani (no longer existing today), near Smolensk, sent a similar letter to the VSTs and SN TsIK (GARF, f. P 1235, op. 120, d. 27, l. 28–29). In April 1926, Kazak ASSR (the official name at the time, later Kazakh SSR) began preparatory work for the establishment of the *Stalin’s Way* Gypsy kolkhoz (GARF, f. P 1235, op. 123, d. 27, l. 63). In 1927, 27 nomadic groups united into the National kolkhoz in the Alma-Ata Rayon (Ibid., l. 150; Платунов, 1976, pp. 265–266). This was, in fact, one of the first Gypsy kolkhozes in the USSR. It was established on the initiative of A. I. Vishnevsky, a holder of the Order of the Red Banner (GARF, f. P 1235, op. 123, d. 27, l. 273–274). Press reports indicated the establishment of various Gypsy kolkhozes, such as the agricultural artel *Новая жизнь* (New Life) in the Vitebsk District, Byelorussian SSR (Беднота, 1927, p. 4; Калинин, 2005, p. 89) and the Gypsy kolkhoz in Sofievka Rayon, Dnepropetrovsk Oblast, Ukrainian SSR (Экономическая жизнь, 1928, p. 4). The khutor Krikunovo, however, became part of the Soviet propaganda. Both the official edition of *Pravda* (Правда, 1927, p. 4), the daily newspaper of the VKP(b), and *Izvestia* (Известия, 1928, p. 6), the newsletter of the TsIK SSSR, published articles about it. Alexander German also promoted the khutor Krikunovo with articles in Russian and Romani languages (Молодой Ленинец, 1928, p. 3; Крестьянская газета, 1928, p. 4; Романы зоря, 1929a, pp. 7–10). It became an iconic symbol of the nomadic Gypsies’ ambition to settle down and move to collective agriculture. However, this was not sufficient for the survival of the khutor, which was already having problems. After the local authorities did not satisfy the demands of the Gypsy residents living there to obtain land, some of them left in 1929. In 1931, after

several people from the khutor were accused of horse theft, the settlement process was finally abandoned, and the khutor's inhabitants left it (O'Keefe, 2013, pp. 152, 286).

The mass collectivisation of agriculture in the USSR prompted the development of the Gypsy national kolkhozes, especially in the period 1929–1932. As is clear from the *Minutes of the Meeting of the Board of the Kolkhoz Centre USSR on the Collectivisation of Toiling Gypsies* on January 3, 1931, in the course of the mass collectivisation, most of the Gypsy kolkhozes which had been established in the 1920s and were disbanded, were being rebuilt (GARF, f. P 1235, op. 121, d. 31). This process was rapidly evolving with the active participation of Ivan Tokmakov, who prepared several reports on the state and existing problems of the Gypsy kolkhozes (GARF, f. P 1235, op. 130, d. 5; f. P 3316, op. 28, d. 793). The Decree by the VTsIK's Presidium from April 1, 1932, *On the State with the Work in the Services for Toiler Gypsies* played a significant role in this regard (GARF, f. P 1235, op. 130, d. 5, l. 38–39). As Tokmakov wrote in his 1935 Report, "if nine kolkhozes were organised in the period 1929–31, their number in the period 1932–35, was sixteen" (GARF, f. P 3316, op. 28, d. 793).

This period proved to be the peak in the development of the Gypsy national kolkhozes. This policy accomplishments were consolidated and advanced with the Decree of the USSR VTsIK's Presidium from April 7, 1936, *On Measures for the Employment of Nomads and the Improvement of Economic and Cultural Services for Toiler Gypsies* (Постановление, 1936, p. 87). The newly established Kazakh USSR was also active in kolkhoz building, and the Central Committee of the Kazakh SSR, on May 19, 1936, adopted the Decree *On the Employment of Nomadic Gypsies* (Платунов, 1976, p. 267).

In the 1930s, many materials, articles and books written by Gypsy activists promoted the creation of Gypsy kolkhozes. Mikhail Bezlyudsky, author of the book *In Support of the Kolkhoz, against Nomadism* (Безлюдско, 1933), was among the most active ones. Together with Alexander German, they published another book, *Forward to Work: What Gypsies Need to Know Upon Entering a Collective Farm* (Безлюдско & Германо, 1933), which combines propaganda (the significance of the October Revolution and Soviet rule for the Gypsies), agitation (a call for Gypsy nomads to settle down and set up their own national kolkhozes), and numerous specific practical pieces of advice (how to register a Gypsy kolkhoz, how to keep records, how to cultivate the land, etc.).

The history of the Gypsy kolkhozes in the early USSR is still poorly studied, although several new, important studies in recent years have made significant progress in this respect (Килин, 2005; Истягин, 2015; Бугай, 2015; Каменских, 2017; Черных & Каменских, 2020). Contemporary academic literature often refers to the existence of 52 Gypsy kolkhozes. This number appeared in scholarly

works after the first publication of several paragraphs from Nikolay Pankov's text, devoted to Ivan Tokmakov (LANB, f. Николай Панков; Друц & Гесслер, 1990, p. 285). The data about the Gypsy kolkhozes, however, is uncertain, and it is difficult to estimate their exact number: Some of them were mentioned only in the press; the names of some kolkhozes changed several times; there were relocations from one settlement to another; some kolkhozes split into separate parts; etc. Another specific issue is the so-called mixed nationalities kolkhozes, such as Ukrainian-Gypsy, Jewish-Gypsy, and even German-Gypsy collective farms (RGASPI, f. 17, op. 113, d. 822, l. 29–45).

In any case, in 1935–36, when the Soviet state paid serious attention to the Gypsy kolkhozes, their number in administrative reports varied between 20 and 30 (see the overview of existing Gypsy kolkhozes in the 1930s by Бурай, 2015). All these collective farms were relatively small. For example, the most favoured and publicly promoted Gypsy kolkhoz, *Trud Roman* (Gypsy Labour), included 11 families when it was transferred to the Kangly village in Mineralnye Vody Rayon of North Caucasus Krai in 1932; by July 1936, the number had increased to 35; on July 30, new farms were added; and in 1937, another 100 households joined the kolkhoz. Thus, the entire kolkhoz had 165 farms with a total of 676 people (Ibid., p. 48). According to various reports, the number of Roma families in the Gypsy kolkhozes varied between 620 and 1,100 (see GARF, f. P 3316, op. 28, d. 793, l. 6–8; f. P 1235, op. 130, d. 5). Surprisingly, another study, conducted approximately at the same time (1936–1937), and organised by the VPK, reported quite different data – 1,425 families in 45 Gypsy kolkhozes, out of a total of 9,047 Gypsy families (Платунов, 1976, p. 271). Comparing these data with others (such as the number of Gypsy families in individual kolkhozes), as well as with the total number of the Gypsies in the USSR at that time, it is clear that the share of the Gypsies covered by the Soviet sedentarisation policies was not quite high.

However, it should be borne in mind that not all Gypsies in the early USSR were nomads, although it is difficult to provide an accurate estimation of their share in the total Gypsy population. Some indications in this respect are provided by the 1939 Census figures about the urban (13,769 persons) and rural (47,493 persons) Gypsy population, as long as the settled Roma lived primarily in the cities, while the nomads were registered in the villages. This correlation, however, is not absolute because there were quite a few exceptions, for example, nomads renting housing for the winter in small cities or vice versa, nomads gradually settling in their winter housing in villages (mainly in Ukraine, and in the region of Smolensk too). In this regard, we can trust the assessment of the VSTs' leadership, according to which about a quarter of the Gypsies in the USSR at the end of the 1920s had already settled down (mainly

in the cities), and about three-quarters continued to lead a nomadic way of life (GARF, f. P 1235, op. 120, d. 27). Judging by these estimations, we can conclude that the Soviet state policy of promoting the voluntary sedentarisation of Gypsy nomads (in close cooperation with Gypsy activists), had achieved certain results.

The case with the sedentarisation of the Gypsy nomads is illustrative of the importance (or, in fact, its absence) that the Soviet government attributed to the Gypsies. We have already mentioned the restrained reaction on the part of the Soviet authorities to the calls of Gypsy activists for the sedentarisation of nomadic Gypsies through administrative pressure. This attitude towards the nomadic Gypsies is striking in the conditions of the early USSR, when the elimination of nomadism, in general, was considered an extremely important task and a necessary condition for the transition to socialism (Зверяков, 1932). In this period, the authorities imposed the sedentarisation (or the setting up of permanent winter and summer settlements as a means of control) of pastoral nomads in Central Asia (Kindler, 2014; Cameron, 2018) and other regions, along with that of the so-called Small Peoples of the North (Синицин, 2019). All these nomadic communities were seen as crucial from an economic point of view, as they provided (or could provide) the state with important animal products (meat, milk, fur, etc.). The same cannot be said about the nomadic Gypsies, who were not regarded as economically crucial for the Soviet state. Consequently, their sedentarisation had a low profile in state policy and was protracted for an indefinite period (in this case, until 1956). These conclusions are confirmed by the available digital data, which leaves no room for any other interpretations. According to Alexander Khatskevich (Secretary of the Council of Nationalities at the TsIK SSSR), in 1917, on the eve of the October Revolution, more than 10 million nomadic people lived in the Russian Empire; in 1933, it was estimated that as a result of the measures taken by the Soviet state, more than 7 million nomads had moved to a sedentary way of life (Правда, 1933, p. 4). By the beginning of World War II, the issue of nomadism was generally resolved (except for Gypsies), although, after the war, there was a process of partial renomadisation involving various communities (mainly in Central Asia) as well as some already settled Gypsies (Marushiakova & Попов, 2003; 2016a). There can be no doubt that if the Soviet state had aimed at forcing the Gypsies to move to a sedentary lifestyle in the 1920s and 1930s, it could have achieved this goal without much effort. Given the fact that the state had forced more than 7 million nomads to settle in such a short time, tens of thousands of Gypsy nomads could not have been a problem.

Another area to which the Soviet state also paid special attention was the Gypsy production artels. The situation in the 1930s was different after the



failure of the educational and production cooperatives created under the auspices of the VSTs in the 1920s. Only two of the old production cooperatives had survived – *Tsygkhiprom* (Gypsy Food Industry) and *Tsygpishcheprom* (Gypsy Chemical Industry). The “industry” label in their titles should not mislead the reader; these were, in fact, small workshops for unskilled labour, in which the workers (mainly non-Gypsy women) cut up, packed, and re-packed basic household products (dyes, laundry detergents, salt, tea, coffee, etc.). The artels were run by Ruska Roma representatives, who successfully implemented their plans and had continuous support from the central and local authorities (GARF, f. P 1235, op. 130, d. 5).

At the beginning of 1930, there were 4 Gypsy artels in Moscow, and in the following year, their number grew to 28, with 1,351 Roma members (Попова & Бриль, 1932, p. 134). The Decree of VTsIK *On the State of Work in the Services for Toiler Gypsies* from April 1, 1932, had a serious impact on the development of the Gypsy production artels with its emphasis on their strengthening as well as cleansing from “class-foreign elements” (GARF, f. P 1235, op. 130, d. 5, l. 38–39). As a result, ironically, the new Gypsy artels proved unstable and often disintegrated or were closed for economic and financial violations. In 1932, the following 15 artels operated in Moscow: *Tsygkhiprom*, *Tsygpishcheprom*, *Military Transport*, *Romanian Foreigner*, *First Serbo-Romanian [Artel]*, *Red Transbaikalian*, *Greco-Romanian [Artel]*, *Serbo-Romanian [Artel] named after Stalin*, *Romanian [Artel] New Life*, *Black Sea Emigrant*, *Red October*, *International*, *2nd Serbo-Romanian [Artel]*, *Tiflis Tinsmith*, *Ukrainian Tinsmith* (Нэво дром, 1931с, p. 32; Безлюдско & Германо, 1933, pp. 205–206). Although the predominant part of the Gypsy artels was concentrated in Moscow, artels were also created in other cities such as Leningrad, Smolensk, Yaroslavl, Kirov, Yoshkar-Ola, Perm, Sverdlovsk, Novosibirsk, Chelyabinsk, Stalingrad, Oryol, Krasnodar, Kiev, Kharkov, Dnepropetrovsk, Berdichev, etc. (GARF, f. P 3316, op. 28, d. 793; f. P 1235, op. 123, d. 27; f. P 1235, op. 123, d. 28; f. P 1235, op. 123, d. 29; RGAE, f. 5675, op. 1, d. 142; f. 5675, op. 1, d. 145; GASO, f. P 2360, op. 1, cv. 181, d. 2068; f. P 2360, op. 2, sv. 50, d. 432; DAMK, f. P 1, op. 1, spr. 10715; Рогн, 1934; Друц & Гесслер, 1990, p. 292; Chernykh, 2020, pp. 358–366). The new Gypsy artels were created primarily by representatives of the Kelderari group. Other interesting cases are the two *Lingurari* artels in the Vinnytsia region, Ukrainian SSR, for the production of wooden spoons (GARF, f. P 3316, op. 28, d. 794; RGAE, f. 5675, op. 1, d. 158).

The Soviet archives contain a wealth of information about Gypsies employed in Gypsy artels and various fields of production, which we cannot analyse here. As a way of illustration, we provide, without commenting, only

the data recorded by the ON VTsIK in 1936: "Out of 6,220 Gypsy families living in the USSR, 1,020 families worked in the Gypsy artels and production" (GARF, f. P 1235, op. 130, d. 5).

Ivan Tokmakov, in his position as an instructor at the ON VtsIK, actively dealt with the problems of the Gypsy artels, not only in Moscow but also in the countryside, for example, in Smolensk (GARF, f. P 1235, op. 123, d. 28). His reports contain numerous details about these problems: "Gypsy artels are not created on the periphery, 16 out of all 20 artels in Moscow have been liquidated, and by February 1, 1935, only 4 Gypsy artels remained; 4 Gypsy artels remained in the RSFSR in Moscow, 1 in Rostov, and 1 in the Voronezh region; only 3 Gypsy artels remained in Moscow" (GARF, f. P 3316, op. 28, d. 793). For the liquidation of the artels, he held responsible the Moscow institutions, which did not consider the successful experience of the two artels, *Tsygkhimprom* and *Tsygpishcheprom*, "that grew, strengthened and successfully implemented their annual plans with respectively 3 and 8 million roubles financial turnover" (GARF, f. P 1235, op. 130, d. 5). On his initiative, the VTsIK Presidium issued a Resolution of July 1, 1935, establishing an Interdepartmental Commission with the task of defining measures for the organisational and economic strengthening of the existing Gypsy production artels (Ibid.). Nevertheless, Ivan Tokmakov's efforts to preserve and develop the Gypsy artels proved ultimately unsuccessful, and the vast majority of the Gypsy artels were liquidated in the second half of the 1930s (Бессонов, 2002a, p. 5).

An important component of the Soviet state nationality policy with regard to the Gypsies was the development of a standardised, codified Romani language and, on that basis, the comprehensive education of the Gypsies, which included setting up Gypsy schools, teachers' training, adult's literacy courses (so-called *likbez*), publication of textbooks and teaching materials, journals, newspapers, propaganda and agitation materials, etc. This whole process aimed at creating Gypsy literature and Gypsy theatre as part of the national literature and national theatre. This work was regarded as one of the key elements in the development of any nationality and an important public symbol of the equality of the Gypsies in the new Soviet state.

One of the first tasks that the VSTs undertook immediately after its official registration in July 1925 was the creation of a Romani alphabet. As early as the end of 1925, the VSTs' General Working Plan noted that the VSTs' Presidium had already held a meeting on the issue of making the 'Gypsy Alphabet', and a commission involving scientists had been set up (GARF, f. P 1235, op. 120, d. 27). The Working Plan for 1926 provided for: "a) Development of the alphabet; b) Compilation of grammar and vocabulary; c) Publishing a primer,

anthology; d) Posters, leaflets; e) Before developing the alphabet and grammar the brochures of various kinds will use the Russian alphabet and the Gypsy colloquial speech” (Ibid.).

The description of the entire process of elaboration and approval of the Romani alphabet by the Narkompros presents larger or smaller discrepancies in the different sources and their presentation by the individual authors. According to the most widespread version, the General Directorate of Scientific, Academic-Artistic and Museum Institutions (Glavnauka) at the Narkompros held a Scientific-Consultative Meeting by order of Anatoly Lunacharsky, the head of the Narkompros RSFSR. The meeting established a *Committee for the Creation of the Gypsy Language Alphabet*. According to some sources, Committee members included Prof. Maxim Sergievsky from the Moscow State University; his assistant Tatyana Ventzel; representatives of the Union of the Gypsies – Nikolay Pankov, Nina Dudarova; and a literature editor, Nikolay Rogozhev (non-Roma). Although there are different accounts about the composition of the Committee (see Marushiakova & Popov, 2022, p. 354), the important contribution of Nikolay Pankov and Nina Dudarova as initiators and creators of the ‘Gypsy Alphabet’ in the USSR is unquestionable, the best proof being the presence of their names in all accounts.

The *Committee for the Creation of the Gypsy Language Alphabet* was affiliated with the Institute for Teaching Methods. It was responsible for coordinating teaching activities and publishing works in the Romani language, including Romani literature. Following the decision of this Committee, adopted after lengthy deliberations on May 10, 1927, the Narkom Anatoly Lunacharsky sent an official letter to the leadership of the All-Russian Union of the Gypsies announcing the creation of the Gypsy Alphabet (LANB, f. Николай Панков; a copy of this letter is also stored in OGMLT, f. 29, op. 1, d. 49, l. 33). According to the practice of the time, this letter had the force of a normative document. The alphabet created in this way was the first (and for many years the only one) official normative alphabet of the Romani language in the world. Apparently, Gypsy activists in the early USSR understood very well the importance and the symbolic significance of this fact in the context of Roma civic emancipation and emphasised it time and again in public statements, various official documents, and other publications. However, they did not always follow the norms; for example, the ‘f’ in the normative alphabet was practically not used anywhere in Romani language publications.

The newly created Romani alphabet was based on the Cyrillic alphabet. Interestingly is the note by Egon Erwin Kisch, made before the confirmation of the Romani alphabet, that the Narkompros was preparing such an alphabet based on the Latin alphabet so that it could reach all Gypsies in different

countries around the world (Kisch, 1992, p. 117), which indicates that publications in the Romani language were meant to be part of the Soviet propaganda abroad. Although this information is not confirmed by other sources, it seems that there was such an idea (without practical implementation) among some Soviet officials (and why not also among some Gypsy activists as well). In any case, the mass action for the Latinisation of the alphabets of different nationalities in the USSR (Martin, 2001, pp. 182–203) which was carried out on the initiative of Anatoly Lunacharsky (the main ideologue of Latinisation) in his capacity as head of the Narkompros and lasted until the second half of the 1930s (more than 70 nationalities had their alphabets Latinised), did not include the Gypsies. In all likelihood, there were people among the Soviet authorities who realised the futility of using printed propaganda materials among Gypsies outside the USSR, most of whom were illiterate at that time.

As part of its affirmative policy towards the Gypsies, the Soviet state started enrolling Gypsy children at school and organising adult literacy courses. In this context, the Cyrillic alphabet appeared to be a much more necessary and appropriate tool. In other words, when it comes to choosing between the needs of Gypsies as a cross-border community or as a part of the Soviet society, the Soviet authorities strongly preferred the latter option (and there is no evidence that Gypsy activists disagreed with this choice and pleaded for a transition to the Latin alphabet).

The first Gypsy school in Moscow was established even before the creation and legalisation of the Romani alphabet. The VSTs had already been established, and, with the assistance of the Narkompros and local authorities in Moscow, it began organising three Gypsy schools. Nina Dudarova from Leningrad, who had obtained pedagogical qualification from the Institute for Raising Teacher Qualifications (LANB, f. Николай Саткевич), was tasked with organising a school in the Rogozhsko-Simonovsky (Proletarian) region (Ibid.). She visited Gypsy homes and, persuaded the parents to send their children to school, petitioned the authorities for funds to purchase clothes, shoes, and teaching aids for the children. In October 1925, the Gypsy nationality school was opened. Its significance was especially noted by Egon Erwin Kisch, who called it the first Gypsy school on earth (Kisch, 1992, p. 119). To say in passing, in recent years, under the influence of geopolitical factors, in numerous academic publications and the public sphere, the stencil has been established that the first Gypsy/Roma school was established in 1926 Uzhhorod (then in Czechoslovakia), which is undoubtedly not true.

The Gypsy School had about 30 children. They studied according to the mainstream education program, divided into two classes according to age, and

their teachers were Nina Dudarova and a non-Roma woman. The latter subsequently left the school (LANB, f. Николай Саткевич).

The official confirmation of the Gypsy Alphabet triggered an intensive preparation and publication of textbooks and educational materials in the Romani language. A mass campaign started attracting Gypsy children to school. As a result of these activities, in 1933–1934, there were 7 Gypsy nationality schools and groups of the 1st stage (i.e., primary school) in the Moscow region; three schools in the North Caucasian Krai; two schools and two groups in the Western Oblast; two schools in the Central Black Earth Oblast; one school in the Lower Volga Krai; one school in the Middle Volga Krai; and one seven-year school with Children's Home (boarding school) opened in 1928 in the Western Oblast, in the village of Serebryanka (GARF, f. P 1235, op. 127, d. 8, l. 154–15406). In 1935, 12 Gypsy primary schools and 18 Gypsy groups at mainstream schools functioned in the RSFSR (GARF, f. P 1235, op. 130, d. 5, l. 66–70). The number of Roma nationality schools changed over the years, and not all of them were sustainable; nevertheless, they still played a crucial role in the education of the Roma children. It is clear from the available historical sources that Gypsy schools and classes were founded only in the European part of the USSR, and they included only Roma children. Therefore, the statement that the so-called Lyuli in Central Asia (whose mother tongue is Tajik) “had to learn this selected dialect [i.e., of Ruska Roma – authors' note]” (Dunajeva, 2021a, p. 63) cannot be defined otherwise than a falsification of the history of the Gypsies in the USSR.

In order to secure teaching staff for the Gypsy nationality schools, a Gypsy Department was opened at the Moscow Pedagogical College of the Krasno Presnensky Rayon, named after Timiryazev, on September 1, 1933. The College provided five years of training, including a preparatory course (GARF, f. P 1235, op. 130, d. 5). Candidates for training at the Gypsy Department wrote applications to Ivan Tokmakov in ON VTsIK, and he made great efforts to assist them with accommodation (GARF, f. P 1235, op. 123, d. 28). In 1935, he managed to persuade the Narkompros to elevate the Gypsy Department into an independent Gypsy Pedagogical College, which existed until 1938 (Ibid.). We should emphasise that Ivan Tokmakov paid particular attention to the students at the Gypsy Pedagogical College, whom he saw as the future “Gypsy elite” of the Soviet state. In 1934, he sent a proposal to Narkomzem to send 15 students from the Gypsy Department of the Pedagogical College “for cultural and educational work in Gypsy kolkhozes” for a month during the summer vacation (GARF, f. P 1235, op. 127, d. 8). The selected Gypsy kolkhozes were: *Nevo dzhiiben* (New Live) in Shakhun Rayon, Gorky Krai; *Trud Romen* (Gypsy Labour) in Mineralnye Vody Rayon, Stavropol Krai; *Nevo drom* (New Way) in Novovelichkovskaya

Rayon, Krasnodar Krai; *Krasny Vostok* (Red East) in Chernushka Rayon, Perm Krai; *Nevi baxt* (New Luck) in Sarapul Rayon, Kirov Oblast.

This initiative was implemented, although not in full, and the seconded students presented detailed reports on the situation in the Gypsy kolkhozes. Ivan Tokmakov's strategic idea was the transformation of the Gypsy Pedagogical College into a Higher School for the training of Gypsy activists, who would become the main driving force in the processes of Roma civic emancipation. This is confirmed by a letter to him from a group of students (Ermakov, Bogdanova, Andreev, Karpetskaya and others), who declared: "We are the first Gypsy cadres in the USSR, who are especially [trained] to re-educate our unenlightened generation" (Ibid.).

Other Gypsy activists who became part of the Soviet Party nomenclature also devoted special attention to the training of cadres for the new 'Gypsy elite'. Such was the case with Ilya Gerasimov, who also worked as an instructor in the Smolensk Oblispolkom (Western Oblast). Thanks to his intervention, four places for Gypsies were reserved in the Smolensk *Rabfak*, and the Pedagogical College in the town of Vyazma allocated two places (GASO, f. P 2350, op. 2, d. 46, l. 121). In 1931, the Pedagogical School in Dorogobuzh opened a Gypsy branch with two sections (training of educators and teachers at Gypsy schools) for 28 students (Безлюдско, 1932с, p. 54; GARF, f. P 1235, op. 123, d. 27; GASO, f. P 2360, op. 1, sv. 181, d. 2068). In 1934, the Smolensk Medical *Rabfak* opened a Gypsy group for 32 students, 20 men and 12 women; respectively, 12 people came from the kolkhozes, 12 from the tabors, and 8 were alumni of the boarding school (GARF, f. P 1235, op. 123, d. 28; f. P 1235, op. 127, d. 8). The results of Ilya Gerasimov's efforts were impressive. In the *Oktyabr* (October) kolkhoz (chaired by him), where illiteracy was eliminated entirely, all children studied in the local school (up to 7th grade); 18 students were enrolled in the medical *Rabfak*; 3 students in the Pedagogical Institute; 2 students in the Higher Communist Agricultural School, and 1 student in the Soviet Building Courses at the VTsIK (GARF, f. P 3316, op. 64, d. 1637, l. 4).

The level of the educated (or at least literate) Roma in the Western Oblast, where Ilya Gerasimov worked, can be illustrated by the following statistics. In 1932, at the opening of the Gypsy Department at the Pedagogical College of the Krasno Presnensky District named after Timiryazev, 25 students (13 men and 12 women) were enrolled, of whom 15 (sic!) were from the Western Oblast, 4 from Moscow, 1 from the Moscow Oblast, 1 from the Tula Oblast, 1 from the Stalingrad Oblast, 1 from the Bashkir ASSR, and 2 from the Ukrainian SSR (GARF, f. P 1235, op. 127, d. 8). The explanation for the special position of the Western Oblast can be sought in different directions. On the one hand, the voluntary settlement of Gypsy nomads in this region dates back to the end of the

19th century. This way of life was conducive to a higher degree of social integration and, hence, at least a minimal education for most of the children. On the other hand, the affirmative policy of the Soviet state, involving the appointment of Gypsy activists in the Soviet administrative apparatus (Ilya Gerasimov was not the only case), albeit at a relatively low level, proved to be a particularly important factor.

An important aspect of the Soviet Gypsy policy in the 1920s and 1930s was the strong support on the part of the state for the creation of national literature. The scale of the published works is amazing. The total number of books published in the Romani language between 1928 and 1938 was over 260 (see the data of all publications in Русаков & Калинин, 2006, pp. 266–287; Shapoval, 2021b, pp. 1058–1066; 2021c, pp. 264–273), and this is not the complete number. Seventy-one titles were original works by Gypsy authors – fiction (32 titles), journalism (15 titles), textbooks and educational materials (24 titles). This number includes Romani literature per-se, primers for students and adults, textbooks and educational materials, practical manuals for work on kolkhozes and artels. There were also translations into Romani of Russian and world classics, such as books by Alexander Pushkin (short novels, fairy tales, and the famous poem *Gypsies*), Lev Tolstoy, Prosper Mérimée (the famous novel *Carmen*), Maxim Gorky (his stories devoted to Gypsies), children's books, etc.; as well political literature (including some works of Lenin and Stalin), propaganda and agitation publications in the spirit of the Soviet era, popular science, technology and industry, agriculture, medicine and hygiene, family life, etc. (Marushiakova & Popov, 2017b; Shapoval, 2021a). Among the prominent authors of Roma literature were Ivan Rom-Lebedev (prose and dramaturgy), Mikhail Bezlyudsky (political essays and poetry), Mikhail Ilyinsky (prose), the poets Georgy Lebedev, Ivan Khrustalyov, Alexey Svetlov, and the poetesses Olga Pankova, Yevdokia Orlova and Maria Polyakova. The genres of these books included mainly prose and short stories, poetry, theatre plays, and journalism. It even inspired the beginning of a new genre, which nowadays is especially popular in Romani literature – the comics – with the main character *Rom Pupyрка* (Романы зоря, 1929b, p. 49; Романы зоря, 1930b, p. 63).

It is logical to question the reason for the massive amount of Gypsy language books that were published, given the small potential audience of these publications: Was it a matter of authorities' ignorance, or was it a matter of making a political point? The answer is unambiguous – it was a political decision in the spirit of the times and the dominant ideology in the USSR, reflected in the leading nationality policy, including publishing. The Soviet state listed the Gypsies among the nationalities ('backward' or 'culturally backward' according to the terminology used at the time), who were entitled to

education and literacy in their own language with special priority, and who required special care (O’Keeffe, 2010, pp. 283–312; 2013). The Gypsy national literature in the early USSR created a new, holistic social and cultural phenomenon in the lives of the Roma. However, we must explicitly emphasise that this was not a manifestation of any special attitude of the Soviet state towards the Gypsies. Between 1928 and 1938, the number of non-Russian newspapers and journals increased from 205 titles in 47 languages to 2,188 titles in 66 languages (Slezkine, 1994, p. 439); accordingly, the figures for the published books in all these languages are genuinely astonishing.

Alexander German takes a prominent place within this process of Romani literature development. To a great extent, his involvement was decisive and determined the broad scope of the work. His activities were numerous and varied. In addition to the work in the editorial office of the two Gypsy journals (*Romany zorya* and *Nevo drom*), he also worked actively in many Soviet Publishing Houses, wrote vast amounts of journalistic articles and reports for central and provincial newspapers and journals, and took part in various public committees, boards, and councils. Alexander German’s literary heritage is truly impressive. It is not possible to present the complete bibliography of his work here, as his productivity was remarkable and covered almost all literary fields – poetry, prose, dramaturgy, publicists, journalism, translation, and editorial work. He prepared teaching and educational material, made translations and literary editorial work, etc. (see more details in Русаков & Калинин, 2006, pp. 266–287; Shapoval, 2021b, pp. 1058–1066; 2021c, pp. 264–273). At the same time, Alexander German took a full-time position as editor in the National Sector (for the production of literature in the national languages) of the Goslitizdat Publishing House, where he worked from November 1934 to December 1938, and thus actually managed and coordinated all publishing activities in the field of Romani literature during its most flourishing period.

It should also be borne in mind that, at that time, literature had an important place in public and political life. Soviet writers, these “engineers of human souls”, as defined by Yuri Olesha’s expression, which was repeatedly used in Stalin’s public statements, were called upon to contribute to the formation of the new Soviet man. That is why the national literature for the Gypsies in the early USSR was a vital pillar of their new Soviet civic identity, which, however, did not contradict their Roma/Gypsy ethnic identity. Gypsy culture in the USSR (including literature as part of it) was perceived similarly to any other culture, according to Stalin’s famous postulate, as “Socialist in its content and national in form” (Сталин, 1931, p. 8). In this historical context, it is quite understandable that almost all Gypsy activists at the time (both men and women) were also writers (poets, prose writers, translators). Like many



others in this epoch, they “wrote with a determination and persistence that justifies our calling them writers,” and “they wrote less to create “art” than to speak aloud about the world” (Steinberg, 2002, p. 1). Against this background, Alexander German’s place took on a particular significance. All that has been said so far turned him, for his contemporaries (both Roma and non-Roma), into the undisputed “classic and living doyen of Gypsy literature”. This identification acquired wide popularity and was standardly used to present him in the public space from the 1930s until his death.

Especially impressive (and maybe even shocking) is his diary, which he kept writing for four decades (from 1912 to 1952). This diary looks like a detailed timesheet of his work. In it, he only recorded his literary activity, public presentations and lectures, interviews given, etc., over the years and documented its impact (he also noted the awards received and the reviews of his publication). There are just very few remarks of a personal nature. Societal events (the First World War, the October Revolution, the Civil War, the Second World War), as well as his two marriages, proved less significant for him than his literary work, which, it would appear, was the essential thing in his life. This diary reveals Alexander German as a person who, from his school years, had a passionate dream of becoming a famous writer and devoted his entire life to the realisation of this adolescent dream. He was probably influenced by the overall spiritual atmosphere of his hometown of Oryol, known in the public space as the “city of writers;” a great deal of renowned Russian writers were born there, such as Ivan Turgenev, Nikolay Leskov, Leonid Andreev, Ivan Bunin, and many others, as well as the famous literary theorist and philosopher Mikhail Bakhtin.

Alexander German’s biography has a discussion point that deserves special attention because it directly concerns the overall assessment of his role in the origin and development of Gypsy literature in the early USSR (and Romani literature globally). Undoubtedly, the most intriguing question is his ethnic origin and identity. Nowadays, it is generally assumed that he was of mixed (Roma and non-Roma) origin as his mother was a “Moravian Roma woman”, a fact that has given rise to various speculative interpretations. According to Milena Hübschmannová, “although Germano was not brought up like a Rom and was a Roma only on his mother’s side, his Roma identity was revived because of the prestige of the official task” (Hübschmannová, 2002, p. 80). Nevertheless, for Hübschmannová, Alexander Germano was a Roma writer, despite his mixed origin and even though he had learned the Romani language at an adult age (Ibid., pp. 79–81). It is not clear, however, why the question of Alexander Germano’s mixed origin (which for Hübschmannová is certain and indisputable) is raised at all, having in mind that many other Roma activists

and writers (both in the past and nowadays) also had mixed origin (and some even had doubts as to whether they were Roma at all). If we accept the logic of questioning the affiliation to Roma activism and/or Roma literature of individuals with mixed backgrounds, then the whole Gypsy movement and literature in the early USSR could also be challenged on this ground. For example, the two leaders of the VSTs, Andrey Taranov and Ivan Rom-Lebedev, were Roma only on their father's sides (LANB, f. Николай Саркевич; Ром-Лебедев, 1990, p. 7), while Nadezhda Kiseleva (whose stage name was Lyalya Chyornaya), the most famous star of the theatre *Romen*, only had one Roma grandmother (Bessonov, 2016, p. 146). The mixed origin of all these personalities had never been an issue, and it is not clear why an exception should be made in the case of Alexander Germano.

According to Brigid O'Keeffe, who accepts with no doubt the Roma origin of Alexander German's mother, he used to play with his identities (Roma and non-Roma) depending on the social and political situation. She argues that in the years of the pro-Gypsy policy in the early Soviet Union, German emphasised his Roma origin and Roma identity. When the leading paradigm of Soviet national politics changed, he demonstrated a Russian ethnic identity (O'Keeffe, 2013, pp. 239–254). This interpretation (or rather over-interpretation) is quite controversial because the documentary evidence does not confirm that German had played with his identity. In several autobiographies, the last one being in 1952, he consistently declared himself a 'Gypsy Writer' but never a 'Gypsy', and the latter identification does not necessarily flow from the former.

Alexander German's own writing, which Brigid O'Keeffe accepted as evidence of his identity game, is inconclusive in this respect, either. We found a single notice, written in 1925, in *Oryol*, that could be interpreted as a hint of his mother's Gypsy origin: "My mother didn't like to be in one place, she loved travelling, and because of her, my father changed jobs, sold all the home junk, and travelled away without knowing what would happen" (OGMLT, f. 29, op. 1, d. 137, l. 2). It is not clear, however, if Alexander German wanted to play with his origin, why he should have used such a complex metaphor instead of simply stating that his mother was a Gypsy. Moreover, there is no logical explanation for why he needed this game. The quote is from his 1925 autobiography, i.e., from the time when Alexander German did not think at all that he would become a 'Gypsy Writer' (as stated above, he left for Moscow in the following year). Moreover, no one at the time could have anticipated the affirmative Gypsy policy of the Soviet state and the emergence of Gypsy literature, i.e., an identity game with the Gypsy origin and identity was irrelevant. A more logical explanation is that Alexander German used a romanticising metaphor about his mother's love for travel without ethnic dimensions.

Let us give the floor to Alexander German himself on the question of his origin and his growth into a leading Gypsy author:

I undertook a collection of nomadic folklore and a study of the Gypsy language orally (using voice). Having reincarnated in a kind of Aleko [the main hero in Alexander Pushkin's poem *Gypsies*, a non-Gypsy who lived in a Gypsy camp – authors' note], I spent weeks in the tabor [Gypsy camp – authors' note]. All this has led to the fact that I have freely mastered the language and began to write poetry and prose like a Gypsy, versatile and familiarised with the life and hopes of nomadic Gypsies as well as with the parasitism (*tsyganshchina*) of the Gypsy choirs in the capital city. I stop with this explanation in order to avoid further questions: a non-Gypsy or a Gypsy? Who am I? I've learned the language (I know the Northern and Southern dialects) and the soul of the Gypsies because otherwise, I would not be able to conduct political and educational work among nomads by pictorial artistic means. Have I achieved this goal? – It is not my task to assess my own published works (OGMLT, f. 29, op. 1, d. 156, l. 6–7).

There was no need for an identity game in 1952 either when Alexander German unambiguously answered the question of his ethnic origin and identity in the version of his autobiography, cited above. It is unclear what might press an author, widely known in public as the most prominent 'Gypsy writer', to resort to such 'identity games', i.e., to pretend to be an ethnic Russian while he was not and to do so in documents that were not designated for the wide public but only for internal administrative purposes (his 1952 autobiography was prepared for his personal dossier in the Union of the Soviet Writers). The logical question is what would have happened to Alexander German if he had stated that he was a Gypsy. Ivan Rom-Lebedev, for example, had done so (RGALI, f. 2928 op. 2, d. 246), which in no way disrupted his professional and public career (for several decades he was the permanent artistic director of the Theatre *Romen*). Moreover, he formally added *Rom* to his family name, Lebedev, apparently to emphasise publicly his ethnic origin and his identity. Therefore, it is much simpler (and more logical) to assume that Alexander German was honest about his ethnic origin and identity and, at the same time, had no problem identifying as a 'Gypsy writer'. This was his public identification throughout the USSR and the basis for his entire career.

Numerous studies on the Roma have revealed the disparity between the internalised ethnic identity of certain individuals or communities and the ethnic label attached to them by others (Marushiakova & Popov 2015; 2016e). In the case of Alexander German, we see no grounds for associating the issue of his ethnic identity with labelling or the Soviet nationality policy. There is no contradiction (and in principle, there cannot be any) between the two dimensions of his identity (as Gypsy writer and as Soviet citizens).

Alexander German's alleged "Gypsy origin" (in particular, the identification of his mother as a "Moravian Gypsy Woman") was first mentioned in public in 1960, five years after his death, when his widow Maria Vardashko attempted to persuade the Soviet institutions and publishing houses to publish his multi-volume collected works. In her letters to the Union of the Soviet Writers and to various publishers, as well as in her articles and press interviews, she sought to present Alexander German in a favourable light by declaring him creator of the Gypsy Alphabet (although in fact, he had nothing to do with the creation of the alphabet); an active participant and almost a Civil War hero, who "fought on almost all fronts" (above, about his service in the Red Army, see Marushiakova & Popov, 2022, p. 556), etc. An essential part of this marketing strategy (to put it in contemporary language) appears to be the emphasis on Alexander German's Gypsy origin. The re-discovery of "Gypsy roots" (quotes are not accidental as usually there was no real basis for such claims) was a widespread practice among the artistic elite since the times of the Russian Empire, which was inspired by the Gypsies exotic and romanticised public image. Apropos, in Russia (as well as in other places worldwide), there are contemporary examples of celebrities from show business, cinema, and literature who claim publicly to have Gypsy roots (usually, in such cases, there is a mythical Gypsy grandmother about whose ethnicity, however, there is no real evidence).

Summing up the evidence about Alexander German's role in the origin and development of Romani literature (Marushiakova & Popov, 2020a, pp. 135–161), we can say that there is a relatively rare instance of divergence between his ethnic origin and identity, on the one hand, and the national dimensions of his literary work, on the other. Alexander German's case, however, is not without analogies in the history of world literature. It is enough to recall that Sandor Petöfi, the renowned Hungarian national poet, was of Slavic origin (father Serb and mother Slovak). The case of Alexander Germano clearly shows that the emergence of national literature does not need to be correlated with the ethnic origin and identity of the individual author. The individual author's significance for the national literature is always judged by their literary work, especially its public dimensions and impact. So, there is every reason to accept Alexander Germano's indisputable role as *de facto* one of the main progenitors and most prominent representative of Romani literature, which made up an important part of the Roma civic emancipation during the interwar period in the USSR.

The creation of the famous Theatre *Romen* is a significant achievement of the Soviet state's affirmative policy towards the Gypsies in the early USSR. This theatre is an emblematic (we can even say symbolic) manifestation of

the Roma civic emancipation and identity development and, at the same time, a strong factor influencing these processes, with time and spatial dimensions which transcended the historical moment and the boundaries of the USSR and can be traced even nowadays.

It is noteworthy that the Theatre *Romen* did not arise out of the blue but had its roots in the theatrical traditions of the Gypsy Choirs in the Russian Empire (Bessonov, 2016, pp. 143–144). Nikolay Shishkin, the leader of the famous St Petersburg choir, prepared his musical play *Children of Forests and Fields*, which was played in St Petersburg from 1888 to 1906; in 1892, he prepared a new play, *Gypsy Life*, which also enjoyed great success (Бауров, 1996, pp. 22–23; Бессонов, 2002b, 806–808; Bessonov, 2016, pp. 143–144). Moreover, the Theatre *Romen* was not the first Gypsy theatre established in the USSR (Bessonov, 2016, pp. 144). At least two years before its establishment in Moscow, there was a musical-theatrical ensemble led by the Gypsy singer and composer Yevdokia Orlova called the Theatre of Small Forms or simply Orlova's Theatre (Ibid.).

The creators of the theatre *Romen* were Gypsy activists from the former VSTs (which was closed by that time), from the circles around Yegor Polyakov's Gypsy choir (primarily Georgy Lebedev and Ivan Rom-Lebedev). They declared "full readiness to participate in the merciless cleaning of the Indo-Romen Art" from the so-called *tsyganshchina* (O'Keeffe, 2013, p. 217). The term 'tsyganshchina' (*цыганищина*), in this context, does not have any negative connotations regarding the Gypsies as a community. The concept of *tsyganshchina* became widespread in public use in the 1920s. A continuous public campaign in the press denounced this phenomenon as degenerated bourgeoisie Gypsy art (see Штейнпресс, 1934; Щербакoва, 1984) and an inauthentic pseudo-art (cf. Lemon, 2000, p. 141). This campaign, however, was not aimed against Gypsy music and dancing in general but specifically against the *tsyganshchina* phenomenon. As a counterpoint to this 'non-proletarian' phenomenon and to present the "true" Gypsy art, the Soviet state and Gypsy activists created the Gypsy State Theatre *Romen*, cf. the article with the indicative title *From a Night Pub to a Proletarian Theatre: Gypsies Declare a Fight against "Tsyganshchina"* (Рабочий и искусство, 1930, p. 4).

Ivan Rom-Lebedev's description of the process in which the Theatre *Romen* was created (Ром-Лебедев, 1990, pp. 164–165), including the selection of artists by a commission of which he was a member, is subordinated to this paradigm. He presents the candidates (men and women) as nomadic Gypsies coming straight "from the tabors" (Ibid., pp. 167–169). Nicolay Bessonov's review of protocols from this selection revealed that the commission admitted 21 people to the theatre, none of whom came from the ranks of nomadic Gypsies; only seven of them had led an itinerant way of life as young children (Bessonov, 2016, pp. 147–148). Moreover, most of the accepted artists came from the Gypsy

musical elite. The special commission, which approved the artists from the point of view of their social origin, apparently closed its eyes in some instances. The case of Nadezhda Kiseleva (the future star Lyalya Chernaya, at that time a soloist in Polyakov's choirs) is particularly striking in this respect. Her mother, Maria Polyakova, is of mixed descent; she married Prince Sergey Golitsyn (whose mother was a Gypsy), and after her divorce, she married Sergey Kiselev, also a hereditary nobleman, who was Lyalya Chernaya's father. In her dossier, however, her parents' background was indicated as *sluzhashchy* (servant/employee) (Ibid., p. 146). Eventually, despite previously declared intentions, in practice, the new theatre was formed mainly by representatives of the Gypsy musical elite, and, in 1932, there were only three artists who indicated nomadic origin, and they never reached leading positions (Ibid., p. 147).

The official opening of the theatre was on January 23, 1931 (RGALI, f. 2928, op. 1, d. 3, l. 5); the first public performance took place in May, including two parts – the scene *Atasya i adadyves* (Yesterday and Today) by Edward Sholok and *Ethnographic Sketches*; in December 1931 was the first premiere, the play *Dzhiben pre roty* (Life on Wheels) by Alexander German (Ром-Лебедев, 1990, pp. 173, 176–177). In addition to performances in Moscow, the theatre toured the country every year: in 1932, in Vitebsk, Gomel, Mogilev, Smolensk and Kiev; in 1933, in Orenburg, Saransk, Penza, Baku and Tbilisi; in 1934, in Rostov-on-Don, Kharkov, Dnepropetrovsk, Zaporozhye and the cities of Donbass (RGALI, f. 2928, op. 1, d. 66; f. 2928, op. 1, d. 68; f. 2928, op. 1, d. 69).

Under the first Chair of the Theatre *Romen*, Georgy Lebedev, the language of the performances gradually changed from Romani to Russian, which predetermined the theatre's future. This transition has led to many biased interpretations and even mystifications in the last few decades. Generally, the language issue is usually interpreted in the context of the changes in the Soviet nationality policy in the 1930s. The prevailing (de facto without alternative) tendency is to present the language change (explicitly or indirectly) as a manifestation of anti-Gypsyism on the part of the Soviet state, suppressing the public manifestations of the Gypsy identity and even an effort for their assimilation (Друц & Гесслер, 1990; Деметер et al. 2000; Lemon, 2000; O'Keeffe, 2013; 2019). This interpretation is entirely incorrect:

1. There is no documentation banning the use of the Romani language in the theatre (or at least no one has found such documentation in the archives of the Soviet state administration and the theatre itself).
2. In practice, such a ban did not exist, and the Romani language was used in individual words and phrases familiar to the public.
3. The numerous songs in the Romani language were an important part of each performance.

These facts make the idea of assimilation efforts meaningless because Gypsy songs and dances were (and are) one of the primary markers of the Gypsy identity in the USSR. On the contrary, the theatre supported the development of Gypsy. Most importantly, historical sources reveal a completely different picture of the process by which Russian replaced the Romani language in the performances of the Theatre *Romen*.

The question about the language of Theatre *Romen* performances was raised for the first time when the theatre was founded. At one of the meetings of the Organising Committee, held on January 10, 1931, Andrey Andreev (theatre administrator, non-Roma), candidate for chair of the new theatre, proposed that most of the performances should be in Russian to be understood by the audience. This proposal provoked a stormy reaction by the Gypsy activists Andrey Taranov, Georgy Lebedev, Alexander German, and Mikhail Bezlyudsky, who were present, and was categorically and unanimously rejected (RGALI, f. 2928, op. 1, d. 1, l. 4). Shortly thereafter, however, reality pressed Gypsy activists into radically changing their positions. They found the necessary arguments for this. Performing in Russian instead of Romani language as a way of saving the theatre from stagnation and isolation from the public was the subject of many debates in the theatre itself (O’Keeffe, 2013, p. 217, 224–234). Gradually, Gypsy activists became aware of this problem. At the meeting of the Creative Art Council of the theatre, held on January 23, 1933, Georgy Lebedev adopted a compromising position: “Given the immense importance of winning the sympathy of non-Roma workers [...], this helps to eradicate anti-tsyganism” (RGALI, f. 2928, op. 1, d. 6, l. 12). At the next meeting of the Council, held on February 11, 1933, he was even more insistent:

The theatre should not be isolated and work only for the Gypsies. The theatre cannot enclose itself in a narrowly national shell. In any case, the question of the language in our theatre is debatable and deeply fundamental. Today, this issue cannot be resolved, but the Council should work on it (RGALI, f. 2928, op. 1, d. 7, l. 15–28).

All speakers supported the use of Russian in performances, and a compromise solution (Ibid.) opened the door to a gradual replacement of Romani with the Russian language. Initially, the performances were conducted in the Romani language, accompanied by printed flyers with Russian-language librettos, which were distributed to the audience; later on, Russian-language prologues and epilogues were introduced. From 1937, with the inauguration of the new art director Mikhail Yanshin, Russian became the main language in Theatre *Romen* performances (Бессонов, 2013, p. 455).

The transition to the Russian language in the Theatre *Romen* was directly related not only to the desire to make its performances understandable and attractive to the general public but also to the financial situation of the theatre. According to the recollections of contemporaries preserved in the oral history of Roma from Moscow, the Theatre *Romen* was, in fact, in a state of bankruptcy in the middle of the 1930s. Gypsy activists sent a letter to Vyacheslav Molotov (then Chairman of the SNK), who replied that the financial revenues did not supersede the political importance of some issues. The situation with the Theatre *Romen* was precisely such an issue, and as a result, the financial crisis was overcome. Although no documentary evidence has been found supporting this narrative (at least for the time being), the story told by contemporaries has historical credibility because it fully complies with the guiding principles of the Soviet nationality policy of the time (and, more specifically, the attitudes towards Gypsies). If the Soviet authorities supposedly wanted to assimilate the Gypsies, the question arises as to why they didn't eliminate the Theatre *Romen* itself, being one of the main pillars of the Gypsy identity during the Soviet era (this action would not have been unprecedented, having in mind the closure of the Moscow State Jewish Theatre in 1948). Instead (if we agree with the proponents of the assimilation theory), they opted for a bizarre and ineffective strategy of continuing support for the work of the Gypsy National Theatre, combined with control over its repertoire from an ideological, political, and aesthetic point of view.

In the specific case of the Theatre *Romen*, it is methodologically unjustified to conclude that state policies concerning the theatre's music, dance and song repertoire influenced the development of Roma identities in the USSR. In general, throughout their history (at least since they arrived in Europe), Gypsy musicians have always aligned their performances, which are, in many cases, the main (or at least additional) source of their livelihood, with the dominant for the society ideological, political, aesthetic, etc. norms. How this repertoire affects the choice of songs and dances within the community is a completely different topic. In the case of Theatre *Romen*, there is a clear selectivity. A large part of the theatre's repertoire, which is not ideologised and influenced by Soviet ideologues, is transferred within the community as a whole and becomes part of its so-called traditional folklore. That is why even today, in the whole post-Soviet space, it is extremely difficult to find musical-dance and song folklore samples that are not born (or at least strongly influenced) by the norms and patterns presented in the public space by the Theatre *Romen*. However, all these examples are valid only for those cases of songs and dances built on old folklore samples or for newly created ones, which preserve their content and forms. Among this folklore heritage of the Theatre *Romen*, however, there



is not a single example in which one can feel any influence of the ideological norms and patterns imposed by the Soviet state in this repertoire, i.e., it turns out that the new forms (mostly songs) created in the spirit of the dominant Soviet ideology were intended only for public presentation, and remained only on the stage, without entering the life of the Roma. Moreover, these new forms are not even present in the hugely released gramophone records, i.e., de facto, they did not reach the majority of Roma in the USSR.

The Gypsy State Theatre *Romen* not only existed and developed successfully in the conditions of the USSR after the Second World War until its collapse (and continues to exist today) but became one of the most important tourist attractions in Moscow, and tickets for his performances must be purchased in advance (as is also the case with the famous Bolshoy Theatre). Moreover, in the 1960s and 1970s, Gypsy music and dance ensembles began to be created en masse at the regional philharmonic orchestras, the cultural homes of large enterprises, etc.; these dozens and even hundreds of Gypsy music and dance ensembles constantly toured the vast Soviet country with their performances and assisted these institutions in the implementation of their financial plans. Gramophone records with Gypsy music and songs (most of them performed in Romani) were published in millions of copies and were distributed not only in the USSR but also throughout the socialist camp. Thus, Theatre *Romen* (along with the dozens of Gypsy music and dance groups created over the years by its artistic models) became the main pillar around which the Gypsy identity in the USSR was preserved and upgraded, and their ethnic culture developed (even today in the post-Soviet space Gypsy music and dance folklore is entirely built on its patterns).

The research on the ideological basis and political aims pursued by the Soviet state in the case of the Theatre *Romen* (Lemon, 2000; O’Keeffe, 2019a) undoubtedly has its place in academic studies, but these goals were limited in time and were gradually forgotten even in the late USSR when the repertoire of the theatre also changed. From today’s point of view, what remains is the role and significance of the Theatre *Romen* in shaping and preserving awareness of the Gypsy identity. Whether this is an ‘invented tradition’ (Hobsbawm, 1992) with a particular ideological basis is irrelevant because, for the Roma themselves, this tradition is the only one that really exists. Whether this tradition is a product of an exotic approach to the Gypsies is also irrelevant because we may then conclude that the Gypsies have long been in the process of self-exoticisation (the same process also occurs among many other nations). Therefore, it should come as no surprise that, for example, the type of theatrical women’s costume developed according to the patterns imposed by the performances of the Theatre *Romen*, is now considered ‘traditional’ and is used

even today by many Roma music and dance ensembles throughout the entire region of Central and South-Eastern Europe, including among Roma Muslims (Marushiakova & Popov, 2016b, p. 53), for whom it was unknown in the past. This shows, once again, that real life always turns out to be stronger than any academic interpretations and assessments because, in the end, 'authentic' is exactly what the Roma themselves accept as such.

The fundamental idea of the Soviet power was to build a completely new state in which the social ills of the previous historical epochs would be eliminated. An important aspect of this radical historical change was the elimination of the disadvantaged position of women in various spheres – social, economic, political, cultural, educational, etc. This ambitious goal was embedded in all aspects of the Soviet state policy and, accordingly, had a strong impact on the Roma civic emancipation movement, which was inextricably woven into the general Soviet nationality policy in the early USSR (Marushiakova & Popov, 2023, pp. 109–127).

In the USSR, for the first time, the Gypsy activists (men and women) brought to the forefront the specific problem of the Gypsy woman and the goal of achieving gender equality both within the wider society and within the community. In modern terms, we find this issue in present-day discussions about the double discrimination faced by Roma women. As one Gypsy male activist in the early Soviet Union wrote, the Gypsy woman was a "slave", and she must earn a living for the whole family, including her husband (Звезда, 1926, p. 2). In this spirit, the Work Plan of the All-Russian Union of the Gypsies for 1926 had as one of its goals the liberation of women "from the yoke of the family and the male supremacy" so that they could have more time for socially useful work (GARF, f. 1235, op. 120, d. 27, l. 94). In this way, the activities for equality of the Gypsy woman became one of the important aims in the work of the VSTs in the 1920s and 1930s.

The empowerment of Roma women started with their inclusion into the VSTs' leadership. Such was the case with Nina Dudarova, who was one of the leading figures in Roma civic emancipation in the early USSR. In 1925, she moved to Moscow and joined the organisation of the Gypsy School. In October 1925, "the First Gypsy School on Earth" (Kisch, 1992, p. 119) was opened, and she began working in it. At that time, Nina Dudarova was the only Roma woman with a relatively good education. In the conditions of an almost complete lack of trained personnel among the Roma activists, her involvement in the Union's leadership was a logical step. According to some testimonies, Nina Dudarova had been a member of the VSTs' leadership since the summer of 1925 (Иващенко, 2011, p. 40), but Dudarova's preserved membership card shows that she was accepted as a member on April 12, 1926. This card

has No. 167, i.e., the Union had already quite a few members. The first issue of the journal *Romany zorya* presented a photo of the VSTs' leadership, including Andrey Taranov, Ivan Lebedev, Sergey Polyakov, and Nina Dudarova (Романы зоря, 1927a, p. 3), i.e., Dudarova had already been promoted to a leadership position. This could also be seen from the poster with the appeal *To Gypsy Inhabitants of the RSFSR* issued in the same year on behalf of the All-Russian Union of the Gypsies and signed by the Chairman, Andrey Taranov, Secretary Ivan Lebedev and Board Members Nikolay Pankov, Nina Dudarova and Dmitry Polyakov (GARF, f. P 9550, op. 2, d. 2010, l. 1; published in Marushiakova & Popov, 2021, pp. 712–718).

The involvement of Nina Dudarova in the VSTs' leadership was conditioned by another factor of high symbolic significance, namely the need for a publicly visible female presence in this leadership. The participation of a woman in the leadership of the organisation demonstrated the new, equal position of the Gypsy woman both in the Soviet society as a whole and within the Gypsy community itself. However, this does not mean that Dudarova's place in the processes of Roma civic emancipation in the early USSR should be underestimated. On the contrary, her active work should be emphasised, especially her contribution to the creation of the Romani Alphabet, her successful work as a teacher in the Gypsy School in Moscow and author of primers, textbooks, and teaching materials as well as her translations and editing of the Romani language texts (Marushiakova & Popov, 2022, pp. 576–581).

Her book *About Soviet Power* (Дударова, 1929) deserves special attention. This book, together with Alexander German's book *New Life* (Герман, 1929), marked the beginning of the political journalism genre in the emerging Roma national literature in the early USSR. Nina Dudarova's book has a clear popularising and agitational character, presenting a political picture of the world in which Gypsies live, with special emphasis on their new social position in the USSR and the opportunities offered by the Soviet state. It is worth noting that the book includes a poem by Nina Dudarova herself, entitled *To Roma Girls*, dedicated to International Women's Day (8 March), i.e., the topic of the emancipation of the Roma woman was not forgotten.

In general, Nina Dudarova's texts and overall activities during this period did not have a separate focus on the emancipation of the Roma woman; rather, this issue was inscribed in the leading discourse of Roma civic emancipation in the early USSR. This should in no way be interpreted as an underestimation of the "female topic". On the contrary, she always included this problem in a more general framework, i.e., for her, the emancipation of the Roma woman in society inevitably is accompanied by her emancipation in the community.

Another important figure in the field of the Roma women's emancipation in the early USSR was Olga Pankova. She was active both in the field of political journalism and poetry. Her poetic texts reveal her as a model of a new, liberated Roma woman, a living example of the opportunities created by the Soviet system for all nationalities in the USSR, and especially for Gypsy women (see Marushiakova & Popov, 2022, pp. 582–587). Regarding the Roma (and especially women's) civic emancipation, without any doubt, it is her journalism that is more interesting. Olga Pankova's first published book with journalistic essays, entitled *Komsomol in the Struggle for New Life* (Панкова, 1932), is of special value. While the individual parts largely repeat the basic facts and interpretations contained in many other similar publications, the part dedicated to the Gypsy woman is undoubtedly original and one of the relatively few texts devoted to the problems of emancipation of the Roma woman in the community and society.

In her texts on the position of the Roma woman in the Soviet state, Olga Pankova adhered to a simple and clear logic. First, she described the discrimination and persecution that the Gypsies had faced under capitalist rule in the conditions of tsarist Russia. Second, their unequal position in society was reflected in the relations within the community, where the Roma woman was deprived of any rights and was treated as the property of her father, and after the marriage, she became obedient to her husband without having any rights. The creation of the USSR as a new type of state radically changed the position of the Gypsies in society. They became equal citizens of the Soviet state with all civil rights, and the state took comprehensive care of them. Along with this, the Soviet state changed the place of women in society by giving them civil equality for the first time in world history. For Olga Pankova, the emancipation of the Roma woman is inextricably linked to her community and is part of the general Roma civic emancipation in Soviet society. It is noteworthy that her views did not differ in their essence from the modern principles of the emancipation of the Roma woman.

Other authors also explored the problems of Gypsy women in the early USSR in their literary works. An interesting case is Ivan Rom-Lebedev's play *The Daughter of the Steppes*, presented in 1935 at the Theatre *Romen*. This play proclaimed the right of a Gypsy woman to leave her husband, whom she married without love, in an arranged marriage (the play echoed the idea of free love, which was widely promoted in the early USSR, especially by the famous Alexandra Kolontay). Incidentally, soon after the premiere of this play, the famous actor Lyalya Chernaya, who played the lead role, realised the main message of the play in real life. She left her partner (Ivan Rom-Lebedev himself)

and married the famous actor Mikhail Yanshin (non-Roma), who directed the play and became the main art director of the Theatre *Romen* soon afterwards.

The participation of Roma women in the general processes of Roma civic emancipation in the early USSR was not limited to the capital, Moscow, where most Gypsy activists were concentrated. Although to a lesser extent, similar processes took place in the countryside (at least in some places). Such was the case of Yefrosinya (Ruzya) Tumashevich, from the Smolensk region (the second biggest centre of the Roma civic emancipation movement in the early USSR). She was called by her contemporaries the ‘Gypsy Ibarruri’, referring to the legendary Isidora Dolores Ibárruri Gómez, known as La Pasionaria, a Spanish communist and hero of the Spanish Civil War. Yefrosinya Tumashevich was chairman of the kolkhoz *Svoboda* in Kardimovo, Smolensk region (Нэвo дpом, 1930a, pp. 9–10); worked at the Children’s Home School in Serebryanka; and during the Second World War was participant in the partisan movement (for more details see Kalinin, 2021, pp. 174–175).

Some examples of Roma women’s participation in Gypsy activism in the early USSR appeared in the press at that time. Such was the case of the kolkhoz shock worker Yevgenia Tsigunenka from the kolkhoz *Trud Romen*, who took part in the *Second All-Union Congress of Kolkhoz Shock Workers* in Moscow in 1935, where she met Lenin’s widow, Nadezhda Krupskaya (Второй Всесоюзный съезд, 1935). Other Roma women presented in the press with their photographs included V. Yarysheva from the Gypsy kolkhoz *Nevo drom* (Novovelichkovskaya Rayon, Azov-Black Sea Krai), whose picture driving a tractor was published in 1936 (RGAKFD, d. 99274, photo 4–99274); the Gypsy teacher N. P. Pedanova, who in 1938, in the Stalingrad Oblast, introduced under open air to the Gypsy kolkhoz workers the rules for holding elections to the Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR (MSIR); as well as photograph of Z. I. Lebedeva, a Gypsy Komsomol member from the kolkhoz *Trud Romen*, who originated from a Gypsy nomadic community, graduated from law school and worked as a judge in Rostov-on-Don in 1937 (Известия, 1937, p. 4; Иващенко, 2011, p. 66).

It is beyond any doubt that these photographs were taken and published for propaganda reasons. Nevertheless, they represented real people and reflected the actual process of the civic emancipation of the Roma woman that flourished at that time in Soviet society.

A few words should be said about the women’s emancipation among the so-called Gypsies in Central Asia, i.e., the group of non-Roma communities with different origins and identities, collectively referred also as Lyuli or Dzhuigi (Marushiakova & Popov, 2016a). The public campaigns conducted by the Soviet authorities in Central Asia for the removal of the *paranja*, used by ‘Women of the East’ to cover themselves from head to toe, did not target Gypsy

women (Northrop, 2004, p. 51). The reason was that the Gypsies rarely used the paranja; instead, they wore a veil which left their face uncovered. In place of the campaign to remove the paranja, the liberation of the Gypsy women in Samarkand started as a fight against the begging bag. For Gypsy women, the begging bag was a symbol of their unequal position in the community because they were obliged to earn the bread for the entire family with it. The female Gypsy activist Koromat Dzhalilova was very active in this regard and repeatedly took action to persuade women to burn their begging bags and go to work in the local factories. She became a VKP(b) member and joined an agitation unit that travelled around the region and propagated Soviet ideas. In one such public event, she was attacked and received seven knife stabs but survived and died many years later, in 1965, as an honorary retiree (Назаров, 1969, p. 116).

One of the most important goals of the affirmative action policy for the Soviet nationalities was the creation of new Soviet national elites. This was especially true for the nationalities considered 'backward' (including the Gypsies). The successful results in the case of the Roma are unquestionable. The new Soviet Gypsy elite was established relatively quickly in the 1920s and 1930s. This elite was by no means just an instrument of the Soviet Gypsy policy, which the authorities used to channel decisions to the Gypsy masses and ensure their implementation. There is no reason to think that the Gypsy community was forced to accept ideas for its development which were imposed from outside and were foreign to it. On the contrary, it is evident that the Gypsy elite actively assessed and conceptualised all such 'outside' ideas through the community's point of view and was the main generator of visions for the community's future. Therefore, it should come as no surprise that in most cases, the leading ideas in the field of Roma civic emancipation during this period came from the Soviet Gypsy elite, while the authorities were those who made decision whether to accept them or not (and, perhaps more importantly, how to implement these ideas in practice).

When talking about the Gypsy elite in the early USSR, one should remember that this practically means the Roma elite. As we explained earlier in this text, in the USSR, the general label 'Gypsies' (*Цыгане*) included not only Roma but also many other communities with different self-appellations and other identities, and some of them even with different historical origins (see Marushiakova & Popov, 2016a). While in the Soviet republics of the South Caucasus, there was de facto no Gypsy movement and no Gypsy elite, the situation in Central Asia was quite different, allowing for the creation of Gypsy *kolkhozes* and Gypsy *artels* (Назаров, 1969; Marushiakova & Popov, 2016a). Moreover, a local activist elite began to emerge, albeit in a relatively small number, comprising mainly the chairpersons of the *kolkhozes* and *artels*, as well as individuals

who had higher public positions, such as Mizrab Mahmudov from the Kokand region, a member of the TsIK UzSSR and of the Governmental Committee for Land Allocation to Gypsies (Назаров, 1969, pp. 120–121). However, there is no historical evidence of any attempts at communication and coordination between Roma activists in Moscow and representatives of the Gypsies in Central Asia. Therefore, the Gypsy activists from Central Asia cannot be considered part of the Roma civic emancipation.

The new Soviet Gypsy elite was quite different both from the “traditional” Gypsy elite, which had existed for centuries and from the “musical” Gypsy elite from the times of the Russian Empire. In brief, Gypsy activism in the early USSR started taking shape with the attempts of the old “musical” elite to find a place for itself in the new Soviet realities. The dominating position of the participants in the old Gypsy choirs and their successors in the initial stages of the Gypsy activism gave grounds for serious accusations against them by the new Soviet Gypsy activists. Such is the case of Mikhail Bezlyudsky, who soon after joining the VSTs’ leadership, began a struggle against the leading representatives of the Moscow Gypsy musical elite associated with Yegor Polyakov’s former choir (the Lebedevs and the Polyakovs), against whom there was discontent among the members of the Union. He accused them of linking the Union’s activities with dubious “experts” in the economic field, which led to numerous violations of the law and trade speculation (GARF, f. P 393, op. 43 A, d. 1763; f. P 1235, op. 140, d. 498). Eventually, in the 1930s, the representatives of the old Moscow elite receded to the background, and new people came to the fore. The new Gypsy Soviet elite was almost entirely represented at the meeting organised by the Department of Nationalities at the USSR TsIK on the Employment of the Nomadic Gypsies and Their Cultural and Economic Services, held on January 4 and 5, 1936. Participants in the meeting included representatives of the State Gypsy Theatre *Romen*, the Gypsy Pedagogical College, the Central Gypsy Club *Loly Čergen* (Red Star), the Gypsy Selsoviet Kangly, selected Gypsy kolkhozes (*Nevo džiißen*, *Trud Romen*, *Nevi baxt*, and *Oktyabr*) and Gypsy artels (*Tsygkhimprom*, *Tsygpishcheprom*), Gypsy Schools in Moscow, Children’s Home School in Serebryanka, etc. (GARF, f. P 3316, op. 28, d. 794, l. 77–125).

A main problem in the analysis of the Gypsy Soviet policy in the early USSR is the researchers’ ‘Roma-centric’ approach, which narrowly focuses only on Roma’s situation without taking into account the broader historical context. A typical example of this approach is the interpretation that the Gypsies in the Soviet Union had a distinct status, which was not equal to the status of other nationalities because the Gypsies did not meet Stalin’s notorious definition of the nation. The statement “According to the Stalinist definition, Gypsies were no longer to be considered a national minority as they had no territory and no

‘economic life’” (Klímová-Alexander, 2005, p. 164) is not corroborated either by documentary evidence or actual political practice and is therefore unfounded. This interpretation does not consider that Stalin’s so-called definition of the ‘nation’ appeared in his famous pamphlet *Marxism and the National Question*, first published in 1913 under the title *How Does Social Democracy Understand the National Question?* (Сталин, 1946, pp. 32–55), which was meant to launch a critique of Austro-Marxism and the General Jewish Labour Bund in Lithuania, Poland, and Russia. The so-called definition of the nation in this pamphlet is not Stalin’s original concept, but it is based on the definitions of Karl Kautsky and Otto Bauer (Семёнов, 1966, pp. 106–129). This text gave Stalin the name of a specialist on the national question, which traced his appointment to Commissioner for Nationalities in the Council of People’s Commissars after the October Revolution. Most importantly, Stalin’s so-called definition of the nation was by no means the basis or the guiding principle for the formation of the Soviet state nationality policy (both in the early USSR and beyond). As the most important, key text of Stalin, based on which the national policy was built and conducted in the early USSR, one can define his article *The Policy of the Soviet Government on the National Question in Russia*, published for the first time in the *Pravda* newspaper in 1920; one can add a number of his other texts here, but not the pamphlet *How Does Social Democracy Understand the National Question?* (Сталин, 1920). If Stalin’s definition of a nation was used as a basis in the design and implementation of nationalities policy in the early USSR, then it would be interesting to ask how many of the 180 nationalities, according to the Population Census in 1926 and 1939 (Перечень народностей, 1926; Словарь национальностей, 1937) met Stalin’s criteria of a nation, and how the policy towards the Gypsies differed from the policies towards all other nationalities in the early USSR, which, similarly, did not fully meet these criteria. All reflections around which nationalities fit Stalin’s definition of the ‘nation’ and which did not appear only after his death. They were part of the anti-Stalinist discourse, which grew into a leading Party ideology in the USSR after dismantling Stalin’s personality cult in 1956.

There is no point paying serious attention to the assertion that in line with “Stalin’s rather mechanistic model of what constituted a nation”, the Gypsies were considered “a ‘social’ and not an ethnic layer which needed to be drawn into the proletariat” (Stewart, 2001, p. 71). It suffices to say that this interpretation (later reiterated by several other authors) concerning the post-WWII period in some Eastern European countries is not methodologically sound because it draws on the transfer of data from one historical epoch to another, i.e., from pre-war USSR to post-war Eastern Europe. In the entire history of the USSR, no one ever expressed even a hint of doubt that the Gypsies were not



an ethnic community (nationality according to the accepted terminology of the time). The review of the Soviet policy on the Gypsies shows the apparent inadequacy of viewing the social and the community aspects in the life of the Gypsies as contradictory alternatives rather than as two simultaneously existing dimensions in the life of the Gypsies. The perception of the Gypsy identity as occurring in only one dimension does not take into account both the multidimensional expression of identity and the dichotomy 'community – society', as well as several other contexts (Marushiakova & Popov, 2016c), despite the alphabetical truth that any identity is always contextual. Opposing the position of the Gypsies in the USSR as an ethnicity/nationality on the one hand and their position as a social and civic category on the other has naturally led to the conclusion (direct or implicit) that the Soviet government tried to assimilate the Gypsies in order to make them 'Soviet citizens', 'Proletariat', 'Socialist Workers', etc. (Lemon, 2000; O'Keeffe, 2013; Dunajeva, 2021ab). Such conclusions, however, are not relevant in the field of identity because the opposition of the two leading identity dimensions (society and community) of the Gypsies in the USSR is entirely unjustified. From the point of view of the dominant ideology and the existing political practice in the early USSR (as well as in the whole history of the USSR), there was no problem for the Gypsies as well as for all Soviet citizens to be proletariat as a social-class category, and at the same time to be also a separate nationality. The two categories did not contradict each other; on the contrary, this two-dimensional position was widely welcomed (and encouraged in various ways) in the early USSR, e.g., the creation of the Gypsy national schools, literature, theatre, etc. The approach that takes for granted that the two dimensions of the identity of the Gypsies are mutually exclusive is incorrect and even manipulative because it pushes the Gypsies back into the stigmatised role of the eternal outcast and disregards the role of the affirmative action policy in the early USSR for the formation of the new Gypsy civic elite.

There are lots of studies on the affirmative policy of the Soviet state and different authors provided interpretations and assessments of its general characteristics (see Друц & Гесслер, 1990; Crowe, 1994; Деметр et al., 2000; Lemon, 2000; Калинин, 2005; Иващенко, 2011; Бугай, 2012; O'Keeffe, 2013). Without entering into details, we need to make a note that none of the previous studies paid attention to the fact that the special policy towards the Gypsies was only one minor element within the overall framework of the Soviet nationality policy.

In general, state policy towards the Gypsies in the early USSR was a composite and inseparable segment of the common national policy of affirmative action. The many historical sources available clearly show that in many cases,

Soviet-era Gypsy politics not only fitted organically into the mainstream of the Soviet common affirmative action, but the Gypsies often even enjoyed some additional privileges compared to many other nationalities, and also many of the decrees of Soviet institutions repeatedly equated the status of the Gypsies who wish to settle with that of the so-called resettlers (a privilege that almost no other nationality enjoyed). The same attitude also occurred in other fields: the publications of fictional and educational literature in the Romani language were more numerous than in the languages of many other nationalities; the remission of loans to Gypsy kolkhozes and artels was almost a regular practice. Moreover, strange as it may sound, the privileged attitude towards Gypsies is visible even in the sphere of political repression, at least as far as the fate of the Soviet Gypsy elite is concerned, which was generally not affected by these mass persecutions (see below).

Among the Roma themselves at the time, some felt this contradiction between the special and the mainstream concerning the Gypsies in the early USSR and wondered which approach was better for the community as a whole. An illustrative example in this regard is the letter from G. M. Andreev, a student at the Gypsy Pedagogical College in Moscow. The letter was entitled *On the Shortcomings of the Work with the Gypsy Population* and was sent to the *Pravda* newspaper, an edition of the TsKVKP(b), from where on April 21, 1937, it was forwarded to ON VTsIK (GARF, f. P 1235, op. 130, d. 5). This letter, point by point, signalled in detail to the many existing shortcomings in the Gypsy kolkhozes, artels, schools, and even at the Theatre *Romen*, and called for all the perpetrators to be “put to rights” by NKVD. Surprisingly, however, this letter, although written precisely in the midst of the so-called Great Purge, also did not lead to any action by the Soviet state against the accused.

Moreover, the author of this letter reaches a fundamental problem that continues to be relevant to this day for Roma activists, namely whether it is necessary to pursue a special policy regarding the Roma or whether their problems can (and should) be solved within the framework of the mainstream policy in the countries in which they live. This is, for example, the problem of the form of mother tongue education of Gypsy children, whether it should be the only language of instruction or whether separate Gypsy-only schools are needed (Marushiakova & Popov, 2017b, pp. 48–59). G. M. Andreev was adamant in this regard, as he raised the issue of privileges and wrote: “to give less of all kinds of benefits [...] which have just the opposite results as intended” (GARF, f. P 1235, op. 130, d. 5).

In no case should it be omitted, however, that the Gypsies in the early USSR (and beyond this historical period) had other social elevators and roads for social realisation in addition to the special Gypsy policy. From today’s point of

view, it is very difficult to assess which results were achieved thanks to the special affirmative policy towards the Gypsies in the early USSR and which thanks to the general mainstream policy towards all Soviet citizens.

For example, to what extent the illiteracy of Roma children was finally eliminated through the limited number of Gypsy schools that existed for a relatively short time, and to what extent through the system of compulsory school education for all children in the USSR?

We can offer another example in this regard. In 1941, according to reports, there were 265 Gypsies who were members and candidate members of the VKP(b) (Edele, 2014, p. 290). In the USSR, Communist Party membership was a sign not only of civic emancipation but also of belonging to the Soviet nomenklatura – members of the Communist Party enjoyed many privileges (and therefore greater responsibilities) than ordinary Soviet citizens. There is no exact data on the number of Gypsy activists who were members of the Communist Party at that time, but judging by the available documents, their number hardly exceeded a few dozen. This means that while few Gypsy activists reached these positions thanks to their relationship with the authorities in the context of the affirmative Gypsy policy, the larger part became communists as ordinary Soviet citizens, part of the general processes in society. This phenomenon should be a cause for serious reflection.

As we have repeatedly emphasised, the Soviet Union's Gypsy policy was an integral part of the state's general nationality policy and can be properly understood only in this context. The replacement of the special Gypsy policy with mainstream policy towards the Gypsies as Soviet citizens took place in the second half of the 1930s, with the paradigm shift in the general Soviet nationality policy (Martin, 2001, pp. 309–461) and was subjected to the new political course in nationality politics. Considering this fact, we can understand why the changes in the Gypsy policy in the second half of the 1930s were not a manifestation of anti-Gypsyism on the part of the state but were a corollary of the overall turn in the Soviet nationality policy at the time.

The changes did not occur immediately and became more evident with the adoption of the 1936 Constitution of the USSR, which did not mention National Rayons and Selsoviets (Конституция, 1936). On December 1, 1937, the Organisational Bureau of the TsKVKP(b) revised the question *On the Liquidation of National Rayons and Selsoviets* (RGASPI, f. 17, op. 114, d. 633, l. 3–4), and proposed (i.e., assigned) to Narkompros the task “to reorganise these [National – authors' note] schools into Soviet schools of ordinary type” (Ibid., l. 4). The relevant decision of the Politburo of the TsKVKP(b) on this issue was adopted on December 17, 1937 (RGASPI, f. 17, op. 3, d. 1006, l. 39–40). This also impacted the

Nationality's schooling. Already the Organisational Bureau of the TsKVVP(b) on December 1, 1937, concluded that it is "inappropriate to continue the existence of both special National Rayons and Selsoviets" (RGASPI, f. 17, op. 114, d. 633, l. 3–4). The endpoint was reached by the Decree of the TsKVVP(b) Orgburo *On the Reorganisation of National Schools*, adopted on January 24, 1938 (RGASPI, f. 17, op. 114, d. 837, l. 100–101). In parenthesis, the title of the Decree, *On the Reorganisation of National Schools*, was wrongly quoted in previous publications as *On the Liquidation of National Schools and National School Departments*, which changed its meaning (Торопов, 1999, p. 20; Деметер et al., 2000, p. 207; Смирнова-Сеславинская, 2013, pp. 165–166; O'Keeffe, 2013, p. 93). This repetition of past mistakes confirms once again the importance of verifying the original historical sources to avoid reproducing inaccuracies from book to book.

Naturally, the shift in the general nationality policy also affected the policy towards the Gypsies, including the already existing Gypsy schools. In the Decree *On the Reorganisation of National Schools*, the Gypsy schools are not mentioned. The document noted that:

The practice [...] of special national schools did enormous harm to the cause of proper education and training, fenced the children off from Soviet life, deprived them of the opportunity to join Soviet culture and science, and blocked the path to further education in technical schools and higher schools (RGASPI, f. 17, op. 114, d. 837, l. 100–101).

The term 'national school' referred to the "German, Finnish, Polish, Latvian, English, Greek, Estonian, Ingrian, Veps, Chinese, etc." schools (Ibid. l. 100). In fact, the logic of this Decree is to close the national schools that exist outside the respective existing national territorial-administrative units, as well as the national schools of those nationalities that do not have such own units. It should be noted that for the first time, a mention of Gypsy schools appears only in the tables of the Report of the Narkompros of July 08, 1938 (Ibid., l. 108), which shows that the place of the Gypsies in the context of Soviet national policy was quite insignificant.

The problems with the 'Roma-centrist' approach in the assessment of the Soviet Gypsy policy in the early USSR are recognisable in the following wording: "In 1928, Stalin's ascent to power lead [sic!] to the disbanding of the PRGU [i.e., the All-Russian Union of the Gypsies (VSTs) – authors' note]" (Klímová-Alexander, 2005, p. 164). The impression is that, for Stalin, after he won the internal party struggles in the VKP(b) in December 1927, which led to Trotsky's expulsion from the Party, and during the intensive preparation for the next grand historical task (mass collectivisation of agriculture and the

accelerated industrialisation of the USSR), one of the most important tasks was the closure of the VSTs. It is hardly necessary to argue how absurd such an assertion is.

Given the very small share of the Gypsies in the total population of the USSR and their even smaller significance for the economy, it is only natural that in the general context of the Soviet policy during the interwar period, the 'Gypsy issue' occupied quite an insignificant place. During this period, the USSR solved extremely important internal and external political tasks, and the problems of the Gypsies were very far in the periphery of the state policy. In this context, it seems more than strange to claim that "the Bolsheviks viewed the Romani population of the Soviet Union with dread" (O'Keeffe, 2019a), especially keeping in mind that the Communist Party was not afraid to oppose the entire "old world" in the name of its ideals (Slezkine, 2017). If, in this case (which we assume), it is only a metaphor, then it is definitely unsuccessful. Our experience has taught us that the use of such metaphors, as well as manifestations of irony and sarcasm, are misunderstood and very often (especially in the West) taken literally, and therefore, we prefer to refrain from such notions.

We can judge the extent to which the Gypsies really were (or rather were not) the object of special attention by the Soviet authorities from the following facts. Although the Decree *On the Liquidation of National Rayons and Selsoviets* was issued in 1937, the Gypsy Selsoviet in the Kangly village was apparently forgotten and continued to exist until June 12, 1952 (sic!). i.e., the seven years after the end of the Second World War and the German occupation of the village, when the Gypsies no longer lived there (GARF, f. A 385, op. 17, d. 2037).

The real attitude to the Gypsy issue of the VKP(b) is most clearly shown by the fact that during the entire period of the early USSR, this topic was not discussed a single time at meetings of the TsK VKP(b) Politburo, which was the highest Party and state authority, especially given that at that time the Politburo discussed thousands of various issues (including issues that are insignificant from today's point of view). In fact, the Gypsies were mentioned only once (sic!) at such a high level in the entire history of the USSR. It was in 1956 when a meeting of the TsK KPSS Presidium (an analogue of the Politburo at that time) definitively decided the issue of their sedentarisation (Фурценко, 2003, p. 161).

The radical change in the Soviet nationality policy and, more specifically, in the Gypsy policy of the Soviet state in the second half of the 1930s naturally had a strong impact on the leading Gypsy activists. Still, it did not significantly change their social status (e.g., Nina Dudarova, who was initially a teacher in a

Gypsy School, became a teacher in a mainstream school). Those who worked in the national sectors of various publishing houses got other jobs (mainly at the Theatre *Romen*). Others who worked at the lowest levels of the Soviet nomenclature received different similar positions; e.g., Mikhail Bezlyudsky, chairman of the Gypsy village council in Kangly and the Gypsy kolkhoz *Trud Romen*, worked successively in several local newspapers in the North Caucasus Krai (Marushiakova & Попов, 2022, pp. 468–469). In 1936, Ivan Tokmakov was appointed director of the Theatre *Romen*. Two years later, however, he was demoted to the head of a factory workshop (LANB, f. Николай Саткевич). The Gypsy schools were closed, but the Gypsy kolkhozes and artels were not liquidated and continued to exist.

The only Gypsy activist who did not accept the new situation was Nikolay Pankov. In 1938, he sent a letter to Stalin in which he tried to persuade the Soviet state to continue the previous affirmative policy towards the Gypsies (see the text of the letter in Marushiakova & Попов, 2021, pp. 863–868). The letter remained unanswered, and no results followed from it. Its ending, however, is noteworthy:

And finally, one last question concerns the elections for a Supreme Council. Keeping in mind the dispersal in small groups, our numbers would obviously be nowhere enough so that we could promote Members of Parliament from our people (LANB, f. Николай Панков).

This statement sounds puzzling, at least at first glance. The idea of empowering the Roma by including them in the state power structures is not new to the leading Gypsy activists in the early USSR. During the existence of the VSTs, this empowerment was realised in practice through the nomination of representatives of the Union in commissions set up by the individual ministries and local authorities. Subsequently, Gypsy activists were appointed to the local administration (Mikhail Bezlyudsky, Ilya and Trofim Gerasimovs), albeit slowly and to a limited extent, and finally, a Gypsy representative entered the central state institutions (the inclusion of Ivan Tokmakov in ON VTsIK). In all these cases, Gypsy activists were representatives of their community in Soviet institutions and administrations which exercised power functions in a specific sphere.

In his letter to Stalin, however, Nikolay Pankov broke the paradigm of empowerment as a community and shifted his vision to the other side of the 'community-society' dichotomy, i.e., he raised the issue of empowering the Gypsies as an equal part of the Soviet society. The choice of the Supreme Soviet as a place for the realisation of this vision seems surprising at first glance. This

undoubtedly important (at least in theory) Soviet institution had a rather symbolic meaning in real political life as it gave legal form to decisions which had already been made by the real political power in the Soviet state – the highest Party institutions. Even more surprising is the source of Nikolay Pankov's undoubtedly original idea – the new Soviet Constitution, adopted in 1936 (the so-called Stalin's Constitution). It explicitly stated that “the right to nominate candidates is provided for public organisations and workers' societies: Communist Party organisations, trade unions, cooperatives, youth organisations, cultural societies” (Конституция, 1936, Art. 141). In fact, the meaning of the final passage from Nikolay Pankov's letter to Stalin was his fears that the lack of a public national cultural organisation (after the closure of the VSTs) would effectively deprive the Gypsies of the opportunity to nominate their own candidates for the Supreme Soviet. Nikolay Pankov's expectations were not as utopian as they would appear. There was an idea, expressed publicly by Stalin himself, that the elections for the Supreme Soviet should allow for competition among candidates and that voters should have the right to choose between several candidates (Правда, 1936, p. 1). This idea, however, was not realised (Великанова, 2021), and even according to some authors, the reluctance of the local Party nomenklatura to give up its power monopoly is one of the main reasons for the so-called Great Purge (Вдовин, 2013, pp. 74–75).

In his letter, Nikolay Pankov raised a specific problem that directly concerned him: “In the publishing house for dictionaries, a Gypsy-Russian Dictionary was being prepared – it was completed, the layout was done, it went through corrections, and after all this, there came an order to drop the dictionary from production” (Ibid.). The reference is to a *Gypsy-Russian Dictionary* (Сергиевский & Баранников, 1938), with an editor Nikolay Pankov himself. It is unclear whether Nikolay Pankov's letter influenced the decision to publish the Dictionary, but it was eventually published, albeit with a delay of almost three years. Even more important is the book *Orthography Dictionary*, whose author is also Nikolay Pankov (Панков, 1938). We found this hitherto unknown book (it is absent from Russian libraries, which preserve all Romani-language publications) with the help of Valdemar Kalinin, who keeps part of Nikolay Pankov's archive. There is some sad symbolism in the fact that after the legal codification of the Romani language in the 1920s through the official approval of its alphabet by the Soviet state, the first serious step towards its standardisation turned out to be the last published book in Romani language during the inter-war period in the USSR.

Immediately after the attack of Nazi Germany on the USSR, on June 22, 1941, Ivan Tokmakov enlisted as a volunteer in the Red Army, although he owned the so-called *bronya* (literally ‘armour’), i.e., release from mobilisation; in addition,

he was already 53 years old and had health problems (LANB, f. Николай Саткевич). The Soviet Army archives contain only the following brief information about him: “Ivan Petrovich Tokmakov; year of birth 1898” (Книга памяти, 2019), although he was born in 1888. Unless it is a typo, the wrong year of birth means that Ivan Tokmakov persuaded the military administration to change his year of birth (or mislead them) so that he could be accepted into military service. The circumstances surrounding Ivan Tokmakov’s death have so far remained unclear. In the Soviet Army archives, he was declared “gone missing” on October 1, 1941 (Ibid.). The only source for his fate after this date is the short biographical essay *In Memory of Ivan Petrovich Tokmakov*, written by Nikolay Pankov and supplemented after his death by his wife Yanina (LANB, f. Николай Саткевич). The essay is based on information obtained after the war from Ivan Tokmakov’s comrades at the front and at the partisan detachment. According to this information, during the battles on the front, the military unit in which Ivan Tokmakov served came under siege. The other members of the VKP(b) buried their Party cards, but he kept his own, although he knew that he risked being shot on the spot if he was captured (which was a common practice). This shows that despite the vicissitudes of his life, Ivan Tokmakov remained true to his communist ideals. Shortly after these events, Ivan Tokmakov was captured, organised an escape from the POW camp and joined a partisan detachment in the German-occupied territories. He was captured again, and when he tried to escape from the camp, he was betrayed and died in torture, but he did not betray his comrades (Ibid.; Marushiakova & Popov, 2022, p. 528).

Ivan Tokmakov’s case is not an exception. After the involvement of the USSR in the Second World War, some Roma were mobilised in the Red Army and fought against the German army in various types of troops; many Roma went as volunteers to the front or joined the partisan units in the occupied territories. Some of them died during the war. Others received military orders and awards (for more details, see Бессонов, 2010), including the highest state award, Hero of the Soviet Union (awarded posthumously to Timofey I. Prokofiev, a former nomad, who went to the front as a volunteer and died during the liberation of Nikolaev in 1944) (Друц & Гесслер, 1990, pp. 328–329).

It is worth quoting the words of Yuzik Ivanov, who went to the front as a volunteer with his 16-year-old son after the liberation of Oryol from the Red Army:

We, Gypsies, lived well under Soviet rule, [...] no one offended us, we enjoyed freedom on an equal basis with all citizens, and this parasite (the German) tortured us. He destroyed all the Gypsy families. I am leaving voluntarily for the Red Army with my son and will cruelly take revenge on the German for all his deeds and oppression (Докладная записка, 2003, p. 398).



The turn in the Soviet nationality policy, in fact, predetermined the end of the Gypsy activism from the interwar period. After the Second World War, the Gypsy activists made many unsuccessful attempts to restore the pre-war policy towards the Gypsies by sending letters to the top Soviet Party and State leaders. The first such letter to Stalin was submitted on May 3, 1946. The letter was signed by 12 people, and did not include leading Gypsy activists of the interwar period, such as Andrey Taranov, Mikhail Bezlyudsky, Nikolay Pankov, Ilya Gerasimov, Nina Dudarova, etc. (but in the first place among the signatories were Ivan Rom-Lebedev and Alexander German). The signatories were mainly Gypsy intellectuals (members of the SSP, artists from the Theatre *Romen*) and war heroes, most of them Party members; the list ends with a junior lieutenant who served in the GULAG camp system of the NKVD (GARF, f. P 7523, op. 17, d. 132, l. 124–127).

Ivan Rom-Lebedev's engagement with this letter to Stalin did not have any negative consequences for him. On the contrary, in the following year, 1947, he was accepted as a member of the VKP(b) and the Union of Soviet Writers (SSP) and received the title of Honoured Artist of the RSFSR. These memberships and awards secured a number of social (including financial) privileges for him. From then on, he ceased his public activities and focused on his work at the theatre *Romen*.

In 1948, Gypsy activists sent a second letter to the authorities, this time addressed to Nikolay Shvernik, Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet (from a formal point of view, the head of the Soviet state). The letter again appealed for the restoration of the Gypsy policy of the Soviet state, including the publication of a newspaper in the Romani language (GARF, f. P 723, op. 40, d. 144, l. 322–324). Three Gypsy activists signed the letter. Two of them are well known: the poet Alexey Svetlov, a member of the SSP, and the artist Ivan Kondenko, the Komsomol secretary of the Theatre *Romen*. There is no information about the first signatory, Baranovsky (his first and last name were not noted), whose signature also appeared in the 1946 letter to Stalin mentioned above. He signed as "Chief of the NKVD camp [it is not clear what exactly this means – authors' note], junior lieutenant [the lowest officer rank – authors' note], a member of the VKP(b)".

With these two letters, the new Soviet Gypsy elite (more precisely, a part of it, uniting the artistic and creative intelligentsia, grouped around the Theatre *Romen*) asked the Soviet state to return to the affirmative action policy for the Gypsies from the time before the war. No response to the letters was found, and there was no change in the state policy towards the Gypsies. The lack of reaction on the part of the authorities has a logical explanation. In the post-war period, the Soviet authorities were faced with the enormous and onerous

tasks of eliminating the consequences of the war and rebuilding the Soviet state in the conditions of the starting Cold War. In these conditions, the problems of a “small” (in the context of the multinational Soviet state) nation such as the Gypsies were not among their main priorities. The Soviet state did not pursue any particular policy toward the Gypsies. Most of the existing pre-war Gypsy kolkhozes and the most successful ones (in the North Caucasus Krai and Smolensk Oblast) were destroyed during the war; the rest merged into other kolkhozes (without a particular directive for their liquidation) within the general process of consolidation of the collective farms after the war. An interesting phenomenon of that time was the partial re-nomadisation of large parts of the already settled Roma. According to the oral history, in the first years after the war, huge Gypsy camps (of tens and even hundreds of families) became a mass phenomenon, heading to the big cities and settling on the outskirts in search for a living (Marushiakova & Popov, 2003).

The old Gypsy activists, however, did not cease their efforts to persuade the Soviet state to return to the active affirmative action policy towards the Gypsies from the interwar period (and, accordingly, to raise the social position of the Gypsy activists themselves). In the early 1950s, they sent a series of letters to the heads of the highest Soviet institutions in which they presented these demands, namely the letters of Nikolay Pankov to Pyotr Pospelov, the Secretary of the TsK KPSS, in 1953, and to Nikita Khrushchev, the new First Secretary of the TsK KPSS, in 1954; the letter of Andrey Taranov to the TsK KPSS, the Council of Ministers of the USSR and the *Pravda* newspaper in 1954; and finally, the letters of Nikolay Pankov to Nikita Khrushchev in March 1956, and to Marshal Kliment Voroshilov, then Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, in August the same year (LANB, f. Николай Панков; PAVK, f. Nikolay Pankov). These letters remained unanswered but ultimately led to an unexpected and undesired by their authors, result. On October 5, 1956, the Decree of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet *On the Admission to Labour of the Gypsy Vagrants* was issued (О приобщении, 1956). At first glance, it seemed that the Gypsy activists, after more than three decades, were finally able to convince the Soviet state of the need to eradicate the nomadic way of life of the Gypsies, a theme that persisted in their letters to the top Soviet leaders mentioned above. However, the ban on nomadism did not entail any other elements of the old Gypsy policy in the previous period. Thus, with one blow, the Soviet authorities deprived the interwar Gypsy elite of its main argument (the need to fight the nomadic way of life) for the restoration of the affirmative action policies for the Gypsies.

The endpoint of all these attempts of the old Gypsy elite came with the activities of Nikolay Satkevich in the 1960s. Nikolay Satkevich was the last

representative of the old generation of Gypsy activists from the interwar period. He was born in 1917 in a nomadic Gypsy camp, was raised in an orphanage from the age of 8, graduated from the Gypsy Pedagogical College in Moscow and became a teacher in Bryansk. During World War II, he fought in the Soviet Army and reached Berlin. After the war, he moved to Irkutsk, where during the 1963/1964 school year, the local authorities allowed him to set up a Gypsy class with 17 children of different ages in a boarding school. In the following school year, however, the parents withdrew their children and moved them to a mainstream school (GARF, f. A 259, op. 45, d. 2943, l. 22–23). In 1964, Nikolay Satkevich sent a letter to Anastas Mikoyan, Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet (Ibid., l. 26), in which he described the Soviet state's experience in working with the Gypsies and proposed the creation of special boarding schools for the Gypsy children. The answer from the RSFSR Council of Ministers was quick and unambiguous: "The experience of establishing a special class for Gypsy children [...] has not justified its goals [...]. Parents spoke in favour of educating their children in mainstream education schools by place of residence" (Ibid., l. 26–27). After this unsuccessful experiment, Satkevich moved to Tula as a teacher (Друц & Гесслер, 1990, pp. 307–308). According to the oral history of the Roma in the region, Satkevich's attempts to establish a special Gypsy boarding school were met with strong resistance by Roma women in Tula and Kaluga, who accused him publicly of wanting to take away their children. This reaction should not surprise us as the illiteracy of the Roma in the USSR was eliminated through the system of mainstream education (rather than the special, i.e., in practice, segregated education in individual Gypsy schools). One can argue a lot about the advantages and disadvantages of general and special education for Roma children, but nowhere in the world did education in segregated schools (or classes) lead to better results compared with general mainstream education. Moreover, the rejection of Nikolay Satkevich's ideas is fully consistent with the contemporary vision of the Roma movement, which categorically rejects segregated education for Roma children (Rostas, 2012; Matache & Barbu, 2019).

The story of Nikolay Satkevich clearly shows that a situation was reached when the community rejected the ideas of its own elite and made this elite meaningless. This was, in fact, the end of the Gypsy elite from the early Soviet era, which having lost the support of its community, was doomed to vanish. It was replaced by a new, quite different Gypsy elite, the main part of which was connected in one way or another with the theatre *Romen*. In this way, although there was no direct continuity between the new and the old Gypsy elite, the new one stepped on the achievements that the old one had in the early USSR period.

As it is clear from all that has been said thus far, the attempts of the Gypsy elite from the 1920s and 1930s to engage in dialogue with state institutions and become an agent in the Soviet state policy regarding the Gypsies ultimately proved unsuccessful. The reason was that the two sides in this dialogue had unequal positions from the very beginning, with one of them (the Soviet authorities) being the leading and determining one and the other (the Gypsy elite) being placed in the former's dependence. Thus, in the end, Gypsy activism proved to be a loser in its relations with the Soviet state; whether the Roma community itself was a loser or a gainer, in this case, is a question that deserves a separate study. This issue still has relevance today.



## Victims of Administrative Acts

This chapter presents the plight of the Gypsies, who were victims of administrative acts of the highest state institutions in the USSR and, in particular, of various types of mass deportations. The mass deportations of different population categories in the USSR, defined according to social-class or national-ethnic criteria, have been the subject of a huge amount of academic literature and published documentary and memoir materials. As a rule, this issue is considered one of the most striking manifestations of the repressive measures of the Soviet state in the period 1920s-1930s. This is undoubtedly true; however, these deportations can also be seen from a broader perspective and in historical depth.

In the 1970s, a provincial publishing house in far-off Siberia published Nikolay Platunov's book *Resettlement Policy of the Soviet State and its Implementation in the USSR* (Платунов, 1976), which did not receive serious attention in the academic circles at the time and is a bibliographic rarity today. The author of this book offers a new approach to the mass deportations in the early USSR, which he regards as part of the general resettlement policy of the Soviet state. Expanding and deepening this approach would allow for the exploration of the historical processes and phenomena in the context of the overall policy for territorial expansion and economic utilisation of vast new territories in the East (Urals, Siberia, the Far East), which was pursued by the Russian Tsardom and subsequently, by the Russian Empire and the USSR, which had succeeded it.

The conquest or voluntary annexation (in practice, these two forms are mixed and often interchanged) of new territories with their populations was a constant policy since the time of the Moscow principality, which became especially intense at the time of the first Russian Tsar, Ivan the Terrible (1547–1584), and the conquest of Siberia by the Cossack ataman, Yermak Timofeevich. The first forced relocations to the new territories in the East, mainly of individual families for political reasons, but also of larger population categories (e.g., the exile to Siberia of the inhabitants of the town of Uglich in 1593 as punishment for the death of Crown Prince Dmitry, in 1593) also dated from this time. Thus, already in the 16th century, the state policy of assimilation of new territories in the East through population resettlement had taken two main forms – the “carrot and the stick” – with a dominance of one or the other in different historical periods.

The affirmative approach dominated in the 16th and 17th centuries. The people who voluntarily left for the East received the social status of Cossacks as well as various privileges, such as the right to collect a special tax (called *yasak*), which was paid by the local population to the Russian state in expensive animal skins. The repressive approach was limited to exile in Siberia for political reasons as well as for criminal charges. This policy intensified in the second half of the 19th century when the punishments were differentiated into 'forced labour' (*каторга*) and 'exile' (*ссылка*); it was a common practice, after the expiration of the first punishment to send the released into exile.

After the abolition of serfdom in 1861, hundreds of thousands of peasants headed to Siberia and the Far East for the economic exploitation of the new territories and settled on the huge unexploited territories. Initially, this process was chaotic, but with the famous agrarian reforms of Pyotr Stolypin at the beginning of the 20th century, which made possible the private ownership of agricultural land, the Russian state provided privileges and support for more than three million settlers in these territories.

The new Soviet state continued the affirmative resettlement policy and the development of new agricultural territories. In 1924, the Soviet state prepared an all-Union plan for the implementation of this policy and established a Central Colonisation Committee at the TsIK SSSR, which was transformed into an All-Union Resettlement Committee in the following year. This committee coordinated the resettlement movement and the use of privileges by the new settlers. The two decrees of the TsIK and SNK SSSR from 1926 (*On Measures to Facilitate the Transition of Nomadic Gypsies to a Settled Lifestyle*) and 1928 (*On Land Allocation of Gypsies, who Transit towards Toiling Settled Way of Life*) were meant to enable the Roma, who wanted to give up the nomadic lifestyle and settle down, to use the existing privileges for the category of 'resettlers' (*переселенцы*) and receive free agricultural land, as well as a number of material and financial bonuses for its collective cultivation.

In 1930, the All-Union Resettlement Committee was closed and transformed into a department of the Narkomzem, but in 1932, it was restored to the SNK SSSR. In 1936, its functions were taken over by the NKVD Resettlement Department; in 1939, the latter was transformed into the Resettlement Directorate of the SNK SSSR; in 1942, it became a Department of the SNK RSFRS; in 1945, it was transformed into the Resettlement Directorate; in 1956, it became the Main Directorate of Resettlements at the SM RSFSR, which was closed in 1967. Not only were the names of the governing bodies changing, but also the population contingent, covered by the Soviet state resettlement policy, as well as the goals and the expected results of the resettlement itself.

From the end of the 1920s, the resettlement policy of the Soviet state began to have a markedly repressive character. The SNK RSFSR's Decree *On the Employment of Kulak Families Evicted to Remote Areas and on the Organisation and Management of Special Settlements* of December 16, 1930, established the so-called 'special settlements' (*спецпоселки*) for the housing of the new settlers. The special settlements were organised in areas with a shortage of labour (e.g., for logging, mining, mass construction, etc.), and primarily in unused, free land which had to be developed (Siberia, Urals, Kazakhstan, Northern Krai). With a new SNK RSFSR's Decree *On the Establishment of Special Settlers*, from July 1, 1931, the administrative management and economic structure of the special settlements was given to the OGPU, and from 1934 to the NKVD, which took over its functions. The population in these settlements had a relatively liberal regime (compared to those sentenced to prison or penal labour camps and colonies), but they were forbidden to leave the settlement or region in which they lived, without the commandant's permission. Settler families lived in separate dwellings; they received (or at least were supposed to receive) farming tools, working livestock, seed for sowing, food (at least in the beginning), etc., and had to establish their own farming artels, officially called 'irregular' (*неуставные*), and were allowed to have small personal plots of land and domestic animals (Данилов & Красильников, 1994; Полян, 2001; Земсков, 2003; Иваницкий, 2004; Бердинских et al., 2015).

The population in these settlements had a special status, with a number of restrictions on civil rights. From 1930 to 1934, this population was called 'special resettler' (*спецпереселенцы*); 'labour settler' (*трудпоселенцы*); from 1944 again 'special resettlers'; and from 1949 'special settlers' (*спецпоселенцы*). The SM SSSR's Decree *On the Removal of Restrictions for the Special Resettlement of Former Kulaks and Other Persons* from August 13, 1954, ended the system of special resettlement and restored the civil rights of the special settlers (Ibid.).

The fact that the mass deportations had a markedly repressive nature and functions does not mean that these actions should be excluded from the discourse of the resettlement policy for economic exploitation of new territories. Taking into account this wider policy context, in recent years, some authors preferred to use instead of 'mass deportations', other terms such as 'forced migrations' (Полян, 2001) or 'forced resettlement' (Бугай, 2012), without denying the repressive nature of these actions. This debate is not topical for us, because the focus of our research is precisely the repressive dimensions of these historical processes, which is why we also prefer to use the term 'mass deportations'.



The mass deportations were not the only form of mass repressions in the USSR; nevertheless, in the category of mass repressions executed through various administrative acts, the mass deportations undoubtedly occupy a leading position (at least with respect to the Roma).



The first mass deportation carried out in the USSR was directly related to the process of mass collectivisation of agriculture, which we will briefly discuss.

The first agricultural cooperative farms in the new Soviet state were set up as early as 1918, under different names – comradeship for the joint cultivation of the land, agricultural artel, and agricultural commune. The Soviet power propagated and actively supported these processes by providing a number of material incentives and financial privileges to the newly established cooperative peasant farms. After the strengthening of the Soviet state in the 1920s, the concept of the mass collectivisation of agriculture became prevalent, fostered by the aspirations for accelerated industrial development. According to the leadership of the Soviet state, the main problem of agriculture was its fragmentation, as most of the farms were in small private ownership with a high proportion of manual labour. This condition was an obstacle to meeting the growing demand of the urban population for food products and of the industry for agricultural raw materials. The collective ownership of the land, combined with the mechanisation of agricultural labour, would significantly increase labour productivity. This process would free labour resources for the industry and hence help develop the cities and raise the relative share of the urban population. Thus, the mass collectivisation of agriculture was meant to be an important step on the way to the accelerated overall modernisation of Soviet society and to the development and strengthening of the Soviet state.

The course towards accelerated collectivisation of agriculture was announced at the 15th Congress of the VKP(b), held in December 1927, but the mass collectivisation itself turned out to be a complex, difficult and relatively long process. On November 7, 1929, the *Pravda* newspaper published Stalin's article, *Year of the Great Breakthrough* (Сталин, 1949a, pp. 118–135), which declared 1929 the year of a radical breakthrough in the development of agriculture in the USSR. Despite the proclaimed successes, on March 2, 1930, Stalin's letter, *Dizzy with Success* (Сталин, 1949b, pp. 191–199), published in the Soviet press, laid the blame for the *peregiby* (excesses) during the collectivisation on local leaders. Subsequently, on May 14, 1930, the Central Committee of the VKP(b) adopted the Decree *On the Fight Against Distortions of the Party Line in the Kolkhoz Movement*. After the 16th Congress of the VKP(b) (June 26 – July 13,

1930), however, there was a return to the speed of the collectivisation process established at the end of 1929. Already in January 1933, at the Joint Plenum of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks, Stalin announced the victory of the socialist relations in the countryside and the liquidation of the kulaks (Трагедия советской деревни, Vol. 1–5, 1999–2006).

The mass collectivisation of agriculture in the USSR is directly linked to the process that was promoted in the public space as the “annihilation of the kulaks as a class”. The term ‘kulak’ refers to the peasants, who were considered bearers of capitalist relations in agriculture. The Decree *On the Characteristics of Kulak Farms in which the Labour Code is to be Applied* by the SNK SSSR, dated May 21, 1929, provided the legal criteria for defining the ‘kulak’:

1. Systematic hiring of wage labour for agricultural work or in artisanship and enterprises.
2. The presence of a mill, oil mill, grain mill, drying or other industrial enterprise – provided that a mechanical engine is used in these enterprises, and also if the farm has a water or windmill with two or more outriggers.
3. Systematic hiring out of complex agricultural machines with mechanical engines.
4. Permanent or seasonal hiring out of separate equipped premises for dwelling or business purposes.
5. Engagement in trade, usury, mediation, and the presence of income not derived from labour (including ministers of cults).

The Decree of the TsIK SSSR and SNK SSSR of October 13, 1930, changed some criteria for classifying peasant farms as kulak ones, in particular, the clergy of the various religions practised at that time in the USSR were no longer considered kulaks (Иваницкий, 1994; 2000; 2004; Трагедия советской деревни, 1–5, 1999–2006).

The Decree *On Measures to Liquidate Kulak Farms in Areas of Complete Collectivisation*, issued by the VKP(b) Politburo on January 30, 1930, defined three categories of kulaks:

First category: Counter-revolutionary activists, i.e., kulaks, who actively opposed the organisation of kolhozes, fleeing from their permanent place of residence and moving into an illegal position. The heads of the kulak families in this category were arrested, and their cases were referred to the ‘Troikas’, which included representatives of the OGPU, Obkoms (Kraikoms) of the VKP(b), and the prosecutor’s office.

Second category: The richest local kulak authorities, which were the stronghold of the anti-Soviet activists. The dispossessed peasants and their families

in the second category, as well as the families of the kulaks in the first category, were evicted to remote regions of the country for a special settlement, or labour settlement (otherwise, it was called “kulak exile” or “labour exile”).

Third category: All other kulaks. They were moved with their families within the boundaries of the Rayon or region where they lived (Ibid.).

The implementation of the Decree from January 30, 1930, was left in the hands of the local authorities who undertook deportations not only against kulaks but also against other groups, such as the so-called *podkulachniki* (sub-kulaks – peasants who did not wish to enter the collective farms), who were subjected to eviction with confiscation of property, as well as against other villagers. These actions clearly contradicted the terms of the Decree and increased the number of mass deportations during the collectivisation.

The question about the number of peasant victims of deportations during mass collectivisation continues to provoke sharp discussions in modern historical science. On the one side are historians (mainly from modern Russia), who rely primarily on the wealth of information in archival documents that have become available after the collapse of the USSR. Their estimates of the victims of mass deportations may vary but remain within similar ranges (see, e.g., Полян, 2001; Земсков, 2003; Иваницкий, 2004; Бердинских et al., 2015). According to Viktor Zemskov, there were about 2.5 million people in “kulak exile” (Земсков, 2003), while according to the *Memorial Society* “in 1930–1933, according to various estimates, from 3 to 4.5 million people were forced to leave their native villages; [...] 1.8 million became ‘special settlers’ in the uninhabited areas of the European North, the Urals, Siberia and Kazakhstan” (Рачинский et al., 2016). On the other side are authors (mainly former dissidents in the USSR, as well as quite a few modern researchers from the West), who ignore the available historical documents and instead resort to a more general reasoning, using different criteria to expand the category of ‘victims of repression’, often based on de facto unverifiable information. A typical example of this approach (though not in its extreme forms) is Alexander Solzhenitsyn, according to whom during the dekulakisation in the 1920s and in the early 1930s, “fifteen million peasants were sent to the tundra and taiga, and even more” (Солженицын, 1989, Vol. 1, p. 34).

From our point of view, these discussions are not of central importance because, regardless of the total number of deportees among the so-called kulaks and their family members, the number of Roma victims of this first great wave of mass deportations in the USSR was quite insignificant. This fact is logical and easy to explain. As already mentioned, the settled Roma in the early USSR were relatively few (with most of them actually in the process of settling down and continuing to lead a semi-nomadic lifestyle), many of them

making their living mainly on seasonal wage labour in agriculture. The possibility that some of them not only settled permanently but also accumulated considerable wealth and became kulaks, exploiting wage labour or obtaining dividends from property, exists in theory, but in practice, there is no historical evidence about it. Consequently, it is not surprising that Roma are almost completely absent from the lists of deported kulaks; this is a logical outcome, given the existing historical realities.

The database, prepared by the *Memorial* Society, includes references for approximately one million “special settlers” from among the former kulaks and representatives of nationalities who were subjected to total deportation (Рачинский et al., 2016). Among no less than half a million peasants who were deported as a result of the mass collectivisation in the 1930s, there were only two (sic!) cases of deported Gypsy families (see Annex No. 1.1).

The first case is with Anna Kozlovskaya (maiden name, Matyushenkova), a Gypsy woman by nationality, accused of being a “member of a kulak’s family”. She was convicted (it is not noted by which institution) together with the head of the family, Yakov Kozlovsky, and his brother, Alexander, whose nationalities were not noted. Whether this was the case of an entire Gypsy family or only of a Gypsy woman married into a Russian family (which, although not very common, was still possible), we cannot be sure. The second seems more likely because the head of the family, Yakov Kozlovsky, was marked as “kulak, merchant, exploiter of wage labour” (i.e., it seems unlikely that he was a Gypsy).

In this case, some other points remain unclear. The place of residence of the family is indicated as the village of Koshiorovo, Pesochno-Dubrovka Selsoviet, Kozhevnikovo Rayon, Tomsk Oblast. However, such a village does not exist; it might be a case of wrong spelling, and the correct name of the village was Kashperovo/Kashpurovo, which used to be located near the village of Pesochno-Dubrovka and no longer exists (Исчезнувшие поселения, 2009). In 1932, the entire family was sentenced to ‘expulsion’ (*высылка*). The village of Pesochno-Dubrovka itself is located on the outskirts of the Tomsk region, with tens of kilometres of uninhabited taiga spreading beyond it, i.e., the very idea of resettling people from such a place sounds absurd; moreover, this very region hosted several dozen special settlements (Ibid.). It seems much more likely that the family had already been deported, and the sentence was issued retroactively so that the deportation would comply with legal norms (a similar retroactive sentencing approach was common in the early USSR). What was the place of residence of the Kozlovsky family before their deportation to Siberia cannot be established.

The second case is not entirely clear either, although, in addition to the records in the *Memorial* Society database, for this case, we also had a series of

documents from the NKVD archives (UTsUVDTO, f. 5, d. 240058). The documentation reveals that in 1931, the family of Pyotr Limansky, a “kulak” from the village of Mishino, Kovrov Rayon, Ivanovo Oblast (today Vladimir Oblast), was deported to the Tomsk Oblast. The family included Pyotr Limansky, his wife Pelageya P. Karpetskaya (it is not clear why she kept her maiden name, but it is not impossible), her mother Maria S. Karpetskaya (born in 1857), and Pelageya I. Karpetskaya (born in 1868, possibly a half-sister or cousin of Maria S. Karpetskaya). Pyotr Limansky’s nationality is not listed in the *Memorial* database, but the NKVD records indicate that he was a Gypsy. The rest of the family members are explicitly indicated as Gypsies in the *Memorial* database.

The documentation in the NKVD archives is a clear example of the bureaucratic chaos in the NKVD system, which was supposed to manage and control the lives of the special settlers. In 1933, the commandant’s office in the village of Parbig, Chaya Rayon (today in Bakchar Rayon), Tomsk Oblast, sent a request for a search notice for Pyotr Limansky, his wife Pelageya P. Karpetskaya and his mother-in-law Maria S. Karpetskaya, who had escaped from the city of Tomsk, where they lived at that time (although they should have lived in the territory of the special settlement to which they were assigned – authors’ note). It is clear from the case file that before her deportation to Siberia, Maria S. Karpetskaya was detained at the Kursk station in Moscow in 1931 for violation of the passport regime on her way to the town of Aleksin, Tula region, where she had her permanent residence, after a visit to her son-in-law Pyotr Limansky, in the village of Mishino. She was then deported to Siberia together with Pyotr Limansky’s family. Two years after her escape from exile, in 1935, Maria S. Karpetskaya was found in the village of Parabel, Parabel Rayon, Tomsk Oblast. A long file on her case discussed how to deal with the woman, who was 77 years old and unable to work, including the possibility of sending her to an institution for people with disabilities. The final decision was to assign her to the care of her daughter Maria P. Ivanova (in other documents, her family name is Petrova), who lived in a special settlement in the village of Zdvinsk, West Siberian Krai (now Novosibirsk Oblast). After about six years, the NKVD found the main “fugitive”, Pyotr Limansky, in the same village of Parabel, where he had lived, in all probability, with his wife, Maria S. Karpetskaya, before she was discovered and sent to her other daughter. As it turned out that there were no documents about Pyotr Limansky in the local commandant’s office, the NKVD sent an inquiry to his place of residence before the deportation, in the village of Mishino, Ivanovo region, and asked them for confirmation of his deportation to Siberia (UTsUVDTO, f. 5, d. 240058). It is not clear how the case of the fugitive family ended, in any case, their descendants live today

in Tomsk. It should be borne in mind that the escape of deportees (in many cases together with their families) from the special settlements was a widespread phenomenon. For the period 1932–1940, a total of 629,042 special settlers fled, and only 235,120 of them were returned by the authorities (Земсков, 2003; Бердинский et al., 2015). Moreover, according to Victor Zemskov, in his book with the revealing title *Stalin and the People: Why There Was No Uprising* (Земсков, 2014), these escapes served as a safety valve for releasing social tension among the special settlers and were thus one of the important factors for preventing mass uprisings against the Soviet power (although there were still quite a few local uprisings as well as other forms of resistance).

The fact that the *Memorial Society's* database included only a part of the deported villagers during the mass collectivisation does not change our general conclusions about the presence of Roma in them. The data which was included is not small at all. Although the exact numbers are very difficult to define, in sociological terms, we deal with an over-representative sample, which allows for valid conclusions about the entire population. This means that, generally, the presence of Roma in the entire population of the special settlers during this first wave of mass deportations, was reduced to isolated cases.



The victims of the great famine in 1932–1933, which was publicly designated in recent years with the Ukrainian term ‘Holodomor’, were directly related to the processes of mass collectivisation of agriculture. In our case, we discuss the Roma victims of the mass famine.

The topic of the so-called Holodomor has been the subject of many vehement discussions, both in academic circles and in the public sphere (or rather the other way around), in recent years. These discussions are influenced to an extremely high degree by the contemporary geopolitical situation, especially considering that, in the words of the famous Ukrainian historian Georgy Kasyanov, “the goal of the historical policy of the Ukrainian state was to turn the famine of 1932–1933 into one of the fundamental symbols of the national historical myth” (Касьянов, 2009, p. 24).

The purpose of our study is irrelevant to the key question in these academic works: whether the Holodomor was a deliberate political action for the destruction of a certain group of people on national grounds (genocide of the Ukrainian people) or whether it was the end result of the general policy aimed at the liquidation of a certain social stratum (‘liquidation of the kulaks as a class’), which eventually led to mass starvation and death in the RSFSR, the Ukrainian SSR (the republic with the highest absolute number of victims), the

Kazakh ASSR (the Soviet republic with the highest share of victims in the total population), and even the Byelorussian SSR. That's why we will only list the names of the Roma victims of the Holodomor (see Annex 1.1) and leave the answer to this fundamental question to the future.

We will only note that whatever the answer to this question may be, it involves an incredibly tragic irony of history. If the goal of the Soviet policy was the liquidation of the kulak as a class, the kulaks who were victims of the mass collectivisation (convicted or deported to Siberia) were far fewer than the victims of the Holodomor, who were not directly targeted for repression. If the goal of this policy was the genocide of the Ukrainian people, then (without entering into the endless discussions about the specific numbers of the victims), the ethnic Ukrainians were probably less in number or at least did not significantly exceed the total number of victims of the mass famine in the USSR, 1932–1933.

The attached list of Roma victims of the Holodomor was a really big surprise for us. Even considering that this list is still incomplete, the indication of only 28 (sic!) Roma, as victims of the Holodomor, seems really shocking. Moreover, during our field research among the Roma, in the course of a quarter of a century in Ukraine, we have heard many oral histories of relatives of our interlocutors who were victims of the Holodomor, although we did not specifically focus our research on the Holodomor theme (and our aim was not to research this topic at all). The explanations we should perhaps seek in the methodology and ways to gather data on the victims of the Holodomor. Both relatively complete and comprehensive databases of Holodomor victims in Ukraine, which we use here, *Голодомор 1932–1933 років* (The Holodomor in 1932–1934) and *Національна книга пам'яті жертв Голодомору 1932–1933 років в Україні* (National Book of Memory of Victims of Holodomor 1932–1933 in Ukraine 1932–1933), are far from exhaustive and final (here we will not enter discussions about the total number of victims of the Holodomor). Only some volumes published so far, according to individual regions in Ukraine, explicitly note the Holodomor victims' nationality. Still, the number of Roma may be higher, considering these databases, which don't indicate ethnicity. Of course, when we say higher, we do not mean many times more because there is no reason to believe that in a particular location, the number of Roma victims of the Holodomor will significantly exceed the number in other areas.

In the absence of sufficient documentary evidence, the use of oral history (memories or narratives of Holodomor victims) is fully acceptable, even crucial, but there are some specifics of this approach that must be taken into account. The memories of events that took place 80–90 years ago (i.e., three to four generations ago) are usually primarily confined within the circle of

the victims' relatives; it is very unlikely that someone would keep memories of the Gypsies in a given village and which of them became victims of the Holodomor. Interviewing Roma or their relatives was practically very difficult (even if the researchers had such goals) because, in the overwhelming number of cases, the relatives had migrated over the years to the cities or outside the borders of Ukraine (in any case, it is certain that nowadays the proportion of Roma living in villages is much lower than in the 1930s).

Here, we come to the most important reason why, no matter how much new data may be discovered in the future, the share of the Roma victims of the Holodomor was relatively lower compared to that of the surrounding population. This reason was the migration of the Roma (mostly outside the borders of the Ukrainian USSR) in the conditions of the impending mass famine. The characteristics of these migrations are brilliantly revealed in Volodymyr Bambula's fiction book (collection of short stories originated in community memory) *Gypsy Fate Is Like the Wind in the Field* (Бамбула, 2002) and which is confirmed by the numerous narratives from the oral family history that we have heard many times during our multiple field research in the post-Soviet space. The Roma families who were settled for a long time (in villages or cities) and had some property (house, pieces of land, accumulated property, etc.) postponed their escape, hoping that the situation would improve and eventually perished; the rest, who were not so well established, were nomads or had preserved their habits for a nomadic lifestyle (or even only a mental attitude for frequent change of residence), managed to leave the borders of the Ukrainian SSR (despite the imposed restrictions on movement). We have met the descendants of the latter group more than once during our field research in various places in the Russian Federation and even in Kazakhstan.

Ukrainian author Olesya Rozovik has a curious statement related to the discussion about the Roma fleeing from the Holodomor in Ukraine, according to which "many of them immigrated from Ukraine to Moldova, Romania, Bukovina, the Balkans, Hungary, Yugoslavia" (Розовик, 2011, p. 71). There is no historical evidence of such migrations (the author has not indicated any sources for this statement either), and it is hard to imagine how such immigration would have been possible in the 1930s, when the USSR, according to the popular expression, had a "padlock" on the border gate and escapes across the border were few and far between.

The migration (more precisely, the flight) of many Roma families outside the borders of the Ukrainian SSR was not the only way for many of the Roma to avoid the tragic fate of the victims of the Holodomor. Often, even the remaining Roma in Ukraine have found ways to survive. It is worth citing as an example two testimonies in this direction:



Gypsies, with whom we lived for three years, caught hedgehogs, foxes, and hares, ate them, and survived (Яковлев, 2008, p. 623). [Kherson Oblast – authors' note]

A Gypsy who lived nearby brought horses from somewhere, probably stolen ones, and begged them in a shed in their yard, for which he gave them the horses' legs and heads. We started making broths from them. We also began to feed the neighbours. In this way, our family and neighbours survived the famine (Черновецький, 2008, p. 259). [City of Kyiv – authors' note]

Of course, no matter how vital such sources are, providing accurate numbers based on them is impossible.

The attached list of Roma victims of the Holodomor does not provide much opportunity for further analysis. As can be seen from this list, most of the victims were children, and there were also adults – both women and men. Most of them lived in the countryside, but there were also a few people living in the cities. This list includes Roma from Kharkiv, Sumy, Poltava, Zaporizhzhia, Kherson, Mykolaiv, Odesa, Zhytomyr and Khmelnytskyi regions. As we have already said, these data are incomplete (data are missing for almost half of the districts), and only in the future will we see whether somebody will discover new victims' names.

We also leave it for future analyses to show whether the Roma victims of the Holodomor should be counted among the victims of the mass repressions towards Ukrainians in the USSR or among the victims of the general Soviet policy.



The situation with the Roma, who were victims of the second large wave of mass deportations, conducted according to estate and class criteria, in the 1930s, is quite different from the deportation of the relatively small number of Roma within the first wave of mass deportations, which was directly related to the mass collectivisation of agriculture. In order to understand the forms and scope of this second wave of deportations, a few words must be said about the general historical context.

After the October Revolution in 1917, the system of internal passports was abolished, and in the 1920s, people used personal documents of various kinds. The situation changed radically with the adoption of the Resolution of the TsIK and SNK SSSR *On the Establishment of a Unified Passport System for the USSR and the Mandatory Registration of Passports*, of December 27, 1932. Passportisation of the population pursued many goals, described in the introduction to this Resolution: “better statistics of the population in the cities,

workers' settlements and new buildings, and relieving these populated areas from persons not connected with production and work in institutions or schools and not engaged in socially useful work, [...] as well as clearing out these populated areas from hiding kulak, criminal and other anti-social elements" (RGASPI, f. 17, op. 3, d. 911, l. 16–18). Passports were issued only for certain categories of people (residents of cities and working-class settlements, new buildings, state farms, etc.). A large number of Gypsies (who did not have a residence permit and led a nomadic life) were deprived of the opportunity to obtain identity documents and remained with an undetermined civil status.

The situation was further complicated by the mass collectivisation, food shortage and the subsequent famine in large parts of the USSR, which led to the introduction of bread cards in 1929 and the All-Union card system in 1931. Access to these documents was based on permanent residence and obligatory address registration (called *propiska*), thereby excluding large sections of the population (including the prevailing part of the Gypsies) from the state food supply system. Along with this, in 1932, with the introduction of the division "open" and "closed" cities, the authorities prioritised the "closed" cities in terms of food supply. The latter category included Moscow, Leningrad, Kharkov, Kiev, Odesa, Minsk, Rostov-on-Don and Vladivostok (Ibid.). All urban residents, i.e., persons who had reached the age of sixteen and received passports, who were not deprived of civil rights and who had a permanent income, if they had address registration, received the right to a food card (with the respective allocation for children).

The passportisation in the spring and summer of 1933 was accompanied by a series of large-scale raids on vagrants, beggars, prostitutes and other semi-criminal and criminal elements, who evaded the "voluntary" departure at a specified distance from the city in a number of large cities; in Moscow and Leningrad – at the 101st kilometre, in Kharkov – at the 51st kilometre, etc. (Земсков, 2014; Бердинский et al., 2015). According to the authors of the famous *Black Book of Communism*, as a result of these "purges", about 385,000 people in the so-called "closed" cities (Moscow, Leningrad, etc.) did not receive passports and had to leave their place of residence; more than 420,000 people were purged in the same way from the so-called "open" cities (i.e., the rest of the larger cities) (Courtois et al., 1999). The authors of this edition, which was widely published in various languages and promoted after the end of the so-called Cold War and the collapse of the communist regimes in Central, Eastern and South-Eastern Europe, however, do not cite specific sources for these figures, which leaves them open to doubt (unlike the "purges" themselves, which are beyond any doubt).

The conditions of mass famine (1932–1933) and a total lack of means of sustenance prompted a mass influx of people looking for a living in the big cities. The authorities tried to stop or at least limit this influx through a number of measures implemented by the power structures. An important measure in this direction was the Decree of the SNK SSSR *On the Organisation of Labour Settlements of the OGPU*, of April 20, 1933, which stated:

The following contingents should be sent to the established labour settlements: a) kulaks evicted from the regions of total collectivisation; b) those evicted for disruption and sabotage of grain procurement and other campaigns; c) an urban element refusing to leave Moscow and Leningrad following the passportisation; d) kulaks who fled the countryside and were removed from industrial production; e) the evicted during the clearing of the state borders (the West and Ukraine); f) the convicted by the OGPU bodies and courts from 3 to 5 years inclusive, except for those who are especially socially dangerous (GARF, f. P 5446, op. 57, d. 24, l. 2–12).

In this way, the citizens referred to in the documents as “urban declassified elements” were equated in all respects with the special settlers (Земсков, 2014; Бердинский et al., 2015), i.e., in the end, their deportation became part of the general process of political repressions associated with the mass collectivisation.

This Decree opened the door for a wave of mass deportations of the so-called declassified elements. In total, the number of these deportees amounted to 268,091 people in 1933 (140,679 people were deported to the West Siberian Territory, to Kazakhstan – 55,107, to the Urals – 33,920, to the Northern Krai – 16,659, and to the White Sea-Baltic Canal – 15,517). The eviction continued in subsequent years: in 1934 – 111,459 people were deported; in 1935 – 117,270 people; in 1936 – 77,182 people; and in total for four years (1933–1936) – 574,002 people (Бердинский et al., 2015, p. 33). With these total data, it is unnecessary to make additional arithmetical calculations because even without them, it is clear that the relative share of Gypsies in these mass deportations is tiny.

Against this background, the mass deportation to Siberia of the Gypsy camps in the vicinity of Moscow, which took place in the summer of 1933, is a logical event. It was part of the general action carried out by the authorities with the aim of “cleansing” the capital and the large cities from “an undesirable, anti-social and declassified element”. The operation was carried out through the OGPU system and was described in detail in the Report to the head of the NKVD, Genrikh Yagoda, dated July 10, 1933, by Israel Pliner (AANY, Doc. No. 1.8; GARF, f. P 9479, op. 1, d. 19, l. 7), who then held the position assistant chief of the GULAG NKVD of the USSR. Pliner, as well as Yagoda himself,

became victims of the mass political repressions a few years later. The Report was published many times, including in the present edition (see Annex No. 1.1), and dozens of academic works made references to it. The available sources, including Vladimir V. Shamatulsky's (Volodya Glodo) memories of the deportation to Siberia (he was a child at the time), which were retold by Nikolay Bessonov (Бессонов, 2002c; 2010); other materials from the central and local archives; and materials from the local press, outline a sufficiently complete picture of this largest deportation of Roma.

It is not clear why, in his Report, Israel Pliner referred to the Roma deportees from the vicinity of Moscow as "foreign Gypsies". The term 'foreign Gypsies' was widely used in the 1920s and in the first half of the 1930s. It referred to a summary category of Roma subjects of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Romania, Serbia, Greece, etc., who entered the Russian Empire, for the most part, in the last decades of the nineteenth and especially in the early twentieth century (before the First World War). They led a semi-nomadic way of life, but in modernised forms – they travelled (often using rail transport) to the larger cities of the empire, looking for orders to make or repair copper vessels or for other temporary work. They used their documents of foreign nationals to be able to use several tax preferences (practically, they did not pay any taxes for their work). After the October Revolution, these so-called foreign Gypsies remained in the USSR without changing their status of foreign nationals (the 'foreigners' category was even included in the 1926 All-Union Census). For the most part, these Roma were Kelderari from various family-related communities, as well as Lovari.

The term "foreign Gypsies" was not legally justified according to the Decree *On the Organisation of Labour Settlements of the OGPU*. On the one hand, the Gypsies, who established their camps in the vicinity of Moscow, were deported on the basis of their classification as an urban element refusing to leave Moscow and Leningrad in connection with the passportisation. This is a very loose (to put it mildly) interpretation of the Decree because the nomadic Gypsies did not fit the category "urban elements", even in that specific case when they had set up their camps in the vicinity of Moscow and earned their living on the streets of the city. On the other hand, the "foreign Gypsies" (mainly Kelderari and Lovari), living in Moscow, should not have been subject to deportation at all (and indeed they were not among the deported); they had lived in the capital for a relatively long time; had address registration there (i.e., the right to a passport); and managed to set up their own artels. The majority of the nomadic Gypsies, who were victims of the mass deportations, were not "foreign citizens"; they belonged to different Roma groups – Ruska Roma, Servi, Vlaxi (see the next chapter on the convicted and deported Roma), Kishiniovtsi

(such as Volodya Glodo himself), and perhaps others. Why they were defined as “foreign Gypsies” in the Pliner’s Report is not clear. In any case, this definition with respect to their group was not mentioned anywhere else in the official documentation of the case.

According to the Report attached in the present book, the operation “to cleanse Moscow of Gypsies” and to deport “foreign” Gypsies from the vicinity of Moscow began on June 28 and ended on July 9, 1933. A total of 1,008 families or 5,470 persons (1,440 men, 1,506 women and 2,524 children) were sent to Tomsk (at that time in the composition of the West Siberian Territory) and subsequently resettled by the organs of the OGPU in “separate settlements according to national characteristics”, i.e., in a separate ‘Gypsy’ settlement/settlements.

The deportees underwent preliminary sanitary treatment and were vaccinated against smallpox. They were allowed to take with them “338 horse heads, 2 cows and a large quantity of wagons and furniture”. The relatively small number of horses – one horse (or covered wagon) for every three families on average, probably means that a large part of the Gypsy families had travelled on foot until then. The presence of two cows is also a surprise – cow ownership is not typical for nomadic Roma and is very rare.

The deportees were loaded into wagons and sent in five echelons to the east. According to some authors who describe the deportation in a style typical of the anti-Stalinist discourse, they were “treated as if livestock [...] malnourished and sick from the inhumane conditions” (O’Keeffe, 2013, p. 133). In reality, however, things were quite different. The deportees were transported in special wagons, the prototypes of which were created as early as 1908, during the so-called Stolypin’s reforms, in order to transport the voluntary resettlers who headed to Siberia for the exploitation of these territories. In its special instruction, the OGPU defined the standards for the wagons with which all deportees must be transported. The wagons had to be of the *teplushka* type (lit. warmed wagon), which were used in the USSR for the transportation of military units, refugees and resettlers. These were freight wagons with large windows in the wagon doors, heated by a stove, thermally insulated, with various equipment, including a hot water boiler for making tea (the so-called *kipyatok*). The wagons were designed to carry a maximum of 40 people in one wagon or 20 people plus 4 horses (Бердинский et al., 2015, p. 25).

Pliner’s Report reveals that in each echelon, there was a separate carriage equipped for hospital treatment, medicines and medical personnel, as well as a travelling kitchen; food products were provided for the deportees and fodder for the horses. In his memoirs, Volodya Glodo specifically noted that the food was “surprisingly good” given the chronic food shortage and the mass hunger;

the deportees received bread and fish, and there was even sugar for the children. Supervision was not strict; there were stops along the way, and many young (as well as recently married) couples ran away (Бессонов, 2020a, p. 58).

The mass deportation of the Gypsies from the vicinity of Moscow had its background. Gypsy activist Trofim Gerasimov (for more details, see Marushiakova & Popov, 2022, pp. 496–508), who at that time worked as an inspector in the Moscow Regional Agricultural Department (MOZO), provided his version of the events, in his Memorandum addressed personally to Stalin, a few years later:

[...] whole Gypsy tabors settled in tents around Moscow and required land allocation from the Narkozem of the RSFSR. Such a phenomenon was observed, especially in 1933. In 1933, the Moscow Oblast was overcrowded with Gypsy tabors. This can be entirely understandable as, at that time, the aspiration – the willingness of the toiling Gypsies to join the kolkhozes – was massive. The Gypsy population had a great desire to move to a settled way of life, and not finding any support nor receiving any directions, the Gypsy tabors were forced to arrive in Moscow to petition the central agricultural institutions. For instance, MOZO was unable to relocate the Gypsies who, since spring, 1st of May, have organised themselves in two kolkhozes. Due to the short sight of MOZO and the misjudgment of the national issue, the task was not fulfilled. Everything was ready, but MOZO did not have the resources to move these kolkhoz workers to the Vanevsky Rayon, so the two kolkhozes were forced, having no results, to continue their travelling way of life (GARF, f. P 3316, op. 64, d. 1637, l. 5–6; also published in Marushiakova & Popov, 2021, pp. 846–858).

The process of directing nomadic Gypsies to Moscow and their settlement in the vicinity of the capital began at the end of the winter of 1933. A number of Gypsy activists engaged by the Soviet institutions, among whom Trofim Gerasimov himself was the most active one, visited the Gypsy camps and prepared lists of people wishing to organise their own collective farms. With their help, a request was submitted to Narkomzem and the Department of Nationalities at the VTsIK for the establishment of Gypsy collective farms involving the Gypsy nomads who had settled in the vicinity and outskirts of Moscow (O’Keeffe, 2013, p. 131). On May 21, 1931, Narkomzem ordered MOZO to organise the settlement of the Gypsy nomads by setting up Gypsy collective farms, as well as to provide funds for the purchase of livestock, machinery, and construction materials. MOZO sent Trofim Gerasimov to inspect the Moscow suburbs and identify suitable places for the construction of the future Gypsy collective farms but assessed the task as unrealistic due to the lack of budget and especially, the lack of free land in the vicinity of Moscow, as well as the negligible funds for the implementation of these activities which Narkomzem

had promised. Nevertheless, Trofim Gerasimov was tasked to look for suitable places for the construction of the future Gypsy collective farms (Ibid.).

The Nationalities Department of the VTsIK RSFSR also intervened in the debates about the fate of the Gypsy nomads. They organised a conference on June 22–23, 1933, to discuss solutions to the issue with “the Gypsy poor settled on Moscow’s environs” (Ibid., p. 132), with the participation of representatives of the Soviet institutions involved in the problem, and Gypsy activists. The debates at the conference were quite heated. The suggestion to disperse the Gypsy nomads from the vicinity of Moscow to other places in the country with available territories for accommodation and for the creation of Gypsy collective farms was assessed as the most realistic one. This proposal was strongly opposed by Trofim Gerasimov, who was against the administrative solution of the issue by the deportation of the families, which he considered a backslide into the barbaric practices of the past. The conference failed to reach a final decision, and a new meeting was scheduled for July 4. Still, in the meantime, the OGPU made a decision to solve the problem with the Gypsy nomads from the vicinity of Moscow, and they were deported (Ibid.). There is no information on whether this action of the OGPU was coordinated with other high Soviet institutions but considering the particularly important position and special powers of the OGPU in the USSR at that time, such an independent decision was quite possible and permissible.

Trofim Gerasimov’s active involvement in searching for solutions to the problems of the Gypsy nomads in the vicinity of Moscow was notable. He prepared several memoranda urging the Soviet authorities to resolve the issue with the nomadic Gypsies around Moscow. The memoranda were sent not only to his immediate superiors in MOZO but also to other Soviet institutions – TsK VKP(b), ON VTsIK, Moscow Committee VKP(b), MOIK, Narkomzem RSFSR and others (GARF, f. P 1235, op. 123, d. 28, pp. 143–146, 158–170, 189–196). It is worth quoting some of these Reports, which reflect his attitude to these events:

MOZO until now has not been involved in organising Gypsy kolkhozes, despite three orders of the Narkomzem RSFSR; despite the two meetings of the Narkomzem collegium of the RSFSR; despite the Decree of the Presidium of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of April 1, 1932, and two meetings of the VTsIK Department of Nationalities; and in 1933, even though two Gypsy kolkhozes had already been chosen – *Krasnaya Kuznitsa* and *Krasnaya Zvezda*, the Ministry of Defence of the Republic of Byelorussia, due to [illegible] underestimation of the national question, did not resettle the Gypsies to the place of the allotted site, and the Government was forced to administratively clear the Gypsies from the tabors, within the radius of 45 km around Moscow, including even two Gypsy kolkhozes (Ibid., l. 194).

No less interesting is Trofim Gerasimov's explanation of the ongoing processes inside the Gypsy community itself, which was strongly influenced by the spirit of the era and was made entirely in the spirit of the dominant ideology and the mass phraseology used at that time:

Thanks to the absence of a Party and a Soviet eye, exploitation, which has reached the point of arbitrariness, is rampant in the Gypsy camps. The Gypsy bourgeoisie and the kulaks kicked out of kolkhozes and productions have grouped together in the camps of the Moscow region, and this kulak is trying, with all its might, to keep the camp and exploit the poor. In some tabors, there are various kulak elements, even of other nationalities. Exploitation is so rampant in the camps of foreign Gypsies that they even arrange their own courts. The judges of these Gypsies are owners of big property. The poor are being sued for non-payment of debts and interest. Court decisions go to the point of death, and neither the MOIK National Sector nor the MOZO notices all this. These kulaks obtained documents of authorisation from the All-Russian Union of the Gypsies, with which they are profiteering around the region in the old fashion. Strangely, the All-Russian Union of the Gypsies was closed in 1928, but its stamps and seals still appear, making possible the profiteering of the Gypsies (Ibid., l. 196).

According to Trofim Gerasimov's interpretation, the successful mass collectivisation completely deprived the Gypsies of the opportunity to continue their nomadic lifestyle. In their desire to adopt a sedentary lifestyle, "Gypsy camps were forced to come to Moscow with a petition to the central land authorities", they created the two Gypsy kolkhozes mentioned above, but "due to the inertia of the MOZO and underestimation of the national question, the work was not completed", and "the administrative authorities were forced to [...] evict the Gypsies from the Moscow zone" (GARF, f. P 3316, op. 64, d. 1637, l. 5–6). It is debatable to what extent this interpretation of the events is accurate and correct, but Gerasimov's active involvement in them is apparent. In his Memoranda to the Supreme Soviet Institutions, Trofim Gerasimov sharply criticised the leadership of his institution, the Moscow Communist Party, and the administrative authorities for their activities (or rather inaction) concerning the deportation of the Gypsies from the vicinity of Moscow (in general and specifically in the case of the deported Gypsies). Naturally, his direct superiors did not like this harsh criticism, which put an end to his career in the Soviet nomenclature. Soon after he found his new field of life, he left the Soviet administration (it is not clear whether he resigned or was fired) and started working at the Car Factory named after Stalin. Later on, in 1935, he was sent to work in the Train Carriage Factory in Zaporozhye-Kamenskoye (Marushiakova & Popov, 2022, pp. 496–508), and in July of the same year, he wrote the Memorandum to Stalin, mentioned earlier.



The five echelons with the deported Gypsies from Moscow were transported by railway to the city of Tomsk (the trip lasted between two and three weeks) and, from there, on local roads, reached the settlement designated for them. This settlement, which no longer exists today, was located in Pyshkino-Troitskoe (today Pervomayskoe) Rayon of today's Tomsk Oblast, on the banks of the river Chichka-Yul, somewhere around its confluence into the river Chulyum (За советскую науку, 1990, p. 3; Красное знамя, 1991, p. 2). In the memories of Volodya Glodo, the deportees travelled by barges, first along the Ob River and then along the Chichka-Yul (Бессонов, 2020a, p. 59). Both travel options were used – the water route was longer, but the land route (through the taiga) was much more difficult – and the deportees were separated in their movement. The settlement designated for the Gypsies was located seven kilometres away from the village of Zimovsky, separated from it by the taiga river Chichka-Yul; the new settlement was named Yevstigneevka (За советскую науку, 1990, p. 3; Красное знамя, 1991, p. 2; Неволин, 2014). The two settlements do not exist today, and Yevstigneevka is not included in the list of defunct settlements in the Tomsk region (Исчезнувшие поселения, 2009). Unfortunately, due to the COVID-19 pandemic and the restrictions in connection with the war in Ukraine, we were not able to check on the spot whether any remnants of the Gypsy settlement were preserved or collect testimony about it.

According to the documents of the OGPU in the West Siberian Territory (GARF, f. P 3, op. 1, d. 540 A, l. 51–53), from the spring of 1933 to August 7 of the same year, there were a total of 119,426 deported “labour settlers”. The majority of them were victims of the mass collectivisation of agriculture (kulaks), with the exception of those who were demarcated as “socially harmful and declassified elements” (a total of 20,940 people). The Gypsies were also counted separately – 5,222 people, with 248 people less than those deported from Moscow; apparently, some of them escaped on the way (the cases of death were confirmed by relevant documents). It should be emphasised that the documentation of the OGPU clearly distinguishes between two separate categories of the labour settlers – “socially harmful and declassified elements” and “Gypsies”, i.e., the Gypsies are not viewed as “socially harmful and declassified elements”. This clarification is necessary here because the two categories are not clearly distinguished in the well-known *Black Book of Communism* (Courtois et al., 1999). Moreover, the text leaves room for misinterpretation because the paragraph beginning with the deportation of the Roma from Moscow ends with the so-called Nazino Tragedy of the deported “socially harmful and declassified elements” (on the Nazino Tragedy, see for details Werth, 2007).

These concerns are not at all unfounded. On the contrary, there are already concrete examples in this direction. When writing about the deportation of

Gypsies from Moscow and Leningrad in 1933, Nikolay Bessonov (Бессонов, 2002b) quoted Pavel Polyan about the deportation of two echelons of 6,114 “declassified elements” from Moscow and Leningrad, of which only about 2 thousand survived (Полян, 2001, p. 82), which refers to the so-called Nazim tragedy. A few years later, however, in the interpretation of Nikolay Bugay, this information already looks like this: “In terrible conditions of existence, out of 6,114 Gypsies (sic!) – Muscovites and Leningraders –, no more than 2,000 people survived” (Бугай, 2012, p. 31). The subsequent authors who wrote about the repression of Gypsies in the USSR (Жив’юк, 2021, p. 38) took for granted this interpretation or, to be precise, manipulation, whether conscious or not. It is unclear how one can break the vicious practice of quoting unverified data and passing it from book to book as indisputable truth.

Before the mass deportations, and when they had already started, local authorities repeatedly signalled to the central authorities in Moscow that they were not well equipped (materially, financially, and with human resources) to receive, resettle and accommodate such a large number of settlers. Certain emergency measures were taken, but they were extremely insufficient. This situation led to many problems of a different nature, including the above-mentioned Nazim Tragedy (called the “Nazim incident” in the documents), in which more than 6,000 “socially harmful and declassified elements” were settled without any prior preparation on an uninhabited island on the Ob River, where more than a third of them starved and froze to death within a few months (Красильников, 2002).

The fact that the local authorities were not ready to deal with and accommodate such a large number of deportees is clearly seen in the case of the Gypsies, who were settled in Yevstigneevka, although without such tragic consequences (at least compared to the Nazim tragedy). The situation in Yevstigneevka was briefly described in Volodya Glodo’s memoirs (Бессонов, 2002c; 2020a) and in considerable detail in the autobiographical book of Viktor Nevolin (a child at the time), whose father worked as a supplier in the settlement administration, from 1935 (Неволин, 2014), as well as in the memories of Alexander Erokhin, who worked as an educator in the children’s home in Yevstigneevka, from 1937 (За советскую науку, 1990, p. 3; Красное знамя, 1991, p. 2; Барсагаев, pp. 1–7).

According to Volodya Glodo’s recollections, the first group of deportees arrived by barge along the Chulym River in the late summer of 1933. Three dozen guards and specialists (technicians and foremen) travelled with the group. According to the plan, the area was to be cleared (that is, to make space in the taiga for the new settlement) and built with houses, a sawmill, a school, a nursery, a sewing workshop, and outbuildings. The deported Gypsies temporarily lived in their tents or built primitive dugouts in the ground. By the

autumn, four or five houses were completed, but there were already escapes. The exiled Gypsies even composed a *частушка* song (a traditional type of short, humorous Russian folk song) on this occasion:

<i>Надоела нам корчѣвка,</i>	We are tired of the rooting,
<i>Надоело корчевать,</i>	Tired of uprooting,
<i>С Чичкаюльского посѣлка,</i>	From the Chichkayul settlement
<i>Захотелось убежать.</i>	We wanted to run away.

Volodya Glodo's family escaped in the spring. The small family group of fugitives included children (Volodya Glodo himself was seven years old at the time) and old people. After many mishaps, the group crossed the taiga and reached the railway (the nearest Taiga railway station in the southern direction was located more than 100 kilometres away on a straight line). From there, walking along the railway line or taking trains, the group reached the Tambov Oblast (about 3.5 thousand kilometres away), where it settled (Бессонов, 2020a, pp. 58–61).

The second, larger group of deportees set off to the place designated for the future settlement of Yevstigneevka, on local roads through the taiga, with their own horses and carts. Their journey was longer and more complicated. Reaching the village of Borisova Gora, the group settled in a permanent camp in their tents and dugouts. In the meantime, farmers from the kolkhozes near Yevstigneevka quickly built three streets with shacks for the new settlers, and at the beginning of the winter, the deported Gypsies were housed in them. The winter was harsh; the temperatures dropped to minus 40°C – minus 50°C, and people began escaping from the settlement. Mortality was high, both in the settlement and among the fugitives. In 1934, an orphanage was built for the children left behind by their parents who had escaped. In 1937, the orphanage was closed, and some of the children (the younger ones) were moved to the orphanage in the village of Vorono-Pashnya; for the remaining ones, a new orphanage called Chichka-Yulsky was built with its own farm, located in the taiga, between the defunct settlements of Fevral'sky and Maisky, which gathered the children from several other orphanages. It is interesting to note that among those children was Vladimir L. Glebov, son of Lenin's old associate and prominent Soviet leader in the 1920s Lev Kamenev, who was shot in 1936 (his wife Tatiana Glebova was also shot in 1937) (За советскую науку, 1990, p. 3; Красное знамя, 1991, p. 2; Барсараев, pp. 1–7; Неволин, 2014).

After the end of the winter, the organising of the settlement and the construction of the future collective farm began, but the results were desperate. Despite the prohibitions, the Gypsies kept touring the neighbouring villages,

where the women did fortune-telling and begged. In most cases, the Gypsies sabotaged the work or simulated working, e.g., instead of digging out the tree roots to prepare the land for cultivation, they would light fires to heat themselves and roast seed grain to eat it. They would eat their monthly food rations (absolutely minimal, determined according to the general standards of the NKVD) almost immediately; food was never sufficient, and they were constantly hungry. They ate their horses already in the first winter, then started mutilating the horses provided to them for cultivating the land so that they could not be used for agricultural work, and subsequently ate them as well (Ibid.).

In parenthesis, many readers would probably find the case of eating horses shocking and unbelievable. One can read in dozens of books and articles in the field of Romani studies that the so-called Gypsies (in modern times Roma) treat the horse as an almost sacred animal and have a taboo on eating horse meat (as well as dog meat). In the West, this is indeed the case, but in Central, South-Eastern and Eastern Europe, the established norms in the Roma communities can be violated in some cases. There are a number of testimonies from different places, that in certain situations (e.g., during the deportation of Roma from Romania to Transnistria in the Second World War), horse meat could be used for food. Moreover, in several *osada* (Roma settlements) in Slovakia, nowadays, even the use of dog meat is not only accepted as something completely normal but has become an important, structural element of local identity (Budilová & Jakoubek, 2005).

In the spring, summer and autumn of 1934, the escapes of the Gypsies from Yevstigneevka not only continued but also increased significantly, and in 1935, only about 400 people remained in the settlement (Неволин, 2014), the rest either died or fled. Despite all the escapes, the Gypsy village of Yevstigneevka continued to exist, and even a Gypsy collective farm was established (non-statutory agricultural artel, according to the terminology of the NKVD), called *New Way*. The last information about Yevstigneevka dates from 1939, when Trofim Yelovsky (judging by the surname, in all probability from the group of Ruska Roma), born in the Kursk province, one of the deported in 1933, who had lived the Chichka-Yul settlement (probably this is the Yevstigneevka settlement as a settlement with the name Chichka-Yul is not mentioned in any other source), received a sentence of 3 years in ITL for escaping (see Annex No. 1.2).

It is not clear when Yevstigneevka was closed, but it seems more likely that it was after World War II, perhaps after the Decree of the SM SSSR *On the Removal of Restrictions on Special Resettlement from Former Kulaks and Other Persons* of August 13, 1954, which restored the civil rights of all special settlers

and allowed them to leave the special settlements, most of which ceased to exist shortly thereafter.

It is conspicuous that the vast majority of the deported Gypsies from Moscow managed to escape from their settlement (mainly from Yevstigneevka; only some of them were sent to neighbouring settlements) during the first two years of their deportation. Many of the deported Gypsies died due to the harsh living conditions, and others died during the difficult escape through the taiga (the exact number of people who lost their lives cannot be calculated, but it is estimated at hundreds, even a few thousand fugitives).

With this impressive number of fugitives, only one person is known to have been caught and convicted for escaping. It is Maria Litovchenko (she probably took her husband's surname because her father, who died in 1934 in the Yevstigneevka settlement, was called Mikhail Vasilyevich Vingilevsky), born in the Voronezh Governorate, who was sentenced to 3 years in ITL for escaping from the Yevstigneevka settlement (see Annex No. 1.2). In fact, the problem was crossing the taiga and reaching the railway; after that, the fugitives pretending to be nomads, did not attract the authorities' attention.

Considering all these circumstances, there is enough reason to suppose that the regime imposed by the authorities in the Yevstigneevka settlement was not very strict (or, more likely, for various reasons, the authorities turned a blind eye to breaches of rules). In the words of Victor Zemskov:

As early as the autumn of 1933, this contingent of labour settlers virtually ceased to exist as almost all Gypsies fled. The documents do not contain any instructions on the measures taken to return them to the places of deportation (Земсков, 2014).

According to Viktor Zemskov, all this turns Yevstigneevka into an exceptional, unique case in the entire history of the mass deportations in the USSR, in which the deportees ran away en masse and left their special settlement almost empty (Земсков, 2015, p. 45).

It is legitimate to ask about the reasons for this relatively liberal attitude (if it can be defined as such) towards the Gypsies who were deported to the Tomsk region. In our opinion, its roots should be sought in the long-established mass attitudes towards the Gypsies in Russian society – predominantly, they were looked down on with contempt and condescension (except for the exaltation for their songs and dances), and they were not considered capable of hard and persistent work, i.e., the deportees were not expected to become true settlers who would cultivate the new territories. From today's point of view, this approach to the Gypsies can be defined as racist, which, however, does not change the reality that, if not positive, this approach towards the Gypsies

turned out to be the lesser evil (the end result being more favourable for the Roma).

Another important point should be emphasised as well. The *de facto* single case of mass deportation of the Gypsies from the vicinity of Moscow in 1933, carried out within the framework of the general repressive measures against “declassified elements”, does not give grounds for comprehensive conclusions about the policy of the Soviet government towards the Gypsies. A series of misinterpretations in this regard calls for a detailed discussion of this case.

In her description of this case, Sheila Fitzpatrick initially commented that “this gypsy operation could be regarded as an early ethnic deportation, but it seems more likely that the authorities conceptualized it differently” (Fitzpatrick, 1999, p. 126). The author rightly points out that the specific case of mass deportation of the Gypsies from the Moscow suburbs in 1933 represents a *de facto* ethnic deportation, but at the same time, she is clearly aware that it is not justified to draw general conclusions on the basis of a single case. In her next post on this topic, however, her doubts have disappeared, and her wording is completely different: ‘Instructions from the NKVD and the Procuracy in 1935 gave local officials new license to ‘sweep away criminal-déclassés and itinerant (*бродячие*) elements’, including ‘professional beggars’, speculators, and gypsies” (Ibid.). The article cited as the source of this information refers to a document by the chief prosecutor of the Western Siberia Krai, I. I. Barkov, which explains on the basis of the legislation in 1935 (i.e., two years after the mass deportation of the Gypsies), the grounds for “a maximisation of effort to sweep away criminal-déclassés and itinerant (*бродячие*) elements, to reduce crime significantly, and to liquidate especially aggravated assault and armed robbery” (Shearer, 2001, p. 525). The word ‘Gypsies’ is missing in this document (this fact was also confirmed by the check of this document in GANO, f. 20, op. 1, d. 220, 1. 32). Nowadays, however, based on the incorrect interpretation of historical facts, modern authors already write: “as early as the 1930s, the ‘Soviet legislation against parasites’ deemed Roma, itinerants, orphans, and beggars as a ‘social threat to the social order’ and sent them to the Gulag” (Anghel, 2024, p. 110). The “Roma” already appear first in the list of targets, with no distinction being made between the deportation of special settlers and the sending of convicts to correctional labour camps, i.e., the conclusion is that, according to the legislation in the early USSR, all Gypsies (or Roma, according to the current terminology) had to be not only prosecuted but also sent to the GULAG camps (i.e., to be sentenced). From here, there is just one step to the assertion that these actions had been executed in practice. Unfortunately, no one asked two pertinent questions. The

first question is: Why is there no documentary historical evidence of such mass deportations from other places in the USSR (given that the Gypsy nomads in the entire USSR were much more numerous than the deported ones)?

The second question is: Why, during the “cleansing” of the Soviet capital and its surroundings in 1933, no one took any action against the numerous Roma (more than the deported ones) who were registered and resided in Moscow? The linkage of the First Gypsy lawsuit in Moscow in 1932–1933 (see Chapter 4) with the “cleansing” of Moscow (O’Keeffe, 2013, pp. 129–130) is not convincing because the repression of 81 people (it is unclear how many with effective sentences) on specific charges (even if they are unfounded), does not mean the deportation of their families and relatives who remain in Moscow precisely amid these mass “purges”.

We want to emphasise our view that this misinterpretation is not a conscious manipulation but the result of a mechanical transfer of models from one historical context to another. In the English-speaking world, the meaning of the word ‘Gypsies’ itself includes an element of nomadism, i.e., the Gypsies there continue to be perceived rather as a social category, even in the United Kingdom, where they were officially recognised as an ethnic category in *The Equality Act 2010*. In the Russian language, however, the word ‘Цыгане’ (which is translated in English as ‘Gypsies’) unambiguously designates an ‘ethnic community’ (in the conditions of the early USSR, ‘nationality’), which is not necessarily related to the nomadic way of life. As for the word ‘itinerant’ (*бродячие*), it designates another, also clearly demarcated social category of the population of the Russian Empire (subsequently of the USSR), which by default is different from the Gypsies, and the two categories should not be confused, let alone overlapped or substituted with each other (for that matter, note that the Decree of 1956, which prohibited the nomadic way of life of the Gypsies, was entitled *On the Admission to Labour of Gypsy Vagrants* (О приобщении, 1956). All this reinforces the leading principle (in the present as well as in any other historical study) that when analysing the political repressions in the USSR, researchers should always take into account the specific historical context rather than extrapolating their own categories and norms.



Bearing in mind the mass nature and wide scope of the deportations of the so-called socially harmful and declassified elements from Moscow and Leningrad, it would be naïve to believe that the Gypsies deported from the vicinity of Moscow in the summer of 1933 were the only Roma who were victims of the

repressive measures of the Soviet state. Moreover, in recent years, we can come across various texts which directly or indirectly assert that Gypsies were targeted for mass purges from the cities in the 1930s (see Бессонов, 2002d, 6–7). Such assertions, however, are not supported by historical documents, and their authors refer to the oral history of the community (memories of survivors or narratives of their relatives). The late Nikolay Bessonov once told us that he actually knew of only one specific case from Leningrad (which will be discussed below), and all other accounts of mass purges against Gypsies were abstract, without specifying concrete individuals who had suffered in such actions.

Here, the need for a critical reading of the oral history materials and their comparison with the known historical documentary evidence comes to the fore.

We will provide some examples from our field of interest (namely, the mass deportations of Gypsies in the 1930s), which reveal how contradictory oral history narratives can be, confirming or conflicting with real history.

In the case of the mass deportation of the Gypsies from the vicinity of Moscow in 1933, there are two instances of clear exaggeration (and a significant one) of the number of the Gypsies in the memories of their surrounding population (by people who were children at that time). In the first instance people talked of “thousands of covered carts” with which the Gypsies travelled to Yevstigneevka; in the second instance their number is estimated at 30,000 (За советскую науку, 1990, p. 3; Красное знамя, 1991, p. 2; Барсагаев, p. 4). As evidenced by the documents cited above, the deported Gypsies owned 338 horses, and it seems incredible that the local authorities had provided them with additional horses and carriages. Likewise, it seems utterly incredible that 30,000 people (the population of a small town) could have been settled in one settlement (Yevstigneevka), consisting, according to the same testimony, of “three streets of shanties” if there were that many deported Gypsies, they should have been resettled at least in several special settlements. Furthermore, there are no documents in the NKVD archives for such a large number of deported Gypsies (such documents, including financial ones, should have been available – not only for the reception of the deportees but also for their accommodation and subsistence). The naive yet frequent explanation in such cases that the documents had been destroyed does not bear even a simple critical analysis. In this analysis, the key question for which there is no reasonable answer is why precisely the documents concerning the Gypsies were selected for destruction, given that a lot more documents incriminating the NKVD were preserved (for example, the documents about the so-called Nazino Tragedy).



In his texts, Nikolay Bessonov cites several narratives of relatives of deported Roma but describes only one first-hand testimony (i.e., personal memory, not second- and third-hand retellings) that deserves special attention. It is the personal account of Anna Yegorovna Maltseva, then 20 years old, a former nomad who had settled in Leningrad (Bolshaya Okhta quarter) shortly before the mass purges. She and her family, as well as an unspecified number of other Gypsies, were caught in the mass purges of the city by the NKVD and deported to Norilsk, where they worked in logging under very harsh conditions (of the six children born in exile, only one survived). There are some details in this memoir that, at first glance, raise doubts about its authenticity, e.g., the claim that all arrested Gypsies were immediately loaded onto a ship and deported to Norilsk. It was practically impossible to reach Norilsk by ship from Leningrad then because there was no seaport in Norilsk, and the so-called Northern Sea Route was just beginning to be developed. However, if we consider information that some of the Gypsies deported to Tomsk and Narym in 1933 were sent to fall trees in Norilsk (Тепляков, 2008, p. 383), then this could have been done by ship on the Yenisei River.

We have no reason to doubt the credibility of this account, although the name of Anna Maltseva does not appear in the database of the repressed. The most likely reason is that her data was not processed (as we explained above, most of the names of victims of the mass deportations in the 1930s and 1940s are not in the general database of the victims of mass repressions in the USSR). Furthermore, it is well known that in Leningrad, the NKVD carried out mass purges of people without passports, who were declared declassified elements and were deported (these actions of the NKVD are reflected in numerous governmental documents and are beyond doubt). In Anna Maltseva's memoir, one such "purge" was reflected (like the similar one in Moscow) in 1933, which also included an unclear number of Gypsies (probably not more than a few hundred) who were deported to Siberia.

As regards the other similar case, we have certain doubts. It is about the testimony of the famous female Gypsy singer Lyalya (Papush) Mihai, who "... retells a story she knows from her mother how in the mid-thirties, in Central Russia, a Kalderari camp of three hundred people was captured", who were deported to Siberia (Демереv et al., 2002, pp. 201–202). In this case, we no longer deal with direct or indirect (secondary) testimony, but with information obtained at least from third-hand sources, i.e., it might be a matter of rumours spreading among the Roma communities. Also, the existence of a Kelderari camp of around 300 people travelling somewhere in Central Russia (whatever this means) doesn't seem very plausible. Usually, the nomads' units were quite small (several related families) because it was difficult to find a living for so

many people in one village, even for a short period of time. Therefore, most of the Kelderari in the 1930s were already settled (or trying to settle) in the big cities, and the existence of such large camps travelling across large territories was not economically justified. The fact that none of the deported members of this big camp is included in any other source does not in itself refute this information (as already mentioned, such omission is quite possible). However, this was not a mass action in a big city, affecting Gypsies along with other Soviet citizens without a passport), but an NKVD action directed against a specific Gypsy camp, and we do not find a reasonable explanation why there is no evidence of it in the departmental archives.

The most striking example, revealing not only the contradiction between oral history, academia, and documented history but also the complex relationships in this triad, which ultimately lead to scientific mystifications, is the case of the so-called Gypsy Autonomous Region *Romanestan*.

This topic was first brought into the public domain by Alaina Lemon, who writes in her book *Between Two Fires* that “there were even tentative proposals to establish a Romani Autonomus Region, called Romanestan” (Lemon, 2000, p. 133; see also Lemon, 2001, p. 228). There are no sources for this statement, and it is not clear where the author got this information; in any case, there is not a single reference to archival material or press articles where this issue was discussed publicly (for more information on attempts to create a Gypsy autonomous region see below). It is possible that the source for this statement is the oral history of the community, the narratives circulated among the Gypsies on this topic.

The origins of the name ‘Romanestan’ is also a curious issue. In the early USSR (i.e., at the time when attempts were made to create a Gypsy autonomous region), such a name did not exist, and it cannot be found anywhere in the huge mass of Romani language publications at that time (Roman et al., 2021). This neologism (lit. ‘place of the Roma’, in the sense of ‘country of the Roma’) appeared for the first time in France in the 1950s and was probably the creation of Ionel Rotaru, who called himself Vaida Voivode III. Subsequently, Roma activists spread it around the world, first in the West and, after the collapse of the so-called socialist camp, in the East as well. It is not clear whether it was used in the Soviet context first by Alayna Lemon herself or whether it had already been circulating in the oral histories of the Gypsies in Russia in the 1990s (when she was doing her fieldwork in Moscow).

At the beginning of the 20th century, Valdemar Kalinin made a new, expanded description of the case with the Gypsy autonomous region, from which we cite here a longer passage in order to better understand the issues:

The little-known attempt by the Soviet authorities to create the Autonomous Oblast *Romanistan* dates back to the second half of the 1930s. [...] In January 1935, the very popular in the country Gypsy woman singer Lyalya Chernaya (Nadezhda Kiseleva, 1909–1982) was invited to the Kremlin for a meeting with I. Stalin. In a conversation that lasted for two hours in the presence of Stalin's secretary, Poskrebyshev, and instructor of the Department of Nationalities of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of the USSR, an active figure in the Gypsy movement, I. Tokmakov, the fate of the Gypsy population was discussed. Lyalya Chernaya spoke about the originality of the Gypsies, their lack of rights, and disorder and asked for more attention to this nomadic people. Apparently, it was then that I. Stalin came up with a plan to create the Gypsy autonomous region.

The impetus for this was the fact that in Siberia, in the city of Novonikolaevsk [the old name of Novosibirsk – authors' note] by that time, the unique Gypsy commune “Red Banner” was successfully operating since 1929, where 135 adult Gypsies with children successfully lived and worked. The commune had a four-year school, a library, a club, a sound film, a medical dispensary, its own electrical power plant, and two tractors. The commune had complete Gypsy self-government.

The implementation of the plan to create the Gypsy Autonomous Region was in the spirit of the times: In February–March 1937, police officers, together with representatives of the NKVD, started detaining all nomadic Gypsies in the territories of Tula, Kalinin, Ryazan, Kaluga, Smolensk and Vladimir Oblasts, as well as Gypsies passing through Moscow. They gathered them in groups, appointed elders, and forcibly sent them from the Kazan railway station in Moscow ... to Siberia.

The trains stopped and unloaded at the Taiga station, not far from Novosibirsk. There, in the picturesque taiga, wooden barracks were built, food, building materials, and work equipment were brought in. Over time, Gypsies from other regions of the USSR – Byelorussia, Moldova, Ukraine, and Crimea – were also brought there. In total, there were about 340 families, about 1,800 people, adults and children. Having compiled a complete list of the resettlers, the local authorities gave them the task to sow and harvest crops on their own, and to build a village during the summer and autumn. Alexander Sikachev (1909–1983) was appointed leader of the commune.

All residents were given food rations according to the number of eaters. Due to wrong calculations, very soon there were problems with food. It was even worse with the production activities. Most of the Gypsy men did not have working skills, did not own tools and could not get used to a settled way of life. People were kept in place only by the presence of special guards in the settlement. When the food problems escalated, many tried to escape. They were caught and sent back to the settlement. Some people managed to outwit the guards and leave for Novosibirsk and other cities of Siberia.

The chairman of the community A. Sikachev tried to put things in order, arrange for food, and somehow organise the construction of real housing – it was not possible to spend the winter in the hastily knocked-together barracks. However, as winter approached, it became clear that it would not be possible to build housing for everyone. The number of escapes increased every day. Some of

those who fled died on the way. There was nothing the local authorities could do. The escapes took on a mass character, and the leadership began to tacitly support it: when Gypsies appeared at the railway station, the police simply turned away in the other direction.

At the end of 1937, A. Sikachev also decided to leave, handed over the inventory to the supply manager and left for Moscow with his family, but then, fearing repression and persecution, he moved with relatives in the Pskov region. After living there for some time, he returned to the capital, where he was offered to head the Gypsy collective farm named after S. Budyonny in Zvenigorod Rayon of Moscow Oblast (the kolkhoz lasted until the arrival of the Nazi Germans in October 1941).

Part of the Gypsies, who got accustomed to the climate near Novosibirsk, remained to live there. Some of those who fled to the European part of the USSR were arrested by the NKVD and returned to Siberia already as prisoners. The experiment failed completely. However, in the post-war years, exactly the same project was once again discussed by the leaders of the USSR (Калинин, 2003, pp. 22–23; 2005, pp. 45–47).

At first glance, this description of the events seems very serious and gives no reason to doubt its credibility. However, the whole story is not supported by any documentary historical evidence and lacks any citation of historical sources. The main (and only) source is Alexander Sikachev's narrative (he died in 1983), which was retold to the author by Sikachev's son (i.e., second-hand). Closer scrutiny reveals many controversial (perhaps it would be more accurate to say improbable or impossible) moments in it, namely:

- Stalin's meetings in his Kremlin office followed a strict schedule that was duly documented by his Secretariat, preserved in the archives and repeatedly used by historians; this schedule has no mention of either Lyalya Chernaya's name or a meeting with her on the issue of the Gypsies in the USSR.
- There is no historical evidence of the existence of a Gypsy commune in Novosibirsk, with its own self-government (whatever that means), developing such a wide range of activities; the existence of such a unique commune should have been widely reported in the Soviet press, including Gypsy journals.
- There is no historical evidence of transportation of Gypsies from the nine regions mentioned in the story (moreover, Moldova was not part of the USSR at that time), nor of their transfer through the Kazan station in Moscow; such data should have been present at least in the archives of the NKVD.
- There is no historical evidence of the existence of a Gypsy collective farm in Taiga station; such data should have been present in the archives of the

NKVD, Narkomzem and local authorities (Novosibirsk and/or Kemerovo region, where the Taiga station is located today).

- There is no historical evidence of the existence of a Gypsy collective farm in the Moscow region; the existence of such farm should have been publicly known at the time, included in the archives, and reported in the press (including Gypsy journals).
- There is no historical evidence of any discussion by the Soviet authorities in the “post-war years” (the second half of the 1940s) on the issue of creating a Gypsy National Rayon. Such data should have been present in the archives.

All these considerations are sufficient to assess that the whole story about the unsuccessful attempt to create a Gypsy autonomous region, “Romanistan”, at the Taiga station in Siberia does not in the least correspond to the historical truth. Nevertheless, this case is already part of the academic literature, being accepted as actual history without any verification (see Klimova-Alexander 2005, p. 164; Бессонов, 2005; Бугай, 2012, p. 31). Moreover, the quasi-historical narrative about the Gypsies deported at the Taiga station and the attempt to create a Gypsy autonomous region was briefly retold by Nikolay Bessonov in an article (Бессонов, 2002c, pp. 2–3) posted on his website *The Gypsies of Russia*, which was widely popular among the Roma of the post-Soviet space and even beyond (these days, dozens of Roma Internet sites from all over Europe and Latin America use Bessonov’s paintings with scenes from Roma life). In such a way, this quasi-historical narrative was incorporated in the oral history of the Roma living in the post-Soviet space and continues evolving in various modifications until today.

In order to trace the complex development of the narrative about the deportation of Gypsies to the Taiga station, and the attempt to create a Gypsy autonomous region in the oral history of the Roma from the post-Soviet space, it is necessary to discuss briefly its roots in the real history of the Gypsies in the early USSR, and specifically, the actual intentions to create a Gypsy autonomous region and the actual attempts in this direction.

The idea of a separate Gypsy national territorial-administrative unit first appeared in the 1926 Working Plan of the just established All-Russian Union of the Gypsies, which stated: “In order to preserve the national characteristics of the Gypsy population and in view of the peculiarities of their way of life, the Union proposes: a/ to allocate in a Southern region a territory for the settlement of Gypsies, on which (territory) to unite all kinds of agricultural organisations, as well as the Gypsies who wish to settle independently” (GARF, f. P 1235, op. 120, d. 27, l. 99–101).

To fulfil this task, in the spring of 1926, two reports were sent to the Federal Committee of TsIK (with a copy to the Resettlement Committee) on behalf

of the VSTs Presidium, signed by the chairman of the Union, Andrey Taranov and its secretary, Ivan Lebedev. The first report noted that “Judging by the information that the Union has collected from its members, there are about 500,000 Gypsies in the USSR” (GARF, f. P 3260, op. 6, d. 44, l. 5). As we have already mentioned, according to the 1926 census, there were 61,234 Gypsies in the USSR at that time (Всесоюзная перепись, 1926). The second report specified: “The Presidium is supposed to settle up to 100,000 (one hundred thousand) people” (GARF, f. P 3260, op. 6, d. 44, l. 4.). The two reports emphasised that “the Presidium of VSTs asks the Federal Committee of VTsIK to allocate part of the state land for the settlement of Gypsies, mainly in the South [...] The Presidium determined the North Caucasus or Kuban regions for the settlement of Gypsies” (Ibid., l. 4). This idea was born by the Gypsies themselves, but despite the declared support “in the matter of establishing the Gypsies on the land” (GARF, f. P 3260, op. 6, d. 44, l. 1), the Soviet authorities did not take action to create a de facto National Rayon. Thus, the idea was abandoned until better times.

Such times came in 1934 when a precedent proved to be particularly important for breathing new life into the idea of creating a Gypsy national territorial-administrative unit. On May 7, 1934, in the Far East, the Birobidzhan National Rayon received the status of an Autonomous Jewish National Oblast. By that time, there were practically no Jews living there (except for some isolated cases). The work for settling Jews on a compact territory began in August 1924, when the Presidium of the TsIK SSSR established the *Committee for the Settlement of Toiling Jews on the Land* and a few months later, in December, the *Society for Settling Toiling Jews on the Land*, which mobilised the public and secured public support (Романова, 2001).

The establishment of the Autonomous Jewish National Oblast showed that there was a real opportunity to organise autonomy for other nationalities who, like the Jews, did not live in a compact territory but in diasporas (such was the case with the Gypsies) and also indicated what steps need to be taken to implement it.

Inspired by this example, Gypsy activists resumed the struggle for the creation of a Gypsy Republic. Along the way, they tried different methods. One method was sending letters personally to the Soviet leaders (most often to Stalin himself), which was a common practice at the time (Khlevniuk, 2015). This method was also used by the Gypsies (Marushiakova & Popov, 2020b), as demonstrated by the actions of the Gypsy activists from the then Western Oblast, whose centre was Smolensk. There is a logical explanation for why this place became a centre of Gypsy activism. A large number of the Gypsies in this area lived settled or semi-settled already before the October Revolution, and

the affirmative action policy of the early USSR, in this area delivered good and relatively stable achievements – Gypsy kolkhozes and Gypsy schools were created, Gypsies went to study in workers' schools, etc.

A Gypsy man named Ilya Gerasimov, who worked as an instructor in the regional executive committee of the Western Oblast, had an important role in the epistolary campaign for the creation of the Gypsy autonomy. Beginning in 1934, he started sending a series of letters to the highest authorities of the USSR.

The first letter was sent in November 1934 to Mikhail Kalinin, Chairman of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR. It stated:

Now, it is of utmost importance to set up an administrative-territorial unit for the Gypsies, at least in the fashion of a small Rayon, and this national Rayon to be supported with the necessary cadres. In the end, among us, the Gypsies, there are many Communists and Komsomol members. In addition to this, there are many Gypsies who study in secondary schools and in high education. All these cadres could provide the management of the separate regions (GARF, f. P 1235, op. 123, d. 28, l. 368–369).

The next letter, dated January 1936, was addressed “To the Great Teacher, the Genius Leader of the Working People from All Over the World, To the Great Leader of Our Communist Party VKP(b), Comrade Stalin!” It was prepared by Ilya Gerasimov and signed “from the delegates of the Western Oblast at the first union consultative meeting on the issue of cultural and economic service to the working Gypsies from the whole [Soviet] Union”. This letter reproduced almost the same wording expressing the aspiration of the Gypsies: “We are asking on behalf of the Gypsies to allocate a territory, at least in the form of a Rayon, for the compact settlement of the toiling Gypsies” (GARF, f. P 3316, op. 28, d. 793, l. 13–1306).

In October of the same year, Ilya Gerasimov wrote a new letter to Stalin, in his capacity as head of the Commission for the preparation of a new Constitution of the USSR, on his own behalf. He wrote: “The nomadic population asks the Constitution’s Commission, under the leadership of J. V. STALIN, and the Government, to allocate a Rayon in the Union for the compact settlement of the Gypsies, and to provide them with support in getting employment” (GARF, f. P 1235, op. 123, d. 27, l. 141–14106). An abbreviated version of this letter, entitled *About the Gypsy National Rayon*, was also published in the official *Izvestia* newspaper, under the heading ‘Proposals’, as part of the so-called nationwide discussion of the draft of the new Constitution (Известия, 1936, p. 3).

In all these letters, the main theme was the need to create a Gypsy national territory, “at least in the form of a Rayon for the compact settlement of the

toiling Gypsies" (i.e., it is hinted that it is desirable to get something more). Quite openly, these letters lobbied for the allocation of an area in the Western Oblast, emphasising its achievements (sustainable Gypsy kolkhozes and schools) and declaring that "among us, the Gypsies, there are many Communists, Komsomol members, in addition to this, there are many Gypsies who study in secondary schools and in high education. All these cadres could provide the management of the separate regions" (GARF, f. P 3316, op. 28, d. 793, l. 13–1306).

We also find the same messages in the Memorandum by Trofim Gerasimov, most likely Ilya Gerasimov's brother:

[...] the initial allocation of a Gypsy Rayon, which would have to grow and turn into an autonomous Gypsy republic. For me, this issue is so relevant today that I personally do not see any other way in which the building of a socialist republic by this nationality can be achieved. A present-day issue, which is now ripe enough and has developed to its limit, concerns the necessity of the compact settlement of the Gypsies.

In my opinion, it is appropriate to establish this Rayon in the North Caucasus, where a Gypsy village council already exists (GARF, f. P 3316, op. 64, d. 1637, l. 2–13).

The issue of the creation of a Gypsy National Soviet Republic was also covered in the press. During the discussion of the draft new Constitution, in the summer of 1936, *Komsomolskaya Pravda* newspaper published a proposal for the creation of a "Gypsy Autonomous Oblast within the RSFSR or the Ukrainian SSR, uniting presently scattered Gypsy kolkhozes", signed by three Moscow workers, probably not Gypsies (Комсомольская правда 1936а, p. 2). Soon thereafter, the *Komsomolskaya Pravda* newspaper published a response from the Gypsies to this proposal:

The group of the Moscow Gypsy activists at the Central Gypsy Club and the plenipotentiaries of the restored Gypsy kolkhoz in Kharkov discussed the proposal by comrades Yu. Maslennikov, V. Smirnov, V. Pletnev for the creation of a Gypsy Autonomous Oblast [referring to Комсомольская правда, 1936а, p. 2].

The Gypsy activists of Moscow support this proposal and believe that: 1. The establishment of the Gypsy Autonomous Oblast will contribute to the rapid settlement of toiling Gypsies on the allocated territory [...] 27 signatures attached (Комсомольская правда, 1936b, p. 2).

The idea of creating a Gypsy territorial-administrative unit was not limited to the relatively small circle of Roma activists. At least to a certain extent, it also reached the wider masses of the Gypsies, most of whom were nomads. This is illustrated by the series of letters sent to Soviet institutions.



For example, in 1935, “a camp of nomadic Gypsies near the city of Ivanovo” wrote to the ON VTsIK:

We, national minorities, nomadic Gypsies, who do not have a specific residence and territory, wish to be sedentary, to have a certain place of residence and our own territory in the form of a Gypsy Rayon. We wish to work actively in the socialist fields and industry, and when the Gypsy Rayon is created, we will also work in industry and agriculture, like other autonomous regions (GARF, f. P 1235, op. 130, d. 5, l. 85–86).

A similar letter, dated August 10, 1935, was sent to ON VTsIK by Gypsies who travelled in the Udmurt ASSR:

[..] for the Gypsies to preserve their nationality, as such, and to create interest among the rest of the Gypsies, [...], to allocate a piece of land for the territory of the Gypsy Republic, Oblast, or, at least, an Okrug (GARF, f. P 1235, op. 130, d. 5, l. 80–81).

At the same time, the idea of a Gypsy Autonomous Republic was gaining support in some circles at the highest level of the Soviet administrative apparatus. This is connected with the name of already repeatedly mentioned Ivan Tokmakov, a Gypsy from Yekaterinburg, member of the VKP(b) since 1918 (about him see, Marushiakova & Popov, 2022, pp. 508–542). He was sent to Moscow to study at the Communist University, named after Sverdlov, and in 1931, he began working as an instructor in the Department of Nationalities of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee. As a person who was in the corridors of power, despite his low position, he got the opportunity to actively influence Soviet policy towards the Gypsies. He had a clear vision of the steps that had to be taken to achieve the goal. Already in 1932, on his initiative, the first (and the only one) National Gypsy Selsoviet was created in the village of Kangly, Mineralnye Vody Rayon, North Caucasus Krai. The Gypsy kolkhoz *Trud Romen* was moved there, and the Gypsy activist Mikhail Bezlyudsky was sent from Moscow to head the village council and the kolkhoz, which were meant to become the core of the future Gypsy national region.

Under the influence of Ivan Tokmakov’s activity within the Soviet apparatus, in 1935, the structures of the All-Union Resettlement Committee of the SNK SSSR sent a circular letter to all subjects of the RSFSR, asking whether they could provide free land for the compact settlement of nomadic Gypsies (GARF, f. P 1235, op. 130, d. 5). Various responses were received: For example, the North Caucasian, Azov-Black Sea Krai and the Crimean Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic refused with the argument that they did not have free

land plots; others, such as the Gorky Territory offered to allocate territory for the Gypsies in today's Republic of Mari El; the Omsk Oblast offered land on the territory of the Ostyak-Vogul National Okrug (today's Khanty-Mansiysk Autonomous Okrug); the Far East Territory initially expressed readiness to receive *resettlers*, but then did not continue the correspondence (Ibid; RGAE, f. 4372, op. 34, d. 440a, l. 95–108). These proposals were deemed unsuitable due to the severe climate conditions. The West Siberian Krai agreed to provide the Gypsies with land in Chistoozyornoye Rayon (subsequently, new options were proposed, all in today's Altai Krai), subject to additional budget investments (GARF, f. P 1235, op. 130, d. 5).

After discussing the received proposals, a commission at the ON VTsIK was tasked with the selection of a territory for the settlement of the Gypsies. Eventually, the proposal of the West Siberian Krai was deemed most feasible. Narkomzem sent there a complex expedition to investigate several locations that were proposed by local authorities. These were in present-day Altai Krai and Kemerovo Oblast – Charyshskoe, Soloneshnoe, Altai, Kondoma, and Mrasso-Kondoma Rayons (GARF, f. P 1235, op. 130, d. 9). The results of the complex expedition were considered insufficient to inform a final decision, and on December 10, 1935, the Presidium of the VTsIK issued a new instruction to the All-Union Resettlement Committee to “seek an area for the settlement of toiling Gypsies in compact masses” and allocated funds for a new complex expedition (GARF, f. P 3316, op. 28, d. 793).

On 4 and 5 January 1936, the Council of Nationalities at the TsIK SSSR held a meeting *On the Questions of the Employment of Toiling Nomadic Gypsies and Their Cultural and Economic Services*, which was attended by representatives of Soviet institutions working with Gypsies, the press and almost the entire Soviet Roma elite. In their statements, all Gypsy activists expressed support for the creation of a Gypsy National Rayon (GARF, f. P 3316, op. 28, d. 794, l. 77–125; Сoвещание, 1936: 61–72). Immediately following the Meeting, on behalf of the ON VTsIK, Ivan Tokmakov proposed a Draft for a Decree by the VTsIK Presidium:

To propose to the SNK SSSR to demand from the Gosplan and Narkomzem, within a month, to designate one of the Rayons within the Russian Federation for the compact settlement of the toiling Gypsies and to ensure this plan with appropriate funds for the economic and socio-cultural development of the area (GARF, f. P 3316, op. 28, d. 793, l. 4–5).

The SNK SSSR preferred not to engage directly with the case and did not adopt the Decree. Instead, on April 7, 1936, the Presidium of the TsIK SSSR adopted

a Decree *On Measures on the Employment of Nomads and the Improvement of Economic and Cultural Services for Toiler Gypsies* (Постановление, 1936, p. 87), in which, some important changes to the original project were made. In the adopted Decree, the issue of creating a Gypsy National Rayon was no longer a central one. Furthermore, the Decree did not talk about one Rayon but of an unspecified number of “special Rayons”. At first glance, the change was insignificant; in fact, it was extremely important because it reflected the contradictions between the TsIK SSSR and the NKVD on the issue of Gypsy autonomy. The TsIK SSSR and the Gypsy activists insisted on the rapid creation of a Gypsy Rayon on the territory in the North Caucasus Krai, while the NKVD preferred a slower, gradual establishment of not only one but several Gypsy Rayons in different places. It should be especially noted that none of these institutions included Western Siberia in their plans.

At that time, Nikolay Yezhov was appointed head of the NKVD, and the office was restructured, greatly expanding its functions, assuming those of OGPU and other administrative structures. The All-Union Resettlement Committee was also transformed, and on July 22, 1936, it became the Resettlement Department of the NKVD. As a result of these changes, the issue of creating a Gypsy Rayon formally remained under the control of the VTsIK, but the NKVD had to implement it. ON VTsIK sent repeated instructions to the NKVD Resettlement Committee to accelerate the work on designating the territory for the settlement of the Gypsies and to begin practical work on their resettlement (GARF, f. P 1235, op. 130, d. 5). This all led to some significant discrepancies in the scale and pace of work, reflecting the difference in the positions of the TsIK SSSR and the NKVD, which was not strategic, but tactical. The NKVD did not object in principle to the creation of such a unit but followed a more realistic and pragmatic approach – to set indicators for the number of sedentarised Gypsies; to create several Gypsy Rayons in different places in order to test the methodology; to assess the results, etc. There were discussions about new regions for the settlement of Gypsies, such as Kuybyshev (today Samara), Gorky (today Nizhny Novgorod), Kirov Krai, etc., including even the Ukrainian and Byelorussian SSR (GARF, f. P 1235, op. 123, d. 27).

Despite this more cautious approach, the NKVD took concrete steps to get things off the ground, including assistance to local authorities in allocating land to the Roma (RGAE, f. 5675, op. 1, d. 143; d. 144; d. 148; d. 149; d. 151; d. 152; d. 157). An important aspect of NKVD’s work was the construction of new homes for the kolkhoz members. In a sinister historical irony, for the construction of Gypsy houses, NKVD used timber, which was cut in the GULAG. There were also attempts to organise a new Gypsy Selsoviet in the Kuibyshev Krai (Платунов, 1976, p. 267). In the spring of 1936, several meetings were held

in the Kuibyshev Kraiispolkom on the issue of allocating land funds for the organisation of new Gypsy kolkhozes so that “in the future, these kolkhozes would be united into an independent national Gypsy Selsoviet or even into a national Gypsy Rayon” (RGAE, f. 5675, op. 1, d. 146, l. 2). Since the collective farm *Nevi baxt* (New Happiness) was supposed to become the centre of the Gypsy Selsoviet, in May 1936, the Gypsies of the former kolkhoz *Krasny Vostok* (Red East), which had operated for several years in Krasnoufimsk Rayon of Sverdlovsk Krai, moved there from other places in the region (Каменских, 2017; Каменских & Черных, 2022). Due to various administrative reasons, however, the activities in this direction were slow, and after the change of course in 1937, the work ceased without a result.

The work on the creation of Gypsy autonomy was interrupted by the radical change in the Soviet nationalities policy. On December 1, 1937, the Organising Bureau at the Central Committee of the TsIK VKP(b) reviewed the issue of national Rayons and Selsoviets and found it “inappropriate to continue the maintenance of both special national Rayons and Selsoviets” (RGASPI, f. 17, op. 114, d. 633, l. 3–4). This assessment was followed by the Decree of the Presidium of the TsIK VKP(b), dated December 17, 1937, *On the Liquidation of National Rayons and Selsoviets* (RGASPI, f. 17, op. 3, d. 1006, l. 39–40). In the new situation, the issue of the establishment of a national Gypsy territorial-administrative unit was eliminated, and all activities in this direction were discontinued. The so-called Great Patriotic War (as the USSR’s participation in WWII was called in the USSR as well as in the Russian Federation today) broke out a few years later, and after the war, in the new historical realities of the USSR, the Soviet authorities never returned to the question of the Gypsy autonomy.

So far, we presented the actual historical facts, such as they have been preserved by the “classical” history. Naturally, these facts circulated quickly in the Roma environment because the Roma activists were engaged in these processes. In this environment, however, the real events (or at least the rumours of such events) were enriched with new details and changed over time according to the rules of folklore (every oral history narrative that does not develop to the level of a national narrative sooner or later turns into a folklore narrative of various genres – legends, fairy tales, etc.). Today, in the entire post-Soviet space, among the Gypsies, one can come across legends about Stalin meeting the famous Gypsy actress Lyalya Chernaya at the Theatre *Romen* (or in other versions, as pointed out above, inviting her to a meeting with the Gypsy activists in the Kremlin). Fascinated by her beauty and her story about the richness of Gypsy culture, he promised her to create a Gypsy republic in the USSR. There are legends that the Gypsies hid Stalin during his exile, and he decided

to give them autonomy as a token of gratitude. As already mentioned above, there is no historical evidence that Stalin showed any interest in the Theatre *Romen* and its performances, nor did he ever invite Gypsy artists to meetings in the Kremlin. Nevertheless, these quasi-historical narratives evolve with new details, intersect, and mingle with other widespread legends. Such is the legend about the kind, loving and appreciating Stalin, who categorically opposed handing over the Gypsies to Hitler (cf. Nikolay Bessonov's thoughts on the topic in *The Myth of the Good Stalin* – Бессонов, 2020b).

The evolution of the historical narratives in the Roma environment, and in particular, the intermingling of individual “plots”, is obvious in our case, which mixes the narrative about the attempts to create a Gypsy national autonomous Rayon with the narrative about the mass deportation of Gypsies from the Moscow suburbs in 1933. Incidentally, in oral history narratives, the mass deportation is often associated with the name of Nadezhda Krupskaya, Lenin's widow, who is presented as the initiator of this deportation. This is very strange and even inexplicable because, at that time, Krupskaya held honorary, sinecure positions and had no opportunity to exert influence on politics in the USSR.

The two narratives (about the attempts to create a Gypsy National Rayon and about the mass deportation of Gypsies from the Moscow suburbs) have many common elements which have clearly filtered from one to the other and vice versa. This contamination explains why the Taiga station was chosen as the site of the future Gypsy National Rayon – this place was often mentioned in the escape narratives of the Gypsies, deported in 1933. Taking into account these specific forms of oral history development, we can understand how the quasi-historical text describing attempts to create a Gypsy National Rayon in the Taiga station through mass deportations of Gypsies from various regions of the USSR had appeared in academic works.

The fact that contaminations in oral history result from a continuous transfer between written texts (press, academic publications, etc.) and oral history should not surprise us; it is quite natural. The Roma (at least in Central, South-Eastern and Eastern Europe, that is, within the former socialist camp) have long ceased to be a non-literate people as a result of the compulsory education policy for all citizens (including also the Roma who participated in affirmative policy measures). In this situation, it is normal that historical information obtained through “classical” historical knowledge increasingly entered the realm of oral history and gradually became part of the community's historical narrative. Therefore, the boundaries of oral history were gradually blurred, and it started transforming into a “written” one, i.e., individual narratives were posted on the Internet and even entered individual scholar's publications; the

last impressive example in this direction being Nikolay Bessonov's book, which is almost completely framed on the basis of oral narrative (Бессонов, 2010; 2020ac). What is most important in this case is that there is no confrontation between oral and written history, but rather a convergence, in which we can observe the interpretation of known historical events (Sahlins, 1985) made by the Roma themselves.

At this stage, it is too early to judge whether the attempt to create a Gypsy national autonomy, combined with episodes of repression and deportation or without them, will become part of the collective historical memory of the Roma. The narrative of repression is in line with the current trend among Roma activists to create a pan-Roma master narrative based on historical suffering (Kapralski, 2014, p. 204). It also reflects the desire of these activists to inscribe the history of the Roma in the European memorial space and, on this basis, provide them with a place in national and European history (Hub van Baar, 2011, p. 272). The history of the attempt to create Gypsy autonomy in the USSR, however, contradicts the globally disseminated public stereotype of the exclusivity of the Gypsies (in modern times, Roma) as a transnational people without a state (who never had the desire to create one), who is the "eternal victim" of the world that surrounds them (Marushiakova & Popov, 2005: 433–455). Only time will tell whether the described quasi-historical narrative will stand the test of time (see Carter, 2006, p. 217) at the post-Soviet level (and in what form it will be preserved and developed).

As for the specific case of the imaginary attempt to create a Gypsy National Rayon "Romanistan", it is quite clear that this oral history narrative does not contribute to the topic of the mass deportations of Gypsies in the USSR in the 1930s and should not be considered as a source in this respect.



Mass deportations in the USSR in the 1930s were not limited to the deportation of 'kulaks' and 'declassified elements'. They have a much wider scope and include other deportations carried out according to different criteria, with little or no relevance to 'social origin' or 'social position'. The main criteria for determining the 'reliability' or 'unreliability' of a given community were the categories 'ethnicity' or 'nationality', and in some cases, they were combined with other criteria of a different order (e.g., territorial – residents of border territories). Elements of "ethnic cleansing" were already evident in the eviction, in 1930, of the "socially dangerous element" (in some environments, the major part of the evicted were Poles and Germans) from the border strip (22-kilometer zone along the western borders of the USSR with Poland), of Ukrainian SSR

and Byelorussian SSR to Western Siberia and the Far East. Such a “purge” with a wider scope was carried out again in 1935 with Germans and Poles being again the major part of the affected population. The first mass deportation, which can be qualified as ‘purely ethnic’, was the eviction of the Finnish population (Ingrian Finns) from the border strip of the Leningrad Region (100 km border zone) and Karelia (50 km border zone), in the spring of 1935. At the end of September 1937, Koreans were deported from the Far East to Kazakhstan and Central Asia. The official reason was “protection of the Korean population from a possible invasion of Japanese militarists”. In fact (and in essence), it was a preventive action by the Soviet leadership against the Korean diaspora as “a potential breeding ground for Japanese espionage”. In the same year, Kurds and representatives of some other nationalities were evicted from the border areas of the Georgian, Armenian, Azerbaijan, Turkmen, Uzbek and Tajik SSRs in the Kazakh SSR. In 1938–1939, ethnic Iranians and Iranian citizens, mainly from Azerbaijan, were deported in two stages. The ethnic “cleansings” of 1937–1938 also affected some other “foreign elements” who lived in the border strip of the USSR, from Armenia to Tajikistan (Полян, 2001; Поболь & Полян, 2005; Бердинских et al., 2015).

In this historical context, the Report of the Head of the Department of Labour Settlements of the GULAG, M. V. Konradov, to the Deputy People’s Commissar of the NKVD, V. V. Chernyshev, *On the Results of a Survey of the Economic Structure of the Kurds, Armenians and Turks Resettled from Azerbaijan to Kazakhstan*, from April 23, 1939, is of particular interest. This Report made an assessment of the “state of the contingent”, which was deported from Azerbaijan and Armenia [...] to the Kazakh SSR and settled in 12 labour settlements, namely:

Kurds, Armenians and Turks resettled from the Azerbaijan and Armenian SSRs on the basis of the Decree of the Council of People’s Commissars of the USSR dated December 17, 1936 No. 2123–42088 to the Kazakh SSR (at the end of 1937), were settled in Alma-Ata and South Kazakhstan Oblasts as follows: Kurds – 553 families (3,101 people), Armenians and Turkic people – 568 families (2,788 people), [total] 1,121 families (5,889 people). The entire contingent consists of a counter-revolutionary element, persons repressed in the past for counter-revolutionary crimes, smugglers, bandits and members of their families (Поболь & Полян, 2005, pp. 77–79).

The Report contains the following passage:

It is characteristic that the majority of Armenian settlers have settled down, acquired individual livestock and did not run away from the place of settlement. The other part – the Turkics (Turkic Gypsies) and Kurds – settle poorly, do not

acquire livestock, work poorly in production, play truant, and among them, there is a desire to go to the homeland. Most of the escapes belong to them (Ibid., p. 79).

The term “Turks”, in this case, refers to the so-called Azerbaijani Turks, which was the official name for Azerbaijanis in the early USSR (until the new Constitution of 1936, but the old name was used for some time later). The name “Turkic Gypsies” (included in the general category “Turks”) in the Report is not a reference to Roma but to representatives of the Dom Gypsy division (called *Garachi* by the local Azerbaijani population). How many of the ‘Turks’ deported to Central Asia, in this case, were actually Gypsies is difficult to estimate, but they were not a great number, in all probability. According to the community oral history narratives, most of them returned to the Azerbaijan SSR in 1963, and the authorities settled them in Yevlakh, in a separate neighbourhood informally called *garachylar mahallasi* (Garachi neighbourhood). Only a few Dom families remained in Kazakhstan, and their descendants live there to this day (Marushiakova & Popov, 2016a, p. 77)

On the basis of available data, the total number of people deported on “ethnic grounds” in the period 1933–1937 is estimated at about 260,000 (Полян, 2001, pp. 93–94). The presence of other Gypsies among them (apart from the above-mentioned case of Doms from the Azerbaijan SSR deported to the Kazakh SSR) is quite realistic due to the various criteria that were applied, e.g., border residents, Iranian subjects, etc. However, we were able to find only one other case, which possibly concerns Gypsies. In 1938, Firuze, wife of Ramazan, son of Husein (this is how her name is written in the official documentation of the case), born in 1883, a citizen of Iran, was arrested in Sverdlovsk; she was accused of espionage, but after a year and a half of investigation and pre-trial detention, she was acquitted (see Annex No. 1.2). Presumably, this case is about a Gypsy woman (from the Dom subdivision), who was deported from Azerbaijan to Sverdlovsk.

The Gypsy presence is more visible in the subsequent mass deportations from Western Belarus and Western Ukraine (or *Kresy Wschodnie*, according to the terminology often used in Poland). These territories were annexed to the USSR in accordance with the agreements in the Non-Aggression Pact between Germany and the Soviet Union (widely known as the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, signed on August 23, 1939, in Moscow) in the fall of 1939, following Germany’s attack on Poland on September 1, 1939 (the beginning of World War II war) and the exile of the Polish government from the country, on September 17, 1939. The newly annexed territories were included in the composition of the Byelorussian SSR (Vileysk, Baranovichi, Bialystok, Brest and Pinsk) and the



Ukrainian SSR (Volyn, Rivne, Lviv, Drohobych, Stanislav and Tarnopol). The Soviet army occupied the Vilnius region, and following a special agreement, it was handed over to Lithuania, which was annexed by the USSR in 1940 and transformed into the Lithuanian SSR. These deportations are often referred to as the 'deportation of Poles' from the annexed territories and are defined as 'ethnic cleansing' of the local Polish population. Although these formulations, to a large extent, correspond to the content of the historical processes, they still need some refinement. Indeed, more than three-quarters of all deportees were ethnic Poles, but the remaining part of the population included mainly Jews as well as Byelorussians, Ukrainians, etc. (Полян, 2001, pp. 95–102; Поболь & Полян, 2005; Гурьянов, 2017), and therefore, a more accurate wording would be 'deportation of Polish citizens' (i.e., Poles by civic nationality, not by ethnic origin).

Despite their undoubtedly ethno-national character and scope, officially, the Soviet authorities carried out these mass deportations not on ethnic but on other (socio-political) criteria. There were three large waves of mass deportation of Polish citizens from Western Belarus and Western Ukraine.

The first wave of mass deportations began in February 1940 (this one, as well as the subsequent ones, stretched over time) and included the so-called 'settlers' (*осадники*) and 'foresters' (*лесники*). These names refer to immigrants from Central and Western Poland, mostly ex-servicemen from the Polish army, who had distinguished themselves in the Polish-Soviet war of 1920 and, in 1920–1930, received land in the eastern regions of Poland, populated mainly by Ukrainians and Byelorussians. The second wave began in April 1940 and included the so-called administratively expelled people. This category included family members of repressed Polish officers, policemen, gendarmes, jailers, civil servants, landowners, industrialists, and members of counter-revolutionary insurgent organisations, as well as prostitutes (differentiated as a separate subcategory and deported to the Uzbek and Kazakh SSRs.). The third wave began in June–July 1940 and included the so-called special settlers-refugees, i.e., people who had fled from the German-occupied territory of Poland to the western regions of the Byelorussian SSR and the Ukrainian SSR (Ibid.).

In May–June 1941, a new wave of mass deportations began, with a much wider scope. In addition to Western Belarus and Western Ukraine (the former Polish territories), it also included the territories of Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Bukovina, Moldova and Bessarabia, i.e., the territories which were annexed to the USSR in 1940 (Ibid.). This deportation was not completed due to the invasion of the USSR by Germany on June 22, 1941.

In recent years, many new studies of mass deportations from the USSR-occupied western territories (especially in Poland) have been published. These

studies, however, display serious discrepancies with regard to the number of deportees. One of the main reasons for these discrepancies is that some of the archival documents related to these deportations were destroyed at the beginning of the war (Гурьянов, 2017), which left an open door for free interpretations. Therefore, it should not be surprising that the figures indicated by some historians are many times higher than the data in the Soviet archives. This whole debate, however, is not very relevant to the focus of our research on the mass repressions against Roma.

During our research, we managed to find a relatively large block of names of deported Gypsies (106 people in total) from the region of Białystok (in today's Poland), settled in the Arkhangelsk Oblast (see Annex No. 1.1). The data contained in the deportees' official records are scarce. Nevertheless, they allow for some conclusions.

According to this data, the number of deported Gypsies is 106 people – men, women and children. When determining their sex-age composition, we ran into the problem of what the boundary between childhood and adulthood should be, which is defined differently in different countries and historical periods. In this case, we have accepted the rules adopted in the USSR at that time, and in particular by the Decree of the TsIK and SNK SSSR, adopted on April 7, 1935, *On the Measures To Combat Juvenile Delinquency* (Известия, 1935), according to which, the citizens of the USSR were criminally liable above the age of 12 years (i.e., they are already considered to be out of childhood and aware of their actions). According to this criterion, the group of deported Gypsies included 28 men, 23 women and 55 children; four of the children were born under conditions of deportation; one young child (under one-year-old) died. The oldest people (the married couple Tafiya and Mateusz Burlenskys) were born in 1875, i.e., they were over 65 years old).

All deportees (including children born under conditions of deportation) were sentenced to “[a]rrive at the special settlement in the Arkhangelsk Oblast”. For the vast majority of them, the date of the sentence was the same: July 10, 1940. There were only a few exceptions: One woman received her sentence on July 20, 1940 (possibly a typographical error or misreading), and the four children received their sentence immediately after their birth (two of them in 1940 and the other two in 1941).

The date of the sentences clearly and unequivocally indicates that this deportation was part of the aforementioned third wave of mass deportations, including the so-called special migrants-refugees, i.e., those who fled to the western regions of the Byelorussian SSR and the Ukrainian SSR from the German-occupied territories of Poland. In this case, there is an apparent paradox because all the deported Gypsies in the Arkhangelsk Oblast have a stated

residence in the newly created Białystok Region of the Byelorussian SSR, i.e., they are not refugees.

It is notable that the list of the deported Gypsies consists of 13 surnames (with minor phonetic variations in the records): Bzazovsky/Bzazovskaya (masculine and feminine form) – 6 names; Brezhinsky (variants: Brezinsky/Brezinskaya, or Brshezinsky/Brshezinskaya) – 14 names; Burlensky/Burlenskaya – 5 names; Venglevsky/Venglevskaya – 4 names; Voshkovsky/Voshkovskaya (variant: Vashkovsky/Vashkovskaya) – 7 names; Yedynak – 2 names; Kaminsky/Kaminskaya – 15 names; Kvetkovsky/Kvetkovskaya (variant: Kvyatkovsky/Kvyatkovskaya) – 21 names; Kovalsky/Kovalskaya – 8 names; Rapochevsky/Rapochevskaya (variant: Ropochevsky/Ropochevskaya) – 8 names; Rodsky/Rodskaya – 4 names; Khav – 7 names; Shinkler – 5 names. The fact that Gypsies with the surname Kvyatkovsky/Kvyatkovskaya were settled in two different special settlements (Kodysh and Nyavrus) gives reason to assume that they were separate but related families, i.e., in this case, we have a total of 14 extended families deported (Roma married couples usually live for a while with their parents before they split and form a separate family unit).

This list displays another interesting circumstance: The majority of the people were tied to the village of Sędziwuje (recorded in the documents in various phonetic variants), which is currently located in Poland, Podlaskie voivodeship, Zambrow county. The members of the Brezhinskys, Burlenskys, Voshkovskys, Yedynaks, Kaminskys, Kvetkovskys, Kovalskys, Rodskys, Ropochevskys, Khavs, and Shinklers families were born and living there. The village of Sędziwuje is missing in the documents only for Bzazovskys (with a residence also in Zambrow in Białystok region, Byelorussian SSR) and Venglevskys (some of them resided in other villages in the Zambrow Rayon, while the rest were in villages in the neighbouring Czyżew Rayon).

It seems unlikely that such a large number of Roma had lived settled lives in a single village in pre-war Poland. During the interwar period, the majority of the Roma in Poland (excluding the mountainous regions in the south and some large cities) were nomads (more precisely, semi-nomads) who rented housing in the winter and travelled during the warm period. It is very likely that the deported group included Roma nomads, who were registered as residents of one village (Sędziwuje) as well as several other villages in the nearby region. Judging by the size of the deported group, it is unlikely that the group comprised a single nomadic unit – 14 large families are too many for one nomadic group; it is more likely that the deportees included several nomadic groups.

The fact that all deportees had their residence in the Białystok region and that the majority of them were also born in that region (i.e., in the territories annexed to the USSR) is a reason to assume that they were Roma nomads

who travelled at other regions of Poland in the beginning of the war. After the German attack on Poland and the beginning of the Second World War on September 1, 1939, they returned to the places of their permanent residence (at least according to their registration), but already as refugees from the German-occupied territories, which was the reason for their deportation.

The deported Roma from the Białystok region were divided into two parts and settled in two special settlements in the Arkhangelsk Oblast – in Kodysh (50 people plus three newborn children) and in Nyavrus (52 people plus one newborn child). These settlements were located in the Yemetsk Rayon (today part of Kholmotory Rayon of Arkhangelsk Oblast) and do not exist today. The settlements were located deep in the forest, and the deported Gypsies worked in logging (like the majority of all deportees from Western Belarus and Western Ukraine).

The Gypsies deported in the Arkhangelsk Oblast (as well as all deportees from Western Byelorussia and Western Ukraine) were amnestied under the agreement from August 30, 1941, between the Government of Poland in exile and the USSR (the so-called Sikorski–Mayski agreement). All of them were released between 3–6 September 1941.

The fate of the deported Roma from Western Belarus and Western Ukraine after their release is not known. Their names do not appear in the list of the repressed (see Annex 1.2), and it is not clear where they lived during the war. It can be assumed that during the population exchange between the USSR and Poland, which began even before the end of the war in 1944 and continued until 1947, they returned to their places of birth in Poland (or at least part of them).

The presented group of Roma appears to be a very small part of the total number of deported residents of Western Belarus and Western Ukraine deported to the Arkhangelsk Oblast. According to the Open List database of the *Memorial Society*, which is based on the Polish multivolume edition *Deported in the Arkhangelsk Oblast* (Rybarska et al., 2003–2007), their total number was 56,232 (Польские спецпереселенцы, 2018). As can be seen, the share of the Roma among the total number of deportees in the Arkhangelsk Oblast was very small (less than one per cent).

The legitimate question here is whether there were Roma who were deported to other places besides the Arkhangelsk Oblast. There were such cases, but unfortunately, documentary evidence is unavailable (or at least has not been found so far). The only such case known from oral history is that of Anna Glavatskaya (from the group of ‘Polska Roma’), who, according to the testimony of her relatives, recorded by Nikolay Bessonov, was deported from Western Belarus, together with the entire camp with which she travelled (at

least 100 people) in Siberia, “on the banks of the Ob River” (probably in the Tomsk region); after surviving a winter of harsh conditions there, she escaped with her husband, who died on the way (Бессонов, 2002d, p. 6). However, such cases are hardly many.

From what has been said so far, it is clear that the share of the Roma among the deported population from Western Belarus and Western Ukraine during the second wave of deportation, covering the so-called refugees, was relatively very small. It could not have been much larger given the fact that in pre-war Poland, according to the Population Census of 1931, the number of the Roma was small, and therefore, they were included in the category ‘Others’, which counted a total of 11,119 souls (Główny Urząd, 1938), i.e., their number was less than 10 thousand, and the Gypsy refugees from the occupied territories in the USSR were clearly much less. According to the calculations of the *Memorial Society*, during this wave of mass deportations from the western regions of Ukraine and Belarus, 77,288 refugees who arrived from the German-occupied Polish territories in September 1939 were deported. Most of them were Jews (82–84%), a significantly smaller part were Poles (11%), Ukrainians – 2%, Belarusians – 0.2%, etc., The official documentation, preserved in the Soviet archives, does not include a separate section on ‘Gypsies’ (Гурьянов, 2018), which means that for the Soviet authorities, the number of Gypsies was negligible.



A new round of mass deportations in the USSR began after Germany’s attack on the USSR on 22 June 1941. The new aspect in this context was the emergence of ethnicity as a dominant and unconditional criterion, i.e., the deportations targeted all representatives of a given people (“nationality”, according to the official terminology used in the USSR at the time), including the leadership of the relevant territorial-administrative units, with exceptions possible only for a very limited range of categories (e.g., for combat officers, fighting at the front, but not always), as well as for individuals.

Nine nations were subjected to total deportation in the period of the so-called Great Patriotic War – Germans, Ingermanlanders (or Finnish-Ingermanders), Kalmyks, Chechens, Ingush, Karachays, Balkars, Crimean Tatars and Meskhetian Turks; seven of them (Germans, Kalmyks, Chechens, Ingush, Karachays, Balkars and Crimean Tatars) were also deprived of their national autonomy (Полян, 2001). In some cases, these mass deportations were combined with a complete territorial cleansing of certain regions (e.g., Crimea, South-Eastern Georgia) from other unwanted nationalities.

The mass deportations in the USSR (before WWII, during WWII, and after that) also affected at least two dozen other ethnic and ethno-confessional communities. However, in their case, the deportations did not remove the entire population. Still, they were limited by one or other criteria and/or to certain regions, so they do not fit into this general category (Ibid.).

All these deportations were carried out by virtue of Resolutions issued by various Soviet institutions – the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, the State Defence Committee, the NKVD, etc., and the implementation of these Resolutions was entrusted to the NKVD. During these mass deportations, people who were to be deported received special reports informing them that they had been “convicted” by the NKVD. The registration forms (included in various databases which we have used) had a brief note: “Deciding Body: NKVD. [...] Verdict: Deportation.” In fact, the legal absurdity of judicial verdicts delivered by the executive branch should be understood as administrative acts.

The topic of ‘deported peoples’ became particularly attractive after the collapse of the USSR and the open access to the Soviet archives. Numerous publications have already been accumulated on this topic, among which we should especially note the huge corpus (more than 1,000 pages) of archival documents (Поболь & Полян, 2005), as well as the three volumes with miscellaneous material (including oral history records) (Алиева, 1993).

For the purposes of our study, we do not need to go into detail about the chronology and scale of all these mass deportations carried out on ethnic/national grounds; we will focus only on the deportations which affected Gypsies (Roma and others in the broader category). The deportation of Gypsies together with other populations was possible in the cases in which the Gypsies lived together with the deported peoples for a long period of time and had achieved a high degree of social integration (which in the case of the Crimean Tatars may also take on linguistic and even ethnic/national dimensions).

For most of these mass deportations, it is clear in advance that there is no point in looking for the presence of Gypsies (except, perhaps, for isolated cases). It is difficult to even imagine that Gypsies would have lived together with Kalmyks (Buddhists by religion) in the semi-desert regions, east of the lower reaches of the Volga or the high-mountain regions of the North Caucasus, together with Chechens, Ingush, Karachays and Balkars.

In this regard, there is an interesting historical testimony which is worth quoting here. It is about the letter to Nikolay Pankov, written by Lyuba Mikholazhina (who had graduated from the Gypsy Pedagogical College in Moscow) and worked in a local (non-Gypsy) school in the Chechen-Ingush Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic. What makes this letter interesting are

the thoughts of the newly-created Roma intelligentsia and their social positions in the context of the Soviet realities, as well as the attitude of the local population towards the Gypsies:

I strongly dislike those [...] who not only do not help their nation but also abandon it. I managed to reach the level of the Russians and to prove that we do have abilities, too. Now, I am working in the Caucasus and not among my Gypsies. [...] What made me come here is that I wanted to learn about the life of the Caucasian people. It is very difficult and dangerous to live here. For example, an inspector was murdered today up in the mountains on his way to our regional centre, Vedeno. There are many such occurrences here: murders, robberies, raped girls thrown down from the high banks into the river. Going out in the yard at night [...] is dangerous because somebody may hit you in the head with a stone. They [the Chechens – authors' note] hate the Russians and treat us as conquerors. They have no idea about the existence of Gypsies and think that I am Russian (Друц & Гецслер, 1990, pp. 301–302).

In this case, it is clear that the Roma did not integrate into the local population; respectively, they would not be subject to mass deportations, together with the rest of the population.

Parenthetically speaking, this letter is also interesting from another point of view. It may seem strange at first glance, but in some cases, Roma could stand on the other side of the barricade, on the side of the 'invaders', seen in post-colonial discourse. This position is not unique in the history of the Gypsies: It would be enough to think of the Calon slave traders in the 18th century in Brazil (Fotta, 2018).

Chronologically, the first mass deportation of people, which included Gypsies, targeted the Soviet Germans.

In this case, it is about the descendants of the German colonists who settled in Russia in the 18th and 19th centuries. According to the Manifesto of Catherine II of 22 July, 1763 and the Decree of Alexander I of 20 February, 1804, which constituted the legal basis for the formation of foreign colonies, the settlers from German lands were granted a number of benefits and privileges, and they established more than 300 colonies of their own, mainly in the Volga region, in Ukraine and southern Russia, as well as in a number of other places in the Russian Empire. Very soon after the establishment of the Soviet power, as early as 1918, the first autonomous region in the RSFSR was created under the name of *Labour Commune of the Germans of the Volga Region*, which in 1923 was transformed into the ASSR of the Germans of the Volga Region whose capital was the city of Engels.

Almost immediately after the beginning of the so-called Great Patriotic War in 1941, by Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR on

28 August 1941, *On the Resettlement of Germans Living in the Volga Region, ASSR of Germans in the Volga Region*, the entire German population of the autonomous republic, as well as the Germans living in other regions, were deported (predominantly in the Kazakh SSR, as well as in Siberia and Altai). Soon thereafter, the autonomous republic itself was liquidated as an administrative unit, and by a new Decree of 7 September 1941, its territory was divided between its neighbouring Saratov and Stalingrad regions.

A total of almost half a million Germans were deported (figures vary according to different sources and among different authors). However, there is no direct documentary evidence that there were Gypsies (Roma and Sinti) among these deportees. Perhaps the only indirect testimony in this direction, although very uncertain, is the case of the Krist family (father and two daughters – Ambros Petrovich Krist, Anelya Ambrosievna Krist and Maria Ambrosievna Krist), ‘Gypsies’ by nationality (see Annex 1.1). Data on them are very scarce. Their place of residence is indicated as Saratov Oblast, in the town of Slavgorod. The town of Slavgorod, however, is located in Altai Krai, and many German colonists also lived there. So, it is not clear where the Krist family actually lived – in Volga German ASSR or in Altai Krai. In any case, however, the year of their conviction (1941) is indicated, i.e., we can assume that this happened in the fall of 1941 when the Volga German ASSR no longer existed, and the German population was deported (both from the former Autonomous Republic and from other regions of the USSR where they lived). There is no record of what sentences the family Krist received, but the documents show that they were “de-registered” in early 1956 in the Bashkir ASSR, which means that they were deported there (i.e., their sentence was “deportation”, like the sentences of all deported Germans). Their surname is unusual for Gypsies and is rather a German one. The available evidence gives us reasons to assume that the Krist family were Gypsies (more precisely Sinti), integrated into the German community (perhaps as a result of a mixed marriage), and deported together with the rest of the Germans.

The integration of Gypsy families into the community of German colonists who had settled in the Russian Empire in the 18th and 19th centuries should not be surprising. Today, small numbers of Sinti still live in the Russian Federation, Ukraine and Kazakhstan. Mostly, they are descendants of immigrants from Prussia to the Russian Empire in the late 19th and early 20th centuries who had mixed marriages with Roma. According to popular legends today, the Sinti had settled in the Russian Empire together with the German colonists since the 18th century. Such a pattern of Gypsy migration is not unrealistic – we have met descendants of Roma who had moved together with their fellow Bulgarians in the first half of the 19th century from the Bulgarian lands



(then part of the Ottoman Empire) to Bessarabia, Tavia and Crimea. However, whether this is the case with part of the Sinti living in the post-Soviet space is challenging to assess.

The lack of documentary evidence of the presence of Gypsies among the deported Germans is compensated by numerous oral history testimonies from Gypsies (Roma and Sinti) living in the post-Soviet space (mostly in Kazakhstan, as well as in Russia). These testimonies, however, are not the type of narratives which raise serious doubt as to their correspondence to historical realities, such as the stories of distant ancestors who had settled in the Russian Empire together with the first German colonists in the 18th century. In this case, we refer to narratives about specific individuals who were well known to our interlocutors, i.e., their close relatives on the direct line (parents or their parents), who had lived until not long ago. Moreover, in most of these cases, the people are not Sinti (who, as already mentioned, were relatively very few) but representatives of various Roma groups, who actually lived with the Germans and were deported together with them (and whose descendants in most cases remained in today's Kazakhstan). Indeed, we already provided arguments why the evidence of oral history should not be accepted unreservedly; in this case, however, we cannot exclude such evidence, and we assume that at least some of it corresponds to the historical truth (even if there is a relatively small number of such cases).

In the course of the war, another mass deportation was carried out according to ethnic and ethno-confessional criteria, which also included Gypsies (in all probability not Roma, but from the Lom subdivision). On 31 July 1944, the State Defence Committee adopted Decree No. 6279cc (marked "top secret") for the deportation of all Meskhetian Turks, Meskhetians, Hemshins and Kurds (excluding women who entered into mixed marriages) living in the border strip of the Georgian SSR (Akhaltsoh, Adygen, Aspindz, Bogdanov regions and Adjara ASSR) in Central Asia (Kazakh SSR, Uzbek SSR and Kyrgyz SSR). By 17 November 1941, 25 echelons with 81,324 people were already sent to the east; among them two wagons with Gypsies (Бугай, 1995, p. 175; Полян, 2001, p. 129; Поболь & Полян, 2005, p. 523), i.e., maximum 80 people, based on the NKVD's rules for placing up to 40 deportees in one wagon.

It remains unclear from which Gypsy group were the deportees; in all probability, it is either Dom (called Garachi by the surrounding population in Azerbaijan; in Turkey – Karachi; in Iran – Sozmani) or Lom (called Boshia by the surrounding population in Armenia and Georgia; in Turkey – Posha). Both options are logical. It is possible that the Dom deportees lived together with the Kurds (most of them in the South Caucasus were Kurdish-speaking) and were deported as part of them; it is possible that they were Lom (most

of them in the South Caucasus were Armenian-speaking) who lived together with the Khevshins (Armenian-speaking Muslims) and were also Muslim (currently in Turkey most Posha are Muslim) (Marushiakova & Popov, 2016a). The second option seems more likely (many Christian Boshha live to this day in the Samtskhe-Javakheti region, in particular, the cities of Akhalkalaki and Akhaltsikhe, together with the local Armenian population) (Ibid.), but we cannot be completely sure.



The most complicated situation is with the Roma, who were deported in 1944, together with the Crimean Tatars, whose situation requires greater attention for two reasons. First, their number is significantly bigger than that of the Gypsies in the composition of other deported people during the war. Second, their group displayed a specific characteristic which does not exist (or at least it is not so clearly expressed) among other Roma in the former USSR – the presence of a preferred ethnic identity. As a result, they have become an integral (albeit distinct) part of the Crimean Tatar nationality, which was actually the main reason for their deportation together with the Crimean Tatars.

A few words about the deportation of the Crimean Tatars themselves, as well as the deportation of other nationalities living on the Crimean Peninsula. On 11 May 1944, the State Defence Committee issued Decree No. 5859cc *On the Crimean Tatars*. The Decree makes a number of accusations against the Crimean Tatars:

[...] betrayed the Motherland; deserted from the units of the Red Army defending the Crimea, and went over to the side of the enemy; joined the volunteer Tatar military units formed by the Germans, who fought against the Red Army; during the occupation of the Crimea by the Nazi troops, participating in the German punitive detachments, the Crimean Tatars were especially known by their brutal reprisals against Soviet partisans, and also helped the German invaders in organising the forcible deportation of Soviet citizens into German slavery and the mass extermination of Soviet people (Бурай, 2002, p. 74).

On this basis, the Decree mandated that: “All Tatars should be evicted from the territory of Crimea and settled permanently as special settlers in the Rayons of the Uzbek SSR. Eviction to be assigned to the NKVD of the USSR” (Ibid.).

For the implementation of this Decree, on 13 April 1944, the NKVD and the NKGB of the USSR jointly adopted a Decree *On the Measures to Clean the Territory of the Crimean ASSR from Anti-Soviet Elements*. The mass deportation of the Crimean Tatars was carried out within three days, from 18 to 20 May 1944,

with additional activities (deportation of the omitted persons) continuing until 4 June 1944. The deportation was carried out by specially composed train echelons; the deportees were allowed to take with them personal property up to 500 kg per family; the rest of their real estate, as well as their domestic animals, were nationalised by the Soviet state.

The results of the operation to evict the Crimean Tatars were reviewed by the Bureau of the Crimean Obkom of VKP(b). The minutes of the meeting dated 14 October 1944 noted that: “In May 1944, 194,111 Tatars were deported. [Of these] 151,529 Crimean Tatars were settled in Uzbekistan, the rest were sent to other regions of the country” (Бурай, 2012, p. 34). It should be specified that 151,720 people were sent to the Uzbek SSR from the Crimean ASSR, and 191 of them died on the way (Земсков, 2014). In the Uzbek SSR, the deportees were resettled mainly in the Tashkent, Samarkand, Andijan and Fergana regions, and the rest were scattered throughout the RSFSR – in the Udmurt ASSR, Mari ASSR, as well as in Sverdlovsk, Molotov (Perm), Kostroma, Gorky, Moscow and other regions (Полян, 2001, pp. 127–128; Поболь & Полян, 2005, p. 492).

Deportations from the Crimean Peninsula did not end there. On 2 June 1944, a new Resolution of the State Defence Committee of the USSR No. 5984cc (marked “secret”) *On the eviction of the Bulgarians, Greeks, Armenians from the Crimean ASSR*, obliged the NKVD, “in addition to the eviction [...] of the Crimean Tatars, to evict from the territory of the Crimean ASSR [...] German accomplices from among the Bulgarians, Greeks and Armenians” (Бурай, 1992, p. 141–142). A total of 33,349 people were deported to the Guryev region of the Kazakh USSR, in the Kemerovo, Molotov, Sverdlovsk and Kirov regions, the Bashkir ASSR and the Mari ASSR (Полян, 2001, p. 128; Зарубин, 2004, pp. 181–182).

After the expulsion operations from Crimea, special orders mandated the dismissal from the ranks of the Red Army of soldiers belonging to the deported nationalities and their deportation to special settlements. This measure applied to everyone except senior officers and (it is noteworthy) political workers (political officers) (Зарубин, 2004). On July 4, Beria reported to Stalin that the eviction of Tatars, Bulgarians, Greeks, and Armenians from Crimea had been completed, and “there were no incidents during the eviction operation on the ground and along the way” (Бурай, 1992, p. 144). In total, 225,009 people were evicted, including 183,155 Tatars, 12,422 Bulgarians, 15,040 Greeks, 9,621 Armenians, etc. (Земсков, 1995). The Gypsies are not specifically noted in this enumeration of deported peoples, but two special instructions sent to various units of the Red Army ordered that repatriates (meaning captured Soviet soldiers) originating from Crimea be sent directly to the deportation

centres in the administrative units where the respective nationalities had been displaced – the Crimean Tatars in Tashkent, and the “Crimean Armenians, Greeks, Bulgarians, Gypsies, [...] at the disposal of the NKVD of the Sverdlovsk Oblast” (Лавинская & Захаров, Vol. 1, pp. 267; 426–427).

The presence of Gypsies among the deportees from the Crimea is undoubted. This is clear from the special report *On the Number of Special Settlers-Gypsies Evicted from the Crimean ASSR* from 1949, which indicated not only their total number but also the places of their displacement: “1,109 people were deported from the Crimean region, of which 137 people were sent to the Uzbek SSR, 191 people to the Tajik SSR, 20 people to the Bashkir ASSR, 30 people to the Mari ASSR, to the Sverdlovsk region – 299 people, Molotov Oblast – 81 people, Kostroma Oblast – 22 people, Kemerovo Oblast – 80 people” (Бурай & Гонов, 2003, p. 570, No. 54). However, this is definitely not the entire Gypsy population which was deported from Crimea. This assumption is confirmed by the materials of the *Memorial Society* for the Krasnoyarsk region, which include the names of 15 people of Gypsy nationality who were explicitly noted as having been deported from the Crimea (see Annex No. 1.1). The Krasnoyarsk Krai is not included in the aforementioned places in which the Gypsies from the Crimea were deported, i.e., in addition to these 1,109 Gypsies, there were others, displaced in other areas.

Moreover, there is an interesting fact in relation to the deportation of Gypsies to the Krasnoyarsk Krai, which is worth mentioning. Eleven out of those fifteen deportees to the Krasnoyarsk Krai were deported on 17 June 1944, and one of them, on 27 June 1944 (which is probably a typographical or misreading error); for the others, no date of their deportation is given. In any case, this deportation took place after the official completion of the deportation of the Crimean Tatars (see above), which means that the Gypsies were deported under the Decree *On the Eviction of Bulgarians, Greeks and Armenians*, i.e., they were not included in the composition of the Crimean Tatars during their deportation. In all likelihood, the Gypsies were overlooked at that time and were included in a subsequent deportation, together with three other Gypsy women from this list, who were deported to the Bashkir ASSR in 1944 (no exact date given), where no Crimean Tatars were previously deported.

As stated above, on 1 January 1953, the number of adult special settlers (over 17 years old) Gypsies (in general, including those from Crimea) totalled 1,063 people (Бурай & Гонов, 2003, p. 351, No. 25). The problem with the number of the Gypsies deported from the Crimea is not limited to the available documentary information about them but also has other, deeper dimensions.

The first problematic issue concerns the size of the Gypsy population living in the Crimea before their deportation, as viewed historically. In this

regard, there was a contradictory development over the years. The Census in the Taurida Oblast (including, in addition to Crimea, three more counties) in 1784 (i.e., almost immediately after the annexation of the Crimea to the Russian Empire in 1783) reported 723 Gypsy families called ‘Chingene’ (Кондараки, 1875, p. 72); a new Census in 1793, reported 3,225 Gypsies (Паллас, 1999, p. 147). The following Censuses reported 7,726 Gypsies in the Crimea in 1837 (Смирнова-Сеславинская, 2016, p. 20) and about 7,500–8,000 in 1862 (Филоненко, 1930, p. 77; Crowe, 1994, p. 170). At the Census in 1897, 1,433 people were registered in the Taurida Governorate – 944 Gypsies in the Crimean Peninsula (Тройницкий, Vol. 41, pp. 94–97). This figure, however, concerns only the Romani-speaking population, which is recorded in the column “mother tongue” in this Census. This does not mean a sharp decline in the number of the Gypsy population in the Crimean Peninsula (cf. Филоненко, 1930, p. 77), but a transition from Romani to Tatar mother tongue and a corresponding increase in the number of Tatar-speaking Gypsies, which is connected with changes in their ethnic self-identification. These processes also explain the data from the next two Censuses.

The first Census in the conditions of the USSR was held in 1926. Before that, in April 1921, a preliminary census in Crimea counted 3,076 people who self-identified as Gypsies (Предварительные итоги, 1922), while at the actual Census in 1926, only 649 Gypsies were counted (Филоненко, 1930, p. 78). This drastic decrease has an explanation. In 1921, a mass famine broke out in Crimea (Николаенко, 2020), and in 1921–1922, many Gypsies fled from starvation and settled in the Kuban region. At the same time, the Gypsies who fled were only Romani-speaking (who at that time were generally nomads or semi-nomads), respectively with Gypsy self-identification (Торопов, 2003; 2004), which explains the sharp decline in the number of Gypsies in the Crimea, recorded by the Census in 1926. Gradually, the situation with the Gypsies in the Crimea stabilised, and in the 1939 Census, already 2,064 people declared themselves as Gypsies (Всесоюзная перепись, 1939).

The changes in the number of Gypsies living on the Crimean Peninsula are directly related to the transformation of their identity over the years. There is no point going into the details of identity formation and development among the Gypsy communities living on the Crimean Peninsula because these processes were discussed by many authors in recent years (Мемишев, 1996; Marushiakova & Popov, 2004; Мамчиц, 2010ab; Заатов, 2015ab; Смирнова-Сеславинская, 2016). It suffices to say that by the time of the deportations in 1944, there were already two clearly demarcated Gypsy communities in the Crimea.

The first community comprised the descendants of the first Roma settlers on the Crimean Peninsula, probably in the 16th and 17th centuries (at least, this is the time of the first historical records about them). They arrived from the Ottoman Empire (in which the Crimea had the status of a Vassal Khanate); they had previously lived in Asia Minor (the city of Mersin is most often mentioned in their oral history) and/or the Balkans and settled in the cities of the Crimean Peninsula. The local Tatar population called them 'Chingene', while they defined themselves as 'Daifa' or 'Taifa' (depending on the dialects of the Crimean Tatar language they spoke); the separate subdivisions of the group are now only a memory. Over time, they lost their Romani language and became completely Tatar-speaking. The common life, language, and Muslim religion with the Crimean Tatars had been the factors that determined over the centuries the processes of the so-called preferred ethnic identity, i.e., the majority of them publicly declare (and actually feel themselves) as Tatars, although they have preserved (including nowadays) their identity as a separate subdivision within the Crimean Tatar community (Marushiakova & Popov, 2004). Ethnic identity changes of various natures (assimilation of one community by another, merging of two or more communities into one whole, etc.) constantly occur in human history, and the case of Daifa/Taifa is by no means a unique one. It is interesting to note that when in the 1920s, the Soviet authorities tried to integrate the Daifa/Taifa into the Gypsy community, they accepted the state support offered to them but maintained their separateness and insisted on being called not 'Gypsies' but 'Demirdzhi', and it was with this name that their national club was founded (Красный Крым, 1928, p. 3). The memory of these events is preserved in their oral history, which tells the story of a letter written by their representatives to the then head of the TsIK of the Crimean ASSR, Veli Ibrahimov, with similar requests (such letter has not been found).

The second subdivision of the Gypsy community, living on the Crimean Peninsula in the interwar period, was the Krimy/Krimurya or Kırmitika/Kırmltika Roma (Kırım is the Tatar name for Crimea). The ancestors of the Krimy migrated from the Balkans, probably in the second half of the 17th century, within migration waves from the south-west to the north-east. Moving through the principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia, through Budzhak and through the steppes of the Northern coast of the Black Sea, they reached the Crimean Peninsula and settled there in two waves (in the last quarter of the 18th century and in the first quarter of the 19th century), where they were called *Ayudzhi* (bear-leaders, from the Crimean-Tatar language), although they themselves, as well as the *Ursari* (bear-leaders, from the Romanian language) in the Republic of Moldova, who are their relatives by the spoken Romani

dialect, have no a memory of having ever led dancing bears. In the 19th century, the Krimurya had already settled permanently on the Crimean Peninsula. They usually spent the winter in the cities along the southern coast of the peninsula and, during the warm season, travelled around the villages in the steppe regions of the Northern Crimea. Towards the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries, the territories covered by the nomads expanded into the adjacent steppe regions to the north and east beyond the Crimea and (at least according to their oral history) perhaps further north (Ibid.). In the conditions of the USSR, parts of the Krimurya started migrating outside the peninsula – the already mentioned migration of large parts of the community in the Kuban region in 1921–1922; in Moscow, in the 1930s (where they worked as subway builders); as well as in the Ukrainian SSR, wherein the local authorities in Kryvyi Rih tried to create in 1928 a Gypsy organisation for them (TsDAVO, f. 413, op. 1, spr. 34). During the mass famine in 1932–1933, parts of them migrated from southern Russia to Georgia (Торопов, 2003, p. 12; Marushiakova & Popov, 2016a). At present, the Krimurya live scattered across huge territories in most of the former Soviet republics.

The problem facing modern researchers is actually the same one that the NKVD authorities had faced in 1944, namely, how to treat Daifa/Taifa – as Gypsies/Roma or as Crimean Tatars (the situation with the Krimurya was clear, or at least should have been). In a broader sense, this problem continues to be relevant today, and not only for Daifa/Taifa, but also for many other communities, who do not wish to be perceived as ‘Gypsies’, and publicly express (or actually experience) their belonging to another ethnic community, or even create a new ethnic identity for themselves, different from Gypsy/Roma (Marushiakova & Popov, 2015b).

In the case of the deportation of the Crimean Tatars in 1944, the authorities of the NKVD were aware of the problem, as can be seen in the data on Abdullah Fetta Alimov (see Annex 1.1). There, it is explicitly noted that he is “a Gypsy according to documents; in his words, Tatar”. Ultimately, NKVD solved this issue unambiguously – accepted all Tatar-language Gypsies (Daifa/Taifa) as Crimean Tatars and deported them with the latter as part of them.

Put in parentheses, the case of Abdullah Fetta Alimov is a clear example of the diversity and even the contradictions of historical realities. He was sentenced to 6 years ITL on the charge that “during the occupation, he joined the Muslim committee, collected money for the maintenance of the committee, utensils and equipment for the organised canteen; recruited two men into the German army”. At the same time, the German occupiers killed his parents and brother in 1942, and his two brothers served in the Red Army (see Annex 1.1).

The issue with the Krimurya, who should not have been deported, was more complicated. However, the NKVD had taken precautions and, in all probability, also included the Krimurya in the deportations (perhaps the logic was that they, like the Crimean Tatars, were Muslims and had Muslim names). There is no documentary evidence of the deportation of the Krimurya (in the sense that they were not designated as a separate community in the official documentation), but the memories in the oral history are categorical in this regard. There is an interesting circumstance related to this deportation: All these memories and narratives assert with certainty that, within a few years of their deportation, the Krimurya were released, after proving that they were Gypsies and not Tatars. Allegedly, the decisive criterion for this was that they spoke the Romani language. However, there is no documentary evidence of such early releases. On the other hand, in the late 1980s, all restrictions for the deported Crimean Tatars (and Daifa/Taifa living in deportation along with them) were removed, and they were allowed to return to Crimea; it turned out that there were no Krimurya among the returnees, and those of them who had been deported, had long since left the places of their deportation, and had resettled throughout the USSR. The most logical explanation for what had happened is that the Krimurya had run away from the places of their deportation and continued their nomadic lifestyle. Most likely, this happened before the adoption of the Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Council, dated 26 November 1948, *On Criminal Liability for Escapes from Places of Compulsory and Permanent Settlement of Persons Evicted to Remote Areas of the Soviet Union During the Great Patriotic War*, which tightened the control over the special settlers (in this case the Crimean Tatars and the Gypsies deported together with them). The resettlement from one Rayon to another within the places of deportation (apparently used for escaping) became possible only with the authorities' permission.

In light of the above, it would be logical to assume that the 1,109 Gypsies deported in 1944 from the Crimean Peninsula mentioned above were (at least most of them) Krimurya, while the Tatar-speaking Daifa/Taifa were deported together with the Crimean Tatars. However, this assumption is not at all certain. In the archival materials from the places of deportation, we managed to find only 25 names of Gypsies (see Annex No. 1.1), who, judging by their social profile, appear to be Daifa/Taifa representatives rather than Krimurya. It should also be borne in mind that the Krimurya, being nomads, were more mobile, and with the advance of the German army to the Crimea, many of them fled the peninsula in order to escape the occupation. Apparently, the Daifa/Taifa community also included people with a dominant Gypsy identity, who made up the bulk of the deportees.



In this situation, it is extremely difficult to estimate what part of the deported local population living in the Crimean Peninsula were Roma (more precisely, persons of Roma origin, regardless of their identity). In principle, this task does not have a solution because there is no criterion for determining the point at which a person of Roma origin, having adopted another (in this case Crimean-Tatar) identity and taken the path of voluntary assimilation into another ethnic community, ceases to be Roma. Accordingly, we cannot judge when a part of Daifa/Taifa ceased to be Roma and became Crimean Tatars. Therefore, we can only generally estimate the presence of at least several thousand people of Roma origin and different identities among the population of the Crimean Tatars, who were deported from the Crimean Peninsula in 1944.



Chronologically, the next round of mass deportations, which took place immediately after the end of World War II, was the so-called repatriation of Soviet citizens from Germany and its occupied territories, or more precisely, the return of Soviet prisoners of war, forcibly driven away to forced labour (so-called Ostarbeiters) and of refugees, in the period 1945–1952.

The mandatory repatriation of Soviet citizens was agreed upon at the Yalta meeting of Stalin, Roosevelt and Churchill. The bilateral Soviet-American and Soviet-British agreements on the mutual repatriation of Soviet, American and British citizens were concluded on 11 February 1945; a similar agreement with France was concluded on 26 June 1945 (Полян, 1996; Земсков, 2013).

Repatriation was mandatory only for Soviet citizens. All other persons (for example, refugees to the West following the Civil War) were not subject to mandatory repatriation. There were, however, exceptions to this rule, the most significant one being the handover by the British to the Russians of the so-called Cossack army of Ataman Krasnov, which had fought in the ranks of the German army. The mandatory repatriation should not be understood as a return of almost all Soviet citizens to the USSR against their will. Residents of the Baltic States, Western Ukraine, Western Belarus, Right-Bank Moldova and Northern Bukovina (i.e., the territories annexed by the USSR after the beginning of World War II) who met the end of the war in regions that became part of the American, British and French occupation zones in Germany, were given the right of free choice (unlike those who were in the Soviet occupation zone). The majority of them refused to return to the USSR. From the fall of 1945 onwards, in the context of the looming Cold War, the right of choice was gradually extended to all citizens of the USSR in the three occupation zones (Ibid.).

The repatriation of Soviet citizens of various categories began already during the war in 1944 and basically ended in 1946, although the process continued (on a much-limited scale) until 1952. The largest number of repatriates came from Germany (3,222,545 people), but there were also people from Austria, Romania, France, Poland, Finland, Norway, Italy, Czechoslovakia, Great Britain, Yugoslavia, Belgium, Switzerland, Denmark, USA, Bulgaria, Hungary, Sweden, Greece, Albania, etc. (Земсков, 2013, pp. 265–266).

The bulk of the repatriates were tested and filtered in front-line and army camps, the Assembly and Transit Points of the People's Commissariat of Defence, and the Checking and Filtration Points of the NKVD. Those who were identified as "suspicious" (the so-called special contingent) were usually sent for a more thorough check to the NKVD special camps, renamed in February 1945 to NKVD Check-Filtration Camps.

From among the repatriates, the following persons were subject to arrest and trial: the leadership and command staff of the police; the Russian Liberation Army of General Vlasov; the national legions and other similar organisations; ordinary police officers and ordinary members of the aforementioned organisations, who took part in punitive expeditions or were active in the performance of their duties; former soldiers of the Red Army, who voluntarily defected to the side of the enemy; mayors; fascist officials; collaborators with the Gestapo and other German punitive and intelligence agencies; and village elders, who were active accomplices of the invaders (Ibid., pp. 252–253).

Most of the repatriates placed at the disposal of the NKVD (special contingent) were persons who had direct cooperation with the foreign conquerors and, thereby, were subject to the most severe punishment under the law for defecting to the side of the enemy in wartime. However, the Decree of the State Defence Committee of August 18, 1945, signed by Stalin, legalised the transfer to special settlements for a period of six years of persons who served in the enemy armies, treacherous formations, police, etc., i.e., the bulk of the special contingent in the Checking and Filtration camps of the NKVD (Ibid.).

Different authors display significant discrepancies in the estimates of the number of repatriates. Most discussions refer to two main figures obtained from different sources – 5,457,856 people, according to the Soviet edition *History of the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union* (Поспелов, 1965, Vol. 6, p. 107) and 4,305,035 people, according to data from Soviet archives (Земсков, 2013, pp. 265–266). We do not need to take a position on these figures or describe in detail the repatriation process itself and the further fate of the repatriates in the USSR; it is enough to focus only on the cases in which there is (or presumably there is) the presence of Roma. According to this criterion,

the refugees are excluded – it can hardly be assumed that Gypsies from the USSR fled to Germany. Similarly, it is difficult to imagine that among those forcibly sent to forced labour in Germany, there could be Gypsies (unless they managed to hide their nationality). Admittedly, different kinds of exceptions are always possible, but even if there were exceptions, their number would have been negligibly small. In fact, the main category of returnees, which certainly included at least some Roma, are prisoners of war, i.e., those Red Army fighters who were in captivity.

The number of the repressed Roma among the repatriates in the USSR cannot be defined precisely. In the statistical table reflecting the national composition of repatriated Soviet citizens (as of March 1, 1946), including a total of 4,440,901 people, the number of the Gypsies is completely absent, and they were included in the category ‘Others’ (Ibid., p. 264). This means that their number was less than that of several dozen other nationalities listed in the table. The national composition of the deportees accused of various forms of collaboration with the German army and the local occupation authorities elaborated in March 1949, is more detailed. This list contains 43 nationalities, and the possible presence of Gypsies in it is also within the category “Others” (Бердинских et al., 2015, p. 75). Given that the nationalities with the least number of people, which were explicitly mentioned in this list, are Komi (49 people), Dargins (48 people), Finns (46 people) and Lithuanians (41 people), the Gypsies among this contingent were supposedly less than 40 people, and the information about them is very scarce. Such is the case of the Gypsy man Iosip I. Kalishenko. Encircled, he was captured and sent to a concentration camp – first in Germany, then in Belgium, where he managed to escape and was hiding until the end of the war. After his repatriation to the USSR, he was convicted to *katorga* (penal servitude) and was released at the end of the 1940s (Романи Яг, 2004, p. 1). This case was far from being unique, and in all probability, there were also other Roma with a similar fate, although not many.

The mere possibility of catching Gypsies from the USSR in collaboration with the German army sounds not only very strange but even raises doubts about the credibility of such cases. However, in history, which as a science is based on specific real events, practically all kinds of exceptions are possible, no matter how improbable they may seem at first glance, or, as the late Lev Cherenkov liked to say, “everything could be”. Such is the evidence provided by the Report of the NKVD of the USSR No. 2926/B to the State Defence Committee *On the Arrest of a Group of German Intelligence Agents Transferred Across the Front Line to the Valday Region*, dated November 29, 1941, signed by Lavrenty Beria himself. The text of this Report makes it clear that a group of 17 people was detained while trying to cross the front line and that the group had been provided with false documents for work in the rear; its composition

was heterogeneous and included people of diverse backgrounds, including “six Gypsies” (Ямпольский, 2000, pp. 367–368, No. 707). There is no more information about who these Gypsies were and how they ended up in the German intelligence group, nor what their fate was after the detention (although it can plausibly be assumed that they were shot “according to the laws of wartime”). Even if this information reflects the truth, we believe these Gypsies cannot be included in the list of victims of political repression. In other cases, Roma, who were captured during the war, however few they may be, had a different fate. Alexander F. Kozlovsky was taken captive, but he managed to escape, and after wandering in the forest for quite some time, he returned to his people. As he did not have documents, he was sent to the penal military unit, where he served until his first injury (according to the principle adopted at that time, until he “washed away his guilt with blood”), after which he continued to fight in the regular military units (Бессонов, 2010, p. 328). In passing, the question of whether sending to penal military units should be considered a form of political repression is quite controversial because such penal units exist in many armies around the world.

Related to the repatriation of Soviet citizens after the Second World War, there is another curious case preserved by oral history. In the spring of 1945, the German Gypsy (Sinto) Lila Steinberger, released from a concentration camp in Częstochowa (Poland) by the Soviet Army due to a misunderstanding with the occupation authorities, was deported together with local Germans from Upper Silesia to work for the restoration of industrial sites in the Ukrainian SSR (in Dnipropetrovsk). In the early 1950s, upon his release by the Soviet authorities, he encountered a Gypsy (Roma) army major, who, after learning that Lila is a Gypsy, apologised to him for the “great injustice” and helped him return to his homeland (Jokisch, 1981).

With regard to the fate of the prisoners of war after the end of the Second World War, there is another interesting case that calls for reflection. According to the *Information on the Number of Prisoners of War of the Armed Forces of Germany and its Allied Countries Registered in the Camps of the NKVD of the USSR as of April 22, 1956*, which was prepared upon the release of the last prisoners of war, described according to their ‘nationality’, there were 383 Gypsies (Мухин, 2003, pp. 187–188). Apparently, this case concerns Gypsies, who served in the armies of Germany and its allies, fighting on the Eastern Front (Italy, Romania, Hungary, Slovakia, Finland). This information is confirmed by the Official Memorandum of the Minister of Internal Affairs of the USSR, S. N. Kruglov, to the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR, A. Ya. Vyshinsky, about the number of Hungarian prisoners of war in the camps and work battalions, dated May 23, 1947. The Memorandum reveals that “prisoners of war and internees with Hungarian citizenship, from other nationalities”

were a total of 8,811 people, including along with others, 187 Gypsies (Борисов et al., 2005, pp. 365–366).

The situation on the territory of the USSR during the Second World War was extremely diverse, which allows for multiple interpretations from different standpoints. In recent years, the fate of the Roma, who were deported from Romania to its newly annexed territories (the so-called Transnistria Governorate, between the rivers Dniester and Southern Bug), has become topical in academia. There are already dozens of academic publications revealing the tragic fate of the deported Roma. Their suffering cannot be underestimated, and at the same time, we should not overlook the fact that there is a different point of view to the colonisation of these new territories. Therefore, the more precise and more nuanced differentiation of the fate of the “colonisers” (deported Roma) and the “colonised” (the local Soviet population) is necessary. A Reference of the Pervomaysk Rayon Committee of the Communist Party(b) of Ukraine from June 1944 reveals how different the interpretation of the same events can be, reflected in different sources:

In impotent anger, the invaders rushed about, [...] they brought in their secret agents – Gypsies, brought in whole camps from Bessarabia and Romania. [...] The gendarmerie post, located in the village of Krymka, sent several Gypsy families to the flats [...] of the residents, and the Gypsies, feeling like masters, disposed of all the property of the suspect and, like bloodhounds, watched what was happening in the house and outside it. All these spies, gendarmes, and policemen hung around the neck of the labour community. [...] 63 Gypsies, secret agents, 12 gendarmes, 1 policeman, 2 employees of the village council and 1 gendarme agrikul were attached to the labour community to supply food, and there were 32 members of the labour community. The robbery of the population reached its climax (Бортников et al., 1949, Vol. 2, pp. 175–176)

This message once again confirms that in the course of historical research, it is necessary to review all heterogeneous (and even contradictory) historical testimonies, illuminating events and processes from different angles and giving opportunities for different interpretations if we want to obtain a comprehensive picture of the past.



The last round of mass deportations in the USSR took place in the years after the end of World War II (although some of them began already during the war) and continued until the early 1950s. These deportations were quite diverse in scope and took place in different territories (mainly those that were annexed to the USSR after the beginning and after the end of the Second World War).

In some cases, they were tied and mixed with the deportations of returnees (forcefully driven away to forced labour) and refugees.

It is not necessary to present here the detailed chronology, scope and territorial distribution of all these mass deportations (for more details see Полян, 2001; Земсков, 2003; Бердинских et al., 2015). Only some of the larger ones can be mentioned: the mass deportation by the Soviet military authorities of the Hungarian and German-speaking male population of military age from Transcarpathia, conducted in 1944–1945; the eviction of civilian population from Western Ukraine deep into the territory of the USSR (mainly to Siberia and Kazakhstan) in October 1947 (the so called *Zapad* [West] Operation) and in 1948; the deportations from the former Baltic states (Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania) in 1948 (the so called *Vesna* [Spring] Operation) and in 1949 (the so called *Priboy* [Surf] Operation in performance of the Decree of the Council of Ministers of the USSR of January 29, 1949, *On the Eviction from the Territory of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia of Kulaks with their Families, Families of Bandits and Nationalists who are in an Illegal Position, Killed in Armed Clashes and Convicted, Legalized Bandits who Continue to Conduct Enemy Work, and their Families, as well as Families of Repressed People Accomplices and Bandits*); the deportations in 1948 and 1949 from Moldova, Bessarabia and Bukovina of “former landowners, wealthy merchants, active accomplices of the German occupiers, persons who collaborated with the German police, members of pro-fascist parties and organisations, White Guards, as well as families of all of the above categories” (the so called *Yug* [South] Operation in performance of the Decree of the Council of Ministers of the USSR of February 6, 1949); the deportation of “kulaks, families of bandits, nationalists and repressed gang accomplices”, carried out in May-June 1950 from three Rayons of the Pskov Oblast, which were part of Latvia and Estonia before the war; etc. (Ibid.).

In 1948, a new contingent appeared in the special settlements. At the initiative of the First Secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine, Nikita Khrushchev, on February 21, 1948, the Council of Ministers of the USSR adopted a Resolution *On the Eviction from the Ukrainian SSR of Persons who Maliciously Evade Labour Activity in Agriculture and Lead an Antisocial Parasitic Life*. The Resolution was followed by a Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR on 2 June 1948, which expanded the reprisal sanctions against the so-called ‘parasites’ (*тунядцы*) to the whole country. The expulsion period established by these acts was 8 years; the decisions for deportation (the so-called public sentences) were delivered by the general kolkhoz meetings or *skhodka* (rural gatherings) acting as the so-called public courts and were subsequently submitted by the village councils to the Rayon Executive Committees for approval (Ibid.).

The presence of Roma in the composition of these mass deportations is unevenly reflected in oral history – there are preserved testimonies mainly from the regions of Moldova and some regions of Ukraine (Bessarabia and especially from Transcarpathia), while from the Baltic states and Western Ukraine, such testimonies are missing (or at least they are not known to us). There is some logic in this regional divergence. In the Baltics and Western Ukraine, during the war, Roma were victims of mass executions carried out by the occupying German forces, and especially by local collaborators such as the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists, to a much greater extent, while in the other regions, which were annexed by Germany's allies (Transcarpathia by Hungary, Moldova and Bessarabia by Romania), the measures against the Roma were episodic. In this regard, it should be borne in mind that Transcarpathia, which was home to a large number of Roma, was annexed to the USSR after the end of the Second World War, and in this region, large parts of the Roma had lost their Romani language and were Hungarian-speaking (cf. the information above for the deportation of the Hungarian-speaking male population of military age in 1944).

The documentary evidence of the presence of Roma in the composition of the post-war mass deportations is fragmentary and does not present the overall picture of the processes. Two examples reveal the existing chaos in the Soviet bureaucratic machine (at least in relation to the Gypsies).

A letter from the Assistant to the Commissioner of the Council of Ministers of the USSR for Repatriation Affairs, addressed to the Head of the Resettlement Department at the Council of Ministers of the RSFSR, dated April 19, 1946, reads:

According to the information we have, late in the evening on April 18, 1946, at the Likhobory station, from the railway echelon heading to the station Sverdlovsk – N[ovo]sibirsk, 156 Gypsies who were sent by the head of the Repatriation Department of the Lviv Oblispolkom [Regional Executive Committee] to settle in these areas, fled. There are no documents for this group of Gypsies in the Office of the Commissioner of the Council of Ministers of the USSR for repatriation since this dispatch was not agreed with us, and we know nothing about it. There is information that the Criminal Investigation Committee has taken measures to search for them, and some of the Gypsies were found in the Tishinsky market (Лавинская & Захаров, 2019, Vol. 1, pp. 598–599, No. 205).

The second case was more complicated and subject to a long official communication. From the communication file, it is clear that Lavrenty Beria himself, in his position as deputy chairman of the Soviet of Ministers of the USSR, insisted “on taking measures to clarify the circumstances of the arrival at the

Melitopol station of wagons with 200 Gypsy resettlers” and requested “instruction to the Minister of Railways to expedite the dispatch of all Gypsies to their destination in the Arkhangelsk Oblast” (Гринько et al., 1996, p. 170). The investigation found the following:

The nomadic Gypsies who arrived at the Melitopol station on March 1 this year were travelling in nine warm wagons from the Sarny station of the Rovno Oblast of the Ukrainian SSR under the guise of being recruited for construction work in the city of Sevastopol. A total of 111 Gypsies, of which 20 men, 35 women and 56 children, arrived at the Sevastopol station on February 25 this year. It was established that no one recruited Gypsies to work in Sevastopol; the Gypsies did not have any documents by which it was possible to establish by whom and where they were sent and how they got the wagons. Due to the fact that Sevastopol is a fortified Rayon, the Department of the Ministry of Internal Affairs was instructed to take the Gypsies out of the Crimean region, after which, on March 1, they arrived at the Melitopol station (Зубкова & Жукова, 2010, pp. 415–417, No.No. 147–149).

In the end, it was decided to send the group to Kazakhstan; however, without orders about future action (Ibid.), i.e., it was left to the local authorities to decide what to do with them, and it is very likely (as was often the case) that the Gypsies continued with their nomadic lifestyle.

In conclusion, based on the presented materials, it is not possible to define the number of Roma victims for this round of post-war deportations (as well as for the previous ones). We can say with certainty that these deportations undoubtedly affected the Roma, although rather in isolated cases, and that the number of victims was not quite insignificant.



Based on all the historical materials presented in this chapter, several brief, at least preliminary, conclusions can be drawn about the Roma, who were victims of the mass political repressions implemented by virtue of administrative acts of the Soviet state during the considered historical period (until 1956).

First of all, it is not possible to calculate the exact number of Roma victims of these political repressions. Source data, in particular historical documentary evidence, is often more or less incomplete and, in some cases, quite fragmentary. Without denying the importance of oral history, generally, it cannot be very useful for this purpose. We have already noted that, for us, statistical data are not of primary importance for the overall assessment of historical events;



therefore, for the quantitative dimensions of these political repressions, we will be content with the approximate assessment made on the basis of the available (if any) quantitative data.

From this point of view, without going into detailed calculations and hypotheses, we can determine the number of Roma who were victims of mass political repression by administrative acts (at least based on the currently available historical sources) at approximately 7–8,000 people. This estimation does not have to be taken as the final possible one; should new historical sources and new data be discovered, the figure we provided might change, but at this stage, for us, it stands closest to the real one. If we also consider the case of Daifa/Taifa (Roma by origin, Tatars by publicly declared identity), the total number is about 10,000, a maximum of 12,000 persons.

In the second place, at least as important for us, is the question of the contextual assessment of the number of repressed Roma. This means, on the one hand, to assess what proportion of the entire community had suffered from this type of mass political repression and, on the other hand, to understand what their positions were compared with the representatives of other repressed nationalities in the USSR, during the considered historical period.

As already said, the statistical data on the total number of Gypsies in the USSR (61,234 people in 1926 and 88,242 people in 1939) clearly shows that the percentage of the victims within the community is not at all that small. Indeed, the figures in both cases (the total number and the number of victims) are not completely certain, and they were possibly underestimated, although the divergence is far from the estimations provided by the Roma activists in the past as well as nowadays. However, this does not invalidate the general conclusion that the victims of this type of political repression comprise more than one-tenth of the entire community, which is a relatively high share.

A complete analysis, providing the share of the victims in the total population, for the other nationalities which suffered from the mass political repressions in the USSR (there are actually no nationalities which were not affected, except perhaps the very small ones, ranging from a few dozen to a few hundred people), requires a huge number of calculations. Therefore, we limit ourselves only to the presentation of the *Information on the Composition of Special Settlers as of January 1953 (On the Number of Adult Special Settlers: 17 Years and Older)*:

Among the 1,810,140 adult special settlers [...] there were 788,975 Germans; 183,445 Chechens; 163,653 Ukrainians; 111,037 Tatars; 75,024 Lithuanians; 56,589 Russians; 53,019 Kalmyks; 46,303 Ingushs; 40,590 Greeks; 37,225 Karachays; 33,102 Laks; 31,654 Poles; 29,848 Turks; 25,873 Moldovans; 20,860 Azerbaijanians; 20,238 Armenians; 19,762 Balkarts; 16,070 Estonians; 11,432 Bulgarians; 7,169 Georgians;

6,621 Belarusians; 5,168 Jews; 4,993 Kurds; 3,459 Uzbeks; 2,072 Kazakhs; 1,572 Kabardints; 1,352 Gagauzs; 1,257 Assyrians; 1,237 Tajiks; 1,063 Gypsies; 977 Romanians; 720 Hemshins; 616 Ossetians; 529 Bashkirs; 520 Chuvashes; 480 Mordvins; 430 Turkmen; 399 Kyrgyz; 380 Iranians; 375 Karelians and Finns; 375 Kumyks; 338 Adzharts; 313 Avars; 265 Lazs; 212 Karakalpaks; 193 Udmurts; 183 Czechs; 174 Circassians; 174 Yezidis; 160 Abazins; 153 Abkhazians; 127 Lezgins; 123 Maris; 122 Buryats; 90 Adyghees; 74 Hungarians; 61 Austrians; 59 Nogays; 50 Dargins, and 721 others. [...] Ministry of Internal Affairs of the USSR (Бырай & Гонов, 2003, p. 351, No. 25).

Of course, these figures should not be taken for granted, either in terms of their representativeness or their persistence over the years (e.g., most of the deported Poles at that time were already released and returned to Poland). Still, nevertheless, they give a clear enough idea of the state of affairs in the matter of interest to us. Based on these statistics, which in our opinion reflect (at least to some extent) the existing realities, it can be concluded that in the “ranking” (however inappropriate and even immoral this term sounds in this case) of nationalities which suffered from the specific type of mass political repression discussed in this chapter, the Gypsies occupy a place somewhere around the golden mean.

In the third place (but perhaps first in importance) is the question of how the repressions against the Roma relate to the general socio-political and national policy of the USSR. In simple terms, the main question for us is whether the repressions against the Gypsies were an adverse differentiation based on their ethnicity (or nationality, according to the official terminology at the time) or they were a component of the general policies in the Soviet society, which affected the Gypsies as an integral part of it. The presented materials clearly support the second assumption, leaving no doubt that the repression against the Roma can be explained only in the context of the general policy of mass political repressions in the USSR during the considered historical period. The fact that in some cases (notably in the case of the mass deportation of Gypsies from the Moscow suburbs in 1933), repressions were focused specifically on the Gypsies does not change the general conclusion that for the Soviet authorities, the repressions against the Gypsies were only a small episode of the general policy of mass repressions (clearly, far from being the most important and the most significant one).

By means of conclusion, we provide a comparison which is worth reflection. As revealed by the information of the Soviet Ministry of Interior cited above, the number of repressed Assyrians (*Aysori*) is almost 200 people more than the repressed Gypsies (Roma). In this regard, we should bear in mind that the Gypsies and the Assyrians were among the few nationalities in the

USSR without their own compact territory, who lived scattered not only across the USSR but also across the world. For this reason, in many cases, the Soviet authorities had the same approach, sometimes even combining their activities with regard to the two nationalities (see Marushiakova & Popov, 2021, pp. 913, 931, 998). However, the data from the USSR population censuses shows serious differences in the sizes of the two nationalities: Gypsies – 61,234 people in 1926; 88,242 people in 1939; vs. Assyrians – 9,808 in 1926; 20,256 in 1939. Has anyone heard, anywhere in the world, a discussion about anti-Assyrian policies or structural anti-Assyrianism in the USSR?

## Victims of Judicial (Quasi-Judicial) Decisions

This chapter presents the fate of the Gypsies, who were victims of various types of judicial (or quasi-judicial) decisions. The formulation ‘judicial (or quasi-judicial) decisions’ refers to an instrument of political violence for the consolidation and development of the new Soviet state (originally called RSFSR, formally USSR from 1922) after the so-called Great October Socialist Revolution in 1917.

The creation of the USSR announced on December 30, 1922, was a direct outcome of the Civil War, in which the Gypsies had a limited role. The lower level of social integration of the community/communities in the conditions of the Russian Empire meant that the vast majority of the Gypsies were politically indifferent. There were of course, quite a few exceptions, and those representatives of the Roma community who participated in the war split between the two warring parties.

On the one side was the so-called Gypsy musical elite (the participants in the Gypsy choirs) in the two metropolises (St Petersburg and Moscow), whose livelihood and overall lifestyle was closely tied to the upper aristocracy and the big bourgeoisie (including a number of mixed marriages in these circles). Their political orientation was logically towards the so-called Whites (the diverse group of opponents to the so-called Reds, i.e., the Bolsheviks and other left forces). There is no specific information to what extent individual Roma directly participated in the Civil War. Still, there is no doubt that significant parts of this specific stratum of the Roma community became part of the so-called White emigration, which refused to accept the new Soviet state.

The centre of Gypsy immigration in the 1920s and 1930s was Paris, where representatives of the Gypsy musical elite continued their usual activities as performers in Russian restaurants, bars and cabarets in the Russian immigration circles (Kazansky, 1978). Moreover, in the conditions of immigration, Gypsy music, songs, and dances became one of the public symbolic markers of the Russian national identity abroad (such as vodka, caviar, blinis, matryoshka dolls, balalaika, etc.). To some extent, this situation has been preserved until today (at least in Russian restaurants around the world).

The immigration of Roma to China during and after the Civil War presents an interesting case. The centre of immigration was initially Harbin and then Shanghai, where the Gypsies formed a colony. After the end of the Second World War, the majority of the Roma in Shanghai returned to the USSR by

virtue of an agreement between the Soviet state and the People's Republic of China. Their descendants still live in Odesa and have retained their identity as a separate, small endogamous sub-group of Kelderari, with the self-name Kitayako Rrom or Kitaytsurya (Kitajako Rrom or Kitajcurja), Shanghaiysi (Šanxajci), and other similar names (Marushiakova & Popov, 2004). Several Roma families had left Shanghai for Latin America (Vishnevsky, 1999; 2006).

The participation of quite a few Roma on the side of the so-called Reds in the Civil War also has its logical explanation. At the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, parts of the Roma who had been nomadic started gradually settling in the villages (mainly in Ukraine and in North-Western Russia) and in small towns of the Russian Empire. They lived in rented dwellings and began adapting their old nomadic occupations to the new circumstances of living in a small region with wage labour. Their children started attending school and received some minimal education, which allowed them at a later stage to discover new revolutionary ideas about radical social and political transformations in the Russian Empire.

The first manifestation of the increased civic activity among the Roma in this regard was the participation of Ignaty Antonenko in the Sorochynsk Uprising with a centre the town of Velyki Sorochyntsi in the Poltava region of Ukraine (December 1905–January 1906), which was part of the First Russian Revolution (1905–1907) (Marushiakova & Popov, 2021, pp. 21–24).

In this context, it is not surprising that a number of Roma volunteered in the Red Army during the Civil War. Such is the case of Andrey Taranov, who was included in the famous First Cavalry Army led by Semyon Budyonny and participated in a number of important battles – the battles of Kastornoe and Debaltsevo in 1919; in the capture of Rostov-on-Don; and in the liberation of Kiev from the Polish army, in 1920. In the same year, in the Lvov region, he received a sabre wound in the right hand and was recognised as disabled in the Civil War, but he continued his military service, participating in the cleansing of Byelorussia from the forces of Stanisław Bułak-Bałachowicz and in the fight against the Basmachi movement in the region of Samarkand, in Central Asia. In 1921, Andrey Taranov was accepted as a member of the VKP(b) and was sent to study at the Communist University of the Toilers of the East named after J. V. Stalin in Moscow, which prepared cadres for the national nomenclature of the USSR. Following his studies at the university, he was sent by a Party decision to head the emerging All-Russian Union of the Gypsies (Marushiakova & Popov, 2022, pp. 428–429). Some Gypsy activists in the early USSR also have similar stories, e.g., Mikhail Bezlyudsky, who took part in the establishment of the Soviet power in Georgia in 1921 as a volunteer in the Red Army (Ibid., pp. 451–452). Other Gypsy activists were 'Red Partisans' (irregular armed units

involved in the Civil War). Such were, e.g., Alexander Krikunov, who organised one of the first Gypsy collective farms of former nomads in the newly established Krikunovo khutor in today's Rostov region, in 1926 (Marushiakova & Popov, 2021, pp. 836–842); Nikolay Bizev (Biz-Labza) from the city of Hlukhiv, the first Gypsy activist in the Ukrainian SSR (Ibid., p. 732); and Ivan Sorochinsky, a famous actor at the Theatre *Romen*, who fought as a partisan, and then in the ranks of the Red army, against Admiral Kolchak's troops in Siberia (Бессонов, 2010, p. 242). Unfortunately, almost nothing is known about A. I. Vishnevsky, Chairman of the first Gypsy kolkhoz in Kazak (later Kazakh) ASSR, established in 1927. He was a holder of the Order of the Red Banner, the highest Soviet order at the time, which was awarded to the heroes of the Civil War (Marushiakova & Popov, 2021, pp. 1000–1001).

It should be noted that, along with the Roma who volunteered for the Red Army and the Red Partisans, many other Roma were regularly mobilised and also served in the Soviet Army during the Civil War. Among the Gypsy activists in the early USSR are, for example Nikolay Pankov (Marushiakova & Popov, 2021, p. 532) and Alexander German. The latter claimed to have fought in the Civil War “on almost all fronts” (this standard phrase was frequently repeated) in his Autobiographies and public presentations, but in fact, his military service was not as heroic as he presented it. He worked initially in Petrograd (Saint Petersburg) as a clerk and head of the army warehouse and after that in Oryol as a clerk in the local military establishments (Ibid., p. 556).

Interesting and even somewhat curious is the case of Ivan Lebedev (later known as Rom-Lebedev), a leading Gypsy activist in the 1920s, secretary of the All-Russian Union of the Gypsies, later a famous artist, playwright and artistic director of the Theatre *Romen*. During the Civil War, he participated both in the White Army and in the Red Army. In his autobiography, he explained his departure from Moscow to the south in 1918, with stereotypical phrases about the Gypsies' aspirations for a free life and distant lands, as well as with his childhood dream of seeing the sea (Ром-Лебедев, 1990, pp. 103–104). He presented his military service in the Volunteer Army of General Denikin and in the army of Baron Wrangel as “forced mobilisation”, and when in 1920, the Soviet troops entered Crimea, he put a “red bandage” on his sleeve and enlisted as a volunteer in the Red Army (Ibid., pp. 127–140; for details, see Бессонов, 2007; Marushiakova & Popov, 2022, p. 408).

This case is not unique. The fate of Stepan Savin was similar, however, with a tragic end. He was born in 1899 in the village of Kenon, in the Transbaikalian Oblast. He first served in the ranks of the White Army and then transferred to the so-called People's Revolutionary Army of the Far Eastern Republic (a formally independent state created as a buffer zone between the USSR and

Japan, which existed from 1920 to 1922, when it became part of the USSR). He was a member of the VKP(b), and in the 1930s, he worked as a shopkeeper. In 1938, he was accused of propaganda and agitation against the Soviet power and was shot dead (cf. Annex 1.2).

In the conditions of the Civil War, with millions of victims, it is extremely difficult to distinguish by formal criteria who were the victims of mass political repression. In fact, such a distinction, to a large extent (if not completely), is impossible and meaningless because the war itself is a form of political violence, and all who suffered in the war are de facto its victims. Therefore, in this case, we adopt the approach of the International Historical, Educational, Charitable and Human Rights Society *Memorial*, and we include in the list of the Roma victims of political repression during the Civil War only those who were subjected to repression by a judicial (or quasi-judicial) decision of the Soviet institutions.

The database *Book of Memory* of Gypsies, victims of mass political repressions in the USSR, prepared for this edition and included as a separate appendix, and in particular, Annex 1.2, which is dedicated to the Gypsies repressed by a judicial (quasi-judicial) decision, includes a total of 640 persons (including 56 Roma women). This database is a very good basis for both a general and a more detailed analysis. We have already noted that the number of victims included in this database is (probably) incomplete. Nevertheless, the database can be considered not merely representative but overly representative with respect to the actual number of these victims. This means that the conclusions drawn on this basis are to an extremely high degree valid for the entire population, i.e., for the Gypsies, who were victims of the mass political repressions in the USSR in general, even if their number was not fully established with certainty (which is hardly possible).

There is one critical consideration in analysing the materials in this database. It is about the so-called secondarily repressed persons, i.e., convicted during their stay in ITL or ITK, where they are already serving the punishments received under previous convictions (regardless of whether it was on criminal or political charges). When there are cases of secondarily repressed persons with criminal charges, we don't reflect them in these statistics (but discuss them separately). Only in cases when there was a second, third, etc., sentence on political charges is this explicitly stated. As a result, the number of those who were arrested, investigated, and sentenced (or acquitted) on political charges is higher than the number of the repressed, i.e., we included in the database not only the first arrest and investigation on political charges but also the subsequent arrests and investigations, with the respective explanations. Summarising, there are 640 'Gypsies' (including 56 Roma women), against

whom 679 acts of political repression were carried out (in 62 cases of them against Roma women).

This discrepancy leads to a disparity in the figures between the number of repressed and acts of political repression used in the database analysis for repressed Gypsies, victims of judicial (quasi-judicial decisions) according to the analysis criteria used. In some cases, this analysis (e.g., by gender, year and place of birth, education, etc.) is within 640 people, while in other cases (e.g., by date and place of arrest, charges filed, sentences issued, etc.), it is within 680 instances of repression.



The first important criterion by which we analyse the database of the repressed Gypsies included in the *Book of Memories* is chronology. This analysis allows us to establish the scale and dynamics of political repressions affecting the Gypsies over the years. We accept the date of arrest as an indication of the year of repression because it was often the case that the person was charged and sentenced (or released) in the following calendar year. According to the above-mentioned criteria for determining the category of politically repressed during the Civil War (1918–1923), the number of repressed Gypsies during this period was quite small.

In 1918 and 1919, there were no reports of politically repressed Gypsies.

In 1920, two people were repressed, including one woman. Interestingly, the first politically repressed Gypsy in the conditions of the Soviet state was a woman – Agafena Yeremenkova, born in 1850, illiterate, living in the village of Borovskiy, in the Kostanay Oblast of today's Kazakhstan (at that time in the Chelyabinsk Governorate of the RSFSR). On August 26, 1920, she received a conditional sentence of six years of imprisonment on a charge under Art. 58–10 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR (propaganda and agitation against the Soviet power) by the Chelyabinsk Governorate CheKa. It is unclear what kind of propaganda and agitation was carried out by a 70-year-old illiterate woman; however, she remained at large with the conditional sentence. The other politically repressed Gypsy in 1920 was Lukyan Denyakin, living in the village of Pestraya, Tyukalinsky Uyezd of Omsk Governorate, who was accused of counter-revolutionary activity by the Omsk Governorate CheKa, but the case was dropped for lack of evidence, and he was released.

In 1921, for the first time, two Gypsies in the USSR received effective sentences on political charges. One of them was Nikolay Slichenko, living in the village of Krasino, Korotoyaksk Uyezd, Voronezh Governorate, who was accused of participating in counter-revolutionary activities and was sentenced



to two years ITL by the Voronezh Governorate CheKa. The other one was Adam Gavatsky, born in the city of Suwalki, present-day Poland (at that time part of the Russian Empire), illiterate, without a permanent job, without a registered residence (i.e., leading a nomadic lifestyle). He was accused of espionage in favour of Poland (the case was a few months after the end of the Soviet-Polish war) and was sentenced by the Commission of the CheKa (in the documentation, it is written OGPU, which is an obvious mistake – the CheKa was transformed into the OGPU in 1923) to two years ITL, which he served in the Novgorod ITL.

In 1922, there are no records of politically repressed Gypsies. In 1923, four Gypsies were politically repressed in Moscow. They were accused of espionage but were later released. Three of them (“Greek Gypsies” Chompi, Lilly and Ter-Karim) left the country, and Stepan (Ishtvan) Demeter remained in the USSR with his entire large family (see below for him). In 1924, there are no records of politically repressed Gypsies. In 1925, two Gypsies were politically repressed, the Nilovs brothers – Nil and Pyotr. They lived in the village of Berezhane, Ostrov Rayon, Pskov Oblast. They were classified as ‘socially dangerous elements’ (социально опасный элемент) by the OSO at the Board of the OGPU, and on this basis, without any specified charges, they were sentenced to three years of imprisonment. In 1926, there are no records of politically repressed Gypsies.

In 1927, only one person was politically repressed. According to the available data, Nikolay Yanko-Molchanov had a secondary education and worked as an automotive technician at the 4th Spartak State Automobile Plant in Moscow. He was charged with participation in a “counter-revolutionary terrorist group” and was sentenced to death by the OGPU Commission. This was the first Gypsy to receive the most severe punishment, the death penalty, the so-called VMN. His social profile, however, raises doubts about his Gypsy origin. Of course, it is possible that a Gypsy person had received secondary education before the October Revolution (although no other such case is known). Unfortunately, there is no additional information about the kind of “counter-revolutionary terrorist group” whose members received such harsh sentences. Sentences of the enemies of the Soviet power were relatively mild at that time. In the beginning of 1928, Lev Trotsky and his closest associates were sentenced only to exile in remote regions, while in the second half of the 1930s, tens of thousands of people who had been accused of ‘Trotskyism’ were shot dead, and Trotsky himself was killed in 1940 by NKVD agents in Mexico.

In 1928, there were no records of politically repressed Gypsies. In 1929, three Gypsies were politically repressed, two of them in the Ukrainian USSR, living in a village. They were charged with counter-revolutionary agitation against

the Soviet power, but the sentences were relatively light. The first of them was sentenced to three years of imprisonment, and the second one was banned from living in the central cities for a period of three years. In 1930, six Gypsies, including a woman, were politically repressed. Notable among them are the cases of the three prisoners, who were accused of counter-revolutionary sabotage. This accusation shows a new trend, which will grow in the following years – bringing political charges against Gypsies who had already been sentenced for criminal acts and were serving sentences in the GULAG system. In 1931, only one Gypsy was politically repressed; he was acquitted after arrest and investigation.

In 1932 and 1933, there was a sharp increase in politically repressed Gypsies. It is due to the so-called First Gypsy lawsuit in Moscow, which marks the beginning of the series of the 'Gypsy Lawsuits' (for them, see Chapter 4 in more detail).

In 1932 (from spring to autumn) in Moscow, 79 people were arrested and accused within this trial, which took place in two parts (in February and in June); in 1933, one more person was arrested and convicted in the general framework of this lawsuit. In its framework were repressed mainly (if not entirely) Kelderari (many of them with the family name Mihai), who participated in the Gypsy artels in the capital or were associated with their activities.

Outside the general framework of the First Moscow Gypsy lawsuit in 1932 and 1933, a relatively small number of Gypsies were politically repressed. In 1932 six Gypsies were politically repressed in 1932. In one of the cases, the sentence was quite light (3 years ban on residence in 12 cities and localities of the USSR) and even unusual for sentences on political charges (Art. 54–2, 54–11 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR). In 1933, ten Gypsies were repressed (including one woman). Among them is Ivan Rusalimovich Mihai, sentenced at the Gypsy lawsuit in Moscow to ten years ITL, who escaped but was arrested and sentenced to another ten years ITL.

The case of Pyotr Shcherbakov, repressed in 1933, is also intriguing. He was born in 1878 in the Taganrog region (on the coast of the Sea of Azov). At the time of his arrest by the border unit of the OGPU in Jarkent, which guarded the Soviet-Chinese border, he was living in Yining (Ghulja in Uyghur) in China. He probably immigrated to China during the Civil War, and it is not clear whether he tried to cross the border illegally in order to return to his homeland or was caught smuggling.

After the First Moscow Gypsy Lawsuit, there was a significant drop in the number of politically repressed Gypsies. In 1934 – only nine people, including three women. One of them had already been repressed before with political charges, and this is the first case of a secondary political charge. It

was Stepan (Ishtvan) Demeter, the progenitor of the large and widely known Demetr/Demeter family. Representatives of the Demeter family are authors of several academic works and memoirs (see, e.g., Деметер, 1995; 2005; 2019; Деметер et al., 2000; Деметер & Деметер, 1981; 1990; Деметер-Чарская, 1997; Деметр, 2017; 2019). The book of one of his sons, Professor Georgy Demeter, DrSc in Pedagogy, *Lenin on the Protection of Workers' Health and Physical Culture* (Деметер, 1981), had five (sic!) reprints during the Soviet era and was translated into several languages within the former Soviet bloc (including even two translations in Vietnamese!). His daughter (Ishtvan Demeter's granddaughter), Prof. Nadezhda G. Demeter, DrSc in History, works in the Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology at the Russian Academy of Sciences and is chair of the Federal National Cultural Autonomy of Russian Gypsies.

In 1935, there was a new significant increase in the number of politically repressed Gypsies: 24 people, including one woman. This increase was the result of another group trial (the so-called Second Moscow Gypsy Lawsuit), which victimised 17 (at least that many are known) people connected with the Gypsy artels in the capital. In 1936, repressions against Gypsies were on the decline once again, with only four politically repressed Gypsies, including a woman.

In the following two years, however, the situation sharply changed, and the number of Gypsies, victims of judicial (or quasi-judicial) decisions, significantly increased.

In 1937, a total of 92 people were repressed, including ten women. In 1938, the number of the repressed Gypsies reached 192 persons, including 11 women. These numbers included both a relatively large number of secondary repressed (see below) and those repressed within the framework of the six Gypsy Lawsuits in Smolensk, Nadezhdinsk, Potanino, Novosibirsk, Zhytomyr, Oryol and Rovno (for them see Chapter 4).

The reasons for this sharp increase are rooted in the social and political development in those years, i.e., in the general historical context. As early as 1934, the OGPU was renamed to the Chief Directorate of State Security (UGB) and became part of the NKVD, thereby significantly expanding the repressive functions and capabilities of the NKVD. On September 26, 1936, on Stalin's insistence, the head of the NKVD, Genrikh Yagoda, was replaced by Nikolay Yezhov. Soon thereafter, the period of the so-called Great Terror (1937–1938) started.

The term 'Great Terror', referring to the period from the summer of 1937 till the end of 1938, in which the scale of political repressions sharply increased and reached its peak, was introduced by George Conquest (1968; 1990).

According to him, the Great Terror began with the issuing of the infamous NKVD Operational Order No. 00447 of July 30, 1937, by the People's Commissar Nikolay Yezhov. According to this Order, entitled, *On the operation to repress former kulaks, criminal offenders, and other anti-Soviet elements*, its purpose was "to smash the entire [...] gang of anti-Soviet elements in the most merciless way, protect the working Soviet people from their counter-revolutionary intrigues, and finally, once and for all, put an end to their vile subversive work against the foundations of the Soviet state" (see Annex 3). For the implementation of this task, the Order mandated, "From August 5, 1937, in all Republics, Krai and Oblasts, to begin the operation to repress former kulaks, active anti-Soviet elements and criminals". The Order specified the social profile of the people who had to be repressed: former kulaks; members of the rebel, fascist, terrorist, and bandit formations; members of anti-Soviet parties; former tsarist officials; former whites; punishers [in tsarist Russia and during the Civil War]; criminals engaged in criminal activities and associated with the criminal environment, etc. It also stressed that repressive measures should be applied against similar contingent who are now held in prisons, camps, labour settlements and colonies and continue to carry out active anti-Soviet subversive work there. In other words, the Order No. 00447 of July 30, 1937, expanded the practice of 'secondary' repressions, which already existed.

The Order defined the number of persons subject to repression in the individual administrative units of the USSR. This aspect of the document has given rise to a huge number of manipulative interpretations by several authors, according to whom the designation of numbers of people demonstrated that the repressions followed a planned rate, i.e., the task was to achieve the rate prescribed in the Order. However, the text of the Order itself is clear and unambiguous: "The approved figures are indicative. [...] Any unauthorized increase in numbers is not allowed." (see Annex 3). Moreover, as an exception, "in cases where the situation requires an increase in the approved figures, the people's commissars of the republican NKVD and the heads of the regional and regional departments of the NKVD are obliged to submit to me [i.e., personally to the People's Commissar Nikolay Yezhov – authors' note] the appropriate reasoned petitions." (Ibid.)

A passage from Alexander Solzhenitsyn's *The Gulag Archipelago* is particularly indicative of this manipulative discourse, which, in this case, directly concerns the Gypsies, victims of political repression. This passage, which describes a case in Tashkent, the capital of Uzbek SSR, has been cited and reproduced many times, not only in the media but also in a number of academic publications, without even a hint of doubt as to its accuracy:

[...] a telegram arrived in Tashkent: “Send 200!” They had just finished one clean-out, and it seemed as if there was “no one else” to take. Well, true, they had just brought in about fifty more from the districts. And then, they had an idea! They would reclassify as 58’s all the non-political offenders being held by the police. No sooner said than done. But despite that, they had still not filled the quota. At that precise moment, the police reported that a Gypsy band had impudently encamped on one of the city squares and asked what to do with them. Someone had another bright idea! They surrounded the encampment and raked in all the Gypsy men from seventeen to sixty as 58’s! They had fulfilled the plan! (Солженицын, 1989, Vol. 1, p. 71).

According to Solzhenitsyn himself, this narrative is based on oral testimony from a former NKVD officer, but there is no documentary proof of it in the Soviet archives. Moreover, in all databases of victims of political repressions in the USSR, there is no record of political repressions against Gypsies in Tashkent and in the Uzbek SSR as a whole (Каримов et al., 2005; Открытый список, 2016; Жертвы политического террора, 2017; Бессмертный барак, 2018). Of course, there is always a hypothetical probability that this case had not been reflected in the NKVD archives, but still, the category ‘probability’ is not equivalent to historical evidence; moreover, it is not a basis for drawing definite conclusions.

The period of the Great Terror ended with the removal from office of the NKVD head, Nikolay Yezhov, and his replacement by Lavrenty Beria at the end of 1938. At the initiative of the new NKVD People’s Commissar, the rules of the investigation were changed; the forms of extra-judicial sentencing were limited; mass operations were stopped; the apparatus of the NKVD was purged of the most active executors of the Great Terror policy; and some of those who had already been sentenced or under investigation were released. The exact figures of the released persons after Beria became head of the NKVD differ among individual authors, in the range of 100–150 to 200–300 thousand (in any case, there are no data about Gypsies released at that time).

In passing, Beria’s name has become a symbol of the mass repressions in the USSR; his image of a cruel, bloody executioner, the main instrument of Stalin’s ill will, has been imposed in many academic publications and, especially in the public space and in arts. This was the leading discourse that was laid down by Nikita Khrushchev, who assumed the position of the first Party leader (and de facto the first Soviet leader) following Beria’s arrest and execution. Khrushchev’s approach is understandable as long as it covered up and cleaned his own past and participation in these repressions and transferred all responsibility for the repressions to Stalin and Beria. From this point of view, it made no sense for him to emphasise Yezhov’s role for the mass repressions

because Yezhov was removed from office by Stalin and Beria, who also ordered his execution, turning him into a victim of the repressions by historical irony.

No less important is Khrushchev's discourse presenting Stalin as the evil genius who had betrayed Lenin's legacy. This discourse positions Lenin as the main symbol of the communist ideology and of the Soviet state, reinforces the leading role of the Party, and strengthens the USSR. It is fully understandable why Mikhail Gorbachev, in his efforts to reform and save the USSR and the leading role of the Communist Party, not only accepted but also further developed and widely publicised Khrushchev's discourse. In fact, the evaluation of the past, and in particular, the evaluation of Stalin and Beria, was one of the main pillars of Gorbachev's policy of '*glasnost* and *perestroika*'. However, it is not understandable why this discourse should continue dominating to date, including in the West, even among authors who position themselves as staunch anti-communists. Although we have reservations about Robert Conquest's gross and unjustified overstating of the number of victims of mass repressions in the USSR, we cannot but appreciate the fact that he is the first leading and authoritative author (we find it difficult to define him as a historian, rather a Sovietologist and a publicist), who has undertaken to destroy the mythologeme about the "good" Lenin and the "bad" Stalin. Moreover, however heretical it may sound, we think it is possible to assert that Stalin's policy of mass repressions was a step ahead compared to that of Lenin's, at least in terms of adherence to a formal legal order. During Lenin's time, summary mass executions such as the executions of entire families of hostages, of high aristocracy representatives (including the execution of the imperial family), the former rulers, rich citizens and peasants, priests, etc., were a widespread and common practice. These executions were carried out based on decisions by individual officials or collective bodies as well as by personal orders (including orders communicated by telephone or telegram). During Stalin's time, there was an attempt to personalise the repressions through some kind of judicial (quasi-judicial) procedure (although, ultimately, the results were quite similar for the repressed).

As for the comparison between Yezhov and Beria, the numbers are unequivocal and leave no reason for doubt. The following example is telling in this respect. According to the data provided by Viktor Zemskov, whom we tend to trust the most, out of 1,344,923 people sentenced on political charges during the Great Terror, when Yezhov headed the NKVD, 681,692 were shot dead (Земсков, 1994, p. 123). This constitutes 85% (sic!) of the total number of people who were shot dead for the entire "Stalinist period" – 799,455 people from 1921 to 1953 (Земсков, 2012, p. 79). The rest of the authors (at least those who work on the basis of documentary sources, including the *Memorial* Society)

provide numbers which are of the same order of magnitude (cf. ОХОТИН & РОГИНСКИЙ, 2007a; РАЧИСКИЙ, et al., 2016). This comparison, of course, in no way exonerates Beria from his guilt and personal responsibility for the mass repressions in the USSR at the time when he was head of the NKVD (or supervised the security agencies), but it brings additional precision to the discussion which is of great importance in the overall assessment of historical events and personalities.

The significant change that took place after the end of the Great Terror in 1938 is reflected in the number of Gypsies victims of political repression. In 1939, four people were repressed, including one woman; in 1940, seven people were repressed. This is an impressive decrease in the number of victims (for comparison, in 1937–1938 a total of 284 people were repressed – just over 44% of all Gypsies, victims of political repression).

The situation changed again with the beginning of the so-called Great Patriotic War, which lasted from 1941 to 1945. There was an increase (although not as sharp as during the Great Terror) in the number of Gypsies, victims of political repressions. The figures are unequivocal. In 1941, through judicial (quasi-judicial) decisions, 53 Gypsies were repressed, including 2 women. This figure includes 13 people from the Gypsy lawsuit in Rovno (today Rivne in Ukraine) and three already repressed on political charges (among them a Roma woman who was repressed twice within the year). In 1942, 56 people were repressed, including 6 Roma women, and this figure includes four people serving sentences on political charges (among them, one Roma woman) and two people mobilised in the same year in the Labour Armies (see below). In 1943, 23 people were repressed, including 5 women. In 1944, 22 people were also repressed, including two women. In 1945, 18 people were repressed, including a woman.

These figures clearly show the changes over the years of the war. The number of repressed persons was highest in the first two years after the beginning of the war (June 22, 1941); after the turning point in 1943 (the end of the Battle of Stalingrad and the Battle of the Kursk Arc), the number of the repressed gradually decreased. This dynamic can be explained with the course of the war – in the most difficult years, there was a greater need of people to work for the front. This also explains why, during the years of the war, the number of secondarily repressed people (i.e., already serving previous sentences in ITL and ITK) increased significantly.

In the conditions of the war, a new category of repressed appeared – those mobilised in the so-called Labour Armies (unofficial name), existing from 1942 to 1946. The Labour Armies were paramilitary formations (labour battalions)

for forced labour included in the composition of the NKVD. The labour mobilised were placed in forced-labour camps, included in the GULAG system. They were often sent to already existing ITL or newly created camps for them. The labour mobilised performed various labour activities in the rear, most often working in mines, logging, construction, industrial enterprises, etc. They were Soviet citizens, most of whom were members of the so-called Russian Germans (i.e., Germans whose ancestors moved to the Russian Empire in the 18th–19th centuries). Among them, there were also Finns, Romanians, Hungarians, Italians (i.e., from the countries that were participants in the war on the side of Germany and thus suspected in connection with these countries), representatives of many other nationalities, as well as a large part of the criminal contingent at large.

Formally speaking, from a legal point of view, the category of the labour mobilised was an intermediate one between the repressed, who were victims of administrative acts, and the repressed, who were victims of judicial (quasi-judicial) decisions. Labour mobilisation itself was the result of a series of different administrative acts. However, the legal cases of the labour mobilised indicated that their sentences were pronounced by the relevant Regional Military Commissariats, i.e., they were repressed with an individual sentence, which gives us grounds to include the case of the labour-mobilised Gypsies in this chapter.

The labour-mobilised Gypsies during the war were comparatively few – 18 persons in total, of whom 14 were mobilised in 1942 (the year with the highest number of repressed Gypsies during the war) and three in 1943. The number of labour-mobilised Gypsies (18 people) is many times smaller and incomparable both with the number of the Roma who were regularly mobilised during the war and, more importantly, with the number of the Roma volunteers who fought in the Red Army or in partisan units in the Great Patriotic War (Бессонов, 2010), which shows a high degree of civic identity among Roma in the early USSR.

It should be borne in mind that the personal files of almost all labour-mobilised Roma indicated nationality 'Romanian' (or with Romanian citizenship) or 'Hungarian Gypsy', which means that they were sentenced as persons associated with countries at war with the USSR (i.e., they were considered potentially disloyal to the USSR).

The number of the repressed Gypsies as a share of the Gypsies who were regularly mobilised in the Red Army during the Second World War is relatively small – 14 people (of which one served his regular military service in the Navy and three in construction military units). One of them was taken captive and



managed to escape, but he was sentenced under the famous Order No. 270 of the Supreme High Command of the Red Army, dated August 16, 1941, which prohibited Soviet soldiers from surrendering.

The case is more complicated with those Roma who tried to escape from fulfilling their military duties during mobilisation, i.e., should deserters captured by the authorities during World War II (and their hidiers) be considered politically repressed? Ultimately, we decided not to include these cases in the category of politically repressed because penalties for desertion existed at the time in all Allied armies fighting against Nazi Germany. Moreover, we are aware of only two such cases (there were likely more), which are not included in the database of victims of political repression. The first was with A.P.D. from the Chelyabinsk Oblast, who deserted in 1943 and resisted an official during his arrest. However, the verdict of the NKVD Military Tribunal was only “sent to the active army” (GAAOSO, f. 1, op. 2, d. 44620), i.e., not even in the army penal units. The second case is with V. V. L. from Rostov-on-Don, who was also punished only by being sent to the army, but his mother, O. D. L., was sentenced to several years of imprisonment for “concealment” (Деметер-Чарская, 1997, p. 65).

In the post-war period, the number of Gypsies, victims of judicial (or quasi-judicial) decisions, again decreased sharply. In 1946, five Gypsies were repressed; in 1947, seven Gypsies were repressed (including 5 Roma women); in 1948, only one Gypsy man was repressed; in 1949, eleven Gypsies were repressed; in 1950, five Gypsies were repressed; in 1951, four Gypsies were repressed; in 1952, four Gypsies were repressed; and in 1953, three Gypsies were repressed. During the period 1954–1956, there were no repressed Gypsies.

Out of all the repressed Gypsies, victims of judicial (quasi-judicial) decisions, we did not find the exact years of the repression for 11 persons.

As already stated at the beginning, our research ends in 1956. Beyond this year, two people who served their sentences in the GULAG on political charges were sentenced additionally in 1957, and that is why we included them in our statistics. One of them was Alexander Bogomolov, and the other one was Vladimir Nepomnyashchy, with four sentences in total) and his case, which we discuss later in the text.

In passing, the existing database of victims of political repressions in the USSR includes, in addition to the above-mentioned, only two other people identified with ‘Gypsy’ nationality but who were sentenced on political charges after 1956 and that is why we don’t include them in our statistics. One of them was Alexey Nikolaevich Vishnyakov, born in the Yaroslavl Oblast, working as a tractor driver, who was sentenced to 10 years ITL by the Supreme Court of the Moldavian SSR, under Art. 54–10 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian

SSR (anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation), in 1957. The other one was Yene Laslovyeh Pop, from the town of Svalyava, Transcarpathian Oblast, Ukrainian SSR, a long-term prisoner with 5 previous criminal sentences, who received a new sentence while in prison (3 years ITL) by the Lvov Oblast Court in 1970. He was charged under Art. 62 of the amended Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR for anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation (Жертвы политического террора, 2017).

The overview of the cases of repressed Roma, who were victims of judicial (quasi-judicial) decisions, clearly shows the chronology of these repressions. For the entire period up to 1956, there were more than ten repressed Gypsies per year only in 1933 and 1935 (the two Moscow Lawsuits against Kelderari, linked with the Gypsy artels), in 1937 and 1938 (the years of the Great Terror), and in the period from 1941 to 1945 (the years of the Great Patriotic War). In 1948–1949, there was a new peak in political repression, although relatively far less extensive compared to the Great Terror. These data lead to the apparent conclusion that the pattern of the repressions against Gypsies reflected the general historical context of the era, and as far as there were instances outside this pattern (the two Moscow Lawsuits), they had limited and local character.



The second criterion for analysis of the database of politically repressed Gypsies, victims of judicial (quasi-judicial) decisions (Annex 1.2) is the geography of the repressions from the point of view of the existing territorial-administrative units (i.e., Republics, Krai and Oblasts) in the USSR over the years. In this analysis, however, the results are not completely precise due to several circumstances.

First, there is a large number of secondarily repressed persons with initial criminal sentences. In a vast number of cases, their personal files do not provide information about their previous place of residence and about the place of their first sentence. The place of birth of the sentenced is not a sufficiently reliable indicator, and not only for nomads who travelled in different regions (e.g., from the large Mitrushenko family, sentenced in the so-called Gypsy lawsuit in Zhytomyr, two were born in the Bessarabia governorate, and three in the Kiev governorate). Internal migrations (mainly to the cities but also to other regions) by both nomadic and settled Gypsies grew in the conditions of the early USSR.

Our analysis does not consider the place of the first sentence on criminal charges in the cases when the persons were already serving previous sentences in the GULAG system. However, we do take into account the very existence of

an earlier conviction (regardless of criminal or political charges) served in the structures of the correctional system (ITL and ITK) because only in this way becomes it clear why, in some Oblasts, there is a significantly higher number of repressed – precisely because of the secondarily convicted prisoners.

It is a fairly common phenomenon that the birthplace of the repressed does not coincide with their place of residence, which is usually the place of their repression (there are only a few cases where the place of residence and the place of repression are different). For us, the leading criterion in determining political repression's geography is their repression's place. In cases where a person has been politically repressed two (or more) times, we count all cases of repression according to their location according to the relevant territorial-administrative units.

The percentage of repressed Gypsies through judicial (quasi-judicial) decisions, for which the place of their repression is known, is extremely high (almost 98%). Therefore, these data allow us to get a sufficiently clear idea of the overall territorial-administrative dimensions of the repression of Gypsies within the USSR.

Another severe problem in analysing the political repressions against Gypsies from the point of view of the territorial-administrative units in the USSR is the frequent change of the borders of these units. In this regard, there are some curious cases, such as the one with Agafena Yeremenkova, which we mentioned previously. According to the dates recorded in her personal file, at the time of her arrest and investigation, her residence was in the village of Borovskoy, located in the then Chelyabinsk Governorate of the RSFSR. However, her sentence was issued after the establishment of the Kyrgyz ASSR (subsequently transformed several times – into Kazak ASSR, Kazakh ASSR, Kazakh SSR, today the Republic of Kazakhstan), and her place of residence became part of another territorial-administrative unit.

The old borders of the territorial-administrative units as they existed in the Russian Empire first changed immediately after the establishment of the Soviet power due to the creation of the new Union and the Autonomous Republics of the USSR. The territorial-administrative restructuring, which was the direct outcome of creating new national autonomous districts and regions, continued in the 1920s and the beginning of the 1930s, when the new Oblasts and Krai gradually replaced the old governorates. A new round of changes was associated with adopting the new Constitution of the USSR in 1936, reflecting these changes. The transformations continued in the following years (end of the 1930s and 1940s), creating some new territorial-administrative units.

For these reasons, we take the current territorial-administrative state in the Russian Federation and the newly independent states that succeeded

the USSR as a starting point in the designation of the individual territorial-administrative units within the individual Soviet republics in our analysis. One more instrumental consideration for choosing this approach – the numerous volumes of the *Book of Memory, Rehabilitated by History*, etc., which are one of the main sources of our research, have been issued in their framework. Of course, when analysing specific cases of Gypsies, victims of judicial (or quasi-judicial) decisions, we always consider the territorial-administrative units as they existed when the Gypsies were repressed. However, the decision to take as a starting point the current territorial-administrative state allows us to present a relatively comprehensive general picture.

The distribution of the repressed Gypsies, victims of judicial (quasi-judicial) decisions in the individual Soviet Socialist Republics of the USSR is quite uneven. There were no cases of Gypsies repressed on political charges in 6 (out of 15) of the Union Soviet Republics. These Republics are the Azerbaijan SSR, the Armenian SSR and the Georgian SSR (which existed as separate Union Republics since 1936; previously, since 1922, part of the Transcaucasian SFSR), and the Turkmen SSR (existing since 1924), as well as in the Estonian SSR and the Latvian SSR (established in 1940). In addition to these Union Republics, no Gypsies were repressed on political charges in the Karelo-Finnish SSR, which existed for a short time (1940–1950) during the years of its existence as a Union Soviet Republic.

In the other four of the Union Soviet Socialist Republics, the number of Gypsies repressed on political charges was quite minimal.

Four people (3 men and 1 woman) were repressed in the Byelorussian SSR. Chronologically, the first case dates back to 1921, immediately after the end of Poland's war against the USSR, and it concerned a Roma born on the territory of Poland who was declared a Polish spy. Two of the other repressed lived in the Minsk Oblast, and one Roma woman lived in the Baranovichi Oblast (created in 1940 on territories annexed to the Byelorussian SSR from Poland).

In the Uzbek SSR, only one Roma was repressed, who was born in Budapest. He was probably a Kelderar who had escaped from the regions of hostilities at that time (1942); he was mobilised in the Labour Army with a sentence issued by the RVK in Fergana. There were four other repressed Gypsies with permanent residence in the Uzbek SSR, three of whom were repressed in the RSFSR, and one, a "nomad Gypsy" (Nurutdin Nurbaev), was repressed in the Kazakh (then Kazak) ASSR.

In the Kirghiz SSR (existing since 1936; before that, from 1924, Kara-Kirghiz AO; from 1926, Kirghiz ASSR), only one Roma, who lived in Kalinin Rayon, was repressed. He was mobilised in the Labour Army with a sentence by the RVK in the city of Frunze in 1942.

Six people were repressed in the Tajik SSR. All of them were men with 'Romanian' nationality; five of them had the surname Mihai. They lived in Ordzhonikidzeabad (today Vahdat) and in the area (i.e., they were nomads), and in 1942, were mobilised in the Labour Armies with a sentence of the Ordzhonikidzeabad RVK. This is clearly a case involving the men from an extended Kelderari family, who had fled far south to escape the war.

In the Lithuanian SSR, according to the documentation available in the Soviet archives, only one Roma man was repressed, namely Aleksas Aleksandravichius. He witnessed that the authorities sentenced him, together with several other young people, for tearing down a poster with the image of Stalin (USHMMC). However, it is unclear whether these young people also are Roma, and there are no further details on the case.

In the Moldavian SSR, the situation is not so clear due to the incompleteness of the available data. The repressed Gypsies are four persons (all men). Two of them were sentenced in the period 1940–1941, after the annexation of the territory of the Republic of Moldova by the USSR in 1940, which had been until then part of Romania. The other two, Ivan and Fyodor Kuzmich, who were apparently brothers, were repressed after the war (in 1949).

In the Kazakh SSR and the Ukrainian SSR, the numbers of the repressed Gypsies are higher but do not exceed 100 people.

In the Kazakh SSR (established as a Union Republic in 1936, previously known as the Kirghiz ASSR since 1920; Kazak ASSR since 1925; and Kazakh ASSR in 1936; today the Republic of Kazakhstan), the number of the repressed Gypsies was 32 people, of whom two Roma women.

The distribution of the repressed in the different oblasts of the Kazakh SSR is uneven. In many oblasts, there were no repressed Gypsies: in Aktyubinsk Oblast (existing since 1932); in Kokchetav Oblast (created in 1944); in Semipalatinsk Oblast (created in 1939); in Taldy-Kurgan Oblast (created in 1944); and in West Kazakhstan Oblast (created in 1932). In three Oblasts, only one Gypsy was repressed per region – in the East-Kazakhstan Oblast (created in 1932), in the Kyzyl-Orda Oblast (created in 1938), and in the Pavlodar Oblast (created in 1938). In two regions, two Gypsies were repressed per Oblast – in Alma-Ata Oblast (created in 1932) and in Karaganda Oblast (created in 1932). In the other two regions, three Gypsies were repressed per Oblast – in Kustanay Oblast (created in 1936) and South-Kazakhstan Oblast (existing from 1932 to 1936 as Turkestan Oblast). One of those repressed in the South-Kazakhstan Oblast, Nurutdin Nurbayev, is a "nomadic Gypsy" with a permanent residence in the Uzbek SSR, in the Tashkent district. In North-Kazakhstan Oblast (established in 1936, from 1961 Tselinograd Oblast, today Astana Oblast), four Gypsies were repressed. The largest number of Gypsies (six people) were repressed in Guryev Oblast (created in 1938, today Atyrau Oblast).

The uneven distribution of the repressed Gypsies in the Kazakh SSR has its own explanation. Among the repressed, there was an obvious prevalence of people from the regions located in Northern Kazakhstan, which was historically a part of Southern Siberia, as well as nomadic Roma from other regions of Siberia, who often travelled to or settled on the territory of these Oblasts. The high number of repressed Gypsies in the Guryev Oblast has another explanation. The data shows that five persons out of all six repressed were born in the Crimean ASSR, i.e., these people were Roma deported from the Crimea in 1944 together with the Crimean Tatars (see Chapter 2), although only one of them (Yakup Barievich Bariev) is explicitly noted in the official documentation (therefore his name is present in Annex No. 1.1, as well as in Annex No. 1.2).

In the Ukrainian SSR (created in 1919, since 1922 a Union Republic within the USSR), the number of Gypsies victims of judicial (quasi-judicial) decisions was 93 people (89 men and 4 women).

In almost half of the Oblasts that existed in the Ukrainian SSR, there were no cases of repressed Gypsies victims of judicial (quasi-judicial) decisions. These are the following Oblasts: Cherkasy Oblast (created in 1954); Chernivtsi Oblast (created in 1940); Drohobych Oblast (existed from 1940 to 1959, today part of Lviv Oblast); Kherson Oblast (created in 1944); Kirovohrad Oblast (created in 1939, today Kropyvnytskyi Oblast); Lvov Oblast (created in 1940); Stanislavov Oblast (created in 1940, today Ivano-Frankivsk Oblast); Ternopol Oblast (created in 1940). Most of these regions were created after the Second World War when large new territories in Western Ukraine that previously belonged to Poland and Romania were added to the Ukrainian SSR.

In the other Oblasts of the Ukrainian USSR, the Gypsies, who were victims of judicial (or quasi-judicial) decisions, were relatively few (several people in each region). The figures in this regard are as follows: four people in Chernigov Oblast (created in 1932); five people (4 men and 1 woman) in Dnepropetrovsk Oblast (created in 1932, today Dnipro Oblast); three people in Izmail Oblast (created as Akkerman Oblast in 1940, existed from 1940 to 1954, today part of Odesa Oblast); five people in Kharkov Oblast (created in 1932); one person in Kherson Oblast (established in 1944); two persons in Kiev Oblast (created in 1932); one person in Khmelnytskyi Oblast (created in 1938, until 1954 Kamenets-Podolsk Oblast); one person in Nikolaev Oblast, created in 1938, today Mykolaiv Oblast); seven people (6 men and 1 woman) in Odessa Oblast (created in 1932); three people in Poltava Oblast (established in 1938); one person in Rovno Oblast (established in 1940, today Rivne Oblast); three people in Stalin Oblast (created in 1932, from 1961 Donetsk Oblast); one person in Sumy Oblast (created in 1939); three people in Vinnytsia Oblast (established in 1932); one person in Volyn Oblast (created in 1940); one person in Voroshilovgrad Oblast (established in 1938, today Lugansk Oblast); three

people in Transcarpathia Oblast (created in 1946); one person in Zaporozhie Oblast (created in 1939); one person in Zhytomyr Oblast (created in 1938); one person in the Moldavian ASSR (founded in 1924, existed until 1940). There is no data about the territorial-administrative unit of repression of one person sentenced on charges under the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR – Ivan Sharkezi, who was arrested in 1941, convicted under the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR and died of tuberculosis in Sevurallag (i.e., he probably lived in the Ukrainian SSR before that). The database of the victims of political repressions recorded for him “Place of residence: Romania, Transylvania, city of Tirgu-Mureş”, which is probably an error in the documentation.

Within the framework of the Ukrainian SSR, from the point of view of the distribution of the number of victims of mass political repression according to the existing territorial-administrative units, there are, however, two exceptions due to the so-called Gypsy Lawsuits (see Chapter 4 for them). The first such case was the Zhytomyr Oblast (created in 1937; until then, it was part of Kiev Oblast), where the victims of these repressions were 30 Gypsies (including two women), shot dead in 1938 after a general trial for espionage in favour of Poland. The second such case was the trial in Rovno in 1941, in which the investigation affected 13 people arrested in various border areas of Western Ukraine.

The majority of Gypsies who were victims of judicial (quasi-judicial) decisions in the USSR lived on the territory of the RSFSR – 510 people (459 men and 51 women). Of these, 132 people (of which 12 Roma women) had previous convictions with criminal charges, 34 people (of which 4 Roma women) with political charges, and one of them was previously repressed in the Ukrainian SSR with political charges (Grigory Lutsenko) and served his sentence in Dalstroy (today’s Magadan region). In total, 549 acts of political repression were carried out with judicial (quasi-judicial) decisions.

In 34 of the existing territorial-administrative units in the RSFSR (until the collapse of the USSR in 1991), there were no repressed Gypsies victims of judicial (or quasi-judicial) decisions. These are: Adygea AO (existing since 1922, today the Republic of Adygea); Belgorod Oblast (existing since 1954); Bryansk Oblast (existing since 1944); Chechen AS (existing since 1924, today the Chechen Republic); Chukotka Autonomous Okrug (existing since 1930); Jewish AO (existing since 1934); Ingush AO (existing since 1924, today the Republic of Ingushetia); Yakut ASSR (existing since 1922, today the Republic of Sakha); Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Okrug (existing since 1930); Kaliningrad Oblast (existing since 1946); Kalmyk AO (existing since 1920, today the Republic of Kalmykia); Kamchatka Oblast (existing since 1932, today Kamchatka Krai); Karachay-Cherkessia AO (existing since 1922, today Karachay-Cherkessia

Republic); Kemerovo Oblast (existing since 1943); Lipetsk Oblast (created in 1954); Mordovia AO (existing since 1930, today the Republic of Mordovia); Murmansk Oblast (existing since 1938); Ostyako-Vogul National Okrug (now Khanty-Mansi Autonomous Okrug–Yugra); Ryazan Oblast (existing since 1937); Sakhalin Oblast (created in 1947); North Ossetian AO (existing since 1924, today the Republic of North Ossetia – Alania); Stalingrad Oblast (existing since 1936, now Volgograd Oblast); Tambov Oblast (existing since 1937); Tuva AO (part of the USSR since 1944, today the Tuva Republic); Tula Oblast (existing since 1937); Udmurt (existing since 1920, today Udmurt Republic); Ulyanovsk Oblast (existing since 1943); Vladimir Oblast, (existing since 1944); Volga German ASSR (existing from 1918 to 1941); Vologda Oblast (existing since 1937); Yaroslavl Oblast (existing from 1936).

In 37 of the existing territorial-administrative units in the RSFSR, the number of Gypsies victims of judicial (or quasi-judicial) decisions was minimal (up to 10 people). These are: Altai Krai (created in 1937) – 3 repressed, 2 of them were serving sentences; Amur Oblast (created in 1948) – one repressed person serving a sentence; Astrakhan Oblast (created in 1943) – one repressed; Bashkir ASSR (created in 1919, today the Republic of Bashkortostan) – three repressed; Buryat-Mongolian ASSR (created in 1923, today the Republic of Buryatia) – five repressed, two of them were serving sentences; Chita Oblast (created in 1937, today Zabaykalsky Krai) – six repressed, two of them were serving sentences; Chuvash AO (created in 1920, from 1925 Chuvash ASSR, today Chuvash Republic) – one repressed person serving a sentence; Dagestan ASSR (created in 1921, today the Republic of Dagestan) – two repressed; Gorky Krai/Oblast (created in 1932, today Nizhny Novgorod Oblast) – six repressed, one of them serving a sentence; Gorno-Altai AO (created in 1922 as Oyrot AO, today Altai Republic) – one repressed person serving a sentence; Ivanovo Oblast (created in 1936) – one repressed person; Irkutsk Oblast (created in 1937) – six repressed, one of them serving a sentence; Kabardino-Balkarian AO (created in 1921, today Kabardino-Balkarian Republic) – two repressed; Kalinin Oblast (created in 1922, today Tver region) – three repressed; Kaluga Oblast (created in 1944) – one repressed, Khabarovsk Krai (created in 1938) – two repressed who were serving sentences; Kirov Oblast (created in 1934) – one repressed; Kostroma Oblast (created in 1944) – one repressed; Krasnodar Oblast (created in 1937) – two repressed; Krasnoyarsk Krai (created in 1934) – seven repressed, three of them serving sentences; Kurgan Oblast (created in 1943) – one repressed; Kursk Oblast (created in 1934) – four repressed; Magadan Oblast (created in 1953) – ten repressed, all serving sentences; Mari AO (created in 1920, today Mari El Republic) – one repressed; Novgorod Oblast (created in



1944) – eight repressed; Orenburg Oblast (created in 1934) – one repressed; Oryol Oblast (created in 1937) – seven repressed; Penza Oblast (created in 1939) – one repressed; Primorsky Krai (created in 1938) – three repressed; Pskov Oblast (created in 1944) – four repressed; Rostov Oblast (created in 1937) – three repressed; Saratov Oblast (created in 1934) – one repressed; Stavropol Krai (created in 1937) – two repressed; Tatar ASSR (created in 1920, today the Republic of Tatarstan) – three repressed, one of them serving a previous sentence, and one under investigation on other charges; Tomsk Oblast (created in 1944) – four repressed, one of them serving a sentence, two special resettlers, deported in 1933 from Moscow (see Annex 1.1); Tyumen Oblast (created in 1944) – one repressed; Voronezh Oblast (created in 1934) – five repressed.

This statistic is not entirely precise because some of the repressed had already been sentenced on other, non-political (criminal) charges in territorial-administrative units, which had ceased to exist and were transformed into the ones listed above.

The case with the repressed in the Magadan Oblast is indicative. The Magadan Oblast was widely known in the public space as Kolyma, from a huge number of memoir narratives, artistic and folklore works. This collective name included the Sevvostlag (North-Eastern Corrective Labour Camps) with its separate branches and the Dalstroy (Head Construction Office of the Far North NKVD USSR) with its mines and enterprises in the Oblast. De jure, this entire repressive system, located on the territory of the Magadan Oblast, existed within the borders of the Far East Krai until 1953; the reporting of the repressed within the Magadan Oblast, however, reveals more precisely the place of these repressions.

For the reasons described above, the approach we have chosen for defining the geographic dimensions of the mass political repressions against the Gypsies reveals with greater precision the places and regions in which Gypsies became victims of the repressions.

In 12 of the existing territorial-administrative units in the composition of the RSFSR, the number of Gypsies, victims of judicial (or quasi-judicial) decisions, is relatively higher, with more than 10 people per unit. Respectively, we have paid greater attention to these units.

In Omsk Oblast (created in 1934), 11 people were repressed, with 4 of them serving previous sentences. In the Crimean Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic (created in 1921, in 1945 transformed into the Crimean Oblast, since 1954 in the composition of the Ukrainian SSR), 14 people (including two Roma women) were repressed. In Kuibyshev Oblast (created in 1936, today Samara Oblast), 15 people (including two Roma women) were repressed.

The cases of Gypsies victims of political repression in the framework of the so-called Gypsy Lawsuits in Smolensk, Perm, Sverdlovsk, Chelyabinsk, and Novosibirsk Oblasts we will present in more detail in the next chapter. We can briefly mention the following:

In the Smolensk Oblast (existing since 1937, until then part of the Western Oblast), 28 Gypsies were repressed; in the Perm Oblast (existing since 1938), 11 Gypsies were repressed (including one woman), eight of whom were serving previous sentences on criminal charges; in the Chelyabinsk Oblast (existing since 1934), 21 Gypsies were repressed, including 5 Roma women and 8 persons who were serving previous sentences (six of them were convicted on criminal charges and two on political charges; in the Sverdlovsk Oblast (existing since 1934) 29 Gypsies were repressed, including 8 women and 13 persons who were serving previous sentences, as well as five special resettlers. Of these secondarily repressed, five were convicted with criminal charges, four with political charges, and in all four cases with two previous convictions.

The situation is similar in the Novosibirsk region (created in 1937), where 31 Gypsies (including three women) were victims of political repression. The vast majority (26 people) were sentenced in one large Gypsy lawsuit (for more detail, see Chapter 4). Among those convicted in this area, there is only one case of secondary repression (one Roma woman with a previous criminal conviction).

The situation in Komi ASSR (created as Komi-Zyryan AO in 1921, transformed into Komi ASSR in 1936, today Komi Republic) is fundamentally different. In this republic, in which the camps of the GULAG system exist, 47 Gypsies, including four women, were victims of judicial (or quasi-judicial) decisions, and all of them were serving previous sentences in GULAG camps (one of them was convicted twice consecutively on political charges).

The situation in Arkhangelsk Oblast and Karelian ASSR is more complicated.

In 1923, the CheKa created on the territory of Arkhangelsk governorate the Solovki Special Purpose Camp (abbreviated as SLON in Russian), located on the Solovetsky Island (widely known as Solovki) in the White Sea, where political opponents of the regime and criminal elements were sent. In 1927, there were 12,896 prisoners in the camp, including 22 Gypsies with criminal sentences and none with political charges (SGIAPMZ; GARF, f. 9414, op. 1, d. 2818, l. 3–6).). Until 1929, SLON was the only ITL in the USSR. In 1933, the camp was transformed into the Solovki Special Purpose Prison at the OGPU (abbreviated as STON in Russian), leading to a widespread pun in the USSR at the time – SLON ('elephant') became STON ('groan'). During the Great Terror, 16 Roma served their sentences in STON (including 14, sentenced on political

charges in the two Moscow Gypsy Lawsuits in 1933 and 1935). In 1937, all of them were transported to Leningrad, where they were tried on secondary charges and were shot dead following decree 00447 of NKVD on December 8, 1937, in Lodeynoye Pole, Leningrad Oblast (Разумов, 2009, pp. 656–676). Another two of the Roma prisoners in STON were also sentenced to VMN in 1938; one of them was shot to death in Solovki, and the second (the so-called Gypsy King Gogo Stanesko) in the area of Sandarmokh (near the Medvezhya Gora railway station) in the Karelian ASSR.

Apart from those repressed in SLON/STON, in Arkhangelsk Oblast (created in 1937), 4 Gypsies were repressed, one of whom was serving a previous sentence.

In the Karelian ASSR, 28 Gypsies (including one Roma woman) were repressed. Only one had permanent residence in the republic and received a relatively light sentence (5 years ITL). Another 27 Gypsies (including one Roma woman) convicted on criminal charges served their sentence in the White Sea-Baltic Combine of the NKVD, where they constructed the famous White Sea-Baltic Canal connecting the two seas. During the Great Terror (1937–1938), all of them were secondarily repressed on political charges (most often) and received VMN. One died after the verdict was read, and the rest were shot in 1938 in the Sandarmokh area.

In the neighbouring Leningrad region (created in 1927, today it is divided into the city of St Petersburg and the Leningrad Oblast), 20 Gypsies (including seven Roma women) were victims of judicial (or quasi-judicial) decisions. If reported strictly within the Leningrad region, the number of the victims would have been much higher because they would have included 12 repressed in the Karelian ASSR (secondarily repressed in Leningrad and shot in Lodeynoye Pole), eight repressed in the Novgorod Oblast, and three repressed in the Pskov Oblast since both oblasts were created in 1944. However, as we explained above, in this case, our approach is to report the victims of political repression in the respective regions as they existed after the adoption of the 1936 Constitution.

The highest number of Gypsies, victims of political repression, was in the Moscow region (created in 1929), including the capital, Moscow (today, the city of Moscow and the Moscow region are two separate territorial-administrative units). A total of 132 Gypsies were repressed in the Moscow Oblast, including the city of Moscow (interestingly, there is not a single Roma woman among them), and two of them were convicted twice. A total of 12 people were secondarily convicted (only two had a previous conviction for political charges). Six of them were serving their sentence in Dmitlag, located within the Moscow Oblast, and another five persons had been arrested on non-political charges and were at the stage of preliminary investigation before being sentenced for

“counter-revolutionary propaganda among prisoners”. The total number of politically repressed Gypsies in the Moscow region also included the people who were indicted in the two “Gypsy Lawsuits” in 1933 (80 people), and 1935 (17 people), i.e., those repressed within these two processes are more than half.

There is no information about the place of repression of 15 people (including two Roma women) included in the database of Gypsies, victims of judicial (quasi-judicial) decisions (Annex 1.2.), and the information about most of them is too fragmentary and incomplete.

The review of the distribution of Gypsies, victims of judicial (quasi-judicial) decisions according to the territorial-administrative units in the USSR allows for some preliminary conclusions. The data clearly demonstrates that the distribution is uneven, and it is in correlation with the geographical distribution of the Gypsy diaspora in the USSR. In the regions which did not have a Gypsy population or it was relatively small, there were no victims of political repression, or their number was minimal.

In this regard, we should take into account specific characteristics related to the economic development of the USSR. As Ivan Tokmakov very accurately noted in his speech before the Council of Nationalities of the TsIK SSSR at its meeting on the employment of nomads and the cultural and economic services for the working Gypsies, held on January 4 and 5, 1936:

[...] due to the fact that the land has become property of the kolkhoz, the economy of nomadism has been knocked out; and also in connection with the passportisation, the nomadism of [the Gypsies] moved towards more free territories, namely to the West Siberian Krai, Omsk Oblast, East Siberian Krai (GARF, f. P 3316, op. 28, d. 794, l. 107).

With the increase of the Gypsy population in Siberia, it is logical that the number of the repressed Gypsies would also increase in comparison with European parts of the USSR, and this was actually the case in the 1930s.

The capital city Moscow, with its numerous livelihood opportunities, also logically attracted an increasing number of Gypsies; to a lesser extent, this also applies to the former capital Leningrad, as well as to the capitals of other Soviet republics (e.g., Kharkov, which was the capital of the Ukrainian SSR from 1919 to 1934), and other major economic centres.

These general tendencies, however, changed significantly because of secondarily repressed Gypsies who were serving previous sentences in the GULAG system in some territorial-administrative units. In these territorial-administrative units with a large number of ITL and ITC, despite the overall small number or lack of local (resident) Gypsies, there was a higher number of repressed Gypsies than in other units. Most indicative in this respect are the

cases of the Karelian ASSR and Komi ASSR, where all (or almost all) of the already repressed persons received new sentences.

Another essential factor with a significant impact on the number of the repressed in the separate territorial-administrative units was the so-called Gypsy Lawsuits, which sharply increased the number of the repressed in a given region and had a substantial impact on the overall picture of the territorial distribution of Gypsies' political repression.



The available information included in the prepared database for this book allowed us to make a complete sex-age characteristic of the Gypsies who were repressed as a result of judicial (quasi-judicial) decisions.

The database has records of 640 people in total, including 584 men and only 56 women, i.e., the women are less than 10% of the total number of repressed Gypsies. This distribution is normal, especially in the case of the Gypsy communities, in which, according to then-dominant norms, the activities of women (other than ensuring the livelihood) were limited within the family and group/subgroup (i.e., within the community). At the same time, men were the active factor within society. This gender division among the Gypsies was not unique. To some extent, it was also characteristic of the macro-society at the time (with differences in the separate nationalities), despite the efforts of the Soviet power to overcome it by providing full civil rights for women.

The profile of the repressed Gypsies in terms of age includes various age groups (at the time of their repression), with a slight prevalence of people of active age (30–50 years old). A detailed disaggregation by age is not necessary; it is enough to indicate some extremes in this regard.

Five people among the repressed Gypsies were at the age of 70 or older. They are the aforementioned Agafena Yeremenkova (70 years old), who was the oldest repressed Roma woman; Marko Goman (70 years old); Stepan Vlavatsky (71 years old); Nikolay Gaubert (72 years old); Dmitry Muntyan (72 years old). Notably, the two oldest Gypsies (Nikolay Gaubert and Dmitry Muntyan, both 72 years old) were both sentenced to death and shot dead in 1938 (during the Great Terror).

At the other extreme are the youngest repressed Gypsies. Until 1935, the Criminal Code of the RSFSR (and, accordingly, the Criminal Code of the individual Soviet Union republics) made a distinction between minors (up to 16 years of age) and juveniles (from 16 to 18 years of age) and provided different types of criminal punishment. The Decree of the VTsIK and SNK RSFSR from November 25, 1935, *On Amending the Current Legislation of the RSFSR*

*Concerning Measures to Combat Crime Among Juveniles, Child Homelessness and Child Vagrancy*, amended Art. 12–2 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR as follows: “Minors over twelve years of age sentenced for theft, causing violence, bodily harm, mutilation, murder or attempted murder shall be handed over to the criminal court and subjected to all types of punishment”. Discussions and interpretations of this decree have been ongoing in academic circles and the public space in the Russian Federation until today. Still, we will not comment on them because the main issue from our point of view is its implementation. Under this decree, there were at least several 16-year-old persons who received death sentences and were shot dead (Суслов, 2011, pp. 192–193). Among them, there were persons below the age of 16 by the time of their sentence (see Бессмертный барак, 2018, p. Михаил Николаевич Шамолин). Among the repressed Gypsies, the youngest one who received a death sentence and was shot dead is Grigory Mitrushenko, 16 years old, sentenced to VMN during the trial in Zhitomir.

The youngest Roma repressed by judicial (quasi-judicial) decisions are Fyodor Timofeev (15 years old, released without a sentence), Nina Romanenko (15 years old, released without a sentence), Ivan Mihai (15 years old), and Fyodor Mihai (13 years old).

Two of them, Ivan and Fyodor Mihai, are apparently brothers because they have the same father’s middle name (Kuzmich). They were born in the then Romania; the village of Gorodishte where they were born and lived by the time of their repression, in the then Bratushani Rayon, became part of the Moldavian SSR. After the Second World War and today, it is in the Republic of Moldova. The available documents do not contain information either about their charges or about their sentences. Presumably, they were sentenced to exile in the Far East. Data about them are found in the archives of the Department of Internal Affairs in the Chita Oblast, but the circumstances of their repression are unclear. Although it is unlikely that they were the only family members who were repressed, there is no record of repression of other family members.

Notably, the data on the age of the repressed Gypsies are generally quite complete. The explanation is that the birth year was (at least in theory) an essential element of any identity documents in the Russian Empire and the USSR. Despite this, there is no data on the age (more precisely, the year of birth) of 85 people. Many of them were defendants under the so-called First Gypsy lawsuit in Moscow (61 people), in the materials of which there is no personal information about 39 people, including their names.



We encountered some difficulties in defining the social characteristics of the Gypsies, who were repressed as a result of judicial (quasi-judicial) decisions. The individual data in the various databases is generally incomplete. There are many omissions and obvious mistakes. Although we have tried to collect information from various sources in our database, the data is by no means comprehensive. Nevertheless, even if incomplete, the available data outlines the most important features of the social profile of the politically repressed Gypsies.

The repressed were born in many different places. Most of them were born in the Russian Empire – a total of 319 people. The prevalence of people born in the Russian Empire is logical, given that the peak of the mass political repressions, which also included Gypsies, was during the Great Terror (1937–1938). In this period, the majority of the Gypsies living in the USSR were born at the time of the Russian Empire, while the ones who were born in the conditions of the USSR, were much fewer in number, mostly young children and minors.

Seen from the point of view of the administrative-territorial distribution in the USSR at the time of their repression, the birthplaces of Gypsies born in the Russian Empire, who were victims of political repression, are situated as follows: born within the borders of the RSFSR are 187 people; the Ukrainian SSR 81 people, the Moldavian SSR 7 people, the Byelorussian SSR 6 people, the Georgian SSR 2 people, the Kazakh SSR 2 people, and the Uzbek USSR 1 person. In addition to them, 29 more people were born in the Russian Empire, whose birthplaces at the time of their repression (in the 1930s) were outside the borders of the USSR, as follows: in Romania for 11 people, in Poland for 8 people, in Latvia to 5 people, and in Lithuania to 4 people.

A total of 87 people were born in the USSR, which succeeded the Russian Empire, and their distribution by individual Union Republics is as follows: 72 people in the RSFSR; 11 people in the Ukrainian SSR (also including Toma Goman, who was born in the city of Kherson, in Ukraine, and not in Romania as indicated in his personal file); 3 people in the Byelorussian SSR; 1 Roma woman in the Transcaucasian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic, (born in 1930 in the Stalin's birthplace, the town of Gori, on the territory of the then Transcaucasian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic).

The number of the repressed Gypsies born in a 'foreign country' is very high – 139 people. In this regard, we must clarify that the category "foreigner" was defined not only according to the country of birth but also according to the existing borders of the USSR at the time of the repression. In many cases, the repressed Gypsies were born in the Russian Empire, but at the time of their repression (whether it was primary or secondary repression), their place of birth was already outside the USSR borders, i.e., in a foreign country.

From this point of view, the category 'foreigners' includes not only the countries historically outside the Russian Empire but also the territories of the former empire that existed as independent states in the interwar period (Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia) or were included in the borders of other countries – Western Ukraine and Western Belarus in Poland, and part of Moldova (the future Moldavian SSR) in Romania. At the end of the Second World War, these territories, as well as Transcarpathia (in the interwar period, part of Czechoslovakia) and Northern Bukovina (in the interwar period, part of Romania) were annexed to the Ukrainian SSR, but during different periods of time they were 'foreign countries' for the USSR, and that is how they were recorded in the personal files of the repressed.

The situation with the former Austro-Hungarian Empire is similar but not identical. After the First World War, it broke up into separate independent states – Austria, Hungary and Czechoslovakia, while other parts of it were annexed by neighbouring states (Italy, Poland, Romania, and the newly created Yugoslavia). In all these cases (except Transcarpathia), the respective territories were 'foreign countries' not only for the Russian Empire but also remained 'foreign countries' for the USSR.

Taking into account all these considerations, the distribution of those born in a 'foreign' country is as follows:

The largest number of the repressed was born on the territory of interwar Romania – a total of 57 people (excluding Shuma Guganova, whose personal file indicated Romania as a country of birth, but at the same time, it indicated Belgrade as a place of birth, and she was identified as 'Serbian' by nationality, i.e., she was born in Serbia). Several people among the repressed Roma, whose birthplace is not indicated in the documents, have Romanian names or their nationality is indicated as "Romanian" or "Romanian Gypsy" (Bratyan le Botasko, Dzhordzhina [probably a misspelling, the correct spelling should be Dzhordzhino – authors' note] le Burikosko, Bratyan Mihai, Ivan Mihai, Ivan Mihai-Stanesko, Nikolay Novodopchenko, Risto Dobrodzyano, Nikolay Stanesko, Nikolay Hristo), i.e., it is very likely that they (or at least most of them) were also born in Romania.

In the list of the repressed foreign Gypsies, Austria-Hungary comes second with 37 people, followed by Serbia with 25 people, Greece with 12 people, Hungary with 3 people, Poland with 4 people, Czechoslovakia with 2 people, and Lithuania with 1 person, as well as one woman from the Dom division, born in Iran.

It should be noted that most, if not all, of the 36 people in our database with birthplaces in Austria-Hungary were born in settlements, which, at the time



of the repressions (after the end of the First World War), were located in other countries (and still are today).

Among them, there are the most cases of those born on the territory of interwar Poland – a total of 13 people, 8 of them (from the Kvek/Kwiek family) were born in the city of Przemyśl. 12 people were born on the territory of interwar Hungary, like those born in the city of Budapest with 8 people. Several repressed were recorded as born in the city of Demeter (also written as Demetzer, Demechar, Demichar) in Austria-Hungary. Demecser, at that time, was a place with a very small population in the region of Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg, in today Hungary, but the Demeter family name is one of the most common family names of Kelderari in various countries around the world. In addition, several repressed Gypsies born in Austria-Hungary indicated ‘Hungarian’ or ‘Hungarian Gypsy’ as their nationality.

The category “foreigners” should also include those Roma who were born in the Russian Empire but whose birthplaces at the time of their repression were in territories outside the borders of the USSR – a total of 29 people (see above).

For 93 persons in our database of the politically repressed Gypsies, there is no data about birthplace (and, accordingly, country of origin).

The criterion ‘town–village’ concerning the birthplace of the repressed reveals new aspects of their social profile. According to this criterion, Gypsies, victims of political repressions, are distributed as follows: 261 people were born in a city, 202 people were born in a village. For 42 people, the documents indicate only a larger administrative unit (Governorate, Oblast, Uyezd, Rayon, etc.) and for 42 people, only the country, and for 95, there is no data.

However, we have certain doubts about the accuracy of this data, especially with regard to those people who were born abroad. It is noticeable that most of the repressed Roma were born in Bucharest (31 people), followed by Belgrade (15 people, two of them with uncertain records). The data about the birthplace of the repressed, in many cases, was filled in according to the statement of the arrested. It is possible that they did not know their exact place of birth and indicated the respective capital city instead; it is also possible that the officials who made the personal files did not want to leave the column blank and indicated the capital city when the arrested could not specify their place of birth. In quite a few cases, the repressed Gypsies who were born in the Russian Empire indicated only the region in which they were born. It is also noticeable that a relatively high number of the repressed Gypsies could not (or did not want to – this possibility should not be excluded) provide any information about their place of birth. As a result, the number of persons whose personal files do not have records of their birthplace exceeds several times the number of persons who were unable to indicate the exact year of their birth.

It may sound surprising that the number of the repressed who were born in a city/town is higher than the number of those who were born in a village. In theory, it should be the opposite because, at the times of the political repressions, most of the Gypsies had a nomadic way of life, mainly in rural regions (i.e., presumably, they were born in these regions). In order to understand this phenomenon, we should take into account other important circumstances shaping the social profile of the victims of judicial (or quasi-judicial) decisions and analyse them together with the data on their residence, social background, education, profession and workplace.



The data on the residence of the Gypsies, who were victims of judicial (or quasi-judicial) decisions, can be analysed in various aspects, one of them being urban vs. rural. We took into account the victims' place of residence before the 'primary repression', for those who already resided in the places of punishment (in the overwhelming number of cases, these people had sentences for criminal offences) and who were subjected to 'secondary repression' with political accusations while serving other sentences in the GULAG system (they will be discussed in more detail below).

From this point of view, the available data shows the following distribution: At the time of their repression, 283 people had permanent residence in a city/town, and 81 people – in a village. For another 6 people, it is difficult to classify the settlement where they live – 3 of them in a railway station, 2 in a *promysl* (see Glossary), and 1 is manager of a health sanatorium for workers' rest.

We can see that there are more than three and a half times more people living in the cities than those who live (or at least are registered) in the countryside, while, as already mentioned, the Gypsies living in the cities at that time are much less than nomads and those living in the countryside (the ratio is rather the opposite – approximately only about a third live in the cities). These data show unequivocally that the victims of repression are mostly those Roma who have progressed (at least somewhat) in their social integration.

Fifteen people had only the region (Oblast, Rayon) of residence recorded. Sixty-two people were recorded as BOMZH, i.e., homeless. Data on permanent residence is missing for 51 persons; for two of them, the personal files indicate Hungary and Romania, respectively, but these are clearly errors.

Twelve of the repressed Roma had permanent residence outside the borders of the USSR. Eleven of them are from the Kwiek family of the so-called Gypsy Kings in Poland, the lawsuit of which we will discuss later (see Chapter 4).

Last of the repressed in this category is Pyotr Shcherbakov, already mentioned above, who had permanent residence in China.

The general picture is further distorted by the fact that 167 people (just over a quarter of the total) were secondarily sentenced, and their permanent residence was de facto in the GULAG system.

A more detailed characterisation of the data according to the territorial-administrative units would not be helpful because the data are insufficient and incoherent; moreover, it would be similar (at least to a certain extent) to the specification of the places of repression that we have already provided. The situation with the places of birth of the repressed is even more complicated, considering the changes of residence (especially in the case of the nomadic Gypsies), which often can be different from the place of birth.



The data on other important features of the social profile of Gypsies, victims of political repression, are also quite fragmented.

Such is the case with the data in the column “social origin” in the files of the repressed. In general, the category “social origin” was an important part of the personal documentation of all Soviet citizens. Belonging to a certain social category largely determined the fate of the Soviet citizens, especially in the early USSR, some of which (e.g., representatives of the former ruling classes and estates) had limited civil rights (the so-called *lishentsi*) until the adoption of the new Constitution of the USSR in 1936, and respectively had no opportunities for personal realisation.

The data in the column “social origin” should not be confused with the columns “profession” and “work” in the personal documentation of the Soviet citizens, although there is a certain correlation between them. The categorisation of the Soviet citizens according to social origin was the prerogative of the Soviet institutions. In practice, however, at least in some cases, the authorities could only rely on the oral statements of the individuals, who, for understandable reasons, wanted to be included in the privileged social categories, primarily the ‘proletariat’ (according to the official Soviet ideology, this is the ruling class in the Soviet state) and the ‘working peasantry’. In such unclear cases, the question is to what extent the authorities (who made the final decision) would accept the individual citizen’s claims of a given social origin (this also applies in the case of the repressed Gypsies).

Apparently, the Soviet authorities encountered great difficulties determining the social origin of the Gypsies. The social origin column in the personal

files of the repressed Gypsies was not filled for 554 (sic!) out of 640 people, which is just over 86.5% of them.

For the remaining 88 persons, whose social origin was indicated, the data shows the following:

The biggest part of them belonged to the category 'peasants' (the second most prestigious category according to the official Soviet ideology), which included 24 persons; for five of them, there was an additional specification (two of them were "from poor peasants", one "from middle peasants", and one "from a shepherd family").

Almost as many (23 persons) indicated they belonged to a family of workers, i.e., the proletariat. It is difficult to confirm whether this is the actual number of people with a working-class background and whether they provided the data.

Eleven persons were "from handicraftsmen" (*из кустари́*), which meant sole small producers and artisans. This category overlaps largely with the city-dweller social estate ('meshchane') in the Russian Empire, which included a significant number of nomadic Gypsies (Marushiakova & Popov, 2008). In the 1920s, many Gypsies in the cities registered in this way, but in the 1930s, with the development of the socialist economy, this social estate gradually disappeared.

For four of the repressed Gypsies, the social origin was defined as 'from merchants', which is another social estate from the times of the Russian Empire. It also included Gypsies, although relatively rarely, and mainly representatives of the musical elite (Ibid.). For two of them, there is a note 'from nomads', and for one, there is a note 'from horsedealers' (*из барышников*), indicating that horse trading was the main occupation of male Gypsies from the Ruska Roma group.

For two of the repressed Gypsies, the social origin was defined as 'from employees'. This new social category created by the Soviet state included a wide range of professions and occupations, e.g., the employees of the Soviet institutions at all levels and with diverse profiles (Party and State nomenclature, various types of officials, university professors, teachers, doctors, engineers, etc.). It is clear that the people belonging to this category, at least in the 1920s and 1930s, could not be defined by their origin (because the category appeared with the establishment of the Soviet state) but only by their official position at the time.

For one of the repressed, the social origin was defined as 'children's home pupil', 'prisoner' (without further clarification whether this meant that his parents were prisoners, or that this was his status at the time) and 'others' (not clear what is meant).

Undoubtedly, the cases in which the social origin of the repressed was tied to their nomadic lifestyle (19 such cases) deserve special attention. In five

of these cases, the social origin is defined as 'nomads' and the nationality is defined as 'Gypsies'. In another ten cases, a mixed criterion is used, specifying 'nomadic Gypsies' in the column for social origin and repeating the appellation 'Gypsies' in the column for nationality. In the remaining four cases, the social origin is defined as 'Gypsies', and the nationality is defined as 'Gypsy', 'Romanian', 'Serbian' and 'Hungarian', respectively.

In this context, it is interesting to call to attention the academic trend, existing until today, which considers that the Gypsies are a social category which acquired ethnic characteristics secondarily as a result of their common way of life, the policies towards them, and under the strong influence of their researchers (for more details see Marushiakova & Popov, 2016c). All available data clearly and unequivocally show that in the conditions of the USSR, the 'Gypsies' were perceived as an ethnic category. The limited number of cases in which social origin and ethnicity ('nationality' in the USSR terminology) were mixed or used interchangeably cannot credibly challenge this conclusion.

This latter point is worth emphasising because, in the last two to three decades, we have encountered an increasing number of examples in academic studies on the Gypsies (nowadays Roma), which tend to draw generalised conclusions about the Gypsy communities on the basis of a limited number of selectively drawn cases. This trend shows the influence of the human rights discourse and its methodology on academic work on the Gypsies. Whether this approach is acceptable in human rights work is a matter of another discussion; however, it is certainly completely unacceptable in academia.

The vast majority of the cases of repressed Gypsies were accepted (and treated) as an ethnic category whose social origin the authorities could not define. In the conditions of the Russian Empire, the Gypsies had the opportunity to choose the social estate they would join and the taxes they would pay. Making them taxpayers was, in fact, the main goal of the entire state policy towards them, which did not achieve great success in this respect (Marushiakova & Popov, 2008). The new Soviet power found itself in a situation with no existing rules and criteria for determining the social affiliation of the Gypsies (and in particular of the nomadic Gypsies, who were the overwhelming majority of the Gypsies in the conditions of the USSR). By all evidence, the social classification of the Gypsies was not important for the authorities and de facto, they did not pay much attention to it. As neither the theorists of Marxism-Leninism (the dominant ideology) nor the higher Soviet institutions had classified the Gypsies regarding social origin, this responsibility was practically transferred to the lowest NKVD level. In the absence of special instructions, the NKVD representatives were unable to determine the social status of the Gypsy nomads, who did not fit the social categories that they knew. In this

situation, the simplest solution, with no risk of mistakes, was to leave the social origin column empty. In the case of the social origin of the Gypsies, victims of political repressions, we can observe a model of thinking and behaviour that was characteristic of the entire system of the Soviet administration and remained dominant until the very end of the USSR.

Gypsy activists, who in the early USSR enjoyed active support from the Soviet state, could not assist in this respect. The two Gypsy journals in this period had quite a few materials dedicated to the fight against the “Gypsy kulaks” in the newly created Gypsy collective farms and artels, in the Central Gypsy Club in Moscow, and in the State Gypsy Theatre *Romen* (Marushiakova & Popov, 2022, pp. 458–459). In other words, the Gypsy activists had adopted and applied to their community the prevailing social categories at that time. Unlike them, however, the Soviet authorities did not seem to have adopted this absurd social classification, and that is why the category ‘Gypsy kulaks’ is absent in the NKVD documents.



Another important characteristic of the general social profile of the politically repressed Gypsies is their education. The information in the personal files of the repressed is not exhaustive, but it is sufficient to draw a general (albeit incomplete) picture.

There is no data on the educational level of 360 people, including 23 women, which is just over 56% of the repressed in our database. The distribution of the remaining 280 people is as follows.

120 people, including 21 women, were recorded as “illiterate”; 87 persons (all Roma women) were defined as “poorly literate”, “with low literacy”, “with weak literacy”, etc., and 12 persons as “literate”. In addition, two persons were recorded as “self-educated” and “home-educated”. In all probability, all these people did not attend school but had achieved some basic literacy.

In the 1920s, with the introduction of compulsory primary education (four grades) in the individual republics of the USSR and in the respective territorial-administrative units, some of the Gypsy children attended the regular schools (apart of the specialised Gypsy schools that were established at the time). These processes are visible in the level of education of the repressed, 55 of whom, including one woman, had ‘primary’ education. Apart from them, five people had completed two classes of primary education, and one person completed three classes.

Some of the repressed Gypsies had completed higher than primary education (up to 7th grade): One person was recorded with 5th grade completed; one

female with 6th grade completed; and two persons – one male and one female, with 7th grade completed. Secondary education started in the 8th grade and finished in the 10th grade. Among the repressed, four persons did not complete secondary education; five persons, including two women, completed secondary education; and one man completed secondary professional education.

One person, Boris Tkachuk, from the city of Lubny in the Ukrainian SSR, had a university education. He was a university professor, but his subject was not indicated. Dina Michelson from Tomsk, who taught history at school and Valentina Tverdostupova, a doctor at the Infectious Diseases Hospital, had studied but did not complete higher education.

The documents indicated that the Roma man, Adam Gornyak, living in the city of Novosibirsk, also had higher education. This is clearly a mistake because he worked as a mechanic in an *artel*; his brother (judging by the names), who was illiterate, worked in the same *artel*.

There is no mistake, however, in the data about Vikenty Surmay, born in Transcarpathia and living in the city of Gorlovka, in the Ukrainian SSR, who was recorded as a ‘university student’, with only primary education (i.e., four grades) completed previously. In the USSR (especially in the early USSR), it was a widespread practice to enrol young men and women from working-class and rural backgrounds in special courses (so-called Workers’ Faculty or *Rabfak*), which made up for missed school grades and prepared young people for university. The *Rabfak* graduates were enrolled directly (without entry exams) as students in various university majors.

The educational level review shows that, as a whole, the prevailing part of the repressed Gypsies in the USSR were illiterate, poorly literate, or had completed only four grades of school. A tiny layer of Roma, including women, have acquired better education, using the existing social elevators for Soviet citizens in the early USSR. This does not include Gypsy activists, who benefited from opportunities available for the nomenclature (see for more details the biographies of leading Gypsy activists in the early USSR in Marushiakova & Popov, 2022).



The data on the profession and workplace of the repressed Gypsies in the official NKVD documentation is quite heterogeneous and diverse. One should bear in mind that the personal files of the repressed were filled in upon their arrest, i.e., the information in them reflects the person’s occupation (in rare cases) and current workplace at the time of their arrest. Therefore, it should not be surprising that the column for the workplace in the personal files of the

repressed Gypsies most often indicates “prisoner” – for 136 persons, including 15 women. Within this aggregate are included all persons who received additional sentences on political charges while serving other sentences (in most cases for criminal offences). Such was the case with 127 prisoners (one of them had previously served in the Red Army), plus two already mobilised (as a result of sentences by the local Military registration and enlistment offices) in the so-called Labour Armies, plus seven people who were already under investigation on other, non-political charges. Still, at the time of their detention, they received ‘secondary’ political sentences.

Apart from the prisoners, information about profession and workplace is missing for another 161 repressed Gypsies, including 12 women.

The personal files do not contain information about the civilian profession of another 14 repressed persons fulfilling military service in the Red Army at the time of their arrest.

In the case of one Roma man, a student in the higher education system (i.e., he is in the category of ‘students’), it is not possible to talk about occupation, profession and workplace.

For the remaining part of the repressed (341 people in total, including 30 Roma women), the personal files contain the following information:

A large number of persons – 116, including 15 women, did not have a permanent job and specific occupation. The official documentation registered 67 persons with ‘no specific occupation’ and 49 persons ‘without a fixed place of work’. In many cases, these definitions go together with a lack of permanent residence and/or nomadic lifestyle. The indication of a specific occupation for these categories of repressed Gypsies is rather an exception, e.g., ‘a craftsman-tinsmith’, ‘copper-tinsmith’, ‘tinsmith’, ‘previously blacksmith’, ‘shoemaker’, etc.

Quite similar are the cases defined as ‘unemployed’ – 19 persons, including 3 women. In fact, it is not clear by what criteria they were distinguished as a separate category.

The case of four Roma women, defined as ‘housewives’ (i.e., they are dependent on their husbands and take care of the children in the family and the household), is specific. Although, in theory, the Soviet authorities aspired to engage all Soviet citizens in socially useful work, throughout the history of the USSR, quite a few Soviet citizens did not work because they could afford it.

Twenty-nine of the repressed, including one woman, lived and worked in villages. The majority of them (18 people) were members of kolkhoz, including two chairmen of Gypsy collective farms – Denis Glinkin, chairman of the *Krasny gorodok* (Red Little Town) kolkhoz in the Western Region and Sergey Bello, chairman of the *Third International* kolkhoz (named in honour of the Third Communist International or Comintern) in the Yaroslavl Oblast. Specific



professions were specified for some of the remaining members of the collective farm – five blacksmiths, one copper man, one repairman, one tailor, one worker in *sel'po*, and one accountant. Similar to the collective farm members, one Roma woman worked in a sovkhos, and one man was a member of the so-called irregular agricultural artel (collective farms created by the special resettlers in their new places of residence). The rest of the repressed, living and working in villages (10 people), were not members of collective farms – five of them were defined as 'sole peasants' (i.e., small owners of agricultural land who did not use hired labour in the time before the mass collectivisation of agriculture in the early 1930s) and one of them was defined as 'farmer and horse trader'. We can assume that the rest supported themselves by agricultural wage labour before collectivisation. Interesting is the case of Nurutdin Nurbaev from the Uzbek SSR (already mentioned), who was defined as 'dehkan' by profession ('dehkan' is the local designation for a peasant in Central Asia). In contrast, his nationality was defined as 'nomadic Gypsy' (sic!).

Another more or less clearly defined segment of the repressed Gypsies are those who worked in the Gypsy artels (see Chapter 1) – 31 persons. For the most part, they were Kelderari, with similar occupations – 'tinsmith' (7 people), 'cauldron maker' (2 people), 'cauldron cleaner' (3 people), 'cauldron maker-tinsmith' (4 people), 'copper-tinsmith' (2 people), 'copper cauldron maker' (2 persons), 'tinker', 'locksmith' (4 people). Their occupations correspond to the professional specialisation of the men in the group, whose name derives from the Romanian 'căldera' (cauldron). The repressed Gypsies, described as the 'artel chairman' (Pyotr Kaldoras-Vishnyakov, Hungarian Labour Artel in the city of Novosibirsk) and the 'head of the supply department' in an artel (Anton Kaminsky, who will be discussed below) were also Kelderari.

Besides Kelderari, representatives of other Roma groups also worked in the Gypsy artels. Such are the cases of the repressed Gypsies, who worked as a 'roofer' and 'master-roller' in the *Tsygkhimprom* artel in the city of Moscow and as a 'horse carrier' in the *Guzhtransport* artel (horse-drawn transport) in the city of Chelyabinsk, both of them probably belonging to the Ruska Roma group.

Quite close to the workers in artels in terms of their social status are the so-called artisans (sole producers). A total of 11 people from the repressed were identified as such, whose professions were listed as: tinker (2 people), copper-smith (2 people), tinker, coppersmith, dancer (1 person), cab driver (1 person), trader (3 people), saddler (1 person), tailor (1 person). Those in both categories (working in artels and artisans) lived in urban conditions.

A relatively large number of the repressed Gypsies – 114 persons, including 7 women, worked in urban conditions outside the separate Gypsy economic units in various Soviet enterprises and institutions.

The composition of this assemblage is quite heterogeneous, and in most cases, the documentation indicated only 'occupation' but not the actual 'job' of the repressed.

As already said, in the conditions of the USSR, the official documentation divided the population into basic social categories according to the nature and place of the labour activity carried out into three main categories – workers, peasants, and employees (the last category is the most diverse and includes all those who do not directly perform physical labour, including the highest Party and State administration, who “serve the working people”). From this point of view, we can make a general distinction, according to which 39 of the repressed Gypsies (including two Roma women) fit into the category of 'workers', 36 people (including four Roma women) into the category of 'employees', and for 39 people (including one Roma woman), there is no data on where exactly they worked.

In this situation, for the purposes of our study, we provide only a list of the various 'occupations' and 'jobs' of the repressed without further details. One should consider that, in many cases, a person can be described by several occupations and professions.

Most numerous are the 'occupations' and 'jobs' related to the processing of non-ferrous metals. Judging by the occupations, the names, the place of birth, etc., we can assert that most persons belonged to the Kelderari subgroup. The most common occupation was 'tinsmith', found in the files of 41 repressed persons. In some cases, this occupation is accompanied by the remark 'leading a nomadic lifestyle' or similar. Various combinations of occupations are also possible, most often 'copper-tinsmith (6 times), as well as a variety of other occupations, including 'tinsmith, actor and dancer'. The record of one Roma woman stated, 'tinker in the military unit'.

Other common occupations in this field are 'copper smith' (24 people), 'cauldron maker' and cauldron cleaner' (15 people), 'tinker' (4 people) and 'locksmith' (9 people in total), as well as combinations, e.g., 'coppersmith-tinker', 'cauldron maker-tinker', and the like.

Occupations indicated as 'blacksmith' (15 persons) can be considered traditional for Roma groups such as Servi and Vlaxi. Occupations related to horses, such as cabbies, carriers, and groom (12 persons), can be connected to other Roma groups, such as the Ruska Roma. In one case, a Roma woman was registered as an "oil' tanker carrier".

The list of occupations also contains traditional domains for parts of the Ruska Roma in the Russian Empire such as 'musician' (3 people), 'bayan accordionist' (2 people, one of whom is noted as playing in a Gypsy ensemble), 'leader of a [musical] club', 'dancer of the Northern Song and Dance Choir', 'entertainer', 'artiste', 'touring artist', 'actress in Theatre *Romen*' (Olga Kononova),

'actress and singer' (Berta Chervonnaya), 'pop singer and composer' (Vadim Kozin). At the same time, it should be taken into account that among those repressed with these crafts, there may also be Kelderari and Lovari (Lazar Kaldaras, Ivan Kaminsky).

Judging by the lists of the repressed Gypsies, the publicly proclaimed goal of the Soviet policy to transform the Gypsies into a "real" proletariat does not appear to have been very successful. There were few Gypsies among the repressed who could be considered proletarian by their occupation – 'blacksmith' (3 people), 'tinker' (3 people), 'coppersmith' (3 people), cauldron maker; tinsmith, a mechanic, etc. in industrial enterprises. Apart from them, this category also includes the cases of Gypsies noted in the documents with the occupation 'worker' (4 people) 'unskilled worker' (3 people), 'driver' (2 people), 'mechanic', 'automotive technician of an automobile plant', 'factory worker', 'industrial worker', 'worker in mine', 'mine scraper driver', 'drilling foreman', 'community foreman', 'railroad worker', 'hammer', 'vacuum man'.

Another broad circle of the repressed Gypsies worked in various services (as individual artisans or employed by an enterprise) such as 'hairdresser' (4 people), 'shoemaker' (3 people), 'tailor'; 'saddle maker', 'cabman' (11 people); 'roofer', 'food delivery woman in canteen' (Roma woman), 'foreman in a commune', 'trader' (3 people), 'agent for the purchase of materials' (2 people), purveyor in a horse depot', 'budget department inspector', 'janitor' (2 people), 'construction site commander'.

A relatively limited number of the repressed Gypsies held higher professional positions such as 'foreman-geologist' (i.e., head of a geological survey team); 'store manager'; 'senior accountant'; 'chief accountant'; 'manager in a state bank'; 'engineer in the resort of Staraya Russa' (in the city of Staraya Russa in the Novgorod region); 'director of the Alkino Sanatorium' (in the Bashkir ASSR); 'director of a mill plant' (in the city of Vinnytsia, in Ukrainskaya SSL); 'teacher at the Pedagogical Technical College' (in the city of Dorogobuzh, in the Smolensk region); 'teacher of history at school' (Roma woman in the city of Tomsk); 'teacher at the university' (higher educational institution, one in Kiev and one the town of Lubny, in the Ukrainian SSR); 'physician' (Roma woman); 'artist, sculptor'; and 'journalist, writer'.

Some of the entries in the columns 'occupation' and 'job' in the files of the repressed sound as a curiosity. For example, 'preacher in the sect of Adventists' (Filip Kuzemko from Minsk) or 'elected head of a Gypsy camp near Moscow' (Gogo Stanesko).

Only in two instances, among the wide variety of occupations of the repressed Gypsies, the files indicated 'nomad' in the columns 'occupation', 'profession' or 'job'. In another 25 cases, references in other columns ('social

origin', 'nationality', 'residence', 'place of birth') and different forms (e.g., 'of the nomads', 'nomadic Gypsy', 'led a nomadic lifestyle', 'born in a tabor', etc.) indicate that the person was a nomad. Of course, it is unrealistic to consider that the only nomads among the repressed Gypsies were those for whom there were records.

We make this point having in mind the disproportionately high number of Kelderari among the repressed Gypsies. As we stated earlier, the Kelderari entered the Russian Empire in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Their nomadic tradition was significantly different from the established traditions of the Roma nomads in the Russian Empire. Local Roma (Ruska Roma, Servi, Vlaxi, Krimurya, etc.) used horses and carts for transportation; they travelled mainly in villages, sometimes in small towns, where they spent the winter in rented housing, and rarely entered the large urban centres (where the restrictions on their activities were much more strictly observed). The Kelderari used a radically different nomadic pattern. They travelled mainly by train (often hired entire freight wagons), and their destinations were the big cities, where they offered their professional services and sold their products (Вж. Деметер-Чарская, 1997, pp. 18–20). In the conditions of the early USSR, the Kelderari settled in the cities and created their own artels but often changed their place of residence, i.e., continued to lead a mobile lifestyle. Kelderari made up the main part of the repressed Gypsies in the cities (considering also the fact that in the cities, the repressive apparatus of the Soviet state was much better developed and more effective). Of course, the Kelderari were not the only nomads among the Gypsies in the USSR who became victims of political repression. In the early USSR, in the conditions of economic devastation after the Civil War, other Roma groups also transitioned to a sedentary lifestyle. Most of them sought to settle in the cities, where the opportunities for earning a living were greater at times of recovery and rapid economic development.

Due to the incompleteness and heterogeneity of the available data, we are not able to make more accurate and detailed conclusions in this regard. We can only draw a general conclusion that the actively nomadic Gypsies or the recent nomads who had settled in the cities make up a significant share (at least half, if not more) of the repressed Gypsies.



As demonstrated by the material provided above, the official documentation of the NKVD did not always reflect the complete personal data of the repressed Gypsies. Unlike the data for place of birth, place of residence, place of work,

etc., however, the authorities rarely left empty the column 'nationality' in the personal files of the repressed Gypsies.

This shows, on the one hand, that for the Soviet authorities, the question of nationality was not an unimportant one, and on the other hand, it allows for more comprehensive conclusions about the multidimensional identities of the Gypsies.

Out of 640 repressed Gypsies in our database, information about nationality is missing for only 80. However, for 11 of them, the data on their Gypsy origin and identity are still reflected in the official documentation, but in a different form – as place of birth in a 'Gypsy camp', social origin 'nomadic Gypsy', job 'nomadic Gypsy' (3 cases), work in a Gypsy artel (4 cases), work in a Gypsy ensemble, chairman of a Gypsy collective farm. In the remaining 21 cases, we include the repressed in our database after careful analysis and cross-checking of the indirect data contained in the official documentation (see below for this approach, also used in cases where the repressed have in the documents written a non-Gypsy nationality). For another 40 people from this category of repressed Gypsies, no data is known, not even their names – these are those included in the so-called Gypsy Lawsuits (see Chapter 4 for more detail).

For the remaining 560 people, the data in the 'nationality' column are as follows:

A total of 519 people (of whom 49 are women) are unambiguously recorded as 'Gypsies' in the database prepared here for the victims of political repression.

In another 26 cases, the nationality 'Gypsy' is supplemented with explanations: 'Romanian Gypsy' (8 people); 'Romanian-Gypsy'; 'Greek Gypsy' (3 people); 'Greek-Gypsy'; 'Serbian Gypsy'; 'Gypsy (Hungarian)'; 'Hungarian (Gypsy)'; 'Austrian Gypsy'; 'Polish Gypsy' (3 people); 'Russian (Gypsy)'; 'Russian (Gypsy woman)'; 'Latvian (Gypsy woman)'; 'Tatar Gypsy'; 'Persian Gypsy' (referring to a woman from the subdivision Dom); 'nomadic Gypsy' (referring to the so-called Lyuli or Dzhugi in Central Asia). The additional explanations were apparently provided by the NKVD officials who prepared the documentation (most often investigators who conducted interrogations).

In these cases, they found it necessary to complement the information in the personal documents or the self-declared nationality of the arrested with additional explanations based on their own assessment of the anthropological and/or ethnocultural characteristics of the repressed and their testimony. In other cases, however, NKVD officials recorded the nationality of the arrested only based on their personal documents or self-declaration. For this reason, in the files of the repressed, we found another 62 people whose nationality was registered as follows: 'Romanian' (32 people); 'Serbian' (13 people, of which one woman); 'Hungarian' (7 people); 'Greek' (5 people); 'Austrian' (2 people);

'Polish' (one person); 'Russian' (one person); 'Tatar' (one woman). Logically, one would ask why we included these people as 'Gypsies' in the *Book of Memory* of Gypsies, victims of political repressions in the USSR, prepared for this edition. The question is fully justified, considering that there are tens and hundreds of thousands of other people with such nationalities in the general databases of the repressed.

In response to this question, we would like to emphasise that the inclusion of each name with a non-Gypsy nationality in the database of the repressed Gypsies is the result of careful consideration and analysis of the available data in the entire official documentation of the respective individuals, including additional historical evidence (when possible). Therefore, we can provide sound arguments for the inclusion of each of these 62 people. For the purposes of this study, we will point out some typical examples.

One part of the repressed (15 people) in this list worked in Gypsy artels and had occupations typical for the Kelderari (tinker, coppersmith, cauldron maker). The same occupations are indicated for another 21 persons of the repressed, who are recorded as persons without a specific job and with a nomadic way of life. In Shuma Guganova's case file, whose nationality is indicated as Serbian, there is a note that "in 1911 she came to Russia with her parents (Gypsies)".

Twenty-three people in the list have the surname Mihai (in 2 cases, this last name is a variant and in one case, also written with a typographical error); 18 of them were identified as 'Romanian', four as 'Serbian', and one as 'Hungarian'. The family ties between some of them are undoubted (judging by patronymics, general address and place of work) and with some of the other 23 repressed persons, whose nationality was listed as 'Gypsies'. Similarly, out of five people with the surname Gornyak (who are palpable relatives) sentenced in the general Gypsy lawsuit in Novosibirsk, two were identified with 'Gypsy' nationality, one with 'Austrian' nationality, and one with 'Hungarian' nationality.

In other cases, the criterion for which persons are entered in the database as 'Gypsies', for whom another non-Gypsy nationality is indicated in the official documentation, is their inclusion in the Gypsy Lawsuits. There are a total of 39 such cases, and the indicated nationalities include: 'Romanian' (22 people), 'Serb' (6 people), 'Hungarian' (3 people), 'Austrian' (2 people), 'Greek' (2 people), 'Polish' (1 person), 'Russian' (1 person).

In some of the cases, additional evidence about "hidden" Gypsies can be found in the archives. Such is the example of Nazly Karaeva, from the city of Bakhchisarai in the Crimean ASSR, who was registered with 'Tatar' nationality. Her indictment act reads:

Having been released from the ITL in March 1937, she did not engage in socially useful work, she constantly wanders in the market among people who do not have certain occupations, appears in a state of intoxication, and terrorises the kolkhoz market with her hooligan actions. In addition, she is engaged in the purchase and resale of industrial goods at high prices. On July 15, 1937, she made a brawl at the Demirdzhi National Club (GDASBU, f. 6 P, op. 6, spr. 8, ark. 186).

As it is unlikely that a Tatar woman would have made scandals in a Gypsy club (for the Demirdzhi, see Chapter 2), the person in question is obviously a representative of the Tatar-speaking Roma community Daifa/Taifa (see Marushiakova & Popov, 2004, pp. 150–157).

Another similar case concerns Sergey Bello, chairman of the *Third International* Gypsy kolkhoz, in the Yaroslavl Oblast, Kostroma Rayon, Minsk Selsoviet, village of Turabyevo, which was created in 1936 by nomadic Kelderari (“coppersmiths, tinkers, solders, etc.”) (RGAE, f. 5675, op. 1, d. 179, l. 36–38). The creation of a kolkhoz by Kelederari was quite uncommon because they usually set up their own artels in the cities (Chernykh, 2020, pp. 358–366). The kolkhoz was inspected by Andrey Taranov, the former head of the All-Russian Union of the Gypsies in the 1920s, at the time working in the NKVD Resettlement Department – a circumstance which he had concealed in his memoirs (see Marushiakova & Popov, 2022, pp. 446–447). In his report, Taranov noted that comrade Bello “can’t be trusted” because he not only covered up numerous violations by kolkhoz members (e.g., theft and resale of horses) but also provided false references to persons for early release from prison (RGAE, f. 5675, op. 1, d. 179, l. 39). It is not clear whether the inspection had affected Sergei Bello’s fate; in any case, he was sentenced and shot dead not for the specified offences, but for espionage.

Although rather as exceptions, in the database we have prepared for Gypsies, victims of political repression, there are two cases in the opposite direction – when there are more or less doubts whether the people noted in the official documentation as having Gypsy nationality were like that. We will discuss Dmitry Vodopyan and Boris Tkachuk below. Whatever the truth, we aim to be as inclusive as possible in all controversial or unclear cases, so we decided to include their names in the list of repressed Roma. The only exception is Ivan Khandrabur, whose case needs some clarification. Although he is male, the database indicates his nationality as ‘Цыганка/Тсыганка’ (i.e., Gypsy woman). The Kagul Rayon in the Moldavian USSR is noted as his residence (without specifying a specific settlement). However, there is a village of Tsyganika in this area, and we suppose that the administrator mistakenly transferred the village’s name to the nationality column during data processing. For this reason, he is not included in our database of Gypsies victims of political repression.

The designation 'Gypsy' in the personal files alone is not sufficient to present the multiple dimensions and the heterogeneity of the entire community with its internal subdivisions, distinguished at different levels. However, the data in the official documentation, although limited and insufficient, still allows for reaching certain conclusions in this regard.

It is beyond any doubt that the vast majority of the politically repressed Gypsies in the USSR are from the Roma subdivision (one of the three subdivisions 'Dom-Lom-Rom' among the heirs of medieval migrants from the Indian subcontinent).

Among all politically repressed Gypsies, victims of judicial (quasi-judicial) decisions, there is only one representative of the Dom division. This is "Firuze, wife of Ramazan, son of Husayn" (as she was recorded in the documents). She was born in 1883 in the city of Urmia, in Iran; had lived in the Russian Empire since 1913, with Iranian citizenship; and at the time of her arrest in 1938, she was a housewife. In all likelihood, she and her family were special resettlers who ended up in Sverdlovsk in 1938–1939 during the mass deportations of ethnic Iranians and Iranian subjects living in Azerbaijan (see Chapter 2). She was accused of espionage (perhaps in favour of Iran?), but after about a year of investigation, the case was dismissed, and she was released.

Similarly, only one representative in the list of the politically repressed Gypsies belonged to the heterogeneous (both in terms of origin and identities) agglomeration of the so-called Central Asian Gypsies or Lyuli / Dzhugi as the surrounding population calls them (Marushiakova & Popov, 2016a). This is Nurutdin Nurbaev, whom we already mentioned on a few occasions. He was born in 1877 in the village of Osh and was living (or at least had his address registration) in the Uzbek SSR, Andijan Okrug, Kaunchi railway station. He is recorded as a 'nomadic Gypsy' by nationality. He probably led a nomadic way of life because the data on his repression were recorded in the Kazakh (at that time, Kazak) ASSR. He was arrested in 1930 on charges of anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation (Art. 58–10 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR), but after about three months of investigation, the charges against him were dismissed and he was released.

No doubt, it is an interesting question why the number of the repressed non-Roma Gypsies was so small.

The small size of the Gypsy population in the Transcaucasia region (until 1936 ZSFSR, then Georgian SSR, Armenian SSR, and Azerbaijan SSR) casts some light on this question. According to data from the 1926 Census, the total number of persons who self-declared themselves as Gypsies in the region was 405. Forty-two of them lived in the cities and 363 in the villages (Всесоюзная перепись, 1926), as well as 31 people who declared themselves as 'Bosha'



(Ibid.). The small population of the Gypsies in Transcaucasia (compared to 61,234 Gypsies in the USSR), primarily in the rural areas, remained de facto outside the authorities' radar.

In Central Asia, however, the Gypsy population (called Lyuli or Dzhugi) was much bigger. The 1926 Census in the Uzbek SSR (at that time, also including the future Tajik SSR) recorded 3,710 Gypsies, of whom 1,082 lived in the cities and 2,628 in the villages (Ibid.). The Gypsies were a publicly visible segment of the local population, not least because of the fact that a large part of them practised begging in the markets and in front of the mosques in the cities. Given these circumstances, it is hard to answer definitively why the Soviet repressive institutions did not look for "enemies of the people" and "foreign spies" among them. Perhaps the main factor for this lack of attention by the repressive organs to the Gypsy population was the contemptuous attitude of the surrounding society towards the Gypsies, which was typical for Asia (and also largely for the Balkans). Unlike the Gypsies in Western and Central Europe, the Gypsies in Asia were not subjected to direct persecution and repressive policies, but the surrounding population considered them a 'second class' people who are not at the same level as the rest, and the social distance towards them was much more pronounced (including, perhaps, in the repressions).

The situation with the internal sub-divisions of the Roma community is more complicated (in the USSR, unlike Central and Western Europe, the Sinti were also part of this community). The Soviet documents of this era did not specify one or another subgroup within the Roma community, and today, this can only be determined based on the available (often quite fragmented) data on the politically repressed Gypsies in the archives.

The presence of Sinti among the repressed can only be assumed without sufficient certainty. Such is, e.g., the case of the Krist family (for more details, see Chapter 2). The case of Ivan Kasparovich Horn, born in 1914 in the city of Saratov, a 'Gypsy' by nationality, is quite similar. His place of residence was in the Kyrgyz SSR, Kalinin Rayon, *Krasny Oktyabr* (Red October) kolkhoz. In 1942, he was mobilised in the Labour Army with a sentence by the RVK in the city of Frunze. It is reasonable to assume that this happened together with the massive mobilisation in the Labour Armies of other German men in the same period. At that time, many German colonists (mostly Mennonites) living in the Chüi Valley created their own settlements and collective farms (e.g., the village of Bergtal, renamed in Soviet times to *Rot Front*, kolkhozes *Rosa Luxemburg*, *Ernst Thälmann*, and others), and it is quite possible that Ivan Horn was integrated into the German community, alone (e.g., as a result of intermarriage) or together with his family.

As we have pointed out on several occasions in this study, a large part of the politically repressed Roma were from the Kelderari group. This is not difficult to determine, taking into account a number of interrelated and recurring characteristics in their personal files such as place of birth (Romania, Austria-Hungary, Serbia, Greece), nationality reflected in historical sources (Romanian, Serbian, Greek, Hungarian, Austrian), occupations (tinsmith, coppersmith, cauldron maker, tinker), and surnames (the surname Mihai is most common – 66 persons in our database, as well as the surnames Goman, Gorniak, Gas, Ivanus, Stanesko, Hristo[v], etc.). Of course, all these characteristics alone are not enough to identify someone as a representative of the Kelderari group (for example, many of them have adopted new Russian names), but their combination makes it possible to compile a general list of the repressed Kelderari (see also Chapter 4). This list comprises circa 160–180 people. Admittedly, this estimate is not precise, and their number may be higher (but not by much). Still, there is no doubt that the repressed Kelderari make up a disproportionately high share (compared to their share in the total number of Roma living in the USSR at that time) of all the politically repressed Gypsies in the USSR.

It is legitimate to ask why the number of the repressed Kelderari was so high (slightly higher than a quarter of all repressed Gypsies). We included a detailed discussion on this issue later in our study, and at this point, we only point out the two main reasons for this state of affairs.

First, the overwhelming majority of the Kelderari were in one way or another related to ‘foreignness’ – born abroad, former foreign citizens, recorded in the documents with “foreign” nationality (i.e., nationality of countries outside the borders of the USSR) or declaring such. Until the mass passportisation in the 1930s, most of them kept their foreign citizenship documents because these were their only identity documents. However, another significant part of them destroyed their IDs after the start of the First World War to not be repressed as citizens of a country (the Austro-Hungarian Empire) at war with the Russian Empire. In the environment of mass espionage (especially in the mid-1930s), this circumstance was sufficient grounds for suspicion of spying, which in many cases quickly led to the respective charges and sentences (including the most severe ones).

Secondly, due to the specificity of their itinerant life, the Kelderari made their way to the big cities, where, in the 1920s, they started setting up their own national artels and thus became “visible” for the Soviet institutions. The artels often committed various economic and financial violations of the existing legislation and administrative rules, which in many cases led to their members’ arrest and criminal charges. Once in the NKVD system, numerous

persons with criminal charges received additional political charges, especially in the 1930s, which explains why many Kelderari became victims of political repression.

There is also a third factor for the high number of Kelderari among the repressed Roma. Notably, among the 15 Gypsies who were forcibly mobilised in the Labour Armies during the Second World War (through the Military Commissariats), there was one Sinto (Ivan Horn), and all the rest were Kelderari. This fact has its explanation. As Nikolay Bessonov has noted, the participation of various Roma groups in the Great Patriotic War (such as regularly mobilised, volunteers and partisans) was uneven. In some groups (Kelderari, Lovari, Kishiniovsti), who had settled relatively late on the territory of the Russian Empire and, respectively, the USSR, civic consciousness was less developed (compared to other Roma groups). This explains that the representatives of these groups (the Kelderari being the largest one) preferred to avoid direct participation in the war in various ways (Бессонов, 2010, p. 47), which exposed them to repression by the authorities. Whether, from this point of view, the forced mobilisation of the Kelderari (i.e., the forceful compulsion to perform their civic duties) during the war should be considered political repression is a separate question that we will not discuss here.

Parenthetically, the case of the Kelderari in the USSR is interesting also from another point of view. It is an example of how academic researchers imposed the name of a given community, and over time, the community (or at least parts of it) adopted this name. The name Kelderari was not mentioned neither in the scientific literature of the early USSR (1920s and 1930s) nor in Gypsy publications (journals, books, etc.) during this period. At the same time, in the West, especially in publications in the *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, starting from the late 19th and early 20th centuries, this name was widely used with reference to numerous Roma communities migrating from the Austro-Hungarian Empire and moving around the world. These publications did not always make it clear whether the name Kelderari was a professional name or an endonym (internal self-appellation) of an individual community (Marushiakova & Popov, 2013), or it was given by the researchers based on the Romani language dialects that they used and their main occupations. In the USSR, this name appeared in the scientific field for the first time in the 1960s (Санаров, 1967; Санаров, 1967; Вентцель & Черенков, 1968) and gradually made its way (e.g., Вентцель & Черенков, 1976; Деметр & Деметр, 1981; 1990; Черенков, 1985; Деметр et al., 2000; Ослон, 2018). Nowadays, by virtue of academic tradition, this name of the group is widely used (including in the media), although most authors, starting with Valery Sanarov, explicitly note that the representatives of the community themselves do not use 'Kelderari' as their self-appellation (this

fact was confirmed in our field studies in the post-Soviet space). To this day, the overwhelming majority of the group uses family and kin or subgroup names, and as a general group name, they use the name in Russian *Kotlyari* (cauldron makers); only some of their representatives, who have read or heard about the “correct” name, identify themselves as Kelderari.

Another Roma group, which is easily identified in the database of repressed Gypsies, is the Tatar-language community Daifa/Taifa, which has a preferred Tatar identity (for more details on this community, see Chapter 2). In fact, with the exception of the aforementioned Firuze from Iran and Nurutdin Nurbayev from the Uzbek SSR, all other repressed Gypsies with Muslim names were born in Crimea. This group comprises 21 people (including four women), seven of whom were sentenced in the Kazakh SSR and in the Sverdlovsk Oblast after 1944, i.e., they were deported together with the Crimean Tatars and were secondarily repressed as special resettlers. It could be assumed that some of the repressed Gypsies from Crimea belonged to the Krimurya group, which also lived on the peninsula; the characteristics of their social profile that we have identified in the sources, however, make us think that all of them (or almost all) were Daifa/Taifa representatives. The only possible exception is Suleyman Batyrov. He was a hammerman by profession (according to NKVD documents) and could have been among the first Krimurya who had settled in the Soviet capital and worked as hammermen during the construction of the Moscow metro (Черенков & Деметер, 1987, p. 43).

It was a big surprise for us that in the lists of politically repressed Gypsies, we did not find anyone with the surname Ogly, which to this day continues to be the most common surname of Krimurya in the entire post-Soviet space. The adoption of this name by the Krimurya was a matter of misunderstanding. During the passportisation of the population in the USSR in the 1930s, the members of the community filled in (or rather spoke out to the Soviet officials because they were largely illiterate) their names according to the naming norm used in the Crimea – a personal name followed by the father’s name with the suffix ‘-ogly’, meaning “the son of”. However, Soviet officials apparently understood this according to the naming norm in the Russian language (first name, patronymic, surname), which has given rise to this curiosity. In any case, the fact that the data on the politically repressed Gypsies do not include Krimurya (apart from one uncertain case) raises an interesting question to which we have no feasible answer, at least at this stage.

The identification of other Roma groups among the rest of the repressed is not so precise and is rather a matter of assumption. It is logical to assume that Roma with Ukrainian surnames belong to the Servi group. However, representatives of the Servi group may have also lived in the RSFSR regions next to

Ukraine. On the other hand, Roma with Ukrainian surnames may also belong to the groups Vlaxi, Kishiniovtsi, and Plashchuni, i.e., the Ukrainian surname does not provide sufficient information about the group (the group belonging is clearer only in the case of Roma with such surnames who lived on the territory of the Ukrainian SSR). Similarly, Roma with Russian surnames are most likely part of the Ruska Roma group. In this case, we cannot be completely sure either because such families may include representatives of other Romani groups (including Kelderari and Lovari), so the surname cannot be sufficient evidence in this regard. Based on general considerations, we can say that the largest part of the repressed Gypsies were presumably representatives of the Ruska Roma, which was the largest and most widespread Roma community, both in the Russian Empire and in the USSR. However, as the person's surname does not provide sufficient evidence for identifying the respective group, it is not possible to determine even approximately the number of Ruska Roma representatives among the repressed Gypsies.



Unlike nationality and group affiliation, determining the religious affiliation of the Gypsies, who were victims of political repressions through judicial (quasi-judicial) decisions, is more straightforward and surer. As already said, the Gypsies with Muslim names (i.e., professing Islam) are 24 people. The rest, who represent the vast majority, i.e., 616 people or just over 96% of all repressed Gypsies, were Christians. This applies to those born in the Russian Empire and those born in other countries dominated by Orthodox Christianity (Romania, Serbia, and Greece). Even those Kelderari who were born in Austria-Hungary or were recent migrants from Romania and had presumably been baptised in the Catholic Church quickly adapted to the local forms of Christianity upon their arrival in the Russian Empire. Attachment to Catholicism was perhaps more persistent only among the Polish Roma and among the Lovari, who were born in territories inhabited mainly by Poles (in any case, during field research in the post-Soviet space focusing on the former religion, we identified some fleeting memories of Catholicism only among some Lovari). The only thing that remains unclear is the case of Ter-Karim, defined as a 'Greek Gypsy', whose name does not allow for definite conclusions.

Below, we present several cases of repressed Gypsies, which do not fit the general framework regarding the professed religion and are therefore of particular interest.

In 1937, Arseny (also spelt as Arseny) Ivashchenko, 'Gypsy' by nationality, born in 1900, living in the village of Monastyrshchyna, Voronezh Oblast,

with 3rd-grade education in primary school, no specific occupations, previously blacksmith and shoemaker, was sentenced by the NKVD Troika in the Voronezh Oblast on charges under Art. 58–10, 58–11 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR for ‘participation in the ‘Fyodorovtsi’ religious organisation”, to 8 years ITL. The name ‘Fyodorovtsi’ refers to a religious movement named after its founder, Fyodor Rybalkin, who was repressed by the authorities in 1926. This religious movement, related to the so-called Old Believers, did not accept the reforms in the Russian Orthodox Church in the second half of the 17th century. It represents the so-called catacomb churches (a collective name for the church communities of Orthodox Christians, including those considered ‘sectarians’ by the official church, who, starting in the 1920s, became clandestine), which were subjected to persecution by the Soviet authorities. In 1952, the Voronezh District Court sentenced two more Gypsies on similar charges – Yevdokia Ivashchenko (probably a relative of Arseny Ivashchenko) and Vasily Belikov, to 10 years ITL, but they were released under an amnesty in 1953 (after Stalin’s death).

Arseny Ivashchenko was arrested and imprisoned three times in his life in camps, prisons and a special psychiatric hospital (1937–1945, 1949–1954, 1961–1966). According to his own calculations in his memoir book *The History of Our Days* (unpublished), he spent 19 years in prison (ANIPTsM, f. 20, l. 2; Галкова, 2022, pp. 22–33). In the 1940s and 1950s, he was one of the two most active illegal preachers of the ideas of the ‘Fyodorovtsi’. At the end of the 1950s, there was a new round of repression against the ‘Fyodorovtsi’, but despite this, Arseny Ivashchenko continued his illegal activity and became the informal leader of the ‘Fyodorovtsi’. On his initiative, in 1969, the ‘Fyodorovtsi’, who had survived the camps and persecutions, started settling in the village of Staraya Tishanka in the Voronezh Oblast, where they founded an illegal church community. Their descendants live there until today and continue using for worship religious texts written by Arseny Ivashchenko (died 1984), including from his manuscript book (36on.ru, 2011).

Somewhat similar is the case of Antip Kazannoy, from the village of Starokazache, Izmail Oblast, born in 1910, without specified occupations. He was arrested in 1953 and charged under Art. 54–10, part 2 (anti-Soviet propaganda using religious or national prejudices) and Art. 54–11 (preparation of counter-revolutionary crimes) of the Ukrainian Criminal Code “as a preacher of the anti-Soviet religious group Heavenly Host”. The Army of the Lord (Oastea Domnului, in Romanian) was a faction of the Orthodox Church, founded in 1923 by priest Iosif Trifa, who was excommunicated by the Romanian Orthodox Church in 1936. Under the communist regime in Romania in the late 1940s, the movement was persecuted by the authorities and continued to exist illegally.

In all probability, Antip Kazannoy joined this religious movement in the 1930s, when Bessarabia was within the borders of the Romanian state. He was sentenced by the Izmail Regional Court to 10 years ITL, but a little more than a year later, in 1954, he was released by a decision of the Supreme Court of the Ukrainian SSR.

The case of Filip Kuzemko from Minsk (the capital of the Byelorussian SSR), born in 1885 in a family of peasants, with primary education, deserves special attention. When he was arrested in 1929, his personal file listed his occupation as “preacher, Adventist sect”. He was charged under Art. 58–10 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR (anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda), and in 1930, he was sentenced by the OGPU Commission to 3 years ITL. It is not clear whether there were other Roma Adventists in Minsk or Filip Kuzemko was an exception. In any case, this is the first historical evidence for the entering of the so-called new evangelical churches among the Gypsies in the USSR – a trend that rapidly spread throughout the region of Central, South-Eastern and Eastern Europe, including the countries of the post-Soviet space, in the years after the fall of the communist regimes in the region (Marushiakova & Popov, 2014).



From a legal perspective, the analysis of the data that we collected in the *Book of Memory* of Gypsies, victims of political repression in the USSR, involves consideration of the following four criteria: the charges brought against the repressed Gypsies, the institutions that delivered the sentences (or decisions to terminate the investigation and to release from prison), the sentences pronounced, and the rehabilitation of the repressed.

The Criminal Code of the RSFSR is the basis of the charges brought during the period of mass political repression. After the establishment of the Soviet state, the old legal norms from the time of the Russian Empire were abolished and replaced by the legal system of the new Soviet state. A number of initial Decrees and other normative acts were united in the Guidelines on the Criminal Law of the RSFSR in 1919, which provided the basis for the first Soviet Criminal Code of the RSFSR adopted in 1922. After substantial revision of this legislation in 1926, the new Criminal Code of the RSFSR was adopted by the VTsIK of the RSFSR. It was updated, supplemented and edited over time, but remained the leading legislative basis of the mass political repressions throughout the entire period until 1956. It remained in effect until 1960 when a new Criminal Code of the RSFSR was created and adopted.

Parallel to the Criminal Code of the RSFSR, the Criminal Codes of the Union Soviet Republics were also in force in the USSR – initially of the Ukrainian

and the Byelorussian SSRs, and over time, the newly created Union Republics adopted their Criminal Codes as well. The Criminal Codes of the individual Soviet Union republics were almost completely synchronised, with only occasional discrepancies in the numbering of individual articles. In many cases in the 1920s and 1930s, under different circumstances, the Criminal Code of the RSFSR, which was the leading one, was applied directly in the individual Union Republics.

Most Gypsies, victims of political repression as a result of judicial (quasi-judicial) decisions, were charged under the Criminal Codes of the RSFSR, the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR, and the Criminal Code of the Byelorussian SSR. In the Kazakh SSR, which existed as a separate Union Republic since 1936 (until then, it was an autonomous republic within the RSFSR), until the end of the studied period (1956), the authorities applied the Criminal Code of the RSFSR (also in the cases of the repressed Gypsies). In the same way, in the first years of the existence of the Moldavian SSR (created in 1940), the authorities applied the Ukrainian Criminal Code. In other Union Republics, in which there were no politically repressed Gypsies (or their number was insignificant), the local Criminal Codes were not applied to them.

The Criminal Code of the RSFSR relatively clearly distinguishes crimes of a criminal and a political nature. The political crimes of interest to us are included in Chapter 1, *State Crimes*, which has two parts with one article each – Part 1, *Counter-Revolutionary Crimes* (Art. 58, Points 1–14), and Part 2, *Especially Dangerous for the USSR Crimes against the Order of Governing* (Art. 59, Points 1–13).

Most of the charges for political crimes were brought under the infamous Art. 58 of the RSFSR Criminal Code, and the corresponding articles from the Criminal Codes of the individual Soviet republics – Art. 54 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR, Art. 63–76 of the Criminal Code of the Byelorussian SSR, Art. 66 of the Criminal Code of the Uzbek SSR, etc. (Карев, 1957). The original version of Art. 58 contained 18 points and differed from those in force in the 1930s and 1940s. The new version of Art. 58, with 14 points, was enacted by the Decree of the TsIK VKP(b) and SNK RSFSR, dated June 6, 1927. In the following years, there were amendments and additions to the Code. For example, the TsIK SSSR Decree from June 8, 1934, introduced the new Art. 58–1абвгд (Уголовный кодекс, 1938). The repeatedly revised RSFSR Criminal Code from 1926 was repealed on January 1, 1961.

The full text of Chapter 1 of the RSFSR Criminal Code is included in Annex 3 of this edition. Here, we provide a short description of the separate points of Art. 58:



- 58-1. Treason against the motherland.
- 58-2. Armed uprising.
- 58-3. Collusion with a foreign state for counter-revolutionary purposes.
- 58-4. Assistance to the international bourgeoisie.
- 58-5. Soliciting a foreign state to declare war to the USSR.
- 58-6. Espionage.
- 58-7. Subversion.
- 58-8. Terrorism.
- 58-9. Sabotage.
- 58-10. Anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda.
- 58-11. Organising counter-revolutionary activity.
- 58-12. Failure to report preparation or commitment of a counter-revolutionary act.
- 58-13. Counter-revolutionary activity during the Tsarist regime and the Civil War.
- 58-14. Counter-revolutionary sabotage (Criminal Code, 1950, pp. 35–52).

In its sentencing decisions, the Special Council of the NKVD (discussed below) used the so-called 'lettered articles' ('*литерные статьи*', i.e., they used abbreviations in letters instead of numbers corresponding to the respective items of Art. 58), namely: KRD (58-1, counter-revolutionary activity); KRTD (58-1, counter-revolutionary Trotskyist activity); PSh (58-7, suspicion of espionage); TN (58-8, terrorist intent); ASA (58-10, anti-Soviet agitation); ChSIR (family member of a traitor to the motherland). The last abbreviation is based on Art. 58-iv of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR and its extended effect was specified by Decisions of the Politburo of TsIK VKP(b) as well as by special Decree No. 140 of TsIK VKP(b) and SNK RSFSR, dated December 7, 1940, *On Bringing Charges against Traitors to the Motherland and Members of Their Families*.

As expected, the majority of Gypsies who were subjected to judicial (quasi-judicial) decisions respectively were charged under the specific articles of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR – 336 people. This number includes not only those who lived on the territory of the RSFSR – (which is quite natural – their number significantly exceeds all others). To this number, we should also add the bigger part of the repressed Gypsies in the Kazakh SSR (19 people), as well as two from the Ukrainian SSR and one from the Byelorussian SSR. A total of 66 people were repressed on charges contained in the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR, and on charges contained in the Criminal Code of the Byelorussian SSR, three persons, one of them was convicted in Yeniseytag, i.e., has already served another, possibly criminally charged, sentence in Siberia).

Here, we will briefly present the specific articles of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR (and the corresponding articles in the Criminal Codes of the Ukrainian SSR and the Byelorussian SSR), under which the repressed Gypsies are accused, as well as other forms of accusations related to them in various

ways (e.g., their descriptions). When the charges within one investigation included several articles of the RSFSR Criminal Code, the first one was the leading and determining.

The summarised data for the leading charges related to the Criminal Code of the RSFSR and their specification are as follows.

A total of 15 people (13 men and two women) were charged under Art. 58-1 (treason against the motherland) and its separate points. Fifteen people (including 12 men and 3 Roma women) received charges under Art. 58-1a, with additional charges under Art. 58-11 in one case, and additional charges under Art. 58-7, 58-8 and 58-11 in a separate case. Two people received charges under Art. 58-1b, which refers to military personnel (although none of them was in military service), with additional charges under Art. 58-10, in one case. One woman (Avva Settar) received charges under Art. 58-1c, which refers to military personnel family members who did not inform the authorities about a crime in progress. For two persons, one of whom served in the Red Army, the charges were not specified according to the separate letters of Art. 58-1, and for the second one, there were additional charges under Art. 58-11.

A comparatively bigger number of persons received charges under the analogous Art. 54-1 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR – 29 people, including two women. In addition, 25 of them (one of whom was repressed in the Moldavian SSR) were charged under Art. 54-1a, and one person was charged under Art. 54-1b. For three people, the charges were not specified according to the separate points of Art. 54 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR. Only one person was charged with a leading charge under Art. 63-2 of the Criminal Code of the Byelorussian SSR (treason against the motherland by military personnel). It was Valentina Tverodstupova, a physician in a civilian hospital, who it can be assumed was probably repressed for collaborating with the occupation authorities.

Eight people, including three women, were charged under Art. 58-2 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR (preparation or participation in an armed uprising); three of them received additional charges under Art. 58-10 and 58-11; one received additional charges under Art. 58-6, 58-9, 58-11; and two received additional charges under Art. 58-11. The same leading charge, according to Art. 54-2 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR was brought against one person, with an additional charge under Art. 54-11 (analogous to Art. 58-11 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR).

Two persons charged under Art. 58-3 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR (collusion with a foreign state for counter-revolutionary purposes) were deported from Crimea to the Kazakh SSR in 1944, as in one of the cases, an

additional charge was applied under Art. 58-10. The analogous leading charge under Art. 54-3 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR was brought against one person.

There were no Gypsies charged under Art. 58-4 (assistance to the international bourgeoisie) and Art. 58-5 (solicitation of a foreign state to war) of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR, respectively, under Art. 54-4 and Art. 54-5 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR.

The charge under Art. 58-6 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR (espionage) was leading in the cases of 95 people (86 men and 9 women). For twenty-nine of them, this was the only charge, and in one case (Stepan Demeter), it was a second charge of espionage. For the rest of them, there were additional charges as follows: in twenty-six cases (the Novosibirsk Gypsy Lawsuit), charges under Art. 58-9, 58-10 and 58-11; in two cases, charges under Art. 58-6; 58-9; and 58-10; 58-11; in two cases, charges under Art. 58-8, 58-10, 58-11, and 59-12; in fourteen cases, charges under Art. 58-9 and 58-11; in one case, charges under Art. 58-10; in seven cases, charges under Art. 58-10 and 58-11; in three cases, charges under Art. 58-10 and 169-2 (issuance of non-payable checks resulting in losses for a state or public institution or enterprise); in twelve cases, charges under Art. 58-11; and in one case, charges under Art. 59-9 (smuggling); in one case, charges under Art. 59-12 (violation of financial rules in currency operations) and Art. 82-1 (escape of an arrested person from custody or from places of imprisonment).

An analogous leading charge (espionage) under Art. 54-6 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR was brought against ten people (one of whom was repressed in the Moldavian SSR). In 1 case, this charge was combined with a charge under Art. 54-9 (sabotage), and in 4 cases, with charges under Art. 173 (robbery). One person was repressed under Art. 68 of the Criminal Code of the Byelorussian SSR (espionage).

The charge under Art. 58-7 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR (subversion) was leading in four cases; in one of them, it was combined with an additional charge under Art. 58-10; in one case with charges under Art. 58-7, 58-9 and 58-11; and in one case with charges under Art. 58-7, 58-10, and 58-11 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR.

15 people were charged under Art. 58-8 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR (terrorism). Three of them were military personnel in the Red Army during the Second World War, and one in the Labour Army. The remaining 11 people were Kelderari (8 with the surname Mihai and two with the surname Stanesko), who were sentenced in the First Moscow Lawsuit in 1933. For all of them, the lead charges were combined with charges under Art. 58-10, 58-11 of the Criminal

Code of the RSFSR. The analogous lead charge under Art. 54-8 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR was brought against five people, and in the case of 2 of them, the charge was combined with an additional charge under Art. 54-1 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR.

There were no leading charges against Gypsies under Art. 58-9 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR (sabotage) and, respectively, under Art. 54-8 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR.

Charges under Art. 58-9 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR were, however, brought as an additional charge in 43 cases, and under Art. 54-9 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR in one case.

A total of 89 people (76 men and 13 women) were charged under Art. 58-10 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR (anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda), one of them had a permanent residence and was repressed in the Ukrainian SSR, and one of them in the Byelorussian SSR. In 46 cases, the charges were only under Art. 58-10, as one Roma woman was convicted twice with this charge. In two cases, this charge was for a second conviction (one of them in conjunction with Art. 58-14), and in one case (Vladimir Nepomnyashchy), this charge was for the third and fourth judgments. In one case, there was a duplication with Art. 74 of the Criminal Code of the Byelorussian SSR (in all likelihood, the repressed, who was serving previous sentence in the GULAG system, had a previous residence in the Byelorussian SSR). In five other cases, there was a specification under Art. 58-10, point 1 (propaganda or agitation, with a call for overthrowing, undermining or weakening the Soviet power, or committing individual counter-revolutionary crimes, as well as the distribution or production or storage of literature of the same content). In eleven other cases, there was a specification under Art. 58-10, point 2 (the same actions during mass unrest, or with the use of religious or national prejudices of the masses, or in a military situation, or in areas declared under martial law). In the remaining cases, the leading charge under Art. 58-10 was combined with other charges. In one case, the leading charge was combined with a charge under Art. 58-1a; in one case – with a charge under Art. 58-3; in ten cases – with a charge under Art. 58-11; in two cases – with a charge under Art. 58-14 (for one of them, this is a second conviction); in two cases – with a charge under Art. 59-3 (theft of a firearm); and in one case, there was an obvious mistake – the charge for “falsification of documents” does not fall under Art. 193-10a as it was indicated, but under other articles of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR. Four persons with charges under Art. 58-10, point 1, had additional charges under Art. 58-14, and one person had additional charges under Art. 58-11 and 58-14. Two persons with charges under Art. 58-10, point 2, had additional charges under Art. 58-2, and four persons

had additional charges under Art. 58-11. The analogous leading charge under Art. 54-10 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR was brought against ten persons, and in one case, it was specified that it was Art. 54-10 part 1. In one case, it was Art. 54-10, part 2, and in one case an additional charge was added to the charge under Art. 54-10, part 2 and Art. 54-11.

Three persons had charges under Art. 58-11 (organising counter-revolutionary activity), and this leading charge was combined with charges under Art. 58-14 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR. The analogous leading charge under Art. 54-11 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR was brought against one person.

Only one person was charged under Art. 58-12 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR (failure to report the preparation or commitment of counter-revolutionary crime), and one person with additional charge under Art. 58-14.

No charges against Gypsies were brought under Art. 58-13 of the RSFSR Criminal Code (counter-revolutionary activity under the tsarist regime and during the Civil War). One person was charged for this crime under Art. 54-13 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR. Fifty-six persons (49 men and 6 women) were charged under Art. 58-14 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR (counter-revolutionary sabotage), and for all of them, this was the only charge.

The data show that the vast majority of the Gypsies who were repressed under Art. 58 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR had charges under two points – Art. 58-6 (espionage, 95 people) and Art. 58-10 (anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda, 89 people).

A relatively high number of Gypsies were charged under Art. 58-14 (counter-revolutionary sabotage). Out of 53 people charged under this point, 45 were serving previous sentences (almost all on criminal charges) in the GULAG system. The secondary charges against them, already of a political nature, in all probability, were the result of their refusal to work or failure to fulfil labour quotas, which qualifies as sabotage and was a widespread practice at that time. Apart from them, one Roma woman was in exile from where she escaped (i.e., her escape from the place of deportation was equated to sabotage).

The remaining 88 people who were repressed under Art. 58 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR had charges under the following points of this article: 58-1, 58-2, 58-3, 58-7, 58-8, 58-9, 58-11, 58-12, 58-13 and the corresponding articles of the Criminal codes of the Ukrainian SSR and the Byelorussian USSR.

For seven people from the repressed, the charges referred only to Art. 58 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR, without specific individual points.

In a number of cases (total of 60 people, of which 2 women), the charges corresponded to the legal norms in the Criminal Code of the RSFSR, but they were described verbally, without reference to the relevant points of Art. 58.

In eight cases, the defendants, including one woman, were charged with “counter-revolutionary activity” under Art. 58-1 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR, which is stipulated as “Any action aimed at overthrowing, undermining or weakening the power of the workers’ and peasants’ soviets and of the elected by them, based on the Constitution of the USSR and the Constitutions of the Union Republics, workers’ and peasants’ governments of the Union and Autonomous Republics of the USSR, or to undermine or weaken external security of the USSR, and of and the main economic, political and national achievements of the proletarian revolution, is recognised as counter-revolutionary.” (Уголовный кодекс, 1950, p. 35). Two persons were charged with “counter-revolutionary activity” and “assisting a traitor to the Motherland”, under Art. 54-1a of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR.

Art. 58-1c of the RSFSR Criminal Code (respectively Art. 54-1c of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR) refers to the category “family member of a traitor to the Motherland”. Apart from the case of a Roma woman mentioned earlier (Avva Settar), who was charged under this sub-point of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR in the Kazakh USSR, in two other cases (Anna Musselius and Dina Mikhelson in the RSFSR), the charges were presented with the abbreviation ChSIR. In one case (Olena Geiro in Ukrainian SSR), the charge was described as “wife of a traitor to the Motherland”.

The charges for espionage against a total of 14 people correspond to Art. 58-4 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR (eight cases) and Art. 54-4 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR (five cases). In addition, one person living in the Byelorussian SSR was charged with “suspicion of espionage in favour of Poland” in 1921 (i.e., when the Criminal Code of the RSFSR and its analogues in the individual Soviet Union Republics had not yet been in force). Besides ‘espionage’, the wording also included “espionage-subversive activity in favour of Poland”, “agent of the Polish intelligence”, etc. (i.e., combines one charge under Art. 58-6 and Art. 58-9).

In two cases – one in Tomsk, RSFSR, and the other in the Zhytomyr region of the Ukrainian SSR, the repressed Gypsies were accused of affiliation with the Polish Military Organisation. This secret military organisation formed during World War I became the basis of the future army in post-war independent Poland. In the USSR, in the course of the mass political repressions in the 1930s, the NKVD authorities often accused the people arrested as Polish spies with affiliation with the Polish Military Organisation, as evidenced by the special Operational Order of the People’s Commissar of Internal Affairs, Nikolay Yezhov, dated August 11, 1937. In the cases at point, the accusation of affiliation with the Polish Military Organisation falls under Art. 58-3 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR (collusion with a foreign country for counter-revolutionary

purposes), respectively, under Art. 54-3 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR, or under Art. 58-4 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR (espionage), respectively, under Art. 54-4 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR.

In two cases, the leading charge was participation in a “counter-revolutionary terrorist group/organisation”, which corresponds to Art. 58-8 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR.

In one case from the Chernigov Oblast, the leading charge was “participation in the activities of an anti-Soviet Ukrainian nationalist counter-revolutionary organisation” under Art. 54-11 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR.

In six cases (including one Roma woman), the leading charge was “sabotage” under Art. 58-14 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR. All persons who received this charge were prisoners serving sentences for criminal offences. Sometimes, different wording gave new dimensions to the accusation, such as “counter-revolutionary sabotage (failure to report to work)” and “anti-Soviet activity” under Art. 58-1 “counter-revolutionary sabotage (escape)”, which attaches political characteristics to escapes from the GULAG system.

Most of the repressed persons (30 people, including one Roma woman) were charged with “anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda” as a leading charge under Art. 58-10 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR (25 cases) and Art. 54-10 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR (four cases). In these cases, the terms “counter-revolutionary” and “anti-Soviet” are used synonymously and, in practice, are interchangeable. In several cases, the description of the charges is more detailed and reveals additional information about the content of the specific “offences”. It is worth quoting a few more such examples (all from the period 1937-1938) to better understand the existing practices during the Great Terror.

Anton Lukashevich was arrested and shot dead in Moscow for “anti-Soviet agitation, refusal to work, singing in the bathroom an anti-Soviet song about camps and executions (sic!)”. Nikolay Pichugin was charged with “statements of provocative and slanderous sentiments; systematic counter-revolutionary agitation against the Constitution of the USSR, kolkhozes and the prosperous life of collective farmers” and was shot dead in Moscow. The same was the fate of Demyan Yurin, charged with “counter-revolutionary agitation, glorification of ‘enemies of the people’, vilification of Party and State leaders, interpretation of correctional labour policies in a counter-revolutionary spirit” and Pyotr Seleznev, charged with “systematic counter-revolutionary agitation, glorification of ‘enemies of the people’, vilification of party and government leaders, the Soviet system and Stalin’s Constitution” (Annex 2). Against this background, it may appear that Adzhi Asan Arslanov from the Crimean ASSR received a light sentence (8 years ITL) for the following accusation:

He led counter-revolutionary agitation among the kolkhoz workers, declaring at the same time: "Previously there were landowners, then we lived better, but now I don't even have a cow." After a report on the murder of Comrade Kirov, he said: "Now, if 20 more such people could be destroyed, then we would live better; otherwise, we work, and they sit on our necks; it would be nice if instead of kulaks they deport the leaders of the Party and Government" (GDASBU, f. 6 P, op. 6, spr. 17, ark. 91).

In addition to Art. 58, the politically repressed Gypsies (46 people, including one Roma woman) had leading charges under other articles of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR and, respectively, under the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR (8 people).

There were only three cases with leading charges under Art. 59 of Chapter 1, *State Crimes*, of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR. In two of them, the charge was under Art. 59-9 (qualified smuggling with falsification of documents), and in one case – under Art. 59-3 (banditry, i.e., participation in armed gangs and in attacks on Soviet and private institutions or individual citizens).

Eight persons received leading charges under Art. 17 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR (incitement and aiding). Since this article was not a stand-alone one, in one of the cases, it was applied in conjunction with Art. 58-11 (counter-revolutionary activity), and in the second case – with Art. 58-6 (espionage). With the remaining 6 cases, the situation is not entirely clear because only Art. 58-142 (intentional grievous bodily harm) is listed as another charge, which is not a political charge. Still, nevertheless, the accused are included in the victim database of political repression. In the same way, it remains unclear why the database for the victims of political repression includes 3 cases where the only charge is under Art. 142 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR.

In other cases, charges that are not political have been brought against defendants who have been sentenced to political trials (so-called Gypsy Lawsuits, which we will discuss in more detail in the next chapter). The infamous "King" Chula was charged at the First Gypsy lawsuit in Moscow under Art. 118 (giving bribes and mediation in bribery), 129 (waste of state or public property), 142, part 2 (intentional grievous bodily harm, resulting in death). In this process, there is one more case with the same charges, i.e., it is a matter of defendants who were linked by the investigation to the two murders committed and who received death sentences; in other 3 cases of defendants from the same trial, the charges are under Art. 129, 17 and 142, part 2, i.e., probably witnesses to the murders themselves or knowledgeable about them. In 1 case, the accusation against a person convicted of this trial is only under Art. 129 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR, and in one case (Ivan Kaminsky), the accusations were under Art. 109 (abuse of official position, resulting in property damage to an enterprise) and Art. 117 (receiving bribes from an official).



In one case, the charges are under Art. 94, Part 2 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR (use of the emblems and names of the Red Cross and the Red Crescent for commercial purposes by persons who do not have the right to do so), and this act was clearly given political dimensions.

In one case, the leading charge was under Art. 193 of the RSFSR Criminal Code (resisting an official during the execution of their duty) with an additional charge under Art. 164 (purchase of knowingly stolen goods). This case involved resisting the arrest of a man wanted for desertion from the Red Army during World War II. We decided not to include this case in our Book of Memories (and it is not included in any of the existing databases of victims of political repression in the USSR) (see above).

The charges against the famous pop singer Vadim Kozin are a specific case, which we discuss further in this chapter. The NKVD archives do not contain any documents related to the charges brought against him after his arrest in 1944, based on which he was sentenced to 8 years ITL. In any case, it is certain that in 1959, Vadim Kozin received a new sentence in Magadan on a charge under Art. 154a of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR, which states:

154a. Sexual intercourse between a man and a man (sodomy) [is punished] with imprisonment for a term of three to five years. Sodomy committed with the use of violence or using the dependent position of the victim [is punished] with imprisonment for a term of five to eight years (Уголовный кодекс, 1950, p. 102).

Cases of persons charged under Art. 82 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR (escape from custody or a place of deprivation of liberty) are also included in the various lists and databases of victims of mass political repressions in the USSR. The reasonable question of why the punishment for the escape of criminal offenders should qualify as political repression is answered in a series of decisions of the Supreme Court of the Russian Federation, by which those convicted under Art. 82 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR are rehabilitated as convicted under Art. 58-14 (sabotage). The basis for this interpretation is the existing practice during the times of repression when this very logic was used – the escape from the places of serving the punishment was interpreted as an effort for the condemned to deviate from fulfilling their work duties (see Annex 1.2, the cases of Vasily Alexeev and Nikolay Bogdanov).

From this point of view, there were 23 Gypsies politically repressed with charges under Art. 82 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR. This group includes a Roma woman (Maria Litovchenko, see Chapter 2) who is a special resettler (i.e., deported without a sentence). Only one person (Ivan Rusalimovich Mihai), who had a previous sentence on political charges, received a secondary sentence on a charge under Art. 82. Except for the latter two persons, all the

rest (21 persons) had previous criminal sentences, and all worked on constructing the infamous White Sea-Baltic Canal.

A political trial in which some of the accused were investigated on charges of a criminal nature was the Gypsy lawsuit in Rivne in 1941. Six people were in this trial (incomplete due to the beginning of the Great Patriotic War) with charges under Art. 173 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR. Subsequently, two were released, and the charges against 4 of them were reclassified under Art. 54-6 (espionage). In another 1 case, the charge is under Art. 173 (robbery) and Art. 176 (robbery with the use of force) of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR.

In several instances, the charges against the repressed Gypsies refer to the category 'socially dangerous element' (*социально опасный элемент*, abbreviation SOE). This category was introduced in the first edition of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR from 1922 (Art. 49), and it was included in Art. 7 of the revised Criminal Code of the RSFSR from 1926 and in the additional explanations (*Уголовный кодекс, 1950, pp. 5, 170*). Six persons were charged with SOE under the Criminal Code of the RSFSR (plus two more persons under the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR).

The use of the similar category, 'socially harmful element' (*социально вредный элемент*, abbreviation SVE), is ambiguous from a legal point of view. Although such a category did not exist in the Criminal Code of the RSFSR, it was used as an accusation in six cases, including two Roma women of victims of judicial (quasi-judicial) decisions, as well as in the cases of mass deportations of the so-called declassified elements in 1932–1933 (see Chapter 2).

The Criminal Code of the RSFSR (respectively, the Criminal Codes of the Union Soviet Republics) were by no means the only legislative basis for the mass political repressions in the USSR. Charges were also brought on the basis of a number of by-laws and administrative acts, most of them of questionable (to say the least) legal value.

Perhaps the most notorious administrative act of a quasi-judicial nature is the Operational Order of the People's Commissar of Internal Affairs of the USSR, No. 00447 of July 30, 1937, *On the Operations to Repress Former Kulaks, Criminals and Other Anti-Soviet Elements*, which has already been discussed in more detail above (for more details, see Junge et al., 2018). This Order was used as the legal justification (the wording is "within Order No. 00447") for charges against six persons (including one Roma woman) among the politically repressed Gypsies, and five of them received a VMN.

Another notorious by-law is the Decree of TsIK SSSR and SNK SSSR of August 7, 1932, *On the Protection of Property of State Enterprises, Collective Farms and Cooperatives and Strengthening Public (Socialist) Property*. The oral history

of the Roma of the post-Soviet space has preserved memories about this Order (known in the public space as the “Law of Three Spikelets”). According to these memories, horse stealing (a typical affair, especially among the Ruska Roma) qualified as theft of socialist property, respectively as a crime of a political nature, when the horse belonged to a kolkhoz or sovkhoz and was punished much more severely, compared to cases in which the horse was a personal property, in which the theft qualified as an ordinary criminal offence. Contrary to these memories, according to which many Roma were sentenced under this Order, the historical data show quite a different picture, and it turns out that there are only 2 (sic!) Gypsies were convicted of such a charge.

In 2 cases, charges were brought under the Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR On the Punishment of German-Fascist Villains, Guilty of Murders and Tortures of the Soviet Civilian Population and Red Army Prisoners, Spies, Traitors to the Motherland from among Soviet Citizens and Their Accomplices of April 19, 1943, Art. 2 (helpers from the local population, convicted of assisting criminals in committing massacres and violence against the civilian population and captured Red Army soldiers) – one of them in the Crimean Peninsula occupied by the German army, and the second in the territory of the so-called Transnistria, occupied by Romania.

A separate, specific case, as already mentioned above, is the labour mobilised Gypsies during the Great Patriotic War – 18 people in total, against whom, formally speaking, no accusations have been made.

Of particular interest are the cases in which the descriptions of the charges present a legal oddity and are difficult to qualify according to Criminal Codes. They demonstrate the quasi-judicial nature of the charges. In 1 case, the charge was only “participation in counter-revolutionary activity”. In two instances, it is difficult to find exact analogues in the existing Criminal Codes of the RSFSR and other Soviet Union republics. The accusations against them are: “for the accusation of aiding and abetting a traitor to the Motherland” and “services in the German intelligence agencies”. In two particularly impressive cases, the official documentation indicated “no article” in the place for the charge, and in four other cases (including one Roma woman), only “convicted” was indicated. One Roma woman was accused of counter-revolutionary activity “without reference to the law”.

Interesting are also the accusations, which, according to their description, are clearly of a criminal rather than a political nature. Such are three cases from the Crimean ASSR. We already cited above the accusations against Nazly Karaeva; in the cases, Kapar Dzheparov and Abduraim Selyami’s indictment states:

On February 4, 1937, a search in Dzheparov's apartment revealed 22 flour bags belonging to the Khlebosoyuz (Bread Union) of Feodosia, from where they were stolen; on May 31, 1937, Dzheparov was brought to the police station for pick-pocketing in a bread shop; he does not work anywhere, has a close connection with the criminal element, systematically buys and resells things, travels around the area, and engages in profiteering (GDASBU, f. 6 P, op. 6, spr. 8, ark. 186).

He was released from the ITL in April 1937 and did not engage in socially useful work; he began visiting the market among the criminal element; he is engaged in buying things and in thefts. On April 28, 1937, he stole a leather jacket from the citizen Pirozhenko, which he tried to sell at the Buying Point, where he was detained (GDASBU, f. 6 P, op. 6, spr. 10, ark. 121).

It is not clear on what grounds the Sectoral State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine included these persons in the list of the politically repressed. Perhaps it is the fact that they were sentenced by the NKVD Troika (although this can hardly be taken as a sufficient argument for counting them among the victims of political repression).

Here we come again to the key question that arises more than once when examining the cases of the persons repressed under Art. 82 of the RSFSR Criminal Code (escape from custody or from a place of deprivation of liberty), namely, whether all persons who were repressed by the authorities in the USSR should be automatically declared victims of mass political repression. Unfortunately, as this question is influenced by ideological and geopolitical factors, it is unlikely to receive a satisfactory answer any time soon.

It is noticeable that there are a relatively large number of cases (58 people, including six women) of politically repressed Gypsies in which the official documentation does not provide any information about the charges brought against them. This fact illustrates that the attempts of the USSR authorities to give at least an appearance of legality to the political repression of Gypsies were far from consistent.



The Soviet institutions issued sentences against the repressed Gypsies on the basis of the charges mentioned here (including the relatively rarer cases of decisions to terminate the investigation). An impressive variety of institutions had the power to issue sentences (on the same charges).

It should be emphasised that during the period of mass political repressions, the Soviet institutions which issued sentences acted beyond the framework of the classical division of powers (legislative, executive and judicial).

From this point of view, the general picture of the institutions which carried out the mass political repressions can be summarised as follows:

At least in theory, according to common legal practice and the norms of existing legislation, punishment for crimes (whether of a criminal or political nature) should be the exclusive prerogative of the judicial system (unless otherwise provided by law). The practice in the USSR during the historical period under consideration was much different.

Among the repressed Gypsies, 63 persons, including 8 women, were sentenced within the framework of the judicial system existing in the USSR, at the various levels of the civil courts (mostly at the district level). Another 8 cases of secondary repression of 6 people were carried out by these judicial institutions, and the general distribution of the repressed is as follows: in 44 cases, sentences were issued by the Oblast Court or Krai Court; in 1 case by the Rayon Court; in 1 case by the Collegium of the Water Transport Court on Special Cases of the Caspian Basin; in 1 case by the Military Collegium of the Oblast Court; in 22 of the subdivisions of the Supreme Court for individual autonomous republics (the leader in this case is the Supreme Court of the Komi ASSR with 18 sentences); in 1 case by the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the USSR; and in 2 cases by the Special Court of Transcarpathia.

Military Courts, which were also part of the judicial system, issued 46 sentences for 43 people, and for 3 people, the cases against them were suspended. In 1 case, the accused was found guilty, but the Military Collegium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR declared him innocent. The activity of the military courts was particularly high in the years of the Great Patriotic War (1941–1945) and immediately after it, when the majority of these sentences were issued. Apart from military personnel, one part of the sentenced were civilians (including 2 women) because, in wartime, the jurisdiction of the military courts extended to the entire population on the territories that were occupied by the German army (or its allies).

The judicial system also included the so-called Camp Courts, established by the Decree of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet *On the Organisation of Special Camp Courts*, dated December 30, 1944. These courts existed in the period 1944–1954, and their jurisdiction covered the cases of persons serving sentences in the GULAG system (Иванова, 2004, pp. 287–308). Fourteen repressed Gypsies, including two women, received 15 sentences from these camp courts.

With the establishment of the Soviet state, certain judicial functions (in particular, powers to carry out political repressions) were assigned directly to the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission for Combating Counter-Revolution

and Sabotage (VChK) under the Council of People's Commissars of the RSFSR and its subdivisions. The VChK itself (1917–1922), as well as its successors GPU (The State Political Directorate under the NKVD of the RSFSR) and OGPU (The Joint State Political Directorate under the SNK of the USSR), were institutions of the executive power. This situation did not change when their functions were taken over directly by the NKVD of the USSR in 1934, later transformed into the MVD (Ministry of Internal Affairs of the USSR) in 1946. Part of these functions, in relation to political repressions, were also taken over by the State Political Main Directorate, which was successively transformed into the People's Commissariat for State Security (1943–1946), the Ministry of State Security (1946–1953), and then the notorious Committee for State Security (KGB). All these institutions had powers to bring charges and issue sentences for crimes of a political nature and were the most important instrument for the implementation of mass political repressions.

Three of the repressed Gypsies, including one woman, were sentenced by the VChK bodies (Oblast's CheKa) in the early 1920s.

On behalf of the GPU, 4 sentences were issued, all in 1933 in the Ukrainian SSR. A total of 89 sentences have been issued by the authorities of the OGPU (of which 2 are Roma women), and the majority of these sentences are on behalf of the Commission or the Representation of the OGPU. In 2 cases, the ISCh (Information and Investigation Department) of the Ustvymlaga OGPU terminated the investigation and acquitted Gypsy prisoners in the GULAG (but only on the new charges, without cancelling the previous convictions). In 33 cases, the convictions were the result of a Decree of regional structures of the NKVD, and in 2 cases, from structures of the NKGB.

All these repressive institutions proved insufficient to cope with the massive number of cases during the Great Terror (1937–1938), which led to the emergence of new, quasi-judicial institutions for extra-judicial repression of the so-called anti-Soviet elements.

In the first place, this was the so-called 'Troika' (group of three officials), created by the Operational Order of the People's Commissar of Internal Affairs of the USSR No. 00447, dated July 30, 1937, *On the Operation to Repress Former Kulaks, Criminals and Other Anti-Soviet Elements*. This Order by Nikolay Yezhov established Troikas in the individual Oblasts (Krais, Autonomous Republics, etc.), which included the Secretary of the Oblast Committee of the VKP(b), the Oblast head of the NKVD, and the Oblast Prosecutor (or their representatives, as sometimes the NKVD as an institution is represented by the OGPU). The Troika followed a simplified procedure, free from formal requirements (most often collective approval of lists of persons to be sentenced which were

previously prepared by the NKVD authorities), and their decisions were not subject to appeal (Мозохин, 2011). A total of 182 Gypsies, including eleven women, received 200 sentences from these quasi-judicial institutions.

Another option for extra-judicial repressions during the Great Terror was the so-called 'Dvoika' (two officials), which included the People's Commissar of Internal Affairs (Nikolay Yezhov) and the Prosecutor of the USSR (at that time, Andrey Vyshinsky) or their deputies. They approved the lists of persons to be sentenced prepared by the NKVD authorities (Ibid.). In an analogous way, Dvoikas are created at the regional level, in the individual Union and Autonomous Republics, Oblasts, Krai, etc., by the relevant officials. A total of 31 Gypsies, including one woman, received sentences from these quasi-judicial institutions.

In 1934, after the NKVD took over the repressive functions of the former OGPU, new bodies were created to carry out political repression. This is a Special Council of the USSR NKVD (OSO), delegated the extra-judicial right to impose punishments for so-called socially dangerous persons. OSO originally had the right to impose sentences of up to 5 years of ITL or exile on persons recognised as a public danger (i.e., those political crimes that were considered to be less severe). In 1938, after the end of the Great Terror, the Troika and Dvoika ceased to exist. The OSO took over their functions and expanded the scope of its activity, as during the Great Patriotic War, it had the right in cases of counter-revolutionary crimes and especially dangerous crimes against the order of the USSR to impose appropriate punishments up to execution. 39 Gypsies (including 6 Roma women) became the victims of sentences issued on behalf of various subdivisions of the OSO, to whom a total of 44 sentences were given.

After the beginning of the Great Patriotic War, new institutions took over part of the functions of the NKVD to carry out political repression. Such were the Rayon Military Commissariats (RVK), which, as bodies of the local military administration in the USSR, were responsible for military mobilisation, registration and draft work in a given region. Fourteen Gypsies were mobilised into the Labour Armies by sentences from the local (district or city) Military Commissariats.

In 1943, in the course of the war, three special counter-intelligence departments were created at the People's Commissariat of Defence, the People's Commissariat of the Navy and the NKVD, collectively called SMERSH (short for 'Death to Spies'), whose main task was to fight against foreign spies. One Gypsy (in the Crimean ASSR in 1944) was a victim of this repressive institution (which existed until 1946).

There are four cases of repressed Gypsies, which present exceptions to the established pattern. Such is the sentence issued in Dmitrov ITL in the Moscow Oblast by a Troika, which was different from the Troika model described above and included representatives of an NKVD USSR Commission, the Prosecutor of the USSR, and the Chairman of the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the USSR. In another case, the sentence was delivered by the Vorkutlag Operational Department. Perhaps the most striking case of a quasi-judicial decision was the sentence handed down by the head of the Gorky Oblast Department of the Ministry of Internal Affairs (a representative of the executive branch of the government has the power to make a judicial decision). In one case, we were unable to identify the institution that issued the sentence, designated as “Chernigiv sector 00-7 (special department)”.

The Soviet institutions mentioned in this study made a total of 674 judicial (or, in most cases, quasi-judicial) decisions about the fate of the repressed Gypsies – most often sentences, but also dismissal of the charges. In five cases, the repressed died during the investigation, and their cases were closed without a decision.

In another 69 cases, including 11 women, the accused were acquitted, and their cases were closed. They include two cases in which the files did not specify any charges or sentences but indicated that the arrested charges were “dismissed” in the year of their arrest, i.e., *de facto*, they were also acquitted. In some cases, the acquittal was granted by a judicial (quasi-judicial) decision. In other cases, the accusations were dismissed during the investigation, and in most of the cases, there is no information on the acquittal. The accused, who were serving previous sentences in the GULAG system at the time of their arrest (10 people, including one woman), continued serving their initial sentences, and the rest of the acquitted (59 people, including 10 women) were released. Only in 1 case was the acquitted person repressed after the conclusion of the investigation (he was labour mobilized).

Although the acquittals were not a considerable number (just a bit less than 11% out of the total number of the repressed Gypsies), they nevertheless contradict the widespread and persistent public stereotypes, according to which all persons arrested during the mass political repressions in the USSR received sentences. As illustrated by the data on the repressed (and sentenced) Gypsies and the data on mass political repressions, the historical truth is different, to a greater or lesser extent. Especially in the case of the Gypsies, we should note that in only one case, in which the accused was 71 years old, the investigation was terminated, and he was released “for age and health reasons”; in all other cases, the investigation established the innocence of the accused.



Except for all repressed Gypsies, whose cases were closed (due to the death of the accused, due to dismissal of charges or acquittal), a total of 599 cases remain, in which 561 are Gypsies (including 46 Roma women) received sentences. We should note that practically all sentences were effective, and there was only one case of a conditional sentence – this is the already mentioned Agafena Yeremenkova, who was 70 years old at the time of her conviction in 1920.

Formally speaking, specific categories of convicts (convicted by civilian or military courts) had the right to appeal the sentences imposed. It is unclear how many of the repressed Gypsies took advantage of this right, but in only 3 cases, the accused/convicted were found not guilty and released by a higher court. In 3 cases, the sentence ITL replaced VMN; in 2 cases, sentences to ITL convicts were reduced (from 15 to 10 years and 10 to 5 years).



An overall review of the sentences handed down to Gypsies reveals the following picture.

A total of 227 Gypsies, including nine women, received death sentences, or as it is called in the official documentation, the “highest punishment” (высшая мера наказания – VMN).

In the USSR, death sentences were executed by shooting. 224 death sentences were executed in 25 cases with no indication of the time and place. Only in two cases the death sentences were replaced by lighter sentences (ITL). In one case, the situation is not clear – the sentence was shot a few months after the verdict was pronounced in 1938, and after more than a year, at the beginning of 1940, the court decision was overturned (perhaps there was some bureaucratic error).

In one case, a convict sentenced to exile was shot by the NKVD together with all the prisoners in Dubno on the night of June 24–25, 1941, in order not to be released by the advancing German army, which is a common practice in military conditions.

The distribution of these death sentences over the years is as follows: one sentence in 1927; one sentence in 1930; one sentence in 1935; 5 sentences in 1932 (First Gypsy lawsuit in Moscow); 60 sentences in 1937; 150 sentences in 1938; 15 sentences in 1941; 5 sentences in 1942. It is clear that the largest number (210 from a total of 227) of death sentences were delivered in the years of the Great Terror, to a lesser extent, in the first two years of the Great Patriotic War, and in rare instances, in the other years.

In 193 cases, including 29 women, the repressed Gypsies were sentenced (238 sentences were issued) to various terms of deprivation of liberty (ITL, IPK, prison).

Four persons received the longest sentence, 25 years ITL. Three persons received 20 years term of imprisonment each; one of them, "20 years ITL", and the two others, "20 years *katorga*". As a form of punishment, *katorga* (penal servitude) was abolished as early as 1917 by the Provisional Government, but it was restored in 1943, during the Great Patriotic War, by Decree No. 39 of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, dated April 19, 1943, *On the Measures of Punishment for German-Fascist Villains Guilty of Murders and Torture of the Soviet Civilian Population and Captured Red Army Soldiers, for Spies, Traitors of the Motherland from among the Soviet Citizens and for their Accomplices*.

One person received a sentence of 18 years deprivation of liberty; two persons, 15 years; and one person, 12 years. The most frequent sentence was 10 years of deprivation of liberty; a total of 105 persons received this sentence. One person received a sentence of 9 years deprivation of liberty; 25 persons received 8 years; 15 persons received 7 years; and 8 persons received 6 years.

Forty-five persons were sentenced to 5 years of deprivation of liberty (this is the second most frequent sentence term). Two persons received a sentence of 4 years and twelve persons of 3 years.

Ivan Vishnyakov's sentence, which was formulated as "3 years of solitary confinement", is not clear. This formulation refers to the so-called 'SHIZO' (punishment cell), i.e., disciplinary sanction for breaching internal rules in place for deprivation of liberty and not the sentence itself. As the maximum period of stay in the SHIZO was 15 days, this formulation of the sentence does not make sense and it is most likely a sentence of 3 years with an aggravated suspension.

Five people were sentenced to 2 years, and one person to 1 year. The lightest sentence of three months' term of imprisonment was imposed on one person.

In 7 cases, it is not specified what term of imprisonment the repressed were sentenced to. One of them was convicted to penal servitude, another of them died in a camp, two others were re-convicted and shot, and in the last such case, after about 9 years in ITL, the convicted person was released by the Decision of the Military Board of the USSR Armed Forces "for the lack of a crime".

In another five cases, the repressed were only noted as having died "in places of detention", i.e., it is clear that they were also sentenced to imprisonment.

In 7 cases, the term of the punishment according to the original sentences was shortened. In 2 of these cases, which have already been mentioned, this is

done by the decision of the Military College of the USSR Armed Forces. In the remaining 5 cases (of those convicted at the First Gypsy lawsuit in Moscow) by the Board of the OGPU, this is done by decision of the Presidium of the TsIK SSSR (sic!), but this abbreviation turns out to have no significance for the fate of the repressed – after four years of stay in Solovki they were convicted a second time and shot in 1937 in Leningrad.

Only in 2 cases were those convicted of “participation in a religious organisation ‘Fyodorovtsi’” (see below) released under amnesty. This happened in 1953 (the so-called Beria amnesty after Stalin’s death), about a year after their conviction.

In another case, less than a year after the delivery of the sentence, the convicted person was released “due to disability (acted)”.

In 11 cases, those sentenced to imprisonment died in GULAG camps while serving their sentences. It may sound cynical at first glance, but it should be noted that this is a lower percentage compared to the general death rate in the GULAG system (exact calculations in this direction are not possible and not necessary), i.e., the Roma still manage to adapt relatively better in these harsh conditions.

Apart from those sentenced to various terms of imprisonment, eleven persons, including one Roma woman, received exile sentences, which were not criminal but rather an administrative punishment. The mass deportations of millions of people were the result of administrative acts (see Chapter 2). In five cases, the exile was for a period of 3 years; in one case, five years; and in five cases, the term of the exile was not specified. Moreover, in one of the last cases, the sentence for exile in the Novosibirsk Oblast was issued in the Tomsk Oblast, i.e., the repressed was moved from one region of mass deportations to another.

We have already discussed the mobilisation in the Labour Armies as a specific type of political repression imposed by judicial (quasi-judicial) decisions. A total of 18 Roma were mobilised for army labour in the USSR (almost all of them Kelderari). For one of them (Alexey Mihai), identified with “Romanian” nationality in his personal file, the documentation upon his release stated, “removed from accountability as a Finn” (sic!).

In two cases, it is difficult to give an accurate classification of the sentences. Such is the case with the punishment of “three years’ deprivation of the right to live in 12 cities and localities of the USSR”, imposed by an OGPU collegium and with the penalty “deprived of the right to reside in central areas for 3 years”, imposed by the OSO at the Colleges of the OGPU (both in the Ukrainian SSR) which was actually an administrative measure.

Another such case is the sentence “directed to special treatment in a psychiatric hospital with isolation from society” issued by the Crimean Oblast court in 1950, which is a form of political repression that was more common in the historical period to come.

In 107 cases concerning 103 people (including 3 Roma women), there is no information on what sentences they received during their repression. The majority (80 people) of this category’s names are not in the existing databases of political repression victims. We obtain information about them from various other sources (archives, scholarly, and memoir literature). What were the reasons for the remaining 23 people (among them 3 Roma women) to be included among the victims of political repression and to be entered in the existing databases remains unclear. Still, we accept the facts (unless we have reliable evidence to the contrary, which is not the case here).



On several instances so far, we provided information about the so-called secondarily repressed Gypsies (a total of 168 persons – 152 men and 16 women, which is just over 26% of the total number of 640 repressed Gypsies), i.e., persons who were sentenced while they were serving previous sentences in ITL or ITK or detained during investigation against them on other charges. The vast number of their case files, however, do not provide information about their previous sentences (including their previous places of residence and places of sentencing). Such information is missing or provided in rare instances, only for persons with criminal sentences, who were in most cases. For those who had a first sentence on political charges (34 people – 30 men and 4 women), the previous political charges were explicitly recorded. In one of these cases, the charge was not specified, but the fact that the sentence was issued by the OSO NKVD clearly shows that the charges were of a political nature. Two other cases involved labour-mobilised men, which is considered a form of political repression, i.e., they are also part of the secondarily repressed category.

In only one case (Grigory Lutsenko), the first sentence is not reflected in the official documentation. Still, it seems very unlikely that a professor of Marxism-Leninism at a university would receive a sentence with criminal charges.

As already mentioned, 168 Gypsies (of which 16 Roma women) fall into the category of “secondarily repressed”. As some were repressed twice or more, the total number of secondary political repressions was 176 cases. We must distinguish this population between two subdivisions – those for whom the first

sentence was on criminal charges and those for whom the first sentence was on political orders. The first subdivision includes 134 people (of whom 12 are women), and three received two sentences on political charges (i.e., passed to the second subdivision) or 134 cases of secondary political repression. The second subdivision includes 33 people (of whom four are Roma women), and one person among them, Vladimir Nepomnyashchy, had four sentences on political charges, or we have a total of 36 cases of secondary political repression, i.e., all cases of secondary political repression of the mentioned 167 people are summed up in total to 173. Among them are two people mobilised in the Labour armies (during the labour mobilisation itself, no specific charges are brought against the mobilised), who were subsequently sent to the ITL. In one case, the situation is the opposite – the repressed person was investigated on political charges and was acquitted but was later labour mobilised.

Almost all of the secondarily repressed Gypsies served their sentences (or were under investigation) on the territory of the RSFSR. Only one Roma woman (Ninel Ogla) was repressed secondarily in the Kazakh SSR (4th Chimkentskaya ITK MVD).

Almost all of the secondarily repressed served their sentences in the GULAG system, and only seven people were repressed during their pre-trial detention.

In 13 cases, the secondarily repressed (including 2 Roma women) had more than two sentences, and the existing options are different: Three people have one criminal charge and two political charges; 3 have two criminal charges and two political charges; 2 have two criminal charges and one political charge; 3 have three criminal charges and one political charge.

It is worth noting that Galina Dudareva received her fourth sentence when she was 23 years old, and Anna Lebedeva received her fourth sentence when she was only 18 (sic!) years old.

Among the repressed Gypsies, the person with the longest stay in the GULAG system (with four sentences, all of them on political charges) was Vladimir Nepomnyashchy, born in 1913 in the city of Kirensk, Irkutsk Oblast. In 1935, he received his first sentence of 10 years ITL under the Decree of August 7, 1932. In 1939, as a prisoner, he received a second sentence, also 10 years ITL, on charges under Art. 58-10 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR. In 1943, as a prisoner in Tagillag, he received a third sentence of 10 years ITL on charges under Art. 58-10 (propaganda and agitation, distribution of anti-Soviet literature) and Art. 58-14 (counter-revolutionary sabotage). He was released from prison ahead of schedule after Stalin's death and worked as a railway operator at the Cheremkhovo station, Irkutsk Oblast. He was arrested again in 1957 and sentenced to 5 years imprisonment under Art. 58-10, p. 1, of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR. He was released in 1962 after serving his sentence.

The following institutions issued the sentences of repressed Gypsies with two or more sentences on political charges (in total 36 cases):

A civil court issued the primary sentence in one case and a military court in 1 another. OGPU commissions or representatives in thirteen cases, OSO in five cases, and RVK in two cases. For 14 cases, there is no information on the institution which issued the sentence.

Civil courts issued secondary sentences in five cases; military courts in three cases; camp courts in four cases; Troikas in seventeen cases; OSO in one case, NKVD in one case, and a military commissariat in one case and Head of Oblast's Directorate of MVD, in one case. For three cases, there is no information. In the case of Vladimir Nepomniashchy, who had four sentences on political charges, there is no information about the first and second sentences. A civil court issued the third and fourth sentences.

It is also interesting to see the distribution of the indicated 174 more cases of secondary political repression of Gypsies over the years. The data summarized here are as follows: 1930: 3 people; 1933: 1 person; 1934: 1 person; 1937: 32 people (1 woman); 1938: 45 people (2 women); 1939: 2 people (1 woman); 1940: 1 person; 1941: 16 people (2 women); 1942: 22 people (1 woman); 1943: 10 people (4 women); 1944: 8 people (1 woman); 1945: 7 people; 1946: 2 people; 1947: 3 people (2 women); 1948: 1 person; 1949: 4 people; 1950: 4 people (1 woman); 1952: 2 people (1 woman); 1953: 1 person; 1957: 2 people; [n.d.]: 2 people. We can see that the highest number of such cases was during the Great Terror (1937–1938) and in the first years of the Great Patriotic War, i.e., here, concerning the Roma, the general regularities in the development of political repression in the USSR against all Soviet citizens are repeated.



The rehabilitation of the victims of mass political repressions gradually began after Stalin's death in March 1953. The process started with issuing the Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, dated March 27, 1953, *On Amnesty*, which was proposed by Beria (at that time Minister of Internal Affairs). The Twentieth Congress of the KPSS, held on February 14–25, 1956, gave a strong impetus to this process by condemning the so-called personality cult of Stalin and the mass political repressions that were considered to be a direct consequence of the cult, i.e., responsibility for them is transferred directly to Stalin himself.

The process of rehabilitation of the victims of mass political repressions entered a new stage during the so-called perestroika at the end of the 1980s. One of the main elements in the new policy of 'glasnost', initiated by the new

General Secretary of the KPSS, Mikhail Gorbachev, was precisely the stigmatisation of Stalin and, accordingly, the appeal for full and unconditional rehabilitation of the victims of mass political repressions. A direct expression of this policy was the Decree of the President of the USSR, dated August 13, 1990, *On the Restoration of the Rights of All Victims of Political Repressions of the 20s–50s* (see Annex 3).

Although soon after the adoption of this Decree, at the end of 1991, the USSR disintegrated, the newly independent states of the post-Soviet space that succeeded it, as a whole, continued the leading course of rehabilitation of victims of mass political repressions in the USSR with different trends of re-evaluation of history developing in individual countries.

Until today, a total of 303 rehabilitated Gypsies, including 27 women, have been recorded in the existing summarised databases of victims of mass political repressions through judicial (quasi-judicial) decisions. Their distribution over the years is as follows:

In the 1950s, 71 people were rehabilitated; in the 1960s, 10 people were rehabilitated; in the 1970s, only one person was rehabilitated; in the 1980s, 123 people were rehabilitated; in 1990, 88 people were rehabilitated; only seven people were rehabilitated in the 21st century. For two persons, there is no information about the year of rehabilitation, but it is clear that it was before the collapse of the USSR.

The rehabilitation of the victims of mass political repressions in the USSR was obviously uneven over the years. The process started in limited sizes in the years when Nikita Khrushchev was the head of the Soviet state, and de facto stopped at the time of Leonid Brezhnev (the so-called “stagnation” period) and reached its heyday during the time of Mikhail Gorbachev. After the creation of the newly independent states that succeeded the USSR, the rehabilitation processes, in general, were already taking place in new conditions, and especially concerning the Gypsies (some of them already officially ‘Roma’), an important factor is the territorial distribution of the repression against them. As already mentioned, the majority of these repressions were limited to the territory of today’s Russian Federation (except for Ukraine and partly Kazakhstan).

The rehabilitations were carried out by different institutions and under various legal acts. A detailed analysis of the legal procedures in this case is not necessary.

To the above figures of rehabilitated Gypsies should be added the already noted 69 cases (of which 11 were Roma women) of Gypsies, victims of political repression, who were released during investigation. As pointed out in the database of some of them (e.g., the wording “released in connection with the

termination of the case, i.e., rehabilitated”), this means their rehabilitation. Still, nevertheless, 9 of them were rehabilitated after 1956.

It is noticeable that there is a high number of cases for which there is no data on rehabilitation – a total of 283 people (including 20 Roma women), i.e., slightly more than 44% of the repressed Gypsies. There are various reasons for this state of affairs, including the increasingly imposed requirement in recent years that there be a special request from the heirs of a given victim of repression to start rehabilitation. This existing practice can probably explain why the available databases of politically repressed people explicitly pointed out that there is no information about rehabilitating only 36 Gypsies. They all received secondary death sentences during the Great Terror, and most (26 people) were prisoners in Solovki with previous convictions on criminal charges. We can assume that for the rest of the repressed Gypsies, for whom there is no information about their rehabilitation (or at least for a large part), there were no requests from their heirs for rehabilitation. In any case, however, we must say that this practice (rehabilitation at the request of the heirs) cannot be interpreted as an expression of any particular attitude towards the Roma (*Antigypsyism/Antiziganism/Antitsyganism*) because there are similar problems with the rehabilitation of the victims of mass political repressions in general.

The high number of secondarily repressed people, i.e., those already serving previous criminal sentences (total of 167 people), is an additional factor that further complicates the rehabilitation process. According to the existing databases, the situation is even more unclear for criminal convicts with secondary sentences under Art. 82 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR (escape), which makes them victims of political repression. The above-mentioned legal interpretation of the Soviet authorities, serving the policy of mass political repressions, according to which escape is qualified as sabotage (Art. 58-14 of the RSFSR Civil Code), does not remove the existing problems in this regard (see below for the processes of rehabilitation of the repressed).

From a purely legal point of view, in theory, the most correct solution would be the rehabilitation of the repressed on a case-by-case basis. In practice, however, this solution is unrealistic for several reasons. There is no judicial system which has the capacity to review several million cases of repressed people in the foreseeable future. It is not clear whether the cases should be reviewed from the point of view of the legislation existing at the time of the repressions or from a modern point of view (and which one specifically – legal, political, moral-ethical, etc.). There is no complete documentation of all cases, and it is unclear to what extent the investigation materials in the separate cases can



be trusted (e.g., whether the confessions of the defendants were sincere or extorted by force). At the same time, repressions were imposed on entire categories of the population (defined by social or ethnic criteria).

In this complex situation, the rehabilitation of the victims can be done only by specific predefined categories of repressed persons. In this case, however, the question arises by what criteria a given person should be recognised as a victim of political repression, while others who were repressed with analogous political charges should not. This issue remains unresolved to this day, and it is unlikely ever to be definitively settled. There are even voices in favour of recognising all persons repressed at the time of the USSR (irrespective of their charges) as victims of political repressions of a criminal regime and rehabilitating all of them. Such a solution, however, would not only not solve the problem, but on the contrary, it would create new problems (as opponents of this approach say, under this logic, for example, the serial killer Chikatilo should also be rehabilitated).

It is noteworthy that the criteria for the rehabilitation of the repressed were not clearly defined by the Twentieth Congress of the KPSS itself. In his well-known report *On the Cult of Personality and Its Consequences* at this congress, Nikita Khrushchev included the names of repressed Soviet military leaders for whose repression he had no direct involvement and “omitted” the names of those Soviet Party leaders for whose repression he had direct personal responsibility. This led to historical paradoxes. For example, Nikolay Bukharin, a typical intellectual who never held any positions in the executive power, was rehabilitated only in 1988 (Khrushchev himself was a member of the special commission that sentenced him to death). Contrary to this, Marshal Mihail Tukhachevsky was rehabilitated as early as 1957. He became “famous”, among other things, with the brutal suppression of the well-known Tambov peasant uprising (the so-called Antonovshchina) in 1920–1921, in which numerous military crimes were committed, such as mass shooting of hostages (the families of the insurgents who refused to surrender) and, possibly, for the first time in history, the use of poison gas against civilian population.

This dubious approach to the criteria for defining victims of mass political repressions is also preserved in the Decree of the President of the USSR, Mikhail Gorbachev, *On the Restoration of the Rights of All Victims of Political Repressions of the 20–50s of 1990*, which expressly noted that “This Decree does not apply to persons reasonably convicted of crimes against the Motherland and Soviet people during the Great Patriotic War, in the pre-war and post-war years” (see Annex 3). This practically means that there cannot be an automatic and universal solution to the problem of who should be recognised as a victim

of political repression. Still, there must be a specific solution for each case, i.e., we're back where we started.

The search for an unequivocal approach in this direction over the years does not solve the existing key problem. Moreover, it was further complicated in more recent times when, as already mentioned, various trends for revision of the historical past developed in the successor states of the USSR, which included the rehabilitation of collaborators with the German army and its allies during World War II. As incredible as it may seem, these processes affected even some of the repressed Roma. Such is the case of Trokhim Tsikolan, who worked as an interpreter for the local occupation authorities during Romania's annexation of the so-called Transnistria. In 1997, the Prosecutor's Office of the city of Odesa in independent Ukraine refused his rehabilitation. Still, his name appeared among the victims of political repression in the USSR in the Archive of the Security Office of Odesa Region (AUSBUOO, No. 06600).

As we have already noted, in our study, we accept the existing realities (the databases of victims of mass political repressions which have already been compiled) and do not discuss the criteria for including individual names in them. Considering the alignment of history as a science with various ideological and/or geopolitical factors in recent times (and eventually its dependence on them), specifically with respect to the evaluation of the past, it is unlikely that the issue with the criteria for defining victims of mass political repressions in the USSR will be resolved in the foreseeable future.



The data on Gypsies, victims of mass political repressions in the USSR through legal (quasi-judicial) decisions (Annex 1.2), are often incomplete or even wholly fragmentary. Nevertheless, they provide an opportunity for analysis from yet another point of view: the belonging of the repressed to the Gypsy community elite in its societal dimensions or, in other words, the National Gypsy elite. It means that the focus is not on the personalities as a part of the community with its heterogeneity and internal subdivisions (community dimension) but as a part of the larger society (societal dimension), i.e., the Soviet society in which Gypsies live and of which they are an integral part. In this regard, the biographies of the repressed reveal exciting data.

In the first place, we should review the position of the old community elite from the times of the Russian Empire in its societal dimensions, in particular, the so-called musical elite, which was concentrated in the two metropolises (St Petersburg and Moscow).

The available information clearly shows that the representatives of the old elite, among the repressed Gypsies, were rather an exception. Among them, the case of Anna Masalskaya from Leningrad (from the famous Gypsy musical dynasty of the Masalskys), born in 1886, a former participant in the Gypsy choirs of St Petersburg, is interesting. She was suspected of having been recruited by Agurbi Mashukov to participate in the so-called Malka Counter-revolutionary Insurgent Group, which had attempted to organise an uprising in the Kabardino-Balkarian ASSR that would cover the entire Caucasus. At first glance, this is a very strange accusation, but it has its own explanation. Mashukov himself was trained in Leningrad in 1924, after which he returned to his native village of Malka in the Kabardino-Balkarian ASSR as chairman of the collective farm. In 1930, he was sentenced to exile in ... Leningrad (sic!), where, according to the investigation materials, while preparing the uprising, he “was looking for people who knew military and typographical business in the organisation” (Бейтуганов, 1991, p. 30). It seems entirely plausible that he had met Anna Masalskaya on some occasion in Leningrad, which gave rise to the investigation against her. The absurdity of the charges proved to be unquestionable even for the OGPU, and she was released from custody on a written undertaking not to leave Leningrad. Agurby Mashukov himself received a light sentence in this case (1-year term of imprisonment), but in 1938, he was arrested again and shot dead (Жертвы политического террора, 2017).

Another representative of the old elite is Grigory Gusakov, from the Roma group of Servi, born in the Kursk Oblast. He had graduated from the Moscow Conservatory in the violin class and worked in a music school (see Chapter 4). According to his relative Olga Demeter-Charskaya, he was arrested as early as 1934 (Деметер-Чарская, 1997, p. 32), but there is no record of this arrest in the database, and it is noted that he was arrested in 1938 in Khabarovsk, in the Far Eastern Krai, where he worked as a leader of a music club in a restaurant. His case was dismissed, and he was released (it can be assumed that after the first arrest, he was sent into exile, where he was repressed again, and although released, he no longer returned to Moscow to his family).

The fate of the famous Gypsy singer and dancer Berta Chervonnaya is dramatic. A child of “Hungarian Gypsies” (judging by some indirect evidence, probably from the Lovari group), she was brought up in the famous Gypsy musical family, the Ilyinskys, and from the age of 12, she began to perform Gypsy songs and dances on stage in various Gypsy choirs. In the 1920s, she was extremely popular, participated in many well-known Gypsy music and dance groups, performed solo in numerous places in the USSR, and appeared in the cinema. After her husband, a high-ranking Soviet official, was sent to work in

Vladivostok in 1930, she, along with her lover, a famous Georgian dance performer, illegally crossed the Soviet-Chinese border and settled in Harbin and then Shanghai, which, at that time were centres of the Russian emigration. In Shanghai, Berta Chervonnaya performed together with the famous singer Alexander Vertinsky. There, she survived the Japanese occupation, and in 1947, together with her new husband, returned to the USSR. After a year's stay in a filtration camp in Sverdlovsk, she settled in Stary Oskol, but in 1951, she was arrested and sentenced to 25 years in ITL on charges of "treason". She was released in 1956 and died in 1975 in Karaganda, Kazakh SSR (Дорофеева, 2016).

The famous pop singer (lyric tenor) and composer Vadim Kozin was also associated with the old Gypsy musical elite. His mother was Vera Ilinskaya of the famous Ilinsky-Sankinys musical dynasty, a singer in a Gypsy choir, and his father was a wealthy Russian (non-Roma) merchant. In his early youth, he performed Gypsy songs and romances but subsequently changed his repertoire and oriented it to the mass audience. According to the recollections of contemporaries, in the 1930s, his popularity reached fantastic proportions, and the release of his gramophone records drew huge queues of admirers guarded by mounted militsya. The media circulated many legends about his life in modern Russia, but most of them are not confirmed by historical sources. Such is the story Kozin narrated himself, according to which he accompanied Stalin on the piano when he performed Russian *chastushkas* (*chastushka* – a traditional type of short Russian humorous folk song); during the Second World War he was awarded the military order of the *Red Star* for his concerts before the Red Army soldiers, and in November 1943 Kozin was taken on a special flight to Tehran, where, along with Isa Kremer and Maurice Chevalier, he performed at a concert in honour of Winston Churchill's birthday (Whitlock, 2015; Аронова, 2022; Набокина, n.d.).

The case of his repression remains unclear. According to the most widespread and widely circulated version, in 1944 he was sentenced by the OSO to 8 years ITL, according to some authors, under three articles of the RSFSR Criminal Code: Art. 58-10, Part 2 (counter-revolutionary agitation in wartime); Art. 152 (depraved acts against minors) and Art. 154a (sodomy) (Крушинский, 2001). These sentences are not reflected in the existing databases of the political repressions, so the case remains not entirely clear. There are also various legends about the reasons for the sentences, for example, that he refused to perform songs about Stalin, that he made a scandal with Beria, who, despite Kozin's request, did not assist with the evacuation of his relatives during the blockade of Leningrad by the German army; and even that Kozin and Beria had a conflict over a joint mistress. Vadim Kozin served his sentence in the city of Magadan, where his admirers, among the leadership of Dalstroï, arranged for

him to work in the Magadan theatre of musical drama and comedy. After serving his sentence, he continued to live in Magadan, where in 1959, he was sentenced for a second time, under Art. 154a of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR, for sodomy to 8 years ITL. He served his new sentence in the local theatre until 1968, and then, until the end of his life in 1994, he lived in Magadan, regularly giving concerts in various regions of the USSR (Whitlock, 2015; Аронова, 2022; Набокина, n.d.). After his death, his home became a museum, and a monument of him was erected in the city.

These are all known cases of repressed Roma belonging to the old Gypsy musical elite. In general, among the repressed Roma, the persons born in the two metropolises were very few – three persons in Moscow and one in St Petersburg.

A small number of the old musical elite immigrated during the Civil War as a part of the so-called white immigration, while the rest integrated, to a relatively high degree, into the new Soviet Gypsy elite. As we discussed in Chapter I, Gypsy activism was born and developed in this very environment, and a number of its representatives (Ivan Rom-Lebedev, Grigory Lebedev, Nikolay Pankov, Olga Pankova, Nina Dudarova, and others) took leading positions in the new elite. There were also other socially active representatives of the Gypsy community, some of whom took part in the Civil War, others actively participated in the collective farm movement, and still, others were in the Communist Party nomenclature (Andrey Taranov, Mikhail Bezlyudsky, Ilya and Trofim Gerasimovs, Ivan Tokmakov and others). Through its affirmative policy towards the Gypsies in the 1920s and 1930s, the Soviet state created and developed this new elite, which, unlike the old musical elite, was already officially promoted in the public sphere as a National Gypsy elite (for biographies of its leading figures, see Marushiakova & Popov, 2022, pp. 399–606).

In parallel with the new “official” Gypsy elite in the USSR, another “unofficial” Gypsy elite emerged spontaneously. The latter developed not in the community (officially ‘nationality’) dimension of the Roma but in their dimension as an integral part of the Soviet society. Its representatives were individual Roma, who managed to get a relatively good education and to occupy relatively high social positions, taking advantage of the preferences and the social lifts that the Soviet state created for certain social strata (mostly the proletariat and the so-called working peasantry). Of course, due to a number of reasons, these cases were not that many, but they were a fact, and their number increased over the years. Thus, in the end, in the 1920s and 1930s, a second important segment of the new, Soviet Gypsy national elite was created.

The two distinct segments of the new Gypsy Soviet elite, which were formed on the basis of the dichotomy ‘Roma as a community and Roma

as a society', were not opposed to each other. On the contrary, there were close connections and transitions from one segment to another. Such is the case of Trofim Gerasimov, who, after scandalously ending his career in the Soviet nomenclature (see Chapter 1), started working as an engineer in the city of Dneprodzerzhinsk, Dnepropetrovsk Oblast, in the Ukrainian SSR (Marushiakova & Popov, 2022, pp. 496–497) and became actively involved “on the labour front”, without abandoning his dedication to the Roma community issues (see his letter to Stalin, in Marushiakova & Popov, 2021, pp. 846–858). There are also examples in the opposite direction, when individual Roma, who had achieved good social positions, expressed a desire to work for their community (i.e., to transfer to the other segment of the Roma elite). As an example, we refer to the text of applications, dated 1939, to Ivan Tokmakov, who was an instructor in the Department of Nationalities VTsIK at that time:

We hereby inform you, comrade Tokmakov, that I, A. V. Lebedeva, currently work as a district agronomist [...] I have education from an agricultural technical school and work experience of 2 years. [...] When I heard that Gypsy personnel were required to specifically teach in their native language, I decided to tell you that I wanted to work in my science and pass on all the knowledge that I have [...]

I, S[tepan] Al. Masalsky, currently live in the city of Ardatov, Gorky Krai; I have a lower than secondary education. [...] I have a wife with secondary education [...]. We also want to work among our nation, work and 'learn and learn', as Comrade V. I. Lenin had said [...] Previously, we were not aware of the need for Gypsy cadres, to raise them up into useful people for our Soviet Union, and we are ready to devote all our strength and knowledge to this cause. [...] (GARF, f. P 1235, op. 130, d. 5, l. 82).

The processes of creation and development of new Soviet national elite are not characteristic solely of the Gypsies. Analogous processes took place among all other nationalities in the USSR in the 1920s and 1930s (Hirsch, 1998; Martin, 2001; Hirsch et al., 2005). However, all these new national elites (as well as the preserved remnants of the old national elites created before the October Revolution, which had adapted to the new Soviet realities) fell victim to the political repressions during the Great Terror and in the following years. Moreover, an important part of the mass repressions, especially during the Great Purge, targeted the new Soviet national elites created by the Soviet state; their destruction was one of the main goals of the mass repressions during this period (Martin, 2001, p. 595)

Against this background, the situation of the Gypsies was unique. Unlike huge sections of the new national elites, which were annihilated during the repressions in the 1930s, the Gypsy activists as a whole (with some controversial

exceptions, which will be discussed below) did not fall victim to these reprisals. The new Gypsy national elite, and specifically its “official” segment, created directly by the Soviet state, remained virtually intact.

A typical example in this regard is the case of Andrey Taranov, chairman of the All-Russian Union of the Gypsies. After the liquidation of the Union in 1928, he not only avoided punishment but also took the lead of the journal *Romany zorya* (1927–1930) and its continuing journal *Nevo drom* (1930–1932) as executive editor. These were important and responsible positions, and his appointment demonstrated the confidence allotted to him by the Party and the Soviet state with respect to the Gypsy policy. After suspending the journal *Nevo drom* in 1932, which should have affected Taranov as well, he was given a lower nomenclature position at the VTsIK Department of Nationalities instead of punishment. In the end, Andrey Taranov was insufficiently prepared for the bureaucratic games among the Gypsy activists, and his career as a leader of the Gypsy movement ended. In 1934, the Party sent him to work in the Kyrgyz ASSR (then part of the RSFSR), where he held lower nomenclature positions – for a short time, he worked in the apparatus of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kyrgyzstan. Then, he became director of the Kyrgyzstan tobacco state farm. The transfer of Party cadres from the capital, Moscow, to distant provincial parts of the country was a specific form of punishment at that time.

Andrey Taranov’s exile in Central Asia lasted for a relatively short time, and in 1936, he was sent back to the capital and appointed to the central Soviet state apparatus. He started working in the Resettlement Committee at the USSR Sovnarkhoz, which in the same year was transformed into the Resettlement Department of the NKVD. In other words, he was rehabilitated and promoted in the nomenclature hierarchy. Andrey Taranov’s official duties involved inspections in several Gypsy collective farms. One of the inspections he conducted was, as we mentioned above, in the Gypsy kolkhoz *Third International*, in Yaroslavl Oblast, Turabyevo village, ended with heavy criticism of Comrade Sergey Bello, the chairman of the kolkhoz (RGAE, f. 5675, op. 1, d. 179, l. 36–39).

In the autumn of 1944, the Ministry of Food Industry sent Andrey Taranov to the town of Rezina, Moldova, to work as the director of a tobacco factory that had been destroyed by the Germans during the war and was to be rebuilt. From 1948, he worked in the Rezina Raykom, then worked as head of the Social Security Department of the same rayon. In 1950, he retired for health reasons, in the category of “personal pensioner”. The title ‘personal pensioner’ in the USSR means that its holder received the so-called ‘personal pension’ (hierarchised at three levels – local, Republican, and Union), which was given to

retired persons for “exceptional contribution to the construction of the Soviet state”. The holders of this title received individual pension supplements and several privileges in the fields of communal services, health services, public transport, and even special food bonuses on holidays. The name of Andrey Taranov was not present in the lists of pensioners of Union and Republican significance, i.e., his personal pension was at the lowest local level.

Georgy Lebedev, a leading Gypsy activist in the early USSR, one of the founders of the All-Russian Union of the Gypsies, a member of its leadership, and from 1931, the first director of the State Gypsy Theatre *Romen*, is also an interesting case. In 1933, some young actors from the theatre *Romen* were arrested for petty crimes, which, however, were interpreted in a political light. Georgy Lebedev was removed as chair of the theatre, but after a few months, he was reinstated. Below, we provide a summary of the Minutes of a meeting of the “Functionaries of the Moscow Gypsies”, which discussed the situation with Georgy Lebedev. The Minutes were summarised by Ivan Rom-Lebedev in his position of Chairman of the *Romen* Theatre’s Trade Union Committee in a letter sent to several Soviet institutions – Department of the Council of Nationalities at the TsIK SSSR, Council of Nationalities at the TsIK SSSR, etc. This summary reads:

Rom-Lebedev said that once removed due to unsatisfactory political leadership and returned to the theatre a few months later by the political director, G. P. Lebedev did not justify his return at all, but specifically: 1. He did not carry out any political work, he was also inactive as an administrator. 2. He committed many acts that compromise him as a candidate for membership in the VKP(b) [of several financial violations – authors’ note] [...] (GARF, f. P 1235, op. 123, d. 28, l. 98–99).

On December 3, 1933, at the initiative of the Commission on Nationalities of the Moscow City Executive Committee, a new meeting of the “Functionaries of the Moscow Gypsies” (30 people) was convened. All speakers criticised the work of the Theatre *Romen* (especially the staging of the play *Carmen* by Prosper Merimee for its ideologically incorrect interpretation) and denounced Georgy Lebedev as the main culprit for the various problems in the work of the Theatre.

The meeting concluded that the “cultural, political and educational work among the artists is very weak ... there is no live connection with the Gypsy activists and the Moscow club”, and the following decisions were taken:

1. Asks the Cultural Department at the Moscow City Committee at the VKP(b) to provide the Gypsy theatre with Party leadership cadres.



2. To ask the Arts Sector of the People's Commissariat for Education, in connection with the latest incident (arrest of actors for anti-Soviet performance), to cleanse the theatre of alien class and decayed elements). [...]

4. To recognise it as necessary to revise the play "Carmen" as soon as possible [...] with the involvement of the Roma community (Ibid., l. 180–181).

It is difficult to judge to what extent Georgy Lebedev himself was to blame for the financial crisis in the *Romen* Theatre, but although he was undoubtedly responsible for a number of financial issues (as in the time of the VSTs), he was hardly the only one to blame. In fact, he became the scapegoat and was sentenced to 10-years term of imprisonment. His sentencing needs some clarification.

It is very strange that despite the serious political accusations against Georgy Lebedev, he was sentenced only for criminal offences (financial violations) and not for political ones, while the maximum term of 10 years provided for such crimes was considered relatively light in the context of the time.

The case of Georgy Lebedev was extremely unusual for the USSR in the 1930s, when in the conditions of mass repressions, the widespread practice was exactly the opposite – criminals were supposed to receive much heavier sentences on political charges (we already mentioned the example of theft of horses from a kolkhoz qualified as theft of socialist property, sabotage, counter-revolution, etc.). In the same way, the already mentioned young Gypsy artists at the Theatre *Romen* were also convicted of criminal offences, and in addition to that, they received charges for political crimes.

In some sources, Averyan (Averka) Wojciechovsky, director of the Gypsy school in Leningrad, who was executed in 1938, is also considered a victim of mass political repressions in the USSR in 1938 (Kenrick, 2007, p. 260). However, a Gypsy school in Leningrad did not exist at all; there was only a proposal for its establishment, and Averyan Kozlovsky, who had a pedagogical education, was proposed to be a teacher in the school (Смирнова, 2022, p. 157). However, the names of both Averyan Wojciechovsky and Averyan Kozlovsky (probably the same person) are missing from the existing databases of victims of political repressions. Of course, it is always possible that there are gaps and omissions in the preserved (or known to us) documentation in the historical archives, so this case remains unclear.

In fact, the only known case of a politically repressed person representing the new Gypsy elite, created as a result of the "special" affirmative policy of the Soviet state, is that of Ivan Baranovsky. He was a teacher in the Gypsy department of the Pedagogical Technical College in Dorogobuzh, Western Oblast, which trained teachers in Romani language. In 1932, he was arrested (the charges are not known) and released a few months later.

In the other segment of the new Gypsy elite, formed as a result of the general policy of the Soviet state and the new social realities in the USSR, the situation is not much different: The repressed Roma were less than a dozen, i.e., also a minimal number.

An important criterion that indicated a higher social position in Soviet society, especially in the 1920s and 1930s, was membership in the Communist Party. Among all the repressed Gypsies, victims of judicial (quasi-judicial) decisions, there were seven members of the VKP(b). As already stated in Chapter I, in 1941, there were 265 Gypsy members of the Communist Party, i.e., the share of the repressed among them was also quite insignificant.

The case of Grigory Lutsenko remains unclear. According to the information available in the database of the victims of political repressions, he lived in Kiev; he was arrested in 1935, sentenced for counter-revolutionary Trotskyist activity by the Troika of the NKVD Directorate at Dalstroy of the Ministry of Defence in 1937, and shot dead in one of the ITL in the now Magadan region. Based on this information, we can assume that in 1935, he was sentenced and sent to ITL, where he received a second sentence during the Great Terror. According to the testimony of his relatives (Zolotarenko family from Kyiv), recorded by us during field research in Ukraine, he was a professor of Marxism-Leninism (it is not clear where, probably in some of the Kiev universities or higher schools), which means (given this social position), that he had some form of higher education. In all likelihood, he was a member of the VKP(b).

Among the repressed Roma members of the Communist Party, the name of Velya Pashun (according to other data, Valentin Pashun), known under the alias of Volodimir Zorin, stands out. He was born in 1904 somewhere in Bessarabia; he was a member of the VKP(b) since 1919 and a participant in the Civil War. He graduated from the School for Red Commanders in Kharkov, which prepared officers for the Red Army but worked as a journalist in the *Vesti* newspaper (Открытый список, 2016). He is the author of several collections of short stories about the Civil War and two novels on a Gypsy theme, one of which was translated into the Moldavian language and published in the Moldavian ASSR (Зорин, 1932ab; 1934; Zorin, 1933). He was shot dead in 1937 in Kharkov. The interesting question in this case, to which we have no logical answer, is why, despite this impressive (by Soviet standards of the time) biography and education, he was not recruited either by the VSTs or by the central Soviet institutions or local Ukrainian governments to work with Gypsies, especially given the apparent shortage of trained personnel in this area.

Other repressed Roma members of the VKP(b) are the following persons:

- Semyon Kolbenko, living in the city of Petrovsk-Zabaykalsky, Chita Oblast, manager of a state bank; arrested at the end of 1937, and after more than two years of arrest (while under investigation), released in February 1940.

- Stepan Savin (for him, see above), living in the city of Chita, a store manager, was sentenced by the Troika Administration of the NKVD in Chita Oblast to VMN and shot dead in 1938.
- Fedir Bugrimenko, an inspector at the budget department of the regional financial department in Odessa; was arrested on charges of participation in an anti-Soviet terrorist organisation; released in 1930 after the charges against him were dropped.
- Vasył Zaritsky, member of the VKP(b) in the period 1939–1941, peasant collective farmer in the village of Zatyshshia, Odesa Oblast; arrested in 1944 and charged with treason; the case was closed for lack of evidence, and he was released in 1945.

A VKP(b) member, at least for a certain period, was also Ivan Kaminsky, whom we will discuss in more detail in the next chapter.

Among the repressed Gypsy members of the VKP(b), there was also a Roma woman, Dina Mikhelson (apparently, this was her husband's surname), who had an incomplete higher education and worked as a history teacher in the city of Tomsk. After her arrest, she was expelled from the Party, a relatively common practice at the time. She was sentenced to 3 years ITL as a ChSIR (family member of a traitor to the Motherland).

There are two more cases of Roma women among Gypsies, victims of mass political repressions, who were convicted as a “family member of a traitor to the Motherland”, who could also be counted among the new Soviet Gypsy elite.

One of them is Anna Musselius (maiden name Mey), probably of mixed (Latvian-Roma) origin, born in the former Kurland Province, in the city of Libava (today in Latvia), with a secondary education. During World War I, she was a nurse at the front. She was the wife of Maximilian Musselius, scientific secretary of the Main Astronomical Observatory of the USSR in Pulkovo (near Leningrad). According to the documentation, she was a “housewife”, i.e., she did not work so that she could take care of the home and family. Contrary to the mass public stereotypes for compulsory employment of all Soviet citizens, the social status of the ‘housewife’ (often glossed over in academic research) was relatively common throughout the history of the USSR, especially among the wives of men with high social positions (and accordingly with good incomes). After the repression of her husband in 1937, Anna Musselius was sentenced to 5 years ITL. After serving the sentence, she was exiled to Chugunash village, Kemerovo Oblast, where she died in 1950.

Another Roma woman who received a sentence as a “family member of a traitor to the Motherland” is Olena Geiro. She was born in Yaroslavl, had secondary education, also the status of a housewife (apparently her husband

occupied a high social position), lived in Dnepropetrovsk, in the Ukrainian SSR, and was sentenced to 8 years ITL.

Olga Kononova can also be counted among the group of Roma women sentenced as ChSIR. She was an artist at the Theatre *Romen*, the wife of the famous football player Andrey Starostin. The four Starostin brothers (Nicolay, Alexander, Andrey and Pyotr) were football stars who were at the heart of the success of the Moscow Club *Spartak* in the 1930s. According to widespread narratives in the public space nowadays, the brothers were repressed on the personal orders of Beria, who was a former football player and fanatical supporter of the NKVD departmental football club *Dynamo*, whose main rival in the football life of the USSR at the time was *Spartak*. Documentary evidence, however, reveals a rather different picture. It is clear from the Special Message of L. P. Beria to J. V. Stalin that testimony was received about the participation of Nikolay Starostin (the eldest of the brothers) in a spy network uncovered by the NKVD in 1937–1938, maintaining connections in the German embassy in Moscow; however, he was not charged in that case. Their arrest in 1942 (when the football championship was suspended because of the war with Germany) was the result of specially recorded conversations between him and his wife, in which they discussed how they would arrange their lives after the German army captured Moscow, which they expected with impatience and prepare for it through various speculations (AANYa, Document No. 216).

The Starostin brothers were arrested in 1942 and sent to ITL; Andrey Starostin was sent to Norillag (in Norilsk, Siberia). According to one of the popular versions, Olga Kononova often visited her husband and tried to negotiate better conditions for him; because she rejected the advances of the camp chief, he ordered her sentencing to ITL. According to her daughter, during one of her visits to the camp, she tried to pass an expensive watch to her husband, Andrey, through one of the guards (probably to be used as a bribe for the camp authorities) and was sentenced for bribing an official. In any case, it is known that Olga Kononova was in ITL for eight years and served her sentence in the Kazakh SSR (Бессонов, 2002d; Кино-Театр.Ру).

A few other people among the politically repressed Roma can also be counted as representatives of the new Soviet Gypsy elite:

- Valentina Tverdostupova, with incomplete higher education, a physician at the Infectious Diseases Hospital in Baranovichi, Byelorussian SSR, who in 1945 was sentenced to 5 years ITL for “treason to the Motherland”.
- Pyotr Galimov, with secondary education, director of the Alkino Sanatorium in the Bashkir ASSR, was arrested in 1942; there is no information about his charges and sentence.

- Alexey Radionitsky, who worked as an engineer (i.e., he had a technical education) at the Staraya Rusa resort, Novgorod Oblast; in 1937, he was sentenced to 10 years ITL.
- Sava Pastika, with incomplete secondary education, director of a mill plant in the city of Vinnytsia, Ukrainian SSR; in 1944, he was sentenced to 10 years ITL.

There are two other cases which are not clear and even raise doubts about whether the repressed were Roma at all. Still, we included them in our database of the politically repressed because the two persons were indicated in their files as “Gypsy” by nationality.

One of them is Dmitry Vodopyan (variant: Mikhail Lezviev). According to the information in the database of victims of political repression, he was born in the village of Kartuz-Berezovka, in the region of Grodno (today in Belarus), “from Gypsies-nomads” by social origin, poorly literate, self-taught artist and sculptor. He lived in Nalchik, the capital of the Kabardino-Balkarian ASSR. In 1937, he was accused of anti-Soviet agitation and shot dead. Some of his artistic and sculptural works were preserved, including the sculptural composition of a dancing Kabardian couple on the facade of the Pobeda (Victory) Cinema in Nalchik (see Illustrations), prepared together with his student Leonid Molodozhanin (the future famous Canadian sculptor Leo Mol). Dmitry Vodopyan’s sister, however, tells a completely different biography of him in her memoirs, presented by her grandson. According to her, their family lived in the town of Beryoza-Kartuzskaya (today, the city of Byaroza in Belarus), where their father worked in the police. Her brother Dmitry graduated from the Kiev Academy of Arts, and during the Civil War, he was mobilised in the Red Army. He escaped, following the refusal by his superiors to release him from military duty, and arrived in Moscow, where he introduced himself under a new name (Mikhail Lezviev) as a self-taught Gypsy artist. In Moscow, he quickly established himself as a painter and sculptor; his personal exhibition received the approval of Lunacharsky himself, and he received a personal scholarship, after which he went to the Caucasus and began working in Nalchik (Биография, n.d.). This sounds logical in the context of the era. However, still, the question remains why the NKVD, knowing Dmitry Vodopyan’s real name (he was repressed under this name) and nationality, entered his nationality as “Gypsy” in their official documentation, i.e., the case remains unclear.

Another similar case is that of Boris Tkachuk. According to the information contained in the database of victims of political repression, he was born in 1886 in the village of Ivashkoutsi (cannot be identified) in Romania, had a higher education and worked as a “teacher in a higher educational institution” in the city of Lubni, Poltava Oblast. He was arrested in 1937, sentenced to

prison by the “Supreme Court of the USSR” (referring to its subdivision in the Ukrainian SSR), and was shot dead in Kiev. However, this information raises certain doubts. If he was a Roma born in Romania (i.e., Kelderar), why his name and family name were Ukrainian? How did a Kelderar manage to get a higher education, given that the members of this Roma community were largely illiterate or barely literate? There is no answer to these questions, although this story could have been possible in the context of the era.

The evidence presented so far confirms the earlier conclusion that the new Soviet National Gypsy elite was very little affected by the mass political repressions in the USSR. This segment of it, which was created as a result of the affirmative policy of the Soviet state, and which can be considered establishment elite (although in practice, it was far from a mere instrument for the implementation of the Soviet Gypsy policy, and often its positions on it diverged from the official ones), practically did not suffer at all. The other segment, which was formed in the new Soviet social reality and can be considered a self-made Soviet elite, had minimal victims of political repression (it is unclear what proportion of these new Soviet elites was repressed).



We have already emphasised the importance of placing the research on Gypsies, victims of political repression in the USSR (either by administrative acts or through judicial (quasi-judicial) decisions) in the general socio-political context of the times. The contextualisation of the issue of Gypsies, victims of political repression includes, among other things, statistical data analysis exploring the correlation between the number of Gypsies victims of mass political repressions, and the total number of victims in this category in the Soviet society as a whole, during the studied historical period.

In this regard, however, we have encountered a serious obstacle for our research and methodology arising from the difficulty in defining, at least in relative terms, the total number of victims of mass political repressions in the USSR. This issue has been strongly influenced by various ideological and geopolitical factors and dependencies; it has also been subject to heated debates for several decades, which do not show prospects for some convergence of positions in the foreseeable future. To understand what kind of manipulative interpretations are possible, we will cite the example of Ivan Kurganov (probably a pseudonym). We will not enter into discussions regarding the mystifications connected with his biography. We will only note that he escaped to the West during the Second World War and published numerous articles in the Russian émigré press in which he developed his concept of the victims of

the Soviet regime. He took as a starting point for his calculations the population of the Russian Empire in 1917, on the eve of the October Revolution, which he determined to be 143.5 million people. From here, based on complex pseudo-demographic calculations (or, more precisely, hoaxes), he concluded that the total population of the USSR should have been 319.5 million people. Since, according to this Census, the population counted only 208.8 million people, he concluded that the victims of the Soviet regime were 110.7 million people (sic!). The Nobel Laureate Alexander Solzhenitsyn referred to these data and “proved” them in his work (and especially in his famous book *The Gulag Archipelago*) by testimonies mainly from oral history – the memoirs of 257 repressed people (the figures in which are practically unverifiable and thus unprovable), as well as by his own experiences (Комсомольская правда, 1991, p. 3).

As an indication of the discrepancies in the figures, we will refer to the conclusion reached by Viktor Zemskov in two of his articles with telling titles: *On the Scale of Political Repression in the USSR: Through the Maze of Speculation, Perversion and Hoaxes*, and *On the Scale of Political Repression in the USSR: Against Speculative and Mythological Constructions*. Zemskov highlighted the following discrepancies: According to Alexander Solzhenitsyn, the victims of the Soviet regime (to which he also includes all people who died during the Second World War), for the entire period of its existence, were 110 million people; according to other Soviet dissidents (including Solzhenitsyn himself) and Western Sovietologists, during the period of the Cold War, the victims of political repression were about 50–60 million people; and according to modern Western authors of the post-Soviet period, these victims reach 20 million people (Земсков 2009; p. 110; 2012, p. 87). In modern Russia, after the so-called archival revolution, the estimates of the number of victims of political repression based on the revealed historical documents (including estimates by leading authors from the circle of the *Memorial Society*) are considerably more modest (cf. Земсков, 2009, p. 110; 2012, p. 87; Охотин & Рогинский, 2007b; Рачинский et al., 2016). These discrepancies often result from different criteria for defining ‘victims of repression’, which the authors use. According to the databases which we used most often in the preparation of this book (prepared based on the names of the repressed, collected by the Memorial Society), the figures are as follows: *Victims of Political Terror in the USSR* – “more than 3,000,000 records” (*Жертвы политического террора*, 2017, last visited on October 16, 2023); *Open List*, which is promoted as “the most complete database of victims of political repression in the USSR” – 3,230,948 records (*Открытый список*, 2016, last visited on April 24, 2024). However, as the creators of these databases themselves explicitly note, it should be taken into account that they include

mainly the victims of judicial (quasi-judicial decisions) and only a relatively small part of the victims of mass deportations in the 1930s and the 1940s.

Despite the problems with calculating the exact (or at least commonly acceptable for diverse scholars) number of victims of mass political repressions in the USSR, it is still possible to estimate the relative share of the Gypsies among them. We can do it using a chronologically limited “sample” in which the number of the victims is estimated with some feasible approximation without drastic discrepancies as described above. Such is the case with the number of victims during the Great Terror (1937–1938). The figures provided by most of the researchers today (at least those who based their estimates on documentary evidence) are more or less congruent.

As already stated, according to Viktor Zemskov, during the years of the Great Terror, 1,344,923 people were repressed on political charges, of which 681,692 people received VMN (Земсков, 1994, p. 123). According to some authors from the circle of the Memorial Society, in 1937–1938, no less than 1,710,000 people were arrested, of which no less than 1,440,000 people were sentenced, and no less than 724,000 people received VMN (Охотин & Рогинский, 2007a); other authors from this circle indicated quite similar figures (Рачинский et al., 2016). In addition, different categories are sometimes added to the victims of the Great Terror, such as people sentenced by the “militsiya Troikas” as “socially harmful element” – no less than 400,000; people subjected to evictions and deportations by an administrative order – no less than 200,000; people sentenced by courts of general jurisdiction on general criminal charges – no less than 2 million, of which no less than 800,000 were sent to camps (Охотин & Рогинский, 2007a).

The discrepancies in these numbers seem quite insignificant compared to the differences in the estimates of the total number of victims of political repressions in the entire history of the USSR, which we have already highlighted (these estimates differ by factors of 10, 20 or more, not to mention Solzhenitsyn’s fantastic numbers).

The data on the Gypsies, victims of political repression during the Great Terror (1937–1938), are as follows: A total of 283 Gypsies, including 20 women, were politically repressed through judicial (quasi-judicial) decisions. Out of this number, 199 persons, including nine women, received the VMN; 50 persons, including four women, were sentenced to imprisonment; 28 persons, including seven women, were released with charges dropped; there is no data for seven persons.

The total number of Gypsies repressed during the Great Terror represents little more than 44% of the total number of Gypsies repressed during the entire period from the October Revolution until 1956, which was 640 people



(including 56 Roma women). This ratio is quite close to the respective ratio for all victims of political repressions in the relevant historical period (exact figures are not necessary since the data for these repressions provided by different authors, although relatively close, are different).

The total number of Gypsies who received VMN sentences during the years of the Great Terror was 199, including nine women; the total number of Gypsies who received the same sentences during the entire studied period was 226, including nine women (i.e., all death sentences of Roma women were delivered during the time of the Great Terror). Gypsies who received death sentences during the Great Terror represent almost 88% of all Gypsies who received death sentences due to political repressions during the entire period of the existence of the USSR. For comparison, according to Viktor Zemskov's calculations, this ratio is 85% for all politically repressed persons (Земсков, 2012, p. 79), i.e., the difference with the repressed Gypsies is insignificant.

Without going into complicated calculations, we can sum up that other correlations between the number of the repressed Gypsies and the total number of the repressed people are also similar – for prison sentences (people sent to ITL and ITK), for cases of terminated investigation and release. All this indisputably confirms a recurrent conclusion in this study that the political repressions against representatives of the Gypsy community in the USSR are inseparable from the mass political repressions in the Soviet society, and there is no reason to interpret the repression against Gypsies as a policy of anti-Gypsyism.

The only noticeable exception that at first sight contradicts this conclusion is that the number of the Gypsies sentenced to death during the Great Terror (199 people) significantly exceeds the number of all other repressed Gypsies (84 people). In comparison, the proportion of the death sentences among all politically repressed during this period was less than half of the total number (see the data above). However, this exception has its explanation, and it lies in the fact that most Roma sentenced to death were victims of the so-called Gypsy Lawsuits as a part of the so-called national operations, which we will present in the next chapter. In other words, the situation with the death sentences was not unique, related only to the Gypsies, either.

When discussing the high number of death sentences imposed on politically repressed Gypsies, it should be taken into account that the threshold for death sentences was extremely low (from the modern point of view) at that time in the USSR (especially during the Great Terror). Death sentences were imposed for crimes, which nowadays would be sanctioned by an administrative punishment or a reprimand or registration. We are not exaggerating here: for example, the accusation against Mikhail Shamonin, a street child who is believed to be the youngest person shot dead during the mass political

repressions in the USSR, was the following: “stole two loaves of bread from hunger” (Бессмертный барак, 2018, p. Михаил Николаевич Шамонин).

In passing, the number of homeless children in the big cities of the early USSR grew sharply as a result of the Civil War (1917–1922) and the mass famine in the Volga region (1921–1922), reaching 6–7 million (Рожков, 2000), is worth to discussing here at least briefly. The gravity of this problem and the need to cope with it is evident from the fact that on January 21, 1921 (that is, even before the end of the Civil War, the outcome of which the very existence of the USSR as a state depended), the VTsIK established a Commission for the Improvement of Children's Lives, headed by the chair of the VChK, Felix Dzerzhinsky. The VChK was directly involved in solving the problem by creating orphanages and accommodating homeless children. This process proved to be complicated and long, and it ended in the late 1930s. However, the number of street children increased sharply again due to the Second World War, and the process of solving the problem ended in the early 1950s (Ibid.). Although there is no data (including from the oral history of the community), there were likely Roma children experiencing homelessness. Still, their number was insignificant (in contrast to the 1990s, when, as a result of the transition to democracy and market economy, the countries of the former socialist camp in Central and South-Eastern Europe faced the hitherto unknown (and even unthinkable) societal phenomenon of homeless children, most of whom were Roma children).

There is no reason to believe that politically repressed Gypsies received heavier sentences; in some cases, their sentences might have been even lighter than the surrounding population. One can see this, for example, from the minutes of the meetings of the Judicial Troika of the NKVD in the Crimean ASSR, dated November 6, 1937. We learn from it that Klavdia V. Zhuravleva, a Russian by nationality, born in 1918 (i.e., a girl of 19 years), received a death sentence and was shot dead for “stealing a suitcase from a steamer and belongings from a hotel” (GDASBU, f. 6 P, op. 6, spr. 19, ark. 23). From the same protocols, it can be seen that Abduraim Selami, born in 1892, a Gypsy by nationality, who, according to the accusation, was “engaged in buying things and stealing [...], stole a leather jacket, which he tried to sell”, received a sentence of 8 years ITL (Ibid., f. 6 P, op. 6, spr. 8, ark. 171).

In this regard, we note the excellent analysis of Brigid O'Keefe (2013) at the beginning of her book *New Soviet Gypsies: Nationality, Performance, and Selfhood in the Early Soviet Union*. The author presents a trial in 1933 in which three Roma were accused of stealing horses. In their defence before the court, the accused initially denied the accusations. Still, after the prosecutor formulated their offence as theft of socialist property and demanded the death

penalty for them (under the criteria imposed by the already mentioned Decree of the TsIK SSSR and the SNK SSSR of August 7, 1932), they changed their defence strategy. In their statements before the court, they emphasised the fact that they were illiterate Gypsies, representatives of a “backward” community, victims of oppression of the damned tsarism, i.e., they relied on the propaganda clichés concerning the Gypsies that dominated the public space (O’Keefe, 2013, pp. 3–5). The facts about the fate of the accused, which according to Brigid O’Keefe (*Ibid.*, p. 4) are unknown, were recorded in the database of victims of political repressions, namely that Pyotr Komlenko and brothers Nikolay and Yefim Kasperovsky received a minimum sentence of 3 years in exile (see Annex 1.2). Apparently, Gypsy origin in the context of the political repressions in the USSR not only did not create additional problems; on the contrary, it often appeared as an advantage and a mitigating circumstance.

This also explains the above-described case of Dmitry Vodopyan, which contradicts the stereotypes of anti-Gypsyism.

Undoubtedly, the question about the share of the repressed Gypsies within the total number of politically repressed during the Great Terror is particularly important. Although we provide only an estimate of this share, it can still be considered a fairly accurate presentation of the actual proportion of the Gypsies in the general population of the repressed because of the discrepancies in the data of the total number of victims of the Great Terror which we rely on, are relatively small (see above). Moreover, the data are complete and indisputable concerning an important segment of the repressed – those who were sentenced to ITL and ITK. On October 1, 1937, 2,235 Gypsies served their sentences in the GULAG (0.27% of the total number of convicts); on January 1, their number was 4,308 people, which represents 0.33% of the total number of convicts (Кокурин & Петров, 2000, pp. 414–423; Верт & Мироненко, 2004, pp. 75–78; Edele, 2014, p. 293). It should be noted that in the case of the Gypsies, the vast majority of the GULAG prisoners were convicted of criminal, not political, offences.

As we have seen above, only 50 Gypsies were sent to the GULAG with sentences on political charges during the Great Terror. We can add to them a maximum of the same number of other Gypsies already serving sentences in the GULAG before the Great Terror. In the final account, the politically repressed Gypsies in the GULAG system at that time were a tiny fraction even in comparison only to the total number of the Gypsy prisoners in the Gulag, let alone in comparison to the total number of all prisoners.

Of course, the Gypsies imprisoned in the GULAG system were only a part of the repressed Gypsies during the Great Terror. Still, there is no reason to believe that if we compare their number with all the politically repressed during that

period, their relative share will rise significantly within these frameworks. In any case, Viktor Danilov's study with calculations of the repressed representatives of various nationalities, which are more than 0.01% of the total number of repressed for the period from January 1, 1936 to July 1, 1938, does not include Gypsies (Данилов, 2004, p. 15), i.e., the share of the politically repressed Gypsies is smaller compared to the percentage of the victims of repression among all nationalities during the Great terror and more importantly, there is no reason to think that this proportion could have been higher throughout the rest of the period of mass political repression in the USSR.

Summing up the findings in this chapter, we can briefly conclude the following: Taking into account all possible gaps and incompleteness in the databases existing until now about the victims of political repressions in the USSR, the number of the Gypsies, victims of political repressions through judicial (quasi-judicial) decisions, can be estimated at about 800, maximum 1,000 people. This number, compared to the census data of the total Gypsy population (61,234 people in 1926; 88,242 people in 1939) and of the total population of the USSR (120,520,852 people plus 192,949 'foreigners' in 1926; 170,557,093 people in 1939), is relatively insignificant. It makes approximately 0.01–0.02% of the total number of all politically repressed in the USSR until 1953 (and if we accept the claims of Gypsy activists in the early USSR and of many modern authors that the actual number of the Gypsies in the USSR at that time was much higher, then the percentage of the repressed would be even smaller). Moreover, we should note that the situation of the Gypsies was unique compared to other nationalities in the USSR (or at least those who were not very small in number and had their own territorial-administrative units) because only in the case of the Gypsies did the new Soviet national elite of the community, created under the conditions of the Soviet state, practically remain unaffected by the mass political repressions.



## The Gypsy Lawsuits

### 4.1 Kelderari in the Repressive Policy of the Soviet State

The period of the 1930s in the history of the USSR, along with significant socio-economic transformations and the consolidation of the new ideology, is characterised by massive political repressions, which affected all social and ethnic groups in Soviet society. The Gypsy communities in the USSR, being part of the Soviet society, were affected not only by the Soviet transformations but also by the political persecution and repression in this period.

Our analysis focuses on one of the Roma subethnic groups, the Kelderari. From a historical perspective, this group started entering the space of the Russian Empire rather late. The main migrations of the Kelderari to Russia date back to the end of the 19th century and the end of the 1920s (Черных, 2018). By the beginning of the 1930s, this group had a number of characteristics which made it different from other Gypsy groups in Russia.

The Kelderari's main occupation was tinning and metal work, which drove them to urban centres and industrial areas as well as to the Soviet producers' cooperatives. During this period, the Kelderari turned out to be the most mobile Gypsy group in Russia; travelling by train, they appeared in various markets across the country, from its western borders to Vladivostok. Part of the Kelderari had already become citizens of the USSR, while the other part remained subjects of foreign states and preserved their foreign passports. They massively obtained Soviet documents, including passports, and renounced their foreign citizenship only in the early 1930s.

Based on the analysis of archival documents, this study explores the main features of the repressions, as well as the main "operations" against the Kelderari in the USSR during the 1930s.

The main sources for the preparation of this study are the archival and investigation files in the archives in Moscow (State Archive of the Russian Federation), Smolensk (Archive of the Office of the Federal Security Service for the Smolensk Oblast), Chelyabinsk (United State Archive of the Chelyabinsk Oblast), Yekaterinburg (State Archive of Administrative Bodies of the Sverdlovsk Oblast) and Perm (Perm State Archive of Socio-Political History). In addition, we studied the lists of repressed persons in published sources and databases, which contain basic, albeit fragmentary, information about the repressed, such as personal data, time and place of arrest, charges, and sentences.

Archival and investigation files as historical sources have long attracted researchers' attention. In addition to a wide range of historical research based on these sources, researchers have explored the specifics of archival and investigation files as sources, their complexity and inconsistency, including cases of direct falsification of documents (Литвин, 2001, pp. 332–338; Перемышленникова, 2000, pp. 227–230; Черных, 2020, pp. 89–96).

In the present study, archival and investigation files helped us reconstruct the areas of employment and the occupations of the Kelderari; the peculiarities of their movement around the country; the community's social characteristics; details of their migration processes and formation as a group. Primarily, these documents allowed us to analyse the repressions against the Kelderari during this period.

The choice of a single group of Roma, the Kelderari, as the object of our research gave rise to certain difficulties in identifying persons who belonged to this group in the databases and archival and investigation files. As the indication of nationality in the personal documentation was mandatory at the time, in all cases, the nationality of the arrested person was inserted in the respective file. However, the Open List and the *Book of Memory* do not always contain this information. The Kelderari group in the USSR belongs to the newly-arrived Gypsy groups, who were often referred to as “foreign Gypsies” at the beginning of the 20th century, and therefore, in personal data, representatives of this group often identified themselves as Romanians, Serbs, Greeks and others, based on the country of origin and on the official citizenship they had before accepting citizenship of the USSR in the 1930s. In order to identify them, we took into account a set of characteristics, namely: ethnicity indicated in various documents other than personal data; the indication of profession (copper, tinker, member of an artel, etc.); the indication of the birthplace of older generation representatives (most often Serbia, Romania, Greece, Poland, Austria-Hungary); the indication of social origin (nomads); the composition of surnames and names; and other materials and information relating the person to the group under study.

At the same time, we must note that the documents from the archival and investigation files belong to the category of sources that are difficult to analyse. Along with reliable information, they may contain falsifications, unverified and incorrect information, which is extremely difficult to double-check. We were not able to verify some information reported by the Roma themselves as they did not reveal the main motives of their actions and only partially revealed the particularities of social ties and events.

In addition to archival and investigation files, our sources include various other documents in the central and regional archives as well as published

studies with information about the Kelderari in Russia during this period, including the activities of Gypsy artels, ongoing operations, and deportations. Thus, the present study relies on a sufficiently large amount of documentary sources, published as well as unpublished ones. Although the identified and analysed documents represent only a part of the array of documents on the repressions against Kelderari in this period, the study is still quite representative and shows all main trends in the policy towards different social groups and strata, including the Kelderari. The identified documents allowed us to fulfil the tasks of the study quite thoroughly. It should be noted that some of the documents from this period remain, for various reasons, inaccessible for academic research (such reasons include, e.g., refusals of archives to provide access; secrecy of documents with information about criminal and other charges against persons, who were not rehabilitated, and others). Furthermore, we did not have the opportunity to work in all the numerous archival repositories in the country, which have preserved information about repressed Kelderari.

#### 4.1.1 *Moscow “Operations”*

In the late 1920s and early 1930s, significant groups of Kelderari settled in Moscow and its suburbs. Several reasons contributed to this migration wave. The metropolitan region offered plenty of opportunities for various kinds of economic activities; the higher purchasing power of the population secured a good demand for the Gypsy artisans' services and products. Another reason was the policy of support for Gypsy cooperatives, which attracted to the city Kelderari tabors from other regions. Publications about the Gypsies of this period noted the following trend:

The quantitative growth of Gypsy artels and Gypsies in general in the city of Moscow is explained by the influx of Gypsies from different parts of the Soviet Union, who learned that “in Moscow, they support the Gypsies” (Попова & Бриль, 1932, p. 134).

The influx of Gypsies was dominated by foreign Gypsies, i.e., Gypsies who were living in the USSR for a long time but had foreign passports.

The Kelderari in Moscow actively participated in the processes of industrial cooperation by creating Gypsy production artels (Chernykh, 2020). The biggest number of Gypsy artels in Moscow were set up in the period 1929–1931. However, as soon as 1932, their liquidation was already underway. One of the reasons for the failure of the Gypsy cooperatives and for the malpractices in the Gypsy artels was seen in the “class struggle” and in the counter-revolutionary moods of the Gypsy leaders:



In 1931, in the system of the Metal Administration under the Moskopromsoviet (Moscow Industry Council), without any regard for national characteristics and without checking the social composition, 18 artels of Gypsy tinkers were organised, and in this way the leadership of the artels was seized by national elders, kulaks, who created artels to cover up their criminal activities (GARF, f. P 1235, op. 123, d. 29, l. 262).

These arguments provided the rationale for the launch of the repressive policy against the Gypsies in Moscow and the Moscow region in the early 1930s, which targeted primarily the leaders of the Gypsy extended families. A memorandum on the producers' cooperatives reported:

To improve the situation in these artels, a number of serious operations had to be resorted to, and a certain group of Gypsies, who were corrupting and disrupting the normal activities of the artels, had to be neutralised. So, in March 1932, 18 members of artels were arrested, of which 12 were chairmen (GARF, f. P 1235, op. 123, d. 29, l. 159).

Archival and investigation files reveal that the second series of arrests and investigations were carried out in Moscow at the end of 1932 – the beginning of 1933, under the operational name “Kings”:

In January 1933, the Special Department of the OGPU at Moscow VO liquidated the counter-revolutionary spy-terrorist group of Gypsies; in total 61 people were involved in the case, of which the investigation revealed: the Gypsy King, his deputy and his entire entourage of 30 guards; prosecutor; 32 members of the Gypsy Supreme Court “Roman Kriss Bary”; 37 members of tribal courts; 12 intelligence officers who repeatedly crossed state borders illegally; and 3 terrorists who executed the decisions of the King and of the “Supreme Court” for the murder of Soviet activists (GARF, f. 10035, op. 2, d. 76196, l. 38).

Information about this operation is also found in other sources: “In September, 80 people were arrested and are still in isolation. Part of this arrested group were also chairmen.” (GARF, f. P 1235, op. 123, d. 29, l. 159).

Unfortunately, we did not identify archival and investigation files related to this operation. It is possible that many of the investigated persons were not rehabilitated, and the files were not opened. One of the reasons for this situation may be the fact that, along with charges for counter-revolutionary activities, there were also charges for illegal trade with currency and gold, as well as other non-political charges.

We found partial information about the nature of the operation, the investigation, and the charges in the archival and investigation files that were added to the archives at a later date. One of the arrested in 1932 was Ivan Rusalimovich

Mihai (Bukuro la Niamtsosko), born in 1892. In the documents of the case, there is a statement signed by him, in which he described in detail the circumstances of the investigation, the charges brought against him and the events in the period 1932–1936:

The investigator [...] handed me some kind of paper, saying that I had to sign it. Due to my inexperience and illiteracy, I did not think of asking about the contents of this paper and did not hesitate to sign it at once. [...] my entire prosecution and investigation were carried out in one interrogation, after which I listened to the sentence read to me, from which it became known to me that I was sentenced to 10 years (GARF, f. 10035, op. 2, d. 74091, l. 455–456).

He subsequently escaped from the labour camp and returned to Moscow. The official investigation documents stated that Ivan Rusalimovich Mihai (Bukuro La Niamtsosko), 47 years old, came from the ‘Romanian Gypsies’; he was a former ancestral elder of the Gypsy tribe ‘Niamtsoni-Tsukuroni’, and a former honorary judge of the Gypsy “Supreme Court”; he was closely connected with the “Gypsy King” in the USSR, Chula (shot dead in 1933), and with the Gypsy King in Poland, Kwiek (spelt in Russian sources as Kvek). In 1933, Ivan Rusalimovich Mihai was arrested again and sentenced by the OGPU Collegium under Art. 82 and 72 of the Criminal Code RSFSR to 10 years in prison (Ibid., l. 13). His fate after that is unknown, and there is no information in the documents about the completion of the sentence. In 1991, Ivan R. Mihai was rehabilitated (Ibid., l. 17–19).

Various sources indicate that the investigation against the leaders of the Gypsy “tribal communities” resulted in several sentences with the maximum term of punishment. The Gypsy King Chula and four of his brothers were sentenced to death (Ibid., l. 13, l. 28). A significant part of the detainees were sentenced to 10 and 5 years in correction labour camps. From the database of the massive political repressions in the USSR, it is known that the convicts already serving their sentences during the period of the Great Terror were additionally charged with counter-revolutionary activities and sentenced to death.

Typical in this context is the information about one of the Gypsy leaders:

Stanesko, Gogo Parfentievich (option: Trifolo Le Mardyulako). Year of birth: 1886. Place of birth: Romania. Nationality: Gypsy nomad. Party membership: Non-partisan. Occupation: Elected head of a Gypsy camp near Moscow. Sentenced: Collegium of the OGPU. Date of sentence: February 9, 1933. Charge: Art. 58-6, 58-8, 58-10, 58-11 and 59-12 of the UK RSFSR. Sentence: 10 years labour camp. He served his sentence in the Solovki Special Purpose Camp. Sentenced: Special Troika of the NKVD Directorate of the Leningrad Oblast. Date of sentence: October 14, 1937. Sentence: VMN. Shot dead: November 1, 1937, in Karelia (Sandarmokh tract) (Ленинградский мартиролог, 2007, Vol. 6).

As a result of the arrests in 1932–1933, part of the Gypsy tabors left Moscow. Still, a significant part of the extended Gypsy families remained in Moscow and the Moscow Oblast as their active participation in industrial cooperatives continued. Arrests and detentions continued in 1935, too. According to the arrest warrant, dated April 30, 1935, Toma Yankovich Mihai, Toma Ristovich Mihai, and Ivan Dmitrievich Mihai were charged under Art. 58-7, 58-10 and 58-11 of the Criminal Code RSFSR. The indictment act, dated May 27, 1935, noted:

[...] for a number of years until the moment of arrest, they carried out counter-revolutionary activities among the Gypsies, expressed terrorist sentiments regarding the need to kill the leaders of the Party and Government on Red Square on May 1, and instilled these attitudes in the rest of the Gypsies, that is, committed crimes under Art. 58-8 and 58-10 of the UK RSFSR (GARF, f. 10035, op. 2, d. 74027, l. 57).

The case was referred to the Special Council of the NKVD of the USSR, which delivered sentences of 5 years in the labour camp, and during the Great Terror in 1937, the three Gypsies were convicted once again and shot dead (Бессонов, 2002a, p. 5).

In the summer of 1935, as noted in the documents, the Special Department of the NKVD identified more counter-revolutionary groups among the Gypsies operating in Moscow and its environs. As in 1933, the documents noted that despite the arrests of the leaders in previous years,

“the activating counter-revolutionary Gypsy elements, continuing the tactics of their former “leaders”, once again formed a system of tribal elders and secret Gypsy courts, which were tasked with uniting the Gypsy counter-revolutionary activists against all measures of the Soviet government” (GARF, f. 10035, op. 2, d. 74091, l. 1).

As a result, on July 20, 1935, the OO UGB NKVD in the Moscow Oblast carried out an operation “to cease the counter-revolutionary strength of Gypsy elders of various tribes living in Moscow” (Ibid., l. 5). During the operation, six people were arrested and sentenced. The indictment noted that the participants in the counter-revolutionary organisation of the Gypsies set as their goal:

1. To preserve the tribes, customs and traditions, again put at the head of each tribe a foreman from noble Gypsies.
2. To restore the previously existing Supreme Gypsy court [...] and local tribal courts [...], thus diverting the Gypsies from the Soviet courts
3. To prevent the Gypsies from settling in industrial enterprises and collective farms; to fight against all measures of the Soviet government aimed at introducing

the Gypsies to a settled life. To organise [...] and maintain fictitious artels of tinkers [...] on the basis of clan and tribal associations headed by tribal foremen.

4. To create a fund for material assistance to Gypsies in prisons and concentration camps, and for the families of repressed Gypsies; to organise escapes of Gypsies from prisons and concentration camps and to shelter those who had fled (*Ibid.*, l. 188–191).

In summary, six people (Kulay Le Porasko, aka La Piadako, aka Andrey Ivanovich Alimov, aka Markov, born in 1896; Piko Le Ristako, aka Hristo Bimbash, born in 1899; Mihai Pyotr Georgievich, aka Petrov, aka Migay La Stoykako, born in 1896; Vosho Ivanov, aka Ivan Ivanovich Ivanov, aka Vosho Le Vankasko, born in 1900; Hristov Vosho, aka Pyotr Stepanovich Hristov, born in 1900; Migay La Ordianako, aka Le Ristako, aka Risto Christo, born in 1911) were charged with crimes under Art. 58-10 and 58-11 of the Criminal Code RSFSR. The consideration of the cases was transferred to the NKVD Troika, and no further information about the sentencing was found either in the file or in open sources (*Ibid.*, l. 188–205).

After the arrests in July 1935, on August 26, 1935, Dmitry Kirillovich Ivanus, born in 1892, and Georgy Ivanovich Ivanus, born in 1908, were also arrested in relation to this case. The decision to impose a preventive measure stated:

After the arrest of this group of Gypsies, the Gypsy “activists” Dmitry and Georgy Ivanus, who remained at large, began active anti-Soviet work, calling on the Gypsies to disobey the measures of the Soviet authorities and leave production in protest against the arrest of the foremen. At the same time, they expressed terrorist sentiments against the NKVD officers and forbade the Gypsies to appear on a call to the NKVD and give witness testimony (GARF, f. 10035, op. 2, d. 12789, l. 1).

As a result, Dmitry and Georgy Ivanus were charged under Art. 58-10 and 58-11 of the Criminal Code RSFSR, arrested and kept in custody. Both defendants were involved in the same case of Gypsy “leaders”. However, a decision of 19 September 1935 started a separate proceeding with charges under Art. 58-10 of the Criminal Code RSFSR:

In the case of the counter-revolutionary group of Gypsies, Kulay and others were arrested for anti-Soviet activities among the Gypsies as members of the counter-revolutionary group – Georgy Ivanus and Dmitry Ivanus. The investigation of the case did not prove their involvement in this counter-revolutionary group (*Ibid.*, l. 3).

The decision to close the case was also dated 19 September 1935; the investigation was terminated, and the suspects were released from custody (*Ibid.*, l. 36).

Thus, the series of arrests and investigations against Gypsies in the period 1932–1935 in Moscow were different stages of the same operation, which had the following goals: destruction of the traditional social institutions of the Gypsy communities; isolation of leaders; and fight against the preservation of the social structure and institutions of the Kelderari communities. The main reasons for the repressions should be sought in the failures of the state's economic policy towards urban Gypsies; economic violations in the Gypsy production artels; as well as ideological reasons such as the fight against bourgeois and anti-Soviet elements. In contrast to the subsequent period of the Great Terror, the investigations in these cases involved witnesses and took a long time. They revealed numerous violations in the Gypsy artels. The charges against the repressed Gypsies in this period can be summarised as follows:

1. Violations in the Gypsy production artels, whose leaders were the first to be repressed.
2. Anti-Soviet agitation and counter-revolutionary activities, the creation of counter-revolutionary organisations.
3. Being citizens of foreign states in the recent past, the Kelderari were accused of activities in favour of foreign intelligence services.
4. Preservation of the way and traditions of tabor life.

The main sentences handed down in these cases were terms of imprisonment from 5 to 10 years, as well as capital punishment. In terms of geographic coverage, the repressions against the Kelderari took place in Moscow and in Leningrad. Most of the people served their sentences in labour camps; during the Great Terror of 1937–1938, they received new charges and sentences and were shot dead.

#### 4.1.2 *Repressions against Kelderari in the Smolensk Oblast*

The Smolensk Oblast occupies a special place in the history of the repressions against the Kelderari. In terms of the number of detainees and convicts, it ranks second after Moscow. Arrests and investigations against Kelderari in this region were carried out during the Great Terror in 1937–1938.

In February 1938, a large group of “Serbian nomadic Gypsies” from the Burikoni extended family was detained in the city of Yartsevo. Nine people in total were under criminal investigation. Their indictment act reveals that the grounds for their arrest were counter-revolutionary activities and fraud:

In 1930, they were in Moscow with many other camps, where they took part in organising a counter-revolutionary Gypsy spy group. The counter-revolutionary espionage organisation was headed by a foreign Gypsy, Chulo Le Dukasko, who, through relatives living in Poland, had contact with the Polish Intelligence Service and, on the instructions of the latter, carried out counter-revolutionary

espionage work in the USSR. Using Russian and foreign Gypsies, the accused in the present case, Diordino Burikasko, aka Marko Goman, has been a long-time leader of the Burikoni camp; he was a member of the underground Gypsy court and persuaded the Gypsies of his camp, his relatives [...], who, from 1930 to 1933 collected information around the city of Moscow about the location and number of units of the Red Army, military airfields, factories and defence depots. All the collected information was passed to Chulo le Dukasko to send to Poland. In 1933, the organiser of the counter-revolutionary Gypsy spy group Chulo le Dukasko and a number of members of the NKVD organisation were arrested, and Diordina Burikasko fled with the members of the spy organisation listed above. At the end of 1936, all the defendant Gypsies in the present case moved to the Far Eastern Territory, where in the city of Khabarovsk, they contacted Japanese intelligence agents and left for the city of Vladivostok, intensifying counter-revolutionary espionage activities there. In addition to collecting and transmitting information of a spy nature, Diordino Burikasko and the son of Bratyan Diordinasku gave assignments to their participants to conduct counter-revolutionary agitation among the workers and, penetrating the NKVD forced corrective labour camps, they instigated the prisoners to flee from the labour camps and assisted those who agreed to escape. Along with counter-revolutionary espionage activities, all the defendants in the present case were engaged in fraud; they organised a false artel of metalworkers and sold completely unsuitable counterfeit products, which caused damage to various economic and trade organisations in the amount of up to 300 thousand roubles, only for one year, 1937 (AUFSSBO, f. 1, op. 1, d. 24047-c, l. 246).

Based on the above, the detainees were charged under Art. 58-6, 58-10, and 169-2 of the Criminal Code RSFSR. By the decision of the NKVD Troika in the Smolensk region, on 25 March 1938, everyone was sentenced to capital punishment. As a result, nine Gypsies (Marko Usovich Goman, born in 1868; Bratyan Diordinasko, born in 1900; Ilya Mihai, aka Ivan Mihai, aka Ilya Ristako, born in 1897; Vlado Risto, aka Badya Le Ristaku, born in 1905; Vladimir Goman, aka Vladi Mitrasku, born in 1912; Alexei Mikhailovich Mihai, aka Alyosha Simbinko, born in 1912; Vladimir Ivanovich Gomanits, aka Gogo Le Mitrasko, born in 1910; Lona Forovich Ristoforov, aka Lona Le Liesko, born in 1911; Mihai Ivanovich, aka Yarko Le Siminako, born in 1900) were shot dead in May 1938 (Ibid., l. 267).

The investigation materials preserved the stories of the arrested members of the tabor, which show that this extended family of Kelderari had been living in Moscow and, when the arrests in Moscow began, they left the city and travelled around many regions of Russia before they ended up in the Smolensk Oblast:

In 1933, we, that is, our tabor, lived in Moscow, in Nizhnie Kotly, where the Dukoni tabor was also located, and there were many more foreign Gypsies. Their foreman Chulo, and a number of other Gypsies were arrested from the Dukoni party. I don't know what they were accused of, but as soon as Marko

Goman found out about the arrest of these Gypsies, he came to us [and told us] all to leave immediately, and we all took off and left Moscow for Sevastopol. We spent only 3–4 days in Sevastopol and left for Simferopol; we lived there only a month and a half or two and left for Alma-Ata; lived for two months and left for Semipalatinsk; lived for two weeks and left for Novosibirsk; from Novosibirsk to Vladivostok, from Vladivostok to Petrozavodsk, then to Murmansk, from Murmansk to Arkhangelsk, from Arkhangelsk to Kalinin, and then to Smolensk (Ibid., l. 224–225).

The second group of Gypsies in the Smolensk Oblast was arrested in the city of Vyazma in March 1938. From the materials of the investigation file, it can be established that this group was passing through the city:

20 March 1938 [...] We arrived together with a group of Hungarian-Austrians, together 6 men and 8 women. [...] We all came from the city of Ryazan. [...] We lived in Ryazan for four months, from November to February. We are young people, we give concerts, our old people are engaged in tinning dishes [...]. Before Ryazan, I lived in the city of Yaroslavl, where our artel lived for a whole year. As elsewhere, we partly engaged in tinning dishes and staging concerts. [...] Before Yaroslavl, I lived in the city of Moscow, at the Rogozhskaya Zastava on Bolshaya Kalinnikovskaya Street, No. 14. I lived there for two or three years, working in a handicraft artel [...], Metalist, located on the same street. Before Moscow, I still lived in Leningrad [...]. We arrived in the city of Vyazma with the whole troupe from Ryazan on our way to the city of Odessa, to the place organised by our artel Metalist. We stopped in the city of Vyazma to make a performance in order to earn money for the trip. The head of our troupe, Viktor Ivanovich Pavlovsky, with a part of the people from our troupe, left on March 14 for the city of Odessa to the place of future work. Several families of us remained temporarily in Vyazma due to the illness of children and women (AUFSSBSO, f. 1, op. 1, d. 15402-c, l. 12).

In the investigation case, five people were arrested, and two were put on the wanted list. The indictment act reveals the facts established by the investigation:

In March, the NKVD of the Smolensk Oblast, Vyazma Rayon department, discovered and operationally liquidated an espionage-sabotage group among the wandering nomads of the Austro-Hungarian Gypsies, created by the agent of the German-Polish intelligence, a Hungarian and Romanian defector Mogozolot Gruevich (cf. Zlato Gruevich Moga, Annex 1.2). [...] The investigation established [that] in March 1931 [...] Alexei Ivanovich Goman, aka Yuzef Pavlovich Beletsky, [a.k.a.] Kolompar, who appeared in a camp of Hungarian Gypsies in Duby near Moscow, created among them an espionage-sabotage group; they persuaded and involved in espionage [...] all arrested. Mogozolotoy Gruevich gave the espionage-sabotage group the task of assisting Germany and Poland at the time of their armed attack on the USSR. The participants in the espionage sabotage group were prepared to oppose the Soviet authorities in the event of war; to destroy defence facilities, transport, and industry; and to discredit the

hinterland of the Red Army. To implement this task, the participants of the espionage sabotage group collected espionage information on the Red Army and the defence industry and revealed the location of fire warehouses, oil and gasoline storage facilities, and railway bridges, which would be of strategic importance at the time of attack by Germany and Poland on the Soviet Union's military forces (Ibid., l. 125–126).

As a result of the investigations, the accused (Alexey Ivanovich Goman, aka Yuzef Ivanovich Beletsky, born in 1900; Yuzef Pavlovich Beletsky, aka Gusto Leontevich Mihai, born in 1913; Ivan Osipovich Pavlovsky, born in 1876; Pavel Fomich Nikolavu (Nikolaev), 1907 year of birth; Vladimir Andreevich Nikolaev, aka Tuto Yansovich Balok, born in 1902) were charged with crimes under Art. 58-6, 58-9 and 58-12 of the Criminal Code RSFSR. The case was referred to the NKVD Troika for the Smolensk Oblast, which handed down the sentence on 2 October 1938, and on 9 October 1938, the sentence was executed.

Arrests and investigations against Gypsies in the city of Vyazma, Smolensk Oblast, continued in the summer of 1938. An investigation file, dated July 1938 reveals that in a few days, eight people were arrested and charged under Art. 58 of the Criminal Code RSFSR for participation in an espionage-sabotage group:

In July 1938, the Vyazma RO of the NKVD of Smolensk Oblast discovered and operationally liquidated an espionage-sabotage group among nomads, Romanian Gypsy defectors from Romania, which was created on direct orders of the Romanian intelligence (AUFSSBO, f. 1, op. 1, d. 2606-c, l.151).

We reconstructed the history of the Vyazma Gypsy camp based on the interrogation protocols of the defendants. Until 1937, the families of the arrested Gypsies lived in Moscow, actively participating in trade cooperatives and tinkers' artels, and "they left Moscow due to the liquidation of the artels" in the spring of 1937. The families moved to Kiev, where they "organised an artel for tinning dishes" and stayed there until June 1938 (Ibid., l. 84). In June 1938, they were subjected to administrative expulsion as asocial elements and forced to leave Kiev. From Kiev, the camp went to Svir (Leningrad Oblast), where they lived for a month and, due to lack of work, were forced to leave for the town of Vyazma. There, they were detained (Ibid., l. 4506).

As a result of the investigation, the NKVD Troika delivered the following sentences: Dmitry Muntyan, born in 1866; Risto Ivanovich Mihai, born in 1910; Yury Dmitrievich Mihai, born in 1887; and Nikolay Ivanovich Zhukov, born in 1876, were sentenced to capital punishment and were shot dead on 26 October 1938; the rest of the Gypsies – Badya Nikolaevich Zhukov, born in 1920; Risto Dmitrievich Muntyan, born in 1918; Bukur Mihai, born in 1916;



and Kombir Milor[d], born in 1915, all were sentenced to 10 years of corrective labour (Ibid., l. 157).

Thus, based on the materials of archival and investigation cases in the Smolensk region, we can assume that during the Great Terror, the newly arriving Gypsy camps were arrested and investigated because they were immediately noticeable and attracted the attention of the police and the NKVD. In addition, Vyazma was an important railway station in the Moscow direction, which is probably another explanation for the mass arrests in this area. The accusations of espionage for foreign intelligence services are typical for this period, not only against Gypsies but also against representatives of other nationalities.

#### 4.1.3 *Repressions against Kelderari in the Ural Region*

A significant part of Kelderari was subjected to repressions in the Ural regions – in the Oblasts of Sverdlovsk, Chelyabinsk and Perm. Gypsies often travelled to the Ural, traditionally one of the most industrial regions in the country. The development of industry created a demand for tinkers and metal workers. In addition, the Urals became one of the country's regions for labour exile and prisoners. The most massive arrests and investigations against the Kelderari took place in the city of Nadezhdinsk, Sverdlovsk Oblast, and in the village of Potanino, Chelyabinsk Oblast.

##### 4.1.3.1 “Nadezhdinsk’s Folder” (Sverdlovsk Oblast)

“Nadezhdinsk’s folder” is a code name for a series of arrests and an investigation against one of the camps of Kelderari in the city of Nadezhdinsk (modern Serov) in the Sverdlovsk Oblast. Available documents (GAAOSO, f. 1, op. 2, d. 2196; d. 2638; d. 2896; d. 6926; d. 6993; d. 8515; d. 42379; d. 51219) allow for the reconstruction of the arrests, the investigation, and its results, although some questions still remain unanswered.

In January 1938, several arrests were conducted in the city of Nadezhdinsk in accordance with the decrees on preventive measures. On January 9, 1938, Nikolay Movza, born in 1890, recorded in his personal data as ‘Austro-Hungarian’, ‘Magyar’ (i.e., Hungarian), ‘nomadic Gypsy’, and ‘copper-tinker’, was arrested (GAAOSO, f. 1, op. 2, d. 2638, l. 4–5). A few days later, on January 12–14, 1938, six men were arrested: Nikolay Ivanovich Dmitriev, born in 1892, ‘Serb’, ‘Serbian Gypsy’, ‘nomadic Gypsy’, ‘tinsmith’; Alexey Afonasevich Mihai, born in 1919, ‘Serb’, ‘Serbian Gypsy’, ‘nomadic Gypsy’, ‘nomadic craftsman-tinsmith’; Georgy Ivanovich Mihai, born in 1918, ‘Serbian’, ‘Gypsy’, ‘tinsmith’; Pavel Mikhailovich Stanevsky, born in 1914, ‘Austro-Hungarian’, ‘Gypsy’, ‘tinsmith’; Vladimir Arak, born in 1895, ‘Romanian’, ‘Gypsy’, ‘originating in Romania’, ‘Gypsy nomad’;

and Grigory Augustovich Vidak, born in 1914, 'Romanian Gypsy', 'tinsmith'. In the files all arrested Gypsies were identified as tinkers, copper-smiths, and handicraftsmen-tinsmiths by occupation, and handicraftsmen, nomadic, Gypsies, and nomadic Gypsies, by social origin. The place of work was described as 'without a specific occupation' and 'without a specific workplace'. The answers of the detainees during the interrogation reveal why they stayed in the city of Nadezhdinsk:

"Before my arrest, I worked as a tinker in the city of Nadezhdinsk in canteens" (P. M. Stanevsky) (GAAOSO, f. 1, op. 2, d. 8515, l. 9).

"Before my arrest, I worked at a private job for 2–3 days at a brewery and at a bakery. I tinned dishes, so I didn't have a specific job" (G. I. Mihai) (GAAOSO, f. 1, op. 2, d. 6926, l. 10–1006).

The correlation of the data from the files and the answers given during the interrogation shows that the detained people were Gypsies of the Kelderari sub-ethnic group, who did primarily tinning in this period.

All six of them had the same address – Stary Poselok, Line 6, Barrack No. 14 (GAAOSO, f. 1, op. 2, d. 2638, l. 4; d. 51219, l. 5; d. 2196, l. 7; d. 2896, l. 1; d. 6993, l. 1; d. 6926, l. 4; d. 8515, l. 5); only G. A. Vidak had a different address, in Nadezhdinsk Rayon, village of Sosva, 32 Svoboda str. (GAAOSO, f. 1, op. 2, d. 42379, l. 4). The data in the files also includes information about the composition of the detainees' families in city of Nadezhdinsk. N. I. Dmitriev's family included his wife Soveta and daughter Zemfira (GAAOSO, f. 1, op. 2, d. 2196, l. 6–9; N. Movza had a wife, son and two daughters (GAAOSO, f. 1, op. 2, d. 2638, l. 4–7); A. A. Mihai had a mother and wife (GAAOSO, f. 1, op. 2, d. 51219; l.); G. A. Vidak, R. Mihai and P. M. Stanevsky had wives (GAAOSO, f. 1, op. 2, d. 42379, l. 4v; d. 6993, l. 1; d. 8515, l. 40b); V. P. Arak had a wife, three daughters and two sons (GAAOSO, f. 1, op. 2, d. 2896, l. 4), only G. I. Mihai was single (GAAOSO, f. 1, op. 2, d. 6926, l. 4).

Archival and investigation files about the group do not provide information about three other Gypsies arrested at the same time. We found the information about them in other archival and investigative files and in interrogation protocols, which were attached to them. Yosif Yogannovich Sharshun (Shorshun), born in 1884, was arrested on January 11, 1938. Although there is little information about him, the indication that Alexey Mihai was his daughter's husband testifies that he belonged to the Kelderari. There is even less information about the other two Kelderari who were arrested. Tanas Georgievich Mihai appears in the interrogation protocols (GAAOSO, f. 1, op. 2, d. 51219, l. 8). Savely Mikhailovich Petrov is registered as 'Serbian Gypsy', 'tinker' (GAAOSO, f. 1,

op. 2, d. 51219, l. 7). Later, on March 9, 1938, Rista Mihai, born in 1902, registered as 'Serbian', 'handicraft tinker', also living on line 6 in barrack No. 14, was arrested in the city of Nadezhdinsk (GAAOSO, f. 1, op. 2, d. 6993, l. 1).

We can only assume that the group was an extended family of Kelderari. According to the materials of the cases, we can conclude that some of the arrested persons were close relatives. For example, G. A. Vidak's sister was Pavel Stanevsky's wife (GAAOSO, f. 1, op. 2, d. 42379, l. 14); and I. I. Shorshun's daughter was A. A. Mihai's wife (GAAOSO, f. 1, op. 2, d. 51219, l. 5). During interrogation about the time and circumstances of arrival in the USSR, V. P. Arak responded that he had arrived together with Risto Mihai, Tanas Mihai and others (GAAOSO, f. 1, op. 2, d. 2896, l. 10).

The detainees' archival and investigation files contain interrogation protocols dating back to the last days of January 1938. All studied protocols were almost identical. We will cite as an example only one of the available documents on Nikolay Movza, who was one of the first arrested persons, on January 9, 1938. The interrogation protocol is dated January 29, 1938:

Question: You are accused of being a member of a counter-revolutionary espionage insurrectionary organisation? Do you plead guilty?

Answer: I thoroughly plead guilty to the charge brought against me.

Question: When and by whom were you recruited into the counter-revolutionary organisation?

Answer: I was involved in a counter-revolutionary organisation in 1937 by a Romanian intelligence agent, Yosif Yoganovich Sharshun, who is currently arrested by the NKVD. The circumstances of my involvement were as follows: In 1937, I came to the city of Nadezhdinsk. Before my arrival, Yosif Sharshun already lived in Nadezhdinsk. Sharshun did not engage in socially useful work and did not have a permanent residence, and I lived the same way as Sharshun. We quickly got acquainted with him; we had a good relationship. While I was with Sharshun, in one of the conversations, I expressed my dissatisfaction with him that the Soviet government does not give us the freedom to live, the Soviet government does not allow us to tell fortune, and so on; they despise us in everything. Sharshun said. Yes, that's right, he listened to me in my counter-revolutionary moods and at the same time said:

"There are people who organise a strong counter-revolutionary organisation with the main task to organise an armed uprising against the Soviet Union when the war will break out in the USSR. In addition, in conditions of peace, to destroy production and agriculture by arson; to collect various kinds of information from military plants, etc. [...] I am a Romanian intelligence agent doing intelligence work for Romania." [He] offered to be a member of a counter-revolutionary organisation, to which I gave my consent.

Question: What practical counter-revolutionary work did you carry out as a member of a counter-revolutionary organisation on the instructions of Sharsun?

Answer: On the instructions of Sharshun, I had to identify persons who were hostile to the Soviet regime and conduct counter-revolutionary agitation among the labour settlers, collect information from military factories and report to

Y. Y. Sharshun. In 1937, through the plant workers, I managed to obtain complete information about the production of Factory No. 76, which I gave to Sharshun.

Question: Who else do you know as a member of the counter-revolutionary organisation?

Answer: From Sharshun's words, I know that the following persons are members of the counter-revolutionary organisation: 1. Nikolay Ivanovich Dmitriev; 2. Grigory Vidak; both are currently arrested by the NKVD.

Question: What practical counter-revolutionary work has been carried out by the above-named members of the counter-revolutionary organisation?

Answer: From the words of Sharshun, I know that all the participants were supposed to act in an armed uprising at the time of the outbreak of the war against the Soviet Union with Romania. What I could show, I can't add anything more. The interrogation record was written down in my words correctly and was read by me. I was told that the investigation was over. [signature] (GAAOSO, f. 1, op. 2, d. 2638, l. 8-9).

The archives contain the conclusions from the investigations and the indictments against Nikolay Movza, Alexey Afonasevich Mihai, and Georgy Ivanovich Mihai. According to these conclusions, the three of them were accused of counter-revolutionary activities and espionage for the Romanian intelligence. Their cases were submitted for out-of-court consideration. Nikolay Movza's indictment provides information about the charges based on his interrogation as well as the testimony of other detained persons:

According to the Nadezhdinsk City Department of the NKVD, N. Movza was arrested as an agent of the Romanian intelligence. The investigation established that N. Movza was a member of a counter-revolutionary espionage sabotage and insurgent organisation, in which he was involved in 1937 in the city of Nadezhdinsk by an agent of the Romanian intelligence, N. I. Sharshun. [...] [N. Movza] was supposed to participate in an armed uprising against the Soviet regime at the time of intervention by the capitalist countries.

On the instructions of Sharshun, he identified counter-revolutionary-minded individuals to join the counter-revolutionary insurgent and sabotage organisation. In 1937, through the workers, he collected information about the nature and quantity of products manufactured by Plant No. 76. Interrogated as a defendant, N. Movza pleaded guilty; in addition to this, the testimony of the accused G. A. Vidak and N. I. Dmitriev also exposed him.

Based on the preceding: Nikolay Movza, born in 1890, a native of Leningrad, a Magyar (Gypsy) by nationality, a citizen of the USSR; before his arrest without a fixed occupation and place of residence; a tinker in the city of Nadezhdinsk, is accused of being an agent of the Romanian intelligence, and carrying out counter-revolutionary activities under their instruction, i.e., in a crime under Art. 58-6 of the UK RSFSR. Investigation case no. 32766, on charges of Nikolay Movza under Art. 58-6 of the UK RSFSR is subject to sending to the City Department of State Security of the NKVD for extra-judicial consideration (GAAOSO, f. 1, op. 2, d. 2638, l. 10).

According to the source, out of three cases sent for extra-judicial decision by the Troika of the NKVD Department of the Sverdlovsk Region, a decision was made on the case of Alexey Afanasyevich Mihai, who was sentenced to death on March 14, 1938, and his “personal belonging property to be confiscated” (GAAOSO, f. 1, op. 2, d. 51219, l. 11). The sentence was carried out on March 20, 1938 (Ibid., l. 12).

The investigation files do not contain documentation about the indictments against G. I. Mihai and N. Movza; neither is there any information about the decisions of the NKVD Troika on their cases. We can assume that there were several reasons for the delay in the decisions. During this period, the scale of repressions generally decreased, including in the Urals (Кириллов, 1996, p. 210). The process of personnel changes in the NKVD also affected the NKVD Directorate of the Sverdlovsk Oblast. After the removal of the head of the NKVD Department of the Sverdlovsk Oblast, D. M. Dmitriev, there was a series of arrests of NKVD officers who had carried out mass repressions (Вайман, 2021, pp. 82–95).

For these or some other reasons unknown to us, in December 1938, the investigation was resumed, and the interrogations of the people who had been under arrest until that time continued. The investigations revealed falsification of facts as demonstrated by the protocols and the final decisions. Looking through the documentation of Nikolay Movza’s case, we were able to trace the course of the events. A new interrogation was conducted on December 7, 1938:

Question: When and under what circumstances were you involved in the counter-revolutionary organisation by Yosif Yoganovich Sharshun?

Answer: The testimony of January 29, 1938, does not correspond to any reality, and therefore, I categorically deny the testimony I signed and declare that I have never been a member of a counter-revolutionary organisation and have not carried out any counter-revolutionary work. The protocol was read to me. Recorded from my words correctly.

[signature] (GAAOSO, f. 1, op. 2, d. 2638, l. 14).

The interrogation materials were followed by a decision of December 20, 1938:

FOUND that Nikolay Movza, born in 1890, a native of Leningrad, a citizen of the USSR, a Hungarian by nationality, worked in the city of Nadezhdinsk as a tinker, was arrested on January 17, 1938, and accused of being a member of the organisation for espionage- sabotage and harm. During the second interrogation, the defendants Grigory Avgustovich Vidak and Yosif Yoganovich Sharshun refused their initial testimony, which had exposed Movza in espionage activities, [...] and the defendant Nikolay Movza himself, interrogated on December 7, 1938, pleaded not guilty. There are no other materials in the investigation file to

bring Movza to criminal liability; therefore, based on Art. 204 Code of Criminal Procedure [...]

DECIDED to stop the proceedings on the Investigative file no. 32766, concerning the accusation of Nikolay Movza, and deposit it in the archive of the 8th Department [...] of the NKVD Administration for the Sverdlovsk Oblast. The defendant, Nikolay Movza, is to be released from custody (GAAOSO, f. 1, op. 2, d. 2638, l. 15).

Before the issuance of the decision, the defendants were kept in the Sverdlovsk prison.

All arrested persons were subject to similar investigative actions, followed by decisions. The interrogation of Pavel Stanevsky was held on November 22, 1938, and on November 28, a decision was issued: "To release the arrested P. M. Stanevsky from custody, terminate the investigation case against him, and send the file to the archive." (GAAOSO, f. 1, op. 2, d. 8515. l. 9–11). The interrogation of Vladimir Arak was carried out on 21 December 1938, and on 29 December 1938, a decision was issued to close the investigation (GAAOSO, f. 1, op. 2, d. 2896. l. 8–12); the interrogation of Georgy Mihai and the decision to terminate the proceedings are dated 26 December 1938 (GAAOSO, f. 1, op. 2, d. 6926, l. 10–14); Nikolay Dmitriev was interrogated on December 29, 1938, and released on January 25, 1939, respectively (GAAOSO, f. 1, op. 2, d. 2196, l. 10, 21); Grigory Vidak – November 27, 1938, and December 9, 1938 (GAAOSO, f. 1, op. 2, d. 42379, l. 14–16); Rista Mihai – December 25 and 26, 1938 (GAAOSO, f. 1, op. 2, d. 6993, l. 14).

Thus, out of ten Gypsies in the city of Nadezhdinsk who were arrested in the wake of the Great Terror in early 1938 and accused of counter-revolutionary activities and espionage in favour of the Romanian intelligence, on the basis of fabricated interrogation protocols and testimony, seven were acquitted and released. Only one of them, twenty-year-old Alexey Mihai, was shot dead. Perhaps in his case, an additional factor for his sentence was his refusal to sign the resolution on his indictment. It was documented in an act dated 25 February 1938: "The accused Alexander Afonasevich Mihai categorically refused to sign the ruling on the indictment and detention" (GAAOSO, f. 1, op. 2, d. 51219, l. 9).

The quoted documents reveal discrepancies in surnames, names, patronyms, and other personal data, as well as different dates for the same event. Such discrepancies are common in archival and investigation cases, indicating, in general, the level of office work. In this case, Alexey Mihai is named Alexander. In the documents of Nikolay Movza, cited earlier, the date of arrest in the final decision is incorrect.

Alexey Afonasevich Mihai was rehabilitated thirty years later, on December 24, 1969, by the Presidium of the Sverdlovsk Regional Court.

According to the available documents, one can trace the fate of Iosif Ioganovich Sharshun, born in 1884, arrested on January 11, 1938, and charged under Art. 35 of the Criminal Code RSFSR (“Eviction from the RSFSR or from an individual location with compulsory settlement or prohibition to live in other localities or without these restrictions, in conjunction with corrective labour or without corrective labour”), later reclassified under Art. 58-6 of the Criminal Code RSFSR on the basis of testimony by others arrested, completed on February 3, 1938, and sent to the NKVD Directorate for the Sverdlovsk Oblast. During the investigation, the charge under Art. 58-6 of the Criminal Code RSFSR was not proven. The crime was then reclassified under Art. 107 of the Criminal Code RSFSR (“buying and reselling, speculation”). Iosif Ioganovich Sharshun was released from custody on bail, and investigation file No. 32776 was handed over for additional investigation to the Nadezhdinsky City Police Department (GAAOSO, f. 1, op. 2, d. 2196, l. 15). No information about Tanas Mihai and Savely Mikhaylovich Petrov was found in the studied documents.

The materials of the investigation case in the city of Nadezhdinsk raise some questions about the life of the Gypsies in this period. When and under what circumstances did the Gypsies end up in the city of Nadezhdinsk, Sverdlovsk Oblast? In the interrogation reports, all of them indicated the year 1937:

“I arrived in Nadezhdinsk in the fall of 1937” (N. Dmitriev) (GAAOSO, f. 1, op. 2, d. 2196, l. 2).

“In 1937 I came to Nadezhdinsk” (N. Movza) (GAAOSO, f. 1, op. 2, d. 2638, l. 8).

“In the city of Nadezhdinsk, I lived from 1937 until the day of my arrest. Before arriving in the city of Nadezhdinsk, we did not have a specific place of residence, but wandered from one place to another” (G. Vidak) (GAAOSO, f. 1, op. 2, d. 42379, l. 14).

However, it remains unclear why a sufficiently large group of Gypsies ended up in the city of Nadezhdinsk, in the north of the Sverdlovsk Oblast, on the territory of which, in the 1930s, a significant part of the special contingent (i.e., prisoners in Gulag) was settled (Елисеева, 2006, pp. 70–81).

Presumably, the Gypsy families ended up in the city of Nadezhdinsk as a result of forced settlement, as evidenced by archival documents and investigation files. The investigation materials for G. A. Vidak contain an excerpt from the minutes of the meeting of the Troika of the NKVD Directorate for

the Sverdlovsk Oblast, dated October 20, 1937, according to which in case No. 11532/32605:

Grigory Avgustovicha Vidak, born in 1918, a declassified element ... was detained on October 11, 1937, for vagrancy and fraud. He pleaded not guilty. He is being held in the Kamyshlov prison (GAAOSO, f. 1, op. 2, d. 42379, l. 20).

The Troika of the UNKVD decided:

“Vidak Grigory Avgustovich – as a declassified person, to be imprisoned in a correctional labour camp for a period of three years, counting the period from October 21, 1937.” (Ibid.).

When answering a question about relatives, G. A. Vidak also testified:

[Question]: Which of your relatives was arrested by the NKVD?

[Answer]: The following relatives were arrested by the NKVD: Father August Karlovich Vidak, sentenced for hooliganism to three years in 1937; mother – arrested under Art. 35 of the UK RSFSR; wife Ustinya – arrested under Art. 35; sister Lisa – arrested under Art. 35; and the wife’s husband, Pavel Murokorovich Stanevsky (GAAOSO, f. 1, op. 2, d. 42379, l. 14).

Art. 35 of the Criminal Code RSFSR envisaged eviction from the RSFSR or from an individual location and forced settlement with or without corrective labour. This article was applied following the judiciary’s decision concerning various crimes, from hooliganism to counter-revolutionary activities. The NKVD determined the places for forced settlement in agreement with the People’s Justice Commissariat. Concerning the other Gypsies arrested in the city of Nadezhdinsk, we do not have such information. Thus, we can conclude that one of the families, and possibly several families, ended up in the city of Nadezhdinsk following sentences for vagrancy. A few months later, some of them found themselves defendants in a fabricated criminal-political lawsuit on counter-revolutionary activities and work for intelligence agencies of foreign countries.

The materials of the “Nadezhdinsk folder” reveal a typical example of the repressive policy in the period of the Great Terror 1937–1938, aimed at identifying counter-revolutionary elements and foreign intelligence agents. The materials of the investigation cases also show the nature of the operations and the falsification of interrogation protocols and testimonies. As a result of the operation in the city of Nadezhdinsk, one of the arrested Gypsies was shot dead, while the rest were released after several months of imprisonment.



#### 4.1.3.2 Perm Oblast

The repressions against Kelderari in the neighbouring Perm Oblast followed exactly the same pattern. On January 8, 1938, Vasily Ivanovich Ivanus (born in 1908) and Vadim Ivanovich Ivanus (born in 1921) were detained at the train station Kopi in the city of Solikamsk. According to the detention protocol, the reason was the performance of songs (“for counter-revolutionary songs”). The detainees were taken to the Department of the RKM, where they were searched and their documents were confiscated – Vadim Ivanus’s passport and 10 various certificates were confiscated (PGASPI, f. 643/2, op. 1, d. 3318, l. 2), and Vasily Ivanus’s passport and “19 different certificates” were confiscated (PGASPI, f. 641/1, op. 1, d. 6988, l. 2). These facts, apparently, became the basis for the start of the investigation. It is interesting that the Decisions for preventive measures were dated 1 January 1938; that is, they were formally drawn up a week before the arrest (PGASPI, f. 641/1, op. 1, d. 6988, l. 1; d. 643/2, op. 1, d. 3318, l. 1). The Decisions noted that Vasily Ivanus was convicted of “being involved in the work of foreign intelligence agencies”; the same is recorded in relation to Vadim Ivanus (PGASPI, f. 641/1, op. 1, d. 6988, l. 1; d. 643/2, op. 1, d. 3318, l. 1).

The detention and the investigation in the case of Vasily and Vadim Ivanus took place at the beginning of 1938, during the period of mass arrests and fabrication of cases of counter-revolutionary activities and espionage in favour of foreign intelligence services. The materials of the case clearly show how the investigation proceeded and how the charges were fabricated. The file contains a statement by the detainees acknowledging the charges brought against them:

To the NKVD, from the arrested, Vasily Ivanovich Ivanus. [...] I consider it useless to further deny the charges brought against me, and I no longer wish to hide my guilt from the Soviet government. At the first call for interrogation, I decided to tell honestly and frankly that I had been an agent of Bulgarian intelligence until the day of my arrest. [...] I undertake to give more detailed testimony at the next call for interrogation. [...] In addition, I distributed counter-revolutionary songs (PGASPI, f. 641/1, op. 1, d. 6988, l. 1; f. 643/2, op. 1, d. 3318, l. 4).

The statements recorded for both Vasily and Vadim Ivanus are identical. Moreover, both detainees did not write the statements themselves, only signed them. In the interrogation protocols, dated January 13, 1938, the detainees admitted their guilt that from 1936 until the day of their arrest, they were agents of the Bulgarian intelligence and collected espionage information about the industrial enterprises in the region (PGASPI, f. 641/1, op. 1, d. 6988, l. 5–706). Based on obviously falsified protocols, the detainees were indicted

on February 3, 1938. The conclusion on the case of Vasily Ivanovich Ivanus described his espionage and sabotage activities:

1. When tinning cauldrons for canteens, he prepared a strong acid concentration, which caused a strong acid release during cooking. As a result, there were 3 cases of poisoning.
2. Collected and transmitted espionage information about the importance of the Kizelovsk State Power Plant in the system of supplying electricity to defence plants in the Urals.
3. Collected information on the capacity of the Berezniki chemical plant and the chemical products it produces.
4. Involved his brother Vladimir [Vadim] Ivanovich Ivanus in espionage activities (Ibid.)

The two persons were charged under Art. 58-6 and 58-9 of the Criminal Code RSFSR, and the case was sent for consideration by the NKVD Troika of the City UGB. There is no information in the archival and investigation files as to why the NKVD Troika did not consider the case. It was returned for further investigation. As a result, on December 17, 1938, a second interrogation of the arrested Vadim Ivanovich Ivanus was carried out, in which he noted:

I deny the recorded testimony that I signed on January 13 because it is implausible: I then signed the protocol of the interrogation, which was not read to me, and I also do not know the content of my statement, which I signed on January 11, but was written by the investigator. I was not a member of any counter-revolutionary organisations; I was not engaged in espionage and sabotage (PGASPI, f. 643/2, op. 1, d. 3318, l. 15).

As a result, by a decree of December 19, 1938, the investigation against Vadim Ivanovich Ivanus was terminated, and the detainee was released on December 22, 1938 (PGASPI, f. 643/2, op. 1, d. 3318, l. 16).

Vasily Ivanus also had a second interrogation, the record of which shows that he denied the charges against him. His investigation case was terminated by the decision of the NKVD Administration of the Sverdlovsk Oblast on 22 November 1938, and he was released on 11 December (PGASPI, f. 641/1, op. 1, d. 6988, l. 11–12).

We have little information about Vasily and Vadim Ivanus because their files do not provide many details. Vasily Ivanovich Ivanus was born in 1908 in the town of Mariinsk, Tomsk Oblast. He worked as a tinker in an industrial artel named after M. Kalinin in Kizelovsk Rayon of Perm Oblast and lived in railway station Kopi (Alexandrovsky plant) Kizelovsk Rayon, Perm Oblast. He had a wife and three children (PGASPI, f. 641/1, op. 1, d. 6988, l. 3–306).

Vadim Ivanovich Ivanus, born in 1921, was Vasily Ivanus' brother, born in the city of Barnaul. At the time of his arrest, he was single and illiterate. Like Vasily Ivanus, he was a worker and tinker in the industrial artel named after M. Kalinin in Kizelov Rayon of Perm Oblast (PGASPI, f. 643/2, op. 1, d. 3318, l. 3–306). Vasily and Vadim Ivanus were identified as 'Greeks', citizens of the USSR, in the nationality column. There is no other information about their nationality in the file. The available data do not allow us to conclude with certainty that they belonged to the Kelderari. However, there is indirect evidence: the surname, which is quite widespread among the Kelderari; the occupation and the mobile nature of their work (as noted, for example, by Vasily Ivanus: "I was arrested in the city of Solikamsk, where I went from Alexeydrovsk to tin the dishes" (PGASPI, f. 641 / 1, op. 1, d. 6988, l. 1106); as well as the fact that the Kelderari, belonging to the Greek branch, often indicated 'Greek' nationality.

#### 4.1.3.3 Chelyabinsk Oblast

In the wake of the mass repressions, a significant group of Kelderari were detained in the Chelyabinsk Oblast at the beginning of 1938, as indicated in the indictment acts of the arrested persons:

The Kopeysk city branch of the NKVD Directorate for the Chelyabinsk Region uncovered and liquidated a spy group in the service of the Romanian intelligence agencies, which has recently been operating on the territory of the Chelyabinsk Region. This spy group was created on direct orders of the Romanian intelligence agencies (OGACHO, f. P 467, op. 4, d. 5722, l. 10).

During the investigation, all detainees were charged under Art. 58-6 and 58-11 of the Criminal Code RSFSR for espionage in favour of a foreign state. According to the investigation of this group, there were more than ten people, nine of whom were Romanians, Serbs, and Gypsies by nationality, who lived in the village of Potanino, Kopeysk district, Chelyabinsk Oblast. We studied archival and investigation files for six of the detainees. Six people involved in this case were arrested on 8 March 1938, and only Vladimir Osipovich Ivanovich was arrested earlier, on 11 February. Some of the accused were detained later, at the end of March 1938. The interrogation protocols of the cases, which we studied, were almost identical. According to the interrogation protocol of Vasily Grigorievich Mihai, born in 1911, he gave the following response to the question about his involvement with the intelligence agencies of Romania:

I candidly plead guilty to the fact that I really am an agent of the Romanian intelligence agencies. I carried out espionage and sabotage work in the USSR on the latter's instructions. [signature] (OGACHO, f. P 467, op. 4, d. 5722, l. 6).

Further, Vasily Grigorievich Mihai described what were his tasks:

[...] to use my nomadic position and travel more on the territory of the USSR and visit mainly industrial cities and find out the mood of the workers and their economic situation, where and what kind of factories are being built and their character, where and what type of army troops are located" (OGACHO, f. P 467, op. 4, d. 5722, l. 7).

There is only one interrogation protocol, according to which the defendants admitted their guilt. The protocols were typewritten and signed by the accused. The interrogation protocol of Afanasius Mihai, born in 1904, had fingerprints instead of a signature. The outcome of the investigation was – charges for espionage in favour of Romania on the territory of the USSR, i.e., “crimes under Art. 58-6 and 58-11 of the Criminal Code RSFSR” (OGACHO, f. P 467, op. 3, d. 6560, l. 10).

On September 25, 1938, most of the group members were sentenced to capital punishment by the Troika of the NKVD Directorate of the Chelyabinsk Oblast. Among the convicts were Toma Goman, born in 1919; Trifon Goman, born in 1914; Dmitry Mikhailovich Goman, born in 1893; Ilya Frankovich [G]Oman, born in 1887; Vladimir Osipovich Ivanovich, born in 1890; Athanasius Mihai, born in 1904; Vasily Grigorievich Mihai, born in 1911. All of them were shot dead on October 12, 1938 (OGACHO, f. P 467, op. 3, d. 6560, l. 11–12; d. 6561, l. 12–13; f. P 467, op. 4, d. 5721, l. 11–12; d. 5722; d. 139). Only one of the arrested received a different punishment – Vladimir Afanasyevich Mihai, born in 1920, the youngest of the entire group, was sentenced to 10 years of forced labour (OGACHO, f. P 467, op. 4, d. 5722, l. 15). In 1989, all members of this “Gypsy group” were rehabilitated.

Among all the cases related to this Gypsy tabor, the investigation case against Maria Granča Goman, born in 1898, deserves special attention. She was the only woman involved in the case of the Gypsy spy group. Maria-Granche Goman was detained on 22 March after a series of arrests in the camp. She was detained in the dining room, where she told fortunes on the porch. The decision on the bail measure stated that Maria-Granche Goman did not work anywhere and told fortune to citizens because, since 9 February, she had not been engaged in socially useful work. In 1937–1938, she was detained by the police six times under Art. 35–162 (“hidden theft of other people’s property”) of the Criminal Code RSFSR (OGACHO, f. P 467, op. 3, d. 6559, l. 2).

Her Indictment Act, dated 26 March 1938 stated:

[...] She travelled around different cities, having no fixed place of residence and work, and was systematically engaged in fortune-telling for which she took from

citizens from 1 to 2 roubles of money for a living. In addition, Maria Goman did not register anywhere with a passport for a year. For that, she was fined by the Kopeysk City Police Department for 100 roubles and was also subjected to detention for fortune-telling in the Kopeysk City Police Department six times. Still, she did not stop her criminal activities. [...] The decision is to constitute Maria-Granche Goman in the capacity of the accused party under Art. 35–192a of the UK RSFSR and to announce this to the accused (OGACHO, f. P 467, op. 3, d. 6559, l. 3).

In the protocols, dated March 22 and 26, Maria-Granche Goman testified about her activities, registration and other issues related to violations and charges brought against her (OGACHO, f. P 467, op. 3, d. 6559, l. 3). However, the commissioner of the First Department of the Criminal Investigation Department of the RKM NKVD for the Chelyabinsk Oblast, in his decision of 7 April 1938, “on citizen Maria Goman”, wrote that:

[...] taking into account that Goman was in a group of Gypsies who were charged with espionage [] the case of Maria-Granche Goman to be transferred to the 3rd Department of the NKVD UGB in the Chelyabinsk region and to be included in their case (OGACHO, f. P 467, op. 3, d. 6559, l. 15).

As a result, the case acquired a “political” character. In the interrogation protocol of April 10, Maria Goman confessed that she knew about the espionage activities of her husband Dmitry Mikhailovich Goman, born in 1893, “but I concealed this from the Soviet authorities, for which I plead guilty” (OGACHO, f. P 467, op. 3, d. 6559, l. 17). The protocol reveals that Maria Goman pleaded guilty to anti-Soviet agitation and for “spread[ing] counter-revolutionary rumours among the peasants and collective farmers of the Kopeysk district” (OGACHO, f. P 467, op. 3, d. 6559, l. 17). In the indictment, she was also charged under Art. 58-10 of the Criminal Code RSFSR. Her case was referred to the special Troika of the NKVD Directorate for the Chelyabinsk region, which, on 5 October 1938, sentenced her to capital punishment. The sentence was executed on 12 October 1938 (OGACHO, f. P 467, op. 3, d. 6559, l. 22–23). The story illustrates how the case was reclassified during the investigation, and the initial charges for fortune-telling were replaced with charges for espionage.

It is rather difficult to draw an accurate picture of this group of detainees. In the archival and investigation files, there is no information about the family relations of the persons involved in the case, although most of them were namesakes. The information in the questionnaires attached to the cases is incomplete. In the column “Composition of the family”, the available materials indicate only marital status: “married” or “single”. All those involved in the case lived in the village of Potanino, Kopeysk Rayon, Chelyabinsk Oblast, and

worked as cauldron-makers and tinkers in the artel of the Serbo-Romanian cauldron-maker (OGACHO, f. P 467, op. 3, d. 6561, l. 11). The files indicated 'Romanian' nationality for everyone. However, the composition of the surnames and the occupations suggest that the persons belonged to a tabor of Kelderari. Materials from archival sources confirm this: "Dmitry Mikhailovich Goman was arrested and, according to the UGB lines, he is part of a Gypsy group." (OGACHO, f. P 467, op. 4, d. 5722, l. 10). Dmitry Goman's wife, Maria-Granche Goman, was repeatedly referred to as a Gypsy in the investigation documents, which also noted that she was a "member of a Gypsy group", and "was engaged in fortune-telling" (OGACHO, f. P 467, op. 3, d. 6559, l. 5, 11, 14). The Kelderari did not remain for long in the Potanino settlement, Chelyabinsk Oblast. The interrogation protocols contain information about the arrival of the Gypsies from Tyumen in September 1937 (OGACHO, f. P 467, op. 3, d. 6559, l. 406).

In conclusion, the investigation materials presented above illustrate the nature of the accusations during the period of the Great Terror, the fabrication of cases, and the falsification of facts. Of all Ural Gypsies who were arrested during the Great Terror, the people from the Potanino tabor received the biggest number of capital punishment sentences, and not a single case was reconsidered.

#### 4.1.4 *Repressions against the Kelderari in Other Regions*

In the previous sections, we analysed the investigations against groups of Gypsies based on primary sources comprising archival and investigation files. In this section, we describe repressions against Gypsies in other regions of Russia based on the open databases of the repressed. Our database, compiled from open sources, contains information about more than 100 repressed people whom we have identified as Kelderari.

The analysis of the open databases of the repressed also allowed us to draw some general conclusions about the repressive politics at that time. The databases indicate that the repressions against the Kelderari took place from 1932 through 1938. The peak of the arrests was in January-March 1938 when about half of all arrests took place. As a rule, the people who were arrested and sentenced before 1937 received sentences of 5 to 10 years term of imprisonment and forced labour. Almost half of those who were sentenced in 1937–1938 were shot dead. Most of the repressed were sentenced under Art. 58–6 ("espionage") and Art. 58-8, 58-9, 58-10 and 58-11 ("participation in a counter-revolutionary espionage organisation/activity") of the Criminal Code RSFSR.

From the available information, we can conclude that the geography of the repressions against Gypsies included many regions of the USSR, primarily the Russian Federation. The biggest number of arrested and sentenced persons

was in Moscow, Leningrad, the Urals regions – Sverdlovsk and Chelyabinsk Oblasts, and in the Siberia regions – the Novosibirsk Oblast. We have information about a minor number of arrests in other areas. The distribution of the repressed Kelderari by region is as follows:

Moscow – 26; Leningrad – 6; Smolensk Oblast – 16; Oryol Oblast – 3; Perm Krai – 2; Sverdlovsk Oblast – 9; Chelyabinsk Oblast – 10; Bashkir ASSR – 2; Krasnodar Krai – 1; Novosibirsk Oblast – 13; Buryat-Mongolian ASSR – 1; Kuibyshev Oblast – 2; Karelian-Finnish ASSR – 2; Stalingrad Oblast – 2; Gorky Oblast – 2; Primorsky Krai – 1; Krasnoyarsk Krai – 3; Tomsk Oblast – 1; Altay Krai – 1; Omsk Oblast – 1.

The total number of repressed Kelderari is 104. Obviously, this number cannot be considered complete or accurate. It includes only those cases for which we can assert with more or less certainty (based on surnames, occupations, preferred nationality, investigative materials, etc.) that the victims were Kelderari. There were more Kelderari victims, e.g., those repressed during the two Gypsy Lawsuits in Moscow, whose names remain unknown. We can roughly estimate the total number of repressed Kelderari in the USSR at about 150–200 people, but this figure is hypothetical.



Our research shows that the Gypsies, as one of the nationalities in the USSR, along with other peoples and social groups, were not spared by the repressive policy of the Soviet state in this period. At the same time, as evidenced in other chapters of this volume, the repressions against Gypsies were not a specific, planned operation targeting the entire Gypsy community in the Soviet Union. There were local operations against the Gypsy population in Moscow, which we analysed in Chapter 2, as well as whole-country ‘operations’ during the Great Terror, which affected the Gypsy population, among other ethnic and social groups, in various regions.

For several reasons, the Kelderari were among the groups most seriously affected by the repressions. They had preserved the extended family-based community as their primary social institution and moved around the country in communal collectives. This way of life made the Kelderari more visible and, consequently, more exposed to mass arrests. The analysis of the arrests of Kelderari during the period of the political repressions shows that, as a rule, their arrests were not individual but had a collective, group character. In most of the cases, they were charged with counter-revolutionary activities and espionage in favour of foreign intelligence services. This fact has to do with the

circumstance that until the 1930s, the Kelderari had preserved their status of foreigners and indicated Greek, Serbian, Romanian or other foreign citizenship in the mandatory nationality column in their personal documents. From a gender point of view, Kelderari men made up the vast majority of the persons subjected to repression whom we identified in this study.

At the same time, we should note that the mobility of the Gypsy communities and the communications among them allowed them to escape arrests in some cases.

In the 1930s, we can distinguish two periods in the repressive policy against the Kelderari. The first one, from 1932 to 1936, was the beginning of the repressions against Gypsies in the USSR. There is a whole complex of reasons for the persecution of the Gypsies in this period, such as failures of the Soviet national and economic policy concerning the Gypsies; contradiction between Gypsy traditional social institutions, especially the solitary community life and the Gypsy Court, on the one hand, and on the other hand, the ideology of the Soviet system which sought to incorporate the Gypsies in the socialist construction; as well as misconduct and economic offences in the Gypsy production collectives.

By repressing and isolating the Roma leaders during this period, the authorities tried to destroy Kelderari's traditional social institutions and everyday life in order to free them from "bourgeois" and "anti-Soviet" elements. Kelderari received charges for economic "offences" in the Gypsy production artels; for their desire to preserve the way of life and traditions of tabor life; for anti-Soviet agitation and counter-revolutionary activities, which, according to the Soviet authorities, included the creation of counter-revolutionary organisations such as the Gypsy Court and the Kelderari intercommunal communications; as well as for espionage in favour of foreign intelligence. The repressions during this period were concentrated in the cities of Moscow and Leningrad. It was in Moscow, where in 1932 and 1935, special "operations" were carried out against the leaders of the Gypsy communities comprising extended families.

The second period of the repressive policy against Gypsies was the Great Terror in the autumn of 1937 and the spring of 1938, characterised by mass arrests, sham investigation with fabrication of charges and falsification of facts, and hasty sentencing by the NKVD Troikas. The main charge against Kelderari during this period was espionage in favour of a foreign state and sabotage activities. A significant part of the arrested received capital punishment sentences by the NKVD Troikas. Most of the detained, whose sentences were not pronounced or executed until the autumn of 1938, were released after an additional investigation and review of their cases after the end of the



Great Terror. In this period, the repressions took place in various regions of the RSFSR, the highest number of arrested Gypsies being in the Smolensk, Novosibirsk, Chelyabinsk, and Sverdlovsk Oblasts.

A separate category of repressed persons in this period were those in the GULAG camps and prisons, who were already serving sentences. They included a whole group of Kelderari, who were sentenced in the period 1932–1936 after the special “operations” in Moscow. In 1937–1938, these people were sentenced to capital punishment.

The rehabilitation of the Kelderari, who had been repressed in the 1930s, took place in several stages. In the 1950s, there was a review of cases and rehabilitation of several convicts. The majority of the repressed were rehabilitated in 1989.

The events in this study took place more than nine decades previously, and since then, several generations have changed. Nevertheless, the repressions of the 1930s have been preserved in the historical memory of the Gypsy communities as one of the most significant traumas in the 20th century. The historical narratives about the repressions and about this period in the history of the Gypsies and the history of the Soviet Union have been preserved and transmitted until today.

Alexander Chernykh

#### 4.2 Family Demeter Memories about the Repressions

The revolution of 1917 brought many changes to the life of the Gypsies in the Russian Empire. First, it destroyed the historically established livelihood structure. The Gypsies had to re-arrange their lives under the conditions of the Soviet power. They once again found their “niche”: In addition to traditional artistic occupations, they were able to earn their living through various crafts until the 70s. When there was a shortage of manufactured goods, they could make their living by producing hardware, baskets, wooden troughs and spoons. Political repressions, deportations, and the GULAG did not bypass the traditionally apolitical nomads. However, recalling this period, they also remember the positive side – the creation in the 1920s and 1930s of the Gypsy schools, the pedagogical college, the All-Russian Union of the Gypsies, and the famous *Romen* Theatre, which played a significant role in the formation of the national artistic intelligentsia.

The experiences of poverty and discrimination among a great number of Gypsies have led many authors to believe that the Gypsies accepted the

revolution of 1917 with joy. They assumed that the ideas of socialism allegedly corresponded to the communal way of life of the camp and that the ongoing changes could only benefit the Gypsies. On the contrary, the revolution brought a lot of disappointment to the Gypsies. It never occurred to anyone that the Gypsy psychology harboured an immense reverence for wealth. Gypsies, to this day, are sure that wealth is given to man by God. Hence, there is boundless respect for wealthy people, who are perceived as role models. In the camp, there was sincere love, and the lucky people were revered. Gypsies keep the legends about wealthy ancestors and pass them on from generation to generation. Rich people from the non-Gypsy environment could not be an object of hatred either since they were buyers of horses as well as the audience of the choirs. Their very existence was the basis of the Gypsy well-being. Famine and devastation accompanied the civil war. The closure of restaurants left the choral Gypsies without a livelihood.

Finding food became more and more difficult. The relaxation during the NEP did not last long. In the revived restaurants, to the regret of the choral Gypsies, wealthy NEPmen visitors disappeared. Other layers of the colourful Gypsy world also suffered. For Gypsies-horse dealers, the prohibition of keeping horses in their households was a terrible blow – no buyers, no trade. The famous horse market in Moscow closed. Equestrian ranks were also empty in other cities of the country.

When the civil war in Russia ended, the Gypsies were in no hurry to build a new life. Ivan Rom-Lebedev, playwright, writer, and Honoured Artist of the RSFSR, wrote:

From the first years of the revolution, the vast majority of the nomadic Gypsies, despite being granted the right to land, housing, work, and study, stubbornly continued to travel along the roads of the new Soviet Russia (Ром-Лебедев, 1990, p. 159).

The nomadic way of life, which for centuries stood on the pillars of trade, craft and fortune-telling, was pushed out on all sides by the new realities. The already poor Gypsies faced a worsening standard of living. Having no income from traditional Gypsy crafts, the nomadic camps began to thin out. More and more families settled on collective farms at factories. For those who stubbornly held on to the old way of life, things went from bad to worse. Leaky tents, a few horses, always hungry children and some tattered rags cannot be compared with the former, albeit not luxurious, Gypsy clothing.

Just at that time, a wave of repressions was in full swing. Gypsies began to be arrested on trumped-up political charges. Many ended up behind bars, and

those who remained free started to ponder about unprecedented accusations: counter-revolution, sabotage, espionage.

Not only men were arrested, but also women with children. My female cousin, Papush Mihai, retelling her mother's words, recounted how, around 1935, the authorities captured a *Kalderara* camp of three hundred people in central Russia. In the hot summer, people were squeezed into heated wagons and taken to Siberia. Such was the practice of mass exile, tested during the mass collectivisation. My cousin further told me that on the way, the camp was given only rotten water to drink – as a result, when the train arrived at its destination, half of the people were already dead in the wagons. The surviving half was driven into the taiga, with no housing around – they brought them and left them to the mercy of fate. The Gypsies were left alone with the wild nature. After some time, they began to run away – they walked through the terrible huge taiga without carts, barefoot, tormented, and hungry. They went to find at least some kind of civilisation. Almost the entire camp remained lying in the wilderness – the ground was dotted with bright spots of colourful Gypsy skirts, and only ten or twenty people managed to reach inhabited sites ... 30 years ago, eyewitnesses were still alive, and they told us about this terrible deportation. In her story, Papush Mihai mentioned a terrible episode about a Gypsy woman who, while moving through the taiga, stumbled upon a prone body. It was another woman who had just passed away. A suckling was trying to suckle at the breast, and the mother was dead! The half-dead woman took the baby and, with difficulty, exited the deadly forest. This Gypsy woman and her adopted daughter both survived. Papush's mother, Lyubov Stepanovna Mikhailova (nee Demeter), met them when the girl was already an adult.

In addition to collective arrests, there were also arrests of separate individuals. My grandfather, Ishtvan Demeter, was a successful merchant during the NEP. In our family, storytelling about his arrest in 1934 is a family tradition. Recently, a new genre has become very popular among Gypsies in Russia – many have started to publish memoirs, reminiscences and autobiographical notes. Since, for thousands of years, the Gypsies did not record their history, we should not overlook these recent publications and need to pay attention to these memorabilia. Here is what Olga Demeter-Charskaya wrote about her father:

At the same time, for unknown reasons, many Gypsies were arrested. The authorities accused them of political crimes. They even captured the Gypsy who lived with his family in an unfinished dugout. And his children, half-naked in the winter, rode on one skate tied to a bare leg. [...]

Suddenly, just before Easter, on Friday, when my mother was baking Easter cakes (*кulichи*), some people came to our house and took away mother, father, and

brother Pyotr in a big black car. After ten days, the same unknown persons who had arrested my father took away, during the search, everything that we had accumulated throughout our lives.

Pyoter and our mother were released, and our father was sent to serve a term under a political article, and we didn't even know where. This was how Ishtvan's desire to live sedentary with his family and relatives ended. Only many years later, when the father returned home after rehabilitation, he told us his story. It turned out he was lucky. When he arrived at the camp, they asked about his occupation. Father answered the truth: "I am a coppersmith (*mednik* in Russian)." His words were misunderstood. They decided he was a doctor (*medik* in Russian) and sent him to work as a paramedic in a hospital. Of course, it was better than working in the cold with a shovel.

After my father's arrest, our mother sold the temporary hut and the log house and took the family from Leningrad to Moscow. She wanted to live closer to Uncle Grisha (mother's brother – author's note) in Moscow. Unfortunately, Uncle Grisha was also arrested. They took him not from his home but from a music school.

[...] It was already 1938, the arrests continued, and my brother Pyotr went to jail again. After an eight-month detention, he was released without any interrogation, explanation, or apology. Being in prison damaged Pyotr's health badly ... (Деметер-Чарская, 1997, pp. 32, 77).

It is interesting that Uncle Grisha (Grigory Nikitovich Gusakov, my grandmother's brother) was a completely law-abiding citizen. He graduated from the Moscow Conservatory in the violin class, worked at a music school, always lived settled and was married to a Russian woman. The authorities, however, knew about his Gypsy origin.

Grandmother (Praskovya Demeter) told me how she, together with my father Georgy, who was then seven years old, followed her husband by train to give him warm clothes. However, they were not lucky – as soon as they reached the next city to catch up with the convicts, they found out that the prisoners had already been sent further. Finally, having arrived in one of the northern cities, they saw the station cordoned off, and no one was allowed near the convicts. Grandmother began to look down the carriages and saw unusual cloaks – felt boots that belonged to grandfather. Then she sent her little son, my father, and they let him through the cordon. So, he handed over the warm clothes and walked with his father to the colony, and outside its gates, he left him with the words: "Wait for your mother. She will definitely come." After a while, the gates opened, and a guard came out and handed little Georgy a sandwich from his father. When Dad and Grandmother talked about it, they could not hold back their tears.

Now that the archives have become available, it is possible to look at the NKVD documents with our own eyes. As for the case of Ishtvan Demeter described above (in the documents, his name is written down as 'Ishvan'), we now have materials from the NKVD archives showing how absurd the accusations against the Gypsies were. Here, for example, is the so-called Questionnaire of the Arrested. An instruction at the bottom reads: "Fill out the questionnaire clearly and legibly according to the words of the arrested person and verify it by documentary data." So, what did the authorities find out about Ishtvan Demeter?

Property status at the time of arrest.	He has a small wooden house.
The same for 1929.	He was a nomad.
The same for 1917.	The same
Service in the tsarist army and rank.	Didn't serve.
Service in the White Army and rank.	Didn't serve.
Service in the Red Army.	Didn't serve.
Social background.	The son of a craftsman (a Gypsy).
Political past.	Apolitical.

Now let's see how the final accusation sounds:

Demeter Stepan Petrovich (Ishvan) is sufficiently exposed that he is a bulibash (ataman) and the chief judge of the tribe, ideologically with his anti-Soviet activity corrupted the tribes. He organised a false artel and received a foreign passport through a live connection from the Gypsy king, Polish intelligence officer KVEK; in 1919, he led a political gang of up to 5,000 people. He campaigned for the transition to Romania and was engaged in buying up the currency.

Take him as a defendant under Art. 58.6, 10, 11, 593 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR, and as a preventive measure against escaping investigation and trial, detention of the accused at the Central House of Preliminary Detention under the 1st category should be chosen.

Plenipotentiary ... [signature] Nudel.

Thus, with a wave of the Chekist's magic wand, the apolitical nomad turned into a spy accomplice, an anti-Soviet agitator, and the head of a "political gang". For the reader, let us explain that the term "political gang" refers to the ordinary Gypsy camp which Ishtvan Demeter headed in 1919. As a matter of fact, the camp consisted of several extended families (200 people in total), but this fits well into the formula "up to 5,000 people". As for buying up foreign currency, this is also true. In Tsarist Russia, gold money had a small diameter, and women sewed it on a jacket or along the edges of a scarf. Kelderari accepted for beads only thalers and ducats with the image of the Austrian emperor Franz

Joseph and American twenty-dollar coins. The Kelderari brought some of this money with them from Austria-Hungary at the beginning of the 20th century, and, naturally, they acquired some. During the arrests, the Gypsies tried to explain to the authorities that their “currency” was, in fact, jewellery and that the coins were drilled or equipped with hangers, making further resale difficult. Such explanations were not taken into account (see Photograph of Ishtvan and Praskovya Demeter in Illustrations).

Extract from the Minutes of the Special Meeting at the Collegium of the OGPU of 29 April 1934.

Listened: Case no. 1232–1934 on the accusation of Stepan Petrovich Demeter, nicknamed in the Gypsy language Ishvan, under Art. 58-6, 59-12 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR.

Decided: Demeter Stepan Petrovich (Ishvan), born in 1879, Gypsy of the “Ioneshti” tribe, a copper tinker. To be imprisoned in a concentration camp for ten (10) years, counting the period from 18 April 1934. Send the case file to the archive.

Honestly, it was hard to hold this accusation in my hands and see written consent in familiar handwriting (but could he not agree?)

I have heard the surname Nudel since childhood. Family tradition says that the plenipotentiary Nudel treated the arrested persons humanely. Realising that before him was an innocent Gypsy, he did not appear two times at the meetings of the “Troika” when Ishtvan’s case was to be heard. He came only on the day when, on the occasion of some proletarian holiday, all the defendants were given ten years instead of execution, thereby saving his life. Grandmother Praskovya Demeter reached even Nadezhda Krupskaya, trying to prove her husband’s innocence. It is not known how this would have ended, but the freedom-loving Ishtvan tried to escape, and instead of being released, he was given one more year in the colony.

My father was able to achieve the rehabilitation of his grandfather under both articles only in 1961, during the “Khrushchev thaw”.

In the 1990s, when the law on restitution was passed in Russia, my father, Georgy Demeter, Doctor of Pedagogy, Professor, turned to the federal state institution GOKHRAN (State Institution for the Formation of the State Fund of Precious Metals and Precious Stones of the Russian Federation, Storage, Release and Use of Precious Metals and Precious Stones) under the Ministry of Finance of the Russian Federation. The jewels confiscated from his father were supposed to be handed over there. Curiously, the list of such things, of course, incomplete, was indeed preserved. The father went to court to have the

jewellery returned to him as a memory of his parents and even won the case in the first instance. I persuaded him to abandon this venture, being absolutely sure that nothing would be returned, but he was principled and inexorable. His arguments were very persuasive. Time passed, and by that time, Dad was already an older man. After refusals in the higher instance courts, he could not continue but categorically did not want to stop the case. He requested me to continue the efforts, and since I always did what he asked, I turned to a qualified lawyer. He carefully studied all the materials and said that all our attempts were in vain since there was no precedent, and no one received anything in restitution.

Some Gypsies are still convinced that most criminal cases against them were fabricated for one purpose – to confiscate their gold. Arrests took place in many Gypsy camps. Here is what Oleg Petrovich wrote in his memoirs:

Meanwhile, the end of 1936 was coming. A wave of repression began. As I already said, the Gypsies were out of politics, but this did not mean that this “plague” bypassed the Gypsies ... One day, on one of the black days of Grigory (Oleg Petrovich’s grandfather – author’s note), a car drove up with NKVD officers. In a blue overcoat, a senior officer got out of the car, approached Brother Bretyano, and politely asked if he could see Grigory Fed-Frumos (that was Grigory’s last name). – And what do you want? Can I help? I am his brother. – No, we need him; we wanted to ask him some questions.

Bretyano realised that these few questions would turn into many years of camps (Петрович, 2007, pp. 14–15).

A special page in Gypsy history is the measures taken by the Soviet authorities in the 1930s aimed at improving the life of the Gypsies. Gypsy schools and labour artels were organised, and books, newspapers, and magazines were published in the Gypsy language. Gypsy collective farms were created in different regions of Russia. In total, 52 of them were established in Russia by 1938. But the Gypsy collective farms either turned out to be unviable and fell apart or were destroyed during the Nazi occupation and never revived. At that time, a pedagogical college appeared. In 1926, the All-Russian Union of the Gypsies was created, and, finally, in 1931, the famous Theatre *Romen* played a significant role in forming the national artistic intelligentsia. All positive changes in the life of the Gypsies were brought to nought by the Stalinist national policy. National schools were closed all over the country, literature in the languages of national minorities ceased to be published, and all these measures were also applied to the Gypsies.

The Second World War, as a result of racism, and genocide unleashed by Hitlerism, claimed more than 500 thousand lives of Gypsies in Europe, including Russia, Ukraine and Belarus, who were tortured in Auschwitz, Majdanek,

Buchenwald and other concentration camps and gas chambers, just because they were Gypsies. The Gypsies fought against the fascists together with the whole population. According to our information, during the war, there were eleven Gypsy Heroes from the Soviet Union and many holders of the highest orders. The military professions of the Gypsies were diverse: they were infantrymen, tankers, pilots, gunners, radio operators, artillerymen, and paratroopers.

After the war, the Gypsies made a transition to a settled way of life, and an increasing number of children received systematic education. In 1956, the Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR *On the Admission to Labour of the Gypsy Vagrants* was issued. On the one hand, it was a continuation of a process that had begun before the revolution. On the other hand, it was part of a global trend.

Nadezhda Demeter

#### 4.3 Gypsy Lawsuits as a National Operation?

The materials presented earlier in this chapter cover only a part of the facts related to the so-called Gypsy Lawsuits (i.e., investigation cases and trials in which all accused were Roma) in the early USSR. This section elaborates on the topic and presents several other 'Gypsy Lawsuits'.

As already noted, the available (or at least accessible) materials about the Gypsy Lawsuits in the archives of the Russian Federation are incomplete and even sometimes quite fragmentary (e.g., individual details of some of these lawsuits are scattered in different investigative cases). Literally, at the last moment, at the end of our work on this book, we managed to get in touch with Andrii Zhyvyuk, a historian from Lviv, who told us an amazing story. In 1941, during the investigation of the Gypsy Lawsuit in Rovno (see below), the central apparatus of the NKVD in Moscow sent the Regional Directorate of the NKVD in Rovno handwritten copies of some materials from the First Gypsy lawsuit in Moscow 1932–1933, as well as a comprehensive analytical report entitled *Review of Materials on Foreign Gypsies*, including information for the period up to and including mid-1937. So it turns out that copies of documentary materials, which today should be kept in the Central Archive of the Federal Security Service of the Russian Federation, and which we did not manage to find there (perhaps they are not stored or have limited access), are located in the local archive of the Security Service of Ukraine in Rivne (!).

From these materials, we have learned a number of details about the First Gypsy lawsuit in Moscow, which were unknown until that moment, including



the names of some of the repressed. The name of “King” Chula, who was the central figure in this process, is Yegor Nikolayevich Mihai (Yegor in Russian is a shortened version of Georgy (George), often used as a separate name as well). According to the NKVD, he was the head of the “Supreme Gypsy court, called in Gypsy Roma[n]i Kriso Bari” (GDASBUR, f. 4 P, spr. 17664, cited in Жив’юк, 2021, pp. 46, 48, 51).

The materials also revealed the names of King Chula’s four brothers, who were also members of the Supreme Gypsy Court and who were sentenced to death and shot with him. They are Tomma (Tomma Babko/Babako, his deputy in the Court), Vasily (his “chief adviser” in the Court), Rista (“prosecutor” in the Court) and Badya (“defender” in the Court) (Ibid., p. 51).

The documents from Rivne confirm that 61 people were brought as defendants in the Moscow lawsuit, but there is some discrepancy in the description of the defendants compared to the information presented above:

The following were brought to justice in the case: 5 members of the royal family Kwiek, the chief of security and three of his assistants, 10 tribal foremen and 8 of their deputies, 12 people of the King’s personal guard, 5 ordinary members of the supreme court, 3 terrorists and 14 Polish intelligence agents (Жив’юк, 2021, p. 50).

The reason for this discrepancy is not apparent. Additionally, the actual defendants of this process are more.

There are many unclear circumstances surrounding the First Gypsy lawsuit in Moscow. The comprehensive analysis of all available historical information shows that 80 people were repressed in it. Almost all of them (precisely 79 people) were arrested already in 1932, some in the spring, others in the autumn, i.e., the whole lawsuit took quite a long time. The investigation of the First Gypsy lawsuit in Moscow was apparently divided into two parts. There were two lawsuits, which we denote as two parts of one general lawsuit (see Annex 1.2). As demonstrated by the personal data of the victims, the first part of the judgments were delivered on February 9, 1933, and the second part on June 9, 1933 (i.e., these are the end dates of the two separate parts of the lawsuit). We added the names of 2 more repressed Roma (Stepan Toma and Stepan Sharkozi) to the list of the victims, whose sentences were also delivered in 1933, although on different dates (in April 1933), and who were clearly part of the lawsuit. Their names, occupations, participation in Gypsy artels and home addresses reveal links with the rest of the defendants in the lawsuit, and their charges are analogous to the charges of the persons sentenced on February 9, 1933. There are two possible explanations here – either for some reason (e.g., the need for further investigation), they were sentenced separately, or they were arrested

later than the rest (at least in one of the cases, this is indeed the case – Stepan Sharkozi, with permanent residence in Tashkent, was arrested in Moscow on April 5, 1933, and sentenced on April 22, 1933).

Of special interest are the excerpts from the Indictment Act in the document from Rivne, which was the basis of the sentences in the First Part of the First Gypsy lawsuit in Moscow (February 9, 1933). Some passages from it are worth quoting:

[...] The investigation established that tens of thousands of Polish, Serbian and mainly Romanian Gypsies live on the territory of the Soviet Union, leading a nomadic or semi-nomadic way of life and assimilating very little with the native population. [...]

[“King] Chula” was the political leader and ideologue of the entire feudal elite of the rich, and his attitudes towards the struggle against the Soviet regime were basically as follows:

- a) for a relentless struggle against sedentarisation, ignoring all the measures taken by Soviet organisations concerning the Gypsies, to non-recognition and non-subordination of Soviet power;
- b) for a categorical, under the threat of death, prohibition of service in the Red Army for Gypsies;
- c) for obstructing, by all available means, the elimination of illiteracy among the Gypsies in order to prevent Soviet influences in their ranks;
- d) for the development and strengthening of the anti-Soviet ideology among the Gypsies and intelligence activities in favour of the Polish main headquarters.

[...]

The investigation also found that in 1929, the King of the Polish Gypsies, Vasily Kvek [King Bazily], came to the city of Moscow (under the guise of a Greek citizen), who, together with [King] Chula at a meeting of foremen, raised the issue of collecting and exporting gold to Poland (during this period, 75 thousand [roubles in coins] of royal coinage). [...] Vasily Kvek was repeatedly received personally by Pilsudski himself. [...]

Under the leadership of Vasily Kvek and the Polish intelligence, [King Chula], through trusted persons, collected espionage information, sending this information to Poland, using signalmen-intelligence officers for these purposes. [...] On the orders of Chula, for the purpose of espionage, many Gypsies, under the guise of blacksmiths and tinkers, penetrated the most important state institutions and even military units. [...]

In addition to all this, the Gypsy tribes also had their own court, which was called Romani Krys Bary. [...] (GDASBUR, f. 4 P, spr. 17664, cited in Жив'юк, 2021, pp. 46–48).

Compared to this Indictment, the Indictment (GARF, f. P 1235, op. 123, d. 27, l. 221–267) of the Gypsies sentenced in the Second Part of the First Gypsy lawsuit in Moscow (9 June 1933) is quite different. While in the first Indictment, the leading (and de facto only) charges were of a clearly political nature, in the second Indictment, the leading charges were criminal (presented with

many specific details), with political implications. The main charge in the second part of the First Gypsy lawsuit in Moscow reads “Organising fake cooperative artels and their economic activity and strengthening the kulaks” (Ibid., l. 223), i.e., the charge concerns a series of criminal offences which had political implications. In the Indictment, special attention is paid to the activities of the Gypsy artels *Rumynsky inostranets* (*Romanian Foreigner*), *Krasny Zabaikalets* (Red Transbaikalian) and *Serbo-Rumynskaya artel* (Serbian-Romanian Artel); several other Gypsy artels (19) associated with the defendants, are also mentioned. The established offences are numerous and quite diverse, e.g., receipt from the state at preferential prices of rare raw materials (mainly non-ferrous metals) and their resale to state enterprises at free prices; receipt of various types of financial preferences and loans that are not included in the accounting records, etc. Closely associated with these accusations is the activity of the so-called Gypsy Courts, which, according to the investigation, made decisions for the murder of two Roma persons.

The Indictment Act also reveals an interesting circumstance. Apparently, the activities of the Gypsy artels in Moscow attracted the Soviet authorities’ attention already prior to their investigation in the spring of 1932. At least a year earlier, representatives of various Soviet institutions, and especially the Moscow Council, had taken action following “signals” (letters from citizens alerting the Soviet institutions about specific problems and irregularities) from Gypsy activists (Mikhail Bezlyudsky is mentioned by name – about him, see Marushiakova & Popov, 2022, pp. 449–470) about violations committed by these artels. A series of inspections in the Gypsy artels found numerous irregularities and violations of the law and made prescriptions for their elimination. In other words, while pursuing the main goals of its affirmative policy towards the Gypsies, the Soviet power tried to solve problems without immediately engaging the repressive institutions. Apparently, when these attempts had proven ineffective, and the problems deteriorated (including the two murders associated with the Gypsy artels), the NKVD took matters into their own hands.

According to the Indictment, there were 18 defendants in the Second Part of the First Gypsy lawsuit in Moscow. Most of them had criminal charges under Art. 118 (giving a bribe), Art. 129 (wasting of state or public property), Art. 129-a (establishment and management of fake cooperatives), Art. 17 (abetment and aiding abetting) and Art. 142, part 2 (incitement to inflict serious bodily harm resulting in death) of UK RSFSR (Ibid., l. 222).

At first glance, it seems quite logical that the general investigation case was divided into two parts according to the charges against the arrested Roma: Those Roma who had political charges were tried in the first part of the Gypsy

Lawsuit (in February), while the Roma with criminal charges were tried in the second part (in June). However, it is well known that logic does not always prevail in real life, and this case confirms it. King Chula (Yegor Nikolaevich Mihai), Ivan Nikolaevich Mihai (perhaps another of his brothers?) and Drila Dmitrievich Mihai (probably their relative) were first on the list of the accused in the second part of the First Gypsy Lawsuit. King Chula, who was eventually sentenced to death, received charges with relatively light penalties – imprisonment for a term of up to 5 years (Art. 118), imprisonment for a term of up to 2 years (Art. 129-a) and imprisonment for a term of up to 10 years (Art. 17/142-2), which excluded the death sentence (VMN). This may mean that he had received the VMN for political charges in the first part of the First Gypsy Lawsuit or that in the course of the second part of the First Gypsy Lawsuit, the defendants received additional political charges. To a large extent, the situation with Drila Mihai, who was sentenced on June 9, 1933 (i.e., in the second part of the lawsuit), was similar. He was sentenced to 10 years ITL in STON (Solovki Special Purpose Prison). From STON, he was sent to Leningrad in 1937, where he received the VMN and was shot dead (see Chapter 3). Moreover, as can be seen from the date of the sentence, besides him, there were other prisoners in STON (Derdi Mihai, Tomma Mihai) who were also sentenced on political charges in the second part of the lawsuit. It can be assumed that other defendants also received similar sentences (with criminal and political charges), at least the more prominent figures among them, such as, for example Rista Dmitrievich Mihai, the founder of the *Romanian Foreigner* artel (one of the first Gypsy artels in Moscow, created as early as 1925), identified in the investigation file as “former leader of all Romanian tabors” (GARF, f. P 1235, op. 123, d. 27, l. 234).

Unfortunately, there are still many uncertainties surrounding the First Gypsy lawsuit in Moscow 1932–1933, including many names of persons who were repressed within it and information about their fate. In the Book of Memory of Gypsies, Victims of Political Repression, prepared for this edition, we included a total of 80 people as victims of this lawsuit. We were able to identify the names of only 42 people – King Chula himself, 19 people sentenced in the first part of the lawsuit, 19 people sentenced in the second part of the lawsuit, and 2 people (Stepan Toma and Stepan Sharkozi), sentenced separately. The names of 39 people repressed in the framework of the First Gypsy lawsuit in Moscow remain unknown, and they are marked as “unknown” (N.N.) in our *Book of Memory* (see Annex 1.2).

Information about the sentences in this lawsuit is also incomplete. The documentation reveals that King Chula and his four brothers received the VMN and were shot dead. We also identified the sentences of another 11 persons

who were sent to ITL (in Solovki) with sentences of various terms, most often 10 years ITL but also 5, 7, 8 years; they were all sentenced to death and shot dead during the Great Terror (1937–1938). The fate of the remaining defendants remains unknown, and it is unclear how many were sentenced, what their sentences were, and whether any of them were acquitted.

There can be no doubt that the majority of the repressed Roma within the framework of the First Gypsy lawsuit in Moscow were Kelderari. However, whether there were representatives of other Roma communities (apart from Ivan/Yanush Kaminsky, who will be discussed below) among the repressed remains unknown.

The lack of sufficiently complete information about the First Gypsy lawsuit in Moscow in historical materials (or at least known historical materials) cannot be compensated by oral history materials. The memories of the events of the 1930s are quite fragmentary and uncertain, although some of them were included in academic work. Such are the assertions that Ivan Rom-Lebedev acted as a people's prosecutor (in the Soviet criminal procedure, the people's prosecutor is a person assigned by a public organisation or a workers' collective to represent the organisation in the lawsuit and perform the function of a prosecutor) at the lawsuit of one of the arrested Kelderari camps. Rom-Lebedev allegedly trusted the investigation's version until his death and was amazed by the artistry of the head of the artel, who, in his words, "perfectly portrayed an illiterate [Gypsy], but in fact turned out to be a colonel of the Secret Intelligence Service" (Бессонов, 2002a, p. 5). As is often the case with evidence from oral history, there is nothing true in these assertions other than the fact that there were Gypsy Lawsuits in Moscow (which is well known anyway). The lawsuits (both the First Gypsy lawsuit in 1933 and the Second Gypsy lawsuit in 1935) were not open to the public, and there were no people's prosecutors or an audience. This entire pseudo-historical narrative has been secondarily created by the model of the well-known Moscow Lawsuits – the three major public political lawsuits held in Moscow in 1936–1938, which were open to the public and journalists, including representatives of the Western press.

The Soviet press at the time did not write about the Gypsy Lawsuits, and they remained unknown to the public. On the other hand, in May 1932 (i.e., after the end of the first part of the First Gypsy Lawsuit), a short message signed by P. Rimsko (pseudonym) was published in the *Nevo drom* (New Way) Gypsy journal. It stated that the murder of the Gypsy man Gogo, committed in Moscow in 1931, following a decision of a secret Gypsy Court headed by "Toma – I. N. Mikhail", was revealed, and an investigation and trial were pending. Various materials in the Western press de facto reprinted this message (often Mikhail's name is presented with different initials), making a direct connection with

the Gypsy Kings in Poland (e.g., *Corriere della Sera*, 1932; *Neues Pressburger Tagblatt*, 1932). It is clear that this news item was reproduced from one edition to another (although the newspapers would always refer to “their correspondent in Moscow”); what is not clear is how these correspondents in Moscow were able to find the brief note in *Nevo drom* (and understand it, given that it was written in Romani language).

Parenthetically, although the topic of the Gypsy Kings in Poland was widely reported in the European press in the 1930s, it remained almost unknown to Soviet society. Nikolay Pankov’s rich personal archive, which contains clippings from the Soviet press dedicated to the Gypsies, has only two clippings about the Gypsy King Mikhail Kwiek (PAVK, f. Nikolay Pankov).

The situation with the Second Gypsy lawsuit in Moscow held in 1935, is different as regards the information available in the sources. Lawsuit documentation has been preserved, part of which is published in this edition (Annex 2). However, there are still some unclear points about this lawsuit.

First of all, the number of people who were sentenced in the Second Gypsy lawsuit in Moscow remains unspecified. According to the Indictment, there were six defendants, headed by Kulay le Porasko, who declared himself a “Gypsy King” and heir to the heir of “King” Chula. According to the same Indictment, during the investigation, three more people were investigated, whose fate remains unknown. In the documents sent by the NKVD to Rovno in 1941 appear, two more names. Additional sources reveal that in the same year, 1935, in Moscow, another six people were repressed, and the latter were closely related by their occupations, addresses and charges, with the main group of the defendants. On this basis, we can assume that all 17 people (all of them Kelderari) were part of one investigation case, divided into separate parts, and included in the composition of the Second Gypsy lawsuit in Moscow.

The sentences delivered in this lawsuit are also unclear. There are no records for the sentences of five out of six main defendants. The record for the sixth of them, Migai la Stoikako (officially Pyotr Grigorievich Mihai), contained in the database of victims of political repressions, shows that he was sentenced on October 15, 1935 (the date of the lawsuit, at least for the main group of the defendants) to 3 years ITL by OSO NKVD. After the expiration of the term, he was released (which is relatively less common practice). Considering that in 1935, the OSO institution had powers to impose punishments for a term of up to 5 years’ imprisonment (cf. Chapter 3), it is clear that the other defendants also received such punishments, which were considered light (especially given the seriousness of the charges brought against them). Except for three more persons, there is no data on the sentences of the other Roma repressed within the framework of the Second Gypsy lawsuit in Moscow (in all probability, they

also received minimal sentences because their names are no longer found in the database of the repressed). The three persons received 5 years ITL and served their sentences in Solovki.

The case of one of the six main defendants in this trial, namely Dzhordzhina/Dzhordzhino le Burikosko, also remains unclear. It is not clear what sentence he received, but three years later, at the Gypsy Trial in Smolensk (see above), one of the accused was Marko Usovich Goman, whose other name was stated to be Diordino Le Burikasko (AUFSSBO, f. 1, op. 1, d. 24047-c). This gives reason to assume that this case involves the same person who was acquitted at the trial in Moscow (or sentenced to a minimum term and released) and who was subsequently sentenced to death at the trial in Smolensk and shot. Therefore, in the prepared database of victims of political repression, we included Dzhordzhino le Burikosko and Marko Usovich Goman as one person (see Annex 1.2).

As we already noted, at the time of the Great Terror, all 14 persons sentenced in the First and Second Gypsy lawsuit in Moscow received death sentences and were shot dead as part of the general ‘purge’ of ITL in 1937–1938 (see Chapter 3).

The Second Gypsy lawsuit in Moscow did not put an end to NKVD’s interest in the so-called foreign Gypsies (mainly Kelderari). Moreover, the NKVD continued to receive reports from Gypsies exposing the criminal activities of other Gypsies (mainly related to the Gypsy artels). Such is, e.g. the Statement (in two parts) by S. I. Ivanus, dated 15 February 1936, to the Chairman of the Presidium of the VTsIK Mikhail Kalinin, called ‘All-Union Elder’, and de jure head of state of the USSR. Mikhail Kalinin forwarded this Statement to the Department of Nationalities of the VTsIK, and from there, it was sent to the Prosecutor’s Office of the RSFSR with a request for investigation GARF, f. P 1235, op. 131, d. 19).

Apparently, the NKVD decided that there was no point conducting individual investigations and new Gypsy Lawsuits, and they sought a more comprehensive solution to the problem of foreign Gypsies. This is evidenced by the *Review of Materials on Foreign Gypsies* (including information for the period up to and including the middle of 1937), which is kept in the Archives of the SBU in Rivne. This document shows that foreign Gypsies, including the so-called Gypsy Kings in the USSR and Poland, had been the object of special attention by the Soviet power institutions and secret services since the 1920s.

According to NKVD’s interpretation in the *Review*, the first “Gypsy King” appeared already at the time of the Russian Empire. This is Rista Radu Mihai, who declared himself “King of the Gypsies” in 1909 (cited in Жив’юк, 2021, p. 51). There is little information about him in the 1910s. Apart from being the leader of a group of Gypsies who practised their traditional occupations (making, repairing and tinning copperware), he was also the conductor of a

Gypsy choir in an unspecified governorate (GARF. f. 102, op. 69, d.188, l. 148 – cited by Черных, 2018). After the October Revolution, under the conditions of the USSR, King Choldy (Rista Radu Mihai) continued to maintain constant ties with his relatives in Poland, which became an independent state in 1918. According to NKVD's data, in 1924, he "sent" to Poland his cousin Vasily le Likasko, who became the first Gypsy King in Poland under the name Michał/Michael I (cited in Жив'юк, 2021, pp. 47–48; cf. also Ficowski, 1985, p. 89). In 1927, with the permission of the Soviet state and with documents received from the Polish consulate in Moscow, 40 Gypsy families left for Poland. According to the testimony of Iosif Kwek, this group included his brothers Mikhail (the future King Michał/Michael II), Janusz (the future King Janusz/Janus), Wladimir, Karol Jurgub or Jurgil), Gorgo and Badya Kweks (cited Жив'юк, 2021, p. 72). The group also included King Choldy himself (Rista Radu Mihai), who declared his cousin Yegor Nikolaevich Mihai, known as King Chula, as the heir to the "royal power" before his departure to Poland (Ibid., pp. 46, 48).

The reason for the group's departure was a reunion of separated families, which were supposed to spend three months in Poland, but they "decided to stay here, in view of the fact that we all gathered in Poland, we are all relatives ... by family name, also Kweks" (Ibid., p. 72). As it turns out, the real surname of the whole "dynasty" of Gypsy Kings in Poland is Mihai, but in the conditions of Poland, they adopted the Polish surname Kwiek, and accordingly, the group that had departed from Moscow also adopted this surname (to be equal to that of its relatives in Poland). It is not clear why and when this surname had changed in Poland. The surname Kwiek and the connection with the Gypsy Kings were mentioned for the first time in 1911 (Ficowski, 1985, p. 84), but this was not a one-time act but rather a lengthy process. In any case, Jan Michałak-Michailescu, whom the Polish press called the "Tsar" of the Gypsies in 1928, still bears the surname Mihai (in two variants, in Romanian and Polish) (Marushiakova & Popov, 2021, pp. 599–600). In other cases, relatives on both sides of the border may have different surnames, so, e.g. a cousin of King Chula (Yegor Mihai) is King Vasily /Bazyli Kwiek called "Sextipalius" (because he had six fingers on his right hand).

This information, no matter how fragmentary it is, allows us to look in a new way at the origin of the phenomenon of the so-called Gypsy Kings in Poland during the interwar period. There is no doubt that the historical roots of this phenomenon were already laid down in the conditions of the Russian Empire, and it received a new impetus in independent Poland.

NKVD's *Review* includes a lot of information on the activities of the foreign Gypsies in the USSR as well as on the "Gypsy Kings" in various European countries, with a special emphasis on their relations in the USSR.



In the first place are the connections with the Gypsy Kings in Poland, where the Gypsy King was Michael I Kwiek (the former Soviet citizen Vasily le Likasko). According to the NKVD's *Review*:

Kvek is on the payroll of the Polish government, collects tribute from the Gypsies for the latter, and through him, the Polish authorities carry out absolutely all activities among the Gypsies. [...] Having its extensive and qualified agents among the Gypsy tribes, on the instructions of the Polish defensive [Department of Counter-intelligence on the Second Department of Polish General Staff – authors' note] and the Japanese intelligence, it conducts active intelligence work not only on the territory of the USSR but also on other countries. [...] In 1929, [...], on a fictitious transit visa, in order to instruct the network, he visited the city of Moscow, where he has extensive family and business ties (cited in Жив'юк, 2021, pp. 48–49)

In addition to Michael I Kwiek, there were Gypsy Kings in other European countries who also had relatives in the USSR and with whom they maintained constant contact:

In Romania, the King of the Gypsies is Kwek's cousin, Gypsy Istrati le Grigoresku, whose son Rista Terkari, being the foreman of the Gypsy clan Minesti (Migaeshti), used to live in the USSR. [...] In Germany, the King of the Gypsies is Yango, who was often visited by the foreman of the Lovari tribe, Malika (Yuzefa Kaminskaya), who repeatedly came to him in Berlin from the USSR. [...] In France, the King of the Gypsies is Milosh Amporateshti, who lives under the surname Churon. He is a close relative of the ataman of the former Austro-Hungarian Gypsies in the USSR Demetter (Georgino Churon). In addition, his brother, mother and two nephews live in the city of Kharkov (*Ibid.*, p. 49).

A special place in the *Review* is dedicated to King Chula (Yegor Nikolaevich Mihai), who was an assistant to King Choldy (Risto Radu Mihai) since 1913, and after the latter's departure to Poland, assumed the “royal power” and was recognised by all “foreign Gypsies” (meaning mainly Kelderari, as well as several Lovari families). The *Review* notes that a criminal investigation found that King Chula repeatedly sent his emissaries to Pryaka, “the ataman of the Russian nomadic Gypsies” (i.e., Ruska Roma), to join the “counter-revolutionary organisation of foreign Gypsies headed by him”, but this unification had never taken place (*Ibid.*, p. 51).

According to the NKVD, King Chula carried out an organised resistance against the actions of the Soviet authorities for years. He had allegedly appointed his brother Toma Babako (Tomma Nikolevich Mihai) to the position of head of the National Minorities Sector in Metallurgy Union (All-Russian Metallurgical Association for Industrial Cooperation under the All-Russian

Union for Industrial Cooperation). We consider it unlikely that Tomma Mihai occupied such a high position in the official hierarchy, but even at the lowest position in the Soviet state apparatus, he had influence and opportunities. Using the authority of his brother's official position, King Chula had attracted to Moscow up to 4,000 (mostly Romanian, i.e., Kelderari) foreign Gypsies since 1929. They registered 34 Gypsy artels (mainly tinkers) based on family ties, which carried out various speculative activities and were defined as "false artels" by the NKVD.

NKVD's analysis of the relations among the foreign Gypsies deserves special attention:

In the USSR, [...] all foreign Gypsies live in separate tribes (in Gypsy language – "vitsa"), and each such tribe is headed by a "foreman" or "ataman" (in Gypsy – "bulbash"), and the foremen of individual clans are called in Gypsy "birevo" or "muyalo".

These Gypsy feudal lords-leaders mercilessly exploit the poor part of the Gypsy camp, give the poor money at extortionate interest (100–150%), force them to work for themselves, take away half of the earnings from the workers, being the actual owners of not only all Gypsy incomes, but also property.

The awakened activity of the poor pushed the "bulbash" of individual tribes to unite under the leadership of Chula. This is also confirmed by the fact that the ringleaders used merciless terror against the Gypsy activists (murders, burning of the genitals, etc.).

The main lever that allowed "King" Chula to maintain his despotic power over the entire Gypsy mass living in the USSR was the so-called "secret court", the supreme Gypsy court, called in Gypsy "Romano Kriso Bary" [Big Gypsy Court], and local Gypsy courts "Tsny Kriso Mashkar Pesty" [Little court between us]. All Gypsies unquestioningly obeyed their decisions for fear of savage reprisals.

The court was composed of representatives of tribes and clans in proportion to their numbers and wealth, namely: "Dukoni" [from which is Chula himself – authors' note] – 18 representatives; "Mishneshti" [Mineshti] – 11; "Chukuroni" – 10; "Demoni" – 8; from the clans "Poruni", "Burikoni" and "Chicheni" – 5 people each; from "Yuneshti", "Buzoni", "Nemtsoni" and "Bobokoni" – 4 people each, etc. The Supreme Court examined, without exception, all cases that arose among the Gypsies, categorically forbidding, under the threat of death, applications before the Soviet organs of justice. This court handed down death sentences for Roma activists, tried criminal cases, etc., and did everything by oral discussion without any records (*Ibid.*, pp. 50–51).

The description of the so-called Gypsy Court contains interesting ethnographic details extracted from the testimony of the accused, but it is clear that the authors of the *Review* had very little understanding of this exceptionally important traditional institution in the life of the Roma community (for the Gypsy Court, see Marushiakova & Popov, 2007). Instead, they followed the

mass public prejudices regarding the Gypsies and interpreted them in social class terms and in view of the NKVD's specific activities.

The issue of espionage exercised by foreign Gypsies in favour of the "Polish General Headquarters and the Japanese Intelligence" occupies an important place in the NKVD's *Review*:

Gypsy spies were not only recruited on our territory but literally smuggled in, both illegally and on transit visas, from behind the cordon (the investigation revealed more than 40 Gypsies transferred by the intelligence to our territory, who were not found).

Once in the USSR, the spies, using their family ties, imperceptibly dissolved in the middle of the Gypsy mass, which supplied them with everything they needed (Ibid., p. 52).

These assertions are widely developed in the text, which, however, does not mention specific names or any evidence, i.e., they were fabricated by the NKVD in the context of the general espionage mania in the USSR at that time.

Quite different is the situation with the criminal activities of the foreign Gypsies. The *Review* contains numerous descriptions of the most characteristic crimes committed by them, which are particularly dangerous for society, according to the NKVD.

These crimes had to do with the mass production and use of false personal and official documents. According to the NKVD, 80–90% of the foreign Gypsies used false documents produced by themselves in order to conceal their real names (Ibid., p. 57). They also produced numerous fake certificates, powers of attorney and stamps of various Soviet institutions and organisations, most often of the All-Russian Union of the Gypsies, which had ceased to exist in 1928, e.g., letterhead with the inscription "All-Russian Union [of the Gypsies]. Bureau for the organisation of unorganised national minorities of Gypsies into a collective farm. Authorised for work throughout the territory of the USSR. 21.01.1936. Moscow" (Ibid., p. 58).

In the context of the Soviet state affirmative policy which supported the creation of Gypsy collective farms, such documents were accepted by district and even regional authorities as grounds for issuing licenses allowing foreign Gypsies to carry out their activities on a large scale, e.g. "[...] in February 1936, police of the Chelyabinsk Oblast arrested the Gypsy swindlers Sivak and Vishnevsky, who committed crimes in 1934, 1935, and 1936 in the Gorky Krai, Ivanovo, Sverdlovsk and Chelyabinsk Oblasts [...] pretended to have been authorised by the All-Russian Central Executive Committee to organise Gypsy collective farms and presented an appropriate mandate" (Ibid.).

Such documents gave foreign Gypsies access to financial support and material donations (work cattle, agricultural equipment) from various Soviet institutions, organisations, enterprises and collective farms, which they speculatively resold. For example, in 1936, in the Gavrillovsky Rayon of Orenburg Oblast, four Roma women, with the help of the local district executive committee, collected from the local collective farms monetary and material aid for 15,000 Gypsies who had arrived from Romania and needed to settle, which they then resold to other collective farms (*Ibid.*, p. 59). In a number of other cases, foreign Gypsies were given the right to trade government loan bonds, which they bought on the markets from Soviet citizens at negligible prices and sold to savings banks at real value, with the profit supposed to go to the Gypsy collective farms (*Ibid.*).

Foreign Gypsies would often appear before local authorities with false documents and ask to be granted railway wagons, which they attached to trains and used for travelling around the country. We illustrate the scale of this phenomenon (and, in general, the life of foreign Gypsies in the USSR) by the dramatic story of the Kelderari man Stanislav Vikentievich Churon, which is worth a novel or a TV series.

Stanislav Vikentievich Churon was born in 1922 in Moscow. Probably in the 1930s, after the destruction of the Gypsy artels as a result of the two Gypsy Lawsuits in 1932–1933 and 1935, his family left the capital and settled in Siberia (the mass direction of the Gypsy nomadic routes to Siberia during this period is discussed above). In 1937, the Gypsy camp, including several large families of the Churon family, led by Andrey Osipovich Churon, received from the local authorities in the city of Nizhneudinsk, Irkutsk Oblast, several railway wagons with which they were supposed to move to the Gypsy kolkhoz *Novy byt* (New domestic life) in Simferopol, Crimean ASSR (such a kolkhoz never existed). The Gypsy camp, including the then 15-year-old Stanislav Churon, went to Alma-Ata in the Kazakh SSR and, from there, through the Uzbek SSR, to Ashgabat in the Turkmen SSR. The camp was transferred by ship via Krasnovodsk across the Caspian Sea to Baku, Azerbaijan SSR, where they received new railway wagons with which they left for Batumi, Georgian SSR, on the Black Sea coast. From there, the Gypsy camp reached Tuapse, where it split into two parts. One group left by ship for Crimea, and another group went by train to the north, with the ultimate goal of Millerovo station in the Rostov region, but according to the NKVD, along the way, “its tracks were lost” (*Ibid.*, pp. 55, 61).

It is not clear with which group Stanislav Churon travelled (more likely with the first because in the same year, Andrey Churon, the leader of the second

group, was detained by the NKVD in the Rostov Oblast), but in any case, judging by the materials in the database of the victims of political repression, at the end of 1937 his large family had already settled far north, in Arkhangelsk, on the coast of the White Sea. His father, Vikenty Churon, was arrested there and shot dead on charges of espionage in the winter of 1938. His father's brother, Leon Churon, managed to escape but was captured in the town of Balakhna, Gorky Krai, and was also shot dead in the summer of 1938. Ironically, after almost two years, the Troika's decision on the latter case was overturned. Stanislav himself was still a minor at the time and remained at large. After World War II, he married and began working as a dancer in the State Northern Song and Dance Chorus. In 1951, however, he was arrested as a "socially dangerous element" and, although he had two children in his custody (apparently, his family had broken up or his wife had died), he was interned in the Krasnoyarsk Krai in Siberia. Unfortunately, there is no more information about his fate.

After the preparation of the *Review of Materials on Foreign Gypsies* by the NKVD in 1937, the logical next step was the preparation of the *Project on Measures to Combat Crime among Foreign Gypsies* (*Проект мероприятия по борьбе с преступностью среди иностранных цыган*) by the Main Directorate of the Workers' and Peasants' Militiya of the NKVD (*Ibid.*, pp. 64–65). This *Project* is not dated, but it can be assumed that it was prepared together with the *Review* (which is actually its justification) in the summer of 1937 (the last data provided in the *Review* are from June 1937). The *Project* was signed by the Head of the Criminal Division, Senior Major Dyakov. The author, Tarichan M. Dyakov, was an important figure in the NKVD. He was the nephew of Mikhail Bakunin and worked in the CheKa since 1919; during the Great Terror in 1938, he was arrested and subsequently shot dead.

In fact, the *Project* proposes a complete filtration of the category 'foreign Gypsies' (we especially emphasise that it concerns a specific segment of the Roma community, not the entire community). Their number was defined by the NKVD as "not less than 10–15,000 people", and this category included "Gypsy tribes of Romanian, Polish, German, former Austro-Hungarian, Serbian, Lithuanian and Finnish origin" (*Ibid.*, p. 48). The implementation of this *Project* envisaged setting up of NKVD operational groups at republican, oblast and krai levels. The process itself included temporary detention of all Roma falling into the specified category, establishing their identity, photographing, fingerprinting and registration. The instructions envisaged mass checks with a thorough search for fake documents and evidence of espionage activities. "All tribal foremen, atamans, leaders and the entire criminal element" must be detained, and "during the investigation, it is imperative to seek from the

arrested leaders their full confession, both for a criminal offence and for espionage" (Ibid., pp. 64–65).

This *Project*, however, was never implemented due to reasons of a contextual nature. With the beginning of the Great Terror in the summer of 1937 (see Chapter 3), a series of mass repressive campaigns were carried out by the NKVD against certain nationalities specifically designated in Nikolay Yezhov's operational orders issued in his capacity of NKVD director. The object of these national operations, according to the Decree of Politburo of TsIK VKP(b) *On the Prolongation of Repressions among the Population on the Grounds of Nationality*, dated January 31, 1938, were Poles, Germans, Latvians, Estonians, Finns, Greeks, Iranians, Harbinians (the former working in the Chinese Eastern Railway system), Chinese and Romanians, with Bulgarians, Macedonians and Afghans subsequently added to this list (AANYa, Document No. 286). From August 1937 to November 1938, within the framework of these national operations, 335,513 people were sentenced, of which 247,157 people received death sentences (Петров & Рогинский, 1997, pp. 32–33), i.e., almost three-quarters of the repressed.

Against this general background, foreign Gypsies (not to mention Roma in general) were apparently not among the nationalities targeted by the national operations, and the actions against them were not a priority. This development should not be surprising because, as we have already noted, the Gypsies were not perceived by the Soviet state as a problem of primary importance. It is also possible that this decision was influenced by the competition between the various institutional structures within the NKVD itself – according to the *Project on Measures To Combat Crime among Foreign Gypsies*, the main responsibility for the implementation lay with the Workers' and Peasants' Militiya, while in the conduct of the national operations, the leading role (and, accordingly, the merits) was assumed by the Main Directorate of State Security.

This decision of the NKVD's leadership was favourable for the foreign Gypsies, but it did not save them from mass repressions during the Great Terror. Another circumstance turned out to be crucial for their fate. As said above, the vast majority of them arrived in the Russian Empire relatively late, at the end of the 19th–beginning of the 20th century, and for a long time had kept their foreign passports (of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Romania, Serbia, Greece), which secured certain tax preferences and better social status. With the beginning of the First World War, a large number of them (especially the citizens of Austria-Hungary) threw away their foreign passports because, as subjects of a country at war with Russia, they were in danger of being placed under a special regime or deported. However, in the early USSR, they did not hide

but, on the contrary, often publicly emphasised their ties to foreign countries (Poland, Hungary, Romania, etc.). A large part of them declared themselves as Romanians, Hungarians, Greeks, etc., in their personal documents. They had the same approach in the registration of their artels, which often had names associated with certain nationalities such as *Romanian Foreigner*, *Hungarian Labour*, *Serbo-Romanian*, *Yugoslavian*, and the like (see Chapter 3). In the context of mass targeted repression against specific nationalities from countries which were hostile to the USSR, foreign Gypsies naturally fell within NKVD's sight and were exposed to accusations of espionage. This led to a series of Gypsy Lawsuits in 1938, which were part of the national operations against the respective nationalities with which foreign Gypsies were connected in some way.

In 1938, at the height of the Great Terror, six Gypsy Lawsuits took place in various cities of the USSR. As already said, this study defines 'Gypsy Lawsuits' as investigations and resulting trials in which all defendants were Roma. In some instances, the investigation case was divided into two parts (as in the case of the First Gypsy lawsuit in Moscow) and vice versa, as in the Smolensk Oblast, where two groups of Gypsy nomads were arrested at different times in Vyazma and tried in a common trial. The leading criterion for us is the date of the lawsuit as well as the settlement where the arrests took place (or where the arrested lived), which is why we designate these lawsuits by the name of the respective settlement (the repressed of these trials are indicated accordingly in the *Book of Memory* prepared for this edition (Annex 1.2).

In addition to the names of the victims of the Gypsy Lawsuits, which we found in the archives, we also identified the names of several other people sentenced in those lawsuits in the existing databases of victims of political repression by the date of the respective lawsuit. One can only guess the reasons why these names were not preserved in the historical documents. In any case, the general list of victims repressed in the Gypsy Lawsuits in 1938 differs (more or less) from the data provided in the first part of this chapter.

The list of Gypsy Lawsuits held in 1938 looks like this:

1. The lawsuit in the city of Smolensk, in which a total of 24 people were sentenced, of whom 22 people were sentenced to VMN and two to 10 years ITL. If one looks at it literally, it is possible to speculate if this is a joint process – the repressed were detained, sentenced, shot and rehabilitated on several dates. However, the institution that carries out the repressions is the same (UGB at the Directorate of the NKVD of Smolensk Oblast), and the other discrepancies are minor, i.e., there are reasons to consider these repressions within the framework of the same Gypsy Lawsuit.

2. The lawsuit in the town of Nadezhdinsk (Sverdlovsk Oblast), in which 11 people were sentenced, one of whom received VMN, one was sentenced to 8 years of ITL, 7 cases were dismissed, and there is no information about two people.
3. The lawsuit in settlement of Potanino (Chelyabinsk Oblast), in which nine people were sentenced, including one Roma woman; seven people received VMN, one was sentenced to 10 years ITL, and one to 8 years ITL.
4. The lawsuit in the city of Novosibirsk, in which 26 people were sentenced, including one Roma woman; 14 people received VMN, 11 were sentenced to 10 years ITL, and there is no information about one person.
5. The lawsuit in the city of Zhytomyr (Ukrainian SSR), in which 30 people, including two Roma women, were sentenced, and all of them received a VMN.
6. The lawsuit in the city of Oryol, in which 6 people were sentenced, 5 of whom received VMN and one was sentenced to 10 years of ITL.

The first four lawsuits from this list have already been presented in detail in the first part of this chapter. At this point, we will comment on the rest of the lawsuits in 1938, in Novosibirsk, Zhitomir and Oryol.

A total of 26 people were sentenced in the Novosibirsk lawsuit, including one woman. The names of 25 of the accused are included in the database of victims of political repression (see Annex 1.2); the name of one of them is unknown, and we have learned about his participation in the lawsuit from other sources (Бондаренко et al., 1998, pp. 338–339). Almost all of the accused (23 persons) were arrested on the same date (January 28, 1938), and all of them were sentenced on April 29, 1928. The charges against them are also the same – under Art. 58-6, 58-9, 58-10, and 58-11 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR, with an explanation of “participation in a counter-revolutionary sabotage-espionage organisation” added in the documents. The majority of the accused (14 people) received a VMN sentence; the remaining 11 people were sentenced to 10 years ITL, and there is no information about one of them (he probably received one of the two sentences).

The social profile of the accused is quite similar. All of them were illiterate or ‘lowly literate’; a few of them were ‘without specific occupation’, and others did unskilled labour (‘manual worker’, ‘guard’). In most cases, their occupations were ‘tinker’, ‘cauldron maker’, ‘tinsmith’, ‘mechanics’. Several of them worked in two artels, probably registered as ‘Gypsy’ – *Vengersky trud* (Hungarian Labour) with chairman Pyotr Kaldoras-Vishniakov, and *Byt-remont* (Domestic Repair). One of the accused was a ‘bayanist’ (*баянист*), i.e., accordion player, in the sense of professional musician.



Nineteen of the accused were registered with a 'Gypsy' nationality, one 'Greek-Gypsy', one 'Greek', one 'Romanian', one 'Hungarian-Magyar', one 'Austrian', one 'Russian', and for one there is no data. Judging by the surnames, places of birth, occupations and places of work, there is no doubt that almost all of the repressed were Kelderari Roma. The only exception is one of the defendants (Pyotr Bolshoy), whose nationality is listed as "Russian", education "illiterate", and occupation "groom". It can be assumed that he was associated with the accused in some of their illegal activities, and for that reason, he was included in the general group of the arrested (although relatively rare, this type of relationship with non-Roma was not uncommon). Even if this is the case (which, however, is not sure), the fact of his repression within the framework of a 'Gypsy lawsuit' gives us reason to include him in the general database of repressed Gypsies.

The Gypsy lawsuit in Novosibirsk is one of the very rare cases in the history of mass political repressions in the USSR. All those sentenced in this lawsuit were rehabilitated on October 10, 1956 (with one exception, in which the rehabilitation was delayed). The rehabilitation took place almost immediately after the 20th Congress of the KPSS (February 14-25, 1956), which denounced the so-called personality cult of Stalin and the mass political repressions closely associated with it. Moreover, the lawsuit itself was publicly denounced (including by the press) as an example of a fabricated investigation and harsh sentences for innocent people during the personality cult of Stalin, as a result of which the responsible officials who had conducted the investigation received criminal sentences (Тепляков, 2008, pp. 383–384). In fact, the responsible officials, namely Fyodor N. Ivanov, Chief of the Counter-Intelligence Department of the NKVD Directorate in Novosibirsk in 1938, and his deputy Otto Y. Edenberg, were arrested as early as 1955 (i.e., before the 20th Congress of the KPSS), and after a long investigation and an open public lawsuit in Novosibirsk in the spring of 1958, they were sentenced – F. N. Ivanov to 10 years of imprisonment, and O. Yu. Edenberg to 5 years of imprisonment.

The testimony of the witnesses during the investigation and trial against F. N. Ivanov and O. Yu. Edenberg revealed very specific details of the Gypsy lawsuit in Novosibirsk in 1938 and the mechanisms for the fabrication of such lawsuits:

I also remember very well that under the leadership of Edenberg, a Gypsy group case was falsified, the police arrested some of the Gypsies for various thefts and frauds, and the other part of the Gypsies were artists and arrived in the city of Novosibirsk on tour, whom Edenberg arrested right in the theatre and brought to the Special Department of the prison. [...] I remember that Edenberg drew up a scheme of a counter-revolutionary espionage organisation for the arrested

Gypsies, indicating who recruited whom and who was the group's leader. He also gave a template for the protocol of the interrogation of the Gypsies. [...] Personally, Edenberg interrogated the head of this counter-revolutionary organisation, Koldoras-Vishnyakov, who for a long time did not give confessions about his belonging to the counter-revolutionary organisation. Edenberg deprived him of food and water and kept him in handcuffs [until he signed confessions – authors' note] (Ibid).

There can hardly be any doubt that the methods for extracting testimony from the repressed were similar in the other Gypsy (and not only Gypsy) Lawsuits, in which the accusations (most often of espionage) seem quite incredible and even absurd from today's point of view.

The Gypsy lawsuit in Zhytomyr, Ukrainian SSR, is the lawsuit with the highest number of death sentences. A total of 30 people, including three women, were accused, and all received the VMN. The accusations against all of them were standard under Art. 54-1a of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR (betrayal of the motherland). Two people were accused of "espionage in favour of Poland", one was charged only with "espionage" without specification, one was indicted with "involvement in the Polish military organisation", and one was charged with "counter-revolutionary activity". Unfortunately, due to the war in Ukraine, we could not find further data on this trial, and it remains unclear why 30 Roma on various charges were tried within one joint Gypsy Lawsuit.

Only six of the accused had a specified place of residence; only two of them had a permanent job (one blacksmith and one member of kolkhoz). For 24 of the accused, it is stated that they were without a permanent place of residence, and for 28, they were without a permanent job. The accused were relatives, which is evident from the fact that the list of the repressed includes persons with common surnames (Voloshin, Gligolichenko, Lvovsky, Markovsky, Mitrushenko). The documents reveal the typical profile of a semi-nomadic camp in Ukraine, but unlike all other Gypsy Lawsuits, the repressed were not 'foreign Gypsies' but Servi.

The last Gypsy Lawsuit, in 1938, took place in Oryol. In fact, due to the fragmentary and incomplete data, we are not entirely certain that this was a "true" Gypsy Lawsuit, i.e., we accept it as such conditionally.

In Oryol, six Gypsies were sentenced, and in four of the cases, neither the charges nor the dates of arrest and sentencing were recorded (five people were sentenced to VMN, and one was sentenced to 8 to 10 years ITL). The surnames of the repressed Gypsies (Kaminsky, Hristo[v]) are known to us from the indictments in the two Gypsy Lawsuits in Moscow and from the investigation materials of the lawsuit in Vyazma in which Zlato Gruevich Moga (written in

the documents as Mogozolota Gruevich) was presented as the organiser and leader of a German-Polish espionage-sabotage group (for him, see above). The brothers Ivan (Yanush) and Anton Kaminsky were clearly the leading figures in the investigation, and they received the VMN.

The Kaminsky family itself was well known to the NKVD. In the above-mentioned materials about the Gypsy lawsuit in Rovno, provided by the headquarters of the NKVD, it is noted that “the senior of the Lovari tribe [is] Malina (Yuzefa) Kaminskaya” (cited in Жив’юк, 2021, pp. 48, 50), which is a rare case – for a woman to head the family unit.

The same materials indicated that Ivan (Yanush) Kaminsky was “ataman of the Polish Gypsies [...] being the son of a large landowner, living in the USSR, he still has his own estate in Poland. Even before the revolution in the former tsarist Poland, he received a higher legal education. [...]” (Ibid., pp. 48, 55). In 1932, according to the testimony of his brother Anton, during the investigation in the First Gypsy lawsuit in Moscow, he “served in the Moscow City Council as an instructor in the sector of national minorities and worked specifically among the Roma” (Ibid., p. 55). Ivan Kaminsky was a defendant in the Second Part of the First Gypsy lawsuit in Moscow in 1932 and received a sentence of 10 years ITL on non-political charges (abuse of official position and receiving bribes), although in the course of the investigation, a lot of information about his “espionage work” was collected from the testimony of the arrested (Ibid.). It is not clear whether this sentence was delivered in absentia or whether Ivan Kaminsky managed to escape while serving his sentence. In any case, with regard to this case, the NKVD noted self-critically that “the case not only remained unfinished, but more than 67 major counter-revolutionary figures and spies (like Yanush Kaminsky, Demeter and others) among the identified criminals, managed to avoid repression” (Ibid., p. 53). In 1938, Ivan Kaminsky had a permanent residence in Kokand, Fergana Oblast, Uzbek SSR, where he worked as a “Gypsy band accordion player” (apparently trying to hide as far as possible in the periphery of the USSR in Central Asia), where he was arrested and sent to be tried in Oryol.

Anton (or Afomon) Kaminsky was also well-known to the NKVD. In the 1930s, a series of signals and statements were sent to the Soviet institutions, copies of which, after being forwarded to various authorities, eventually reached the NKVD system. In these signals and statements, signed by Roma (activists or workers in the Gypsy artels), one can read many serious accusations against Anton Kaminsky.

A statement dated June 1, 1934, signed by K. E. Matyushenko, the Chairman of the *Yugoslavia* Gypsy artel, addressed to Ivan Tokmakov, an instructor in the Department of Nationalities of the VTsIK, reads:

As a Gypsy and a member of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks, I was sent as chairman to the Yugo-Slavia artel in order to identify the class enemy and clear the artel from them [...] The Kaminsky brothers are leading this struggle from the side of the class enemy. Who are they? The leader is Anton Adamovich Kaminsky, a Polish citizen from among the landowners or farmers. For a number of years, he has lived in Moscow and, using the remnants of tribal life entangles the poor with various tricks and does his reprisals against them. In order to inspire confidence in himself, he declares that he works in the organs of the OGPU, shows Browning to the Gypsies and intimidates them.

Kaminsky has a systematic relationship with class enemies and the thieves' world. [...] The class struggle flares up. The Kaminskys are in charge from the side of the class-alien elements. This influence can be destroyed only when the working Gypsies are convinced that the Kaminskys cannot go about their dark deeds. This is what I ask. And then, we will carry out the fight against the remnants of tribal life, with the remnants of tabor mores and customs, then quickly and successfully using the methods of cultural and political work (GARF, f, P 1235, op. 123, d. 28, l. 279–283).

This Statement was forwarded by the ON VTsIK to the Chief Prosecutor of the RSFSR, Vladimir Antonov-Ovseenko, with a request to investigate the case, but without any results. In a new Statement by members of the *Yugoslavia* artel (signed by 6 people with the surname Mihai) to the Operational Department of the 20th Militsiya Department in Moscow, it is reported:

In Maryina Roshcha [...] lives the citizen Anton (Afomon) Kaminsky, who works as an agent in the organs of the OGPU. [...] He himself frankly admitted this [...] [and] confirmed as an argument with his weapon – white Nagant revolvers, which he received from the OGPU, and explained [...] that he was a member of the VKP(b) Party [...] [and] showed his Party membership card. [...] He produced all sorts of documents, including passports, with which he supplied the underworld [...] from all sides: Odessa, Kharkov and other places. [...]

[He said]: “And therefore, since I have a weapon, a seal, a Party card, I work in the organs of the OGPU. Therefore, all the power is in my hands; they trust me and reckon with me. And if I want, I can do anything with you. Your fate depends only on me, and therefore, you must fulfil my will.” [...]

In general, Citizen Kaminsky extracted funds from us by all sorts of methods. With our own money, Mr. Kaminsky bought a piano for himself. All the above arbitrariness and despotism on the part of citizen Kaminsky was exerted not only on our artel *Yugoslavia*, but he pressed with the same force also the artel *Krasnoe znamya* (Red Banner). We ask the organ of the proletarian dictatorship to free us from the arbitrariness and despotism of citizen Kaminsky (GARF, f, P 1235, op. 130, d. 5).

The signatures in this Statement were confirmed by the Secretary of the ON VTsIK Andreeva, i.e., the Statement was communicated to the higher Soviet institutions. Again, there was no result, and Anton Kaminsky expanded his

activity among the Gypsy artels. Another Statement to the ON VTsIK, dated 9 July 1935, signed by 21 workers of the *Krasny shtamp* (Red Stamp) artel, reads:

Comrade Anton Adamovich Kaminsky came to us [...] [and] offered us to organise a pseudo-cooperative artel under his leadership. [...]

You must elect me as the chairman of the artel, Comrade Kaminsky said, since I am a member of the VKP(b) and I work in the NKVD. Our work must proceed on a secret basis so that the real organisation of our work would not be revealed. Provided that the work is organised under my leadership, no one will reproach us. And if any of you tries to uncover the organisation of our deeds, then in this case, it will not be me who will suffer, but you, since I am protected everywhere. [...]

We earnestly request an examination of our Statement and a solution to this case as soon as possible. [...] (Ibid.).

The lack of any reaction on the part of the NKVD to all these reports is surprising, especially knowing that the authorities should have been searching for Ivan Kaminsky as a convict of the First Gypsy lawsuit in Moscow.

As for Anton Kaminsky, despite all the evidence against him, he was not a defendant in the Second Gypsy lawsuit in Moscow, which took place in the fall of the same year. On the contrary, some of the people who wrote statements against him themselves became defendants in this lawsuit, while he left undisturbed for Leningrad, where he started working as the head of the procurement department of the *Natsmenbyt* (National Minorities Lifestyle) artel, and in this capacity travelled all over the country.

Based on this information, it is logical to assume that the Kaminsky brothers enjoyed some protection from the OGPU/NKVD. What relations they had with the secret services, whether they were really undercover agents or played a double game with the authorities in order to pursue their own goals, etc., is anyone's guess. In any case, their "game with the devil" ended as usual – at some point during the Great Terror (when mass purges were carried out in the NKVD system itself), they were no longer needed in the new situation, and the NKVD dealt with them. Ivan Kaminsky, who had lived legally in Moscow for a while, undisturbed by the NKVD, was discovered and arrested as far away as Kokand, Fergana Oblast, Uzbek SSR.

It is not clear why the lawsuit against the Kaminsky brothers and the other Gypsies, most of whom were implicated in previous Gypsy Lawsuits and with the investigated Gypsy artels, took place in Oryol. Presumably, the reason was that two of the defendants (Zlato Moga and Ivan Hristo) had permanent residence in Oryol, and the other defendants were brought from other places, and all were united within the framework of one common lawsuit. In any case, there is still no complete clarity around this lawsuit.

In general, the victims of all Gypsy Lawsuits in 1938 were 106 people (among them 4 Roma women), and 80 of them received the VMN. Considering that for 1937 and 1938, all Gypsies, victims of mass political repressions, totalled 280 people (including 21 Roma women), and 196 of them received VMN, it is clear that the share of the victims in Gypsy Lawsuits during the Great Terror is relatively quite high (approaching almost 38% of all victims and about 40% of those who received VMN).

The Gypsy Lawsuits did not end in 1938. In the autumn of 1939, after the beginning of the Second World War, a large Gypsy camp, which included the Gypsy King Janusz/Janush/Yanush Kwiek (crowned in 1937 at a public ceremony in Warsaw) and his brothers Michael (the former Gypsy King Michał/Michael II), Wladimir, Iosif (Masho), Yurgil and Ilya, as well as his relative (cousin), the former Gypsy King Vasili/Bazyli Kwiek, fled from the German troops due to rumours that the Germans would kill Jews and Gypsies and reached Brest (today in Belarus), which had already been occupied by the Soviet troops (Жив'юк, 2021, pp. 41–42). The camp was wintered in the city of Kivertsy, in Volhynia (today in Ukraine), after which it transferred to Kovel, from where it split into two groups that went in different directions (Ibid.).

One group of Gypsies left for Galicia, in the town of Yavorov, where they stayed until the next winter of 1940–1941, when they decided to spend the winter in the village of Makhlinec, Zhidachov, Drohobych Oblast, and some of them (Mikhail Kvek, Sergey Kvek) received Soviet passports. They stayed until 5 March 1941; men got jobs as tinkers in various organisations and institutions in Sambir, Drohobych, and Khyrov. In early March, the group left Makhlinec in the direction of Yavorov but was detained by police officers on the way (Ibid.).

The second group of the Gypsies (30–40 wagons) from Kovel went to the city of Vladimir-Volynsky, where a German commission was selecting persons of German origin to be sent to the Reich. Having set up a camp near the city, Yanush, Mikhail, Vladimir Kveks, together with Yoshka and Ivan Gomon, collected documents from the Gypsies and applied to the commission with a request for permission to move to Germany. After several weeks of waiting for the case to be considered, they were denied permission to return, with the reasoning that “Jews and Gypsies are not accepted in Germany”. After that, the camp was dissolved, and the Gypsies left in the direction of Lvov (Ibid.).

Their presence in the newly annexed regions of the USSR prompted the Main Directorate of NKVD Militsiya to issue Instruction No. 38/381263 of 28 October 1940, *On the Investigation of Nomadic Gypsies and the Identification of Bandits, Thieves and Other Criminal Formations Among Them*, by which police bodies were obliged to register all nomadic Gypsy camps on the territory of the USSR, deploy agents among the Gypsies, identify Gypsies belonging

to criminal groups, and immediately repress them (ЖИВ'ЮК, 2021; Zhyvyuk, 2023). In fulfilment of this Instruction, agent "Dukach" (Ivan Gomon, a Gypsy from the Kweks extended family), who was recruited by the Kaluga Rayon Militsiya Department (ROM) in Stanislav Oblast, spoke about the oppression of the Gypsies by the "royal dynasty", and together with the NKVD officers, he was sent on a raid in the beginning of March 1941. As a result, the Gypsy King Janusz/Yanush Kwiek, his brothers Mikhail (former Tsar Michael II), Karol, Vladimir and Iosif, his nephew Rishik Romanovich, his brother-in-law Sandol Doordokhovich, his cousins Vasyl Kvek (former King Bazyli) and Sergey Kvek, as well as several other Gypsies from his camp, were arrested in different places in the Stanislav and Rovno Oblasts (Ibid.).

This was the beginning of the Gypsy lawsuit in Rovno, in which 13 people were brought as defendants, 12 of them with the Kvek surname. Initially, all of them were accused of committing criminal offences, specifically under Art. 173 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR (robbery). However, on 13 May 1941, after an agreement between the newly created People's Commissariat for State Security and the Main Directorate of the RKM of the NKVD of the USSR, the case was handed over to the Counterintelligence Department of the Directorate of the NKGB of the USSR in the Rovno Oblast for further investigation. In accordance with this change, the charges against them were reclassified under Art. 54-6 of the Ukrainian SSR Criminal Code (espionage in favour of foreign countries) (GDASBUR, f. 4 P, spr. 11828 – cited in ЖИВ'ЮК, 2021). The investigation case against the former Gypsy King Basil/Bazyli Kvek was separated from the general case, and on 18 May 1941, he was sent to Moscow, where he was placed in an internal prison of the NKGB (GDASBUR, f. 4 P, spr. 17664, cited in ЖИВ'ЮК, 2021). At the same time, Janush Kwiek was also sent from the prison in Stanislav to the NKGB prison in Moscow, without, however, separation of his investigation case from the others (ЖИВ'ЮК, 2021; Zhyvyuk, 2023).

The investigation was aimed at discovering "espionage and sabotage crimes" by members of the Kvek (Kwiek) family in favour of Germany and the Polish state, which no longer existed by that time. At the same time, it was supposed to uncover "criminal acts" and establish "criminal connections" between those arrested in the western and eastern regions of the Ukrainian SSR and in other republics of the USSR. The investigation was taken under special control by the Secretariat of the NKVD of the Ukrainian SSR (Ibid.).

During the investigation, Rishik Romanovich and Sandol Doordokhovich, accused under Art. 173 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR, were released because they "were not active participants in the crimes committed by Yanush Kvek and others" (Ibid.).

The situation changed sharply after Germany's attack on the USSR on 22 June 1941. The accused in this investigation case, who were detained in the NKVD Directorate in Rovno, were transferred to the city of Kamyshin, Stalingrad Oblast, and subsequently, most of them were sent to various camps of the GULAG system.

The fate of the defendants in this case, which was never finalised, is quite similar. Mikhail Kvek (formerly King Michał/Michael II) died on 4 April 1943 in Karlag, Kazakh SSR (GDASBUR, f. 4 P, spr. 11828, cited by ЖИВ'ЮК, 2021, p. 44). His brother Vladimir Kvek also died in Karlag, on 16 June 1943 (Ibid.). Another brother, Iosif Kvek, died on 17 August 1943 in Ustvymlag, Komi ASSR (Ibid.). King Janusz Kvek's "adjutant", Serhy/Sergey/Sergiyush Kvek, was imprisoned in Karlag, where on 25 April 1944, his case was referred to the OSO of the NKVD for consideration, but there is no information about his sentence nor about King Kvek's fate (Ibid.).

The situation with the other two Gypsy Kings, Basil/Bazyli and Janusz/Yanush, is somewhat different. All that is known about Vasily Kvek is that he was sentenced to death and shot dead and that his file is located in Saratov (ЖИВ'ЮК, 2021, p. 44). Yanush Kvek was sentenced on 26 October 1941 by the Military Tribunal of the NKVD of the Saratov Oblast on a charge under Art. 58-6, Part 1 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR (espionage); he received the VMN and was shot dead on 14 December 1941 (Ibid.). It appears that the NKGB separated the investigations against the two Gypsy Kings, and they were transferred from Moscow to Saratov, where they were sentenced and executed (Ibid.).

The new materials discovered in the NKVD archives (ЖИВ'ЮК, 2021; Zhyvyuk, 2023) disclose when and where three of the Gypsy Kings in Poland (Wasil/Bazyli, Michał/Michael II and Janusz/Yanush) found their death and put an end (or at least should put an end) to speculation in this regard (in particular about the death of Janusz Kwiek). This issue was first raised by Jerzy Ficowski (1953; 1985), who only noted that during the German occupation of Poland, Kwiek's traces were lost. At a later point, however, the assertion that he had died in Auschwitz started spreading in academic works. It appeared first in the West, in the work of another Polish author (Kaminski, 1980, p. 180), without reference to any sources confirming it. Notwithstanding the lack of evidence, this version of Janusz Kwiek's death has been circulating from book to book (cf. Klímová-Alexander, 2005, p. 183) until today.

The data in the NKVD materials from the Gypsy lawsuit in Rovno, obtained mainly from the interrogations of the accused, reveal additional aspects of the history of the Gypsy Kings in Poland. Such is, e.g., the description of the widely known coronation of Janusz Kwiek in 1937 by his brothers Michael and Iosif:



My brother Janusz Kvek, in 1937 or 1938, was crowned at the stadium of the Polish Army as the King of the Gypsies under the following circumstances: Sergiyush Kvek and Rudolf Kvek came to our station at Vilyanovo, where we were at that time, and said that they wanted to stage a Gypsy film and a radio concert, but they did not have suitable artists. They invited us to take part in the production of the film, promised to supply us with costumes, and told us that we could earn 50–60 zlotys. We accepted their offer, and thus the coronation took place.

All costumes were borrowed from the theatre's wardrobe. The manager and administrator of the entire process of the coronation was Sergiyush Kvek, and we took part as actors. The priest who read the prayer service was hired for 60 zlotys. [...] He did not have any documents that my brother was a Gypsy King. Thus, the whole procedure of my brother's coronation was a kind of theatrical performance (GDASBUR, f. 4 P, spr. 11828, cited in Жив'юк, 2021, p. 68).

Representatives from the states of Hungary, Romania, and other [countries], i.e., Gypsy senators, were not present at the coronation.

There was no actual coronation. The whole process was arranged at the stadium to collect money from ticket sales and to receive money from the film company that filmed the whole ceremony. [...]

Janusz was not a king and was not the foreman of all the Gypsies, and all this was done for the film. After the death of Matiyash Kvek, Vasil Kvek (Basil) was King for the second time (Ibid., p. 73).

Another interesting moment in the Gypsy lawsuit in Rovno is the confiscation of precious metal articles from the arrested. According to the act, drawn up in Rovno on 14 May 1941, after Mikhail Kvek's arrest, the following articles were confiscated from him:

[...] three silver goblets weighing 427 grams; women's silver belt weighing 137 grams, silver stand weighing 283 grams; eight silver coins weighing 119 grams; silver horse harness weighing 1 kilogram 976 grams; gold neck chain weighing 30 grams 700 milligrams; a gold wedding ring weighing 4 grams, a gold coin of 10 crowns weighing 3 grams. In total [seized] 17 items [...], [from] gold three items weighing 37 grams 700 milligrams, [from] silver 14 items weighing 2 kilograms 942 grams (Ibid., pp. 71–72).

It is likely that the NKVD officers who carried out the confiscation were hoping to find many more jewels, influenced by popular rumours about the enormous wealth of the Gypsy Kings. It is not a coincidence that at the very first interrogation of King Karol Kvek, one of the questions they asked him was what he knew about the "golden horseshoe" (Ibid., pp. 66).

The issue of the confiscation of precious metals (primarily gold) from Roma victims of political repression is particularly interesting. Moreover, some authors can even come to statements such as "the real reason for repression was the interest of state authorities in the seizure of material assets" (Деметер

et al., 2000, pp. 200–201), so this question should be addressed a little more attention.

This issue is directly related to the fact that accusations of a political nature against some of the repressed Gypsies during the research period were combined with accusations of a criminal nature.

Such are the cases, e.g., with the two Gypsy Lawsuits in Moscow (1932–1933 and 1935), in which the accused (as well as the Gypsy artels themselves, with which they were associated) were charged with numerous illegal commercial speculations and financial violations. Some of these violations impress by their scale, e.g., the appropriation by a Gypsy Serbo-Romanian artel of “several tons” (sic!) of gilded copper sheet from the domes of the Church of Christ the Saviour in Moscow, which had been blown up in 1931 (GARF, f. 5449, op. 1, d. 1412, l. 5–50b).

Other criminal charges concerned the illegal export of gold. At the First Gypsy lawsuit in Moscow, Yegor Mihai (King Chula) was accused of attempting to export 75,000 roubles in gold coins from the time of the Russian Empire with the help of his cousin, King Vasily/Bazyli Kvek of Poland, who had arrived in Moscow in 1929 especially for this purpose (GDASBUR, f. 4 P, spr. 17664, cited in Жив’юк, 2021, pp. 38, 46). With respect to this case, however, the NKVD data are contradictory (due to a confusion of names) because, according to other testimonies, this “royal visit” to Moscow was carried out by Vasily le Likasko (*Ibid.*, pp. 62–63), i.e., by King Michał/Michael.

During the Second Gypsy lawsuit in Moscow in 1935, the materials from the investigation case noted:

During the arrest, 21,905 roubles of royal gold coinage, 2,108 gold American dollars, 1,900 gold francs, 2,154 Austrian gold ducats, 730 grams of gold, etc. were taken from the Gypsies from Petrovsky Park (*Ibid.*, p. 58).

In the oral history of Roma in today’s Russia (and especially among the Kelderari), there are various narratives about the confiscation of gold from Gypsies in the times of the early USSR. In all probability, these narratives, albeit modified over time, are based on actual events. In the early USSR, gold items of all kinds were massively confiscated from the former aristocracy, from the church, from wealthy citizens, etc., and there was no reason why the Gypsies were left out. The policy of mass confiscation of gold and gold articles in the 1930s was combined with the legal purchase of gold by Soviet citizens through the Torgsin (All-Union Association of Foreign Trade) system. Most of the gold was sold by the Soviet state abroad in order to buy mainly wheat (in the 1920s) and machinery for the needs of mass industrialisation (in the 1930s).

The confiscation of gold from the Gypsies was not necessarily connected with political charges. One of the few exceptions known to us is the case of Stepan (Ishtvan/ Ishvan) Demeter (for him, see above in this Chapter). The case of Stepan (Ishtvan) Petrovich Demeter (his surname and first name are spelt differently in official documentation) is particularly interesting in the context of the political repression against Gypsies in the 1920s and 1930s.

According to the memoir of his daughter, Olga Demeter-Charskaya, a famous artist (dancer and singer), at the end of the 19th century, the Ishtvan's family arrived from the Austro-Hungarian Empire in the Russian Empire. At the border, his father Petro, not understanding the question about his surname, answered "Demeter", referring to his hometown of Demecser (in present-day Hungary), and this name was recorded in the documents as his surname. This narrative appears to be more of a genealogical legend because the surname Demeter is widespread throughout the world and is found among Roma in Romania, Hungary, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Sweden, the USA, Latin America, etc. The family led a nomadic way of life in the Russian Empire, and in 1903, Ishtvan, then 25 years old, married Praskovya Gusakova of the Servi Roma group in Novi Oskol. In 1914, on the eve of the First World War, the young family settled permanently in Moscow. After the October Revolution, Ishtvan Demeter rented six railway wagons and, together with several large related families, toured the country for four years and returned to Moscow after the end of the Civil War (Деметер-Чарская, 1997, pp. 5–23).

In 1923, Ishtvan Demeter was arrested after a conflict with other Roma who had slandered him to the authorities, according to his daughter (Ibid., pp. 24–25). However, according to the NKVD archives, he was arrested along with three "Greek Gypsies", Chompi, Lilly and Ter-Karim, on suspicion of espionage; after their release by the investigation authorities, the three Greek Gypsies left the USSR (GDASBUR, f. 4 P, spr. 17664, cited in Жив'юк, 2021, p. 55). Ishtvan Demeter and his family also left Moscow and settled first in Nizhny Novgorod, then stayed for a short time in Saratov, Tsaritsyn, Astrakhan, and finally, the family settled permanently in Kharkov (Деметер-Чарская, 1997, pp. 25–27). After settling in Kharkov, which at that time was the capital of the Ukrainian SSR, Ishtvan Demeter invited his relatives, with whom he organised a large Gypsy artel for the production of copper vessels, musical instruments, etc. (Ibid., p. 28)

During this time, Ishtvan Demeter had apparently been already spotted by the OGPU, as indicated by the investigation materials for the First Gypsy lawsuit in Moscow 1932–1933, as well as by materials in the analytical report (*Review of Materials on Foreign Gypsies*), covering the period by mid-1937:

During the investigation, one of the defendants in the case of [King] Chula, namely N. G. Ionov, testified that there were secret Gypsy courts not only in Moscow. In Kharkov, the Gypsy court is headed by [Ishvan] Demetter [...] (we have no data on the liquidation of these underground courts) (GDASBUR, f. 4 P, spr. 17664 – cited in Жив'юк, 2021, p. 51).

In France, the King of the Gypsies is Milosh Amporateshti, who lives under the surname Churon; he is a close relative of the ataman of the Austro-Hungarian Gypsies in the USSR Ishvan [Demeter] (GDASBUR, f. 4 P, spr. 17664 – cited in Жив'юк, 2021, p. 46).

The chieftain of the former Austro-Hungarian Gypsies is a prominent merchant, Ishvan Petrovich Demeter, a close relative of the King of the Gypsies in Romania, Istrati le Gligoresku. [...] In 1932 r. a number of the accused [...] testified that repeatedly, from behind the cordon, they delivered to Demeter some secret documents in silk envelopes, which, when crossing the border, under the guise of beggars, were sewn into children's rags, etc. [...] All, without exception, chieftains foreign Gypsies have related to abroad and have been used by various intelligence agencies for espionage and sabotage work in the USSR for decades (GDASBUR, f. 4 P, spr. 17664 – cited in Жив'юк, 2021, pp. 53, 55).

Despite this serious incriminating evidence received during the investigation, Ishtvan Demeter was not included in the list of defendants in the First Gypsy lawsuit in Moscow. Subsequently, in the above-mentioned *Review*, it is explicitly noted that “the case was not finalised, but even the identified criminals [...], counter-revolutionary figures and spies (like [...] Demeter [...]) managed to avoid reprisals” (Ibid., p. 53, 55).

At that time, Ishtvan Demeter, together with the entire Gypsy artel led by him, relocated to Leningrad, where all members of the artel began working in the *Metalist* artel (Деметер-Чарская, 1997, p. 28). The time of the relocation is not clear, but it can be assumed that it took place during the Gypsy lawsuit in Moscow 1932–1933, the aim being to escape from repression. The hopes of avoiding repression, however, were short-lived as on 15 April 1934, Ishtvan Demeter was arrested. Along with him, his wife Praskovya and his son Pyotr (later released) were also arrested, as well as his son-in-law (husband of his daughter Raisa) Ivan Kolderas (Ibid., pp. 30–31, 115). It is very likely that their arrest was part of a more general action, as Tomi Mihai (see Annex 1.2) was also arrested at the time, whose subsequent fate was quite similar to that of Ishtvan Demeter. There is no information about other Roma arrested with them, and some episodes of this case remain unclear.

According to the above-mentioned Indictment on Investigation Case No. 1232–1934, Ishtvan Demeter was charged under the following articles of the RSFSR Criminal Code: Art. 58-6 (espionage), Art. 10 (anti-Soviet propaganda

and agitation), Art. 11 (organisational counter-revolutionary activity), and Art. 59-3 (banditry). The Protocol of the OSO at the OGPU board, dated 29 April 1934, however, reveals that he was sentenced to 10 years ITL only on charges under Art. 58-6 (espionage) and Art. 59-12 (failure to inform about an upcoming or committed counter-revolutionary crime). At first glance, this sentence seems in line with the established practice – one year previously, the First Gypsy lawsuit in Moscow delivered similar sentences on such charges (except for the death sentences of King Chula and his four brothers). However, there is no logical explanation for the subsequent events. After the delivery of the sentence, Ishtvan Demeter remained in pre-trial detention for a little more than four years. The records show that it was not before 11 June 1938 that he “arrived in the Vorkuta Department of Ukhtpechlag”. Similarly, Tomi Mihai arrived in Ukhtpechlag a few months earlier (Victims of Political Terror in the USSR, 2017). The delayed execution of these two sentences is unprecedented for the cases of Gypsies, victims of political repression through legal (quasi-legal) decisions, included in the list of the victims (Annex 1.2) prepared for this edition. Moreover, this happened at a time when the Second Gypsy lawsuit in Moscow was underway (1935); the Great Terror began (1937), triggering the “death conveyor belt”, including 12 convicts in the two Gypsy Lawsuits in Moscow, who were brought to Leningrad from STON in Solovki, sentenced to death and shot dead in Lodeynoye pole (see Chapter 3).

Returning to the topic of gold confiscation, it is striking that although Ishtvan Demeter’s Indictment Act notes (at the very end where his crimes are listed) that “he was engaged in buying currency” (the gold coins in this case are considered currency), he was not sentenced on this charge. Moreover, in the entire list of Gypsies, victims of political repression (see Annex 1.2), there is not a single person who, at the time of sentencing, was punished for possessing and trading in gold and currency, although this activity was already declared illegal according to the Decree of the SNK of the RSFSR dated 18 November 1921, *On Transactions with Foreign Currency and Precious Metals*, which introduced a state monopoly in this sphere (Известия, 1921). It can be assumed that due to the relatively light punishment envisaged for this illegal activity – confiscation with a seizure protocol and up to 6 months term of imprisonment, the authorities preferred to simply confiscate the gold (whether they considered it a currency or not). The possession of gold and gold articles was not a reason for political repression against the Gypsies because the confiscation was not connected with any political charges.

Some authors tend to interpret the confiscation of gold coins from the Gypsies in the early USSR as unjustified political repression because women entwined golden coins in their hair (especially among the Kelderari) and

adorned themselves with gold coin necklaces as part of their ethnocultural tradition, and the gold coin was an important part of their traditional female costume (Демереџ et al., 2000, pp. 200–201; Бессонов, 2005, p. 638). In this regard, some important nuances are worth noting. Kelderari women decorated themselves with gold coins primarily in festive settings, mainly at weddings; it is not logical that they would wear them in everyday life, e.g., when going from house to house to offer handcrafts, to tell fortunes, to beg, etc. When the Kelderari settled (even temporarily) in the cities at the time of the Russian Empire, women started wearing this type of decoration also on other occasions, e.g., walks on the street (as well as a visit to a photo studio, which is clearly visible from photographs at the time). After the October Revolution of 1917 and the early 1920s, however, it was already unthinkable to wear gold coins in public, outside the home, due to the sharp increase in street crime. Street banditry at that time took on incredible proportions from today's point of view. It is enough to mention that at 5 pm (at the end of the day, before nightfall) on 6 February 1919, in Moscow, armed street robbers attacked another victim ... the head of the Soviet state, Vladimir Lenin. Armed men, led by the notorious Yakov Koshelkov, stopped his car. The attackers took Lenin's briefcase and personal gun as well as his car (which was actually the main target of the robbers). Subsequently, when examining the stolen documents, the bandits realised who they had robbed.

Under these new conditions, the Kelderari naturally avoided displaying in public the gold they possessed, while the authorities aimed at confiscating their gold. This situation raises a complex legal issue. The possession and storage of gold is widespread among almost all peoples in the world – both in the past and at present. Even if we accept that the possession of gold is part of a core Roma cultural tradition, the principal question arises whether ethnocultural traditions stand above the legal norms in a given country (regardless of the fact that these norms can be considered unjust from today's point of view). Experts should give an answer to this question, but for us, the question of whether the confiscations of gold from the Gypsies in the early USSR should be considered a form of political repression remains open. In any case, the compilers of databases of victims of political repression did not include this category in their lists, and we could not reflect it in any case.



The materials presented in this chapter should lead us to the answer to the question in the title, namely whether the Gypsy Lawsuits were a 'National Operation'.

At first glance, the answer is simple: they were not a 'national operation'. These lawsuits were not part of the aforementioned national operations, defined according to the Resolution of the Politburo TsK VKP(b), *On the Prolongation of Repressions among the Population on the Grounds of Nationality* dated 31 January 1938, and there is no official documentation that aligns them with the national operations. Indications that the NKVD was possibly thinking in this direction are not sufficient to declare the Gypsy Lawsuits a national operation because, in the historical assessment of events, what matters are results, not intentions. There was indeed the *Project on Measures to Combat Crime Among Foreign Gypsies* designed by the NKVD Main Directorate of Workers' and Peasants' Militiya but there is no evidence that this *Project* was ever implemented in any form, and its author, as we already noted, was arrested and shot dead. In the best case, only some isolated signals indicated a possible transformation of the Gypsy Lawsuits into a national operation.

However, in history, what seems obvious at first glance may not always be true. In the case of the Gypsy Lawsuits, there are quite a few grounds to argue the opposite thesis as well. Some basic characteristics of the Gypsy Lawsuits are indeed identical or at least similar to the NKVD National Operations during the Great Terror. First and foremost, the lawsuits targeted people on a national basis (the Gypsies). Next, similar to the lawsuits conducted in the national operations, the Gypsy Lawsuits involved a group of defendants with the same (or almost the same) charges and who received the same (or almost the same) sentences. However, all these characteristics (both substantive and formal) of the Gypsy Lawsuits do not provide sufficient grounds to consider them part of the national operations. We will make some explanations to clarify this point.

The title of the *Project on Measures to Combat Crime among Foreign Gypsies* suggests that the planned operational actions were not aimed at the entire Gypsy population but only at a specific part of it – the foreign Gypsies. The target of the *Project* measures was not determined by nationality but by country of origin (meaning that they arrived in the Russian Empire in more recent times or that the territory in which they live or lived was annexed to the Russian Empire in more recent times).

Moreover, the conclusion of the *Project on Measures to Combat Crime among Foreign Gypsies* explicitly emphasised:

Simultaneously with the ongoing operational measures against the criminal elements among the Gypsies, raise in local organisations the question of measures for comprehensive strengthening of the existing Gypsy kolkhozes (GDASBUR, f. 4 P, spr. 17664, cited in Жив'юк, 2021, p. 65).

Apparently, the NKVD wanted to make clear that the actions against foreign Gypsies should in no case be perceived as a violation of the general affirmative policy of the Soviet state in relation to the Gypsy population as a whole.

In fact, the main issue about the category 'National Operation' of the NKVD in the 1930s (not to be confused with national operations in the 1940s, which aimed to deport entire peoples, see Chapter II) is what are their defining characteristics: Is it sufficient to define a 'National Operation' on the grounds that the repressive actions targeted a specific nationality and they were aimed at groups of people (not necessarily)? Without any doubt, these characteristics are not sufficient. Otherwise, following this logic, every single action of the repressive bodies can be brought under this denominator because the repressed always (or almost always) belong to a given nationality. Even ethnic Russians could fall in this category, and indeed, they have been included by some modern Russian publicists, who emphasise the prevalence (in significant proportions) of people of non-Russian ethnic origin (primarily Jews) among the leaders of the early USSR and the repressive institutions. As history often makes its jokes, we find out that the leading supporter of this approach is ... Alexander Solzhenitsyn, the iconic figure in the West during the Cold War period, whose texts on the mass political repressions in the USSR have never been criticised or distrusted. The attitude towards him, however, changed sharply after he returned to Russia and published his book *Two Hundred Years Together* (Solzhenitsyn, 2001–2002), devoted to the place of the Jews in Russian history. The book has received many critical evaluations for its (more or less pronounced) anti-Semitism, and no one in the West talks about it nowadays.

The most important (actually decisive) criterion defining the 'National Operation' is the presence of accusations related to the respective nationality: the Poles were not accused as people belonging to the Polish nation but as people serving (through espionage) the interests of their "native nation"; the Germans were German spies; Romanians, Romanian spies, etc. Only the Macedonians who did not have their own state presented a special case that is not important in the present context (in any case, the total number of all politically repressed Macedonians in the USSR is only six people) (Victims of Political Terror in the USSR, 2017). Needless to say, this concept was valid only in theory; in practice, in dozens of fabricated lawsuits during the national operations, belonging to a certain nationality was a sufficient reason for charging the arrested with espionage solely on the basis of "confessions" extracted by force. Nevertheless, this situation does not invalidate the essential characteristic of the 'National Operation' category, which did affect the Gypsies (only a certain part of the Gypsy population), but in a quite specific way.



The situation with the Gypsies and their place in the NKVD national operations is truly unique. Gypsies (specifically, the foreign Gypsies, who were the only target of the national operations) were accused (mostly of espionage) not on the basis of their ethnicity as a community but on the basis of their former civil nationality (more precisely, the civil nationality presumed by the NKVD), mostly Polish and Romanian. The words attributed to “King Chula” (Yegor Mihai), quoted in the Indictment Act of the First Gypsy lawsuit in Moscow 1932–1933, are indicative:

The Red Army exists to persecute us and to wage war. The Bolsheviks are preparing to fight with Romania and Poland. Romania is our homeland, and in Poland is our [King] Kvek. In Poland, Gypsies are given independence. We cannot fight with our own people; why should we go to the Red Army; service in the Red Army is a betrayal to the Gypsies, and for traitors, we have one punishment – death (GDASBUR, f. 4 P, spr. 17664, cited in Жив’юк, 2021, p. 48).

In the context of the Great Terror, it is not difficult to understand NKVD’s approach – the investigation bodies sought to reveal foreign spies (or, more precisely, people who could plausibly be declared as such), and in this situation, the foreign Gypsies turned out to be a very suitable target. Many of them were born abroad (outside the borders of the USSR); for various reasons, they identified publicly not as ‘Gypsies’ but as ‘Romanians’, ‘Hungarians’, etc. (or ‘Polish Gypsies’, ‘Greek Gypsies’), and their national affiliation was emphasised in the titles of their artels (although, in practice, they accessed all possible preferences precisely as “Gypsy artels”). Given these preconditions, there was one more step needed for charging (and sentencing) them as foreign spies (in the service of the respective countries), and that was securing the necessary “evidence”, which was not a problem for the NKVD.

Various descriptions of the Gypsy Lawsuits (and the repressions against foreign Gypsies in the 1930s in general) have emphasised their “Gypsy dimension”, i.e., that these repressive actions targeted the Gypsies as an ethnic community (Друц & Гесслер, 1990, p. 292; Бессонов, 2002a, p. 5; Lemon, 2000, pp. 166–193; O’Keeffe, 2013, pp. 120–129). The authors supported their conclusions with reference to official ideological formulations such as “Gypsy kulaks”, “exploiters of the broad Gypsy masses”, etc. It is worth noting that, in the spirit of the times, such ideological formulations were used not only by the authorities but also by Gypsy activists themselves (see GARF, f. P 1235, op. 123, d. 27, l. 65; Герман, 1931, p. 29). Proponents of this thesis have stressed the argument that the existence of the so-called Gypsy Court, namely the *Romani Kris* (spelt in the sources as Romai Kriso Bari, Romano Kriso Bary, Roman Kriss Bary, etc.), was often implicated in the accusations against “foreign Gypsies”. This argument, however,

ignores the fact that such a “Gypsy Court” existed (and continues to exist to this day under different names) among almost all Roma groups in the USSR (see Marushiakova & Popov, 2007), but there is no historical evidence that the Soviet authorities ever showed any particular concern for this community institution among non-Kelderara Roma, let alone tried to fight it.

What is missing in the previous works on the repressions against foreign Gypsies is the assessment of the “national dimension” of the victims, which is the result of the lack of a careful and comprehensive analysis of the specific charges brought against them during the Gypsy Lawsuits. Instead, the authors focused on selected phrases which were characteristic of the ideological public speech in the spirit of the times.

In fact, the review of the investigation materials and the charges brought against the participants in all Gypsy Lawsuits presented in this edition reveals, as noted by Alexander Chernykh, that the “Gypsy Courts” are mentioned in the materials of only 2 out of 12 Gypsy Lawsuits, namely the two Gypsy Lawsuits in Moscow (1932–1933 and 1935), i.e., before the beginning of the Great Terror (see Part 1 of this Chapter). Moreover, the analysis of the indictment acts in these two Gypsy Lawsuits shows that the existence of the Romani Kris institution is not grounds for independent charges (for which it would be difficult to find the corresponding article in the Criminal Code of the RSFSR). In both Gypsy Lawsuits, the prosecution interpreted this institution as an instrument (an important one, but still a mere instrument) for the conduct of the activities that had given rise to the leading political charges: anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda (Art. 58-10 UK RSFSR) and organisational counter-revolutionary activity (Art. 58-11 UK RSFSR), as well as the criminal charges brought against most of the repressed.

All this confirms our assumption that only a small part of the Gypsy Lawsuits display essential characteristics and formal markers of the actual national operations. These lawsuits did not have a significant influence on the general Gypsy policy of the Soviet state, which was determined by other contextual factors (and primarily by the overall national policy). The existence of evidence (quilted limited) indicating the potential scaling of the Gypsy Lawsuits into an overall Gypsy National Operation does not change this general conclusion.



# The Winds of History: Instead of a Conclusion

*I know that after my death, a pile of rubbish will be erected on my grave.*

*But the winds of history will mercilessly sweep it away!*

(attributed to Joseph Stalin)

It is not coincidental that our Conclusion begins with this pseudo-quotation attributed to Stalin (in all probability, it is created by Felix Chuev, a poet and publicist known for his pro-Stalin views) that stands at the entrance of his house-museum (which still exists) in the city of Gori, Georgia. A number of quotations attributed to Stalin have dominated the public space (both in the East and in the West) for years now: e.g. “It doesn’t matter who and how voted; all that matters is who and how counted the vote” (circulated by his former secretary Boris Bazhanov after his escape to the West); “No person, no problem” (the writer Anatoly Rybakov, who became extremely popular during the so-called perestroika, later acknowledged that he was the author); “If there is be a person, a legal article would also be found” (also attributed to Beria and Vyshinsky), etc. The authorship of the pseudo-quotation at the beginning of our Conclusion is not at all important; much more important for us is its meaning, namely the pressing need to clear scientific knowledge of pseudo-historical myths about the mass political repressions in the USSR that dominate the public space and resonate (probably with greater intensity in the future) in the reactions to our research on these repressions against Gypsies/Roma.

Until now, whenever we shared with friends and colleagues the topic of our research, their first question was about the number of Roma victims of mass political repressions in the USSR. When they heard the data, and in particular the number of the repressed by virtue of judicial (quasi-judicial) decisions, their reaction was often stereotypical and categorical, “So few! This cannot be true!” (notably, none of those speaking so categorically has any professional experience with this topic). We have no doubt that after the publication of this book, the prevailing reaction in the public sphere (and probably in some academic reviews) will be very similar, and although the question of the concrete number of the repressed is not of primary importance for us (as we stated already at the beginning of our monograph), we will add a few notes in this regard.

We noted on several occasions the striking discrepancies in the estimates of the number of victims of mass political repressions in the USSR – both with respect to those repressed by administrative acts and those repressed by judicial (quasi-judicial) decisions. There is no need to reiterate specific figures and

discussions; the reader can find this information in the first two chapters of Victor Zemskov's fundamental work *Stalin and the People: Why There Was No Uprising* (Земсков, 2014). Much more essential for us are the reasons and the circumstances that have led to these discrepancies because they have strongly affected the assessment of the number of repressed Gypsies.

At first glance, there should be no particular problems, at least with regard to the number of victims of political repression by virtue of judicial (quasi-judicial) decisions. It is clear that until the mid-1950s, these assessments lacked documentary evidence and were based on hearsay and fragmentary testimonies of defectors from the USSR to the West (which can hardly be considered objective and which, ultimately, are also based on hearsay).

However, the situation changed significantly after the 20th Congress of the KPSS on 14–25 February 1956, at which the First Secretary of the KPSS Central Committee (the de facto head of the Soviet state), Nikita Khrushchev, presented his well-known report *On the Personality Cult and Its Consequences*. In this report, he exposed the mass political repressions and blamed Stalin personally for them. Even before that, at the beginning of 1954, on the behest of Nikita Khrushchev, the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the USSR compiled a reference document on the number of people sentenced for counter-revolutionary crimes under Art. 58 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR and the corresponding articles of the Criminal Codes of other Union Republics, for the period 1921–1953. The document was signed by three people: the Prosecutor General of the USSR, Roman A. Rudenko; the Minister of Internal Affairs of the USSR, Sergey N. Kruglov; and the Minister of Justice of the USSR, Konstantin P. Gorshenin. The document states that, according to data available in the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the USSR, in the period from 1921 until that moment (i.e., the beginning of 1954), a total of 3,777,380 people were sentenced for counter-revolutionary crimes under Art. 58 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR, including 642,980 people sentenced to death (VMN), by the Board of the OGPU, by NKVD Troikas, Special Council, Military Collegium, courts and military tribunals (AANYa, Document No. 44).

At that time, the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the USSR compiled another reference document according to which a total of 4,060,306 people were sentenced for counter-revolutionary and other particularly dangerous state crimes, in the period from 1 January 1921 to 1 July 1953. The latter figure is the sum of the above-mentioned 3,777,380 people sentenced under Art. 58 of the Criminal Code RSFSR, plus another 282,926 people sentenced for other particularly dangerous state crimes, under other articles equated to Art. 58, primarily Art. 59-2, 59-3 (particularly dangerous banditry), and Art. 193-24 (military espionage). The second reference document was signed by Sergey N. Kruglov

(GARF. f. 9401, op. 1, d. 4157, l. 201–205 – cited by Попов, 1992, p. 28). The figures in the two reference documents do not include the repressed by virtue of administrative acts, such as those deported on social/class and ethnic/national grounds in the 1930s and 1940s (see Chapter 2).

Needless to say, the figures in the above-mentioned reference documents should not be taken for granted because certain omissions and errors are always possible (and there are such for sure). Nevertheless, these figures can be accepted as a reliable basis and the best possible guide in the various estimations of the number of victims of mass political repressions (this is actually the approach of the historians from the *Memorial Society* circle). Moreover, the persons who prepared the reference documents had no reason to make corrections, manipulations or falsifications of the data; on the contrary, their task, given to them by Khrushchev, was to supply the “evidence” which would denounce and demonise Stalin as the sole culprit for the mass repressions (and more importantly, exonerate those who ordered and prepared the reference documents, as well as the Communist Party as a whole).

All these materials were strictly classified, and the figures in them were never made public before the collapse of the Soviet Union. In the absence of these data, there were no limits to the imagination of the authors who represented the point of view of the “other side” in the period of the Cold War, both in the USSR and in the West. A typical example of this approach is the book *The Time of Stalin: Portrait of a Tyranny* by Anton V. Antonov-Ovseenko (son of Vladimir Antonov-Ovseenko who was the head of People’s Commissariat of Justice during the Great Terror), published several times in the West in the 1980s, according to which the number of people arrested for political reasons only in the period 1935–1940 was 18.8 million (Antonov-Ovseenko, 1981, p. 212). This figure is coherent with the general discourse of other Soviet dissidents (Alexander Solzhenitsyn, Roy Medvedev, etc.), and accordingly, it was accepted by leading Western Sovietologists (or at least by the majority of them) without any reservations.

The situation radically changed after Mikhail Gorbachev became the head of the Soviet state in the second half of the 1980s. Gorbachev announced the beginning of a new course in the politics of the Soviet state, called *perestroika* (literally ‘restructuring’). Its purpose was to preserve the leading role of the Communist Party, which must cleanse itself from the Stalinist legacy and return to the “Leninist heritage” as a basis for the construction of a new type of socialist society (in short, to reform the old system in order to preserve it). The comprehensive reassessment of the Soviet past was a leading line in the state policy of *perestroika*, characterised by important changes in the norms of public expression (the so-called *glasnost*). According to its ideologues, in line

with the requirements of the new era, the USSR should strive to build “true socialism”, the main concepts of which were traced by Lenin and distorted by Stalin and his successors; therefore, the fight against Stalin’s legacy was particularly important and topical. A key aspect of this policy was a condemnation of the mass political repressions at the time of Stalin (i.e., amplification of the anti-Stalinist discourse laid down by Khrushchev and further developed by Soviet dissidents and émigrés in the West, as well as by Western Sovietologists through mass public dissemination).

By irony of history, a number of important political and economic reforms which Gorbachev had planned practically did not take place, while the condemnation of the mass political repressions during Stalin’s time acquired incredible proportions and was soundly embedded in the public consciousness in the former USSR as well as, at least to some extent, in the countries of the former socialist camp (with different nuances in individual countries). Western readers can hardly imagine the scale and dimensions of this mass public propaganda, which can be compared only with the mass propaganda at the time of Stalin himself. The term “Stalinist repressions” was ultimately entrenched in the public space, i.e., Nikita Khrushchev’s dream to lay all blame for these repressions personally on Stalin, thereby exonerating the Communist Party and the Soviet system, eventually coming true. In this general public context, the scope and scale of the political repressions (including the numerical scale of their victims) took on truly fantastic proportions. It is enough to mention the widely popular (until today) phrase “half of the country is dwelling [in prison], the other [half] is guarding it”, which allegedly belongs to Anna Akhmatova, who had commented Nikita Khrushchev’s report of 1956, exposing Stalin’s personality cult. Akhmatova’s exact words, quoted in Lydia Chukovskaya’s memoirs about her (first published in the West in the 1980s), however, have a rather different meaning: “Now the arrested will return, and the two Russians will look at each other’s eyes: the one who imprisoned and the one who was imprisoned” (Чуковская, 1997, Vol. 2, p. 190). The shift from the “two Russians” to the “two halves of a country” (which are two very different things) originates from the book *Boys in Zinc* by the future Nobel laureate in literature Svetlana Alexeevich (whose literary career began with the essay *The Sword and the Flame of the Revolution* – a panegyric of the founder and first head of the CheKa, Felix Dzerzhinsky) and has become an extremely popular meme in the public space. This phrase has been reproduced in numerous media publications, poems, songs, public statements, political speeches, etc. As a matter of fact, at the beginning of 1953, i.e., on the eve of Stalin’s death, according to calculations made by Oleg Khlevnyuk (who can hardly be accused of “Stalinism”), the total number of people in pre-trial detention,

people serving sentences in the GULAG system, various types of special resettlers, deported peoples, etc., was approximately 5.5 million, which is about 3% (sic!) of the USSR population at that time (Хлевнюк, 2022, p. 159). Without any doubt, this is a huge number of broken human lives, but still, also without any doubt, this is far from “half of the country”. It is our firm conviction that inflating the number of the victims, even if done with the best of intentions (which is not always certain), ultimately backfires and discredits not only the specific authors but also history as a science.

As a result of all these manipulations in the public space, the mass public concept of tens of millions of victims of the “Stalinist repressions” is now permanently established and dominant both in the East and in the West. Therefore, it should not come as a surprise that Anne Applebaum’s book on this topic (2003), widely promoted in the West, was not only translated into Russian (Эпплбаум, 2015) but is also open access on the Internet (unlike her other publications concerning contemporary Russian politics). As a matter of fact, this same discourse with regard to the mass political repressions is dominant (at least in the public space controlled by the state) in the Russian Federation to date – the country is literally sown with dozens and hundreds of memorial plaques, monuments and entire memorial complexes in memory of the victims of these repressions. Every year, on the Remembrance Day of the Victims of Political Repressions (November 30), the country commemorates the victims with mourning rallies, wreaths on the monuments of the victims, dedicated lessons in schools and universities, etc.

It is quite natural that in this common (both in the East and in the West) public context, the figures for the number of Gypsy/Roma victims of political repressions in the USSR announced by us would spontaneously be rejected as implausible (according to the principle “this is impossible!”), and historical documents showing these figures would be questioned. The usual arguments are: “These are not the real numbers”, “the data is hidden or falsified”, etc. Without going into details, we will acknowledge that there are indeed falsifications (including gross ones) of the figures for the number of victims of mass political repressions in the USSR, but they are in the opposite direction – multiplication of the numbers. In the context of the ongoing perestroika in the USSR, on the wave of anti-Stalinism imposed by Mikhail Gorbachev and prevailing in the public space, the case with the data presented by Anton V. Antonov-Ovseenko perhaps best illustrates the methods and dimensions of manipulation and direct falsification of historical data about the number of victims of mass political repressions in the USSR. In one of his articles in the Soviet press during the perestroika, Antonov-Ovseenko cited documents from the Soviet archives, according to which, after the Second World War (in 1946), more than 16 million



people were imprisoned in the GULAG system (Литературная газета, 1991, p. 3). Subsequent examination of the relevant State Archives (GARF) by historians revealed two important circumstances. First, Antonov-Ovseenko himself never worked in this archive (that is, the data was provided to him by another person), and second, and more importantly, a “minor” error was made in the presentation of the data from the document – one decimal point was omitted, i.e., the cited figure should have been 1.6 million, not 16 million prisoners (Земсков, 1991, pp. 151–152). It does not matter who, Antonov-Ovseenko himself or the unknown person had given this data to him was responsible for this falsification; the intended goal is absolutely clear.

The issue with the alleged falsification of NKVD data on the number of victims of mass political repressions in the USSR turns out to be highly relevant, even today. The NKVD data are by no means undisputed for many researchers in the West. Robert Conquest (1997), for example, considers that the archival documents (the materials on the basis of which the above-mentioned summary Reports were prepared in the 1950s and 1960s) were forged by the NKVD in the late 1930s. Respectively, any conclusions, analyses, etc., which use these data are also ultimately compromised and should not be considered credible (see the discussion of the subject in Wheatcroft, 1999).

Nowadays, the falsification thesis continues to have its supporters. Apparently, most of them have never worked in the archives of the former Soviet Union and cannot imagine what it means in practice to falsify such a truly enormous (to say the least) documentary material scattered among the archives of numerous Soviet institutions and departments. At issue is not the falsification of a few summary documents but something much, much larger. The data which had allegedly been deleted from the archives concern millions of repressed people who lived somewhere (i.e., they were registered by address, including when they changed their place of residence); worked somewhere (and changed their place of work); got married; had children; many of them were members of public organisations (e.g., trade unions), etc.; they were transported to the places in which they served their sentences (ITL and ITK); at these places they received clothes, food, etc.; the products from their forced labour were included in the general economic life of the country; those who received the VMN should have been buried somewhere (including in the cases of mass shootings). All this data in the relevant archives and registers should have been destroyed or falsified. Otherwise, it would not have been a problem today to recover the names of the supposed millions of victims of mass repressions.

This inestimable documentary stack is scattered among the archives and registers of literally thousands of Soviet institutions and departments at

various levels (including local ones). Only its first processing (examination and description) would have involved thousands of people, not to mention the technical implementation in practice (i.e., the forgery itself). We do not undertake to calculate the time required for the realisation of such a project, but in any case, this time will have to be measured by years (quite a lot). At the same time, such a project should have been implemented under strict secrecy, with no documentary evidence left behind and no recollections of its participants. So far, no evidence, even indirect, of such a mass purging and falsification of the Soviet archives under the supervision of the NKVD has been found. Most importantly, there is no logical explanation WHY it was necessary to purge and falsify documentary materials, which were largely classified and unavailable for public access (at least until the archival revolution). Who needed to do this, and what were the goals of such a large-scale project, which is impossible to implement without the relevant directives and constant control from the highest place in the Soviet state (i.e., from Stalin himself)? All these questions do not have (and will hardly ever have) any logical explanations.

In the case of the political repressions against Gypsies, the issue with the alleged destruction and/or falsification of the archival materials by the NKVD has additional dimensions. Sometimes (fortunately, relatively rarely), one can hear (both from colleagues and from Roma activists) that data on the mass political repressions against Gypsies are missing because the NKVD destroyed specifically those archival materials which are relevant to the political repressions against Gypsies (i.e., another manifestation of the Roma-centric approach to history). So far, however, we have not heard any logical explanations as to WHY it was so important for the NKVD to destroy archival materials specifically about the repressions against Gypsies, and not, for example, about the repressions against the other, approximately 200 nationalities living in the USSR. On this occasion, the late Nikolay Bessonov often liked to joke: "Probably even then, the NKVD knew that in half a century the USSR would cease to exist and that the 'Roma theme' would become extremely relevant and popular, and they wanted at least partially to exonerate themselves before the future generations". The readers are free to judge whether such an explanation can be taken seriously.

In recent years, the general anti-historical trend in the social sciences and humanities is demonstrated through neglect and even rejection of the old documentary historical sources at the expense of free authorial interpretation of arbitrarily selected materials (which confirm the pre-conceived and ideologically "correct" author's thesis). In the field of Romani studies, the concept of Roma oral history as a guiding principle in the study of Roma history is very convenient in this regard. Oral history is often presented as a research method

specifically designed to study “People without History” (Wolf, 1982) and especially as a way to understand the ‘others/foreigners’ in a given country who supposedly have no voice of their own and no historical record of their own (Perks & Thomson, 1998). Since the Roma are not only victims of “archival silence”, i.e., events that were not considered important by the surrounding population for one reason or another are absent in the archival records (Bartash, 2019), but also – in the opinion of some authors – an “invisible and unheard people in written history”, it is necessary to use oral history when studying them (Stan, 2015). Within this methodological discourse, one can increasingly hear the contention that if we want to understand the ‘true history’ of the Roma, we must replace classic history with oral history. Since the Roma “have no fixed history, and they have no story to tell about their origins” (Scott, 2009, p. 235), or “the documents related to Roma’s past, available in archives, are about them but never by them”, it is necessary “to recover and (re)construct their histories by collecting, preserving and interpreting oral testimonies of the Roma, providing a voice for the silent ones” (The Untold Story, 2019).

With these views in mind, we are not surprised by the contemporary fascination with Roma oral history, which, paradoxical as it may seem at first glance, fits into the enduring general stereotype (at least until recently also dominant in academia) about the Gypsies/Roma as a people without history; people, who are not interested in history and exist outside the common history of the countries and regions in which they live (for summarisation of this discussion see Marushiakova & Popov, 2021, pp. XIX–XX). One can still read that history is irrelevant to the Gypsies (Okely, 1983, pp 1–27; Mróz & Mirga, 1994, pp. 27–32), or “for them, identity is constructed and constantly remade in the present in relationships with significant others, not something inherited from the past” (Stewart, 1997, p. 28).

Such contentions are a logical continuation of two predetermined discourses in which researchers have articulated Roma history: namely, by approaching the Roma either as a threat and a problem or as victims. In the past, with the emergence of Romani studies as a specific field of study (Grellmann, 1787), “Gypsies” were researched mainly from the point of view of finding solutions to the problems they were seen to pose to the modern state. In the aftermath of the Second World War, the paradigm gradually shifted, and the focus moved primarily on the Roma’s grim historical experience, as well as on the various repressive state policies that fostered it. However, both discourses, although radically opposite, are aligned by their attitude towards the Roma as passive objects of policies rather than active creators of their own history. Scholars who used these discourses did not try to discover sources written by Roma,

and thus, the Roma point of view was de facto absent; the reaction of the Roma themselves (or lack thereof) to the policies implemented towards them as well as their visions about the future of their communities were neglected. What was needed to fill a noticeable gap in Romani studies (at least until recently) was the very “voice of the Roma”, i.e., a new research paradigm through which the Roma in their *longue durée* history would become a political subject as creators of their own destiny (an issue that continues to be especially relevant today).

At first glance, the concept that Roma oral history, being an authentic “voice of the Roma”, should have a leading role in the study of Roma history responds to the need for such a new research paradigm, and at least in theory, it fills the gap. However, as often happens in history, practice refutes many such theories, however appealing they may seem (and however justified from an ideological point of view). The main problem with the notion of the leading position of Roma oral history is that it is premised on the alleged absence of written historical sources and “authentic Roma voices” in history. As the existence of such sources cannot be totally denied, they are a priori considered untenable (and therefore should not be taken into account at all) because they are written down by non-Roma. The recently published triptych in the framework of the RomaInterbellum Project (Marushiakova & Popov, 2021; Roman et al., 2021; Marushiakova & Popov, 2022) clearly and unequivocally demonstrated the failure of this rationale and its basic postulates. One can no longer ignore two particularly important conclusions drawn in these publications.

First, there can no longer be any doubt that Roma history is a constituent and inseparable part of the common modern history of Central, South-Eastern and Eastern Europe, and it can be understood only in this common historical context. This perspective makes irrelevant the persistent stigmatising of the Roma as an extremely specific case, standing out among all other European peoples, with a history that does not fit the general historical logic and thereby should be studied independently from the “others” (non-Roma), with a special methodology. The mentioned triptych (Ibid.) unequivocally showed that Roma civil emancipation, starting from the mid-19th century, was a part of the process of modern nationalism in the region. This evidence calls into question the statement that “Roma are among the last groups in Europe to discover the potential and power of ethno-nationalism to fight for a political space of their own” (Gheorghe & Mirga, 1997, p. 5). The quoted characterisation of the Roma directly corresponds to the notion that they are one of the “most backward” peoples in the early USSR, who need constant support to overcome their historical backwardness, i.e., this is yet another historical example (in addition

to the concepts of anti-Gypsyism and the double discrimination of the Gypsy woman) in which early communism in the USSR and modern liberalism are aligned.

Second, and more importantly, the statement that the “authentic Roma voices” are missing in the written historical sources is totally erroneous and manipulatively misleading. On the contrary, historical materials from the mid-19th century until the Second World War, including documentary texts (public manifestos, programs, statutes of organisations, letters to institutions, articles in the press, etc.) with Roma authors from the region of Central, South-Eastern and Eastern Europe, which are published in a volume of more than 1,000 pages (Marushiakova & Popov, 2021), are only the tip of the iceberg. Much more written historical sources with Roma authors, which remain practically unknown to science, are waiting to be discovered in libraries and archives. The list of periodicals alone – newspapers and journals published by Roma and Gypsy/Roma organisations and associations, includes 22 (sic!) titles (see Roman et al., 2021) published in different countries of the region (moreover, some Roma newspapers were in print for several years, with over 100 issues). This list is complemented by almost 300 (sic!) books of different genres, which have Roma authors or are translated into the Romani language (Ibid.).

Against this background, the contention that the ‘Roma voices’ are not present in history is completely irresponsible. It is irrelevant whether this is done deliberately (so as not to divert from the predefined concept), due to a lack of sufficient professional knowledge and skills to work with historical sources or for some other reasons because, in any case, the result is the exclusion of important historical sources, which could present a more or less different picture of Roma history. Attempts to justify the neglect of historical sources written by Roma sound utterly ridiculous, e.g., very recently, in a newly defended dissertation in the US, we read that:

Thus, one should not presume that the scribes were merely recording what they were told by illiterate supplicants. With such layers of mediation in place, one would be remiss to take the words in the 1909 petition (or any other petition, for that matter) as the ‘voice’ of the Roma (Tunaydin, 2023, p. 41).

In this formulation, we actually see the still widespread (unfortunately) academic view of the Roma as an impersonal, totally marginalised and uneducated mass, unable to articulate their problems and aspirations for themselves, and therefore in need of intermediaries, be it scribes, as in the cited quote, or – logically continuing this thought, socially engaged non-Roma researchers, to reveal the Roma problems and demarcate ways for overcoming them and for the development of the community.

Related to the excerpt quoted above, it is necessary to bear in mind that it refers to events in the Ottoman Empire at the beginning of the 19th century, when the Roma had already formed their own, albeit small, but still sufficiently educated elite. Back in 1867, the letter of Iliya Naumchev (who signed it as “One Egyptian”) from Prilep (today in the Republic of North Macedonia) was published in the Bulgarian *Macedonia* newspaper, issued in Istanbul. In this letter, Naumchev discussed the problems of the Roma community and the main directions and goals on the way to its future civil emancipation (see in more detail Marushiakova & Popov, 2021, pp. 9–17; 2022, pp. 20–23). Again, under the conditions of the Ottoman Empire, in 1910, in Edirne, one of the first Gypsy/Roma periodicals, the *Laço* (Good) newspaper was published, partially written in Romani language, i.e., it is the first newspaper in Romani language (see Roman et al., 2021, pp. 28–33). Another example is Atanas Dimitrov, born in 1874 in the village of Gradets, which was then part of the Ottoman Empire, today in Bulgaria (for him, see in detail Marushiakova & Popov, 2022, pp. 36–45), who was the first Roma with a doctoral dissertation (on *Die Psychologischen Grundlagen Der Ethik J. G. Fichte's: Aus ihrem Gesamtcharakter Entwickelt*) defended in 1898 in the University of Jena (a prestigious university where Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, Johann Gottlieb Fichte, Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph Schelling, Johann Christoph Friedrich (von) Schiller, etc. taught and where the young Karl Marx defended his doctoral dissertation).

In response to possible objections that such examples of educated and successful Roma are only isolated exceptions and that they are not “true” Roma, it must be stated that at the time of the emergence of any nation in the modern era, its national elite, who formulates the national idea and traces the directions for the national development, is always a small number of people (Hroch, 1985; 2005), and in this respect the Roma do not differ from other peoples in the region of Central, South-Eastern and Eastern Europe. The attempts, which are not infrequent these days, to divide the Roma into “real” (corresponding to the researchers’ ideas of what Roma should be) and “non-real” (not corresponding to these ideas) are not anything fundamentally new as a methodological approach. Such attempts were made at the early stages of the development of Romani studies (then Gypsy studies) when some (but by no means all) authors from the Gypsy Lore Society circle made such a distinction. In the past, the criterion for determining the “real Gypsies” was the nomadic lifestyle; today, the criteria are different, but this does not change the essence of the approach itself.

Somewhat similar to Atanas Dimitrov’s case is the situation with another Roma from South-Eastern Europe, Constantin S. Nicolăescu-Plopșor from Romania (for him, see in more detail Marushiakova & Popov, 2022, pp. 225–242).

In the 1930s, Nicolăescu-Plopșor was one of the leading Roma activists in the Oltenia region; he is a famous historian, archaeologist, ethnographer and folklorist, who worked as a university lecturer and long-term director of the Museum of Oltenia in the city of Craiova and became a corresponding member of the Romanian Academy in 1963. It is interesting to note that in Nicolăescu-Plopșor's personal archive, there is a manuscript of a poem written in the 1930s glorifying Stalin and his work to solve the Roma problem.

In fact, figures such as Atanas Dimitrov and Constantin S. Nicolăescu-Plopșor, as well as other prominent forefathers and avant-garde of the Roma civil emancipation (for them, see Marushiakova & Popov, 2021; 2022), nowadays are usually disregarded by the majority of contemporary authors in the field of Romani studies, who prefer to “overlook” the existence of these personalities, and to analyse Roma civil emancipation on the basis of more recent sources, thus neglecting the history of the origins and development of the Roma elite. However, the Roma elite is not the creation of the famous billionaire George Soros and his Open Society Foundations network, as he would like to say, but it is the result of the overall historical development of the Roma community in the region. This development includes both the Roma civil emancipation movement in the period before World War II (*Ibid.*), as well as the policy of accelerated and sometimes even forced social integration of Roma after the War, at the time of communism in Eastern Europe (Marushiakova & Popov, 2015a).

The neglect of the ‘Roma Voices’ is clearly visible, especially in studies of Gypsy/Roma history during the times of the Russian Empire and the USSR (at least in the summarising books). However paradoxical it seems, this is not the case with books published in the USSR and the Russian Federation, which often include Roma in the author teams (Друц & Гесслер, 1990; Деметер et al., 2000), but with books, published in the last few decades in the West (Crowe, 1994; Lemon, 2000; O’Keeffe, 2013; Dunajeva, 2021a). In the latter case, all these books, some of which we value very highly (especially those by David Crowe and Brigid O’Keeffe), share a common problem – their sources do not include publications in the Romani language in the USSR, i.e., publications by Roma authors. After all, in the 1920s and 1930s, two journals and two newspapers were published in the Romani language, as well as several dozen books of various genres with Roma authors, and their exclusion from the historical sources appears to be a serious lapse, especially in the context of modern calls to hear the “Roma voice” in history.

Here, we come to a striking curiosity, which reflects the contemporary state of Romani studies and has no analogue (or at least none that we know of) in the field of social sciences and humanities. It is that nowadays (unlike in the

past), the knowledge and use of the Romani language are not at all considered necessary in the field of Romani studies. We cannot imagine that there can be a specialist in the field of, e.g., Arabic studies, who does not speak Arabic, or in the field of Japanese studies, who does not speak Japanese, etc. In the field of Romani studies, however, this is accepted as something completely normal, even among researchers of Romani literature (sic!). Against this background, we allow ourselves a pun: Why is it even necessary to search for the “authentic Roma voices” in history if they cannot be heard (and, above all, understood)?

In view of the contradistinction between written and oral history outlined above, we would like to emphasise (resolutely) that we in no way deny the need to study the Roma oral history. Moreover, about three decades earlier, when this topic was not so popular, we published six volumes with Roma folklore and oral histories (mainly from the Balkans), in multi-lingual editions with authentic texts in the Romani language and their translation (Marushiakova & Popov, 1994; 1995; 1997; Marushiakova et al., 1998). Our serious reservations are about the presumption of the precedence of community oral history over “official” history, the latter being based primarily (but not exclusively) on written historical evidence (cf. “the main source for us are oral memories of the families of the repressed”, in Demerep et al. 2000, pp. 200–201). Prioritising oral history as a leading methodological approach in the study of Roma history is not only possible, but also even quite necessary in some cases (above all in the absence of other historical evidence). However, the conscious ignoring of written historical sources (even if there was an ideologically correct justification) should not happen without the knowledge of the “genre specifics”, i.e., without understanding the phenomenon of ‘oral history’, its origins and development, as well as its direct links with folklore, and without taking into account its functioning in different historical contexts. Unrelated to the fact that oral history is often considered and used as an alternative to official narratives (Perks & Thomson, 1998), it can indeed become a useful tool for studying how the past is understood, interpreted and experienced by subjects in the present (Portelli, 1997), which, however, is impossible without historical contextualisation, i.e., without taking into account the historical and contemporary contexts of the researched events and processes. In addition to the historical context, when studying oral history, researchers should also take into account the specific reasons for the emergence of individual historical narratives in order to understand the process of perception and instrumentalisation of a given historical event or historical process. Quite often, the amalgamation of individual events that are preserved in oral history becomes the basis of a more comprehensive national narrative. When studying the emergence of the national narrative (in our case among the Roma) as an integral part of the process of



nation-building, the full exploration of the topic requires constant verification of oral history data with the help of the corresponding documentary and other written sources. In doing so, the distance of time must also be considered, in the sense that first-person narratives always have a higher degree of credibility compared to second- or third-person (and/or generational) narratives that tend to transform into folklore phenomena (legends), and some of them into historical mythology.

Based on our long-term fieldwork among Roma in the countries of Central, South-Eastern and Eastern Europe, we can confidently assert that the most serious problem in the verification of their oral history turns out to be the secondary, modern editing of historical memory and the historical narratives created nowadays. As an integral part of the societies in which they live, Roma are quite naturally influenced by the prevailing social attitudes of the time when the records of their oral history are made. In the present case, this means that the materials about the mass deportations of Gypsies in the early USSR were strongly influenced by the spirit of the times, i.e., by the public assessment of the repressions in the USSR. Veronika Duprat-Kushtanina (2013) very accurately and credibly shows how, in the conditions of the USSR, large fragments of family oral history were pushed into the background and eventually fell under the influence of social realities. However, she does not take into account the new conditions of the so-called perestroika in the second half of the 1980s and in later years. These were overwhelming and cardinal changes in the general historical context, which led to new modifications in oral history, but in the opposite direction. The widespread and extended campaign to expose Stalin and the mass political repressions associated with him, quickly dominated the public sphere, creating an atmosphere in which it was socially prestigious to be among the descendants of the repressed. As a result, many people not only remembered or looked for victims of mass repressions among their ancestors but also edited and reconstructed (and even constructed without having the factual grounds for it) their life history (on a family and/or community scale). The verification of such narratives among the Roma in the USSR often revealed that the people presented as victims of political repression in the narratives were affected by other (non-political) charges or, on the contrary, that the descendants of people who were actually repressed on political charges, did not remember what the charges had been.

These processes of editing and eventually rewriting oral history continued to develop over the 1990s (after the collapse of the USSR in 1991), and to a very high degree, they still exist throughout the post-Soviet space until today. The influence of public attitudes towards mass political repressions explains why oral history materials must always be taken critically and verified, and this is

also fully valid for Roma narratives of mass deportations and repressions in the early USSR.

Returning to the question about the correlation between “classical” and oral history, the Roma narratives of the mass political repressions in the early USSR provide a telling example that the data from oral history cannot be trusted unreservedly and should not be taken for granted. In many instances, the information from oral history turns out to be pseudo-historical secondary narratives, the kind that is being actively created until today. In the past, such narratives gradually took folklorised forms (etiological and quasi-historical legends), but now their development is quite different. Today, it is already noticeable that secondary changes in oral history are gradually developing in the direction of a new, edited national Roma narrative, or in other words, into a historical collective memory of the Roma people, and it can be expected that the tendency to rewrite the history from today’s point of view will acquire wider dimensions in the future. This process of secondary historical “re-editing” of the community’s collective memory and creation of a new quasi-historical national narrative adds new dimensions to the relationship between oral and real history.

In view of these circumstances, it can be concluded that the method of oral history is not universal and unequivocal. However, this does not mean that the results of oral history should be discarded and not used at all; on the contrary, in many cases, they are helpful in supplementing the data from “classical” historical science. The historical knowledge obtained from them is inevitably affected by the impact of subjectivity on individual human destinies, by the influence of present-day factors on the retrospective view of events, and by the specifics of the folklore genres. Therefore, we need a combination of different research methods, critical contextualising of results, and careful examination of inconsistencies before any conclusions can be drawn. In the best case, data from “classical” and oral history can (and should) be systematically combined and supplemented in order to obtain a more complete picture of the overall history of the Roma.

This context clarifies several case studies described in our book (or at least the majority of them) in which Gypsies are presented as victims of political repression in oral history narratives, but no documentary confirmation about them has been found in historical sources. Most likely, in these cases, we are dealing with a secondary quasi-history and contamination of memories about various events (real, imagined, secondary recreated events, newly created events, etc.), which are interpreted in accordance with the positive value attributed to victims of repressions in the dominant public discourse. Given the existence of such contamination, the constant transmission between written texts and oral history should not surprise us as it is quite natural. The

Roma (at least in the post-Soviet space, as well as within the borders of the former socialist camp) have long ceased to be illiterate people as a result of a consistent policy of compulsory education for all citizens. It is normal that an increasing amount of written information obtained with the help of “classical” history enters the realm of oral history and gradually becomes a historical narrative. The boundaries of oral history are blurred, and it gradually turns into “written”, i.e., individual oral narratives are published (most often) on the Internet and even appear in individual scientific publications (e.g., Бессонов, 2020a). Importantly, oral and written history do not confront each other in this case but rather intersect and converge in a new, comprehensive interpretation of known historical events (Sahlins, 1985) made by the Roma themselves.

What has been said so far explains why we rely primarily on documentary sources in the assessment of the number of Gypsies, victims of mass political repressions in the USSR. The respective figures have already been provided and explained (see Chapter 2 and Chapter 3); here is one more time a recap:

The number of Gypsy (mainly Roma) victims of mass political repressions by various administrative acts in the USSR is estimated at around 7–8,000. Taking into account all possible gaps in the source base, as well as the case of Daifa/Taifa (Roma by origin, Tatars by declared identity) this number is estimated at around 10,000, a maximum of 12,000 people.

The number of Gypsy (almost entirely Roma), victims of mass political repressions by judicial (quasi-judicial) decisions in the USSR, which are recorded in the available (or at least known up to that point) historical sources, is 640 people. Taking into account all possible gaps in the source base, this number is estimated at around 800, a maximum of 1,000 people.

We are aware that the figures provided in our study would probably disappoint many who are accustomed to numbers in the order of tens and hundreds of thousands (or even millions) in this context (especially in the case of Roma). However, as we have already emphasised, the numerical dimensions of the human (and community) tragedy are not the most important and defining aspect for us, and this principle remains valid in the case of Gypsies/Roma in the USSR.

It is a legitimate question whether these figures are final and whether they include all repressed Gypsies/Roma in the USSR. Our answer here is unequivocal: no, they are not (and cannot be) definitive. There can always be omissions and errors in the historical documentation; it is possible to discover new historical sources, etc. These figures may change with the (potential) discovery of new historical sources and new data, but at this stage, we consider that they are the closest to the real ones (at least based on the known historical sources). In this line of thought, the term ‘maximum’ is very important for

us. Unfortunately, in recent years, a tendency to turn exceptions into rules is increasingly noticeable in the public sphere (including academia). In relation to Roma, this tendency has an interesting effect: When statistical data (no matter what) is shown to provide only a partial picture of the Roma population (which in general is characteristic of any statistical data, not only about Roma), researchers' politically correct reaction is to turn to the Roma themselves, declaring them to be the only source of "true" information (whatever that means). Henceforth, everything goes into the realm of imagination (which, as is well known, has no limits). Therefore, it is compelling to specify that all possible errors, omissions, new data, etc., may lead to an increase in the number of Roma victims of political repressions in the USSR by a small percentage, but not by times (we will not discuss here such cases which are already quite a few). This is why we set the 'maximum' criterion, which is the ultimate limit for all possible (conscious or unconscious) manipulations in this direction.

Another interesting issue is the relative share of the repressed Gypsies in the total structure of all repressed Soviet citizens and how the share of the repressed Gypsies compares to other nationalities in the USSR. To answer this question, however, we need to make numerous calculations, the results of which will still be tentative and uncertain due to the debatable determination of all base figures. In our opinion, such calculations will inevitably be more or less conditional as well as subject to speculation. Being aware of all this, we will limit ourselves to the data from the two population Censuses in the USSR as a more or less reliable basis for comparison and analysis. The respective data recorded in the two Censuses are 61,234 Gypsies in 1926 and 88,242 Gypsies in 1939; total USSR population – 20,520,852 people plus 192,949 'foreigners' in 1926 and 170,557,093 people in 1939. If we take into account the contention of Gypsy activists in the early USSR, as well as of many contemporary authors, that the real number of Gypsies in the USSR during the times of the mass political repressions was much higher than indicated by the official figures, the percentage of the repressed among the Gypsy population would be much smaller. Without going into long and uncertain calculations, we will only briefly state our conclusions in this regard.

There is no doubt that the percentage of the Gypsies who were repressed by virtue of various administrative acts, as a share of the total Gypsy population, is much higher (about ten or more times) compared to the percentage of the Gypsies who were repressed by virtue of judicial (quasi-judicial) decisions. In both categories, however, the share of the repressed Gypsies in the total number of repressed persons in the USSR is quite insignificant, and in any case (given the approximation of the data), it is less than 1%. It is also impossible to determine with certainty how the number of repressed Gypsies

compares to the number of repressed persons from other nationalities in the USSR in the general comparative list of repressed nationalities. In any case, the Gypsies do not rank among the top ten nationalities with the highest percentage of repressed persons, and they are probably somewhere around the “golden mean” in this sad ranking.

We have already noted (see Chapter 2) that the situation of the Gypsies (Roma) is comparable to that of the Assyrians (also called *Aysori* in the USSR), with a number of similarities between the two nationalities (e.g., similar diasporic mode of displacement, similar affirmative state policy towards them, etc.). From this point of view, we have drawn a comparison between them in terms of the absolute number as well as the share of the victims of mass political repressions. The database *Victims of Political Terror in the USSR*, prepared by the Memorial Society, contains records for 459 Gypsies (including 203 women) and for 443 Assyrians (including 40 women) by ‘nationality’ criterion (Жертвы политического террора, 2017). On the other hand, there is a significant difference between the figures of the total population of the two nationalities from the population Censuses in the early USSR: Gypsies – 61,234 people in 1926; 88,242 people in 1939, and Assyrians – 9,808 people in 1926; 20,256 people in 1939. It is obvious that the share of the repressed Assyrians in the total Assyrian population is many times higher than the share of the repressed Gypsies in the total Gypsy population. In other words, the Gypsies are far from being among the “most repressed” nationalities.

As we have emphasised throughout this study, such comparisons are unnecessary and meaningless in our opinion because human tragedy cannot (and should not) be measured in percentages. Nevertheless, both in today’s Russia and especially prominently in the newly independent states that succeeded the USSR, such comparisons are constantly being drawn in various forms, with the aim of showing which nation was “most repressed”. This situation reminds us a lot of the early USSR period when, in the public space, there was also a tacit competition for the “most backward” nationality, which could take greater advantage of the affirmative nationality policy of the Soviet state. Both then and now, the goal has been to accumulate symbolic capital for various purposes; in the newly independent states, this process is an important aspect of the new nation building process, which includes a symbolic detachment from the legacy of the Russian Empire and the USSR.

Considering the various dimensions of the mass political repressions in the USSR, one aspect in which the situation of the Gypsy community differs from that of other nationalities in the USSR is that the mass political repressions practically did not affect either the old, so-called musical elite from the times of the Russian Empire, or the new elite of Gypsy activists, which was the product

of the affirmative nationality policy in the USSR (see Chapter 3). Although exact comparisons with other nationalities in the USSR in this regard are not possible, we can say with a great deal of confidence that the Roma occupy, if not the first, then at least a leading position among the other nationalities in terms of the survival of national (community) elites during the mass political repressions. It is difficult to explain in brief the *de facto* lenient attitude on the part of the Soviet state towards the Gypsies, and in this case, it is not necessary because the end result is more important, and this result is undoubted.

In fact, for us, the most important issue in the study of the political repressions against Gypsies in the USSR is the nature and character of the repressions from the point of view of the dichotomy 'community – society' mentioned at the beginning of this study. This means finding an answer to the question of whether the political repressions resulted from a state policy targeting specifically the Gypsies (i.e., whether they were persecuted as an ethnic community) or whether the Gypsies fell victim of mass political repressions like the rest of the Soviet citizens, regardless of their ethnic origin (i.e., as an integral part of the Soviet society).

For the proponents of the Roma-centric approach to history, the answer to this question is simple and unambiguous, and it is entirely in the spirit of the anti-Gypsyism concept. About three decades ago, Rajko Durić (whom we greatly respect and with whom we maintained friendly relations until his death) developed in one of his lectures his view of Roma history as a history of five genocides against the Roma: during the Middle Ages in Western Europe; the Gypsy slavery in Wallachia and Moldavia; the mass repressions in the USSR; during World War II in German-occupied Europe; and during the so-called socialist era in the countries of Eastern Europe. This lecture practically synthesised the dominant views about the Gypsies/Roma (then the two terms were not sharply opposed) in the public space of the West after the end of the Cold War (Marushiakova & Popov, 2018b), which translated into the dominance of the human rights discourse in academic research on Gypsies. Rajko Durić himself restrained this approach in his texts after the ethnic cleansing of Roma, Ashkali and Balkan Egyptians from Kosovo during the NATO aggression against Yugoslavia in 1999, but the adepts of the human rights discourse in the field of Romani studies continue to reproduce it nowadays.

In this context, it becomes clear why the overwhelming number of research works (but still not all of them) on the political repressions against Gypsies in the USSR, if not directly, at least implicitly, suggest that the repressions were specifically targeted at them. This approach characterises the works of leading authors both in the East and in the West. In the Russian Federation, the influence of three small articles by Nikolay Bessonov (Бессонов, 2002a; 2002c;

2002d), which outlined the field and the approach to the problem, is especially strong, and all later research is based on them. The proponents of this approach, however, experience serious problems in explaining the reasons for a special repressive policy against the Gypsies on the part of the Soviet state. We have discussed this issue in detail in the previous chapters, and here we will only sum up the main conclusions which illustrate the failure of this approach.

Chronologically, the first explanation of the reasons for a special repressive policy against the Gypsies is provided in the statement that “thousands of Roma, under increased pressure to settle and collectivise, were sent en masse to Siberia or shot” (Crowe, 1994, pp. 179–180; Crowe et al., 1994). The mass deportations of Gypsies in Siberia, however, were not part of the deportations related to the collectivisation of agriculture, nor were they a measure for the forced settlement of Gypsy nomads. On the contrary, the large-scale deportation of Gypsies from the vicinity of Moscow in the summer of 1933 was aimed at preventing Gypsy nomads from settling permanently in the Soviet capital (see Chapter 2).

As for Gypsy nomads, who were allegedly shot because of their refusal “to settle and collectivise”, we did not find a single case of a death sentence on such charges (see Chapter 3) in the list of the repressed Gypsies (Annex 1.2) or any other historical information about such actions on the part of the Soviet state. Moreover, there is no historical evidence that prior to the 1950s, the Soviet state even discussed, let alone implemented, measures to forcefully sedentarise the Gypsy nomads, despite repeated appeals by Gypsy activists in this direction, and in contrast to the situation of a number of other nomadic communities, which were forced to abandon their nomadic way of life in the 1930s (see Chapter 1).

Unconvincing is also the explanation that the political repression against the Gypsies was due to the Soviet state’s intention to take away their gold (Demeter et al., 2000, pp. 200–201) because repression on political charges was not accompanied (except in a few isolated cases) by confiscation of gold from the Gypsies (see Chapter 4).

In recent years, an explanation (formulated directly to one or another degree or at least suggestive in this direction) which enjoys greater popularity contends that the political repressions against Gypsies in the USSR were part of the general policy of the Soviet state for their assimilation by turning them into ‘Soviet citizens’, ‘Proletariat’, ‘Socialist Workers’, etc. (Lemon, 2000; O’Keeffe, 2013; Dunajeva, 2021ab). Such an explanation, however, shows a lack of understanding of the Soviet nationality policy in general and towards the Gypsies in particular, which did not oppose national identity to social position but rather sought to integrate them (see Chapter 1). In simple terms, it was not

at all necessary to lose one's ethnic/national identity in order to be a worker or a peasant (the main social categories in the USSR), nor was it necessary to cease being a Gypsy in order to become a Soviet citizen.

This approach, which embodies the spirit of the anti-Gypsyism concept, is perhaps most strongly expressed in Alaina Lemon's works. She defines the Gypsy Lawsuits in Moscow (and, by default, the political repressions against Gypsies in general) as "persecution of the traditional Roma culture" and, as such, an important element of the Soviet policy for the complete assimilation of the Gypsies (Lemon, 2000, pp. 166–193). This statement is undoubtedly very effective, but it is not only misleading, it is also totally untrue.

The main argument behind Lemon's conclusions is the inclusion of materials about the so-called Gypsy Courts (Romani Kris) and about the Gypsy Kings in the charges against the defendants in these lawsuits. Brigid O'Keefe's assessment is also in this vein, although much more carefully worded:

Soviet authorities denounced the Kris precisely because it had operated as a native source of internal cohesion that shielded "traditional" Romani culture from the state. Such impenetrability simply would not be tolerated within a political culture that demanded not only transparency but also willing assimilation to Sovietism (O'Keefe, 2013, p. 129).

In fact, although the documentation from the lawsuits against 'foreign Gypsies' who had artels has a lot of data about the so-called Gypsy Courts and about the Gypsy Kings, it does not contain accusations against these "traditional" Roma institutions as such. The charges were for specific criminal activities, which were abetted by these institutions, as well as for espionage in favour of foreign intelligence services (see Chapter 4). More importantly, the Romani Kris is only one element of the "traditional" Roma culture (for the so-called Gypsy Kings, we are far from convinced that they can be defined as Roma "tradition"), i.e., a selectively chosen individual fact is no grounds for drawing general conclusions about the attitude of the Soviet state towards Roma culture. Moreover, the documentation from the two Gypsy Lawsuits in Moscow and from the lawsuit in Rovno (such topics were not raised in the other Gypsy Lawsuits) are the only historical evidence in this regard, and there is no information from other sources that the Soviet authorities applied any repressive measures against the Romani Kris.

Generally, the Soviet state never denied the Roma traditional culture as such, although certain elements of it were considered "reactionary". This is clearly seen in numerous sources, including the repertoire of the Theatre *Romen*, to which Alayna Lemmon devotes much attention, without, however, analysing the most important function of the Theatre over the years – the preservation



and development of the Gypsy/Roma identity (see Chapter 1). One of the main goals of the Theatre *Romen* was the preservation and development of what was considered (according to the norms of the Soviet ideology) to be “authentic” and “progressive” Gypsy culture. This was the reason for the constant struggle against the so-called *tsyganshchina*, considered to be “false” Gypsy art. An illustrative example in this respect is the reply by Alexander Khatskevich, addressed to Nikolay Pankov during the Meeting of the Council of Nationalities at the TsIK SSSR *On the Questions of the Employment of Toiling Nomadic Gypsies and their Cultural and Economic Services*, held on January 4 and 5, 1936: “We are not interested in Gypsy bourgeois romances [a typical symbol for the so-called *tsyganshchina* – authors’ note], but in the art of the Gypsy people – the folklore.” (GARF, f. P 3316, op. 28, d. 794, l. 92). Nation-building in the case of the Roma, similarly to all other peoples in the region of Central, South-Eastern and Eastern Europe during the modern era, is based on Johann Gottfried Herder’s concept of modern nationalism, which is characterised by the creation of own national history and literature, and a particular, increased interest in the origin, historical past, native language, traditional culture, and folklore (Marushiakova & Popov, 2021, p. 24). In this context, Lemon’s contention that the Theatre *Romen* was an instrument of the Soviet policy for the assimilation of the Gypsies is more than ridiculous because, with the presentation of the Gypsy ethno-cultural traditions (whether “real” or “invented” in Hobsbawm’s terms is irrelevant) over the years, the Theatre had demonstrated exactly the opposite. Moreover, it is precisely the “traditions” established by the Theatre *Romen* that were featured in cinema, especially in the cult film *Tabor Goes to the Sky* (also known in English language distribution as *Queen of the Gypsies*), which not only set a record in Soviet film distribution within the USSR but was also purchased and shown in 112 countries around the world (sic!). The example of the Theatre *Romen* as a factor for the preservation and development of the Gypsy/Roma identity and ethno-cultural traditions (which are considered one of the pillars of this identity) explains why more than three decades after the end of the Cold War, Roma activists in Central, South-Eastern and Eastern Europe pursue the creation of a Gypsy/Roma theatres in their respective countries (in which the example of the Theatre *Romen* is very well known).

In the context of the mass political repressions against Gypsies in the USSR, it is noteworthy that repressions against artists from the Theatre *Romen* were rather exceptional. Moreover, the repressions were applied to people charged with criminal offences, and only Olga Kononova was repressed as a “family member of the Motherland traitor”. In this regard, there is no comparison with the political repressions against other national theatres in the Soviet era. It is enough to mention the case of the Latvian State Theatre *Skatuve* (Stage) in

Moscow, which had quite a different fate: In 1937, the theatre was closed down, the entire staff was arrested, 32 people were shot dead, and the rest were sent to the GULAG.

As regards other practices defined as part of the “traditional” Gypsy culture and denounced by the Soviet state (at issue are specific practices such as fortune-telling, begging, etc., rather than the Gypsy culture as such), the situation is not much different (see Chapter 1). The struggle for the elimination of these practices was carried out primarily by Gypsy activists, mainly through publications (e.g., in the two Gypsy journals, in books in the Romani language, and in the repertoire of the Theatre *Romen*), and did not involve any specific actions, let alone repressions by the Soviet state. An example in this regard is the active stance of Gypsy activists against the so-called double discrimination (in the community and in society) of Gypsy women. By the way, the term ‘double discrimination’ in relation to women (albeit with slightly different content), which is so popular nowadays in the Roma NGO sector, was first introduced by August Bebel in his famous book *Women and Socialism* (Bebel, 1879).

After the October Revolution, the new Soviet legislation, in addition to actively promoting women’s emancipation by giving women a number of rights they had been deprived of under the conditions of the Russian Empire, also introduced strict measures to protect women’s rights. Moreover, a Decree of the TsIK SSSR from February 16, 1930, stipulated that a domestic murder which “occurred on the grounds of the liberation of women” is qualified as a state (counter-revolutionary) crime (sic!), punishable under Art. 58–8 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR (and the corresponding articles in the Criminal Codes of the other Soviet republics) – “commitment of terrorist acts directed against representatives of Soviet power or members of revolutionary workers’ and peasant organisations” (Сборник, 1946, p. 5).

With regard to existing ethno-cultural marriage traditions, such as payment of a ransom to the girl’s parents or abduction of the girl, the Criminal Code of the RSFRS (Art. 196 and Art. 197) and the Criminal Codes of the other Soviet republics envisaged various terms of imprisonment (Уголовный кодекс, 1938). These articles affected large parts of the Gypsy community because, in some groups (Kelderari, Lovari, Krimurya, etc.), the ransom for the girl was obligatory, while in other groups, the marriage ritual was an imitation of theft (elopement of the young), usually after prior arrangement by the parents. Despite this strict legislation, we are not aware of any instances of its enforcement with respect to Gypsies, nor are there any memories of such instances in the community’s oral history. In addition, the Soviet legislation (Art. 198 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR and the corresponding articles in the Criminal Codes of the other Soviet republics), envisaged prohibition of marriage between persons below

the legal age of marriage (18 years for boys and 16 years for girls; the girl's age was gradually increased to 18 in the former Soviet republics), and the violation of this prohibition was qualified as rape. Although this prohibition was systematically violated by the Gypsies throughout the history of the USSR, we are not aware of any sentences against Gypsies. Nowadays, similar prohibitions in the legislation of many countries are generally not respected by the Roma either, which illustrates once again that real history (and real life in general) cannot be reduced to a set of legislative and administrative norms because it is much more complex and diverse.

We will not enter the debate whether the ban and persecution of "ethno-cultural traditions" (whatever that means) should unquestionably be condemned as a violation of basic human rights, a form of assimilation, etc. As laypersons to the subject, we will only note that this principle cannot be valid in all life situations because some ethno-cultural traditions cannot be tolerated in modern and post-modern societies (the first example that comes to mind is the tradition of the Borneo Dayak people, according to which a representative of the community is recognised as a full member of it and gets the right to enter into marriage only after bringing the severed head of a person from another community). It is more important for us that the thesis about the persecution of Gypsy "traditions" by the Soviet state in its quest for the assimilation of the Gypsies is completely untenable. It would be much more accurate to say that the Soviet state sought to eliminate specific (sic!) traditions which were perceived as an obstacle to the integration of the Gypsies into the Soviet society. In more general terms, the tendency of selecting isolated examples to illustrate a pre-defined thesis, thereby ignoring or misinterpreting all other data, is perhaps the most serious problem facing the social sciences and humanities today, but this issue takes us in a different direction.

In the final account, we can positively conclude that the so-called Gypsy Lawsuits in the USSR were not a separate national operation, neither *de jure* nor *de facto*, despite the presence of some characteristics that associate these lawsuits (at least *prima facie*) with the national operations (see Chapter 4). In fact, the Gypsy Lawsuits fit within the general framework of other national operations (mainly against people of Polish and Romanian nationalities); moreover, the main charges against the Gypsy defendants were precisely for espionage in favour of the countries of which they were former subjects (and some of them even had preferred ethnic identity of the respective nations, at least according to documents). The issue of the defendants' Roma origin and identity, however, was raised only in 3 out of 10 lawsuits (in the two Moscow lawsuits and in the Rovno lawsuit). Moreover, the defendants' ethnicity was not considered as the main reason for bringing charges against them, but only

as a specific circumstance which facilitated the crime, e.g. espionage at the behest of the so-called Gypsy Kings or murder carried out on the decision of the so-called Gypsy Court (here we do not discuss at all the question of whether and to what extent the charges were real or fabricated).

The analysis of the mass deportations of Gypsies during the cleansing of the big cities, and in particular the capital Moscow, leads to the same conclusion. The mass deportation of Gypsies from the Moscow suburbs in the summer of 1933, which is presented in detail in this study (see Chapter 2), appears at first sight to be a typical national operation targeting the Gypsies. Viewed in a wider context, however, the deportation was only one episode (and far from the most important one) from a large-scale campaign against the so-called declassified elements, socially dangerous elements, socially harmful elements, etc., and not against the Gypsies as a community. As such, it did not affect hundreds and even thousands of Gypsies who had already settled in the city of Moscow.

In any case, from the point of view of the 'community-society' division, there is a categorical and unequivocal answer to the main question of whether the Gypsies, victims of political repressions, were repressed by virtue of their belonging to a specific ethnic community or by virtue of their being a constituent part of the Soviet society. Gypsies in the USSR were never subjected to targeted repression as a community ('nationality', according to the official terminology), unlike the so-called deported peoples or the targets of the so-called national operations of the NKVD.

One should not be misled by the fact that in several cases of deported Gypsies, it is explicitly noted in the official documentation that they were accused on 'national grounds' (see Annexes 1.1 and 1.2). Such is the case with the Krist family, already mentioned (see Chapter 2), who were deported from the Volga German ASSR together with the local German population in 1941. The case of three people of Gypsy nationality, deported from Crimea in the spring of 1944 together with the Crimean Tatars (see Chapter 2), is similar. In both cases, the accusation "on national grounds" should not be interpreted as repression against the Gypsies as a separate nationality but as their inclusion in the composition of the other deported nationalities (respectively Volga Germans and Crimean Tatars) with whom they live together.

In summary, the repressions of the Soviet state always targeted the Gypsies as individuals rather than a community (even within the framework of group lawsuits and in mass deportations), with specific (and quite diverse) charges, which did not differ from the charges against other Soviet citizens, i.e., the Gypsies were not singled out from the rest of the population.

From this point of view, it becomes clear why the number of the repressed Roma who lived settled in the cities is much higher compared to those who

lived in the countryside or had a nomadic lifestyle, although the former constituted only a small share of the entire community (see Chapter 3). In practice, this means that the Roma, who were relatively more advanced on the path of social integration, i.e., they had become “more” Soviet citizens compared to the rest, were affected more by the political repressions. This evidence is yet another confirmation that the Roma in the USSR became victims of political repressions not as representatives of an ethnic community but as part of the Soviet society.

In view of the above, any attempts to analyse the political repressions against Roma in the USSR through the paradigm of anti-Gypsyism (i.e., to define these repressions as a manifestation of the eternal anti-Gypsyism of the surrounding society) are preposterous. There are simple and irrefutable facts, and according to popular expression, when the facts speak, even the Gods are silent. In a country with more than 180 nationalities, which were subjected to political repressions; with a relatively small number of Roma both in absolute terms and as a share of the repressed within the Roma community and within the general population, it is quite ridiculous to present the Roma community as a target of a deliberate repressive policy. In 1997, on the initiative of the *Memorial Society*, a large memorial complex (Sandarmokh Memorial Cemetery) dedicated to the victims of the mass shootings during the Great Terror in 1937–1938 was opened near the town of Medvezhyegorsk in the Republic of Karelia. Numerous monuments, including 18 monuments of the victims of different nationalities and religious communities, have been erected on the territory of the complex. According to data from the Sandarmokh Memorial Cemetery, the victims of the mass shootings in 1937–1938 were 6,241 people of 58 nationalities (Сандармох, 2019), including 28 Roma (see Chapter 2). During the two years of the Great Terror, as already said, 353,074 people were sentenced to death in 1937 and 328,618 people in 1938, i.e., a total of 681,692 people of various nationalities (Земсков, 1994, p. 123); among them, Gypsies/Roma were respectively 60 people in 1937 and 150 people in 1938, i.e., a total of 210 people out of all 227 Gypsies who received death sentences during the entire studied period (see Chapter 3). It is interesting, whether against the background of these figures, one can still reasonably maintain that the Soviet state pursued a special policy of anti-Gypsyism during the mass political repressions. Moreover, these days, the “competition” (however obscene the term) for the “most repressed” nationality continues throughout the post-Soviet space.

Comparison between the shares of the repressed within the Gypsy and the Assyrian communities revealed that the percentage of the repressed among the Assyrians was many times higher compared to that of the Roma. It is logical to ask the rhetorical question, “Has anyone heard, anywhere in the world,

a discussion about anti-Assyrian policies or structural anti-Assyrianism in the USSR?" This question would not get an answer.

In recent years, under the strong influence of the changing geopolitical realities, the analogy between the totalitarian regimes of Hitler and Stalin, which had been drawn by Hannah Arendt (1951), has become widely popular. We are far from taking a stand on this issue with its multiple dimensions, but we cannot avoid doing so with regard to one particular dimension, which leads to the question of whether the genocide against the Sinti and Roma during the Second World War can (and should) be compared with the political repressions against the Roma in the USSR. The answer is straightforward – no, they cannot and should not be compared because there are no grounds whatsoever for such a comparison. The scale of the two phenomena in terms of the number of victims (without going into complex calculations, which are only approximate anyway) is least relevant in this case. The most important argument is completely different – it is the essence and content of these two phenomena, which are *de facto* fundamentally different. In Nazi Germany, the Sinti and Roma were singled out for elimination on the basis of “racial” (i.e., ethnic in the primordial sense) criteria, with the ultimate goal of destroying the entire community. During the political repressions in the USSR, there was no persecution of the Roma as a community, but only of individual representatives; the aim was not to destroy the community but to punish individual members of it who were accused of specific offences (the fact that these accusations were fabricated does not change the approach). So, any comparisons between Germany and the USSR in this regard are completely meaningless.

Surprisingly, at first glance, there is, indeed, a point of analogy between the victims of the Sinti genocide in Germany (the reference here is only to those living in the country within its pre-war borders and does not include Roma in the occupied territories) and the Roma victims of political repression in the USSR (the reference here is only to those repressed by virtue of legal/quasi-legal decisions). In both cases, the victims were primarily those “Gypsies” who had achieved a relatively higher degree of social integration (often, especially in Germany, they were descendants of mixed marriages). In this seeming paradox, however, similar situations have radically different reasons. In Germany, the reasons were of racial nature and had their roots in Himmler’s idea to preserve one part of the Gypsies (defined as “racially pure”, i.e., who were not descendants of mixed marriages) as representatives of the Aryan race (although they were not considered “true Aryans”), and even to provide them with a small free territory to live on in the longer term (Lewy, 1999, pp. 201–214). In the USSR, the reasons were of a social/class nature. The affirmative policy was aimed at the nomadic Roma who should become “conscious Soviet

citizens”; the Roma who were already advanced in this direction (mainly those living in the cities) were not treated as a “backward” ethnic community but as Soviet citizens, i.e., as a constituent part of the Soviet society (the latter being the general target of the mass political repressions by virtue of legal/quasi-legal decisions).

In recent years, a number of authors tend to interpret Roma history through the paradigm of the so-called Resistance, which has gained wide popularity. One of the most popular contemporary authors, the American political scientist and anthropologist James C. Scott, often mentions “Gypsies” or “Roma and Travelers”, or “Roma and Sinti” (he uses all these designations, obviously considering them synonymous) in the context of Resistance, as an example of people who have mastered “the art of resistance” and “the art of not being governed” (Scott, 1985; 1998; 2009; 2013). Without reference to any examples or discussion of concrete cases, Scott contends that the Gypsies are a typical example of a nation capable of eternal resistance to the state’s attempts to incorporate them into its social fabric. The published texts by Roma authors from the period of the mid-19th century to the Second World War (Marushiakova & Popov, 2021), however, reveal a very different, often opposite picture. Most of these works contain the main message of Roma visionaries to the state. They requested urgent and effective actions for the accomplishment of social integration and an equal position of their ethnic community in the mainstream society, i.e., they not only accepted to be governed but also wanted to be governed “well”, according to the needs and interests of the community, and this is precisely the essence of Roma civic emancipation. If we accept James C. Scott’s thesis that the Roma are a specific community which has mastered the art of not being governed, and if their entire history is fully subordinated to the ideology of resistance, then it would be logical to ask why they needed to strive for civic emancipation at all.

In the present case, the Roma resistance against the mass political repressions in the USSR was not clearly expressed, and its scale is difficult to establish. It is beyond any doubt that this resistance did not involve the entire community. On the contrary, not only the Gypsy activists but also a significant part of the community supported (or at least accepted without protesting in any form) the policy of the Soviet state – both in its general dimensions and the special policy towards the Gypsies (see Chapter 1), because they believed that this policy responded to the wishes and aspirations of the community for civil emancipation and for improving its social positions and economic well-being.

To the extent that there was any resistance by Roma against the Soviet policy in general and the mass repressions in particular, it was rather passive or at least not directly confrontational in the overwhelming number of cases. A

typical example in this regard is the mass escapes of Gypsies from their places of deportation in Siberia (see Chapter 2) and their return to other regions in the European part of the USSR, different from those in which they used to live before their deportation. In other cases, related to the mass collectivisation of agriculture and the introduction of the passport regime, the migrations were from the European part of the USSR to the East, where these processes proceeded slowly, and the regime was more relaxed (see Chapter 3). However, this is not resistance as a community but as part of society because this pattern of avoiding repression was practised by tens (if not hundreds) of thousands of Soviet citizens who, fearing repression, changed their places of residence (in some cases, also their personal documents). The large construction sites of the booming Soviet industry, which had an acute need for labour and did not strictly control the new arrivals, were particularly attractive for this purpose. Among the Roma, many Krimurya were employed in the construction of the Moscow metro in the 1930s and thus settled in the Soviet capital (Черенков & Деметер, 1987, p. 44).

In some cases, the resistance of Roma against the repressive policy of the Soviet state took quite curious forms. The following can be read in the memoirs of one of the survivors from the SLON/STON (Solovki prison camp):

Once they brought the Gypsy cell to work [Roma preferred to be in a separate cell – authors' note]. Gypsies did not like such tasks, but the regime was harsh, and they were afraid to refuse. So, these labourers were cleaning construction debris, moving as if in a dream. The Gypsy King Gogo Parfenovich Stanesku was a particularly attractive worker. This huge man was dragging with a rope a small bathtub loaded with two or three pieces of bricks. He moved slowly, tilting his mighty head with such tension as if he were pulling a tractor (Чирков, 1991, p. 74).

In other cases, surprisingly, at first glance, Roma used the official mechanisms of the Soviet state as a form of resistance against repression. Nikolay Bessonov described the following case based on Roma oral history (from the Kishiniovtsi group). In 1932, in the village of Kovyrkino, Saratov Oblast, during a document check, a militsiyaman shot dead a Roma from a nomads' camp, after which:

Since the murder was committed without any reason, the Kishiniovtsi Roma, who knew the law well, filed a complaint and succeeded in getting a criminal case opened. Surprisingly, the officer eventually received the maximum sentence term! (Бессонов, 2020a, p. 51).

In fact, the only case of active resistance against mass political repressions is that of Grigory Mihai. In 1932, he was sent as a “socially dangerous element”



to Norillag (ITL in Norilsk, Krasnoyarsk Territory). In the autumn of 1941, the former Red Army colonel Vasily Kordubaylo, who was in the camp, organised a group of political and criminal prisoners who prepared an uprising and a mass escape. Their plans were revealed, and at a general trial with more than 200 defendants, 57 people (including Grigory Mihai) were sentenced to death and shot dead in the winter of 1942 (see Annex 1.2). In the memories of GULAG prisoners, there are serious discrepancies in the description of the “Kordubailo case” (and not only about the number of convicts). According to some authors, Kordubailo actually prepared an uprising, and according to others, it was a provocation organised by the NKVD (Снегов, 1991; Штайнер, 2017), which once again confirms that personal memories (hence oral history in general) cannot be the decisive criterion for establishing historical truth. Whatever the truth in this case, the preparations for an insurrection at Norillag and the subsequent death sentences for the persons involved in it are undoubted facts. Even in this case, however, the participation of the Roma man in the resistance is not as a representative of the community but as a convicted Soviet citizen, i.e., as part of the Soviet society.

There are also cases which we cannot positively define as Roma resistance against mass political repression. According to an NKVD report dated July 10, 1938, the Gypsies Moisey Fedorchenko and his sons Alexander and Peter were arrested on charges of the murder of the chairman of the Sobkovka village council, in the Uman district of the Kiev Oblast, Ukrainian SSR, and of the chairman of the district’s Workers’ Committee Forestry. The other five Gypsies were also involved in this murder, and the reason was that their nomadic camp was expelled from the legally protected territory of the farm. The initiator of this “terrorist act” (according to the terminology of the NKVD), Kotlyarenko, was wanted for arrest (Советская деревня, 2012, Vol. 4, p. 645). The fate of the arrested Gypsies remains unknown, but their names do not appear in the database of the victims of the politically repressed (perhaps they were sentenced on criminal charges or their documents were lost). It is an open question whether these murders should be treated as an act of resistance and, accordingly, the punishments for them as political repression. We have decided not to include these names in the list of victims of political repression, but we publish what we know about the case, and if someone would decide differently, they can include them.

The case of Larion Guchenko also remains controversial for us (see Annex 1.2). According to the available data, he was arrested at the beginning of 1945 in the Volyn Oblast while residing in an illegal situation and was known under the pseudonym ‘Chorny’ (Black). The presence of a military nickname is characteristic of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) and indicates that Guchenko was a member of this armed branch of the Organisation of

Ukrainian Nationalists – Bandera (OUN-B). At first glance, the participation of a Roma person in UPA seems shocking because UPA was the perpetrator of the so-called Massacres of Poles in Volhynia and Eastern Galicia, in which there were many Roma victims, in addition to the local Polish population (Тяглый, 2017). These events are also described in the poem *Tears of Blood* by the famous Romani poetess Bronisława Wajs (Papusza). So far, the poem has only been published in abridged versions. Still, its full version is forthcoming, including the parts describing the escape of Papusza's tabor from the UPA troops and the salvation that the Roma found with the Soviet partisans (Papusza, 2024). As history has seen all kinds of cases, it does not seem so improbable that a Roma person was involved in UPA. Our doubts, however, concern a different issue: Should we consider this case as an act of Roma resistance and, accordingly, the subsequent punishment by the Soviet state as political repression? The participation of Roma in the UPA was undoubtedly an expression of resistance to Soviet power, but the present case concerns an individual act rather than a collective form of Roma resistance. It is noteworthy, however, that Larion Guchenko is not included in the database of victims of political repression, prepared by the *Memorial* Association, but only in the database of the repressed, prepared in modern Ukraine.

In recent decades, the aspiration of international Roma activists (and activists at the national level in individual European countries) to create a pan-Roma master-narrative based on the historical suffering of the Roma during the Second World War has acquired clear dimensions (Kapralski, 2014, p. 204). This master-narrative reflects the aspiration of its creators to inscribe the history of the Roma within the European memorial space and, on this basis, to secure recognition of their place in national and European histories (Hub van Baar, 2011, p. 272). Along with this, another Roma master-narrative is making its way, which is linked with the discussion on how to interpret the fate of the Roma during the Second World War – as victims or/and as victors (Marushiakova & Popov, 2017c). This is the master-narrative of the Roma Resistance against Nazism, the main symbol of which is considered to be the so-called Roma uprising in the Auschwitz II-Birkenau concentration camp. Following publications that revealed the lack of any evidence in the camp archives confirming this narrative (Kubica & Sitkiewicz, 2018), the focus of the master-narrative gradually shifted to other, real historical events (Mirga-Kruszelnicka & Dunajeva, 2020). Particularly significant was the role of the brilliant documentary film *How I Became a Partisan*, directed by the young Roma woman Vera Lacková and widely promoted in the public space.

Whether these mega-narratives will stand the test of time (Carter, 2006, p. 217) and in what form they will be preserved and developed is still to be seen. More important in this case is the fact that the historical narratives preserved

in the historical memory of the Roma living in the territories of the former USSR (i.e., the descendants of the victims of mass political repressions) are more or less different from the historical narratives among Roma in other European countries. This is quite regular given the 'community-society' divide because the dominant historical narratives in a given society always have an impact (albeit in different forms) on the narratives of a community which is a constituent part of that society. In this sense, there are greater or lesser differences among the Roma who live in the newly independent states that have been built on the ruins of the former USSR.

Quite naturally, the narrative of the Roma as victims of genocide during the Second World War (i.e., in the paradigm of anti-Gypsyism) is most prevalent among the Roma who live (or whose ancestors lived) in the territories occupied by Nazi Germany and its allies, and who have encountered various Western programs for compensation of the descendants of the Roma victims of genocide during the war. We note the latter factor in particular because it has a very strong influence on the emergence of secondary narratives in the Roma oral history, even in places where there were not even intentions for genocide (e.g., in Bulgaria and in the territory occupied by it in today's Republic of North Macedonia), and where nowadays people tend to "discover" such secondary "memories" (see e.g. *The Roma Holocaust*, 2022).

Historical narratives in the Roma Resistance paradigm, however, vary greatly in the individual countries of the post-Soviet space. These narratives are relatively strong among the Roma in the Russian Federation, where they have been woven into the overall historical meta-narrative of the victory over Nazism in World War II. It is notable that the first publication in the Russian Federation of Nikolay Bessonov's two-volume fundamental work (Бессонов, 2010; 2020с), based largely on Roma oral history, contained only its second volume, which is dedicated to the participation of Roma in the Second World War in the composition of the Red Army and in partisan units. The first volume, dedicated to the Roma victims of the Nazi genocide, was published only years later. Among the Roma living in the other newly independent states of the post-Soviet space, these two historical narratives are presented in different ways, and they are subordinated to the common historical meta-narratives dominating the public space in the respective new nation-states. In fact, it turns out that in all cases, the decisive factor is not the ethnic but the civic national consciousness of the Roma in the countries where they live.

In this general context, it becomes clear why, in the oral history of the Roma in the countries of the post-Soviet space, the narratives about Roma as victims of political repressions in the USSR remain relatively in the background and reproduce to a large extent, the respective national narratives. The narratives

about Roma in the paradigm of Resistance against the Soviet regime and its political repressions are simply missing (or at least no one has found any so far). Moreover, the image of the “good Stalin” continues to be widespread among Roma throughout the post-Soviet space (2020b). We have personally heard dozens of versions of the now folklore narrative about Stalin’s refusal to hand over the Gypsies to Hitler (which he allegedly expressed with the phrase “I will not surrender my field rabbits”, thereby likening the Gypsies to field rabbits, for which metaphor we have no explanation). We recorded a version of the myth about the “good Stalin”, even among the Lovari in Hungary, who associated him with their family history. Among the arguments in defence of Stalin, we have even heard the explanation that “then there was order and legality” (sic!), which is in complete contradiction to the centuries-old romantic image of the Gypsies as a free people who resist societal norms and do not want “to be governed” (Scott, 2009). Of course, what has been said should in no way be understood as a generally positive attitude towards Stalin among the Roma in the post-Soviet space; on the contrary, in this respect, the community is divided “pro” and “contra”, following the division in the societies in which the Roma live and of which they are an integral part.

As is clear from the above, both research paradigms in Romani studies, which are popular today – anti-Gypsyism and Resistance, are unable to explain the various dimensions and the overall nature of the political repressions against Gypsies in the USSR. This is not a surprise because both paradigms share a common characteristic – they stigmatise the Roma as a community which is detached from the general structure of the society in which they live, i.e., they ignore the fact that the Roma have always lived in at least two dimensions (the ‘community – society’ dichotomy). The difference between these two paradigms is in the root causes by which they explain the situation of the Roma: The concept of anti-Gypsyism places the responsibility for the situation of the Roma on the states in which they live, while the concept of Resistance on the Roma themselves. Historically speaking, both the Resistance and the anti-Gypsyism ideologemes are not products of today but emerged in previous historical eras, which confirms the maxim that every new is a well-forgotten old. The notion of the “free Gypsy spirit”, which cannot (and does not want to) live according to the norms of society, dates back to 19th-century Romanticism. As we already mentioned, the concept of anti-Gypsyism was born in the Soviet era and embodied the communist interpretation of Gypsy/Roma history. In recent times, these two research paradigms have preserved their main content, with some changes in the ideological background and in the terminology. From the point of view of the two main approaches to the object of study (in the past, ‘Gypsies’, today ‘Roma’) – exoticisation and marginalisation (Marushiakova &

Popov, 2017a), the concept of Resistance is based on the exoticisation of the community, whereas the concept of anti-Gypsyism on its marginalisation.

Our considerations presented so far should in no way be interpreted as a total rejection of the anti-Gypsyism and Resistance paradigms. These two paradigms, as well as a number of other concepts that are so fashionable these days, e.g., Precariat, Whiteness, Racialisation, Critical Race Theory, Postcolonialism, etc., all contribute to scholarly knowledge in general (and to Romani studies in particular). It is important to understand, however, that their discourses should not be seen as universal and imperative for each and every historical or contemporary situation, and the interpretation and explanation of the diversity and multidimensionality of Roma history and culture should not be limited to the use of one or another paradigm. None of these concepts is the 'magic word', i.e., the magic key for explaining the entire history of the Roma, because real history is always much more complex and diverse than preconceived ideological and/or methodological frameworks, and it constantly negates them.

It hardly makes sense to argue that, in principle, there is not (and cannot be) a single "correct" view of the world (and of historical reality in our case) or one single "correct" methodology that incorporates the entire scientific knowledge. We have lived half of our lives in the conditions of such a "singularly correct" ideology, and we would not want it to finish in the same conditions, even if the new dominant ideology is (maybe) better.

Should Romani studies follow its own path of development and break the limits of the academic ghetto, in which this academic field (uniting representatives of different sciences) often finds itself (especially in recent years), it should not focus on the quest of a magic key in one or another concept, which would explain the entire history and current state of the Roma. The issue is not whether, and especially how much, when, where, how, etc., these concepts are relevant to all possible specific research problems related to the Roma; rather, it is the hopelessness of confining an academic field within the framework of a predetermined theoretical discourse. Attempts to adapt historical facts to a pre-defined thesis through misinterpretations, overinterpretations, or pre-selected approaches lead to situations in which, principally, credible concepts are discredited by false evidence. This applies to any preconceived discourse which is accepted as universal and thereby leads to conclusions that are doubtful and even contradictory to historical realities.

Seen from a methodological point of view, it is important to work with the 'and' principle rather than the 'or' principle. The seminal introduction of Niels Bohr's complementarity principle in physics illustrated this point already in the 1920s. In the social sciences and humanities, where the author's point of view plays a significant role, the complementarity principle is of particular

importance. This broadly means that historical (and contemporary) processes and phenomena should be explored from multiple perspectives, complementing each other according to the specifics of the case rather than being opposed, and studied in the general context of the history of the countries in which the Roma live as an integral part of the respective societies. First and foremost, the approach has to be particular in the sense that each study needs to focus on a given country in a given historical (or contemporary) period without making generalisations and transferring conclusions from various other studies. This approach by no means precludes comparisons and more general levels of research. On the contrary, it allows for more comprehensive interpretations and conclusions, which, however, need a stable ground – specific studies based on authentic historical sources rather than the author’s interpretation of secondary material, which may be more or less controversial.

In our view, Romani studies need to quit searching naïvely for a universal research paradigm, a task which is futile by definition. Such a miracle does not (and cannot) exist in any science or scientific strand because science (human knowledge, in a broader sense) is doomed to constant development. Human history is diverse and always concrete; it cannot be limited or closed within one or several methodological paradigms. In this case, it is not at all a question of an axiological evaluation of specific methodological concepts but of the fundamental impossibility of interpreting and explaining the entire history of the Roma within their relatively limited framework. In very simple language, theoretical (ideological, methodological, etc.) concepts and the interpretations subordinated to them will inevitably change over time, while the accumulated objective scientific knowledge remains for generations. This has exactly been the main goal in the preparation of this book – to collect and systematise the available historical information about the mass repressions against Gypsies in the USSR, which every author will be able to interpret in the future.

In our opinion, at least in history, along with the expansion of historical knowledge, a comprehensive critical reading and rethinking of what has been done is also necessary. According to us, critical reading doesn’t mean automatically refuting everything done before from the position of self-righteous and cancel-culture. The new reading of history for us means going back to the basics, to the primary historical sources themselves, rather than blindly trusting secondary interpretations of these sources by different authors. This will lead to the clearing of the history of Gypsies/Roma from numerous historical stereotypes, myths, fallacies, manipulations and even falsifications, which have been reproduced from book to book for decades (for some of them, see Marushiakova & Popov, 2021). For us, today’s situation with continuously emerging new “historical studies” (quotation marks are not accidental), which

disregard numerous available primary sources (moreover, their authors seek explanations/justifications why this should not be done), is not regular. It is time for all authors who have neither historical education nor professional experience in this field to understand that being a historian does not mean reading a few books and compiling a new one based on them because history is a science with its own methodology, which does not tolerate unprofessionalism (and which, unfortunately, has attracted a great number of amateurs). All this once again confirms how right Kirsten Martins-Heuss was when she called Romani studies (then 'Zigeunerforschung' or 'Gypsy studies') "a science of the plagiarist" (Martins-Heuss, 1983 p. 8). Abandoning this direction is the only way in which Romani studies can overcome its self-induced academic isolation and become an equal part of global science.

An integral part of this process is the understanding that the dichotomy 'community – society' manifests itself in the sphere of identity through one harmonious (yet internally conflicting) whole of ethnic identity on the one hand and civic national identity on the other. The affiliation of Roma with the civic nation of the countries where they live (or in a united Europe, in today's conditions of cross-border mobility) should not be interpreted as some individual exception and "performing paranoia" (cf. Lemon, 200, 228–235), because it is a universal and immanent characteristic of all Gypsies/Roma around the world. Lemon described a case of a Rom from Russia who demonstrated to her all prevailing mass public stereotypes about the West from the time of the USSR. We accept this case as completely natural because if she spoke to a Rom in her native country (the United States), he would similarly demonstrate the prevailing mass public stereotypes about the USSR in American society. The incomprehension (and hence failure to accept) of the unity of different identities and their contextual performance is rooted in a problem, which was formulated very succinctly by one of our Roma friends (Dimitar Georgiev) with respect to politicians: "They just have to understand that we are normal people, like everyone else, and stop seeing us as aliens". These words apply with full force also to scholars who refuse to accept that the Roma are a people like all other European peoples, distinguished from them in the same way as any other European people, and there is no need for their stigmatisation as a unique phenomenon (a direct consequence of which is the stigmatisation of Romani studies).

We cannot be completely definitive, but from our observations in the academic community, understanding and accepting these simple truths is more difficult among colleagues in the West than in the East. This is primarily due to the fact that, in many respects, the social and cultural distances between Gypsies/Roma and their surrounding population are greater in the West than

in the East (Marushiakova & Popov, 2017a). In this respect, it is necessary to make a small personal digression. Our path in academia began in the conditions of the communist regimes in South-Eastern and Central Europe, went through the transition period in the region, and ended in the West, i.e., we know well, from personal experience, the development of academy both in the East and in the West. Unfortunately, in recent years, in academic (and not only) life, we increasingly experience the feeling of *déjà vu*, and what is more frightening, it is not only with respect to our youth but also with respect to the period of the early USSR, which we have been exploring. As university students, we were taught that there can be no such thing as “pure science” and that science always has ideological underpinnings and political dimensions. We were unable to understand the ideological foundations and political dimensions of the Pythagorean theorem neither then, nor now, in the conditions of a liberal democracy, when we are accused of being adepts of “normal science” (always enclosed in quotation marks) (Ray, 2022, p. 11)

Both in the past and nowadays, our leading and unchanging principle is that where ideology and politics begin, science ends. It does not make a difference whether deviations from the “correct” mainstream line would be punished with political repression as in the times of the early USSR or with the methods of the cancel culture as in our times. From our point of view, it is completely pointless to control and restrict scientific creativity by the categories of ‘correct’ and ‘incorrect’ because these are historically and contextually changing categories. As people with historical education and thinking, we know very well that the dominant ideology, which is considered “the correct” one in a given society and at a specific historical moment, would be replaced by a new one in a few generations time, which would, in turn, become the ‘correct’ one, and this is, in fact, the normal development of humanity. Therefore, for us, any reasoning about “the end of history” is completely devoid of meaning because the end of history cannot mean anything else but the end of humanity, which as a social organism is doomed to constant development (whether this development is for the better or not, is already a philosophical question on which everyone could have their own opinion).

Given the above, we believe that the innovation of Romani studies is possible only if based on academic and professional standards rather than ideological justifications in the spirit of political correctness and socially engaged science. The leading slogan, “Science for the benefit of society”, from the times of the socialist camp, is in no way different from the modern trend of developing the civic engagement of scientists in the social sciences and humanities through the pursuit of social impact, i.e., the transformation of science into an instrument of mass propaganda. To be clear, we firmly believe that scholars



can and should have civic positions, and the proper place to manifest them is not their scholarly work but real life, whatever the cost for it may be (the classic example of this respect is the fate of Archimedes). Therefore, we would be open to accepting criticism of our work from militant Roma activists because we know very well from history that the distinction from “others” is one of the main characteristics of the nation-building process. Likewise, we ignore criticism from colleagues if it is based on ideological grounds (often accompanied by labelling) and do not respond to them because our response would mean that we recognise their work as a science (for us, in many instances, this is ideological and political propaganda dressed in a quasi-scientific form rather than science). With this, we do not want to offend our colleagues, who are willing to demonstrate their civic commitment to the “Roma cause” publicly. We believe that they have a sincere desire (or at least the vast majority of them) to help the Roma, but one should not forget that the road to hell is paved with good intentions. We are not at all sure that the position of the “good white brothers” is the most adequate one because, in practice, as our friend academic Hristo Kyuchukov once expressed, “they want to be not only fathers and mothers of the Roma, but also to be more Roma than ourselves”, and this attitude is more or less reflected in their work (apart from the suspicions, perhaps sometimes not without grounds, that for them this is a path to a quick and successful career). Therefore, we continue to believe that finding ways for the development of their community is a task to be done by the Roma themselves, and whether our work can be helpful for them is a question they will have to decide. Rudko Kawczynski once joked when he visited us, after looking at our library with many books about the Gypsies: “How many books have been written, and nothing has changed for the Roma. Therefore, when we create our country, we will burn all such books and write our own. [After that, he added smiling:] Well, we can still keep yours!”

We have always adhered to these principles in our work so far, and we have no intention of giving them up at the end of our academic career. In this sense, we hope that this book will become part of the “winds of history” that will disperse many of the existing myths and misconceptions about the political repressions against Roma (and all ‘Gypsies’), as well as more generally (at least to some extent), about the mass political repressions in the USSR. How successful we have been, readers will judge.

We were quite hesitant about expressing our personal attitude towards Stalin in this last part of our Conclusion. As we said at the outset, our aim is to be (at least as much as possible) objective in our research and avoid personal bias. Unfortunately, our experience so far has shown that regardless of our aspirations, there will always be people (unfortunately, even among our

colleagues) who are ready to accuse us of ideological and political/geopolitical bias. A few years ago, on the occasion of a very ordinary article presenting the main dimensions of the state policy in the early USSR in relation to the Romani language, education and literature (Marushiakova & Popov, 2017b), which does not even mention Stalin's name, we were labelled "Stalinists" (sic!), no less (but still that happened in a closed academic forum). We can imagine the reaction of such people to the present book, which includes so many polemical topics. Although such reactions do not upset us, we still feel obliged in this connection to make a note about our attitude towards Stalin himself.

To make a comprehensive assessment of such a complex and multidimensional figure as Stalin, who had an impact on the entire course of global history, is an extremely complicated task that cannot be accomplished (or at least we cannot) in a few sentences. Thus, we will limit ourselves to expressing our view that "social engineering" (regardless of its intentions) is in principle unacceptable, and that the historical development of humanity should follow its natural course. In simple language, this means that development should go "bottom-up" rather than "top-down", i.e., one must first change oneself, and then their social environment and only then can one think about society as a whole, rather than impose one's views on others in any form. In some cases, social engineering takes place by means of 'revolutionary terror' (a concept that emerged at the time of the Great French Bourgeois Revolution), and in others by means of "soft power" (media, programs and projects of international and national institutions, organisations, foundations and NGOs, cancel culture, etc., including some branches of the academy), but this does not change in any way our overall negative assessment of these social practices, and respectively of their initiators and implementers (even if they were sincerely deluded by beautiful phraseology about noble causes and had the best intentions).

In winding up our study, we quote the verses of the Soviet bard Alexander Galich, which best express our principled attitude towards all historical and contemporary figures (including Stalin himself) involved in social engineering in all its dimensions:

*Не надо, люди, бояться!  
Не бойтесь тюрьмы,  
Не бойтесь сумь,  
Не бойтесь мора и глада,  
А бойтесь единственно только того,  
Кто скажет: "Я знаю, как надо!"*

No need to fear, people!  
Don't fear prison,  
Don't fear poverty,  
Don't fear plague and hunger,  
But do fear only the one,  
Who tells you: "I know how it  
should be!"



# Book of Memory

## 1.1 Victims of Administrative Acts

### 1.1.1 *Roma in the Composition of the Deported Kulaks (1931–1932)*

**Karpetskaya, Maria Semyonovna.** Year of Birth: 1857. Nationality: Gypsy woman. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Ivanovo Oblast, Kovrov Rayon. Date of Decision: 1931. Verdict: Deportation to a special settlement in the Tomsk Oblast. Head of the Family: Limansky, Pyotr Mikhailovich. Source: УВД Томской области; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2338578>.

**Karpetskaya, Pelageya Ivanovna.** Year of Birth: 1868. Nationality: Gypsy woman. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Ivanovo Oblast, Kovrov Rayon. Date of Decision: 1931. Verdict: Deportation to a special settlement in the Tomsk Oblast. Head of the Family: Limansky, Pyotr Mikhailovich. Source: УВД Томской области; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2338577>.

**Karpetskaya, Pelageya Petrovna.** Year of Birth: 1907. Nationality: Gypsy woman. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Ivanovo Oblast, Kovrov Rayon. Date of Decision: 1931. Verdict: Deportation to a special settlement in the Tomsk Oblast. Head of the Family: Limansky, Pyotr Mikhailovich. Source: УВД Томской области; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2338576>.

**Limansky, Pyotr Mikhailovich.** Year of Birth: 1887. Nationality: n.d. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Ivanovo Oblast, Kovrov Rayon. Date of Decision: 1931. Verdict: Deportation to a special settlement in the Tomsk Oblast. Head of the Family. Family Members: Karpetskaya, Pelageya Petrovna; Karpetskaya, Pelageya Ivanovna; Karpetskaya, Maria Semyonovna. Source: УВД Томской области; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2338575>.

**Kozlovskaya, Anna Romanovna** (maiden name: Matyushenkova). Nationality: Gypsy woman. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Tomsk Oblast, Kozhevnikovo

Rayon, Pesochno-Dubrovka Selsoviet, village Koshiorovo. Indictment: Member of kulak family. Deprived of suffrage on April 6, 1932. Date of Decision: April 6, 1932. Verdict: Deportation. Head of the Family: Kozlovsky, Yakov Prokopevich. Source: *Томское общество “Мемориал”*; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2404218>.

**Kozlovsky, Alexander Prokopevich.** Year of Birth: 1890. Nationality: n.d. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Tomsk Oblast, Kozhevnikovo Rayon, Pesochno-Dubrovka Selsoviet, village Koshiorovo. Indictment: Member of kulak family. Deprived of suffrage on April 6, 1932. Date of Decision: April 6, 1932. Verdict: Deportation. Head of the Family: Kozlovsky, Yakov Prokopevich. Source: *Томское общество “Мемориал”*; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2404219>.

**Kozlovsky, Yakov Prokopevich.** Nationality: n.d. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Tomsk Oblast, Kozhevnikovsky Rayon, Pesochno-Dubrovsky Selsoviet, village Koshiorovo. Indictment: Kulak, merchant, exploiter of hired labour. Deprived of suffrage on April 6, 1932. Date of Decision: April 6, 1932. Verdict: Deportation. Head of the family. Family Members: Kozlovskaya, Anna Romanovna (wife); Kozlovsky, Alexander Prokopevich (brother). Source: *Томское общество “Мемориал”*; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2404217>.

### 1.1.2 *Roma Victims of the Holodomor (1932–1933)*

**Baglaenko, Dmitro Ivanovich.** Place of Residence: Ukrainian SSR, Kharkiv Oblast, Izyum Rayon, city of Izyum. Age: 26. Nationality: Gypsy man. Social Origin: Worker. Date of Death: July 6, 1932. Cause of Death: Pulmonary tuberculosis. Source: *Голодомор 1932–1933*, <http://victimsholodomor.org.ua/people-search/easytablerecord/25-peoples-new/82307.html>.

**Banta, Andriy Mikolayovich.** Place of Residence: Ukrainian SSR, Odesa Oblast, Bilyaivka Rayon, village Hradenytsi. Age: 1 week. Nationality: Gypsy boy. Social Origin: Son of a single farmer. Date of Death: October 28, 1933. Cause of Death: Children's convulsions. Source: DAOO, f. P 8220, op. 1, spr. 62, zap. No. 235; *Голодомор 1932–1933*, <http://victimsholodomor.org.ua/people-search/easytablerecord/25-peoples-new/346113.html>.

**Bilashenko, Mikola Ivanovich.** Place of Residence: Ukrainian SSR, Zaporozhye Oblast, Zaporozhye Rayon, city of Zaporozhye. Age: 2. Nationality: Gypsy boy.

Social Origin: Worker. Date of Death: July 3, 1933. Cause of Death: Proteinless edema. Source: *Голодомор 1932–1933*, <http://victimsholodomor.org.ua/people-search/easytablerecord/25-peoples-new/218557.html>.

**Cheremush, Mikhaylo Yakimovich** [meaning his daughter]. Place of Residence: Ukrainian SSR, Odesa Oblast, Bilyaivka Rayon, village Hradenytsi. Age: 1.6 months. Nationality: Gypsy girl. Social Origin: Daughter of a single farmer. Date of Death: August 1, 1933. Cause of Death: Diarrhea. Source: DAOO, f. P 8220, op. 1, spr. 62, zap. No. 191; *Голодомор 1932–1933*, <http://victimsholodomor.org.ua/people-search/easytablerecord/25-peoples-new/346437.html>.

**Chobotiryova Ganna** (not specified father's name). Place of Residence: Ukrainian SSR, Kherson Oblast, Kherson Rayon, city of Kherson. Age: 35. Nationality: Nomadic Gypsy woman. Date of Death: April 27, 1932. Cause of Death: Nephritis. Source: DAKhO (Kherson), f. P 1885, op. 1, spr. 164, ark. 229; *Голодомор 1932–1933*, <http://victimsholodomor.org.ua/people-search/easytablerecord/25-peoples-new/156252.html>.

**Chulin, Grigory**. Place of Residence: Ukrainian SSR, Khmelnytskyi Oblast. Age: 69. Nationality: Gypsy man. Date of Death: Mart 19, 1933. Cause of Death: Killed. Source: DAKhO (Khmelnytskyi), f. P 6452, op.1, spr.18, ark.40, zap. No. 79; *Голодомор 1932–1933*, <https://holodomormuseum.org.ua/holodomor/natsionalna-knyha-pam-iati-zhertv-holodomoru-1932-1933%20/>.

**Degan, Irina Klementivna**. Place of Residence: Ukrainian SSR, Odesa Oblast, Bilyaivka Rayon, village Hradenytsi. Age: 35. Nationality: Gypsy woman. Social Origin: Single farmer. Date of Death: December 24, 1933. Cause of Death: Pneumonia. Source: DAOO, f. P 8220, op. 1, spr. 62, zap. No. 253; Source: *Голодомор 1932–1933*, <http://victimsholodomor.org.ua/people-search/easytablerecord/25-peoples-new/346188.html>.

**Fedora**. Place of Residence: Ukrainian SSR, Zhytomyr Oblast, Berdychiv Rayon, village Noviy Solotvin. Nationality: Gypsy woman. Social Origin: Peasant. Date of Death: 1932–1933. Cause of Death: Famine. Source: *Голодомор 1932–1933*, <http://victimsholodomor.org.ua/people-search/easytablerecord/25-peoples-new/46451.html>.

**Georgitsa, Katerina Vasilivna**. Place of Residence: Ukrainian SSR, Odesa Oblast, Ivanivka Rayon, village Blagoeve. Age: One and a half years. Nationality: Gypsy girl. Social Origin: Peasant daughter. Date of Death: November 28, 1933.

Source: DAOO, f. P 8222, op. 1, spr. 35, zap. No. 98; Source: *Голодомор 1932–1933*, <http://victimsholodomor.org.ua/people-search/easytablerecord/25-peoples-new/347729.html>.

**Gladenkova, Olga.** Place of Residence: Ukrainian SSR, Sumy Oblast, Shostka Rayon, village Shostka. Age: 25. Nationality: Gypsy woman. Date of Death: [n.d.]. Source: *Голодомор 1932–1933*, <http://victimsholodomor.org.ua/people-search/easytablerecord/25-peoples-new/26602.html>.

**Golaychuk, Dorofey Mikhailovich.** Place of Residence: Ukrainian SSR, Odesa Oblast, Kodyma Rayon, village Lysohirka (Frantsuzke). Age: 60. Nationality: Gypsy man. Social Origin: Kolkhoz member. Date of Death: January 29, 1932. Cause of Death: Freezing. Source: DAOO, f. P 8223, op. 1, spr. 36, zap. No. 7; *Голодомор 1932–1933*, <http://victimsholodomor.org.ua/odessa/easytable/25-peoples-new.html>.

**Kazimirov, Ivan Platonovich.** Place of Residence: Ukrainian SSR, Khmelnytskyi Oblast. Age: 2. Nationality: Gypsy boy. Date of Death: April 24, 1932. Cause of Death: not specified. Source: DAKhO (Khmelnytskyi), f. P 6445, оп.1, spr. 10, ark. 146, zap. No. 5; *Голодомор 1932–1933*, <https://holodomormuseum.org.ua/holodomor/natsionalna-knyha-pam-iati-zhertv-holodomoru-1932-1933%02/>.

**Lazareva, Efrosinia Yakivna.** Place of Residence: Ukrainian SSR, Odesa Oblast, Bilyaivka Rayon, village Troitske. Age: 4 months. Nationality: Gypsy girl. Social Origin: Peasant daughter. Date of Death: December 26, 1932. Cause of Death: Pneumonia. Source: DAOO, f. P 8220, op. 1, spr. 59, zap. No. 57; *Голодомор 1932–1933*, <http://victimsholodomor.org.ua/people-search/easytablerecord/25-peoples-new/346880.html>.

**Lukashko, Spiridon Lavrentiyovich.** Place of Residence: Ukrainian SSR, Odesa Oblast, Bilyaivka Rayon, village Nezavertaylivka. Age: 29. Nationality: Gypsy man. Social Origin: Worker. Date of Death: Mart 22, 1932. Cause of Death: Paralysis of cardiac activity. Source: DAOO, f. P 8220, op. 1, spr. 59, zap. No. 17; *Голодомор 1932–1933*, <http://victimsholodomor.org.ua/people-search/easytablerecord/25-peoples-new/346726.html>.

**Maria.** Place of Residence: Ukrainian SSR, Odesa Oblast, Shyriaieve Rayon, village Viktorivka (Sekretarka). Nationality: Gypsy woman. Social Origin: Peasant. Date of Death: 1933. Cause of Death: Hunger. Source: DAOO, f. P 8235 (testimony of Nina Ivanovna Vlasenko); *Голодомор 1932–1933*, <http://victimsholodomor.org.ua/odessa/easytable/25-peoples-new.html>.

**Nepomnyashchii, Ivan Markovich.** Ukrainian SSR, Odesa Oblast, Kominternivske Rayon, village Sverdlove. Age: 48. Nationality: Gypsy woman. Occupation: Shoemaker. Date of Death: May 28, 1933. Source: DAOO, f. P 8222, op. 1, spr. 35, zap. No. 63; *Голодомор 1932–1933*, <http://victimsholodomor.org.ua/odessa/easytable/25-peoples-new.html>.

**Oglu, Kimal Chimalovich** [written as Oglum, Kimal Chimal]. Place of Residence: Ukrainian SSR, Zaporozhye Oblast, Vilniansk Rayon, Novohupalivsk Selsoviet. Age: 4. Nationality: Gypsy boy. Social Origin: Not specified. Date of Death: November 28, 1933. Cause of Death: Cold. Source: *Голодомор 1932–1933*, <http://victimsholodomor.org.ua/people-search/easytablerecord/25-peoples-new/214408.html>.

**Oglu, Samet Kimalovich** [written as Oglum, S. K.]. Place of Residence: Ukrainian SSR, Zaporozhye Oblast, Vilniansk Rayon, Novohupalivsk Selsoviet. Age: 2. Nationality: Gypsy boy. Social Origin: Not specified. Date of Death: December 30, 1933. Cause of Death: [n.d.] Source: *Голодомор 1932–1933*, <http://victimsholodomor.org.ua/people-search/easytablerecord/25-peoples-new/214409.html>.

**Pinchukov, Nikifor Grigorovich.** Place of Residence: Ukrainian SSR, Kharkiv Oblast. Age: 54. Nationality: Gypsy man. Social Origin: Single peasant. Date of Death: December 17, 1932. Source: *Голодомор 1932–1933*, <https://holodomormuseum.org.ua/holodomor/natsionalna-knyha-pam-iati-zhertv-holodomoru-1932-1933%20/>.

**Pinchukov, Tetyana Ivanivna.** Place of Residence: Ukrainian SSR, Sumy Oblast, Hlukhiv Rayon, city of Hlukhiv. Age: 1. Nationality: Gypsy girl. Date of Death: May 15, 1933. Cause of Death: Gastric ulcer. Source: *Голодомор 1932–1933*, <http://victimsholodomor.org.ua/people-search/easytablerecord/25-peoples-new/14252.html>.

**Rotta, Trokhim Petrovich.** Place of Residence: Ukrainian SSR, Odesa Oblast, Bilyaivka Rayon, village Troitske. Age: 43. Nationality: Gypsy man. Social Origin: Peasant. Occupation: Member of artel. Date of Death: October 9, 1933. Cause of Death: Pneumonia. Source: DAOO, f. P 8220, op. 1, spr. 65, zap. No. 58; *Голодомор 1932–1933*, <http://victimsholodomor.org.ua/people-search/easytablerecord/25-peoples-new/347001.html>.

**Vasilev, Grigoriy Oleksiyovich.** Place of Residence: Ukrainian SSR, Sumy Oblast, Shostka Rayon, village Shostka. Age: 75. Nationality: Gypsy man.



Date of Death: October 1, 1933. Cause of Death: Cardiac failure. Source: *Голодомор 1932–1933*, <http://victimsholodomor.org.ua/people-search/easytable-record/25-peoples-new/26576.html>.

**Yuftyukhov, N.** Place of Residence: Ukrainian SSR, Sumy Oblast, Shostka Rayon, village Shostka. Age: 25. Nationality: Gypsy man. Source: *Голодомор 1932–1933*, <http://victimsholodomor.org.ua/people-search/easytablerecord/25-peoples-new/27026.html>.

**Zolotaryov, Opanas Yakovich.** Place of Residence: Ukrainian SSR, Kharkiv Oblast. Age: 65. Nationality: Gypsy man. Social Origin: Peasant. Date of Death: Mart 19, 1933. Cause of Death: Not specified. Source: *Голодомор 1932–1933*, <https://holodomormuseum.org.ua/hololomor/natsionalna-knyha-pam-iati-zhertv-holodomoru-1932-1933%20/>.

**N.N.** Place of Residence: Ukrainian SSR, Mykolaiv Oblast. Age: 27. Nationality: Gypsy man. Date of Death: February 7, 1932. Cause of Death: Chronic inflammation of the kidneys. Source: DAMO, f. P 5950, op. 1, spr. 269, ark. 53; *Голодомор 1932–1933*, <https://holodomormuseum.org.ua/hololomor/natsionalna-knyha-pam-iati-zhertv-holodomoru-1932-1933%20/>.

**3 Gypsy Women** [without specifying the names]. Place of Residence: Ukrainian SSR, Poltava Oblast, Hlobyne Rayon, village Lamane. Information: Family. Died 3 people. Source: *Голодомор 1932–1933*, <http://victimsholodomor.org.ua/people-search/easytablerecord/25-peoples-new/481232.html>.

### 1.1.3 *Deportation of Roma from Moscow (1933)*

Report by the Assistant Chief of the GULAG I[zrail] I. Pliner to the Deputy Chairman of the OGPU G[enrikh] G. Yagoda on the cleansing of the city of Moscow from Gypsies

July 10, 1933

MS 10/VII-33

To the Deputy Head of the OGPU, comrade Yagoda

## REPORT

I hereby report that the operation of the deportation of the so-called “foreign” Gypsies from the vicinity of Moscow began on June 28 and finished on July 9.

During this period, 1,008 families, 5,470 people, including 1,440 men, 1,506 women, and 2,524 children, were seized and deported.

The entire specified contingent was sent to the city of Tomsk and Workers' settlements of the OGPU in the West-Siberian Krai, where they will be settled in separate settlements on a national basis.

In total, five echelons were formed and sent; together with the deported Gypsies, 338 horses, 2 cows and a large number of carts and household items owned by them.

All deported persons underwent sanitation with hair cutting and smallpox vaccination. The latter was particularly necessary because of the several cases of smallpox detected among Gypsies.

The GULAG OGPU has allocated the necessary amount of food and fodder to supply the echelons during the entire route, according to the established norms. In all echelons, there are field kitchens and a necessary household for the organisation of supply of echelons either of hot food or boiled water in the route.

The GULAG OGPU has also organised medical care for the evicted contingent along the route. In all echelons, there are isolation carriages with bedding accompanied by medical staff with the necessary number of medicines.

Loading and departure of the echelons went quiet.

July 10, 1933

A note: Comrade Weller signed and sent it to the Deputy Head Yagoda on July 10.

**Source:** GARF, f. P 9479, op. 1, d. 19, l. 7; published in Кокурин & Петров, 2000, p. 453.

#### 1.1.4 *Deportation of Roma from Leningrad (1933)*

**Maltseva, Anna Egorovna.** Year of Birth: 1903. Place of Birth: [n.d.]. Nationality: Gypsy woman. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Leningrad, Bolshaya Okhta Rayon. Date of Arrest: 1933. Verdict: Deportation in the Krasnoyarsk Krai (for felling of trees near Norilsk). Release: [n.d.]. Additional Information: Deported together with a group of Gypsies of an unknown number from Leningrad.

**Source:** Бессонов, 2002d.

**1.1.5 *Roma in the Composition of the Polish Forced Settlers in Arkhangelsk Oblast (1940)***

**Brezhinskaya, Anelia Leonovna.** Year of Birth: 1914. Place of Birth: Lodz Voivodeship, Kaliska Powiat, village Kostelnaya. Nationality: Gypsy woman. Place of Residence: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, village Sędziwuje. Verdict: Deportation in the Arkhangelsk Oblast, Yemetsk Rayon, special settlement Kodysh. Date of Arrival: July 10, 1940. Released from the forced settlement under an amnesty on September 6, 1941. Source: *Польские спецпереселенцы в Архангельской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1117042>.

**Brezhinskaya, Barbara Stefanovna.** Year of Birth: 1933. Place of Birth: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, village Sędziwuje. Nationality: Gypsy girl. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, village Sędziwuje. Verdict: Deportation in the Arkhangelsk Oblast, Yemetsk Rayon, special settlement Kodysh. Date of Arrival: July 10, 1940. Released from the forced settlement under an amnesty on September 6, 1941. Source: *Польские спецпереселенцы в Архангельской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1117043>.

**Brezhinskaya, Klavdia Stefanovna.** Year of Birth: 1941. Place of Birth: Arkhangelsk Oblast, Yemetsk Rayon, special settlement Kodysh. Nationality: Gypsy girl. Place of Residence: Born in a special settlement, Kodysh. Verdict: Deportation in the Arkhangelsk Oblast, Yemetsk Rayon, special settlement Kodysh. Date of Arrival: March 6, 1941. Released from the forced settlement under an amnesty on September 6, 1941. Source: *Польские спецпереселенцы в Архангельской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1117045>.

**Brezhinskaya, Maryana Adolfovna.** Year of Birth: 1933. Place of Birth: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, village Sędziwuje. Nationality: Gypsy girl. Place of Residence: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, village Sędziwuje. Verdict: Deportation in the Arkhangelsk Oblast, Yemetsk Rayon, special settlement Nyavrus. Date of Arrival: July 10, 1940. Released from the forced settlement under an amnesty on September 6, 1941. Source: *Польские спецпереселенцы в Архангельской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1117046>.

**Brezhinskaya, Natalia Motildovna.** Year of Birth: 1900. Place of Birth: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, village Sędziwuje. Nationality: Gypsy woman. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence: Bialystok Oblast. Verdict: Deportation in the Arkhangelsk Oblast, Yemetsk Rayon, special settlement Kodysh. Date of Arrival: July 10, 1940. Released from the forced settlement under an amnesty on September 6, 1941. Source: *Польские спецпереселенцы в Архангельской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/117047>.

**Brezhinskaya, Viktoria Levaron** (variants: Levarantovna, Ivanovna). Year of Birth: 1903. Place of Birth: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, village Sędziwuje. Nationality: Gypsy woman. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, village Sędziwuje. Verdict: Deportation in the Arkhangelsk Oblast, Yemetsk Rayon, special settlement Nyavrus. Date of Arrival: July 10, 1940. Released from the forced settlement under an amnesty on September 6, 1941. Source: *Польские спецпереселенцы в Архангельской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/117044>.

**Brezhinsky, Adolf Yanovich.** Year of Birth: 1899. Place of Birth: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, village Zakrzew. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, village Sędziwuje. Verdict: Deportation in the Arkhangelsk Oblast, Yemetsk Rayon, special settlement Nyavrus. Date of Arrival: July 10, 1940. Arrested: August 15, 1940. Source: *Польские спецпереселенцы в Архангельской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/117048>.

**Brezhinsky, Alfred Stefanovich.** Year of Birth: 1938. Place of Birth: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, village Sędziwuje. Nationality: Gypsy boy. Place of Residence: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, village Sędziwuje. Verdict: Deportation in the Arkhangelsk Oblast, Yemetsk Rayon, special settlement Kodysh. Date of Arrival: July 10, 1940. Released from the forced settlement under an amnesty on September 6, 1941. Source: *Польские спецпереселенцы в Архангельской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/117049>.

**Brezinsky, Feliks Emilevich** (variant: Brezhinsky). Year of Birth: 1886. Place of Birth: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, village Sędziwuje. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Semi-literate. Place of Residence: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, village Sędziwuje. Verdict: Deportation in the Arkhangelsk

Oblast, Yemetsk Rayon, special settlement Kodysh. Date of Arrival: July 10, 1940. Released from the forced settlement under an amnesty on September 6, 1941. Source: *Польские спецпереселенцы в Архангельской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/117054>.

**Brezhinsky, Stefan Otalyevich** (variant: Otylevich). Year of Birth: 1914. Place of Birth: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, village Sędziwuje. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, village Razminka. Verdict: Deportation in the Arkhangelsk Oblast, Yemetsk Rayon, special settlement Kodysh. Date of Arrival: July 10, 1940. Released from the forced settlement under an amnesty on September 6, 1941. Source: *Польские спецпереселенцы в Архангельской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/117050>.

**Brshezinskaya, Ganna Feliksovna** (variants: Brezhinskaya; Nana). Year of Birth: 1920. Place of Birth: Lodz Voivodeship, Piotrkow Powiat, town of Kleczew. Nationality: Gypsy woman. Place of Residence: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, village Sędziwuje. Verdict: Deportation in the Arkhangelsk Oblast, Yemetsk Rayon, special settlement Kodysh. Date of Arrival: July 10, 1940. Released from the forced settlement under an amnesty on September 6, 1941. Source: *Польские спецпереселенцы в Архангельской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/117297>.

**Brshezinskaya, Ganna Feliksovna** (variant: Brezhinskaya). Year of Birth: 1937. Place of Birth: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, village Sędziwuje. Nationality: Gypsy girl. Place of Residence: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, village Sędziwuje. Verdict: Deportation in the Arkhangelsk Oblast, Yemetsk Rayon, special settlement Kodysh. Date of Arrival: July 10, 1940. Released from the forced settlement under an amnesty on September 6, 1941. Source: *Польские спецпереселенцы в Архангельской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/117298>.

**Brshezinskaya, Khristina Yanovna** (variant: Brezhinskaya). Year of Birth: 1936. Place of Birth: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, village Sędziwuje. Nationality: Gypsy girl. Place of Residence: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, village Sędziwuje. Verdict: Deportation in the Arkhangelsk Oblast, Yemetsk Rayon, special settlement Kodysh. Date of Arrival: July 10, 1940. Released from the forced settlement under an amnesty on September 6, 1941. Source: *Польские спецпереселенцы в Архангельской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/117299>.

**Brshezinsky, Karol Feliksovich** (variant: Brezhinsky). Year of Birth: 1929. Place of Birth: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, village Sędziwuje. Nationality: Gypsy boy. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, village Sędziwuje. Verdict: Deportation in the Arkhangelsk Oblast, Yemetsk Rayon, special settlement Kodysh. Date of Arrival: July 10, 1940. Released from the forced settlement under an amnesty on September 6, 1941. Source: *Польские спецпереселенцы в Архангельской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/117300>.

**Burlenskaya, Galina Mikhaylovna**. Year of Birth: 1928. Place of Birth: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, village Sędziwuje. Nationality: Gypsy girl. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, village Sędziwuje. Verdict: Deportation in the Arkhangelsk Oblast, Yemetsk Rayon, special settlement Kodysh. Date of Arrival: July 10, 1940. Released from the forced settlement under an amnesty on September 6, 1941. Source: *Польские спецпереселенцы в Архангельской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/117705>.

**Burlenskaya, Tafia Yuzefovna**. Year of Birth: 1875. Place of Birth: Warsaw Governorate, Błonie Uyezd, Grondy. Nationality: Gypsy woman. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, village Sędziwuje. Verdict: Deportation in the Arkhangelsk Oblast, Yemetsk Rayon, special settlement Kodysh. Date of Arrival: July 10, 1940. Released from the forced settlement under an amnesty on September 6, 1941. Source: *Польские спецпереселенцы в Архангельской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/117706>.

**Burlensky, Alexander Matushevich**. Year of Birth: 1924. Place of Birth: Warsaw Voivodeship, city of Warsaw. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, village Sędziwuje. Verdict: Deportation in the Arkhangelsk Oblast, Yemetsk Rayon, special settlement Kodysh. Date of Arrival: July 10, 1940. Released from the forced settlement under an amnesty on September 6, 1941. Source: *Польские спецпереселенцы в Архангельской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/117707>.

**Burlensky, Mateusz Antonovich**. Year of Birth: 1875. Place of Birth: Bialystok Governorate, Luck Uyezd, town of Lututów. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, village Sędziwuje. Verdict: Deportation in the Arkhangelsk Oblast, Yemetsk Rayon,

special settlement Kodysh. Date of Arrival: July 10, 1940. Released from the forced settlement under an amnesty on September 6, 1941. Source: *Польские спецпереселенцы в Архангельской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/117708>.

**Burlensky, Shishun Matushevich** (variants: Burlensky; Shimon). Year of Birth: 1921. Place of Birth: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, town of Stryków. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, village Sędziwuje. Verdict: Deportation in the Arkhangelsk Oblast, Yemetsk Rayon, special settlement Kodysh. Date of Arrival: July 10, 1940. Released from the forced settlement under an amnesty on September 6, 1941. Source: *Польские спецпереселенцы в Архангельской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/117709>.

**Bzazovskaya, Marianna Edvardovna**. Year of Birth: 1930, Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, town of Zambrów. Nationality: Gypsy girl. Place of Residence: Bialystok Oblast, village Czerwona Wieś. Verdict: Deportation in the Arkhangelsk Oblast, Yemetsk Rayon, special settlement Nyavrus. Date of Arrival: July 10, 1940. Released from the forced settlement under an amnesty: September 6, 1941. Source: *Польские спецпереселенцы в Архангельской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/115565>.

**Bzazovskaya, Marianna Leonovna**. Year of Birth: 1910, Poznań Voivodeship, Kościan Powiat, village Czerwona Wieś. Nationality: Gypsy woman. Place of Residence: Bialystok Oblast, village Czerwona Wieś. Verdict: Deportation in the Arkhangelsk Oblast, Yemetsk Rayon, special settlement Nyavrus. Date of Arrival: July 10, 1940. Released from the forced settlement under an amnesty: September 6, 1941. Source: *Польские спецпереселенцы в Архангельской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/115564>.

**Bzazovsky, Boleslav Edvardovich**. Year of Birth: 1937, Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, town of Zambrów. Nationality: Gypsy boy. Place of Residence: Bialystok Oblast, village Czerwona Wieś. Verdict: Deportation in the Arkhangelsk Oblast, Yemetsk Rayon, special settlement Nyavrus. Date of Arrival: July 10, 1940. Released from the forced settlement under an amnesty on September 6, 1941. Source: *Польские спецпереселенцы в Архангельской*

*области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1115566>.

**Bzazovsky, Edvard.** Year of Birth: 1915. Place of Birth: Poznań Voivodeship, Kościan Powiat, Kishven. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: Bialystok Oblast, village Czerwona Wieś. Verdict: Deportation in the Arkhangelsk Oblast, Yemetsk Rayon, special settlement Nyavrus. Date of Arrival: July 10, 1940. Released from the forced settlement under an amnesty on September 6, 1941. Source: *Польские спецпереселенцы в Архангельской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1115569>.

**Bzazovsky, Kazimir Edvardovich.** Year of Birth: 1932, Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, town of Zambrów. Nationality: Gypsy boy. Place of Residence: Bialystok Oblast, village Czerwona Wieś. Verdict: Deportation in the Arkhangelsk Oblast, Yemetsk Rayon, special settlement Nyavrus. Date of Arrival: July 10, 1940. Released from the forced settlement under an amnesty on September 6, 1941. Source: *Польские спецпереселенцы в Архангельской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1115567>.

**Bzazovsky, Stanislav Edvardovich.** Year of Birth: 1940, Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, town of Zambrów. Nationality: Gypsy boy. Place of Residence: Bialystok Oblast, village Czerwona Wieś. Verdict: Deportation in the Arkhangelsk Oblast, Yemetsk Rayon, special settlement Nyavrus. Date of Arrival: July 10, 1940. Died: November 3, 1940. Source: *Польские спецпереселенцы в Архангельской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1115568>.

**Kaminskaya, Barbina Filippovna** (variants: Kaminskaya; Balbina). Year of Birth: 1892. Place of Birth: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, town of Zambrów. Nationality: Gypsy woman. Place of Residence: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, village Sędziwuje. Verdict: Deportation in the Arkhangelsk Oblast, Yemetsk Rayon, special settlement Nyavrus. Date of Arrival: July 10, 1940. Released from the forced settlement under an amnesty on September 6, 1941. Source: *Польские спецпереселенцы в Архангельской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1131295>.

**Kaminskaya, Lekadia Antonovna.** Year of Birth: 1933. Place of Birth: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, village Sędziwuje. Nationality: Gypsy girl. Place of



Residence: Bialystok Oblast, Bialystok Rayon, village Ogorodnichki. Verdict: Deportation in the Arkhangelsk Oblast, Yemetsk Rayon, special settlement Kodysh. Date of Arrival: July 10, 1940. Released from the forced settlement under an amnesty on September 6, 1941. Source: *Польские спецпереселенцы в Архангельской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1131324>.

**Kaminskaya, Teresa Antonovna.** Year of Birth: 1931. Place of Birth: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, village Sędziwuje. Nationality: Gypsy girl. Place of Residence: Bialystok Oblast, Bialystok Rayon, village Ogorodnichki. Verdict: Deportation in the Arkhangelsk Oblast, Yemetsk Rayon, special settlement Kodysh. Date of Arrival: July 10, 1940. Released from the forced settlement under an amnesty on September 6, 1941. Source: *Польские спецпереселенцы в Архангельской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1131350>.

**Kaminskaya, Veronika** (variant: Kaminskaya, Veronika Motyldovna). Year of Birth: 1910. Place of Birth: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, village Sędziwuje. Nationality: Gypsy woman. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence: Bialystok Oblast, Bialystok Rayon, village Ogorodnichki. Verdict: Deportation in the Arkhangelsk Oblast, Yemetsk Rayon, special settlement Nyavrus. Date of Arrival: July 10, 1940. Released from the forced settlement under an amnesty on September 6, 1941. Source: *Польские спецпереселенцы в Архангельской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1131303>.

**Kaminskaya, Yanina Vladislavovna.** Year of Birth: 1937. Place of Birth: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, town of Zambrów. Nationality: Gypsy girl. Place of Residence: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, village Sędziwuje. Verdict: Deportation in the Arkhangelsk Oblast, Yemetsk Rayon, special settlement Nyavrus. Date of Arrival: July 10, 1940. Released from the forced settlement under an amnesty on September 6, 1941. Source: *Польские спецпереселенцы в Архангельской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1131365>.

**Kaminsky, Adam Vladislavovich.** Year of Birth: 1934. Place of Birth: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, town of Zambrów. Nationality: Gypsy boy. Place of Residence: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, village Sędziwuje. Verdict: Deportation in the Arkhangelsk Oblast, Yemetsk Rayon, special settlement Nyavrus. Date of Arrival: July 10, 1940. Released from the forced settlement under an amnesty on September 6, 1941. *Польские спецпереселенцы в*

*Архангельской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1131366>.

**Kaminsky, Anton Yanovich.** Year of Birth: 1903. Place of Birth: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, village Sędziwuje. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence: Bialystok Oblast, Bialystok Rayon, village Ogorodnichki. Verdict: Deportation in the Arkhangelsk Oblast, Yemetsk Rayon, special settlement Kodysh. Date of Arrival: July 10, 1940. Released from the forced settlement under an amnesty on September 6, 1941. Source: *Польские спецпереселенцы в Архангельской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1131373>.

**Kaminsky, Boleslav Vladislavovich.** Year of Birth: 1926. Place of Birth: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, town of Zambrów. Nationality: Gypsy boy. Place of Residence: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, village Sędziwuje. Verdict: Deportation in the Arkhangelsk Oblast, Yemetsk Rayon, special settlement Nyavrus. Date of Arrival: July 10, 1940. Released from the forced settlement under an amnesty on September 6, 1941. Source: *Польские спецпереселенцы в Архангельской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1131375>.

**Kaminsky, Stanislav Antonovich.** Year of Birth: 1928. Place of Birth: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, village Sędziwuje. Nationality: Gypsy boy. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence: Bialystok Oblast, Bialystok Rayon, village Ogorodnichki. Verdict: Deportation in the Arkhangelsk Oblast, Yemetsk Rayon, special settlement Kodysh. Date of Arrival: July 10, 1940. Released from the forced settlement under an amnesty on September 6, 1941. Source: *Польские спецпереселенцы в Архангельской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1131425>.

**Kaminsky, Stanislav Vladislavovich.** Year of Birth: 1940. Place of Birth: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, town of Zambrów. Nationality: Gypsy boy. Place of Residence: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, village Sędziwuje. Verdict: Deportation in the Arkhangelsk Oblast, Yemetsk Rayon, special settlement Nyavrus. Date of Arrival: July 10, 1940. Released from the forced settlement under an amnesty on September 6, 1941. Source: *Польские спецпереселенцы в Архангельской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1131427>.

**Kaminsky, Tomash Vladislavovich.** Year of Birth: 1929. Place of Birth: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, town of Zambrów. Nationality: Gypsy boy. Place

of Residence: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, village Sędziwuje. Verdict: Deportation in the Arkhangelsk Oblast, Yemetsk Rayon, special settlement Nyavrus. Date of Arrival: July 10, 1940. Released from the forced settlement under an amnesty on September 6, 1941. Source: *Польские спецпереселенцы в Архангельской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1131434>.

**Kaminsky, Vladislav Antonovich.** Year of Birth: 1937. Place of Birth: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, village Sędziwuje. Nationality: Gypsy boy. Place of Residence: Bialystok Oblast, Bialystok Rayon, village Ogorodnichki. Verdict: Deportation in the Arkhangelsk Oblast, Yemetsk Rayon, special settlement Kodysk. Date of Arrival: July 10, 1940. Released from the forced settlement under an amnesty on September 6, 1941. Source: *Польские спецпереселенцы в Архангельской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1131384>.

**Kaminsky, Vladislav Vladislavovich.** Year of Birth: 1923. Place of Birth: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, town of Zambrów. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, village Sędziwuje. Verdict: Deportation in the Arkhangelsk Oblast, Yemetsk Rayon, special settlement Nyavrus. Date of Arrival: July 10, 1940. Arrested: August 15, 1940. Source: *Польские спецпереселенцы в Архангельской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1131385>.

**Kaminsky, Vladislav Yanovich.** Year of Birth: 1886. Place of Birth: Kalisz Governorate, Konin Uyezd, village Oseczko. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, village Sędziwuje. Verdict: Deportation in the Arkhangelsk Oblast, Yemetsk Rayon, special settlement Nyavrus. Date of Arrival: July 10, 1940. Arrested by NKVD: July 1, 1941. Released from the forced settlement under an amnesty on September 6, 1941. Source: *Польские спецпереселенцы в Архангельской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1131390>.

**Kaminsky, Yan Antonovich.** Year of Birth: 1933. Place of Birth: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, village Sędziwuje. Nationality: Gypsy boy. Place of Residence: Bialystok Oblast, Bialystok Rayon, village Ogorodnichki. Verdict: Deportation in the Arkhangelsk Oblast, Yemetsk Rayon, special settlement Kodysk. Date of Arrival: July 10, 1940. Released from the forced settlement under an amnesty on September 6, 1941. Source: *Польские спецпереселенцы в Архангельской*

области; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1131441>.

**Khav, Antonina Vladislavovna.** (variant: Khau). Year of Birth: 1935. Nationality: Gypsy girl. Place of Residence: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, village Sędziwuje. Verdict: Deportation in the Arkhangelsk Oblast, Yemetsk Rayon, special settlement Kodysh. Date of Arrival: July 10, 1940. Released from the forced settlement under an amnesty on September 4, 1941. Source: *Польские спецпереселенцы в Архангельской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1162105>.

**Khav, Roman Vladislavovich** (variant: Khau). Year of Birth: 1937. Nationality: Gypsy boy. Place of Residence: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, village Sędziwuje. Verdict: Deportation in the Arkhangelsk Oblast, Yemetsk Rayon, special settlement Kodysh. Date of Arrival: July 10, 1940. Released from the forced settlement under an amnesty on September 4, 1941. Source: *Польские спецпереселенцы в Архангельской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1162109>.

**Khav, Stefan Vladislavovich** (variant: Khau). Year of Birth: 1939. Nationality: Gypsy boy. Place of Residence: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, village Sędziwuje. Verdict: Deportation in the Arkhangelsk Oblast, Yemetsk Rayon, special settlement Kodysh. Date of Arrival: July 10, 1940. Released from the forced settlement under an amnesty on September 4, 1941. Source: *Польские спецпереселенцы в Архангельской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1162110>.

**Khav, Teresa Vladislavovna** (variant: Khau). Year of Birth: 1937. Nationality: Gypsy girl. Place of Residence: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, village Sędziwuje. Verdict: Deportation in the Arkhangelsk Oblast, Yemetsk Rayon, special settlement Kodysh. Date of Arrival: July 10, 1940. Released from the forced settlement under an amnesty on September 4, 1941. Source: *Польские спецпереселенцы в Архангельской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1162111>.

**Khav, Vladislav Stanislavovich** (variant: Khau). Year of Birth: 1906. Place of Birth: Pomezhskiy Governorate, Lipnovskiy Uyezd, Bavravnicheskaya Volost, village Pyanski. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: 2 classes. Place of Residence: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, village Sędziwuje. Verdict:

Deportation in the Arkhangelsk Oblast, Yemetsk Rayon, special settlement Kodysh. Date of Arrival: July 10, 1940. Released from the forced settlement under an amnesty on September 6, 1941. Source: *Польские спецпереселенцы в Архангельской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1162107>.

**Khav, Vladislav Vladislavovich** (variant: Khau). Year of Birth: 1931. Nationality: Gypsy boy. Place of Residence: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, village Sędziwuje. Verdict: Deportation in the Arkhangelsk Oblast, Yemetsk Rayon, special settlement Kodysh. Date of Arrival: July 10, 1940. Released from the forced settlement under an amnesty on September 4, 1941. Source: *Польские спецпереселенцы в Архангельской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1162106>.

**Khav, Zofia Leonovna** (variant: Khau). Year of Birth: 1906. Place of Birth: Poznań Voivodeship, Kościan Powiat, Grodzicy. Nationality: Gypsy woman. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, village Sędziwuje. Verdict: Deportation in the Arkhangelsk Oblast, Yemetsk Rayon, special settlement Kodysh. Date of Arrival: July 10, 1940. Released from the forced settlement under an amnesty on September 4, 1941. Source: *Польские спецпереселенцы в Архангельской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1162108>.

**Kovalskaya, Ruzalya Yanovna**. Year of Birth: 1877. Place of Birth: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, village Sędziwuje. Nationality: Gypsy woman. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence: Bialystok Oblast, Ciechanowiec Rayon, town of Ciechanowiec. Verdict: Deportation in the Arkhangelsk Oblast, Yemetsk Rayon, special settlement Kodysh. Date of Arrival: July 10, 1940. Released from the forced settlement under an amnesty on September 6, 1941. Source: *Польские спецпереселенцы в Архангельской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1133737>.

**Kovalskaya, Veronika Robertovna**. Year of Birth: 1929. Place of Birth: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, village Sędziwuje. Nationality: Gypsy girl. Place of Residence: Bialystok Oblast, Bialystok Rayon, village Ogrodnichki. Verdict: Deportation in the Arkhangelsk Oblast, Yemetsk Rayon, special settlement Kodysh. Date of Arrival: July 10, 1940. Released from the forced settlement under an amnesty on September 6, 1941. Source: *Польские спецпереселенцы в Архангельской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1133699>.

**Kovalskaya, Veronika Yuzefovna.** Year of Birth: 1921. Place of Birth: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, village Sędziwuje. Nationality: Gypsy woman. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence: Bialystok Oblast, Ciechanowiec Rayon, town of Ciechanowiec. Verdict: Deportation in the Arkhangelsk Oblast, Yemetsk Rayon, special settlement Kodysh. Date of Arrival: July 10, 1940. Released from the forced settlement under an amnesty on September 6, 1941. Source: *Польские спецпереселенцы в Архангельской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1133700>.

**Kovalskaya, Yanina Robertovna.** Year of Birth: 1931. Place of Birth: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, village Sędziwuje. Nationality: Gypsy girl. Place of Residence: Bialystok Oblast, Bialystok Rayon, village Ogrodnichki. Verdict: Deportation in the Arkhangelsk Oblast, Yemetsk Rayon, special settlement Kodysh. Date of Arrival: July 10, 1940. Released from the forced settlement under an amnesty on September 6, 1941. Source: *Польские спецпереселенцы в Архангельской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1133760>.

**Kovalsky, Bronislav Yanovich.** Year of Birth: 1910. Place of Birth: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, village Sędziwuje. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence: Bialystok Oblast, Ciechanowiec Rayon, town of Ciechanowiec. Verdict: Deportation in the Arkhangelsk Oblast, Yemetsk Rayon, special settlement Kodysh. Date of Arrival: July 10, 1940. Released from the forced settlement under an amnesty on September 6, 1941. Source: *Польские спецпереселенцы в Архангельской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1133771>.

**Kovalsky, Robert Petrovich.** Year of Birth: 1890. Place of Birth: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, village Sędziwuje. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence: Bialystok Oblast, Bialystok Rayon, village Ogrodnichki. Verdict: Deportation in the Arkhangelsk Oblast, Yemetsk Rayon, special settlement Kodysh. Date of Arrival: July 10, 1940. Released from the forced settlement under an amnesty on September 6, 1941. Source: *Польские спецпереселенцы в Архангельской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1133802>.

**Kovalsky, Tadeush Bronislavovich.** Year of Birth: 1940. Place of Birth: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, village Sędziwuje. Nationality: Gypsy boy. Place of Residence: Bialystok Oblast, Ciechanowiec Rayon, town of Ciechanowiec. Verdict: Deportation in the Arkhangelsk Oblast, Yemetsk Rayon, special

settlement Kodysh. Date of Arrival: July 10, 1940. Released from the forced settlement under an amnesty on September 6, 1941. Source: *Польские спецпереселенцы в Архангельской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1133817>.

**Kovalsky, Yan Frantsevich.** Year of Birth: 1877. Place of Birth: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, village Sędziwuje. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: Bialystok Oblast, Ciechanowiec Rayon, town of Ciechanowiec. Verdict: Deportation in the Arkhangelsk Oblast, Yemetsk Rayon, special settlement Kodysh. Date of Arrival: July 10, 1940. Released from the forced settlement under an amnesty on September 6, 1941. Source: *Польские спецпереселенцы в Архангельской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1133829>.

**Kvetkovskaya, Azofya Kshestovna.** Year of Birth: 1932. Place of Birth: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, town of Zambrów. Nationality: Gypsy girl. Place of Residence: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, village Sędziwuje. Verdict: Deportation in the Arkhangelsk Oblast, Yemetsk Rayon, special settlement Nyavrus. Date of Arrival: July 10, 1940. Released from the forced settlement under an amnesty on September 6, 1941. Source: *Польские спецпереселенцы в Архангельской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1132327>.

**Kvetkovskaya, Helena.** Year of Birth: 1902. Place of Birth: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, town of Zambrów. Nationality: Gypsy woman. Place of Residence: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon. Verdict: Deportation in the Arkhangelsk Oblast, Yemetsk Rayon, special settlement Nyavrus. Date of Arrival: July 11, 1940. Released from the forced settlement under an amnesty on September 3, 1941. Source: *Польские спецпереселенцы в Архангельской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1132341>.

**Kvetkovskaya, Marinya Kshistovna.** Year of Birth: 1936. Place of Birth: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, town of Zambrów. Nationality: Gypsy girl. Place of Residence: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, village Sędziwuje. Verdict: Deportation in the Arkhangelsk Oblast, Yemetsk Rayon, special settlement Nyavrus. Date of Arrival: July 10, 1940. Released from the forced settlement under an amnesty on September 3, 1941. Source: *Польские спецпереселенцы в Архангельской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1132335>.

**Kvetkovskaya, Stefania Kshistovna.** Year of Birth: 1929. Place of Birth: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, town of Zambrów. Nationality: Gypsy girl. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, village Sędziwuje. Verdict: Deportation in the Arkhangelsk Oblast, Yemetsk Rayon, special settlement Nyavrus. Date of Arrival: July 10, 1940. Released from the forced settlement under an amnesty on September 3, 1941. Source: *Польские спецпереселенцы в Архангельской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1132338>.

**Kvetkovskaya, Stefania Ulyanovna** (variants: Kvetkovskaya; Leonovna). Year of Birth: 1905. Place of Birth: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, town of Zambrów (variant: city of Radom). Nationality: Gypsy woman. Place of Residence: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, village Sędziwuje. Verdict: Deportation in the Arkhangelsk Oblast, Yemetsk Rayon, special settlement Nyavrus. Date of Arrival: July 10, 1940. Released from the forced settlement under an amnesty on September 3, 1941. Source: *Польские спецпереселенцы в Архангельской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1132339>.

**Kvetkovskaya, Stefania Yanovna.** Year of Birth: 1922. Place of Birth: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, village Sędziwuje. Nationality: Gypsy woman. Place of Residence: Bialystok Oblast. Verdict: Deportation in the Arkhangelsk Oblast, Yemetsk Rayon, special settlement Kodysh. Date of Arrival: July 7, 1940. Source: *Польские спецпереселенцы в Архангельской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1132340>.

**Kvetkovsky, Antony Yanovich** (variants: Kvyatkovsky; Ivanovich). Year of Birth: 1929 (variant: 1921). Place of Birth: Bialystok Oblast, town of Zambrów (variant: Romashevo). Nationality: Gypsy boy. Place of Residence: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon. Verdict: Deportation in the Arkhangelsk Oblast, Yemetsk Rayon, special settlement Nyavrus. Date of Arrival: July 11, 1940. Released from the forced settlement under an amnesty on September 3, 1941. Source: *Польские спецпереселенцы в Архангельской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1132343>.

**Kvetkovsky, Boleslav Yanovich.** Year of Birth: 1925. Place of Birth: Bialystok Oblast, town of Zambrów. Nationality: Gypsy boy. Place of Residence: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon. Verdict: Deportation in the Arkhangelsk Oblast, Yemetsk Rayon, special settlement Nyavrus. Date of Arrival: July 11, 1940. Released from the forced settlement under an amnesty on September 3,



1941. Source: *Польские спецпереселенцы в Архангельской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1132344>.

**Kvetkovsky, Bronislav Yanovich.** Year of Birth: 1925. Place of Birth: Bialystok Oblast, town of Zambrów. Nationality: Gypsy boy. Place of Residence: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon. Verdict: Deportation in the Arkhangelsk Oblast, Yemetsk Rayon, special settlement Nyavrus. Date of Arrival: July 11, 1940. Released from the forced settlement under an amnesty on September 3, 1941. Source: *Польские спецпереселенцы в Архангельской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1132346>.

**Kvetkovsky, Hendrik Yanovich.** Year of Birth: 1935. Place of Birth: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, town of Zambrów. Nationality: Gypsy boy. Place of Residence: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon. Verdict: Deportation in the Arkhangelsk Oblast, Yemetsk Rayon, special settlement Nyavrus. Date of Arrival: July 11, 1940. Released from the forced settlement under an amnesty on September 3, 1941. Source: *Польские спецпереселенцы в Архангельской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1132351>.

**Kvetkovsky, Roman Kshestovich.** Year of Birth: 1935. Place of Birth: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, town of Zambrów. Nationality: Gypsy boy. Place of Residence: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, village Sędziwuje. Verdict: Deportation in the Arkhangelsk Oblast, Yemetsk Rayon, special settlement Nyavrus. Date of Arrival: July 11, 1940. Released from the forced settlement under an amnesty on September 3, 1941. Source: *Польские спецпереселенцы в Архангельской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1132348>.

**Kvyatkovskaya, Maria Kshestovna.** Year of Birth: 1940. Place of Birth: Arkhangelsk Oblast, Yemetsk Rayon. Nationality: Gypsy girl. Place of Residence: Born in a special settlement Nyavrus. Verdict: Deportation in the Arkhangelsk Oblast, Yemetsk Rayon, special settlement Nyavrus. Date of Arrival: December 25, 1940. Released from the forced settlement under an amnesty on September 3, 1941. Source: *Польские спецпереселенцы в Архангельской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1132417>.

**Kvyatkovskaya, Sobina Yanovna.** Year of Birth: 1937. Place of Birth: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, village Sędziwuje. Nationality: Gypsy girl. Education:

Illiterate. Place of Residence: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, village Sędziwuje. Verdict: Deportation in the Arkhangelsk Oblast, Yemetsk Rayon, special settlement Kodysk. Date of Arrival: July 10, 1940. Released from the forced settlement under an amnesty on September 6, 1941. Source: *Польские спецпереселенцы в Архангельской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1132420>.

**Kvyatkovskaya, Ulyana Yanovna.** Year of Birth: 1905. Place of Birth: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, village Sędziwuje. Nationality: Gypsy woman. Place of Residence: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, village Sędziwuje. Verdict: Deportation in the Arkhangelsk Oblast, Yemetsk Rayon, special settlement Kodysk. Date of Arrival: July 10, 1940. Released from the forced settlement under an amnesty on September 6, 1941. Source: *Польские спецпереселенцы в Архангельской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1132424>.

**Kvyatkovskaya, Vanda Yanovna.** Year of Birth: 1930. Place of Birth: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, village Sędziwuje. Nationality: Gypsy girl. Place of Residence: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, village Sędziwuje. Verdict: Deportation in the Arkhangelsk Oblast, Yemetsk Rayon, special settlement Kodysk. Date of Arrival: July 10, 1940. Released from the forced settlement under an amnesty on September 6, 1941. Source: *Польские спецпереселенцы в Архангельской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1132408>.

**Kvyatkovskaya, Zosia Yanovna.** Year of Birth: 1934. Place of Birth: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, village Sędziwuje. Nationality: Gypsy girl. Place of Residence: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, village Sędziwuje. Verdict: Deportation in the Arkhangelsk Oblast, Yemetsk Rayon, special settlement Kodysk. Date of Arrival: July 10, 1940. Released from the forced settlement under an amnesty on September 6, 1941. Source: *Польские спецпереселенцы в Архангельской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1132413>.

**Kvyatkovsky, Kshestov Shimanovich** (variant: Semyonovich). Year of Birth: 1898. Place of Birth: Krakow Voivodeship, Chrzanów Powiat, village Konty. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, village Sędziwuje. Verdict: Deportation in the Arkhangelsk Oblast, Yemetsk Rayon, special settlement Nyavrus. Date of Arrival: July 11, 1940. Released from the forced settlement under an amnesty on September 3, 1941. Source:

*Польские спецпереселенцы в Архангельской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1132436>.

**Kvyatkovsky, Roman Yanovich.** Year of Birth: 1939. Place of Birth: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, village Sędziwuje. Nationality: Gypsy boy. Place of Residence: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, village Sędziwuje. Verdict: Deportation in the Arkhangelsk Oblast, Yemetsk Rayon, special settlement Kodysh. Date of Arrival: July 10, 1940. Released from the forced settlement under an amnesty on September 6, 1941. Source: *Польские спецпереселенцы в Архангельской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1132442>.

**Kvyatkovsky, Vladislav Ivanovich.** Year of Birth: 1941. Place of Birth: Arkhangelsk Oblast, Yemetsk Rayon. Nationality: Gypsy boy. Place of Residence: Born in a special settlement, Kodysh. Verdict: Deportation in the Arkhangelsk Oblast, Yemetsk Rayon, special settlement Kodysh. Date of Arrival: February 21, 1941. Released from the forced settlement under an amnesty on September 6, 1941. Source: *Польские спецпереселенцы в Архангельской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1132430>.

**Kvyatkovsky, Yan Getrudovich.** Year of Birth: 1894. Place of Birth: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, town of Zambrów. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon. Verdict: Deportation in the Arkhangelsk Oblast, Yemetsk Rayon, special settlement Nyavrus. Date of Arrival: July 10, 1940. Released from the forced settlement under an amnesty on September 3, 1941. Source: *Польские спецпереселенцы в Архангельской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1132449>.

**Kvyatkovsky, Yan Yakubovich.** Year of Birth: 1893. Place of Birth: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, village Sędziwuje. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, village Sędziwuje. Verdict: Deportation in the Arkhangelsk Oblast, Yemetsk Rayon, special settlement Kodysh. Date of Arrival: July 10, 1940. Released from the forced settlement under an amnesty on September 6, 1941. Source: *Польские спецпереселенцы в Архангельской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1132450>.

**Rapochevskaya, Stanislava Stanislavovna** (variants: Rapachevskaya; Rapochinskaya; Rapotinskaya; Ropotinskaya). Year of Birth: 1922. Place of Birth: Lodz Voivodeship, Kalisz Powiat, Lisevi. Nationality: Gypsy woman. Place of Residence: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, village Miro Vys. Verdict: Deportation in the Arkhangelsk Oblast, Yemetsk Rayon, special settlement Nyavrus. Date of Arrival: July 10, 1940. Released from the forced settlement under an amnesty on September 6, 1941. Source: *Польские спецпереселенцы в Архангельской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1151763>.

**Rapochevsky, Roman Idevich** (variants: Rapachevsky; Rapochinsky; Rapotinsky; Ropotinsky). Year of Birth: 1906. Place of Birth: Lutsk Governorate, Lutsk Powiat, Ostroviny Vilyun. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, village Miro Vys. Verdict: Deportation in the Arkhangelsk Oblast, Yemetsk Rayon, special settlement Nyavrus. Date of Arrival: July 10, 1940. Released from the forced settlement under an amnesty on September 6, 1941. Source: *Польские спецпереселенцы в Архангельской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1151764>.

**Rapochevsky, Stefan Romanovich** (variants: Rapachevsky; Rapochinsky; Rapotinsky; Ropotinsky). Year of Birth: 1939. Place of Birth: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon. Nationality: Gypsy boy. Place of Residence: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, village Miro Vys. Verdict: Deportation in the Arkhangelsk Oblast, Yemetsk Rayon, special settlement Nyavrus. Date of Arrival: July 10, 1940. Released from the forced settlement under an amnesty on September 6, 1941. Source: *Польские спецпереселенцы в Архангельской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1151765>.

**Rodskaya, Lyubov Lavrentyevna**. Year of Birth: 1939. Place of Birth: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, village Sędziwuje. Nationality: Gypsy girl. Place of Residence: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, village Sędziwuje. Verdict: Deportation in the Arkhangelsk Oblast, Yemetsk Rayon, special settlement Nyavrus. Date of Arrival: July 10, 1940. Released from the forced settlement under an amnesty on September 6, 1941. Source: *Польские спецпереселенцы в Архангельской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1152480>.

**Rodskaya, Vanda Severmovna** (variants: Radska; Racka; Severyanovna). Year of Birth: 1907. Place of Birth: Radom. Nationality: Gypsy woman. Place of Residence: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, village Sędziwuje. Verdict: Deportation in the Arkhangelsk Oblast, Yemetsk Rayon, special settlement Nyavrus. Date of Arrival: July 10, 1940. Released from the forced settlement under an amnesty on September 6, 1941. Source: *Польские спецпереселенцы в Архангельской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1152478>.

**Rodskaya, Zofia Lavrentyevna**. Year of Birth: 1933. Place of Birth: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, village Sędziwuje. Nationality: Gypsy girl. Place of Residence: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, village Sędziwuje. Verdict: Deportation in the Arkhangelsk Oblast, Yemetsk Rayon, special settlement Nyavrus. Date of Arrival: July 10, 1940. Released from the forced settlement under an amnesty on September 6, 1941. Source: *Польские спецпереселенцы в Архангельской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1152479>.

**Rodsky, Lavrenty Yanovich**. Year of Birth: 1904. Place of Birth: Lodz Voivodeship, Konin Powiat, Zamostki. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, village Sędziwuje. Verdict: Deportation in the Arkhangelsk Oblast, Yemetsk Rayon, special settlement Nyavrus. Date of Arrival: July 10, 1940. Arrested on August 15, 1940. Source: *Польские спецпереселенцы в Архангельской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1152481>.

**Ropochevskaya, Natalia Alexandrovna** (variants: Ropochinskaya; Ropotinskaya). Year of Birth: 1904. Place of Birth: Warsaw Voivodeship, Garwolin Powiat, Sobeno-Ezera. Nationality: Gypsy woman. Place of Residence: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, Zakrzew village council, village Sędziwuje. Verdict: Deportation in the Arkhangelsk Oblast, Yemetsk Rayon, special settlement Nyavrus. Date of Arrival: July 10, 1940. Released from the forced settlement under an amnesty on September 3, 1941. Source: *Польские спецпереселенцы в Архангельской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1153010>.

**Ropochevskaya, Stefania Idevna** (variants: Ropochinskaya; Ropotinskaya). Year of Birth: 1932. Place of Birth: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, village Sędziwuje. Nationality: Gypsy girl. Place of Residence: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, Zakrzew village council, village Sędziwuje. Verdict:

Deportation in the Arkhangelsk Oblast, Yemetsk Rayon, special settlement Nyavrus. Date of Arrival: July 10, 1940. Released from the forced settlement under an amnesty on September 3, 1941. Source: *Польские спецпереселенцы в Архангельской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1153011>.

**Ropochevskaya, Zofia Idevna** (variants: Ropochinskaya; Ropotinskaya). Year of Birth: 1934. Place of Birth: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, village Sędziwuje. Nationality: Gypsy girl. Place of Residence: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, Zakrzew village council, village Sędziwuje. Verdict: Deportation in the Arkhangelsk Oblast, Yemetsk Rayon, special settlement Nyavrus. Date of Arrival: July 10, 1940. Released from the forced settlement under an amnesty on September 3, 1941. Source: *Польские спецпереселенцы в Архангельской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1153009>.

**Ropochevsky, Idy Stanislavovich** (variants: Ropochinsky; Ropotinsky). Year of Birth: 1876. Place of Birth: Lodz Voivodeship, Konin Powiat, Ostrov. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, Zakrzew village council, village Sędziwuje. Verdict: Deportation in the Arkhangelsk Oblast, Yemetsk Rayon, special settlement Nyavrus. Date of Arrival: July 10, 1940. Released from the forced settlement under an amnesty on September 3, 1941. Source: *Польские спецпереселенцы в Архангельской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1153013>.

**Ropochevsky, Ignaty Idevich** (variants: Ropochinsky; Ropotinsky). Year of Birth: 1935. Place of Birth: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, village Sędziwuje. Nationality: Gypsy boy. Place of Residence: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, Zakrzew village council, village Sędziwuje. Verdict: Deportation in the Arkhangelsk Oblast, Yemetsk Rayon, special settlement Nyavrus. Date of Arrival: July 10, 1940. Released from the forced settlement under an amnesty on September 3, 1941. Source: *Польские спецпереселенцы в Архангельской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1153012>.

**Shinkler, Nikolay Nikolayevich**. Year of Birth: 1940. Place of Birth: Arkhangelsk Oblast, Yemetsk Rayon, special settlement Kodysh. Nationality: Gypsy boy. Place of Residence: Born in a special settlement Kodysh. Verdict: Deportation in the Arkhangelsk Oblast, Yemetsk Rayon, special settlement Kodysh. Date of Arrival: November 21, 1940. Released from the forced settlement under

an amnesty on September 6, 1941. Source: *Польские спецпереселенцы в Архангельской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1165581>.

**Shinkler, Nikolay Yanovich.** Year of Birth: 1904. Place of Birth: Lublin province, Lipice. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, village Sędziwuje. Verdict: Deportation in the Arkhangelsk Oblast, Yemetsk Rayon, special settlement Kodysh. Date of Arrival: July 10, 1940. Released from the forced settlement under an amnesty on September 6, 1941. Source: *Польские спецпереселенцы в Архангельской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1165582>.

**Shinkler, Regina Nikolayevna.** Year of Birth: 1938. Place of Birth: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, village Sędziwuje. Nationality: Gypsy girl. Place of Residence: Bialystok Oblast. Verdict: Deportation in the Arkhangelsk Oblast, Yemetsk Rayon, special settlement Kodysh. Date of Arrival: July 10, 1940. Released from the forced settlement under an amnesty on September 6, 1941. Source: *Польские спецпереселенцы в Архангельской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1165583>.

**Shinkler, Stefan Nikolayevich.** Year of Birth: 1936. Place of Birth: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, village Sędziwuje. Nationality: Gypsy boy. Place of Residence: Bialystok Oblast. Verdict: Deportation in the Arkhangelsk Oblast, Yemetsk Rayon, special settlement Kodysh. Date of Arrival: July 10, 1940. Released from the forced settlement under an amnesty on September 6, 1941. Source: *Польские спецпереселенцы в Архангельской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1165584>.

**Shinkler, Zofia Balvinovna.** Year of Birth: 1915. Place of Birth: Baranovichi. Nationality: Gypsy woman. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, village Sędziwuje. Verdict: Deportation in the Arkhangelsk Oblast, Yemetsk Rayon, special settlement Kodysh. Date of Arrival: July 10, 1940. Released from the forced settlement under an amnesty on September 6, 1941. Source: *Польские спецпереселенцы в Архангельской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1165580>.

**Venglevskaya, Francziszka Droyerovna** (variant: Gottlibovna). Year of Birth: 1916. Place of Birth: Pomarskaya Governorate, village Vadvo. Nationality: Gypsy woman. Place of Residence: Bialystok Oblast, Czyżew Rayon. Verdict:

Deportation in the Arkhangelsk Oblast, Yemetsk Rayon, special settlement Nyavrus. Date of Arrival: July 10, 1940. Released from the forced settlement under an amnesty on September 6, 1941. Source: *Польские спецпереселенцы в Архангельской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/119186>.

**Venglevskaya, Marianna Vladislavovna.** Year of Birth: 1936. Place of Birth: Warsaw Voivodeship, Weluń Uyezd, Dobachev. Nationality: Gypsy girl. Place of Residence: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon. Verdict: Deportation in the Arkhangelsk Oblast, Yemetsk Rayon, special settlement Nyavrus. Date of Arrival: July 10, 1940. Released from the forced settlement under an amnesty on September 6, 1941. Source: *Польские спецпереселенцы в Архангельской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/119185>.

**Venglevsky, Vladislav Ivanovich.** Year of Birth: 1914. Place of Birth: Warsaw Governorate, Weluń Uyezd, Dobachev. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: Bialystok Oblast, Czyżew Rayon. Verdict: Deportation in the Arkhangelsk Oblast, Yemetsk Rayon, special settlement Nyavrus. Date of Arrival: July 10, 1940. Released from the forced settlement under an amnesty on September 6, 1941. Source: *Польские спецпереселенцы в Архангельской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/119188>.

**Venglevsky, Yan Fronchishko.** Year of Birth: 1878. Place of Birth: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: Bialystok Oblast. Verdict: Deportation in the Arkhangelsk Oblast, Yemetsk Rayon, special settlement Nyavrus. Date of Arrival: July 10, 1940. Released from the forced settlement under an amnesty on September 6, 1941. Source: *Польские спецпереселенцы в Архангельской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/119189>.

**Voshkovskaya, Eva Lyudvikovna** (variant: Vashkovskaya). Year of Birth: 1935. Place of Birth: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, village Sędziwuje. Nationality: Gypsy girl. Place of Residence: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, village Sędziwuje. Verdict: Deportation in the Arkhangelsk Oblast, Yemetsk Rayon, special settlement Nyavrus. Date of Arrival: July 10, 1940. Released from the forced settlement under an amnesty on September 6, 1941. Source: *Польские спецпереселенцы в Архангельской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1121089>.



**Voshkovskaya, Sobina Lyudvikovna** (variant: Vashkovskaya). Year of Birth: 1933. Place of Birth: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, village Sędziwuje. Nationality: Gypsy girl. Place of Residence: Bialystok Oblast, Bialystok Rayon, village Sędziwuje. Verdict: Deportation in the Arkhangelsk Oblast, Yemetsk Rayon, special settlement Nyavrus. Date of Arrival: July 10, 1940. Released from the forced settlement under an amnesty on September 6, 1941. Source: *Польские спецпереселенцы в Архангельской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1121086>.

**Voshkovskaya, Stanislava Lyudvikovna** (variant: Vashkovskaya). Year of Birth: 1930. Place of Birth: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, village Sędziwuje. Nationality: Gypsy girl. Place of Residence: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, village Sędziwuje. Verdict: Deportation in the Arkhangelsk Oblast, Yemetsk Rayon, special settlement Nyavrus. Date of Arrival: July 10, 1940. Released from the forced settlement under an amnesty on September 6, 1941. Source: *Польские спецпереселенцы в Архангельской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1121087>.

**Voshkovskaya, Stefania Lyudvikovna** (variant: Vashkovskaya). Year of Birth: 1940. Place of Birth: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, village Sędziwuje. Nationality: Gypsy girl. Place of Residence: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, village Sędziwuje. Verdict: Deportation in the Arkhangelsk Oblast, Yemetsk Rayon, special settlement Nyavrus. Date of Arrival: July 10, 1940. Released from the forced settlement under an amnesty on September 6, 1941. Source: *Польские спецпереселенцы в Архангельской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1121088>.

**Voshkovskaya, Zofia Yanovna** (variant: Vashkovskaya). Year of Birth: 1905. Place of Birth: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, village Sędziwuje. Nationality: Gypsy woman. Place of Residence: Bialystok Oblast. Verdict: Deportation in the Arkhangelsk Oblast, Yemetsk Rayon, special settlement Nyavrus. Date of Arrival: July 10, 1940. Released from the forced settlement under an amnesty on September 6, 1941. Source: *Польские спецпереселенцы в Архангельской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1121085>.

**Voshkovsky, Adam Lyudvikovich** (variant: Vashkovsky). Year of Birth: 1938. Place of Birth: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, village Sędziwuje. Nationality: Gypsy boy. Place of Residence: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, village

Sędziwuje. Verdict: Deportation in the Arkhangelsk Oblast, Yemetsk Rayon, special settlement Nyavrus. Date of Arrival: July 10, 1940. Released from the forced settlement under an amnesty on September 6, 1941. Source: *Польские спецпереселенцы в Архангельской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1121090>.

**Voshkovsky, Lyudvik Toufimevich** (variant: Vashkovsky). Year of Birth: 1895. Place of Birth: Kielce Governorate, town of Tomlin [?]. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, village Sędziwuje. Verdict: Deportation in the Arkhangelsk Oblast, Yemetsk Rayon, special settlement Nyavrus. Date of Arrival: July 10, 1940. Released from the forced settlement under an amnesty on September 6, 1941. Source: *Польские спецпереселенцы в Архангельской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1121091>.

**Yedynak, Adolf Levonovich**. Year of Birth: 1910. Place of Birth: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, village Sędziwuje. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, village Sędziwuje. Verdict: Deportation in the Arkhangelsk Oblast, Yemetsk Rayon, special settlement Nyavrus. Date of Arrival: July 10, 1940. Released from the forced settlement under an amnesty on September 6, 1941. Source: *Польские спецпереселенцы в Архангельской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1127915>.

**Yedynak, Helena Frantsevna**. Year of Birth: 1922. Place of Birth: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, village Sędziwuje. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence: Bialystok Oblast, Zambrów Rayon, village Sędziwuje. Verdict: Deportation in the Arkhangelsk Oblast, Yemetsk Rayon, special settlement Kodysh. Date of Arrival: July 10, 1940. Released from the forced settlement under an amnesty on September 6, 1941. Source: *Польские спецпереселенцы в Архангельской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1127916>.

#### 1.1.6 *Roma in the Composition of the Polish Forced Settlers in Krasnoyarsk Krai*

**Glavatskaya, Anastasia**. Year of Birth: [n.d.]. Place of Birth: [n.d.]. Nationality: Gypsy woman. Place of Residence: Byelorussian SSR, Western Byelorussia. Date of Arrest: [n.d.]. Verdict: Deportation. Release: [n.d.]. Additional Information:

Deported in the Tomsk oblast (by the river Ob) together with a Gypsy camp with an unknown number in the period 1939–1941. Source: Бессонов, 2002д.

**1.1.7 *Sinti in the Composition of the German Forced Settlers in the Bashkir ASSR (1941)***

**Krist, Ambros Petrovich.** Year of Birth: 1896. Place of Birth: [n.d.]. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Saratov Oblast, town of Slavgorod [?]. Indictment: On national grounds. Deciding Body: [n.d.]. Date of Decision: 1941. Verdict: [n.d.]. Removed from Registration: January 4, 1956. Source: *МВД Башкирии; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/85272>.

**Krist, Anelia Ambrosievna.** Year of Birth: 1920. Place of Birth: [USSR]. Nationality: Gypsy woman. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Saratov Oblast, town of Slavgorod [?]. Indictment: On national grounds. Deciding Body: [n.d.]. Date of Decision: 1941. Verdict: [n.d.]. Removed from Registration: January 4, 1956. Source: *МВД Башкирии; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/85273>.

**Krist, Maria Ambrosievna.** Year of Birth: 1925. Place of Birth: [USSR]. Nationality: Gypsy woman. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Saratov Oblast, town of Slavgorod [?]. Indictment: On national grounds. Deciding Body: [n.d.]. Date of Decision: 1941. Verdict: [n.d.]. Removed from Registration: January 4, 1956. Source: *МВД Башкирии; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/85274>.

**1.1.8 *Roma in the Composition of the Deported Crimean Tatars (1944)***

**Aliev, Emirsoyun.** Year of Birth: 1907. Place of Birth: Crimean Oblast, Sary Krym Rayon, village Chelebi-Eli. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Work and Occupation: Trust *Kaznefterazvedka*, blacksmith. Arrested: Administration of the MGB of Guryev Oblast. Date of Arrest: July 14, 1951. Deciding Body: VT of the South Ural VO. Date of Decision: October 5, 1951. Indictment: Art. 58-1b, 58-1o of UK RSFSR. Verdict: 7 years ITL. Rehabilitating Body: Main Military Prosecutor's Office of the General Prosecutor's Office of the Republic of Kazakhstan. Basis of Rehabilitation: Law of the Republic of Kazakhstan on April 14, 1993. Date of Rehabilitation: January 15, 1999. Source: *Сведения Департамента КНБ Республики Казахстан по Атырауской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2940562>.

**Alimov, Adzhasan.** Year of Birth: 1936. Nationality: Gypsy boy. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Crimean Oblast, Kerch Rayon, village Kamysh-Burun. Deciding Body: NKVD. Date of Decision: June 17, 1944. Verdict: Deportation. Source: *База данных Красноярского общества "Мемориал"; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/931165>.

**Alimov, Ali-Osman.** Year of Birth: 1905. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Crimean Oblast, Kerch Rayon, village Kamysh-Burun. Deciding Body: NKVD. Date of Decision: June 17, 1944. Verdict: Deportation. Source: *База данных Красноярского общества "Мемориал"; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/931166>.

**Alimov, Dinsha.** Year of Birth: 1928. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Crimean Oblast, Kerch Rayon, village Kamysh-Burun. Deciding Body: NKVD. Date of Decision: June 17, 1944. Verdict: Deportation. Source: *База данных Красноярского общества "Мемориал"; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/931167>.

**Alimov, Ismail.** Year of Birth: 1937. Nationality: Gypsy boy. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Crimean Oblast, Kerch Rayon, village Kamysh-Burun. Deciding Body: NKVD. Date of Decision: June 17, 1944. Verdict: Deportation. Source: *База данных Красноярского общества "Мемориал"; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/931168>.

**Alimova, Anife** (variant: Balyuk, Anifa). Year of Birth: 1934. Nationality: Gypsy girl. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Crimean Oblast, Kerch Rayon, village Kamysh-Burun. Deciding Body: NKVD. Date of Decision: June 27, 1944. Verdict: Deportation. Source: *База данных Красноярского общества "Мемориал"; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/931169>.

**Alimova, Er-zade.** Year of Birth: 1902. Nationality: Gypsy woman. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Crimean Oblast, Kerch Rayon, village Kamysh-Burun. Deciding Body: NKVD. Date of Decision: June 17, 1944. Verdict: Deportation. Source: *База данных Красноярского общества "Мемориал"; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/931172>.

**Alimova, Kadyr-zade.** Year of Birth: 1925. Nationality: Gypsy woman. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Crimean Oblast, Kerch Rayon, village Kamysh-Burun. Deciding Body: NKVD. Date of Decision: June 17, 1944. Verdict: Deportation.

Source: *База данных Красноярского общества “Мемориал”; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/931170>.

**Alimova, Mensluy.** Year of Birth: 1931. Nationality: Gypsy girl. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Crimean Oblast, Stary Krym Rayon, village Kamysh-Burun. Deciding Body: NKVD. Date of Decision: June 17, 1944. Verdict: Deportation. Source: *База данных Красноярского общества “Мемориал”; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/931171>.

**Bariev, Yakup Barievich.** Year of Birth: 1924. Place of Birth: RSFSR, Crimean ASSR, Ichkinsk Rayon, village Kaynyash. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence: Kazakh SSR, Guryev Oblast, Makat Rayon, Makat promysel. Place of Work and Occupation: Worker. Arrested: Operational part of Prison 9. Date of Arrest: February 6, 1945. Date of Decision: February 2, 1946. Indictment: Art. 58-10, 58-1a of UK RSFSR. Verdict: 5 years labour camp. Rehabilitating Body: Guryev Oblast's Prosecutor's Office. Basis of Rehabilitation: Due to lack of corpus delicti. Date of Rehabilitation: January 22, 1990. Source: *Сведения Департамента КНБ Республики Казахстан по Атырауской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2946416>.

**Batyrov, Suleiman.** Year of Birth: 1904. Place of Birth: Crimean Oblast, Stary Krym Rayon, village Chelebi-Eli. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence: Kazakh SSR, Guryev Oblast, Makat Rayon, Dossor oilfield promysel. Place of Work and Occupation: Hammerer. Arrested: Makatsk RO NKVD. Date of Arrest: December 6, 1947. Deciding Body: Special meeting at the USSR MVD. Date of Decision: April 2, 1948. Charge: art. 58-3, 58-10 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR. Verdict: 8 years labour camp. Rehabilitating Body: Guryev Oblast's Prosecutor's Office. Basis of Rehabilitation: Decree of the Presidium of the VS of the USSR on January 16, 1989. Date of Rehabilitation: August 28, 1990. Source: *Сведения Департамента КНБ Республики Казахстан по Атырауской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2946804>.

**Bayramov, Dzhepar.** Bayramov, Dzhepar. Year of Birth: 1924. Place of Birth: RSFSR, Crimean ASSR, Stary Krym Rayon, village Dzhumayly. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Primary. Place of Residence: Kazakh SSR, Guryev Oblast, Indersk Rayon, settlement Inder. Place of Work and Occupation: drilling foreman. Arrested: Administration of the MGB of Guryev Oblast. Date

of Arrest: June 15, 1949. Deciding Body: VT of the troops of the MVD of the Central Asian VO. Date of Decision: March 15, 1950. Indictment: [n.d.]. Verdict: 10 years ITL. Rehabilitating Body: Guryev Oblast's Prosecutor's Office. Basis of Rehabilitation: Decree of the President of the USSR on August 13, 1990. Date of Rehabilitation: January 14, 1993. Source: *Сведения Департамента КНБ Республики Казахстан по Атырауской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2945366>.

**Burametov, Alidin.** Year of Birth: 1937. Nationality: Gypsy boy. [Deciding Body: Extrajudicial Decrees of the NKVD units. Verdict: Deportation. Source: *База данных Красноярского общества "Мемориал"; Открытый список*, [https://ru.openlist.wiki/Бураметов\\_Алидин\\_\(1937\)](https://ru.openlist.wiki/Бураметов_Алидин_(1937))).

**Burametova, Alime.** Year of Birth: 1939. Gypsy girl. [Deciding Body: Extrajudicial Decrees of the NKVD units. Verdict: [Deportation.] Source: *База данных Красноярского общества "Мемориал"; Открытый список*, [https://ru.openlist.wiki/Бураметова\\_Алиме\\_\(1939\)](https://ru.openlist.wiki/Бураметова_Алиме_(1939))).

**Burametova, Guly.** Year of Birth: 1939. Nationality: Gypsy girl. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Crimean Oblast, Leninsky Rayon. Date of Decision: 1944. Indictment: On national grounds. Verdict: Deportation to special settlement. Place of Deportation: Bashkir ASSR, town of Ishimbay. Release: February 13, 1956. Source: МВД Башкирии; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/66960>.

**Burametova, Yana.** Year of Birth: 1908. Gypsy woman. Deciding Body: Extrajudicial Decrees of the NKVD units. Verdict: Deportation. Source: *База данных Красноярского общества "Мемориал"; Открытый список*, [https://ru.openlist.wiki/Бураметова\\_Яна\\_\(1908\)](https://ru.openlist.wiki/Бураметова_Яна_(1908))).

**Dzhumalievna, Gulnara Babanievna.** Year of Birth: 1939. Nationality: Gypsy girl. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Crimean Oblast. Date of Decision: 1944. Indictment: On national grounds. Verdict: Deportation to special settlement. Place of Deportation: Bashkir ASSR. Release: May 7, 1956. Source: МВД Башкирии; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/75240>.

**Dzhumalievna, Zaida Babanievna.** Year of Birth: 1929. Nationality: Gypsy girl. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Crimean Oblast. Date of Decision: 1944.

Indictment: On national grounds. Verdict: Deportation to special settlement. Place of Deportation: Release: May 7, 1956. Source: МВД Башкирии; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/75241>.

**Kaplenov Yakub.** Year of Birth: 1930. Social Origin: Deported. Nationality: Gypsy boy. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Kemerovo Oblast, Anzhero-Sudzhensk Rayon, town of Anzhero-Sudzhensk. Note: In June 1944, he was deported with his mother from the Crimean Oblast, Kerch Rayon, to dairy farm No. 12, Anzhero-Sudzhensk Rayon. Release: 1956. Source: *База данных Красноярского общества “Мемориал”*; *Открытый список*, <https://ru.openlist.wiki/>.

**Kemilev, Arslanbek** (variant: Kimilev, Arslanbek). Year of Birth: 1941. Nationality: Gypsy boy. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Crimean Oblast, Kerch Rayon, village Kamysh-Burun. Deciding Body: NKVD. Date of Decision: June 17, 1944. Verdict: Deportation. Source: *База данных Красноярского общества “Мемориал”*; *Открытый список*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/932793>.

**Kemilev, Seitveli** (variant: Kimilev). Year of Birth: 1938. Nationality: Gypsy boy. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Crimean Oblast, Kerch Rayon, village Kamysh-Burun. Deciding Body: NKVD. Date of Decision: June 17, 1944. Verdict: Deportation. Source: *База данных Красноярского общества “Мемориал”*; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/932794>.

**Kemileva, Begdzhan** (variant: Kimileva). Year of Birth: 1905. Nationality: Gypsy woman. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Crimean Oblast, Kerch Rayon, village Kamysh-Burun. Deciding Body: NKVD. Date of Decision: June 17, 1944. Verdict: Deportation. Source: *База данных Красноярского общества “Мемориал”*; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/932795>.

**Kemileva, Mensuluv** (variant: Kimileva). Year of Birth: 1905. Nationality: Gypsy woman. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Crimean Oblast, Kerch Rayon, village Kamysh-Burun. Deciding Body: NKVD. Date of Decision: June 17, 1944. Verdict: Deportation. Source: *База данных Красноярского общества “Мемориал”*; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/932796>.

**Memetov, Khalil** (variant: Karadarov). Year of Birth: 1898. Place of Birth: Crimean Oblast, Yalta Rayon, village Derenoy. Nationality: Gypsy man. Social

Origin: Peasants. Party Affiliation: Non-partisan. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Sverdlovsk Oblast, Krasnouralsk Rayon, special settlement. Place of Work and Occupation: Medprodsnab, tinker. Note: In 1944, he was moved from the Crimean ASSR to the Sverdlovsk Oblast. Date of Arrest: October 14, 1946. Indictment: Art. 58-1a of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR (treason against the Motherland by citizens of the USSR). Verdict: By the Decree of the Administration of MVD of Sverdlovsk Oblast on February 12, 1947, the case was dismissed. Release: Isovsk RO of MVD of Sverdlovsk Oblast. Date of Release: March 9, 1947. Source: GAAOSO, f. 1, op. 2, d. 22537.

**Murtazaev, Rustem.** Year of Birth: 1909. Place of Birth: Crimean Oblast, city of Simferopol. Nationality: Gypsy man. Social Origin: Worker. Party Affiliation: Non-partisan. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Sverdlovsk Oblast, Isovsk Rayon, village Murzinka, special settlement. Place of Work and Occupation: Pavdinsk mechanised forest area, lumberjack. Date of arrest: March 7, 1945. Deciding Body: Judicial Collegium for Criminal Cases of Sverdlovsk Oblast's Court. Date of Decision: April 10, 1946. Indictment: Art. 58-10 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR (anti-Soviet agitation). Verdict: 5 years labour camp. Rehabilitating Body: Sverdlovsk Oblast's Prosecutor's Office. Date of Rehabilitation: June 15, 1992. Source: GAAOSO, f. 1, op. 2, d. 46248; *Книга памяти Свердловской области*. Vol. 5; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2083670>.

**Smailov, Mustafa.** Year of Birth: 1898. Place of Birth: Crimean Oblast, town of Stary Krym. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence: Kazakh SSR, Guryev Oblast, Indersk Rayon, settlement Inder. Place of Work and Occupation: Worker. Arrested: Administration of MGB of Guryev Oblast. Date of arrest: June 15, 1949. Deciding Body: Guryev oblast's Court. Date of Decision: September 1, 1949. Indictment: Art. 58-10, 58-3 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR. Verdict: 10 years labour camp. Rehabilitating Body: General Prosecutor's Office of the Republic of Kazakhstan. Basis of Rehabilitation: Law of the Republic of Kazakhstan on April 14, 1993. Date of Rehabilitation: November 13, 1997. Source: *Сведения Департамента КНБ Республики Казахстан по Атырауской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/3015031>.



## 1.2 Victims of Judicial (Quasi-Judicial) Decisions

**Adamenko, Pilip Vasilyovich.** Year of Birth: 1902. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire]. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: Ukrainian SSR, Kharkiv Oblast, Barvinkove Rayon, village Grigorivka. Occupation: Foreman of working unit (brigada) in the commune Reconstructor. Date of Arrest: February 25, 1933. Indictment: Art. 54-11 UK UkSSR. Deciding Body: [n.d.]. Date of Decision: [n.d.]. Verdict: [n.d.]. Source: DAKhO (Kharkiv), f. P 6452, op. 1, spr. 6541; *Український мартиролог*, <https://archives.gov.ua/um.php?nac=22&p=1&&id=217>.

**Adamov, Alexey Yegorovich.** Year of Birth: 1920. Place of Birth: [USSR, RSFSR], city of Irkutsk. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Buryat-Mongolian ASSR, Dzhidlag. Occupation: Prisoner. Date of Arrest: June 20, 1944. Indictment: Art. 58-1a; 58-11 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: OSO at the NKVD. Date of Decision: August 4, 1944. Verdict: 5 years imprisonment. Rehabilitating Body: VS of the Buryat-Mongol ASSR. Date of Rehabilitation: September 19, 1994. Source: *Книга памяти Бурятии*. Vol. 1; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/116330>.

**Adamovich, Maria Alexeevna** (variant: Zubareva, M. A.). Year of Birth: 1903. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], city of Omsk. Nationality: Gypsy woman. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Omsk. Occupation: Without specific occupations. Date of Arrest: October 3, 1937. Indictment: SVE, without reference to the law. Deciding Body: Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of Omsk Oblast. Date of Decision: October 20, 1937. Verdict: VMN. Rehabilitating Body: Prosecutor's Office of Omsk Oblast. Reason for Rehabilitation: Law of the RF [without specification]. Date of Rehabilitation: January 28, 1998. Source: *Книга памяти Омской области*. Vol. 1; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1652360>.

**Afanasiev, Nikolay Stepanovich.** Year of Birth: 1919. Place of Birth: [USSR, RSFSR], city of Omsk. Nationality: Greek-Gypsy man. Education: Poorly literate. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Novosibirsk. Date of Arrest: January 28, 1938. Indictment: Art. 58-6; 58-9; 58-10; 58-11 UK RSFSR (participation in a counter-revolutionary sabotage and espionage organisation). Deciding Body: Commission of the NKVD and the Prosecutor of the USSR. Date of Decision: April 29, 1938. Verdict: 10 years ITL. Additional Information: Gypsy lawsuit in Novosibirsk. Date of Rehabilitation: October 10, 1956. Source: *Книга памяти*

*Новосибирской области*. Vol. 5; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/3100708>.

**Afanasyev, Stepan Mikhailovich.** Year of Birth: 1895. Place of Birth: Greece, city of Athens. Nationality: Greek. Education: Poorly literate. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Novosibirsk. Occupation: cauldron maker. Date of Arrest: January 28, 1938. Indictment: Art. 58-6; 58-9; 58-10; 58-11 UK RSFSR (Participation in a counter-revolutionary sabotage and espionage organisation). Deciding Body: Commission of the NKVD and the Prosecutor of the USSR. Date of Decision: April 29, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: June 5, 1938. Additional Information: Gypsy lawsuit in Novosibirsk. Date of Rehabilitation: er 10, 1956. Source: *Книга памяти Новосибирской области*. Vol. 5; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/3100709>.

**Aivazov, Abdenan.** Year of Birth: 1919. Place of Birth: [USSR, RSFSR], Crimean ASSR, city of Feodosia. Social Origin: Worker. Nationality: Tatarian Gypsy man. Education: Poorly literate. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Crimean ASSR, city of Feodosia. Occupation: Red Army soldier at 1133 rifle regiment of 339 rifle division. Arrested: Counterintelligence Department SMERSH 339 at rifle division. Date of Arrest: June 28, 1944. Indictment: Art. 58-10 UK RSFSR (during the occupation, he joined the German army and, for three months, rode a horse-drawn cart transporting a machine gun and ammunition; he fell ill with trachoma and was sent home; he did not participate in battles with the Red Army). Deciding Body: Counterintelligence Department SMERSH at 339 rifle division. Date of Decision: July 21, 1944. Verdict: Released from custody due to unproven charges. Source: *Реабилитированные историей. Автономная Республика Крым*. Vol. 8; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/3054842>.

**Alexandrov, Boris Pavlovich.** Year of Birth: 1921. Place of Birth: [USSR, RSFSR], Moscow Oblast, Kimry Rayon, village Borodina. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Komi ASSR, Pechorlag. Occupation: Prisoner, worker of column No. 111, OLP-6, Pechorlag. Date of Arrest: May 28, 1941. Indictment: Art. 58-10, part 1; 58-14 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: VT at the NKVD troops of the US SPZhD. Date of Decision: August 8, 1941. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: October 15, 1941. Source: *Книга памяти Республики Коми*. Vol. 7, Part 1; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/368427>.

**Alexandrov, Mikhail Ivanovich.** Year of Birth: 1927. Place of Birth: [USSR, RSFSR], city of Vladivostok. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Irkutsk Oblast, Tayshetlag. Occupation: Served his sentence in places of detention. Date of Arrest: November 1, 1945. Indictment: Art. 58-10 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Irkutsk OS. Date of Decision: December 2, 1945. Verdict: 10 years ITL. Rehabilitating Body: Court Collegium of the VS RSFSR. Date of Rehabilitation: January 28, 1961. Source: *Книга памяти Иркутской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1311767>.

**Alexandrovich, Pyotr Mikhailovich.** Year of Birth: 1901. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Minsk Governorate, Borisov Uyezd, village Gibaylovichi. Social Origin: Other. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence: Byelorussian SSR, Minsk Oblast, city of Minsk. Address: 22 Proletarskaya Street, Apt. 1. Occupation: Cabman, *Belgosstroy*. Date of Arrest: April 13, 1938. Indictment: Art. 68 UK BSSR (espionage). Deciding Body: Troika. Date of Decision: September 21, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: September 21, 1938, city of Minsk. Rehabilitating Body: Prosecutor's Office of the Byelorussian VO. Date of Rehabilitation: April 30, 1989. Source: *Белорусский "Мемориал"; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2781214>.

**Aleksandravichius, Aleksas.** Year of Birth: 1919. Place of Birth: Lithuania, town of Šiluva. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: Unknown village near Šiluva, Lithuania. Date of Arrest: After 1945. Indictment: [n. d.]. Verdict: ITL. Served his sentence in Komi ASSR. Date of Rehabilitation: [n. d.]. Source: *USHMMC*. Oral History Interview with Aleksas Aleksandravičius. Accession Number: 1998.A.0221.47 | RG Number: RG-50.473.0047, <https://collections.ushmm.org/search/catalog/irn508607>.

**Alexeev, Pavel Vasilievich.** Year of Birth: 1889. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], city of Irkutsk. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Irkutsk. Date of Arrest: June 20, 1938. Indictment: Art. 58-7; 58-9; 58-11 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of Irkutsk Oblast. Date of Decision: July 11, 1938. Verdict: 10 years ITL. Rehabilitating Body: Commission of Irkutsk Oblast for the review of criminal cases against those convicted of counter-revolutionary crimes. Date of Rehabilitation: April 27, 1955. Source: *Книга памяти Иркутской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1300843>.

**Alexeev, Vasily Nikolaevich** (variant: Vasiliev, Nikolay Nikolaevich). Year of Birth: 1919. Place of Birth: [USSR, RSFSR], Udmurt AO, Yar Rayon, village Yalovo. Social Origin: Peasant. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Sverdlovsk Oblast, settlement Turinskie Rudniki, Bogoslovlag. Occupation: Remand prisoner, Commandant camp area. Date of Arrest: January 7, 1941. Indictment: Art. 166 UK RSFSR. Verdict: The investigation is over. There is no verdict. Release: July 6, 1943. Note: April 16, 1943, escaped from the camp, detained; charged under Art. 58-14 UK RSFSR. Death in Imprisonment: June 25, 1943. By resolution of the operational CheKa department of the Bogoslovlag of July 6, 1943, the case was dismissed due to the death of the accused. Source: GAAOSO, f. 1, op. 2, d. 22511.

**Alexeev-Ivanov, Alexander Klavdievich**. Year of Birth: 1899. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Transbaikal Oblast, Aksha Uyezd, village Mangut. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Chita Oblast, Baley Rayon, town of Baley. Occupation: Without specific occupations. Date of Arrest: November 25, 1937. Indictment: Art. 58-1a UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of Chita Oblast. Date of Decision: February 26, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: March 31, 1938. Rehabilitating Body: Prosecutor's Office of Chita Oblast. Date of Rehabilitation: October 28, 1989. Source: *Книга памяти Читинской области*. Vol. 2; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2568163>.

**Alimov, Abdulla Fetta**. Year of Birth: 1903. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Crimean Oblast, city of Simferopol. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Poorly literate. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Crimean ASSR, city of Simferopol. Date of Arrest: April 30, 1944. Indictment: Art. 58-3 UK RSFSR. During the occupation, he became a member of the Muslim committee and collected money for the maintenance of the committee, as well as dishes and equipment for an organized canteen. He recruited two people into the German army. Deciding Body: VT at the NKVD of the Crimean ASSR. Date of Decision: September 23, 1944. Verdict: 6 years ITL with loss of rights for 3 years, confiscation of property. Note: A Gypsy, according to documents, is, in his words, a Tatar. Alimov's father, Alimov Alim, his mother, Alimova Nale and his brother, Alimov Babeyan, were killed by the German occupiers in 1942. Two brothers are in the RKKK. Source: *База данных Красноярского общества "Мемориал"*; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/3078311>.

**Aliev, Emirsoyun.** Year of Birth: 1907. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Crimean Oblast, Stary Krym Rayon, village Chelebi-Eli. Nationality: Gypsy man. Occupation: Blacksmith, Kaznefterazvedka Trust. Arrested: Directorate of the MGB of Guryev Oblast. Date of Arrest: July 14, 1951. Indictment: Art. 58-1b; 58-10 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: VT at the South-Ural VO. Date of Decision: October 5, 1951. Verdict: 7 years ITL. Rehabilitating Body: Main Military Prosecutor's Office of the General Prosecutor's Office of the Republic of Kazakhstan. Reason for Rehabilitation: Law of the Republic Kazakhstan of April 14, 1993. Date of Rehabilitation: January 15, 1999. Source: *Сведения Департамента КНБ Республики Казахстан по Атырауской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2940562.%02520%0255b1951>.

**Andreev, Dmitry Mikhailovich.** Year of Birth: 1873. Place of Birth: Serbia, town of Breslovets [?]. Nationality: Serbian. Education: Primary. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Krasnodar. Occupation: Tinker artel. Date of Arrest: [n.d.]. Indictment: [n.d.]. Deciding Body: Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of Krasnodar Krai. Date of Decision: October 4, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: November 15, 1938, city of Krasnodar. Reason for Rehabilitation: Decree of the PVS USSR of January 16, 1989. Date of Rehabilitation: April 12, 1989. Source: *Книга памяти Краснодарского края. Подготовительные материалы; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/889953>.

**Andrievsky, Petro Vasilyovich.** Year of Birth: 1895. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Chernigov Oblast, Ichnya Rayon, village Martinovka. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Primary. Place of Residence: Ukrainian SSR, Chernihiv Oblast, Ichnia Rayon, village Martinivka. Occupation: Individual Peasant. Date of Arrest: April 12, 1929. Indictment: Art. 58-10 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: OSO at Board of the OGPU. Date of Decision: July 5, 1929. Verdict: 3 years imprisonment. Date of Rehabilitation: April 4, 1995. Source: DACHO (Chernihiv), f. P 8840, op. 3, spr. 12372; *Реабілітовані історією*, <http://www.reabit.org.ua/nbr/?ID=362155>.

**Antonov, Alexey Ivanovich.** Year of Birth: 1915. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Altay Krai, Biysk Rayon, village Savino. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Komi ASSR, Sevzheldorlag. Occupation: Prisoner, worker of column No.17, OLP-7. Date of Arrest: October 11, 1941. Indictment: Art. 58-10, part 1; 58-14 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: VT at the NKVD troops of the US SPZhD. Date of Decision: December 30, 1941. Verdict: VMN. Date

and Place of Execution: April 10, 1942. Source: *Книга памяти Республики Коми*. Vol. 7, Part 1; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/369269>.

**Antonov, Pavel Alexandrovich.** Year of Birth: [n.d.]. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], West Siberian Krai, railway station Moskalenki. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Illiterate. Arrested: Arykbalyk Rayon Militsiya. Date of Arrest: October 4, 1937. Indictment: Art. 58-10 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: North Kazakhstan OS. Date of Decision: November 29, 1937. Verdict: 10 years ITL. Rehabilitating Body: Main Prosecutor's Office of the Republic of Kazakhstan. Date of Rehabilitation: September 28, 1993. Source: *Сведения Департамента КНБ Республики Казахстана по Акмолинской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2942072>.

**Antonov, Vasily Gavrilovich.** Year of Birth: 1884. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Yeniseysk Governorate, town of Achinsk. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Novosibirsk. Occupation: Unskilled worker. Date of Arrest: March 16, 1938. Indictment: Art. 58-6; 58-9; 58-10; 58-11 UK RSFSR (Participation in a counter-revolutionary sabotage and espionage organisation). Deciding Body: Commission of the NKVD and the Prosecutor of the USSR. Date of Decision: April 29, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: June 5, 1938. Additional Information: Gypsy lawsuit in Novosibirsk. Date of Rehabilitation: October 10, 1956. Source: *Книга памяти Новосибирской области*. Vol. 5; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/3100686>.

**Apolov, Semyon Alexeevich.** Year of Birth: 1915. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], [Krasnoyarsk Krai], town of Kansk. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Karelian ASSR, Medvezhyegorsk Rayon, White Sea-Baltic Combine of the NKVD. Occupation: Prisoner. Indictment: Art. 82 UK RSFSR (escape). Deciding Body: Troika at the NKVD of the Karelian ASSR. Date of Decision: February 19, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: March 4, 1938, railway station Medvezhya Gora (tract Sandarmokh). No information about rehabilitation. Source: *Поминальные списки Карелии; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/274400>.

**Arap, Vladimir Petrovich** (variant: Arak, Vladimir). Year of Birth: 1895. Place of Birth: Romania, city of Bucharest. Social Origin: Gypsy man. Nationality: Romanian (variant: Gypsy man). Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Sverdlovsk Oblast, town of Nadezhdinsk. Occupation: Without

specific occupations. Date of Arrest: January 13, 1938. Indictment: Art. 58-6 UK RSFSR (espionage). Deciding Body: [n.d.]. Verdict: Case dismissed. Release: Directorate of the NKVD of Sverdlovsk Oblast. Release: December 29, 1938. Additional Information: Gypsy lawsuit in Nadezhdinsk. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Kazan. Occupation: Tinker. Date of Arrest: [n.d.] Deciding Body: Lenin District RVK, city of Kazan. Date of Decision: [n.d.]. Verdict: Mobilised in the Labour Army. Demobilised: April 10, 1947. Source: GAAOSO, f. 1, op. 2, d. 2607; *Gedenkbuch. Книга Памяти немцев-трудармейцев ИТЛ Бакалстрой-Челябметаллургстрой. 1942–1946; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2524925>.

**Arbuzov, Fyodor Andreevich.** Year of Birth: 1882. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Sverdlovsk Oblast, Talitsa Rayon, rural-type settlement Talitsa. Social Origin: Peasant. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Lowest. Place of Residence and Occupation: After the 1st arrest in 1934, prisoner in the Dmitlag. Date of Arrest: March 1, 1938. Indictment: Anti-Soviet and counter-revolutionary agitation. Deciding Body: Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of Moscow Oblast. Date of Decision: March 4, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: March 8, 1938, city of Moscow. Place of Burial: Butovo [Firing Range]. Date of Rehabilitation: June 1989. Source: *Бутовский полигон. 1937–1938. Vol. 2; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2635118>.

**Arslanov, Adzhi Asan.** Year of Birth: 1888. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Crimean Oblast, Kirov Rayon, village Koy-Asan. Social Origin: Peasant. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Poorly literate. Place of Residence and Occupation: Recently, he worked as an ordinary kolkhoz member in the village Kirleut. Indictment: He led counter-revolutionary agitation among the kolkhoz workers, declaring at the same time: “Previously there were landowners, then we lived better, but now I don’t even have a cow”. After a report on the murder of Comrade Kirov, he said: “Now, if 20 more such people could be destroyed, then we would live better; otherwise, we work, and they sit on our necks; it would be nice if instead of kulaks they deport the leaders of the Party and government”. Deciding Body: Judicial Troika at the NKVD of the Crimean ASSR. Date of Decision: August 13, 1937. Verdict: 8 years ITL. Source: GDASBU, f. 6 P, op. 6, spr. 17. [https://tsdea.archives.gov.ua/metric-books/?arch\\_id=39&fund\\_id=88&affair\\_id=6638](https://tsdea.archives.gov.ua/metric-books/?arch_id=39&fund_id=88&affair_id=6638).

**Atkachev, Nikolay Dmitrievich.** Year of Birth: 1894. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], [Pskov Oblast], town of Ostrov. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place

of Residence: RSFSR, Pskov Oblast, Slavkovichi Rayon, village Stolypino. Occupation: Kolkhoz member. Date of Arrest: October 27, 1944. Indictment: Art. 58-1a UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Water department of NKGB Moscow basin. Date of Decision: December 22, 1944. Verdict: Case dismissed. Source: *Книга памяти Псковской области*. Vol. 9; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1816187>.

**Baglaenko, Grigory Ivanovich.** Year of Birth: 1907. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], city of Kharkov. Social Origin: Peasant. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Lowest. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Crimean ASSR, Zuya Rayon. Occupation: Kolkhoz member. Arrested: Zuya RO of the Crimean NKVD. Date of Arrest: April 24, 1944. Indictment: Art. 2 of the Decree of the Presidium of the VS USSR; during the occupation, he worked as a foreman of a working unit (*brigada*) in the commune, in contact with the German punitive authorities. Deciding Body: VT of the NKVD troops of the Crimean Peninsula. Date of Decision: February 14, 1945. Verdict: Penal servitude for 20 years with confiscation of property. Rehabilitating Body: VT of the Tavia VO. Date of Rehabilitation: October 3, 1955. Source: Омельчук, 2008; *Реабилитированные историей. Автономная Республика Крым*. Vol. 8; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/3055701>.

**Baglaenko, Semyon Vasilievich.** Year of Birth: 1879. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire]. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: Ukrainian SSR, city of Kharkiv. Occupation: Worker in plant *Serp i molot (Hammer and Sickle)*. Date of Arrest: July 27, 1938. Indictment: Art. 54-13 UK UkSSR. Deciding Body: Directorate of the NKVD of Kharkiv Oblast. Date of Decision: February 21, 1939. Indictment: [n.d.]. Verdict: Case dismissed. Source: DAKhO (Kharkiv), f. P 6452, op. 1, spr. 213; *Український мартиролог*, <https://archives.gov.ua/um.php?nac=22&p=1&&id=31269>.

**Bakshish, Kulizar.** Year of Birth: 1897. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire]. Nationality: Gypsy woman. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Crimean ASSR, city of Yalta. Occupation: Unemployed. Date of Arrest: January 30, 1933. Indictment: Art. 58-10 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: PP OGPU of the Crimean ASSR. Date of Decision: April 15, 1933. Verdict: Investigator case dismissed, released from custody. Source: DAARK, f. P 4808, op. 1, spr. 493; *Український мартиролог*, <https://archives.gov.ua/um.php?nac=22&p=1&&id=24756>.

**Balanchuk, Mikhail Nikolaevich.** Year of Birth: 1890. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire]. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Gorky Krai,



town of Kotelnich. Occupation: Procurer at the Kotelnicheskaya horse base. Indictment: Art. 58-10 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Special Troika at PP OGPU of Nizhny Novgorod Krai. Date of Decision: August 28, 1933. Verdict: 3 months imprisonment. Date of Rehabilitation: October 27, 1989. Source: *Книга памяти Кировской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1364157>.

**Balusov, Ivan Lavrentievich.** Year of Birth: 1894. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], city of Smolensk. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Voronezh Oblast, village Bessonovo. Date of Arrest: February 3, 1942. Indictment: Art. 58-10 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: [n.d.]. Date of Decision: [n.d.]. Verdict: [n.d.]. Died in place of detention: April 18, 1943, city of Kazan, OLP-1. Source: *Книга памяти Республики Татарстан; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/495583>.

**Baranovsky, Ivan Nikitievich.** Year of Birth: 1910. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], [Byelorussian SSR, Vitebsk Oblast], Orsha Rayon, mestechko Ryasno. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Western Oblast, town of Dorogobuzh. Occupation: Dorogobuzh Pedagogical College, teacher. Arrested: PP OGPU of Western Oblast. Date of Arrest: October 16, 1932. Indictment: [n.d.]. Deciding Body: OSO at the PP OGPU. Date of Decision: February 4, 1933. Verdict: Released from custody, pre-trial detention credited. Rehabilitating Body: Prosecutor's Office of Smolensk Oblast. Date of Rehabilitation: March 31, 1989. Source: *Книга памяти Смоленской области. Vol. 2; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2110634>.

**Barchuk, Makar Ivanovich.** Year of Birth: 1897. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Volyn Governorate, Kovel Uyezd, Stari Koshary Volost, village Stari Koshary. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Literate. Place of Residence: Ukrainian SSR, Zhytomyr Oblast, Novograd-Volhinsky city soviet, village Kanuni. Occupation: Blacksmith in kolkhoz. Date of Arrest: May 17, 1938. Indictment: Affiliation with the Polish Military Organisation. Deciding Body: Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of Zhytomyr Oblast. Date of Decision: October 3, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: October 3, 1938. Additional Information: Gypsy lawsuit in Zhytomyr. Date of Rehabilitation: 1957. Source: *Реабілітовані історією*, <http://www.reabit.org.ua/nbr/?ID=339597>.

**Bariev, Yakup Barievich.** Year of Birth: 1924. Place of Birth: [USSR, RSFSR], Crimean ASSR, Ichki Rayon, village Kaynyash. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence: Kazakh SSR, Guryev Oblast, Marat

Rayon, promysel Makat. Occupation: Worker. Arrested: Operational unit of Prison-9. Date of Arrest: February 6, 1945. Indictment: Art. 58-10; 58-1a UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: [n.d.]. Date of Decision: February 2, 1946. Verdict: 5 years ITL. Rehabilitating Body: Prosecutor's Office of Guryev Oblast. Reason for Rehabilitation: for lack of corpus delicti. Date of Rehabilitation: January 22, 1990. Source: *Сведения Департамента КНБ Республики Казахстан по Атырауской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2946416>.

**Barlutsky, Andrey Iosifovich.** Year of Birth: 1918. Place of Birth: [USSR, RSFSR], Gypsy tabor [near] city of Rostov-on-Don. Indictment: [n.d.]. Deciding Body: Troika at the NKVD of the Dagestan ASSR. Date of Decision: November 13, 1937. Verdict: 10 years ITL. Source: *Материалы к Книге памяти Республики Дагестан; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/160157>.

**Batyrov, Suleyman.** Year of Birth: 1904. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Crimean Oblast, Stary Krym Rayon, village Chelebi-Eli. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence: Kazakh SSR, Guryev Oblast, Makat Rayon, promysel Dossor. Occupation: Hammerman. Arrested: Makat RO of the NKVD. Date of Arrest: December 6, 1947. Indictment: Art. 58-3; 58-10 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: OSO at the MVD. Date of Decision: April 2, 1948. Verdict: 8 years ITL. Rehabilitating Body: Prosecutor's Office of Guryev Oblast. Reason for Rehabilitation: of the Decree of the Presidium of the VS USSR of January 16, 1989. Date of Rehabilitation: August 28, 1990. Source: *Сведения Департамента КНБ Республики Казахстан по Атырауской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2946804>.

**Bayram, Bulat.** Year of Birth: 1885. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire]. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Crimean ASSR, city of Yalta. Occupation: Artisan merchant. Date of Arrest: January 30, 1933. Indictment: Art. 58-10 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Plenipotentiary representation of the OGPU on the Crimean Peninsula. Date of Decision: April 15, 1933. Verdict: Investigator case dismissed, released from custody. Source: DAARK, f. P 4808, op. 1, spr. 493; *Український мартиролог*, <https://archives.gov.ua/um.php?nac=22&p=1&&id=24754>.

**Bayramov, Dzhepar.** Year of Birth: 1924. Place of Birth: [USSR, RSFSR], Crimean ASSR, Stary Krym Rayon, village Dzhumayly. Nationality: Gypsy man.

Education: Primary. Place of Residence: Kazakh SSR, Guryev Oblast, Inder Rayon, rural-type settlement Inder. Occupation: Drilling master. Arrested: Directorate of the MGB of Guryev Oblast. Date of Arrest: June 15, 1949. Indictment: [n.d.]. Deciding Body: VT at the MVD troops of the Central Asian VO. Date of Decision: March 15, 1950. Verdict: 10 years ITL. Rehabilitating Body: Prosecutor's Office of Guryev Oblast. Reason for Rehabilitation: Decree of the President of the USSR of August 13, 1990. Date of Rehabilitation: January 14, 1993. Source: *Сведения Департамента КНБ Республики Казахстан по Атырауской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2945366>.

**Beinerovich, Nil Nilovich.** Year of Birth: 1904. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], [Pskov Oblast], Ostrov Rayon, village Berezhane. Nationality: Gypsy man. Occupation: Peasant. Indictment: SOE. Deciding Body: OSO at the Collegium of the OGPU. Date of Decision: January 2, 1925. Verdict: 3 years imprisonment. Date of Rehabilitation: May 25, 1998. Source: *Книга памяти Псковской области*. Vol. 8; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1825760>.

**Beinerovich, Pyotr Nilovich.** Year of Birth: 1901. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], [Pskov Oblast], Ostrov Rayon, village Berezhane. Nationality: Gypsy man. Occupation: Peasant. Indictment: SOE. Deciding Body: OSO at the Collegium of the OGPU. Date of Decision: January 2, 1925. Verdict: 3 years imprisonment. Date of Rehabilitation: May 25, 1998. Source: *Книга памяти Псковской области*. Vol. 8; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1836754>.

**Belashev, Ivan Afanasievich.** Year of Birth: 1927. Place of Birth: [USSR, RSFSR], city of Rostov-on-Don. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Komi ASSR, Ustvymlag. Occupation: Prisoner. Date of Arrest: March 31, 1950. Indictment: Art. 58-14 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Camp Court of the ITL "AN". Date of Decision: May 6, 1950. Verdict: 6 years imprisonment and 5 years loss of rights. Source: *Книга памяти Республики Коми*. Vol. 2; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/371431>.

**Belashov, Yermolay Andreevich.** Year of Birth: 1902. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], city of Stalingrad. Social Origin: Peasant of average means. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Poorly literate. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Stalingrad. Occupation: Red Cross, hairdresser. Date of Arrest: February 20, 1938. Indictment: Counter-revolutionary propaganda. Deciding Body: Troika at

the Directorate of the NKVD of Moscow Oblast. Date of Decision: March 2, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: March 8, 1938, city of Moscow. Place of Burial: Butovo [Firing Range]. Date of Rehabilitation: February 1990. Source: *Бутовский полигон. 1937–1938*. Vol. 3; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2635960>.

**Belenchuk, Alexander Nikolaevich.** Year of Birth: 1911. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Bessarabia Governorate, Khotin Uyezd, village Kishlo-Zamzhievo. Social Origin: Peasant. Nationality: Romanian. Education: Primary. Occupation: Kolkhoz *Put k sotsializmu* (The Path to Socialism), blacksmith. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Penza Oblast, Narovchat Rayon, village Kazeevka. Arrested: Narovchat RO at the Directorate of the NKVD of Tambov Oblast. Date of Arrest: December 7, 1937. Indictment: Art. 58-6 UK RSFSR (carried out espionage work for Romanian intelligence). Deciding Body: Commission of the NKVD and the Prosecutor of the USSR. Date of Decision: February 14, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Rehabilitating Body: VT of the Volga VO. Reason for Rehabilitation: Case dismissed for lack of corpus delicti. Date of Rehabilitation: November 5, 1957. Source: *База данных Пензенского "Мемориала"; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1757373>.

**Beletsky, Yuzef Pavlovich** (variant: Mihai, Gusto Leontievich). Year of Birth: 1913. Place of Birth: Austria-Hungary, city of Budapest. Nationality: Hungarian. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Smolensk Oblast, town of Vyazma. Occupation: Without specific occupations. Arrested: Vyazma RO at the Directorate of the NKVD. Date of Arrest: March 20, 1938. Deciding Body: Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of Smolensk Oblast. Date of Decision: October 2, 1938. Indictment: Art. 58-6; 58-9; 58-11 UK RSFSR. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: October 9, 1938. Additional Information: Gypsy lawsuit in Smolensk. Rehabilitating Body: Prosecutor's Office of Smolensk Oblast. Date of Rehabilitation: April 19, 1989. Source: AUFSSBO, f. 1, op. 1, d. 15402-с; *Книга памяти Смоленской области*. Vol. 1; *Открытый список*, [https://ru.openlist.wiki/Белецкий\\_Юзеф\\_Павлович\\_\(1913\)](https://ru.openlist.wiki/Белецкий_Юзеф_Павлович_(1913)).

**Belikov, Vasily Matveevich.** Year of Birth: 1905. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Voronezh Oblast, Petropavlovka Rayon, village Glubokoe. Social Origin: Peasant. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Poorly literate. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Rostov Oblast, Migulinskaya Rayon, khutor Provalsky. Occupation: Blacksmith in kolkhoz. Arrested: Directorate of the MGB of Voronezh Oblast. Date of Arrest: July 10, 1952 (according to other sources, June 1, 1952). Indictment: Art. 58-10, part 2; 58-11 UK RSFSR (Participation in

the religious organisation “Fyodorovtisi”). Deciding Body: Voronezh OS. Date of Decision: August 12, 1952 (according to other sources, August 13, 1952). Verdict: 10 years special ITL, loss in electoral rights for 5 years and confiscation of all property. Released under amnesty: 1953. Rehabilitating Body: Criminal Cases Jury of the VS RSFSR. Reason for Rehabilitation: Lack of *corpus delicti*. Date of Rehabilitation: June 17, 1955. Source: *Книга памяти Воронежской области*. Vol. 4; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1264105>.

**Bello, Sergey Georgievich.** Year of Birth: 1908. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], city of Tiflis [Tbilisi]. Occupation: Chairman of the [Gypsy] Kolkhoz named after Comintern [Third International], Minsk Selsoviet, Kostroma Rayon. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Yaroslavl Oblast, Kostroma Rayon, village Turabevo. Date of Arrest: December 16, 1937. Indictment: Espionage. Deciding Body: [n.d.]. Date of Decision: September 23, 1938. Verdict: VMN with confiscation of personal property. Date and Place of Execution: September 23, 1938. Date of Rehabilitation: April 28, 1989. Source: RGAE, f. 5675, op. 1, d. 179; *Книга памяти Костромской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1385613>.

**Belon, Tsinka Yuganovich.** Year of Birth: 1890. Place of Birth: Austria-Hungary, city of Budapest. Social Origin: Worker. Nationality: Austrian Gypsy man. Education: Lowest. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Moscow Oblast, Mozhaysk Rayon, village Kovosurino. Occupation: Cabman at Mozhaysk railway station. Date of Arrest: March 11, 1938. Indictment: Espionage. Deciding Body: Commission of the NKVD and the Prosecutor of the USSR. Date of Decision: May 28, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: June 7, 1938, city of Moscow. Place of Burial: Butovo [Firing Range]. Date of Rehabilitation: September 1989. Source: *Бутовский полигон. 1937–1938*. Vol. 1; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2636053>.

**Belyaev, Dmitry Yevseevich.** Year of Birth: 1907. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire]. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Novosibirsk Oblast, Dovolnoe Rayon, village Tikhonovka. Arrested: Akmolinsk RO at the NKVD. Date of Arrest: August 3, 1937. Indictment: [n.d.]. Deciding Body: Akmolinsk RO at the NKVD. Date of Decision: August 14, 1937. Verdict: Case dismissed. Rehabilitating Body: Prosecutor’s Office of Akmolinsk Oblast. Reason for Rehabilitation: Law of the Republic Kazakhstan of April 14, 1993. Date of Rehabilitation: September 8, 1999. Source: *Сведения Департамента КНБ Республики Казахстана по Ақмолинской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2948647>.

**Belyavsky, Zakhar Pavlovich.** Year of Birth: 1900. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Kharkov Oblast, village Verkhny Bishkin. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Buryat-Mongolian ASSR, Gusinozersk ITL. Occupation: Prisoner. Date of Arrest: August 2, 1942. Indictment: Art. 58-14 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: VS of the Buryat-Mongolian ASSR. Date of Decision: October 7, 1942. Verdict: 10 years imprisonment. Rehabilitating Body: VS of the Russian Federation. Date of Rehabilitation: June 21, 1994. Source: *Книга памяти Бурятии*. Vol. 1; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/118107>.

**Besprozvanny, Grigory Pavlovich.** Year of Birth: 1901. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], West Siberian Krai, Ust-Tarka Rayon, village Verkhnyaya Omka. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: primary. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Novosibirsk. Occupation: Janitor. Date of Arrest: January 28, 1938. Indictment: Art. 58-6; 58-9; 58-10; 58-11 UK RSFSR (Participation in a counter-revolutionary sabotage and espionage organisation). Deciding Body: Commission of the NKVD and the Prosecutor of the USSR. Date of Decision: April 29, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: June 5, 1938. Additional Information: Gypsy lawsuit in Novosibirsk. Date of Rehabilitation: October 10, 1956. Source: *Книга памяти Новосибирской области*. Vol. 5; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/3100768>.

**Besprozvanny, Dmitry Pavlovich.** Year of Birth: 1903. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], West Siberian Krai, Ust-Tarka Rayon, village Verkhnyaya Omka. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Primary. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Novosibirsk. Occupation: Janitor. Date of Arrest: January 28, 1938. Indictment: Art. 58-6; 58-9; 58-10; 58-11 UK RSFSR (Participation in a counter-revolutionary sabotage and espionage organisation). Deciding Body: Commission of the NKVD and the Prosecutor of the USSR. Date of Decision: April 29, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: June 5, 1938. Additional Information: Gypsy lawsuit in Novosibirsk. Date of Rehabilitation: October 10, 1956. Source: *Книга памяти Новосибирской области*. Vol. 5; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/3100769>.

**Bezlyudsky, Ivan Vasilievich.** Year of Birth: 1899. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Smolensk Oblast, village Nizhny Roshest. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Karelian ASSR, Medvezhyegorsk Rayon, White Sea-Baltic Combine of the NKVD. Occupation: Prisoner. Date of Arrest: August 5, 1938. Indictment: Art. 82 UK RSFSR (escape). Deciding Body: Troika at the NKVD of the Karelian ASSR. Date of Decision: September 1, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: September 17, 1938, railway station

Medvezhya Gora (tract Sandarmokh). No information about rehabilitation. Source: *Поминальные списки Карелии; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/274763>.

**Bezlyudsky, Vasily Alexeevich.** Year of Birth: 1924. Place of Birth: [USSR, RSFSR], Tula Oblast, Tovarkovsky Rayon, rural-type settlement Bogoroditsk. Nationality: Gypsy man. Occupation: Prisoner, worker in transfer point. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Komi ASSR, Ustvymlag. Date of Arrest: February 18, 1943. Indictment: Art. 58-14 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: VS of the Komi ASSR. Date of Decision: March 12, 1943. Verdict: 7 years imprisonment and 2 years loss of rights. Source: *Книга памяти Республики Коми*. Vol. 7, Part 2; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/371325>.

**Bobrov, Ilya Nikolaevich.** Year of Birth: 1891. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Kurgan Rayon, village Sanino. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Illiterate. Arrested: Arykbalyk Rayon Militsiya. Date of Arrest: October 4, 1937. Indictment: Art. 58-10 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: North Kazakhstan OS. Date of Decision: November 29, 1937. Verdict: 10 years ITL. Rehabilitating Body: Main Prosecutor's Office of the Republic of Kazakhstan. Reason for Rehabilitation: Decree of the President of the USSR of August 13, 1990. Date of Rehabilitation: September 28, 1993. Source: *Сведения Департамента КНБ Республики Казахстана по Акмолинской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2950055>.

**Bobrov, Nikolay Vasilyevich** (variants: Nemtsev, Alexander Mironovich; Soldatenko, Nikolay Ivanovich). Year of Birth: 1917. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], city of Kharkov. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Komi ASSR, Vorkutlag. Occupation: Prisoner, worker in the Inta *Lagpunkt* [camp point] at the Vorkutlag. Date of Arrest: October 16, 1941. Indictment: Art. 58-14 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: VT at the NKVD troops of the US SPZhD. Date of Decision: March 26, 1942. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: June 11, 1942. Source: *Книга памяти Республики Коми*. Vol. 7, Part 1; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/372514>.

**Bogdanenko, Grigory Galaktionovich.** Year of Birth: 1896. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Chernigov Oblast, Bakhmach Rayon, town of Baturin. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: With limited literacy. Place of Residence: Ukrainian SSR, Chernihiv Oblast, town of Baturyn. Occupation: Without a specific occupation. Date of Arrest: December 24, 1937. Indictment: Socially dangerous element. Deciding Body: Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of

Chernihiv Oblast. Date of Decision: December 27, 1937. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: [n.d.]. Date of Rehabilitation: August 28, 1989. Source: DACHO (Chernihiv), f. P 8840, op. 3, spr. 10857; *Реабілітовани історією*, <http://www.reabit.org.ua/nbr/?ID=361237>.

**Bogdanov, Fyodor Ivanovich.** Year of Birth: 1918. Place of Birth: [USSR, RSFSR], Novgorod Oblast, Poddore Rayon, village Peregino. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: 2 years. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Novgorod Oblast, Poddore Rayon, village Peregino. Occupation: Worker in village general store. Date of Arrest: December 27, 1941. Indictment: [n.d.]. Deciding Body: [n.d.]. Date of Decision: July 18, 1942. Verdict: case dismissed, acquitted. Source: *Книга памяти Новгородской области*. Vol. 4; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1539951>.

**Bogdanov, Mikhail Ivanovich.** Year of Birth: 1927. Place of Birth: [USSR, RSFSR], Samara Oblast, railway station Kinel. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Kuybyshev. Date of Arrest: February 28, 1945. Indictment: Art. 58-14 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Kuybyshev OS. Date of Decision: July 2, 1945. Verdict: 5 years ITL. Rehabilitating Body: Prosecutor's Office of Samara Oblast's. Date of Rehabilitation: December 10, 1992. Source: *Книга памяти Самарской области*. Vol. 3; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1913061>.

**Bogdanov, Nikolay Nikolaevich.** Year of Birth: 1902. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], St Petersburg Governorate, village Zamyshe. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Omsk. Occupation: Prisoner ITK-8. Sentenced in 1941 to 10 years imprisonment (escape). Date of Arrest: August 25, 1942. Indictment: Art. 58-14 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Omsk OS. Date of Decision: October 27, 1942. Verdict: 10 years. Note: Decision of the Court Collegium of the VS RF of March 4, 1994, Art. 58-14 reclassified to Art. 82, part 1 UK RSFSR (2 years imprisonment). Following the Russian Federation Law, he is rehabilitated under Art. 58-14. Source: *Книга памяти Омской области*. Vol. 1; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1654711>.

**Bogdanov, Pyotr Mikhailovich.** Year of Birth: 1910. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Pskov Oblast, OPOCHKA Rayon, village Terepeni. Nationality: Gypsy man. Occupation: Didn't work. Date of Arrest: August 11, 1937. Indictment: SVE. Deciding Body: Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of Kalinin Oblast. Date of Decision: September 20, 1937. Verdict: 5 years imprisonment. Date of



Rehabilitation: November 24, 1995. Source: *Книга памяти Псковской области*. Vol. 1; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1836776>.

**Bogdanov, Vasily Spiridonovich.** Year of Birth: 1898. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Novgorod Oblast, Lyubytino Rayon, village Sherekhovichi. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Literate. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Novgorod Oblast, Lyubytino Rayon, village Kvasilnikovo. Occupation: He was engaged in trade. Date of Arrest: November 18, 1937. Indictment: [n.d.]. Deciding Body: [n.d.]. Date of Decision: [n.d.]. Verdict: 10 years ITL. Source: *Книга памяти Новгородской области*. Vol. 1; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1539896>.

**Bogdanova, Kapitolina Ivanovna.** Year of Birth: 1918. Place of Birth: [USSR, RSFSR], city of Moscow. Nationality: Gypsy woman. Education: Illiterate. Occupation: Served her sentence in the Krivoshchyokovo branch of the Department of Correctional Labour Camps and Colonies (UITLK) of the NKVD, Novosibirsk Oblast. Date of Arrest: April 10, 1943. Indictment: Art. 58-10, part 2; 58-11 UK RSFSR (counter-revolutionary agitation). Deciding Body: Novosibirsk OS. Date of Decision: [n.d.]. Verdict: 10 years imprisonment with absorption of unserved punishment according to Verdict 1943. Date of Rehabilitation: October 28, 1994. Source: *Книга памяти Новосибирской области*. Vol. 2; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1603416>.

**Bogdanovich, Rudolf Ludvigovich.** Year of Birth: 1921. Place of Birth: [USSR], Ukrainian SSR, Sumo Oblast, town of Yampol. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Komi ASSR, Vorkutlag. Occupation: Prisoner, worker in OLP-3. Date of Arrest: September 22, 1942. Indictment: Art. 58-14 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: VS of the Komi ASSR. Date of Decision: December 19, 1942. Verdict: 10 years imprisonment and 5 years loss of rights. Source: *Книга памяти Республики Коми*. Vol. 7, Part 1; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/372694>.

**Bogomolov, Alexander Andreevich** (variant: Proslov, Vasily Fyodorovich). Year of Birth: 1926. Place of Birth: [USSR, RSFSR], Saratov Oblast, town of Volsk. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Poorly literate. Indictment: Art. 59-3 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: [n.d.]. Date of Decision: 1949. Verdict: 18 years ITL. Occupation: Prisoner. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Sverdlovsk Oblast, Serov Rayon, Sevurallag. Date of Arrest: June 12, 1957. Indictment: Art. 58-10 UK RSFSR

(anti-Soviet agitation). Deciding Body: [n.d.]. Date of Decision: September 7, 1957. Verdict: 5 years imprisonment. Date of Rehabilitation: March 30, 1967. Source: GAAOSO, f. 1, op. 2, d. 34802.

**Bokhorov, Ilya Aronovich.** Year of Birth: 1919. Place of Birth: [USSR, RSFSR], city of Simferopol. Social Origin: Worker. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: 2 years. Occupation: Red Army soldier at the 63rd Motor Transport Battalion. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Crimean ASSR, city of Simferopol. Date of Arrest: September 16, 1940. Indictment: Art. 58-8 UK RSFSR (treason against the Motherland). Deciding Body: VT at the 2nd Red Army. Date of Decision: October 7, 1940. Verdict: 6 years ITL. Rehabilitating Body: VS of Ukraine. Date of Rehabilitation: February 4, 2000. Source: Омельчук, 2008; *Реабилитированные историей. Автономная Республика Крым*. Vol. 1; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/3057037>.

**Bolshoi, Pyotr Vasilievich.** Year of Birth: 1888. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Omsk Oblast, village Bolshoy Kusarek. Nationality: Russian. Education: Poorly literate. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Novosibirsk. Work: Stableman. Date of Arrest: January 28, 1938. Indictment: Art. 58-6; 58-9; 58-10; 58-11 UK RSFSR (Participation in a counter-revolutionary sabotage and espionage organisation). Deciding Body: Commission of the NKVD and the Prosecutor of the USSR. Date of Decision: April 29, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: June 5, 1938. Additional Information: Gypsy lawsuit in Novosibirsk. Date of Rehabilitation: October 10, 1956. Source: *Книга памяти Новосибирской области*. Vol. 5; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/3100806>.

**Bondarenko, Zakhar Mikitovich.** Year of Birth: 1863. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire]. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: Ukrainian SSR, Kharkiv Oblast, Nova Vodolaha Rayon, village Nova Vodolaha. Occupation: Unknown. Date of Arrest: June 5, 1929. Indictment: Art. 54-10 UK UkSSR. Deciding Body: OSO at the Board of the OGPU. Date of Decision: August 2, 1929. Verdict: Deprived of the right of residence in central areas for 3 years. Date of Rehabilitation: September 19, 1995. Source: DAKhO (Kharkiv), f. P 6452, op. 2, spr. 1526; *Український мартиролог*, <https://archives.gov.ua/um.php?nac=22&p=1&&id=2094>.

**Borsulyak, Nikolay Mikhailovich.** Year of Birth: 1891. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], city of Warsaw. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: [Poland]. Date of Arrest: March 1941. Place of Arrest: Ukrainian SSR, Stanislavov

Oblast. Indictment: Art. 173 UK UkSSR (robbery). Verdict: [n.d.]. Additional Information: Gypsy lawsuit in Rovno. Source: GDASBU, f. 16, spr. 34 (quoted by Жив'юк, 2021; Zhyvyuk, 2023).

**Bratulesko, Yegor Ivanovich.** Year of Birth: 1889. Place of Birth: Romania, village Sogodol. Nationality: Romanian. Education: Poorly literate. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Novosibirsk Oblast, Tatarsk Rayon. Occupation: without specific occupations. Date of Arrest: February 5, 1938. Indictment: Art. 58-6; 58-9; 58-10; 58-11 UK RSFSR (Active participation in a counter-revolutionary sabotage and espionage organisation). Deciding Body: Commission of the NKVD and the Prosecutor of the USSR. Date of Decision: April 25, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: June 5, 1938. Additional Information: Gypsy lawsuit in Novosibirsk. Date of Rehabilitation: May 27, 1958. Source: *Книга памяти Новосибирской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/3100828>.

**Bratyan Ie Botasko.** Year and Place of Birth: [n.d.]. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Moscow, Marina Roshcha [District], 21 6th passage. Date of Arrest: 1935. Indictment: [n.d.]. Deciding Body: [OSO at the NKVD]. Date of Decision: [n.d.]. Verdict: [n.d.]. Additional Information: Second Gypsy lawsuit in Moscow. Source: GARF, f. 10035, op. 2, d. 74091.

**Brezhinsky, Yakov Alexandrovich.** Year of Birth: 1916. Place of Birth: Austria-Hungary, city of Krakow. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Poorly literate. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Novosibirsk. Occupation: Mechanic. Date of Arrest: January 28, 1938. Indictment: Art. 58-6; 58-9; 58-10; 58-11 UK RSFSR (Participation in a counter-revolutionary sabotage and espionage organisation). Deciding Body: Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of Novosibirsk Oblast. Date of Decision: April 29, 1938. Verdict: 10 years ITL. Additional Information: Gypsy lawsuit in Novosibirsk. Date of Rehabilitation: October 10, 1956. Source: *Книга памяти Новосибирской област. Vol. 5; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/3100830>.

**Budnyak, Vasil Ivanovich.** Year of Birth: 1904. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Volhynia Governorate, Zhytomyr Uyezd, Kotelnaya Volost, village Ivankiv. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence and Work: Without a fixed place of work and residence. Date of Arrest: May 28, 1938. Indictment: Art. 54-1a UK UkSSR. Deciding Body: Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of Zhytomyr Oblast. Date of Decision: October 3, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: October 4, 1938. Additional Information:

Gypsy lawsuit in Zhytomyr. Date of Rehabilitation: 1989. Source: *Реабілітовані історією*, <http://www.reabit.org.ua/nbr/?ID=279057>.

**Bugrimenko, Fedir Pavlovich.** Year of Birth: 1900. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Kharkiv Oblast, town of Zmiiv. Social Origin: Employee. Nationality: Gypsy man. Party Membership: VKP(b) member. Place of Residence: Ukrainian SSR, Odesa Oblast, city of Odesa. Occupation: Inspector of the budget department of the Odesa Regional Finance Department. Arrested: Directorate of the NKVD of Odesa Oblast. Date of Arrest: July 17, 1938. Indictment: Art. 54-8 (preparation of a terrorist act); 54-11 (preparation for counter-revolutionary crimes) UK UkSSR; was suspected of being an active member of an anti-Soviet terrorist organisation whose goal was to fight the Communist Party and the Soviet government, prepare terrorist acts directed against the leaders of the Party and the government, and carry out counter-revolutionary work in all branches of the national economy. By resolution of the Military Prosecutor's Office of the Odesa VO of November 4, 1939, the case was dismissed due to the lack of a crime. Source: AUSBUOO, spr. 6519.

**Bunyak, Hrisanf Makarovich.** Year of Birth: 1911. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Vohlynia Governorate, Zhytomyr Uyezd, Andrushevka Volost, mestechko Nekhvorosh. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence and Work: Without a fixed place of work and residence. Date of Arrest: April 8, 1938. Indictment: Art. 54-1a UK UkSSR. Deciding Body: Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of Zhytomyr Oblast. Date of Decision: October 3, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: October 4, 1938. Additional Information: Gypsy lawsuit in Zhytomyr. Date of Rehabilitation: 1989. Source: *Реабілітовані історією*, <http://www.reabit.org.ua/nbr/?ID=280063>.

**Burlutsky, Dmitry Yakovlevich** (variant: Rakityansky, Dmitry Makarovich). Year of Birth: 1892 (variants: 1893, 1908). Place of Birth: [Russian Empire]. Social Origin: Nomad. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Primary. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Moscow Oblast, Dmitrov ITL NKVD. Occupation: Prisoner, assistant to the head of the household unit. Note: Was convicted on common criminal charges. Arrested: In the camp. Date of Arrest: June 7, 1937. Indictment: Participation in a counter-revolutionary terrorist organisation in Dmitlag. Deciding Body: Commission of the NKVD, the Prosecutor of the USSR and Chairman of the Military Collegium of the VS USSR. Date of Decision: June 16, 1937. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: June 17, 1937, city of Moscow. Place of Burial: Don Cemetery. Rehabilitating Body: Criminal Cases Jury of the VS USSR. Date of Rehabilitation: March 6, 1957. Source: *Расстрельные списки*.

*Москва. 1935–1953. Донское кладбище (Донской крематорий); Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2637323>.

**Burlutsky, Sergey Ivanovich.** Year of Birth: 1921. Place of Birth: [USSR, RSFSR], Transbaikal Oblast, Chita Uyezd, village Beklemishevo. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Primorsky Krai, village Kamenka. Occupation: Red Army soldier, served in the 559th separate construction battalion of the Far Eastern Front. Date of Arrest: January 1, 1942. Indictment: Art. 58-8 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: OSO at the NKVD. Date of Decision: May 13, 1942. Verdict: 10 years imprisonment. Rehabilitating Body: Prosecutor's Office of Chita Oblast. Date of Rehabilitation: December 26, 1989. Source: *Книга памяти Читинской области*. Vol. 8; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2571973>.

**Burtses, Ivan Georgievich** (variant: Burtsos, I. G.). Year of Birth: 1886. Place of Birth: Greece, Corfu Island. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Poorly literate. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Buryat-Mongolian ASSR, city of Ulan-Ude. Date of Arrest: December 30, 1937. Indictment: Art. 58-1a UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: OSO at the NKVD. Date of Decision: June 2, 1938. Verdict: 10 years imprisonment. Rehabilitating Body: Military Prosecutor's Office of the Transbaikal VO. Date of Rehabilitation: February 1, 1957. Source: *Книга памяти Бурятии*. Vol. 1; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/118821>.

**Bushuev, Fedir Saveliyovich.** Year of Birth: 1899. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Donetsk Oblast, town of Slovyansk. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: With limited literacy. Place of Residence: Ukrainian SSR, Stalino Oblast, town of Slovyansk, 14 Parkhomyvskyi alley. Occupation: Without a specific occupation. Date of Arrest: August 9, 1932. Indictment: [n.d.]. Deciding Body: [n.d.]. Date of Decision: [n.d.]. Verdict: There is no data on convictions. Date of Rehabilitation: 1933. Source: *Реабілітовані історією*, <http://www.reabit.org.ua/nbr/?ID=222455>.

**Bustov, Yuri Vikentievich.** Year of Birth: 1897. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Grodno Governorate, Slonim Uyezd, mestechko Dvoretz. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Poorly literate. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Kabardino-Balkarian ASSR, village Baksan. Occupation: Hairdresser. Date of Arrest: July 2, 1937. Indictment: Art. 58-10 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: VS of the Kabardino-Balkarian ASSR. Date of Decision: October 8, 1937. Verdict: Imprisoned for 5 years with loss of rights for 2 years. Rehabilitating Body:

Criminal Cases Jury of the VS RSFSR. Date of Rehabilitation: December 8, 1964. Source: *Книга памяти Кабардино-Балкарии; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/178143>.

**Buzdyganov, Ivan Filippovich.** Year of Birth: 1917. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], city of Tomsk. Nationality: Gypsy man. Date of Arrest: 1937. Verdict: [ITL]. [Date of Arrest: 1942]. Indictment: Art. 58 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of the Dalstroy. Date of Decision: December 3, 1942. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: January 26, 1943. Date of Rehabilitation: July 1994. Source: *Книга памяти Магаданской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1454536>.

**Bzhezinskaya, Froletina Valentinovna** (variant: Bzhezinskaya, Valentina V.). Year of Birth: 1885. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Poland, Kalisz Governorate, village Kuzhenevo. Social Origin: Worker. Nationality: Gypsy woman. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Sverdlovsk Oblast, Nizhnie Sergi Rayon, rural-type settlement Nizhnie Sergi. Date of Arrest: December 20, 1937. Indictment: Art. 58-6 UK RSFSR (espionage). Deciding Body: [n.d.]. Date of Decision: [n.d.]. Verdict: Case dismissed. Release: Directorate of the NKVD of Sverdlovsk Oblast. Date of Release: December 11, 1938. Source: GAAOSO, f. 1, op. 2, d. 230.

**Chebotarev, Ivan Vasilievich** (variant: Kovalev, Panteley Semyonovich). Year of Birth: 1880. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], town of Akkerman. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: Without a fixed place of residence. Occupation: Mechanic. Sentenced in 1937 to 10 years for robbery, detained in the city of Kazan. Date of Arrest: November 11, 1941. Indictment: Art. 58-14 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: [n.d.]. Date of Decision: [n.d.]. Verdict: [n.d.]. Died in place of detention: May 14, 1942, in the city of Kazan, in a special psychiatric hospital (colitis), during the investigation. Source: *Книга памяти Республики Татарстан; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/538348>.

**Cheremush, Yakim Amvrosiyovich.** Year of Birth: 1889. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire]. Nationality: Gypsy man. Social Origin: Peasant. Place of Residence: Ukrainian SSR, Odesa Oblast, Bilyaivka Rayon, village Hradenytsi. Occupation: Shoemaker of the collective farm workshop village Hradenytsi. Date of Arrest: April 12, 1938. Indictment: Art. 54-10, part 1 UK UkSSR (counter-revolutionary agitation). Deciding Body: Special collegiums of the Odesa OS. Date of

Decision: August 8, 1938. Verdict: Acquitted. Source: AUSBUEO, spr. 236, No. 000190.

**Cherepovsky, Alexander Gerasimovich.** Year of Birth: 1919. Place of Birth: [USSR, RSFSR], Chelyabinsk Oblast, village Kurgan. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Komi ASSR, Sevzheldorlag. Occupation: Prisoner. Date of Arrest: May 28, 1941. Indictment: Art. 58-14 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: VT of the NKVD troops at the US SPZhD. Date of Decision: September 5, 1941. Verdict: 5 years imprisonment. Source: *Книга памяти Республики Коми*. Vol. 2; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/423476>.

**Cherepovsky, Alexander Platonovich.** Year of Birth: 1902. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], city of Chelyabinsk. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Komi ASSR, Sevzheldorlag. Occupation: Prisoner. Date of Arrest: November 29, 1939. Indictment: Art. 58-14 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Criminal Cases Jury of the Arkhangelsk OS at the Sevzheldorlag. Date of Decision: February 15, 1940. Verdict: 5 years imprisonment. Source: *Книга памяти Республики Коми*. Vol. 2; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/423477>.

**Cherepovsky, Alexey Ivanovich.** Year of Birth: 1883. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Chelyabinsk Oblast, Shchuche Rayon, village Pukrysh. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: literate. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Chelyabinsk Oblast, city of Chelyabinsk. Occupation: Artel Guzhtransport [horse-drawn transport], horse carrier. Date of Arrest: December 23, 1937. Indictment: Art. 58-2; 58-10; 58-11 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of Chelyabinsk Oblast. Date of Decision: January 2, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: January 11, 1938. Date of Rehabilitation: February 8, 1956. Source: OGACHO, f. P 467, op. 3, d. 496, 498, 502, 504-511, <https://archive74.ru/dbases/victim/index>.

**Cherepovsky, Fyodor Vasilievich.** Year of Birth: 1926. Place of Birth: [USSR, RSFSR], Smolensk Oblast, Vyazma Rayon. Nationality: Gypsy man. Occupation: Didn't work, led a nomadic lifestyle. Arrested: Directorate of the NKVD Smolensk Oblast. Date of Arrest: September 10, 1943. Change of preventive measure: Held in prison city of Smolensk. Indictment: Art. 58-1a UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: OSO at NKVD USSR. Date of Decision: February 26, 1944. Verdict: 5 years ITL. Rehabilitating Body: Prosecutor's Office of Smolensk Oblast. Date of Rehabilitation: March 20, 1999. Source: *Книга памяти*

*Смоленской области*. Vol. 6; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/423478>.

**Cherepovsky, Ivan Mikhailovich**. Year of Birth: 1905. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Tula Oblast, Chern Rayon. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Komi ASSR, Vorkutlag. Occupation: Prisoner, worker of OLP-2. Date of Arrest: 25.09.1942. Indictment: Art. 58-14 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: VS Komi ASSR. Date of Decision: December 18, 1942. Verdict: 10 years' imprisonment and loss of rights for 5 years. Source: *Книга памяти Республики Коми*. Т. 7, Ч. 1. <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/423478>. [1942]

**Cherepovsky, Nikolay Ivanovich**. Year of Birth: 1915. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Ukrainian SSR, Harkov Oblast, Balakliya Rayon, settlement Savintsi. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Perm Oblast, Lagpunkt Mutnaya OLP No. 11 Kizellag MVD. Occupation: Prisoner. Date of Arrest: January 15, 1952. Indictment: Counter-revolutionary sabotage. Deciding Body: [n.d.]. Date of Decision: February 27, 1952. Verdict: 10 years' imprisonment. Rehabilitating Body: Prosecutor's Office of Perm Oblast. Date of Rehabilitation: December 28, 1992. Source: *Книга памяти Пермской области*. <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1809358>. [1952]

**Chernyshev, Pavel Yakovlevich**. Year of Birth: 1907. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], city of Krasnodar. Nationality: Gypsy man. Date of Arrest: December 31, 1937. Indictment: Art. 58-10; 59-3 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of Kuybyshev Oblast. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: February 11, 1938, city of Kuybyshev. Rehabilitating Body: Prosecutor's Office of Samara Oblast. Date of Rehabilitation: August 13, 1997. Source: *Книга памяти Самарской области*. Vol. 17 (Самара); *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1934531>.

**Chervonnaya, Berta** (variants: Yershova, Iraida Borisovna; Vorobeva, Berta; Lopukhina, Berta). Year of Birth: 1909. Place of Birth: Russian Empire, city of St Petersburg. Nationality: Gypsy woman. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Kursk Oblast, town of Stary Oskol. Date of Arrest: February 5, 1951. Indictment: Art. 58-1a UK RSFSR (treason against the Motherland). Deciding Body: [n.d.]. Date of Decision: February 22, 1952. Verdict: 25 years ITL with loss of rights for 5 years and confiscation of property. Release: June 1956. Rehabilitating Body: Prosecutor's Office of Belgorod Oblast. Date of Rehabilitation: 2010. Source: Дорофеева, 2016.



**Chompi.** Year and Place of Birth: [n.d.]. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Moscow. Nationality: Greek Gypsy man. Date of Arrest: 1923. Indictment: Espionage. Verdict: Case dismissed, released. Additional Information: Went abroad. Source: GDASBUR, f. 4 (P), spr. 17664 (quoted by Жив'юк, 2021; Zhyvyuk, 2023).

**Chorba, Layosh Dezhideevich.** Year of Birth: 1914. Place of Birth: [Austria-Hungary] town of Olshov Dobosh [?] (Hungary). Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Primary. Place of Residence: Ukrainian SSR, Transcarpathia Oblast, Uzhhorod Rayon, town of Chop. Occupation: Driver. Indictment: [n.d.]. Deciding Body: Special Court of the Transcarpathian Ukraine. Date of Decision: September 19, 1945. Verdict: 5 years' imprisonment. Date of Rehabilitation: 1991. Source: *Реабілітовані історією*, <http://www.reabit.org.ua/nbr/?ID=142467>.

**Chukalenko, Filipp Savovich.** Year of Birth: 1906. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Ukrainian SSR, village Chepilka. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Karelian ASSR, Soroka Rayon. Occupation: Prisoner. Date of Arrest: July 15, 1938. Indictment: Art. 82 UK RSFSR (escape). Deciding Body: Troika at the NKVD of the Karelian ASSR. Date of Decision: September 1, 1938. Verdict: VMN. No information about rehabilitation. Source: *Поминальные списки Карелии; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/286666>.

**Churan, Franz Iosifovich.** Year of Birth: 1890. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Poland, Warsaw Governorate, town of Sirotsk (Shirotsk). Social Origin: Worker. Nationality: Polish Gypsy man. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Moscow Oblast, town of Mozhaysk. Occupation: Coppersmith-tinker in Ilyinsky Rest House of the Central Committee of the Union of Ferrous Metallurgy. Date of Arrest: March 12, 1938. Indictment: Espionage and sabotage activities in favour of Poland. Deciding Body: Commission of the NKVD and the Prosecutor of the USSR. Date of Decision: May 16, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: May 26, 1938, city of Moscow. Place of Burial: Butovo [Firing Range]. Date of Rehabilitation: October 2, 1989. Source: *Бутовский полигон. 1937–1938*. Vol. 4; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2658555>.

**Churon, Iosif Iosifovich.** Year of Birth: 1904. Place of Birth: Poland. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Arkhangelsk. Date of Arrest: January 12, 1938. Deciding Body: Troika at the NKVD. Date of Decision: January 13, 1938. Indictment: Anti-Soviet agitation. Verdict: Imprisoned for 10 years. Release and

rehabilitation: November 15, 1939, released due to the termination of the case, i.e., rehabilitated. Source: *Книга памяти Архангельской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/111607>.

**Churon, Leon Iosifovich.** Year of Birth: 1892. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Lithuania, city of Kovno. Nationality: Polish Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Gorky Krai, town of Balakhna. Date of Arrest: July 11, 1938. Indictment: Art. 58-6; 58-11 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Troika. Verdict: VMN. The decision was reversed in January 1940. Date and Place of Execution: November 17, 1938. Source: *Книга памяти Нижегородской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1535777>.

**Churon, Pavel Izosimovich.** Year of Birth: 1902. Place of Birth: Poland. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Arkhangelsk. Occupation: Unemployed. Date of Arrest: January 9, 1938. Date of Decision: October 25, 1939. Indictment: Anti-Soviet agitation. Verdict: Released due to the termination of the case, i.e., rehabilitated. Source: *Книга памяти Архангельской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/111608>.

**Churon, Stanislav Vikentievich.** Year of Birth: 1922. Place of Birth: [USSR, RSFSR], city of Moscow. Occupation: Dancer of the Northern Song and Dance Choir. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Arkhangelsk. Deciding Body: OSO at the MGB. Date of Decision: September 26, 1951. Indictment: Socially dangerous element. Verdict: Deported to a settlement in the Krasnoyarsk Territory. Date of Rehabilitation: April 26, 1960. Family composition: had two dependent children. Source: *Книга памяти Архангельской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/111609>.

**Churon, Vikenty Iosifovich.** Year of Birth: 1898. Place of Birth: Poland. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Arkhangelsk. Occupation: Roofer in artel *Bytovik*. Date of Arrest: December 1, 1937. Deciding Body: Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of Arkhangelsk Oblast. Indictment: Art. 58-6 UK RSFSR. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: January 17, 1938. Date of Rehabilitation: February 21, 1957. Family composition: had three dependent children. Source: *Книга памяти Архангельской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/111606>.

**Danichenko, Alexander Grigorievich.** Year of Birth: 1916. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Kursk Oblast, Dmitriev Rayon, village Popovka. Social Origin: Nomad. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Poorly literate. Place of Residence:

RSFSR, Kursk Oblast, Dmitriev Rayon, village Popovka. Occupation: Without specific occupations, cabman. Date of Arrest: February 15, 1938. Indictment: Counter-revolutionary propaganda among prisoners. Deciding Body: Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of Moscow Oblast. Date of Decision: February 25, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: February 28, 1938, city of Moscow. Place of Burial: Butovo [Firing Range]. Date of Rehabilitation: January 1958. Source: *Бутовский полигон 1937–1938*. Vol. 4; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2640537>.

**Danko, Isak Prokopovich**. Year of Birth: 1879. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Chernigov Oblast, Bakhmach Rayon, town of Bakhmach. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Literate. Place of Residence: Ukrainian SSR, Chernihiv Oblast, town of Bakhmach. Occupation: Railway worker. Date of Arrest: March 20, 1938. Indictment: Participation in the activities of the anti-Soviet Ukrainian nationalist counter-revolutionary organisation. Deciding Body: Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of Chernihiv Oblast. Date of Decision: April 23, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: May 14, 1938, city of Chernihiv. Date of Rehabilitation: January 6, 1960. Source: DACHO (Chernihiv), f. P 8840, op. 3, spr. 5504; *Реабілітовані історією*, <http://www.reabit.org.ua/nbr/?ID=361081>.

**Degtyarev, Ivan Sergeevich**. Year of Birth: 1921. Place of Birth: [USSR, RSFSR], Krasnodar Krai, town of Armavir. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence and Work: Served his sentence in ITL “AL” (railway station Sukhobezvodnoye of the Gorky Railway), sentenced in 1948 by Decree of June 4, 1947, to 15 years ITL. Date of Arrest: 1953. Indictment: Art. 58-10, part 1; 58-11; 58-14 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Head of the MVD Department of the Gorky Oblast. Verdict: Sent to prison No. 1 for one year. Source: *Книга памяти Нижегородской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1510664>.

**Dementiev, Iosif Konstantinovich** (variants: Kononovich, Fyodor Trofimovich; Degtyarev, Fyodor Trofimovich). Year of Birth: 1913. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Moldavian SSR, Dubossary Rayon, village Molovat. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Komi ASSR, Vorkutlag. Occupation: Prisoner. Date of Arrest: March 12, 1942. Indictment: Art. 58-14 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: VT of the NKVD troops at the US SPZhD. Date of Decision: April 4, 1942. Verdict: 10 years imprisonment. Source: *Книга памяти Республики Коми*. Vol. 2; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/380856>.

**Demeter, Praskovya Nikitichna** (maiden name Gusakova). Year of Birth: [1886]. Place of Birth: Russian Empire. Nationality: Gypsy woman. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Leningrad. Date of Arrest: 1934. Indictment: [n.d.]. Release: 1934. Source: *Деметер-Чарская*, 1997.

**Demeter, Stepan Petrovich**. Year of Birth: 1879 [1875, noted in the documents]. Place of Birth: Austria-Hungary, town of Demetr. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Moscow. Date of Arrest: 1923. Indictment: Espionage. Verdict: Case dismissed, released from custody. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Leningrad. Date of Arrest: April 15, 1934. Indictment: Art. 58-6; 59-12; 82, part 1 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Troika at the OGPU. Date of Decision: September 29, 1934. Verdict: 10 years imprisonment. Arrived in Vorkuta branch of the Ukhtrpechlag: June 11, 1938. Release: March 30, 1946. Source: *Книга памяти Республики Коми*. Vol. 8, Part 2; GDASBUR, f. 4 (P), spr. 17664 (quoted by Жив'юк, 2021; Zhyvnyuk, 2023); *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/380870>.

**Demeter, Pyotr Stepanovich**. Year of Birth: [n.d.]. Place of Birth: Russian Empire. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Leningrad. Date of Arrest: 1934. Indictment: [n.d.]. Release: 1934. Date of Arrest: 1938. Indictment: [n.d.]. Release: 1938. Source: *Деметер-Чарская*, 1997.

**Denyakin, Lukyan Fyodorovich**. Year of Birth: 1893. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Tomsk Governorate, Kainsk Uyezd, village Vyatskaya. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Omsk Governorate, Tyukalinsk Uyezd, village Pestraya. Occupation: Peasant. Date of Arrest: September 25, 1920. Indictment: Counter-revolutionary activity. Deciding Body: Omsk Governorates ChK. Date of Decision: October 28, 1920. Verdict: Case dismissed because of unproven charges, released from custody. Rehabilitating Body: Prosecutor's Office of Omsk Oblast. Reason for Rehabilitation: Law of the RF [without specification]. Date of Rehabilitation: April 13, 1993. Source: *Книга памяти Омской области*. Vol. 3; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1659261>.

**Diordinasko, Bratyan**. Year of Birth: 1900. Place of Birth: Serbia, city of Belgrade. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: without a fixed place of residence. Occupation: Without a fixed place of work. Arrested: UGB at the Directorate of the NKVD of Smolensk Oblast. Date of Arrest: February 27, 1938. Indictment: Art. 58-6; 58-10; 58-11 UK RSFSR. 1938. Deciding Body: Troika at

the Directorate of the NKVD of Smolensk Oblast. Date of Decision: March 25, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: May 15, 1938. Additional Information: Gypsy lawsuit in Smolensk. Rehabilitating Body: Prosecutor's Office of Smolensk Oblast. Date of Rehabilitation: May 10, 1989. Source: *Книга памяти Смоленской области*. Vol. 1; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2116534>.

**Dmitriev, Nikolay Adamovich** (variant: Dmitrov, N. A.). Year of Birth: 1918. Place of Birth: [USSR, RSFSR], Orenburg Governorate, town of Buzuluk. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Novosibirsk. Occupation: Student. Date of Arrest: January 28, 1938. Indictment: Art. 58-6; 58-9; 58-10; 58-11 UK RSFSR (Participation in a counter-revolutionary sabotage and espionage organisation). Deciding Body: Commission of the NKVD and the Prosecutor of the USSR. Date of Decision: April 29, 1938. Verdict: 10 years ITL. Additional Information: Gypsy lawsuit in Novosibirsk. Date of Rehabilitation: October 10, 1956. Source: *Книга памяти Новосибирской области*. Vol. 5; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/3101128>.

**Dmitriev, Nikolay Ivanovich**. Year of Birth: 1892. Place of Birth: [Austria-Hungary], town of Brzesko. Social Origin: Gypsy man. Nationality: Serbian. Education: Poorly literate. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Sverdlovsk Oblast, town of Nadezhdinsk. Occupation: Without specific occupations. Date of Arrest: January 14, 1938. Indictment: Art. 58-6 UK RSFSR (espionage). Verdict: Case dismissed. Release: Ural RO of the UGB at the Directorate of the NKVD of Sverdlovsk Oblast. Release: February 18, 1939. Additional Information: Gypsy lawsuit in Nadezhdinsk. Source: GAAOSO, f. 1, op. 2, d. 1963.

**Dmitrieva, Anna Osipovna**. Year of Birth: 1907. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], St Petersburg Governorate. Nationality: Gypsy woman. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Vladivostok. Occupation: Tinker in the military unit. Date of Arrest: July 27, 1938. Indictment: Art. 58-6 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Directorate of the NKVD of Primorsky Krai. Date of Decision: July 25, 1938. Verdict: Case dismissed, released from custody. Source: *База данных о жертвах репрессий Приморского края; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/986292>.

**Dolinenko, Terenty Maksimovich**. Year of Birth: 1880. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Sumy Oblast, Drohan Rayon, village Drohan. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Primary. Occupation: Without specific occupations. Date of Arrest:

June 26, 1941. Indictment: [n.d.]. Deciding Body: [n.d.]. Date of Decision: [n.d.]. Verdict: 7 years [imprisonment]. Date of Rehabilitation: July 1992. Source: *Книга памяти Курской области*. Vol. 2; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1428103>.

**Dolinsky, Kallo-Kolla Adolfovich**. Year of Birth: 1920. Place of Birth: [USSR, RSFSR], Kuban Oblast, city of Ekaterinodar. Social Origin: Artisan. Nationality: Polish Gypsy man. Education: Poorly literate. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Chelyabinsk Oblast, city of Magnitogorsk, ITK. Occupation: Prisoner (convicted in 1937 under Art. 74 UK RSFSR for 3 years), ITK. Date of Arrest: February 27, 1938. Indictment: Art. 58-2; 58-6; 58-9; 58-11 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Special Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of Chelyabinsk Oblast. Date of Decision: September 25, 1938. Verdict: 10 years imprisonment. Rehabilitating Body: VO of Ural VO. Date of Rehabilitation: December 23, 1958. Source: OGACHO, f. P 467, op. 3, d. 7813, <https://archive74.ru/dbases/victim/index>.

**Dombrovsky, Franz Viktorovich**. Year of Birth: 1904. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Poland, Lublin Governorate, Chełm Uyezd, village Bukovo. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Primary, 2 years. Place of Residence: RSFSR, town of Engels. Address: 42 Atkarskaya Street. Occupation: Musician. Date of Arrest: June 23, 1941. Indictment: anti-Soviet agitation. Deciding Body: Saratov OS. Date of Decision: June 13, 1942. Verdict: 10 years ITL, as determined by Saratov OS of December 10, 1942, he was released due to disability (deregistered). Rehabilitating Body: VS RSFSR. Date of Rehabilitation: October 19, 1961. Source: Архив НИПЦ “Мемориал” (Москва); *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2726307>.

**Draganov, Volodymyr Prokopovich** (variant: Droganov, V. P.). Year of Birth: 1916. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Odessa Oblast, Olshanka Rayon, village Dobryanka. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: Ukrainian SSR, Odesa Oblast, Lyubashivka Rayon, village Labushne. Occupation: Without specific occupations. Date of Arrest: May 8, 1944. Indictment: Art. 54-1 UK UkSSR (treason against the Motherland); the reason – in 1941–1944, he lived in the occupied territory in the village of Vilshanka, then in the village of Lyubashivka, worked as the head of a carriage of the community No. 129 in the village Mikolaivka, Lyubashivka Rayon, Odesa Oblast, was a citizen. Deciding Body: VT at the NKVD troops of Odesa Oblast. Date of Decision: December 7, 1944. Verdict: 10 years ITL with loss of rights for 5 years and confiscation of property. Rehabilitating Body: Prosecutor's Office of Odesa Oblast. Date of Rehabilitation: July 11, 1996. Source: AUSBUOO, spr. 27750.

**Drakhmanov, Andrey Ivanovich.** Year of Birth: 1916. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Rostov Oblast, city of Taganrog. Social Origin: Worker. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Sverdlovsk Oblast, Ivdel Rayon, Ivdellag, Lagpunkt *Laksiya*. Occupation: Prisoner. Note: 3 convictions under Art. 35, 162, 165, 74; the latest from July 24, 1944, under Art. 58-14 for 10 years. Date of Arrest: September 13, 1945. Indictment: Art. 58-10 (anti-Soviet agitation), 58-14 (counter-revolutionary sabotage) UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Special Camp Court at the Ivdel ITL. Date of Decision: October 16, 1945. Verdict: 10 years ITL. Rehabilitating Body: Law of the RSFSR of October 18, 1991. Date of Rehabilitation: March 4, 1992. Note: Rehabilitation is only for the last case. Source: GAAOSO, f. 1, op. 2, d. 44478.

**Drobovsky, Nikolay Fyodorovich.** Year of Birth: 1893. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Donetsk Oblast, city of Mariupol. Social Origin: Worker. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Lowest. Place of Residence: Without a fixed place of residence. Occupation: Without a fixed place of work, convicted three times of theft, he was held in prison No. 4 of NKVD. Date of Arrest: January 11, 1938. Indictment: Anti-Soviet propaganda among prisoners. Deciding Body: Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of Moscow Oblast. Date of Decision: March 19, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: March 25, 1938, city of Moscow. Place of Burial: Butovo [Firing Range]. Date of Rehabilitation: January 1989. Source: *Бутовский полигон: 1937–1938*. Vol. 1; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2641149>.

**Dudareva, Galina Petrovna.** Year of Birth: 1932. Place of Birth: [USSR, RSFSR], Irkutsk Oblast, town of Tulun. Social Origin: Worker. Nationality: Gypsy woman. Education: 7 years. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Sverdlovsk Oblast, railway station Azanka, postbox 299/5. Occupation: Lagpunkt No. 1, prisoner. Note: 3 convictions under Art. 162, 168-1; the last one, according to Art. 58-10 for 10 years. Date of Arrest: October 18, 1952. Indictment: Art. 58-10 UK RSFSR (anti-Soviet agitation). Deciding Body: Camp Court of the ITL "I". Date of Decision: April 24, 1953. Verdict: 10 years ITL. Rehabilitating Body: Law of the RSFSR of October 18, 1991. Date of Rehabilitation: April 1, 1992. Source: GAAOSO, f. 1, op. 2, d. 44889.

**Durachenko, Stepan Fyodorovich.** Year of Birth: 1900. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire]. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: Ukrainian SSR, city of Poltava. Occupation: Merchant. Date of Arrest: March 29, 1933. Indictment: Art. 173; 176 UK UkSSR. Deciding Body: Poltava People's Court. Date of Decision:

May 22, 1933. Verdict: Imprisonment for 5 years. Source: *Український мартиролог*, <https://archives.gov.ua/um.php?nac=22&p=1&&id=71971>.

**Dzheparov, Kapar.** Year of Birth: 1914. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], city of Feodosia, Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Poorly literate. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Crimean ASSR, city of Kerch. Address: 19 Predelno-Nagornaya Street. Occupation: Not working. Indictment: On February 4, 1937, A search at Dzheparov's apartment revealed 22 stolen bags belonging to the Grain Union of the town of Feodosia. On May 31, 1937, Dzheparov was taken to the police station for pickpocketing in a bread store; he does not work anywhere, has a close connection with the criminal element, systematically buys and resells things, travels around Rayon and profiteers. Deciding Body: Judicial Troika of the NKVD of Crimean ASSR. Date of Decision: August 20, 1937. Verdict: 10 years ITL. Source: GDASBU, f. 6 P, op. 6, spr. 10, ark. 121, [https://tsdea.archives.gov.ua/metric-books/?arch\\_id=39&fund\\_id=88&affair\\_id=6640](https://tsdea.archives.gov.ua/metric-books/?arch_id=39&fund_id=88&affair_id=6640).

**Dzhordzhino le Burikosko / Goman, Marko Usovich** (variant: Diordino le Burikosko). Year of Birth: 1868. Place of Birth: Serbia, city of Belgrade. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence [in 1935]: RSFSR, city of Moscow, 6-1 km, rural-type settlement *Krasny severyanin* (Red Northerner). Date of Arrest: 1935. Indictment: [n.d.]. Deciding Body: [OSO at the NKVD]. Date of Decision: [n.d.]. Verdict: [n.d.]. Additional Information: Second Gypsy lawsuit in Moscow. Place of Residence [in 1938]: Without a fixed place of residence. Occupation: Without a fixed place of work. Arrested: UGB at the Directorate of the NKVD of Smolensk Oblast. Date of Arrest: February 27, 1938. Indictment: Art. 58-6; 58-10; 58-11 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of Smolensk Oblast. Date of Decision: March 25, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: May 20, 1938. Additional Information: Gypsy lawsuit in Smolensk. Date of Rehabilitation: May 10, 1989. Source: GARF, f. 10035, op. 2, d. 74091; AUFSSBO, f. 1, op. 1, d. 24047-с; *Книга памяти Смоленской области*. Vol. 1; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2114990>.

**Dzhumaliev, Seit.** Year of Birth: 1907. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], town of Armyansk. Social Origin: Worker. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Crimean ASSR, city of Simferopol. Occupation: Fighter of the construction battalion 28/29 of the 4th squad. Previously convicted in 1938 to 2 years of deportation. Arrested: Department of Road Transport Department Main UGB at the NKVD of Crimea. Date of Arrest: July 25, 1942.



Indictment: Art. 58-10 UK RSFSR (counter-revolutionary agitation). Deciding Body: VT of the NKVD troops of Kharkov Oblast. Date of Decision: August 10, 1942. Verdict: 10 years ITL. Rehabilitating Body: Prosecutor's Office of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea. Date of Rehabilitation: March 5, 1996. Source: Омельчук, 2008; *Реабилитированные истории. Автономная Республика Крым*. Vol. 9, Part 2; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/3060538>.

**Endro, Karl Andreevich**. Year of Birth: 1908. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], [Latvia], Courland Governorate, city of Mitava. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Komi ASSR, Ustvymlag. Occupation: Prisoner, Syktyvkar branch. Date of Arrest: September 2, 1930. Indictment: Art. 58-14 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: ISCh [information and investigation section] at the Syktyvkar distance of the Ustvymlag. Date of Decision: January 30, 1932. Verdict: case dismissed. Source: *Книга памяти Республики Коми*. Vol. 7, Part 2; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/426864>.

**Erdenko, Ivan Alexandrovich**. Year of Birth: 1913. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Kursk Oblast, Manturovo Rayon, village Manturovo. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Primary. Occupation: Without specific occupations. Date of Arrest: July 19, 1950. Indictment: [n.d.]. Deciding Body: [n.d.]. Date of Decision: [n.d.]. Verdict: 10 years. Date of Rehabilitation: April 7, 1992. Source: *Книга памяти Курской области*. Vol. 3; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1429905>.

**Fedorenko, Oleksy Ivanovich**. Year of Birth: 1900. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Cherkassy Oblast, village Khatski. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence: Ukrainian SSR, Vinnytsia Oblast, Kryzhopil Rayon, village Shumy. Date of Arrest: June 4, 1933. Indictment: Art. 54-8 UK UkrSSR. Deciding Body: Kryzhopil RV DPU. Date of Decision: July 4, 1933. Verdict: case dismissed. Source: *Реабілітовані історією*, <http://www.reabit.org.ua/nbr/?ID=28052>.

**Firuze, wife of Ramadan, son of Hussein** [sic!]. Year of Birth: 1883. Place of Birth: Iran, city of Urmia. Citizenship: Iran. Note: In Russia, from 1913. Social Origin: Artisan. Nationality: Persian Gypsy woman. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Sverdlovsk. Occupation: Housewife. Date of Arrest: February 6, 1938. Indictment: Art. 58-6 UK RSFSR (espionage). Verdict: Decision of Directorate of the NKVD of Sverdlovsk Oblast of November 7, 1939,

case dismissed. Release: Ural RO of the UGB at the Directorate of the NKVD of Sverdlovsk Oblast. Release: January 9, 1939. Source: GAAOSO, f. 1, op. 2, d. 7063.

**Fokt, Nikolay Sergeevich.** Year of Birth: 1916. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], city of Yaroslavl. Social Origin: Orphanage pupil. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Lowest. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Moscow Oblast, town of Serpukhov. Address: Factory *Krasny tekstilshchik* [Red Textile Worker], barracks No. 6, apt. 127. Occupation: Factory Red textile worker, mechanic. Date of Arrest: September 2, 1937. Indictment: Systematic counter-revolutionary agitation and anti-Soviet propaganda. Deciding Body: Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of Moscow Oblast. Date of Decision: September 19, 1937. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: September 21, 1937, city of Moscow. Place of Burial: Butovo [Firing Range]. Date of Rehabilitation: July 1989. Source: *Бутовский полигон. 1937–1938*. Vol. 4; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2657300>.

**Fot-Furmos, Latsy.** Year and Place of Birth: [n.d.]. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Moscow. Date of Arrest: 1932. Indictment: Art. 17/142, part 2 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Commission of the OGPU. Date of Decision: June 9, 1933. Verdict: [n.d.]. Additional Information: First Gypsy lawsuit in Moscow, Part 2. Source: GARF, f. P 1235, op. 123, d. 27.

**Fot-Furmos, Yergulo.** Year and Place of Birth: [n.d.]. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Moscow. Date of Arrest: 1932. Indictment: Art. 17/142, part 2 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Commission of the OGPU. Date of Decision: June 9, 1933. Verdict: [n.d.]. Additional Information: First Gypsy lawsuit in Moscow, Part 2. Source: GARF, f. P 1235, op. 123, d. 27.

**Galimov, Pyotr Vasilievich.** Year of Birth: 1907. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Rostov Oblast, Glubokoe Rayon, khutor Karanchev. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Secondary. Place of Residence and Work: RSFSR, Bashkir ASSR, Sanatorium Alkino, director. Date of Arrest: January 22, 1942. Indictment: [n.d.]. Deciding Body: [n.d.]. Date of Decision: [n.d.]. Verdict: [n.d.]. Date of Rehabilitation: April 1942. Source: *Книга памяти Республики Башкортостан; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/52491>.

**Ganchar, Konstantin Iosifovich.** Year of Birth: 1923. Place of Birth: [USSR], Ukrainian SSR, Kiev Oblast, city of Kiev. Nationality: Hungarian Gypsy man.

Education: Poorly literate. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Kuzybyshev. Occupation: Actor, tinker. Deciding Body: Kuzybyshev City VK. Date of Decision: November 9, 1942. Verdict: Mobilised in the Labour Army. Demobilised: November 17, 1942, arrested. Source: *Gedenkbuch. Книга Памяти немецв-трудармейцев ИТЛ Бакалстрой-Челябметаллургстрой. 1942–1946; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2531025>.

**Garagash, Yakov Kuzmich.** Year of Birth: 1916. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Odessa Oblast, Bolshaya Vradievka Rayon, village Syrovo. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Komi ASSR, Ustvymlag. Occupation: Prisoner. Date of Arrest: January 23, 1942. Indictment: Art. 58-14 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: VS of the Komi ASSR. Date of Decision: March 13, 1942. Verdict: 10 years imprisonment and 5 years loss of rights. Source: *Книга памяти Республики Коми. Vol. 2; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/377436>.

**Gas, Fyodor Danilovich** (variant: Gos, F. D.). Year of Birth: 1917. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Bessarabia. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Poorly literate. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Novosibirsk. Occupation: Unskilled worker. Date of Arrest: January 28, 1938. Indictment: Art. 58-6; 58-9; 58-10; 58-11 UK RSFSR (Participation in a counter-revolutionary sabotage and espionage organisation). Deciding Body: Commission of the NKVD and the Prosecutor of the USSR. Date of Decision: April 29, 1938. Verdict: 10 years ITL. Additional Information: Gypsy lawsuit in Novosibirsk. Date of Rehabilitation: October 10, 1956. Source: *Книга памяти Новосибирской области. Vol. 5; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/3100987>.

**Gas, Ivan Mitrofanovich.** Year of Birth: 1912. Place of Birth: [n.d.]. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Moscow. Address: 14 Tikhvinsky lane, apt. 7. Occupation: Cauldron cleaner, artel *Krasnoe znamya* (Red Banner). Date of Arrest: [n.d.]. Indictment: [n.d.]. Deciding Body: [n.d.]. Date of Decision: [n.d.]. Verdict: [n.d.]. Source: *Московская правда*. Archival file No. 12931; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2663039>.

**Gas, Mikhail Mitrofanovich.** Year of Birth: 1913. Place of Birth: [n.d.]. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Moscow. Address: 14 Tikhvinsky lane, apt. 7. Occupation: Cauldron cleaner, Gypsy artel. Date of Arrest: [n.d.]. Indictment: [n.d.]. Deciding Body: [n.d.]. Date of Decision: [n.d.]. Verdict: [n.d.]. Source:

*Московская правда*. Archival file No. 12931; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2663040>.

**Gas, Mitrofan Fyodorovich.** Year of Birth: 1887. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Kamenets-Podolsky Governorate, Bratslav Uyezd. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Novosibirsk. Occupation: Without specific occupations. Date of Arrest: January 28, 1938. Indictment: Art. 58-6; 58-9; 58-10; 58-11 UK RSFSR (Participation in a counter-revolutionary sabotage and espionage organisation). Deciding Body: Commission of the NKVD and the Prosecutor of the USSR. Date of Decision: April 29, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: June 5, 1938. Additional Information: Gypsy lawsuit in Novosibirsk. Date of Rehabilitation: October 10, 1956. Source: *Книга памяти Новосибирской области*. Vol. 5; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/3100986>.

**Gaubert, Nikolay Andreevich.** Year of Birth: 1866. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Latvia, town of Tukum. Nationality: Gypsy man. Occupation: Without specific occupations. Date of Arrest: October 10, 1938. Indictment: [n.d.]. Deciding Body: [n.d.]. Date of Decision: [n.d.]. Verdict: VMN. Source: *Книга памяти Республики Марий Эл; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/446563>.

**Gavatsky, Adam Andreevich** (variant: Dombrovsky, Savely Bisherovich). Year of Birth: 1886. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Poland, city of Suwalki. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Illiterate. Occupation: Unemployed. Date of Arrest: August 21, 1921. Indictment: Suspicion of espionage in favour of Poland. Deciding Body: Commission of the OGPU. Date of Decision: September 23, 1921. Verdict: 2 years ITL, served in the Novgorod ITL. Rehabilitating Body: Prosecutor's Office of the Republic of Belarus. Date of Rehabilitation: May 26, 1992. Source: *Белорусский "Мемориал"; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2793273>.

**Gavrilov, Andrey Antonovich.** Year of Birth: 1916. Place of Birth: Romania, city of Bucharest. Nationality: Romanian. Education: Poorly literate. Place of Residence: Tajik SSR, Stalinabad Oblast, Ordzhonikidzeabad Rayon. Occupation: Tinker-coppersmith. Deciding Body: Ordzhonikidzeabad RVK. Date of Decision: December 26, 1942. Verdict: Mobilised in the Labour Army. Demobilised: October 5, 1946, town of Kyshtym. Source: *Gedenkbuch: Книга Памяти немцев-трудармейцев ИТЛ Бакалстрой-Челябметаллургстрой*.

1942–1946; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2530768>.

**Gavrilov, Anton Yergulovich.** Year of Birth: 1876. Place of Birth: Romania. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Leningrad. Date of Arrest: April 15, 1934. Indictment: Art. 17; 58-6 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Troika at the PP OGPU of the Leningrad VO. Date of Decision: April 29, 1934. Verdict: 5 years imprisonment. Arrived in the Ukhtprechlag: May 26, 1934. Died in place of detention: February 21, 1939. Source: *Книга памяти Республики Коми*. Vol. 8, Part 3; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/376968>.

**Geiro, Olena Volodimirovna.** Year of Birth: 1910. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], city of Yaroslavl. Nationality: Gypsy woman. Education: Secondary. Place of Residence: Ukrainian SSR, city of Dnipropetrovsk. Occupation: Supported by her husband [housewife]. Date of Arrest: September 9, 1937. Indictment: Wife of a traitor to the Motherland (ChSIR). Deciding Body: OSO at the NKVD. Date of Decision: November 2, 1937. Verdict: 8 years ITL. Rehabilitating Body: VT of the Kiev VO. Date of Rehabilitation: June 20, 1956. Source: f. P 6478, op. 2, spr. 1020; *Реабілітовані історією; Український мартиролог*, <http://www.reabit.org.ua/nbr/?ID=104671>.

**Genger, Patrina Iosifovna** (variant: Genger, Petrina I.). Year of Birth: 1920. Place of Birth: [USSR, RSFSR], city of Moscow (variant: town of Michurinsk, Tambov Oblast.). Nationality: Gypsy woman. Education: Illiterate. Convicted in 1943 under Art. 162 [UK RSFSR] for 3 years imprisonment. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Sverdlovsk Oblast, Novaya Lyalya, rural-type settlement Lobva. Occupation: Prisoner, Lobvinlag. Date of Arrest: March 13, 1943. Indictment: Art. 58-14 UK RSFSR (counter-revolutionary sabotage). Deciding Body: Permanent session of the Sverdlovsk OS at the Bogoslovlag. Date of Decision: May 24, 1944. Verdict: 6 years imprisonment. Rehabilitating Body: Criminal Cases Jury of the VS RSFSR. Date of Rehabilitation: August 3, 1956. Source: GAAOSO, f. 1, op. 2, d. 18214.

**Glavatsky, Gennady Sidorovich.** Year of Birth: 1903. Place of Birth: Austria-Hungary, city of Budapest. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Poorly literate. Place of Residence: Uzbek SSR, city of Fergana. Occupation: Blacksmith. Deciding Body: Fergana RVK. Date of Decision: November 30, 1942. Verdict: Mobilised in the Labour Army. Demobilised: May 10, 1943, acquitted. Source:

*Gedenkbuch. ИТЛ Бакалстрой-Челябметаллургстрой. 1942–1946; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2532966>.

**Glavatsky, Roman Romanovich.** Year of Birth: 1903. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Kiev Governorate, city of Kiev. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence and Work: Without a fixed place of work and residence. Date of Arrest: April 19, 1938. Indictment: Espionage in favour of Poland. Deciding Body: Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of Zhytomyr Oblast. Date of Decision: October 3, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: October 4, 1938, city of Zhytomyr. Additional Information: Gypsy lawsuit in Zhytomyr. Date of Rehabilitation: 1989. Source: *Реабілітовані історією*, <http://www.reabit.org.ua/nbr/?ID=285335>.

**Glinkin, Denis Petrovich.** Year of Birth: 1913. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Smolensk Oblast, Prechistoe Rayon, village Tarbilovo. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Smolensk Oblast, Yartsevo Rayon. [Worked as chairman of the Gypsy kolkhoz *Krasny gorodok* (Red Town)]. Date of Arrest: September 5, 1941. Indictment: Art. 58-10, part 2 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: [n.d.]. Date of Decision: [n.d.]. Verdict: 10 years imprisonment. Died in place of detention: March 6, 1944, city of Kazan, prison No. 3. Source: GASO, f. P 2360, op 1, sv. 181, s. 2067; *Книга памяти Республики Татарстан; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/503150>.

**Golubev, Alexander Alexeevich.** Year of Birth: 1917. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], city of Tambov. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: BOMZh. Date of Arrest: November 7, 1937. Indictment: SVE. Deciding Body: Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of Kuybyshev Oblast. Date of Decision: December 7, 1937. Verdict: 5 years imprisonment. Served in the Vorkuta branch of the Ukhtpechlag. Release: January 1, 1942, Intlag. Source: *Книга памяти Республики Коми. Vol. 8, Part 1; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/378519>.

**Golubov, Vasily Pavlovich.** Year of Birth: 1900. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Byelorussian SSR, village Bisovitskaya. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Karelian ASSR, Medvezhyegorsk Rayon, White Sea-Baltic Combine of the NKVD. Occupation: Prisoner. Date of Arrest: August 5, 1938. Indictment Article 82 UK RSFSR (escape). Deciding Body: Troika at the NKVD of the Karelian ASSR. Date of Decision: September 1, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: September 17, 1938, railway station Medvezhya

Gora (tract Sandarmokh). No information about rehabilitation. Source: *Поминальные списки Карелии; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/276172>.

**Goman, Alexey Ivanovich** (variants: Beletsky, Yuzef Ivanovich). Year of Birth: 1900. Place of Birth: Austria-Hungary, city of Przemyśl. Nationality: Hungarian. Place of Residence: Without a fixed place of residence. Occupation: Without specific occupations. Arrested: Vyazma RO at the Directorate of the NKVD. Date of Arrest: March 20, 1938. Indictment: Art. 58-6; 58-9; 58-11 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of Smolensk Oblast. Date of Decision: October 2, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: October 9, 1938. Additional Information: Gypsy lawsuit in Smolensk. Rehabilitating Body: Prosecutor's Office of Smolensk Oblast. Date of Rehabilitation: April 19, 1989. Source: AUFSSBO, f. 1, op. 1, d. 15402-c; *Книга памяти Смоленской области*. Vol. 1; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2114988>.

**Goman, Dmitry Mikhailovich**. Year of Birth: 1893. Place of Birth: Romania, city of Bucharest. Social Origin: Peasant. Nationality: Romanian. Education: Poorly literate. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Chelyabinsk Oblast, Kopeysk Rayon, urban-type settlement Potanino. Occupation: Cauldron maker, artel of cauldron makers. Date of Arrest: March 21, 1938. Indictment: Art. 58-6; 58-11 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of Chelyabinsk Oblast. Date of Decision: September 25, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: October 12, 1938. Additional Information: Gypsy lawsuit in Potanino. Rehabilitating Body: Prosecutor's Office of Chelyabinsk Oblast. Date of Rehabilitation: July 17, 1989. Source: *Книга памяти Челябинской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2507206>.

**[G]oman, Ilya Frankovich**. Year of Birth: 1887. Place of Birth: Romania, city of Bucharest. Social Origin: Artisan. Nationality: Romanian. Education: Poorly literate. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Chelyabinsk Oblast, Kopeysk Rayon, urban-type settlement Potanino. Occupation: Cauldron maker and tinker in artel. Date of Arrest: March 8, 1938. Indictment: Art. 58-6; 58-11 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of Chelyabinsk Oblast. Date of Decision: September 25, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: October 12, 1938. Additional Information: Gypsy lawsuit in Potanino. Source: OGACHO, f. P 467, op. 4, d. 5722.

**Goman, Maria-Granche** (variant: Goman, Maria Greychevna). Year of Birth: 1898. Place of Birth: Romania, city of Bucharest. Nationality: Gypsy woman. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Chelyabinsk Oblast, Kopeysk Rayon, urban-type settlement Potanino. Occupation: Without specific occupations. Date of Arrest: March 22, 1938. Indictment: Art. 58-10 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of Chelyabinsk Oblast. Date of Decision: October 5, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: October 12, 1938. Additional Information: Gypsy lawsuit in Potanino. Rehabilitating Body: Prosecutor's Office of Chelyabinsk Oblast. Date of Rehabilitation: July 19, 1989. Source: *Книга памяти Челябинской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2507208>.

**Goman, Toma**. Year of Birth: 1919. Place of Birth: Romania, city of Kherson [sic!]. Nationality: Romanian. Education: Literate. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Chelyabinsk Oblast, Kopeysk Rayon, urban-type settlement Potanino. Occupation: Cauldron maker, artel of cauldron makers. Date of Arrest: March 8, 1938. Indictment: Art. 58-6; 58-11 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of Chelyabinsk Oblast. Date of Decision: September 25, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: October 12, 1938. Additional Information: Gypsy lawsuit in Potanino. Rehabilitating Body: Prosecutor's Office of Chelyabinsk Oblast. Date of Rehabilitation: May 17, 1989. Source: *Книга памяти Челябинской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2507209>.

**Goman, Trifon**. Year of Birth: 1914. Place of Birth: Serbia, city of Belgrade. Nationality: Romanian. Education: Poorly literate. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Chelyabinsk Oblast, Kopeysk Rayon, urban-type settlement Potanino. Occupation: Cauldron maker, artel of cauldron makers. Date of Arrest: March 8, 1938. Indictment: Art. 58-6; 58-11 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of Chelyabinsk Oblast. Date of Decision: September 25, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: October 12, 1938. Additional Information: Gypsy lawsuit in Potanino. Rehabilitating Body: Prosecutor's Office of Chelyabinsk Oblast. Date of Rehabilitation: July 17, 1989. Source: *Книга памяти Челябинской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2507210>.

**Goman, Vladimir Granshevich** (variants: Goman, Vlado Diordinisku; Mitrasku, Vladi). Year of Birth: 1912. Place of Birth: Serbia, city of Belgrade. Nationality:



Gypsy man. Place of Residence: Without a fixed place of residence. Occupation: Without a fixed place of work. Arrested: UGB at the Directorate of the NKVD of Smolensk Oblast. Date of Arrest: February 27, 1938. Indictment: Art. 58-6; 58-10; 58-11 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of Smolensk Oblast. Date of Decision: March 25, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: May 15, 1938. Additional Information: Gypsy lawsuit in Smolensk. Rehabilitating Body: Prosecutor's Office of Smolensk Oblast. Date of Rehabilitation: May 10, 1989. Source: *Книга памяти Смоленской области*. Vol. 1; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2114989>.

**Gomanits, Vladimir Ivanovich** (variants: Gomanets, V. I.; Gogo le Mitrasko). Year of Birth: 1910. Place of Birth: Romania, town of Focșani. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: Without a fixed place of residence. Occupation: Without a fixed place of work. Arrested: UGB at the Directorate of the NKVD of Smolensk Oblast. Date of Arrest: February 25, 1938. Indictment: Art. 58-6; 58-10; 58-11 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of Smolensk Oblast. Date of Decision: March 25, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: May 22, 1938. Additional Information: Gypsy lawsuit in Smolensk. Rehabilitating Body: Prosecutor's Office of Smolensk Oblast. Date of Rehabilitation: May 10, 1989. Source: *Книга памяти Смоленской области*. Vol. 1; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2114991>.

**Gonchar, Konstantin Iosifovich**. Year of Birth: 1909. Place of Birth: Romania, city of Bucharest. Nationality: Romanian Gypsy man. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence: RSFSR, [Kuybyshev Oblast], Koldyban Rayon, village Dubovka. Occupation: Tinker. Deciding Body: Koldyban RVK. Date of Decision: November 9, 1942. Verdict: Mobilised in the Labour Army. Demobilised: January 9, 1946. Deserted. Source: *Gedenkbuch. Книга Памяти немцев-трудармейцев ИТЛ Бакалстрой-Челябметаллургстрой. 1942–1946; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2533084>.

**Gonchar, Zhorzh Iosifovich**. Year of Birth: 1924. Place of Birth: [USSR], Ukrainian SSR, Kharkov Oblast, city of Kharkov. Nationality: Hungarian Gypsy man. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Kuybyshev. Occupation: Tinker. Deciding Body: Kuybyshev City VK. Date of Decision: November 9, 1942. Verdict: Mobilised in the Labour Army. Demobilised: November 17, 1942, arrested. Source: *Gedenkbuch. Книга*

*Памяти немцев-трудармейцев ИТЛ Бакалстрой-Челябметаллургстрой. 1942–1946; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2533083>.

**Gorbenko, Fedir Ananiyovich.** Year of Birth: 1892. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire]. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: Ukrainian SSR, Kharkiv suburban area, village Visoky. Occupation: Chief accountant of the Kharkov Oblast Scrapprom union. Date of Arrest: April 10, 1933. Indictment: Art. 54-10 UK UkSSR. Deciding Body: Kharkiv Oblast department of DPU. Date of Decision: May 15, 1933. Verdict: Case dismissed. Source: DAKhO (Kharkiv), f. P 6452, op. 1, spr. 2432; *Український мартиролог*, <https://archives.gov.ua/um.php?nac=22&p=1&id=4384>.

**Gorbenko, Grigory Vasilievich.** Year of Birth: 1914. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Omsk Oblast, Bolshoe Sorokino Rayon, village Pinegino. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Omsk Oblast, city of Tyumen, ИТК-9. Occupation: Prisoner. Date of Arrest: August 3, 1942. Date of Decision: August 30, 1942. Deciding Body: Omsk OS. Indictment: Art. 58-14 UK RSFSR. Verdict: 10 years IТL. Rehabilitating Body: Prosecutor's Office of Omsk Oblast. Reason for Rehabilitation: Law of the RF [without specification]. Date of Rehabilitation: December 28, 1995. Source: Книга памяти Омской области; *Открытый список*, [https://ru.openlist.wiki/Горбенко\\_Григорий\\_Васильевич\\_\(1914\)](https://ru.openlist.wiki/Горбенко_Григорий_Васильевич_(1914)).

**Gorbunov, Mikhail Vasilievich.** Year of Birth: 1906. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Chelyabinsk Oblast. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence: Kazakh SSR, Kustanay Oblast, city of Kustanay. Arrested: OUR UM Directorate of the NKVD of Kustanay Oblast. Date of Arrest: June 9, 1941. Indictment: Art. 58-14 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Kustanay OS. Date of Decision: May 21, 1942. Verdict: VMN. Rehabilitating Body: Main Prosecutor's Office of the Republic of Kazakhstan. Reason for Rehabilitation: Law of the Republic Kazakhstan of April 14, 1993. Date of Rehabilitation: June 9, 1998. Source: *Сведения Департамента КНБ Республики Казахстана по Костанайской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2958397>.

**Gorbunovsky, Nikifor Ivanovich.** Year of Birth: 1916. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Novosibirsk Oblast, Titovo Rayon, village Koltoraki. Social Origin: Poor peasant. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Poorly literate. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Chelyabinsk Oblast, ChMS NKVD, 3rd camp section. Occupation:

Prisoner. Indictment: Law of August 7, 1932. Deciding Body: [n.d.]. Date of Decision: 1941. Verdict: 10 years imprisonment. Date of Arrest: August 28, 1945. Indictment: Art. 58-10, part 2 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Special Camp Court at the ITL and ITK Directorate of the NKVD of Chelyabinsk Oblast. Date of Decision: November 13, 1945. Verdict: 8 years imprisonment. Rehabilitating Body: Prosecutor's Office of Chelyabinsk Oblast. Date of Rehabilitation: April 22, 1992. Source: OGACHO, f. P 467, op. 3, d. 6668, <https://archive74.ru/dbases/victim/index>.

**Gornyak, Adam Ivanovich.** Year of Birth: 1912. Place of Birth: Austria-Hungary, city of Lvov. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Higher [mistake]. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Novosibirsk. Occupation: Mechanic [Artel Household repair]. Date of Arrest: January 28, 1938. Indictment: Art. 58-6; 58-9; 58-10; 58-11 UK RSFSR (Participation in a counter-revolutionary sabotage and espionage organisation). Deciding Body: Commission of the NKVD and the Prosecutor of the USSR. Date of Decision: April 29, 1938. Verdict: 10 years ITL. Additional Information: Gypsy lawsuit in Novosibirsk. Date of Rehabilitation: October 10, 1956. Source: *Книга памяти Новосибирской области*. Vol. 5; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/3101034>.

**Gornyak, Grigory Ivanovich.** Year of Birth: 1914. Place of Birth: Austria-Hungary, city of Lvov. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Novosibirsk. Occupation: Mechanic in artel Household repair. Date of Arrest: January 28, 1938. Indictment: Art. 58-6; 58-9; 58-10; 58-11 UK RSFSR (Participation in a counter-revolutionary sabotage and espionage organisation). Deciding Body: Commission of the NKVD and the Prosecutor of the USSR. Date of Decision: April 29, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: June 5, 1938. Additional Information: Gypsy lawsuit in Novosibirsk. Date of Rehabilitation: October 10, 1956. Source: *Книга памяти Новосибирской области*. Vol. 5; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/3101035>.

**Gornyak, Ivan Vidovich.** Year of Birth: 1886. Place of Birth: Austria-Hungary. Nationality: Hungarian (Magyar). Education: Poorly literate. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Novosibirsk. Occupation: Tinsmith in artel *Vengerskiy trud* (Hungarian Labour). Date of Arrest: January 28, 1938. Indictment: Art. 58-6; 58-9; 58-10; 58-11 UK RSFSR (Participation in a counter-revolutionary sabotage and espionage organisation). Deciding Body: Commission of the NKVD and the Prosecutor of the USSR. Date of Decision: April 29, 1938. Verdict: VMN.

Date and Place of Execution: June 5, 1938. Additional Information: Gypsy lawsuit in Novosibirsk. Date of Rehabilitation: October 10, 1956. Source: *Книга памяти Новосибирской области*. Vol. 5; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/3101036>.

**Gornyak, Nikolay Ivanovich**. Year of Birth: 1919. Place of Birth: Austria-Hungary. Nationality: Austrian. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Novosibirsk. Occupation: Mechanic in artel *Vengerskiy trud* (Hungarian Labour). Date of Arrest: January 28, 1938. Indictment: Art. 58-6; 58-9; 58-10; 58-11 UK RSFSR (Participation in a counter-revolutionary sabotage and espionage organisation). Deciding Body: Commission of the NKVD and the Prosecutor of the USSR. Date of Decision: April 29, 1938. Verdict: 10 years ITL. Additional Information: Gypsy lawsuit in Novosibirsk. Date of Rehabilitation: October 10, 1956. Source: *Книга памяти Новосибирской области*. Vol. 5; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/3101037>.

**Gorodnyanskaya, Maria Nikolaevna**. Year of Birth: 1925. Place of Birth: [USSR]. Nationality: Gypsy woman. Place of Residence: Without a fixed place of residence. Indictment: Art. 58-10, part 2 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: VT of the NKVD troops of Rostov Oblast. Date of Decision: March 17, 1943. Verdict: 10 years [imprisonment] with loss of rights for 3 years and confiscation of property. Source: *Книга памяти Ростовской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1897534>.

**Grigorchenko, Andrey Maksimovich** (variant: Lozenko, Vasily Maksimovich). Year of Birth: 1902. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Cherkassy Oblast, Chernobay Rayon, village Vasyutintsy. Social Origin: Nomadic Gypsy man. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence: Ukrainian SSR, Poltava Oblast, Hlobyne Rayon, village Matviyivka. Occupation: Without specific occupations. Date of Arrest: January 1, 1938. Indictment: Art. 54-6; 54-9 UK UkSSR. Deciding Body: Special Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of Poltava Oblast. Date of Decision: September 21, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: September 22, 1938. Rehabilitating Body: Prosecutor's office of Poltava Oblast. Date of Rehabilitation: November 13, 1989. Source: *Реабілітовані історією*, <http://www.reabit.org.ua/nbr/?ID=162438>.

**Grigorenko, Gerasim Fyodorovich**. Year of Birth: 1897. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], city of Kiev. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Karelian ASSR, Medvezhyegorsk Rayon. Occupation: Prisoner. Date of Arrest: September 29, 1938. Indictment: Art. 82 UK RSFSR (escape). Deciding Body:

Troika at the NKVD of the Karelian ASSR. Date of Decision: November 10, 1938. Verdict: VMN. No information about rehabilitation. Source: *Поминальные списки Карелии; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/276308>.

**Grigorichenko, Fedir Pavlovich.** Year of Birth: 1878. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Bessarabia Governorate, city of Kishinev. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence and Work: Without specific occupations and place of residence. Date of Arrest: May 23, 1938. Indictment: Art. 54-1a UK UkSSR. Deciding Body: Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of Zhytomyr Oblast. Date of Decision: October 3, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: October 4, 1938, city of Zhytomyr. Additional Information: Gypsy lawsuit in Zhytomyr. Date of Rehabilitation: 1989. Source: *Реабілітовані історією*, <http://www.reabit.org.ua/nbr/?ID=285329>.

**Grigorichenko, Kirilo Gnatovich.** Year of Birth: 1910. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Kiev Governorate, Skvira Uyezd, Khodorkov Volost, village Zarubintsy. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Poorly literate. Place of Residence and Work: Without specific occupations and place of residence. Date of Arrest: May 5, 1938. Indictment: Art. 54-1a UK UkSSR. Deciding Body: Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of Zhytomyr Oblast. Date of Decision: October 3, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: October 4, 1938, city of Zhytomyr. Additional Information: Gypsy lawsuit in Zhytomyr. Date of Rehabilitation: 1989. Source: *Реабілітовані історією*, <http://www.reabit.org.ua/nbr/?ID=285333>.

**Grigorychenko, Yakiv Mikhailovich.** Year of Birth: 1915. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Kiev Governorate, Berdichev Uyezd, Kazatin Volost, mestechko Kazatin. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence and Work: Without specific occupations and place of residence. Date of Arrest: January 29, 1938. Indictment: Art. 54-1a UK UkSSR. Deciding Body: Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of Zhytomyr Oblast. Date of Decision: October 3, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: October 4, 1938, city of Zhytomyr. Additional Information: Gypsy lawsuit in Zhytomyr. Date of Rehabilitation: 1989. Source: *Реабілітовані історією*, <http://www.reabit.org.ua/nbr/?ID=285332>.

**Grigorichenko, Yukhim Danilovich.** Year of Birth: 1912. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Kherson Governorate. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: 5 years. Place of Residence and Work: Without specific occupations and place of

residence. Date of Arrest: May 23, 1938. Indictment: Art. 54-1a UK UkSSR. Deciding Body: Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of Zhytomyr Oblast. Date of Decision: October 3, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: October 4, 1938, city of Zhytomyr. Additional Information: Gypsy lawsuit in Zhytomyr. Date of Rehabilitation: 1989. Source: *Реабілітовані історією*, <http://www.reabit.org.ua/nbr/?ID=285330>.

**Grimberg-Zamkovenko, Yevgenia Yakovlevna.** Year of Birth: 1914. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], city of Leningrad. Nationality: Gypsy woman. Occupation: Without specific occupations. Date of Arrest: [n.d.]. Indictment: Art. 58-6 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: [n.d.]. Date of Decision: [n.d.]. Verdict: [n.d.]. Source: *Книга памяти Чувашской Республики; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/772129>.

**Grishchenko, Yakov Oleksiyovych.** Year of Birth: 1906. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Kiev Governorate, Skvira Uyezd, Brovki Volost, village Vcherayshe. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Poorly literate. Place of Residence and Work: Without specific occupations and place of residence. Date of Arrest: March 21, 1938. Indictment: Art. 54-1a UK UkSSR. Deciding Body: Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of Zhytomyr Oblast. Date of Decision: October 3, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: October 4, 1938, city of Zhytomyr. Additional Information: Gypsy lawsuit in Zhytomyr. Date of Rehabilitation: 1990. Source: *Реабілітовані історією*, <http://www.reabit.org.ua/nbr/?ID=285337>.

**Gritsaeva, Maria Vasilievna.** Year of Birth: 1914. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Voroshilovgrad Oblast, town of Staro-Velsk. Nationality: Gypsy woman. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Komi ASSR, Sevzheldorlag. Occupation: Prisoner. Date of Arrest: September 16, 1944. Indictment: Art. 58-10, part 1; 58-14 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: VT of the NKVD troops at the SZhDM. Date of Decision: October 9, 1944. Verdict: 10 years imprisonment and 5 years loss of rights. Source: *Книга памяти Республики Коми. Vol. 2; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/379604>.

**Guchenko, Larion Larionovich** (he was in an illegal position; the pseudonym was *Chorny* [Black]). Year of Birth: 1924. Place of Birth: [USSR], Ukrainian SSR, Volhynia Oblast, Manevychi Rayon, village Nabruska. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: Ukrainian SSR, Volhynia Oblast, Golovne [Lyuboml] Rayon, village Bik (now village Yasne). Date of Arrest: March 14–15, 1945. Indictment: Art. 54-1a UK UkSSR and according to the Art. 1 of the Decree

of PVS USSR of April 19, 1943. Deciding Body: VT troops of the NKVD of Volhynia Oblast. Date of Decision: May 17, 1945. Verdict: 15 years of KTR with loss of rights for 5 years and confiscation of property. VT of the CarpatianVO on September 23, 1955, reduced the term of punishment to 10 years ITL with loss of rights for 3 years. He served his sentence in the city of Vorkuta (Komi ASSR). Released on October 9, 1955, and sent to a special settlement in the city of Vorkuta on May 8, 1956. Rehabilitating Body: Prosecutor's Office of Volhynia Oblast. Date of Rehabilitation: April 29, 1992. Source: AUSBVVO, spr. 5500; DAVO, f. 4666, op. 2, spr. 3313; *Реабілітовані історією*, <http://www.reabit.org.ua/nbr/?ID=206515>.

**Guganova, Shuma.** Year of Birth: 1907. Place of Birth: Romania, city of Belgrade [sic!]. Nationality: Serbian woman. Note: In 1911, she came to Russia with her parents (Gypsies). Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Sverdlovsk Oblast, Nizhnyaya Tura industrial colony of the NKVD. Occupation: prisoner. Indictment: Art. 162 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: [n.d.]. Date of Decision: October 7, 1937. Verdict: 3 years imprisonment. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Sverdlovsk Oblast, rural-type settlement Nizhnyaya Tura. Date of Arrest: March 7, 1938. Indictment: Art. 58-6 UK RSFSR (espionage). Deciding Body: [n.d.]. Date of Decision: [n.d.]. Verdict: Case dismissed December 11, 1938. Source: GAAOSO, f. 1, op. 2, d. 4219.

**Gumanovich, Alexey Yegorovich.** Year of Birth: 1902. Place of Birth: Greece, town of Kosr [?]. Nationality: Greek. Place of Residence: Without a fixed place of residence. Occupation: Without a fixed place of work, led a nomadic lifestyle. Date of Arrest: July 10, 1938. Indictment: Art. 58-6 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Troika. Date of Decision: October 17, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: November 17, 1938. Source: *Книга памяти Нижнегородской области; Жертвы политического террора*, [https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1510197](https://base..memo.ru/person/show/1510197).

**Guranov, Viktor Karlovich.** Year of Birth: 1912. Place of Birth: Austria-Hungary, town of Demichar. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Poorly literate. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Novosibirsk. Occupation: Tinker in Artel Household repair. Date of Arrest: January 28, 1938. Indictment: Art. 58-6; 58-9; 58-10; 58-11 UK RSFSR (involvement in a counter-revolutionary sabotage and espionage organisation). Deciding Body: Commission of the NKVD and the Prosecutor of the USSR. Date of Decision: April 29, 1938. Verdict: 10 years ITL. Additional Information: Gypsy lawsuit in Novosibirsk. Date of Rehabilitation: October 10,

1956. Source: *Книга памяти Новосибирской области*. Vol. 5; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/3101084>.

**Gursky, Ivan Ernestovich.** Year of Birth: 1871. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Lithuania. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Novosibirsk. Occupation: Without specific occupations. Date of Arrest: January 28, 1938. Indictment: Art. 58-6; 58-9; 58-10; 58-11 UK RSFSR (Participation in a counter-revolutionary sabotage and espionage organisation). Deciding Body: Commission of the NKVD and the Prosecutor of the USSR. Date of Decision: April 29, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: June 5, 1938. Additional Information: Gypsy lawsuit in Novosibirsk. Date of Rehabilitation: October 10, 1956. Source: *Книга памяти Новосибирской области*. Vol. 5; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/3101086>.

**Gusakov, Grigory Nikitovich.** Year of Birth: 1881. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Kursk Oblast, town of Novyy [?]. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Moscow. Date of Arrest: 1934. Indictment: [n.d.]. Verdict: [n.d.]. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Khabarovsk. Occupation: Head of the [musical] club of the 2nd restaurant. Arrested: Directorate of the NKVD of Far Eastern Krai. Date of Arrest: July 5, 1938. Indictment: Art. 58-1a UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: VT 2 OKA. Date of Decision: September 4, 1939. Verdict: case dismissed, released. Source: *Книга памяти Хабаровского края*. Vol. 4; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1047313>.

**Gytkan, Pyotr Vasilievich.** Year of Birth: 1890. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Moldavian SSR, Felshtin Uyezd, village Kadyneshti. Nationality: Gypsy man. Occupation: Musician. Date of Arrest: December 6, 1940. Indictment: Art. 54-1a UK UkSSR. Deciding Body: [n.d.]. Date of Decision: [n.d.]. Verdict: [n.d.]. Date and Place of Death: April 2, 1942, in the Oblast prison hospital, Prison Department of the NKVD, Tatar ASSR. Source: *Книга памяти Республики Татарстан; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/504859>.

**Horn, Ivan Kasparovich.** Year of Birth: 1914. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], city of Saratov. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Poorly literate. Place of Residence: [Kirghiz SSR], Kalinin Rayon, kolkhoz *Krasny Oktyabr* (Red October). Occupation: Repairman. Deciding Body: Frunze [RVK]. Date of Decision:



July 7, 1942. Verdict: Mobilised in the Labour Army. Demobilised: September 3, 1942, ОО НКВД. Source: *Gedenkbuch. Книга Памяти немцев-трудармейцев ИТЛ Бакалстрой-Челябметаллургстрой. 1942–1946; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2552058>.

**Hristo, Ivan** (variant: Ie Toshikasko, Grisha Mikhaylovich). Year of Birth: 1883. Place of Birth: Greece, Corfu Island. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Oryol. Date of Arrest: 1938. Indictment: [n.d.]. Deciding Body: [n.d.]. Date of Decision: [n.d.]. Verdict: VMN. Additional Information: Gypsy lawsuit in Oryol. Source: *Книга памяти Орловской области*. Vol. 3; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1739889>.

**Hristo, Nikolay** (variant: Ie Toshikasko, Lolya Mikhaylovich). Year of Birth: 1890. Place of Birth: Greece, Corfu Island. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Oryol. Date of Arrest: 1938. Indictment: [n.d.]. Deciding Body: [n.d.]. Date of Decision: [n.d.]. Verdict: VMN. Additional Information: Gypsy lawsuit in Oryol. Source: *Книга памяти Орловской области*. Vol. 3; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1739890>.

**Hristoforov, Kuzma Andreevich**. Year of Birth: 1886. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], city of Krasnoyarsk. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Buryat-Mongolian ASSR, city of Ulan-Ude. Date of Arrest: March 27, 1937. Indictment: Art. 58-1, 58-11 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: НКВД of the Buryat-Mongolian ASSR. Date of Decision: June 21, 1937. Verdict: Case dismissed. Rehabilitating Body: Prosecutor's Office of the Republic of Buryatia. Date of Rehabilitation: January 24, 2001. Source: *Книга памяти Бурятии. Подготовительные материалы; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/127157>.

**Hristov, Nikolay Stepanovich** (variants: Seryozha Ie Titesko; Hristov, Sergey Petrovich). Year of Birth: 1919. Place of Birth: [USSR, RSFSR], Kirov Oblast, city of Kirov. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Moscow. Date of Arrest: 1938. Indictment: [n.d.]. Deciding Body: [n.d.]. Date of Decision: [n.d.]. Verdict: 8 years IТL. Source: *Книга памяти Орловской области*. Vol. 3; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1739892>.

**Hristov, Pyotr Stepanovich** (variant: Vosho Hristo). Year of Birth: 1911. Place of Birth: Greece, city of Athens. Social Origin: Artisan. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Moscow, Marina Roshcha [District],

38 Polkovaya Street. Occupation: Tinker, Plant named after Sergeev (variant: coppersmith). Date of Arrest: 1935. Indictment: Art. 58-10; 58-11 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: OSO at the NKVD. Date of Decision: October 15, 1935. Verdict: [n.d.]. Additional Information: Second Gypsy lawsuit in Moscow. Source: GARF, f. 10035, op. 2, d. 74091; *Московская правда*. Archival file No. 77082; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2671545>.

**Hristov, Vladimir Petrovich** (variant: Batya le Shpirosko). Year of Birth: 1918. Place of Birth: Greece, city of Athens. Occupation: There is no information about places of work. Date of Arrest: 1938. Indictment: [n.d.]. Deciding Body: [n.d.]. Date of Decision: [n.d.]. Verdict: 8 years ITL. Additional Information: Gypsy lawsuit in Oryol. Source: *Книга памяти Орловской области*. Vol. 3; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1739891>.

**Ilyin-Orlenko, Pavlo Musiyovych**. Year of Birth: 1894. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire]. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: Ukrainian SSR, city of Kherson. Occupation: Senior accountant. Date of Arrest: September 10, 1937. Indictment: Art. 54-10 UK UkSSR. Deciding Body: Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of Mykolaiv Oblast. Date of Decision: October 28, 1937. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: City of Kherson. Date of Rehabilitation: November 11, 1959. Source: DAKhO (Kherson), f. P4033, op. 3, spr. 348; *Український мартиролог*, <https://archives.gov.ua/um.php?nac=22&p=1&&id=26322>.

**Ilyina, Yekaterina Ilyinichna**. Year of Birth: 1889. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], city of Leningrad. Nationality: Gypsy woman. Place of Residence: Without a fixed place of residence. Occupation: Without specific occupations. Date of Arrest: May 19, 1937. Indictment: Verdict. Deciding Body: Special Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of Leningrad Oblast. Date of Decision: August 19, 1937. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: August 20, 1937. No information about rehabilitation. Source: *Ленинградский мартиролог*. Vol. 5; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2744117>.

**Ionov, N. G.** Year and Place of Birth: [n.d.]. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Moscow. Date of Arrest: 1932. Indictment: [n.d.]. Deciding Body: Commission of the OGPU. Date of Decision: February 9, 1933. Verdict: [n.d.]. Additional Information: First Gypsy lawsuit in Moscow, Part 1. Source: GDASBUR, f. 4 (P), spr. 17664 (quoted by Жив'юк, 2021; Zhyvyuk, 2023).

**Ivanenko, Ivan Mikhailovich.** Year of Birth: 1895. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Kuban Oblast, stanitsa Kizlakovka. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Kuban Oblast, stanitsa Kizlakovka. Date of Arrest: March 20, 1936. Indictment: Art. 58-10 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: North Caucasian Krai's Court. Date of Decision: June 17, 1936. Verdict: 2 years imprisonment. Arrived in the Ukhtpechlag on July 27, 1936, from prison in the city of Pyatigorsk. Release: October 5, 1937. Source: *Книга памяти Республики Коми*. Vol. 9, Part 1; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/386040>.

**Ivanenko, Pyotr Vladimirovich.** Year of Birth: 1919. Place of Birth: [USSR, RSFSR], Krasnodar Krai, Korenovsk Rayon. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Komi ASSR, Sevzheldorlag. Occupation: Prisoner, a worker in the 7th section, 4th column of the Sevzheldorlag. Date of Arrest: August 23, 1940. Indictment: Art. 58-14 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: VT at the NKVD troops of the US SPZhD. Date of Decision: September 28, 1940. Verdict: 5 years imprisonment. Source: *Книга памяти Республики Коми*. Vol. 7, Part 1; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/386043>.

**Ivanov, Alexander Nilovich** (variants: Yefimov, Alexander Yefimovich; Yefimov, Alexander Konstantinovich). Year of Birth: 1914. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Kalinin Oblast, Pushkinskiye Gory Rayon, village Polyana. Nationality: Gypsy man. Indictment: Verdict. Deciding Body: Special Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of Leningrad Oblast. Date of Decision: December 15, 1937. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: December 18, 1937. No information about rehabilitation. Source: *Ленинградский мартиролог*. Vol. 5; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2743103>.

**Ivanov, Deordy Grigorievich.** Year of Birth: 1916. Place of Birth: Romania, city of Focșani. Social Origin: Prisoner. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Krasnoyarsk Krai, Igarka Rayon, rural-type settlement Ermakovo, Yenisey OLP. Occupation: Prisoner. Indictment: Art. 58-10 UK RSFSR or Art. 74 UK BSSR. Deciding Body: Camp Court at the ITL GR. Date of Decision: December 15, 1949. Verdict: 12 years ITL. Rehabilitating Body: Court Collegium of the VS RSFSR. Date of Rehabilitation: June 28, 1954. Source: *База-данны Красноярского общества "Мемориал"; Открытый список*, [https://ru.openlist.wiki/Иванов\\_Деордий\\_Григорьевич\\_\(1916\)](https://ru.openlist.wiki/Иванов_Деордий_Григорьевич_(1916)).

**Ivanov, Fyodor Ivanovich.** Year and Place of Birth: [n.d.]. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Moscow. Date of Arrest: 1932.

Indictment: Art. 129; 17/142, part 2 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Commission of the OGPU. Date of Decision: June 9, 1933. Verdict: [n.d.]. Additional Information: First Gypsy lawsuit in Moscow, Part 2. Source: GARF, f. P 1235, op. 123, d. 27.

**Ivanov, Georgy Ivanovich.** Year and Place of Birth: [n.d.]. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Moscow. Date of Arrest: 1932. Indictment: Art. 142-2 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Commission of the OGPU. Date of Decision: June 9, 1933. Verdict: [n.d.]. Additional Information: First Gypsy lawsuit in Moscow, Part 2. Source: GARF, f. P 1235, op. 123, d. 27.

**Ivanov, Ivan Ivanovich.** Year of Birth: 1900. Place of Birth: Greece, city of Athens. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Moscow Oblast, railway station Losinoostrovsk. Address: 64 Medvezhskoe road. Occupation: Artisan-tinker. Date of Arrest: 1935. Indictment: [n.d.]. Deciding Body: [OSO at the NKVD]. Date of Decision: [n.d.]. Verdict: [n.d.]. Additional Information: Second Gypsy lawsuit in Moscow. Source: *Книга памяти Московской области*, Archival file No. 77082 (1935); *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2700741>.

**Ivanov, Ivan Ivanovich.** (variant: Ivanov, Ivan Dmitrievich). Year of Birth: 1913 (variant: 1916). Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Leningrad Oblast, Slavkovichi Rayon, village Naronovo. Nationality: Gypsy man. Indictment: Verdict. Deciding Body: Special Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of Leningrad Oblast. Date of Decision: December 15, 1937. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: December 18, 1937. No information about rehabilitation. Source: *Ленинградский мартиролог*. Vol. 5; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2743357>.

**Ivanov, Nikolay Ivanovich.** Year of Birth: 1918. Place of Birth: [USSR, RSFSR], city of Irkutsk. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Omsk Oblast, Maryanovka Rayon, rural-type settlement Maryanovka. Occupation: Shoemaker at the mine in the town of Cheremukhovo. Indictment: Art. 58-14 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Omsk OS. Date of Decision: September 2, 1942. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: September 24, 1942. Rehabilitating Body: Prosecutor's Office of Omsk Oblast. Reason for Rehabilitation: Decree of the PVS USSR. Date of Rehabilitation: September 29, 1990. Source: *Книга памяти Омской области*. Vol. 3; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1661810>.

**Ivanov, Nikolay Martynovich.** Year of Birth: 1909. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Chernigov Oblast, village Butovka. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Karelian ASSR, Medvezhyegorsk Rayon, White Sea-Baltic Combine of the NKVD. Occupation: Prisoner. Date of Arrest: May 6, 1938. Indictment: Art. 82 UK RSFSR (escape). Deciding Body: Troika at the NKVD of the Karelian ASSR. Date of Decision: July 31, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: August 7, 1938, railway station Medvezhya Gora (tract Sandarmokh). No information about rehabilitation. Source: *Поминальные списки Карелии; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/277557>.

**Ivanov, Vasily Yegorovich.** Year of Birth: 1892. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Tobolsk Governorate, Bolshoe Sorokino Rayon, village Gotoputovo. Nationality: Gypsy man. Date of Arrest: August 18, 1937. Indictment: [n.d.]. Deciding Body: Troika at the Omsk Directorate of the NKVD. Date of Decision: September 17, 1937. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: September 22, 1937 in the town of Ishim. Date of Rehabilitation: February 1, 1958. Source: *Книга памяти Тюменской области*. Vol. 1 (*Ишимский оперсектор*); *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2460872>.

**Ivanov-Osipov, Semyon Ivanovich.** Year of Birth: 1911. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Novosibirsk Oblast, Ust-Tarka Rayon, village Kumachi. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Komi ASSR, Vorkutlag. Occupation: Prisoner, mine worker in the 3rd exploitation area no. 8 of the Vorkutlag. Indictment: Art. 58-14 UK RSFSR. Date of Decision: March 15, 1943. While under investigation, on June 3, 1943, he died in the Lagpunkt health centre of mine No. 8 of the Vorkutlag. Source: *Книга памяти Республики Коми*. Vol. 7, Part 1; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/386546>.

**Ivanova, Klavdia Ivanovna.** Year of Birth: 1915. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Leningrad Oblast. Nationality: Gypsy woman. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Leningrad Oblast. Arrested: August 13, 1936. Indictment: SVE. Deciding Body: Troika at Directorate of the NKVD. Date of Decision: September 1, 1936. Verdict: 2 years imprisonment. Served in Vorkuta branch of the Ukhtpechlag. Release: August 6, 1938. Source: *Книга памяти Республики Коми*. Vol. 8, Part 1; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/386509>.

**Ivanovich, Vladimir Osipovich.** Year of Birth: 1890. Place of Birth: Serbia, city of Belogorod [sic!]. Nationality: Serbian. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Chelyabinsk Oblast, Kopeysk Rayon, urban-type settlement Potanino. Occupation: Artel of cauldron makers and tinsmiths. Date of Arrest: February 11, 1938. Indictment: Art. 58-6; 58-11 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of Chelyabinsk Oblast. Date of Decision: September 25, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: October 12, 1938. Additional Information: Gypsy lawsuit in Potanino. Rehabilitating Body: Prosecutor's Office of Chelyabinsk Oblast. Date of Rehabilitation: July 17, 1989. Source: *Книга памяти Челябинской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2510407>.

**Ivanus, Dmitry Kirillovich.** Year of Birth: 1892. Place of Birth: Greece. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Moscow. Address: 38 Polkovaya Street, Apt. 4. Occupation: Without specific occupations. Arrested: Directorate of the NKVD of Moscow Oblast. Date of Arrest: August 25, 1935. Indictment: Art. 58-10 UK RSFSR (anti-Soviet agitation). Deciding Body: Directorate of the NKVD of Moscow Oblast. Date of Decision: September 19, 1935. Verdict: Case dismissed. Source: Прокуратура г. Москвы; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2678811>.

**Ivanus, Georgy Ivanovich.** Year of Birth: 1898. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Stavropol Krai. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Moscow. Address: 5 Second Tserkovny lane, apt. 4. Occupation: Worker-tinsmith. Arrested: Directorate of the NKVD of Moscow Oblast. Date of Arrest: August 25, 1935. Indictment: Art. 58-10 UK RSFSR (anti-Soviet agitation). Deciding Body: Directorate of the NKVD of Moscow Oblast. Date of Decision: September 19, 1935. Verdict: Case dismissed. Source: Прокуратура г. Москвы; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2678810>.

**Ivanus, Vadim Ivanovich.** Year of Birth: 1921. Place of Birth: [USSR, RSFSR], Altay Krai, city of Barnaul. Nationality: Greek. Education: Primary. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Perm Oblast, Kizel Rayon. Occupation: Artel, named after Kalinin, a tinker. Date of Arrest: January 8, 1938. Indictment: [n.d.]. Deciding Body: Directorate of the NKVD of Perm Oblast. Date of Decision: December 20, 1938. Verdict: Case dismissed for lack of corpus delicti. Release: December 22, 1938. Source: *Книга памяти Пермской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1786403>.

**Ivanus, Vasily Ivanovich.** Year of Birth: 1900. Place of Birth: Greece, town of Lashkya [?]. Verdict: Date of Arrest: [n.d.]. Indictment: [n.d.]. Deciding Body: [n.d.]. Date of Decision: [n.d.]. Verdict: [n.d.]. Source: *Книга памяти Ивановской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1286641>.

**Ivanus, Vasily Ivanovich.** Year of Birth: 1908. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Tomsk Oblast, town of Mariinsk. Nationality: Greek. Education: Primary. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Perm Oblast, town of Kizel. Occupation: Artel, named after Kalinin, a tinker. Date of Arrest: January 6, 1938. Indictment: [n.d.]. Deciding Body: Directorate of the NKVD of Sverdlovsk Oblast. Date of Decision: November 27, 1938. Verdict: Case dismissed due to insufficient evidence. Release: December 11, 1938. Source: *Книга памяти Пермской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1786404>.

**Ivashchenko, Arseniy Yemelyanovich.** Year of Birth: 1900. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Voronezh Oblast, Radchenskoe Rayon, village Monastirshchina. Social Origin: Peasant. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Lowest, 3 years village school. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Voronezh Oblast, Radchenskoe Rayon, village Monastirshchina. Occupation: Without specific occupations, formerly a blacksmith, shoemaker. Arrested: Radchenskoe RO at the Directorate of the NKVD of Voronezh Oblast. Date of Arrest: August 3, 1937. Indictment: Participation in the religious organisation "Fyodorovtsi", Art. 58-10; 58-11 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of Voronezh Oblast. Date of Decision: September 9, 1937. Verdict: 8 years ITL. Rehabilitating Body: Presidium of the Voronezh OS. Reason for Rehabilitation: Case dismissed for lack of corpus delicti. Date of Rehabilitation: October 3, 1988. Source: *Книга памяти Воронежской области*. Vol. 4; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1269394>.

**Ivashchenko, Yevdokia Semyonovna.** Year of Birth: 1903. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Voronezh Oblast, Radchenskoe Rayon, village Abrosimovo (Monastirshchina). Social Origin: Peasant. Nationality: Russian (Gypsy woman). Education: Poorly literate. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Voronezh Oblast, Radchenskoe Rayon, village Abrosimovo. Occupation: Unemployed. Arrested: Directorate of the MGB of Voronezh Oblast. Date of Arrest: May 31, 1952. Indictment: Art. 58-10, part 2; 58-11 UK RSFSR (Participation in the religious organisation "Fyodorovtsi"). Deciding Body: Voronezh OS. Date of Decision:

August 12, 1952 (according to other sources, August 13, 1952). Verdict: 10 years Special ITL with loss in electoral rights for 5 years and confiscation of all property. Released under amnesty in 1953. Rehabilitating Body: Criminal Cases Jury of the VS RSFSR: Reason for Rehabilitation: For lack of corpus delicti. Date of Rehabilitation: June 17, 1955. Source: *Воронежское общество "Мемориал"; Книга памяти Воронежской области*. Vol. 4; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1269395>.

**Kaldaras, Iosif Georgievich.** Year of Birth: 1906. Place of Birth: Austria-Hungary. Nationality: Hungarian. Education: Primary. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Vladivostok. Occupation: Tinker in a military unit. Date of Arrest: July 25, 1938. Indictment: Art. 58-6 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Troika at the NKVD. Date of Decision: October 24, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: November 22, 1938, city of Vladivostok. Reason for Rehabilitation: Decree of the PVS USSR. Date of Rehabilitation: June 21, 1989. Source: *База данных о жертвах репрессий Приморского края; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/987521>.

**Kaldaras, Lazar Ivanovich.** Year of Birth: 1908. Place of Birth: Austria-Hungary. Nationality: Hungarian. Education: Poorly literate. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Krasnoyarsk Krai, town of Achinsk. Occupation: Handicraftsman – tinker, coppersmith, dancer at the pedagogical college. Date of Arrest: April 4, 1938. Indictment: Counter-revolutionary agitation, espionage. Deciding Body: Commission of the NKVD and the Prosecutor of the USSR. Date of Decision: September 2, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: September 26, 1938, city of Krasnoyarsk. Rehabilitating Body: Prosecutor's Office of Krasnoyarsk Krai. Date of Rehabilitation: August 7, 1989. Source: *Книга памяти Красноярского края*. Vol. 4; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/951318>.

**Kalderas, Pyotr Stepanovich.** Year of Birth: 1924. Place of Birth: [USSR, RSFSR], Ivanovo Oblast, city of Vladimir. Nationality: Hungarian Gypsy man. Education: 2 years. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Omsk Oblast, city of Tyumen. Occupation: Hairdresser. Deciding Body: Tyumen RVK. Date of Decision: November 6, 1942. Verdict: Mobilised in the Labour Army. Demobilised: February 23, 1943, release. Source: *Gedenkbuch. Книга Памяти немцев-трудармейцев ИТЛ Бакалстрой-Челябметаллургстрой. 1942-1946; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2535930>.



**Kaldoras, Alexey Iosifovich** (variant: Koldoris, A. I.). Year of Birth: 1915. Place of Birth: Austria-Hungary, city of Budapest. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Novosibirsk. Occupation: Tinker. Date of Arrest: January 28, 1938. Indictment: Art. 58-6; 58-9; 58-10; 58-11 UK RSFSR (Participation in a counter-revolutionary sabotage and espionage organisation). Deciding Body: Commission of the NKVD and the Prosecutor of the USSR. Date of Decision: April 29, 1938. Verdict: 10 years ITL. Date and Place of Execution: June 5, 1938. Additional Information: Gypsy lawsuit in Novosibirsk. Date of Rehabilitation: October 10, 1956. Source: *Книга памяти Новосибирской области*. Vol. 5; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/3101311>.

**Kaldoras, Stepan Iosifovich**. Year of Birth: 1895. Place of Birth: Austria-Hungary, town of Demetser. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Novosibirsk. Occupation: Tinker. Date of Arrest: January 28, 1938. Indictment: Art. 58-6; 58-9; 58-10; 58-11 UK RSFSR (Participation in a counter-revolutionary sabotage and espionage organisation). Deciding Body: Commission of the NKVD and the Prosecutor of the USSR. Date of Decision: April 29, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: June 5, 1938. Additional Information: Gypsy lawsuit in Novosibirsk. Date of Rehabilitation: October 10, 1956. Source: *Книга памяти Новосибирской области*. Vol. 5; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/3101310>.

**Kaldoras-Vishnyakov, Pyotr Iosifovich**. Year of Birth: 1900. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Voronezh Governorate, town of Stary Oskol. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Poorly literate. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Novosibirsk. Occupation: Chairman of the artel *Vengerskiy trud* (Hungarian Labour). Date of Arrest: January 28, 1938. Indictment: Art. 58-6; 58-9; 58-10; 58-11 UK RSFSR (Participation in a counter-revolutionary sabotage and espionage organisation). Deciding Body: Commission of the NKVD and the Prosecutor of the USSR. Date of Decision: April 29, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: June 5, 1938. Additional Information: Gypsy lawsuit in Novosibirsk. Date of Rehabilitation: October 10, 1956. Source: *Книга памяти Новосибирской области*. Vol. 5; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/3101309>.

**Kalishenko, Iosip Ivanovich**. Year of Birth: [?]. Place of Birth: [?]. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: Occupation: Red Army soldier (capture in Germany). Deciding Body: [?]. Date of Decision: 1945. Verdict: Penal servitude. Release: The end of the 1940s. Source: *Романи Яз*, 2004.

**Kalmar, Pavel Tomasovich.** Year of Birth: 1915. Place of Birth: Hungary. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: Hungary [sic!]. Date of Arrest: December 15, 1937. Indictment: SVE. Deciding Body: Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD Leningrad Oblast. Date of Decision: December 31, 1937. Verdict: 8 years imprisonment. Served in the Vorkuta branch of the Ukhtpechlag. Release: October 28, 1952. Source: *Книга памяти Республики Коми*. Vol. 8, Part 1; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/387988>.

**Kalmykov, Pyotr Dmitrievich.** Year of Birth: 1925. Place of Birth: [USSR, RSFSR], Rostov Oblast, Bagaevskaya Rayon, railway station Bagaevskaya. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Komi ASSR, Ustvymlag. Occupation: prisoner, worker 5 p/k of the 1st Lagpunkt of the Ustvymlag. Date of Arrest: March 21, 1949. Indictment: Art. 58-14 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Special Camp Court at the ITL "AN". Date of Decision: April 4, 1949. Verdict: 10 years imprisonment and 5 years loss of rights. Source: *Книга памяти Республики Коми*. Vol. 7, Part 1; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/387946>.

**Kalmykova, Tamara Stepanovna.** Year of Birth: 1928. Place of Birth: [USSR, RSFSR], city of Astrakhan. Nationality: Gypsy woman. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Kuybyshev. Date of Arrest: July 30, 1947. Indictment: Art. 58-10 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Kuybyshev OS. Date of Decision: September 24, 1947. Verdict: 5 years ITL. Rehabilitating Body: Prosecutor's Office of Samara Oblast. Date of Rehabilitation: April 9, 1992. Source: *Книга памяти Самарской области*. Vol. 18, Vol. 12 (Самара); *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1919506>.

**Kaminsky, Anton Adamovich.** Year of Birth: 1906. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Poland, city of Piotrków. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Leningrad. Address: 11 Obezdnое road, apt. 1. Occupation: Head of the supply department of the Natsmenbyt artel. Date of Arrest: February 5, 1938. Indictment: Art. 58-6; 58-11 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Special Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of Oryol Oblast. Date of Decision: September 21, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: September 28, 1938, city of Oryol. Additional Information: Gypsy lawsuit in Oryol. Source: *Ленинградский мартиролог*. Vol. 10; *Книга памяти Орловской области*. Vol. 4; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2744872>; <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1733316>.

**Kaminsky, Ivan Adamovich** (variant: Kaminsky, Yanush Ivanovich). Year of Birth: 1903. Place of Birth: Austria-Hungary, city of Budapest. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Moscow. Date of Arrest: May 14, 1932. Indictment: Art. 109, 117 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Commission of the OGPU. Date of Decision: June 9, 1933. Verdict: 10 years ITL. Additional Information: First Gypsy lawsuit in Moscow, Part 2. Place of Residence: Uzbek SSR, Fergana Oblast, city of Kokand. Occupation: *Bayan* [accordion] player of the Gypsy ensemble. Date of Arrest: 1938. Indictment: [n.d.]. Deciding Body: [n.d.]. Date of Decision: [n.d.]. Verdict: VMN. Additional Information: Gypsy lawsuit in Oryol. Source: *Книга памяти Орловской области*. Vol. 4; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1733317>.

**Kants, Grigory Petrovich**. Year of Birth: 1914. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Bessarabia Governorate. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Chita Oblast, Chita ITK. Occupation: Prisoner. Date of Arrest: February 7, 1938. Indictment: Art. 58-10 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of Chita Oblast. Date of Decision: March 19, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: April 29, 1938. Rehabilitating Body: Prosecutor's Office of Chita Oblast. Date of Rehabilitation: November 1, 1989. Source: *Книга памяти Читинской области*. Vol. 8; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2580374>.

**Karadorov, Monty-Timofey Abramovich** (variant: Karadorov, Monty-Timofey Abramovich). Year of Birth: 1894. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Ukrainian SSR, Nikolaev Oblast, Kherson Rayon, village Bolshie Ragirya. Social Origin: Artisan. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Poorly literate. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Sverdlovsk Oblast, Sukhoy Log Rayon. Occupation: Prisoner, Sukhoy Log ITK. Date of Arrest: October 31, 1943. Indictment: Art. 58-10 UK RSFSR (propaganda and agitation, distribution of anti-Soviet literature). Deciding Body: OSO at the NKVD. Date of Decision: January 15, 1944. Verdict: 10 years ITL. Rehabilitating Body: Prosecutor's Office of Sverdlovsk Oblast. Date of Rehabilitation: May 19, 1989. Source: GAAOSO, f. 1, op. 2, d. 41065; *Книга памяти Свердловской области*. Vol. 4; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2075294>.

**Karaeva, Nazly**. Year of Birth: 1885. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], town of Bakhchisaray. Nationality: Tatarian women. Place of Residence: Without a fixed place of residence and work. Indictment: Having been released from ITL in March 1937, she did not engage in socially useful work, constantly rounded the market among people who did not have certain occupations, appeared drunk,

and terrorised the kolkhoz market with her hooligan actions. In addition, she is engaged in the purchase and resale of industrial goods at high prices. On July 15, 1937, in the national club named *Demerdzhi*, she caused a quarrel. Deciding Body: Judicial Troika at the NKVD of Crimean ASSR. Date of Decision: August 13, 1937. Verdict: 8 years ITL. Source: GDASBU, f. 6 P, op. 6, spr. 8, [https://tsdea.archives.gov.ua/metric-books/?arch\\_id=39&fund\\_id=75&affair\\_id=4448](https://tsdea.archives.gov.ua/metric-books/?arch_id=39&fund_id=75&affair_id=4448).

**Karpetsky, Pavel Ilyich.** Year of Birth: 1874. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Tula Governorate, Aleksin Uyezd, village Merlevo. Social Origin: Peasant. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Moscow Oblast, Kashira Rayon, village Aladino. Occupation: Without specific occupations. Arrested: Kashira RO at the UGB NKVD of Moscow Oblast. Date of Arrest: February 14, 1937. Indictment: Art. 58-10, part. 1 UK RSFSR (counter-revolutionary agitation, praising the enemies of the people). Deciding Body: Special Collegium of the Moscow OS. Date of Decision: September 11, 1937. Verdict: 6 years ITL with loss of rights for 4 years. Rehabilitating Body: Prosecutor's Office of Moscow Oblast. Date of Rehabilitation: January 5, 1998. Source: GARF, *Открытый список*, [https://ru.openlist.wiki/Карпецкий\\_Павел\\_Ильич\\_\(1874\)](https://ru.openlist.wiki/Карпецкий_Павел_Ильич_(1874)).

**Kasperovsky, Nikolay Vasilievich.** Year of Birth: 1913. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Voronezh Oblast, town of Krutoyarsk. Place of Residence: Without a fixed place of residence. Occupation: Without a specific occupation (Gypsy nomad). Date of Arrest: November 26, 1932. Indictment: For political reasons, for counter-revolutionary activities. Deciding Body: Troika at the PP OGPU Moscow Oblast. Date of Decision: March 13, 1933. Verdict: Exiled for 3 years. Rehabilitating Body: Prosecutor's Office of the city of Moscow. Date of Rehabilitation: October 9, 1997. Source: Прокуратура г. Москвы; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2679453>.

**Kasperovsky, Yefim Vasilievich.** Year of Birth: 1914. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Voronezh Oblast, town of Krutoyarsk. Place of Residence: Without a fixed place of residence. Occupation: Without a specific occupation (Gypsy nomad). Date of Arrest: November 26, 1932. Indictment: For political reasons, for counter-revolutionary activities. Deciding Body: Troika at the PP OGPU Moscow Oblast. Date of Decision: March 13, 1933. Verdict: Exiled for 3 years. Rehabilitating Body: Prosecutor's Office of the city of Moscow. Date of Rehabilitation: October 9, 1997. Source: Прокуратура г. Москвы; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2679452>.

**Kazachek, Pavel Terentievich.** Year of Birth: 1929. Place of Birth: [USSR], Ukrainian SSR, Stalino Oblast, city of Stalino. Social Origin: Worker. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Lowest. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Chelyabinsk Oblast, city of Chelyabinsk. Occupation: Prisoner, special camp section No. 2 UITLK. Date of Arrest: April 6, 1949. Indictment: Art. 58-10, part 1; UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Special Camp Court at ITL and colonies of Chelyabinsk Oblast. Date of Decision: May 21, 1949. Verdict: 10 years imprisonment. Rehabilitating Body: Criminal Cases Jury of the VS RSFSR. Date of Rehabilitation: June 12, 1990. Source: *Книга памяти Челябинской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2511101>.

**Kazannoy, Antip Antonovich** (variants: Kazany, A. A.; Kazanay, A. A.). Year of Birth: 1910. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Izmail Oblast, Starokazache Rayon, village Starokazache. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: Ukrainian SSR, Izmail Oblast, Starokazache Rayon, village Starokazache. Occupation: Without specific occupations. Date of Arrest: March 6, 1953. Indictment: Art. 54-10, part 2 (anti-Soviet propaganda using religious or national superstitions in a military environment); 54-11 (preparation for counter-revolutionary crimes) UK UkSSR. By resolution of the MGB in Izmail Oblast, dated March 14, 1953, sent for a forensic psychiatric examination (as a preacher of the anti-Soviet religious group *Voinstvo Gospodne* [Heavenly Host]), but the examination in the conclusion of April 24, 1953, established that he does not fall under Art. 10 of UK UkSSR. Deciding Body: Izmail OS. Date of Decision: June 19, 1953. Verdict: 10 years ITL with loss of rights for 5 years and confiscation of property. Resolution VS Ukrainian SSR from October 29, 1954, released. Rehabilitating Body: Prosecutor's Office of Odesa Oblast. Date of Rehabilitation: March 2, 1995. Source: AUSBUOO, spr. 27275.

**Kharkomich, Ivan Fyodorovich.** Year of Birth: 1910. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Moldavian ASSR, Kodyma Rayon, village Frantsuzkoe (variant: Odessa Oblast, village Lysogorka). Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Karelian ASSR, White Sea-Baltic Combine of the NKVD. Occupation: Prisoner. He escaped three times and was convicted of escape. He ran again on May 16, 1937. Date of Arrest: May 23, 1937. Indictment: [n.d.]. Deciding Body: Special Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of Leningrad Oblast. Date of Decision: November 20, 1937. Verdict: VMN. The sentence has not been carried out. Died in place of detention: White Sea-Baltic Combine of the NKVD. No information about rehabilitation. Source: *Ленинградский мартиролог*. Vol. 12; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2771759>.

**Khavrichev, Nikolay Sergeevich.** Year of Birth: 1902. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], city of Kishinev. Nationality: Gypsy man. Occupation: [Prisoner]. Date of Arrest: May 10, 1944. Indictment: Art. 58-14 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Kuybyshev Special Camp Court. Date of Decision: July 6, 1944. Verdict: 2 years ITL. Rehabilitating Body: Samara OS. Date of Rehabilitation: October 29, 1992. Source: *Книга памяти Самарской области*. Vol. 12 (Самара); *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1933762>.

**Kletkin, Alexander Leontievich.** Year of Birth: 1911. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], city of Odesa. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Komi ASSR, Pechorlag. Occupation: Prisoner, shoemaker, worker 2 columns of construction at OLP. Date of Arrest: September 28, 1944. Indictment: Art. 58-14 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: VT at the NKVD troops of the US SPZhD. Date of Decision: November 13, 1944. Verdict: 6 years imprisonment and 2 years loss of rights. Source: *Книга памяти Республики Коми*. Vol. 7, Part 1; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/390131>.

**Kobzarev, Ivan Ivanovich.** Year of Birth: 1918. Place of Birth: Romania, city of Bucharest. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Karelian ASSR, Medvezhyegorsk Rayon, White Sea-Baltic Combine of the NKVD. Occupation: Prisoner. Date of Arrest: May 3, 1938. Indictment: Art. 82 UK RSFSR (escape). Deciding Body: Troika at the NKVD of the Karelian ASSR. Date of Decision: July 31, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: August 7, 1938, railway station Medvezhya Gora (tract Sandarmokh). No information about rehabilitation. Source: *Поминальные списки Карелии; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/278535>.

**Kolbenko, Semyon Dmitrievich.** Year of Birth: 1891. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Yeniseysk Governorate, village Bolshaya Murta. Nationality: Gypsy man. Party Membership: VKP(b) member. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Chita Oblast, Petrovsk-Zabaikalsky Rayon, town of Petrovsk-Zabaikalsky. Occupation: Worked in a state bank, a manager. Date of Arrest: December 23, 1937. Indictment: Art. 58-1a, 58-7; 58-8; 58-11 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: [n.d.]. Date of Decision: February 9, 1940. Verdict: Case dismissed, released. Source: *Книга памяти Читинской области*. Vol. 8; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2581742>.

**Koldaras, Ivan.** Year and Place of Birth: [n.d.]. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Leningrad. Date of Arrest: 1934. Indictment: [n.d.]. Deciding Body: Commission of the OGPU. Date of Decision: 1934. Verdict: ITL.

Additional Information: Died in place of detention. Source: Деметер-Чарская, 1997.

**Kolompar, Guran Mikhailovich.** Year of Birth: 1915. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], town of Uralsk. Nationality: Hungarian. Place of Residence: BOMZh. Date of Arrest: November 4, 1937. Indictment: SVE. Deciding Body: Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of Leningrad Oblast. Date of Decision: December 19, 1937. Verdict: 8 years imprisonment. Served in the Vorkuta branch of the Ukhtpetchlag. Died in place of detention. Date of Death: May 29, 1943. Source: *Книга памяти Республики Коми*. Vol. 8, Part 1; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/391530>.

**Komanchukov, Ilya Yegorovich.** Year of Birth: 1896. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Altay Krai, Soloneshenskaya Rayon, village Soloneshenskaya. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Altay Krai, village Kalmok. Arrested: RO at the Directorate of the NKVD of East Kazakhstan Oblast. Date of Arrest: July 25, 1941. Indictment: Art. 58-10 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Military College OS. Date of Decision: October 6, 1941. Verdict: VMN. Rehabilitating Body: PVS of the Kazakh SSR. Reason for Rehabilitation: Lack of corpus delicti. Date of Rehabilitation: December 8, 1989. Source: *Сведения Департамента КНБ Республики Казахстан по Восточно-Казахстанской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2981021>.

**Komlenko, Pyotr Yakovlevich.** Year of Birth: 1914. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Voronezh Oblast, town of Zadonsk. Place of Residence: Without a fixed place of residence. Occupation: Without specific occupation (Gypsy nomad). Date of Arrest: November 26, 1932. Indictment: For political reasons, for counter-revolutionary activities. Deciding Body: Troika at the PP OGPU of Moscow Oblast. Date of Decision: March 13, 1933. Verdict: Exiled for 3 years. Rehabilitating Body: Prosecutor's Office of the city of Moscow. Date of Rehabilitation: October 9, 1997. Source: Прокуратура г. Москвы; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2680237>.

**Kononova, Olga Nikolaevna** (variant: Starostina, O. N.). Year of Birth: 1911. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire]. Nationality: Gypsy woman. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Moscow. Occupation: Actress of the Theatre Romen. Date of Arrest: 1944. Indictment: [n.d.]. Deciding Body: [n.d.]. Date of Decision: 1944. Verdict: 8 years ITL. Source: *Кино-Театр.Ру*, <https://www.kino-teatr.ru/teatr/acter/w/sov/381131/bio/>.

**Konyukhovich, Pyotr Vasilievich.** Year of Birth: 1911. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire]. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Chelyabinsk Oblast, Belozyorka Rayon. Date of Arrest: October 29, 1942. Indictment: Art. 58-10; 193-10a UK RSFSR (anti-Soviet agitation and falsification of documents). Deciding Body: VT of the NKVD troops of Chelyabinsk Oblast. Date of Decision: December 23, 1942. Verdict: VMN; replaced by VS USSR, January 26, 1943, with 10 years imprisonment. Source: *Книга памяти Курганской области*. Vol. 2; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1402941>.

**Korytkin, Ion Prokhorovich.** Year of Birth: 1903. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], East Siberian Oblast, Aksha Rayon, village Aksha. Nationality: Gypsy man (variant: Russian). Education: Primary. Arrested: UGB at the NKVD of the Kazakh SSR. Date of Arrest: August 15, 1937. Indictment: Art. 58-10 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: OSO at the NKVD (variant: Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of Alma-Aty Oblast). Date of Decision: August 23, 1937. Verdict: VMN. Rehabilitating Body: Prosecutor's Office of the Kazakh SSR (variant: Conclusion of Military Prosecutor's Office of the Turkestan VO). Reason for Rehabilitation: Decree of the PVS USSR of January 16, 1989. Date of Rehabilitation: May 1989 (variant: August 1989). Source: *Книга памяти Алма-Атинской области (Казахстан)*; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2982339>.

**Korzhevich, Yevstafy Andreevich.** Year of Birth: 1906. Place of Birth: [Austria-Hungary, Rovno Oblast, Rafalivka Rayon], village Vulka Galuziyska. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence: Ukrainian SSR, Rovno Oblast, Rafalivka Rayon, village Vulka Galuziyska. Occupation: Blacksmith. Date of Arrest: January 6, 1941. Indictment: Art. 54-10 UK UkSSR (anto-Soviet propaganda and agitation). Deciding Body: Rovno OS. Date of Decision: May 8, 1941. Verdict: 6 years exile. Shot by the NKVD on June 24–25, 1941, together with all the prisoners in Dubno. Source: Жив'юк, 2021.

**Kots, Fyodor Ivanovich.** Year of Birth: 1898. Place of Birth: Romania. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Illiterate. Occupation: Without specific occupations. Date of Arrest: October 28, 1935. Indictment: Art. 58-6 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: [n.d.]. Date of Decision: [n.d.]. Verdict: 3 years imprisonment. Date of Rehabilitation: May 12, 1989. Source: *Книга памяти Республики Башкортостан*; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/51116>.



**Kozin, Vadim Alexeevich.** Year of Birth: 1903. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], city of St Petersburg. Soviet pop singer (lyric tenor), composer, poet, and author of several hundred songs. Arrested: [RSFSR, city of Moscow]. Date of Arrest: 1944. Indictment: [n.d.]. Deciding Body: OSO at the NKVD. Date of Decision: 1944. Verdict: 8 years imprisonment. In 1959, he was re-convicted under Art. 154a UK RSFSR for sodomy; served his sentence until 1968. Source: *Бессмертный барак*, [https://bessmertnybarak.ru/Kozin\\_Vadim\\_/](https://bessmertnybarak.ru/Kozin_Vadim_/).

**Kozlova, Olga Alexandrovna.** Year of Birth: 1891. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Slavkovichi Rayon, village Posad. Nationality: Gypsy woman. Occupation: Didn't work. Date of Arrest: December 17, 1947. Indictment: Art. 58-1a UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: OSO at the MGB. Date of Decision: May 15, 1948. Verdict: 8 years imprisonment. Date of Rehabilitation: March 14, 1997. Source: *Книга памяти Псковской области*. Vol. 6; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1825608>.

**Kozlovsky, Fyodor Ivanovich.** Year of Birth: 1914. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Tomsk Governorate, Mariinsk Uyezd, Bogotol Volost. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: 7 years. Occupation: ed Army soldier of military unit No. 598 active army. Date of Arrest: December 8, 1941. Indictment: Art. 58-8 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Military Collegium of the VS USSR. Date of Decision: March 18, 1942. Verdict: VMN. Verdict replaced by 10 years ITL. Rehabilitating Body: Main Military Prosecutor's Office. Date of Rehabilitation: August 17, 2002. Source: *Книга памяти Красноярского края*. Vol. 4; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/953579>.

**Krapivin, Nikolay Alexandrovich.** Year of Birth: 1921. Place of Birth: [USSR], Byelorussian SSR, Gomel Oblast, Rechitsa Rayon. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Perm Oblast, Lagpunkt Vankino-Chusovskoe OLP. Occupation: Prisoner. Date of Arrest: February 5, 1950. Indictment: Sabotage. Deciding Body: [n.d.]. Date of Decision: May 14, 1950. Verdict: 25 years imprisonment, 5 years permanent residence. Date of Rehabilitation: May 11, 1957. Source: *Мартиролог репрессированных на сайте Пермского "Мемориала"*; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1790400>.

**Krasnoperov, Alexander Grigorievich.** Year of Birth: 1916. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Bashkir ASSR, city of Ufa. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Without education. Place of Residence: BOMZh. Occupation: Without specific

occupations. Date of Arrest: December 18, 1941. Indictment: Anti-Soviet agitation. Deciding Body: [n.d.]. Date of Decision: December 14, 1942. Verdict: 5 years imprisonment with confiscation of property. Rehabilitating Body: Prosecutor's Office of Perm Oblast. Date of Rehabilitation: 1992. Source: *Книга памяти Пермской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1790458>.

**Krylov, Mikhail Savelievich.** Year of Birth: 1920. Place of Birth: [USSR, RSFSR], city of Smolensk. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Barnaul. Occupation: Carter. Date of Arrest: February 4, 1953. Indictment: Art. 58-16 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: VT of the West Siberian VO. Date of Decision: April 4, 1953. Verdict: 25 years imprisonment with the following loss of rights for 5 years and confiscation of property. Verdict cancelled by Military Collegium of the VS USSR May 20, 1953. The case was sent for a new trial from the preliminary investigation stage. Rehabilitating Body: Directorate of the MVD of Altay Krai. Reason for Rehabilitation: Due to insufficient evidence to bring it to trial. Date of Rehabilitation: February 8, 1954. Source: *Книга памяти Алтайского края*. Vol. 6; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/807573>.

**Kukhtin, Sergey Yemelyanovich.** Year of Birth: 1908. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Omsk Governorate, Kalachinsk Uyezd, Ikonikovskoe Volost, village Belyashovo. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Illiterate. Occupation: Prisoner, ITK. Indictment: Art. 58-10; 59-3 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of Omsk Oblast. Date of Decision: October 27, 1937. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: October 27, 1937. Rehabilitating Body: Prosecutor's Office of Omsk Oblast (under Art. 58-10). Reason for Rehabilitation: Decree of the PVS USSR. Date of Rehabilitation: August 23, 1990. Source: *Книга памяти Омской области*. Vol. 4; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1666061>.

**Kulay le Porasko** (variants: Kulay le Piyadako; Alimov, Andrey Ivanovich). Year of Birth: 1896. Place of Birth: Romania, city of Bucharest. Social Origin: Gypsy nomad. Nationality: Romanian Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Moscow, Petrovsky park, 3rd Slobodnaya Street, Apt. 10/12. Occupation: Artel *Yugoslavia*, artisan coppersmith. Date of Arrest: 1935. Indictment: Art. 58-10; 58-11 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: OSO at the NKVD. Date of Decision: October 15, 1935. Verdict: [n.d.]. Additional Information: Second Gypsy lawsuit in Moscow. Source: GARF, f. 10035, op. 2, d. 74091.

**Kulikov, Ivan Afanasievich.** Year of Birth: 1910. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Podolia Governorate. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Novosibirsk. Occupation: Without specific occupations. Date of Arrest: January 28, 1938. Indictment: Art. 58-6; 58-9; 58-10; 58-11 UK RSFSR (Participation in a counter-revolutionary sabotage and espionage organisation). Deciding Body: Commission of the NKVD and the Prosecutor of the USSR. Date of Decision: April 29, 1938. Verdict: 10 years ITL. Additional Information: Gypsy lawsuit in Novosibirsk. Date of Rehabilitation: October 10, 1956. Source: *Книга памяти Новосибирской области*. Vol. 5; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/3101565>.

**Kurpedinov, Ilyas.** Year of Birth: 1905. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], city of Simferopol. Social Origin: Worker. Nationality: Gypsy man (Tatarian). Education: Poorly literate. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Crimean ASSR, city of Simferopol. Occupation: Prisoner previously convicted twice, in 1931 and 1936. Arrested: In Simferopol prison. Date of Arrest: April 7, 1937. Indictment: Art. 58-10 UK RSFSR (anti-Soviet agitation, beat up prisoners). Deciding Body: Troika of the NKVD of Crimean ASSR. Date of Decision: August 5, 1937. Verdict: VMN. Rehabilitating Body: Prosecutor's Office of Crimean Oblast. Date of Rehabilitation: June 25, 1980. Source: *Омельчук, 2008; Реабилитированные историей. Автономная Республика Крым*. Vol. 3; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/3065038>.

**Kutso, Ian.** Year and Place of Birth: [n.d.]. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Moscow. Date of Arrest: 1932. Indictment: [n.d.]. Deciding Body: Commission of the OGPU. Date of Decision: February 9, 1933. Verdict: [n.d.]. Additional Information: First Gypsy lawsuit in Moscow, Part 1. Source: GDASBUR, f. 4 (P), spr. 17664 (quoted by Жив'юк, 2021; Zhyvyuk, 2023).

**Kuzemko, Filipp Nikonovich.** Year of Birth: 1885. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], city of Minsk. Social Origin: Peasant. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Lowest / primary. Place of Residence: Byelorussian SSR, Minsk Oblast, city of Minsk. Address: 52 Krasnoarmeyskaya Street. Occupation: Preacher, Adventist sect. Date of Arrest: December 10, 1929. Indictment: Art. 58-10 UK RSFSR (anti-Soviet agitation). Deciding Body: Commission of the OGPU. Date of Decision: January 13, 1930. Verdict: 3 years ITL. Source: *Белорусский "Мемориал"*; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2816210>.

**Kvek, Dezorzh Marianovich.** Year of Birth: 1903. Place of Birth: Austria-Hungary, village Makgovtsy. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: [Poland]. Date of Arrest: March 1941. Place of Arrest: Ukrainian SSR, Stanislavov Oblast. Indictment: Art. 173 UK UkSSR (robbery). Verdict: [n.d.]. Additional Information: Gypsy lawsuit in Rovno. Source: GDASBU, f. 16, spr. 34 (quoted by Жив'юк, 2021; Zhyvyuk, 2023).

**Kvek, Iosif Nikolaevich** (variant: Masho). Year of Birth: 1896. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], city of Moscow. Nationality: Gypsy man. Citizenship: USSR [from 1940], without a passport. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence: [Poland], without a fixed place of residence. Occupation: Tinker of cauldrons under private contracts. Date of Arrest: March 16, 1941. Place of Arrest: Ukrainian SSR, Stanislavov Oblast, Kalush Rayon, village Podgortsy. Indictment: Art. 54-6 (espionage), Art. 173 (robbery) UK UkSSR. Verdict: [n.d.]. Place of Death: Ustvymlag. Date of Death: August 17, 1943. Additional Information: Gypsy lawsuit in Rovno. Source: GDASBUR, f. 5 (P), spr. 11828 (quoted by Жив'юк, 2021; Zhyvyuk, 2023).

**Kvek, Karol Nikolaevich.** Year of Birth: 1903. Place of Birth: [Austria-Hungary], city of Przemyśl. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence: [Poland], without a fixed place of residence. Occupation: Worker-tinker on temporary jobs. Date of Arrest: March 15, 1941. Place of Arrest: Ukrainian SSR, Stanislavov Oblast, Kalush Rayon, village Podgortsy. Indictment: Art. 54-6 (espionage), Art. 173 (robbery) UK UkSSR. Verdict: [n.d.]. Additional Information: Gypsy lawsuit in Rovno. Source: GDASBUR, f. 5 (P), spr. 11828; GDASBU, f. 16, spr. 34 (quoted by Жив'юк, 2021; Zhyvyuk, 2023).

**Kvek, Mikhail Nikolaevich** [King Michał/Michael II Kwiek]. Year of Birth: 1883. Place of Birth: [Austria-Hungary], city of Przemyśl. Nationality: Gypsy man. Citizenship: USSR [from 1940]. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence: Ukrainian SSR, Drohobych Oblast, Zhidachov Rayon, village Makhlinets. Occupation: Without a fixed occupation. Date of Arrest: March 16, 1941. Place of Arrest: Ukrainian SSR, Stanislavov Oblast, Kalush Rayon, village Podgortsy. Indictment: Art. 54-6 (espionage), Art. 173 (robbery) UK UkSSR. Verdict: [n.d.]. Place of Death: Karlag. Date of Death: April 4, 1943. The case, according to Art. 173 UK UKSSR terminated due to the death of the accused. Additional Information: Gypsy lawsuit in Rovno. Source: GDASBUR, f. 5 (P), spr. 11828 (quoted by Жив'юк, 2021; Zhyvyuk, 2023).

**Kvek, Rishard Romanovich** (variant: Kvek, Rishik). Year of Birth: 1907. Place of Birth: Austria-Hungary, city of Przemyśl. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: [Poland]. Date of Arrest: March 1941. Place of Arrest: Ukrainian SSR, Stanislavov Oblast. Indictment: Art. 173 UK UkSSR (robbery). Release: May 10, 1941. Additional Information: Gypsy lawsuit in Rovno. Source: GDASBUR, f. 4 P, spr. 17664 (quoted by Жив'юк, 2021; Zhyvyuk, 2023).

**Kvek, Sandol Deordohovich**. Year of Birth: 1907. Place of Birth: Austria-Hungary, city of Przemyśl. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: [Poland]. Date of Arrest: March 1941. Place of Arrest: Ukrainian SSR, Stanislavov Oblast. Indictment: Art. 173 UK UkSSR (robbery). Release: May 10, 1941. Additional Information: Gypsy lawsuit in Rovno. Source: GDASBUR, f. 4 P, spr. 17664 (quoted by Жив'юк, 2021; Zhyvyuk, 2023).

**Kvek, Sergey Bodovich** (variant: Kvek, Sergiush). Year of Birth: 1893. Place of Birth: [Austria-Hungary], Kraków Voivodeship, village Belcha. Nationality: Hungarian. Citizenship: USSR [from 1940]. Place of Residence: Ukrainian SSR, Stanislavov Oblast, Velrika Gluboka Rayon, village Belka. Occupation: Artist. Date of Arrest: March 27, 1941. Place of Arrest: Ukrainian SSR, Stanislavov Oblast. Indictment: Art. 54-6 UK UkSSR (espionage). Verdict: [n.d.]. Место и Date of Death: [n.d.], on April 25, 1944, was in the Karlag. Additional Information: Gypsy lawsuit in Rovno. Source: GDASBUR, f. 5 (P), spr. 11828 (quoted by Жив'юк, 2021; Zhyvyuk, 2023).

**Kvek, Vasily Grigoryevich** (King Wasyl/Bazyli Kwiek). Year of Birth: 1876. Year of Birth: 1876. Place of Birth: [n.d.]. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: [Poland]. Date of Arrest: March 1941. Place of Arrest: Ukrainian SSR, Stanislavov Oblast. Conveyed on May 18, 1941, to Moscow, where he was placed in the NKGB internal prison. Indictment: Art. 58-6, part 1 UK RSFSR (espionage). Deciding Body: VT of the NKVD troops of Saratov Oblast. Date of Decision: October 26, 1941. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: December 14, 1941. Additional Information: Gypsy lawsuit in Rovno. Source: GDASBU, f. 16, spr. 515; GDASBUR, f. 5 (P), spr. 17664 (quoted by Жив'юк, 2021; Zhyvyuk, 2023; 2023).

**Kvek, Vladimir Nikolaevich**. Year of Birth: 1881. Place of Birth: Austria-Hungary, city of Przemyśl. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: [Poland]. Date of Arrest: March 15, 1941. Place of Arrest: Ukrainian SSR, Stanislavov Oblast, Kalush Rayon, village Podgortsy. Indictment: Art. 54-6 (espionage), ст. 173 (robbery) UK UkSSR. Verdict: [n.d.]. Place of Death: Karlag. Date of Death: June 15,

1943. Additional Information: Gypsy lawsuit in Rovno. Source: GDASBU, f. 16, spr. 34; GDASBUR, f. 5 (P), spr. 11828 (quoted by Жив'юк, 2021; Zhyvyuk, 2023; 2023).

**Kvek, Vladimir Romanovich.** Year of Birth: 1902. Place of Birth: Austria-Hungary, city of Przemyśl. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: [Poland]. Date of Arrest: March 1941. Place of Arrest: Ukrainian SSR, Stanislavov Oblast. Indictment: Art. 173 UK UkSSR (robbery). Verdict: [n.d.]. Additional Information: Gypsy lawsuit in Rovno. Source: GDASBU, f. 16, spr. 34 (quoted by Жив'юк, 2021; Zhyvyuk, 2023).

**Kvek, Vladimir Stepanovich.** Year of Birth: 1902. Place of Birth: Austria-Hungary, city of Przemyśl. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: [Poland]. Date of Arrest: March 1941. Place of Arrest: Ukrainian SSR, Stanislavov Oblast. Indictment: Art. 173 UK UkSSR (robbery). Verdict: [n.d.]. Additional Information: Gypsy lawsuit in Rovno. Source: GDASBU, f. 16, spr. 34 (quoted by Жив'юк, 2021; Zhyvyuk, 2023).

**Kvek, Yanush Timofeevich-Nikolaevich** [King Janusz/Janus Kwiek]. Year of Birth: 1897. Place of Birth: Austria-Hungary, city of Przemyśl. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence: Poland. Occupation: Nomadic Gypsy man. Date of Arrest: March 15, 1941. Place of Arrest: Ukrainian SSR, Stanislavov Oblast, Kalush Rayon, village Podgortsy. Indictment: Art. 58-6, part 1 UK RSFSR (espionage). Deciding Body: VT of the NKVD troops of Saratov Oblast. Date of Decision: October 26, 1941. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: December 14, 1941. Additional Information: Gypsy lawsuit in Rovno. Source: GDASBU, f. 16, spr. 515; GDASBUR, f. 5 (P), spr. 17664 (quoted by Жив'юк, 2021; Zhyvyuk, 2023; 2023).

**Lakatush, Tatyana Fyodorovna.** Year of Birth: 1917. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Moldavian SSR, village Seleshta. Nationality: Gypsy woman. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence: Sverdlovsk Oblast, Aramil Rayon, village Kadnikovo. Work: Member of the sovkhos *Krasnye orly* [Red Eagles.]. Indictment: For counter-revolutionary activity without reference to the law. Deciding Body: OSO at the NKVD. Date of Decision: June 11, 1941. Verdict: Expulsion to residence in Omsk Oblast. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Omsk Oblast, Armizonskoe Rayon. July 23, 1941, escaped. Indictment: Art. 58-14 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Omsk OS. Date of Decision: June 15, 1942. Verdict: 10 years imprisonment in ITL with the following loss of rights for 5 years. Rehabilitating Body: Prosecutor's Office of Omsk Oblast. Reason for Rehabilitation: Law of

the RF [without specification]. Date of Rehabilitation: January 19, 1996. Source: *Книга памяти Омской области*. Vol. 5; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1666280>.

**Latay, Ivan Panteliyovich**. Year of Birth: 1901. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire]. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: Ukrainian SSR, Chernihiv Oblast, Chernihiv Rayon, village Moskali. Occupation: Individual peasant. Date of Arrest: May 28, 1931. Indictment: Art. 54-10 UK UkSSR. Deciding Body: Chernihiv sector 00-7 (special section). Date of Decision: [n.d.]. Verdict: Case closed. Date of Rehabilitation: February 28, 1996. Source: *Український мартиролог*, <https://archives.gov.ua/um.php?nac=22&p=1&&id=985>.

**Lazo le Paraskevako**. Year and Place of Birth: [n.d.]. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Moscow. Date of Arrest: 1932. Indictment: [n.d.]. Deciding Body: Commission of the OGPU. Date of Decision: February 9, 1933. Verdict: [n.d.]. Additional Information: First Gypsy lawsuit in Moscow, Part 1. Source: GDASBUR, f. 4 (P), spr. 17664 (quoted by Жив'юк, 2021; Zhyvyuk, 2023).

**Lebedev, D. D.** Year and Place of Birth: [n.d.]. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Moscow. Date of Arrest: 1932. Indictment: [n.d.]. Deciding Body: Commission of the OGPU. Date of Decision: February 9, 1933. Verdict: [n.d.]. Additional Information: First Gypsy lawsuit in Moscow, Part 1. Source: GDASBUR, f. 4 (P), spr. 17664 (quoted by Жив'юк, 2021; Zhyvyuk, 2023).

**Lebedev, Nikolay Andreevich** (variant: Zhukov, Pyotr Petrovich). Year of Birth: 1909. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Kirov Oblast, Kotelnich Rayon, Makarye Selsoviet, village Makarye. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: Without a fixed place of residence. Occupation: Without specific occupations. Indictment: Art. 58-14 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Kirov OS. Date of Decision: April 22, 1943. Verdict: 10 years imprisonment with loss of rights for 5 years. Date of Rehabilitation: April 21, 1992. Source: *Книга памяти Кировской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1370997>.

**Lebedeva, Anna Grigorievna** (variant: Lebedeva, Galina G.). Year of Birth: 1924. Place of Birth: [USSR, RSFSR], Kuybyshev Oblast, Tilkovsky Rayon. Social Origin: Nomad. Nationality: Gypsy woman. Education: Illiterate. Note: 3 convictions under Art. 166 UK RSFSR (3 years ITL), Art. 82 (5 years ITL), Art. 58-14 (10 years ITL). Place of Residence: RSFSR, Sverdlovsk Oblast, Sevrallag.

Occupation: Prisoner, Lagpunkt No. 2. Date of Arrest: December 10, 1942. Indictment: Art. 58-10 UK RSFSR (propaganda and agitation, distribution of anti-Soviet literature). Deciding Body: Criminal Cases Jury of the Sverdlovsk OS. Date of Decision: December 30, 1942. Verdict: 10 years ITL. Rehabilitating Body: Prosecutor's Office of Sverdlovsk Oblast. Date of Rehabilitation: April 27, 1992. Source: GAAOSO, f. 1, op. 2, d. 45434.

**Leonov, Semyon Kondratievich.** Year of Birth: 1894. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Pskov Oblast, Sebezhy Rayon, village Rudnya. Nationality: Gypsy man. Occupation: Didn't work. Date of Arrest: September 9, 1937. Indictment: Without Article. Deciding Body: Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of Kalinin Oblast. Date of Decision: September 28, 1937. Verdict: 5 years imprisonment. Date of Rehabilitation: March 13, 1996. Source: *Книга памяти Псковской области*. Vol. 1; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1831016>.

**Lilli.** Year and Place of Birth: [n.d.]. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Moscow. Nationality: Greek Gypsy man. Date of Arrest: 1923. Indictment: Espionage. Verdict: Case dismissed, released. Additional Information: Went abroad. Source: GDASBUR, f. 4 (P), spr. 17664 (quoted by Жив'юк, 2021; Zhyvyuk, 2023).

**Limansky, Afanasy Fateevich.** Year of Birth: 1905. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Voronezh Oblast, Polyansky [Listopadovka] Rayon, village Novogolskoe. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Illiterate. Occupation: Red Army soldier. Date of Arrest: January 14, 1943. Indictment: [n.d.]. The case was dismissed because of the death of the accused. Source: *Книга памяти Воронежской области*. Vol. 2; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1272355>.

**Limansky, Alexander Petrovich.** Year of Birth: 1906. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Azov-Black Sea Krai, town of Krasny Sulin. Social Origin: Artisan. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Lowest. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Novocherkask. Address: 15 Rostovsky driveway. Occupation: Cabman. Date of Arrest: February 22, 1938. Indictment: Counter-revolutionary propaganda among prisoners. Deciding Body: Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of Moscow Oblast. Date of Decision: March 2, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: March 8, 1938, city of Moscow. Place of Burial: Butovo [Firing Range]. Date of Rehabilitation: March 1990. Source: *Бутовский полигон*.



1937–1938. Vol. 4; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2647128>.

**Limansky, Ivan Mikhailovich.** Year of Birth: 1920. Place of Birth: [USSR, RSFSR], city of Novorossiysk. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Komi ASSR, Sevzheldorlag. Occupation: Labour Army soldier, carpenter, worker of the 2nd work column of the 2nd detachment, town of Kotlas-2. Date of Arrest: April 18, 1942. Indictment: Art. 58-8; 58-10, part 2 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: VT at the NKVD troops of the US SPZhD. Date of Decision: May 12, 1942. Verdict: 10 years imprisonment, 5 years loss of rights. Source: *Книга памяти Республики Коми*. Vol. 7, Part 2; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/397263>.

**Limansky, Stepan Ivanovich.** Year of Birth: 1895. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Voronezh Oblast, Peski Rayon, village Tyukovka. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Rostov Oblast, Milyutinsky Rayon, khutor Agroproletarsky. Indictment: Art. 58-10, part 2 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: VT of the NKVD troops of Rostov Oblast. Date of Decision: December 3, 1943. Verdict: 7 years, with loss of rights for 3 years. Source: *Книга памяти Ростовской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1896152>.

**Litovchenko, Maria Mikhailovna.** Year of Birth: 1904 (variants: 1905; 1907; 1908). Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Voronezh Governorate, town of Ostrogzhsk. Social Origin: Gypsy nomad. Nationality: Gypsy woman. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Voronezh Oblast, Ostrogzhsk Uyezd, village Novaya Kalitva. Deported: RSFSR, city of Moscow, May 1933. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Novosibirsk Oblast, Kuskovo [Asino] Rayon, village Yevstigneevka. Date of Arrest: 1935. Indictment: Art. 82 UK RSFSR (escape). Deciding Body: [n.d.]. Date of Decision: 1935. Verdict: 3 years ITL. Served: Dallag. Date of Death: 1948, in Novo-Kuskovo Rayon hospital. Source: Информационный центр УВД Томской области. f. 5. d. P-16698.

**Loginov, Nikolay Rodionovich.** Year of Birth: 1915. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], city of Sevastopol. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Crimean ASSR, city of Sevastopol. Date of Arrest: 1935. Indictment: [n.d.]. Deciding Body: [n.d.]. Verdict: [ITL]. [Date of Arrest: 1942]. Indictment: Counter-revolutionary agitation. Deciding Body: VT. Date of Decision: February 11, 1942. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: April 22, 1942. Date of Rehabilitation: January 1997. Source: *Книга памяти Магаданской*

области; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1451361>.

**Lontsevich, Irina Antonovna.** Year of Birth: 1878. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], city of Irkutsk. Nationality: Gypsy woman. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Irkutsk Oblast, town of Cheremkhovo. Occupation: Without specific occupations. Date of Arrest: July 26, 1938. Indictment: Art. 58-10 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Directorate of the NKVD of Irkutsk Oblast. Date of Decision: December 11, 1938. Verdict: case dismissed. Source: *Книга памяти Иркутской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1325797>.

**Lukashevich, Anton Nikolaevich.** Year of Birth: 1903. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Kalinin Oblast, Sebezhy Rayon, village Dvoritsy. Social Origin: Horse dealer. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Poorly literate. Place of Residence: Without a fixed place of residence. Occupation: Without specific occupations. Date of Arrest: April 8, 1938. Indictment: Anti-Soviet agitation, refusal to work, singing anti-Soviet songs in the bathhouse about camps and executions. Deciding Body: Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of Moscow Oblast. Date of Decision: June 5, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: June 20, 1938, city of Moscow. Place of Burial: Butovo [Firing Range]. Date of Rehabilitation: February 5, 1990. Source: *Бутовский полигон. 1937–1938*. Vol. 4; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2647455>.

**Lukyanenko, Pyotr Grigorievich.** Year of Birth: 1922. Place of Birth: [USSR, RSFSR], Oryol Oblast, Zhukovka Rayon, village Zhukovka. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Komi ASSR, Vorkutlag. Occupation: Prisoner, painter and worker of the 3rd operational district. Date of Arrest: July 10, 1941. Indictment: Art. 58-14 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: VT at the NKVD troops of the US SPZhD. Date of Decision: September 2, 1941. Verdict: 10 years imprisonment, 5 years loss of rights. Date of Arrest: October 14, 1942. Indictment: Art. 58-14 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: VS of the Komi ASSR at the Vorkutstroy of NKVD. Date of Decision: December 8, 1942. Verdict: 10 years imprisonment. Source: *Книга памяти Республики Коми*. Vol. 7, Part 1, Part 2; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/398082>, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/398081>.

**Lukyanenko, Vasil Dmitrievich.** Year of Birth: 1892. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Chernihiv Oblast, Pochepsky Rayon, village Polyanka. Social Origin:

Peasant. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Primary. Occupation: Scraper driver of the mine named after Ordzhonikidze at Kryvbas, Dnipropetrovsk Oblast. Place of Residence: [n.d.]. Date of Arrest: January 14, 1941. Indictment: Counter-revolutionary agitation. Deciding Body: [n. d.]. Date of Decision: [n.d.]. Verdict: 10 years ITL. Date of Rehabilitation: October 23, 1992. Source: *Реабілітовані історією*, <http://www.reabit.org.ua/nbr/?ID=108511>. [1941]

**Lupashchenko, Maria Ivanivna.** Year of Birth: 1915. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire, Kiev Governorate], village Lipyanka. Nationality: Gypsy woman. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence and Work: Gypsy nomad, without a fixed place of work and residence. Date of Arrest: May 28, 1938. Indictment: Art. 54-1a UK UkSSR. Deciding Body: Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of Zhytomyr Oblast. Date of Decision: October 3, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: October 4, 1938, city of Zhytomyr. Additional Information: Gypsy lawsuit in Zhytomyr. Date of Rehabilitation: 1989. Source: *Реабілітовані історією*, <http://www.reabit.org.ua/nbr/?ID=290481>.

**Lutsenko, Grigory Ivanovich.** Year of Birth: 1906. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Kiev Oblast. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: Ukrainian SSR, city of Kiev. [Work: University teacher.] Date of Arrest: 1935. Indictment: [n. d.]. Deciding Body: [n. d.]. Verdict: [ITL]. Occupation: Prisoner. Date of Arrest: 1937]. Indictment: Counter-revolutionary Trotskyist activity. Deciding Body: Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of the Dalstroy. Date of Decision: September 10, 1937. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: October 1, 1937. Date of Rehabilitation: June 1989. Source: *Книга памяти Магаданской области; Жертвы политического террора*, [https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1453002](https://base..memo.ru/person/show/1453002).

**Lvovska, Katerina Petrivna.** Year of Birth: 1912. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Kiev Governorate, Berdichev Uyezd, city of Berdichev. Nationality: Gypsy woman. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence and Work: Without a fixed place of work and residence. Date of Arrest: May 28, 1938. Indictment: Art. 54-1a UK UkSSR. Deciding Body: Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of Zhytomyr Oblast. Date of Decision: October 3, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: October 4, 1938, city of Zhytomyr. Additional Information: Gypsy lawsuit in Zhytomyr. Date of Rehabilitation: 1989. Source: *Реабілітовані історією*, <http://www.reabit.org.ua/nbr/?ID=290478>.

**Lvovsky, Demyan Petrovich.** Year of Birth: 1915. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Kiev Governorate, village Budyonovka. Nationality: Gypsy man.

Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence and Work: Without a fixed place of work and residence. Date of Arrest: May 28, 1938. Indictment: Art. 54-1a UK UkSSR. Deciding Body: Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of Zhytomyr Oblast. Date of Decision: October 3, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: October 4, 1938, city of Zhytomyr. Additional Information: Gypsy lawsuit in Zhytomyr. Date of Rehabilitation: 1989. Source: *Реабілітовані історією*, <http://www.reabit.org.ua/nbr/?ID=293445>.

**Lvovsky, Iosip Petrovich.** Year of Birth: 1913. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Kiev Governorate, Berdichev Uyezd, city of Berdichev. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence and Work: Without a fixed place of work and residence. Date of Arrest: May 28, 1938. Indictment: Art. 54-1a UK UkSSR. Deciding Body: Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of Zhytomyr Oblast. Date of Decision: October 3, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: October 4, 1938, city of Zhytomyr. Additional Information: Gypsy lawsuit in Zhytomyr. Date of Rehabilitation: 1989. Source: *Реабілітовані історією*, <http://www.reabit.org.ua/nbr/?ID=293444>.

**Lvovsky, Petro Antonovich.** Year of Birth: 1878. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Volhynia Governorate, Zhytomyr Uyezd, Krasnopolie Volost, village Syeykovtsy. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence and Work: Without a fixed place of work and residence. Date of Arrest: May 25, 1938. Indictment: Art. 54-1a UK UkSSR. Deciding Body: Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of Zhytomyr Oblast. Date of Decision: October 3, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: October 4, 1938, city of Zhytomyr. Additional Information: Gypsy lawsuit in Zhytomyr. Date of Rehabilitation: 1989. Source: *Реабілітовані історією*, <http://www.reabit.org.ua/nbr/?ID=293442>.

**Lyudvikevich, Ivan Vasilievich.** Year of Birth: 1919. Place of Birth: [USSR, RSFSR], Omsk Oblast, Isilkul Rayon, village Lebyazhe. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Illiterate. Arrested: Poludino RO of the NKVD. Date of Arrest: November 10, 1941. Indictment: Art. 58-14 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Special Criminal Cases Jury of the North Kazakhstan OS. Date of Decision: December 6, 1941. Verdict: 10 years ITL. Rehabilitating Body: Military Prosecutor's Office of the Republic of Kazakhstan. Reason for Rehabilitation: Law of the Republic Kazakhstan of April 14, 1993. Date of Rehabilitation: July 7, 1999. Source: *Сведения Департамента КНБ Республики Казахстан по Северо-Казахстанской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2990039>.

**Makarova, Lidia Vasilievna.** Year of Birth: 1922. Place of Birth: [USSR]. Nationality: Gypsy woman. Occupation: Prisoner. Indictment: Art. 58-14 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Criminal Cases Jury of the VS of Chuvash ASSR. Date of Decision: July 31, 1943. Verdict: Imprisonment for a period of 5 years with loss of rights for 2 years. Date of Rehabilitation: November 20, 1992. Source: *Книга памяти Чувашской Республики; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/775953>.

**Makovetsky, Mikhail Ivanovich.** Year of Birth: 1917. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Kirovograd Oblast, Chigirin Rayon, village Kozharki. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Komi ASSR, Ustvymlag. Occupation: Prisoner, worker 17 Lagpunkt p/k Puris at the Ustvymlag. Date of Arrest: February 16, 1945. Indictment: Art. 58-14 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: VS of the Komi ASSR. Date of Decision: March 20, 1945. Verdict: 7 years imprisonment and 3 years with loss of rights. Source: *Книга памяти Республики Коми*. Vol. 7, Part 1; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/398885>.

**Malbek, Boris Maksimovich.** Year of Birth: 1916. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], city of Leningrad. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Karelian ASSR, city of Petrozavodsk. Occupation: Without specific occupations. Date of Arrest: August 27, 1937. Indictment: Within the framework of the Order No. 00447. Deciding Body: Troika at the NKVD of the Karelian ASSR. Date of Decision: September 3, 1937. Verdict: 5 years [imprisonment]. No information about rehabilitation. Source: *Поминальные списки Карелии; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/280595>.

**Manuilov, Alexander Matveevich.** Year of Birth: 1882. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Buryat-Mongolian ASSR, Zaigraevo Rayon, village Novaya Kurba. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Poorly literate. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Buryat-Mongolian ASSR, city of Ulan-Ude. Occupation: Republican wool procurement office. Date of Arrest: March 28, 1938. Indictment: Art. 58-10 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: NKVD of the Buryat-Mongolian ASSR. Date of Decision: March 19, 1939. Verdict: [n.d.]. Rehabilitating Body: Prosecutor's Office of the Republic of Buryatia. Date of Rehabilitation: September 16, 2002. Source: *Книга памяти Бурятии. Подготовительные материалы; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/123256>.

**Marin, Ivan Georgievich.** Year of Birth: 1921. Place of Birth: [Romania], Moldavian SSR. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Primary. Occupation:

Not working. Date of Arrest: April 25, 1940. Indictment: Art. 58-14 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: [n.d.]. Date of Decision: [n.d.]. Verdict: 7 years imprisonment. Date of Rehabilitation: October 5, 1955. Source: *Книга памяти Республики Башкортостан; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/37448>.

**Markov, Vladimir Dmitrievich.** Year of Birth: 1913. Place of Birth: Serbia, city of Belograd [sic!]. Social Origin: Artisan. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Chelyabinsk Oblast, city of Chelyabinsk, 1sr section of ITK. Occupation: Prisoner (convicted in 1935 under Art. 74 UK RSFSR for 2 years imprisonment; in 1937 under Art. 74 UK RSFSR for 3 years imprisonment), ITK, unskilled worker. Date of Arrest: August 1, 1937. Indictment: Art. 58-10 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of Chelyabinsk Oblast. Date of Decision: August 26, 1937. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: August 28, 1937. Rehabilitating Body: Prosecutor's Office of Chelyabinsk Oblast. Date of Rehabilitation: March 30, 1989. Source: *Книга памяти Челябинской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2516459>.

**Markovsky, Danilo Onisimovich.** Year of Birth: 1876. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Volhynia Governorate, Novgorod-Volynskiy Uyezd, Koretsk Volost, khutor Kobyle. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence and Work: Without a fixed place of work and residence. Date of Arrest: April 10, 1938. Indictment: Art. 54-1a UK UkSSR. Deciding Body: Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of Zhytomyr Oblast. Date of Decision: October 3, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: October 4, 1938, city of Zhytomyr. Additional Information: Gypsy lawsuit in Zhytomyr. Date of Rehabilitation: 1989. Source: *Реабілітовані історією*, <http://www.reabit.org.ua/nbr/?ID=293438>.

**Markovsky, Mikhailo Yukhimovich.** Year of Birth: 1887. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Kiev Governorate, Radomyshl Uyezd, Kichkiry Volost, village Kocherov. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence: Ukrainian SSR, Kyiv Oblast, Rozvazh Rayon, village Krapivnya. Date of Arrest: March 30, 1938. Indictment: Art. 54-1a UK UkSSR. Deciding Body: Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of Zhytomyr Oblast. Date of Decision: October 3, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: October 4, 1938, city of Zhytomyr. Additional Information: Gypsy lawsuit in Zhytomyr. Date of Rehabilitation: 1989. Source: *Реабілітовані історією*, <http://www.reabit.org.ua/nbr/?ID=293448>.

**Markovsky, Mikhailo Yukhimovich.** Year of Birth: 1888. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Kiev Governorate, Radomyshl Uyezd, Malin Volost, village Pirozhki. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence: Ukrainian SSR, Zhytomyr Oblast, Zhytomyr city Soviet, khutor Kudryavtsevo. Occupation: Without a fixed place of work. Date of Arrest: March 21, 1938. Indictment: Art. 54-1a UK UkSSR. Deciding Body: Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of Zhytomyr Oblast. Date of Decision: October 3, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: October 4, 1938, city of Zhytomyr. Additional Information: Gypsy lawsuit in Zhytomyr. Date of Rehabilitation: 1990. Source: *Реабілітовані історією*, <http://www.reabit.org.ua/nbr/?ID=293455>.

**Markovsky, Pavlo Volodymyrovych.** Year of Birth: 1898. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Volhynia Governorate, Zhytomyr Uyezd, Puliny Volost, village Ivanovichi. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence and Work: Without a fixed place of work and residence. Date of Arrest: March 21, 1938. Indictment: Art. 54-1a UK UkSSR. Deciding Body: Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of Zhytomyr Oblast. Date of Decision: October 3, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: October 4, 1938, city of Zhytomyr. Additional Information: Gypsy lawsuit in Zhytomyr. Date of Rehabilitation: 1990. Source: *Реабілітовані історією*, <http://www.reabit.org.ua/nbr/?ID=293454>.

**Markovsky, Vasil Antonovich.** Year of Birth: 1890. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Kiev Governorate, Radomyshl Uyezd, Malin Volost, village Pirozhki. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence and Work: Without a fixed place of work and residence. Date of Arrest: July 25, 1938. Indictment: Art. 54-6 UK UkSSR. Deciding Body: OSO at the NKVD. October 29, 1939. Date of Decision: [n.d.]. Verdict: case dismissed, taking into account the term of previous imprisonment. Date of Rehabilitation: 1989. Source: *Реабілітовані історією*, <http://www.reabit.org.ua/nbr/?ID=288797>.

**Martsinkovich, Alexander, son of Martyn** (sic!). Year of Birth: 1911. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], [Lithuania], city of Vilno. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Komi ASSR, Vorkutlag. Occupation: Prisoner. Date of Arrest: October 11, 1941. Indictment: Art. 58-10, part 2, 58-2 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: VS of the Komi ASSR at the Vorkutstroy of the NKVD. Date of Decision: September 23, 1942. Verdict: 7 years imprisonment and 4 years with loss of rights. Source: *Книга памяти Республики Коми*. Vol. 2; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/399846>.

**Martsinkovich, Ivan, son of Martyn** (sic!). Year of Birth: 1917. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire]. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Komi ASSR, Vorkutlag. Occupation: Prisoner. Date of Arrest: October 11, 1941. Indictment: Art. 58-10, part 2, 58-2 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: VS of the Komi ASSR at Vorkutstroy of the NKVD. Date of Decision: September 23, 1942. Verdict: 7 years imprisonment and 4 years with loss of rights. Source: *Книга памяти Республики Коми*. Vol. 2; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/399840>.

**Martynov, Alexander Ivanovich**. Year of Birth: 1919. Place of Birth: [USSR, RSFSR], Voronezh Oblast, Nizhnedevitsk Rayon, village Bor. Nationality: Gypsy man. Komi ASSR, Ustvymlag. Occupation: Prisoner. Date of Arrest: September 28, 1945. Indictment: Art. 58-14 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: VT of the NKVD troops of the Sevzheldor highways. Date of Decision: November 10, 1945. Verdict: 10 years imprisonment and 5 years with loss of rights. Source: *Книга памяти Республики Коми*. Vol. 2; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/399726>.

**Masalskaya, Anna Fyodorovna**. Year of Birth: 1886. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], town of Borovichi. Nationality: Gypsy woman. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Leningrad, 89 Ligovka Street, Apt. 50. Occupation: From 1912 to 1917, she sang in Dulkevich's choir; housewife. Arrested: OGPU at the Leningrad VO, city of Leningrad. Date of Arrest: October 22, 1930. Indictment: Art. 58-2 UK RSFSR (on suspicion that she was a member of a counter-revolutionary organisation, recruited by A. B. Mashukov, who was a member of the Malka counter-revolutionary insurgent group). Deciding Body: [n.d.]. Date of Decision: December 17, 1930. Verdict: Released from detention in the DPZ with the withdrawal of the subscription not to leave Leningrad. Source: *Книга памяти Кабардино-Балкарии; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/180232>.

**Masalsky, Ivan Semyonovich** (variant: Sukharev, Ivan Semyonovich). Year of Birth: 1917. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], city of Leningrad. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Komi ASSR, Intlag. Occupation: Prisoner. Date of Arrest: March 22, 1944. Indictment: Art. 58-11; 58-14 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: VS of the Komi ASSR at the Intlag. Date of Decision: April 24, 1944. Verdict: 10 years imprisonment and 5 years with loss of rights. Source: *Книга памяти Республики Коми*. Vol. 2; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/399898>.



**Matusar, Vasily Ivanovich.** Year of Birth: 1871. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Odessa Oblast, Tsebrik Rayon, village Torosovo. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: [n.d.] Note: Previously sentenced to 10 years imprisonment. Date of Arrest: August 3, 1937. Indictment: [n.d.]. Deciding Body: Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of Odesa Oblast. Date of Decision: October 19, 1937. Verdict: VMN. Source: *Одеський мартиролог*, <https://omr.gov.ua/ru/odessa/about/stranici-istorii/bolshoy-terror-1937-1941-gg/>.

**Matyushenkov, Ivan Romanovich.** Year of Birth: 1882. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], West Siberian Krai, Ust-Tarka Rayon, village Verkhnyaya Omka. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Poorly literate. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Novosibirsk. Occupation: Unskilled worker. Date of Arrest: January 28, 1938. Indictment: Art. 58-6; 58-9; 58-10; 58-11 UK RSFSR (Participation in a counter-revolutionary sabotage and espionage organisation). Deciding Body: Commission of the NKVD and the Prosecutor of the USSR. Date of Decision: April 29, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: June 5, 1938. Additional Information: Gypsy lawsuit in Novosibirsk. Date of Rehabilitation: October 10, 1956. Source: *Книга памяти Новосибирской области*. Vol. 5; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/3101732>.

**Matyushenkov, Tikhon Yermolaevich.** Year of Birth: 1902. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Tomsk Governorate. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, town of Suzdal. Occupation: Red Army officer of the 4th Sapper Brigade. Date of Arrest: February 13, 1942. Indictment: Art. 58-10, part 2 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: VT at the 4th sapper brigade. Date of Decision: February 20, 1942. Verdict: 8 years with subsequent loss of rights for 3 years. Rehabilitating Body: Military Prosecutor's Office of the Siberian VO. Date of Rehabilitation: October 21, 1994. Source: *Книга памяти Алтайского края*. Vol. 5; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/811867>.

**Memetov, Khalil** (variant: Karadarov, Kh.). Year of Birth: 1898. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Crimean Oblast, Yalta Rayon, village Derenoy. Social Origin: Peasant. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Sverdlovsk Oblast, town of Krasnouralsk, special ressetler. Occupation: Copper supply, tinker. Note: In 1944, he was resettled from Crimea to Sverdlovsk Oblast. Date of Arrest: October 14, 1946. Indictment: Art. 58-1a UK RSFSR (treason against the Motherland by citizens of the USSR). Deciding Body: [n.d.]. Date of Decision: [n.d.]. Verdict: Resolution of the Directorate of the MVD of Sverdlovsk Oblast of February 12, 1947, case dismissed. Release: RO of

the MVD of Sverdlovsk Oblast. Release: March 9, 1947. Source: GAAOSO, f. 1, op. 2, d. 22537.

**Metlitsky, Vasily Semyonovich.** Year of Birth: 1894. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Samara Oblast, village Markovo. Nationality: Gypsy man. Date of Arrest: December 22, 1937. Indictment: Art. 58-10; 58-11 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of Kuybyshev Oblast. Date of Decision: December 31, 1937. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: February 10, 1938, city of Kuybyshev. Rehabilitating Body: Prosecutor's Office of Kuybyshev Oblast. Date of Rehabilitation: July 26, 1989. Source: *Книга памяти Самарской области*. Vol. 20, Vol. 12 (Самара); *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1924705>.

**Migai, Dernts Bukurovich.** Year of Birth: 1907. Place of Birth: Romania, city of Bucharest. Nationality: Romanian Gypsy man. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence: Kazakh SSR, Zhambyl (Dzhambul) Oblast, city of Mirzoyan. Arrested: Mirzoyan RO of the NKVD. Date of Arrest: March 29, 1938. Indictment: Art. 58-6 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Troika of the NKVD of South Kazakhstan Oblast. Date of Decision: October 8, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Rehabilitating Body: Prosecutor's Office of Dzhambul Oblast. Reason for Rehabilitation: Decree of the PVS USSR of January 16, 1989. Date of Rehabilitation: May 30, 1989. Source: *Открытый список*, [https://ru.openlist.wiki/Мига́й\\_Дернц\\_Букурович\\_\(1907\)](https://ru.openlist.wiki/Мига́й_Дернц_Букурович_(1907)).

**Migai Ia Stoykako** (variants: Mihai, Pyotr Georgievich; Mikai, Pyotr Grigorievich; Petrov). Year of Birth: 1896. Place of Birth: Romania, city of Bucharest. Nationality: Romanian. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Moscow. Address: 5 Second Tserkovny lane. Occupation: Coppersmith in [factory] Red stamp. Date of Arrest: July 29, 1935. Indictment: Art. 58-10; 58-11 UK RSFSR, for participation in a counter-revolutionary group. Deciding Body: OSO at the NKVD. Date of Decision: October 15, 1935. Verdict: 3 years imprisonment. Arrived in the Ukhtpechlag: September 18, 1935. Release: January 15, 1939. Additional Information: Second Gypsy lawsuit in Moscow. Source: GARF, f. 10035, op. 2, d. 74091; *Книга памяти Республики Коми*. Vol. 9, Part 2; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/401424>.

**Migai le Ordianako** (variants: le Ristako; le Frantsesko; Rusto Hristo). Year of Birth: 1911. Place of Birth: Serbia. Social Origin: Artisan. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Moscow, 5 Razoryonova Street. Occupation: Coppersmith. Date of Arrest: 1935. Indictment: Art. 58-10; 58-11 UK RSFSR.

Deciding Body: OSO at the NKVD. Date of Decision: October 15, 1935. Verdict: [n.d.]. Additional Information: Second Gypsy lawsuit in Moscow. Source: GARF, f. 10035, op. 2, d. 74091.

**Mikityuk, Vasil Timofiyovich.** Year of Birth: 1885. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Cherkassy Oblast, village Leski. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: Ukrainian SSR, Vinnytsia Oblast, Kryzhopil Rayon, village Shumy. Date of Arrest: [n.d.]. Indictment: Art. 54-8 UK UkSSR. Deciding Body: Kryzhopil RV DPU, Vinnytsia Oblast. Date of Decision: July 4, 1933. Verdict: Case dismissed. Source: *Реабілітовані історією*, <http://www.reabit.org.ua/nbr/?ID=17866>.

**Milan, Konstantin Stepanovich.** Year of Birth: 1913. Place of Birth: Serbia. Nationality: Serbian. Education: Primary. Occupation: Artisan – coppersmith. Date of Arrest: April 9, 1938. Indictment: Art. 59-9 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: [n.d.]. Date of Decision: [n.d.]. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: October 3, 1938. Date of Rehabilitation: May 19, 1989. Source: *Книга памяти Республики Башкортостан*. Vol. 7; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/43856>.

**Milanov, Nikolay Dmitrievich.** Year of Birth: 1900. Place of Birth: Serbia, city of Belgrade. Nationality: Serbian. Education: Poorly literate. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Krasnoyarsk Krai, town of Achinsk. Occupation: Tinker in Krastorg restaurant. Date of Arrest: April 4, 1938. Indictment: Counter-revolutionary agitation, espionage. Deciding Body: Commission of the NKVD and the Prosecutor of the USSR. Date of Decision: September 2, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: September 26, 1938, in Krasnoyarsk. Rehabilitating Body: Prosecutor's Office of Krasnoyarsk Krai. Date of Rehabilitation: August 7, 1989. Source: *Книга памяти Красноярского края*. Vol. 5; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/961487>.

**Milord, Kombir Kombirovich.** Year of Birth: 1915. Place of Birth: Romania, city of Bucharest. Nationality: Gypsy man. Occupation: Without specific occupations. Arrested: Vyazma RO at the Directorate of the NKVD. Date of Arrest: July 20, 1938. Indictment: Art. 58-6; 58-9; 58-11 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of Smolensk Oblast. Date of Decision: October 2, 1938. Verdict: 10 years ITL. Additional Information: Gypsy lawsuit in Smolensk. Rehabilitating Body: VT of the Moscow VO. Date of Rehabilitation: August 30, 1956. Source: *Книга памяти Смоленской области*. Vol. 4; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2126766>.

**Mimedlaev, Izzet Dzhemilevich.** Year of Birth: 1925. Place of Birth: [USSR, RSFSR], city of Simferopol. Social Origin: Worker. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Lower secondary. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Crimean ASSR, city of Simferopol. Occupation: Red Army soldier of the 178th FZSP. Arrested: OSK SMERSH 178 FZSP. Date of Arrest: June 20, 1944. Indictment: Art. 58-1 UK RSFSR (Cooperation with punitive authorities during the occupation). Deciding Body: VT at the 4th Ukrainian Front. Date of Decision: June 23, 1944. Verdict: Penal servitude for 20 years. Rehabilitating Body: Military Collegium of the VS USSR. Date of Rehabilitation: November 28, 1956. Source: Омельчук, 2008; *Реабилитированные историей. Автономная Республика Крым*. Vol. 4; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/3066964>.

**Misyurin, Pyotr Prokofievich.** Year of Birth: 1912. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Aktyubinsk Oblast, city of Aktyubinsk. Nationality: Gypsy man. Arrested: Directorate of the NKVD of Aktyubinsk Oblast. Date of Arrest: May 11, 1942. Indictment: Art. 58-10 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: VT at the Moscow motorised division. Verdict: 6 years ITL. Rehabilitating Body: Main Prosecutor's Office of the Republic of Kazakhstan. Reason for Rehabilitation: Law of the Republic Kazakhstan of April 14, 1993. Date of Rehabilitation: June 29, 1998. Source: *Сведения Департамента КНБ Республики Казахстан по Актыобинской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2994563>.

**Mitkevich, Yevdokia Ivanovna** (variant: Mizhkevich, Yevdokia Ivanovna). Year of Birth: 1907. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Minsk Governorate. Nationality: Gypsy woman. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Kuybyshev. Date of Arrest: March 24, 1938. Indictment: Art. 58-6; 58-10 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Directorate of the NKVD of Kuybyshev Oblast. Date of Decision: December 19, 1938. Verdict: The case was dismissed for lack of corpus delicti. Source: *Книга памяти Самарской области*. Vol. 21, Vol. 20, Vol. 8, Vol. 3 (Самара); *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1924909>.

**Mitrushenko, Filimon Fyodorovich.** Year of Birth: 1882. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Bessarabia Governorate, city of Kishinev. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence and Work: Without a fixed place of work and residence. Date of Arrest: May 3, 1938. Indictment: Art. 54-6 UK UkSSR. Deciding Body: Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of Zhytomyr Oblast. Date of Decision: October 3, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: October 4, 1938, city of Zhytomyr. Additional Information: Gypsy

lawsuit in Zhytomyr. Date of Rehabilitation: 1989. Source: *Реабілітовані історією*, <http://www.reabit.org.ua/nbr/?ID=293447>.

**Mitrushenko, Grigory Filimonovich.** Year of Birth: 1922. Place of Birth: [USSR], Ukrainian SSR, Kyiv Oblast, village Chubintsy. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence and Work: Without a fixed place of work and residence. Date of Arrest: May 3, 1938. Indictment: Espionage. Deciding Body: Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of Zhytomyr Oblast. Date of Decision: October 3, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: October 4, 1938, city of Zhytomyr. Additional Information: Gypsy lawsuit in Zhytomyr. Date of Rehabilitation: 1989. Source: *Реабілітовані історією*, <http://www.reabit.org.ua/nbr/?ID=293446>.

**Mitrushenko, Ivan Fyodorovich.** Year of Birth: 1892. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Bessarabia Governorate. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence and Work: Without a fixed place of work and residence. Date of Arrest: May 28, 1938. Indictment: Art. 54-1a UK UkSSR. Deciding Body: Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of Zhytomyr Oblast. Date of Decision: October 3, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: October 4, 1938, city of Zhytomyr. Additional Information: Gypsy lawsuit in Zhytomyr. Date of Rehabilitation: 1989. Source: *Реабілітовані історією*, <http://www.reabit.org.ua/nbr/?ID=293443>.

**Mitrushenko, Kirilo Yakovich.** Year of Birth: 1887. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Kiev Governorate, Berdichev Uyezd, Kazatin Volost, mestechko Kazatin. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence and Work: Without a fixed place of work and residence. Date of Arrest: April 8, 1938. Indictment: Art. 54-1a UK UkSSR. Deciding Body: Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of Zhytomyr Oblast. Date of Decision: October 3, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: October 4, 1938, city of Zhytomyr. Additional Information: Gypsy lawsuit in Zhytomyr. Date of Rehabilitation: 1989. Source: *Реабілітовані історією*, <http://www.reabit.org.ua/nbr/?ID=293450>.

**Mitrushenko, Petro Yakovich.** Year of Birth: 1888. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Bessarabia Governorate, city of Kishinev. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence and Work: Without a fixed place of work and residence. Date of Arrest: April 12, 1938. Indictment: Art. 54-6 UK UkSSR. Deciding Body: Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of Zhytomyr Oblast. Date of Decision: October 4, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: October 5, 1938, city of Zhytomyr. Additional Information: Gypsy

lawsuit in Zhytomyr. Date of Rehabilitation: 1989. Source: *Реабілітовані історією*, <http://www.reabit.org.ua/nbr/?ID=293711>.

**Mihai, Afanasy.** Year of Birth: 1904. Place of Birth: Romania, city of Bucharest. Nationality: Romanian. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Chelyabinsk Oblast, Kopeysk Rayon, urban-type settlement Potanino. Occupation: Cauldron maker. Date of Arrest: March 8, 1938. Indictment: Art. 58-6; 58-11 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of Chelyabinsk Oblast. Date of Decision: September 25, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: October 12, 1938. Additional Information: Gypsy lawsuit in Potanino. Rehabilitating Body: Prosecutor's Office of Chelyabinsk Oblast. Date of Rehabilitation: July 17, 1989. Source: *Книга памяти Челябинской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2517185>.

**Mihai, Alexey Afonasievich** (variant patronymic: Afanasievich). Year of Birth: 1919. Place of Birth: [USSR, RSFSR], Moscow Oblast, town of Mytishchi. Social Origin: Artisan. Nationality: Serbian. Education: Poorly literate. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Sverdlovsk Oblast, town of Nadezhdinsk, [urban-type settlement] Stary poselok. Occupation: Artisan – tinker, without a fixed place of work. Date of Arrest: January 14, 1938. Indictment: Art. 58-6 (espionage), 58-9 (sabotage), 58-11 (counter-revolutionary organisation) UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of Sverdlovsk Oblast. Date of Decision: March 14, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: March 20, 1938. Additional Information: Gypsy lawsuit in Nadezhdinsk. Rehabilitating Body: Presidium of the Sverdlovsk OS. Date of Rehabilitation: December 24, 1969. Source: GAAOSO, f. 1, op. 2, d. 35302; *Книга памяти Свердловской области*. Vol. 5; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2083031>.

**Mihai, Alexey Mikhailovich** (variant: Simbinko, Alyosha). Year of Birth: 1912. Place of Birth: Serbia, city of Belgrade. Nationality: Gypsy man. Occupation: Without a fixed place of residence, without a fixed place of work. Arrested: UGB at the Directorate of the NKVD Smolensk Oblast. Date of Arrest: February 27, 1938. Indictment: Art. 58-6; 58-10; 58-11 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of Smolensk Oblast. Date of Decision: March 25, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: May 15, 1938. Additional Information: Gypsy lawsuit in Smolensk. Rehabilitating Body: Prosecutor's Office of Smolensk Oblast. Date of Rehabilitation: May 10, 1989. Source: *Книга памяти Смоленской области*. Vol. 1; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2126945>.

**Mihai, Alexey Ristovich.** Year of Birth: 1919. Place of Birth: Romania, town of Fontan. Nationality: Romanian. Education: Self-taught. Place of Residence: Tajik SSR, Stalinabad Oblast, Ordzhonikidzebad Rayon. Occupation: Cauldron maker. Deciding Body: Ordzhonikidzebad RVK. Date of Decision: December 26, 1942. Verdict: Mobilised in the Labour Army. Demobilised: July 25, 1946, deregistered as a Finn. Source: *Gedenkbuch. Книга Памяти немцев-трудармейцев ИТЛ Бакалстрой-Челябметаллургстрой. 1942–1946; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2543508>.

**Mihai, Badya Nikolaevich** [King Chula's brother]. Year and Place of Birth: [n.d.]. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Moscow. Nationality: Gypsy man. Date of Arrest: 1932. Indictment: [n.d.]. Deciding Body: Commission of the OGPU. Date of Decision: February 9, 1933. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: [n.d.]. Additional Information: First Gypsy lawsuit in Moscow, Part 1. Source: GARF, f. 10035, op. 2, d. 74091.

**Mihai, Bazy Ivanovich.** Year of Birth: 1919. Place of Birth: [USSR, RSFSR], Kalinin Oblast, city of Kalinin. Nationality: Romanian. Education: Poorly literate. Place of Residence: Tajik SSR, Stalinabad Oblast, Ordzhonikidzebad Rayon. Occupation: Cauldron maker, tinker. Deciding Body: Ordzhonikidzebad RVK. Date of Decision: December 26, 1943. Verdict: Mobilised in the Labour Army. Demobilised: August 20, 1946, deregistered as a Finn. Source: *Gedenkbuch: Книга Памяти немцев-трудармейцев ИТЛ Бакалстрой-Челябметаллургстрой. 1942–1946; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2543509>.

**Mihai, Bratyam Bukurovich.** Year of Birth: 1917. Place of Birth: Serbia, city of Belgrade. Nationality: Romanian. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence: Tajik SSR, Stalinabad Oblast, city of Ordzhonikidzeabad. Occupation: Tinker. Deciding Body: Ordzhonikidzebad RVK. Date of Decision: December 26, 1942. Verdict: Mobilised in the Labour Army. Demobilised: July 25, 1946, deregistered as a Finn. Source: *Gedenkbuch. Книга Памяти немцев-трудармейцев ИТЛ Бакалстрой-Челябметаллургстрой. 1942–1946; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2543510>.

**Mihai, Bratyam Georgievich.** Year of Birth: 1912. Place of Birth: [n.d.]. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Moscow. Address: 10 Aviatsionny lane. Occupation: Tinker, Gypsy artel *Румынский иностранец* [Romanian foreigner]. Date of Arrest: 1935. Indictment: [n.d.]. Deciding Body: [OSO at the NKVD]. Date of Decision: [n.d.]. Verdict: [n.d.]. Additional Information: Second Gypsy lawsuit

in Moscow. Source: *Московская правда*, Archival file No. 13012; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2667483>.

**Mihai, Bukur.** Year of Birth: 1916. Place of Birth: Romania, city of Bucharest. Nationality: Romanian. Occupation: didn't work. Arrested: Vyazma RO at the Directorate of the NKVD. Date of Arrest: July 28, 1938. Indictment: Art. 58-6; 58-9; 58-11 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of Smolensk Oblast. Date of Decision: October 2, 1938. Verdict: 10 years ITL. Additional Information: Gypsy lawsuit in Smolensk. Rehabilitating Body: VT of the Moscow VO. Date of Rehabilitation: August 30, 1956. Source: *Книга памяти Смоленской области*. Vol. 4; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2126946>.

**Mihai, Derdi Jankovich** (variants: Stanesku, Drilla). Year of Birth: 1897. Place of Birth: Romania, city of Bucharest. Nationality: Romanian Gypsy man. Education: Poorly literate. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Moscow. Occupation: Tinker. Date of Arrest: 1932. Indictment: Art. 58-8; 58-10; 58-11 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Commission of the OGPU. Date of Decision: June 9, 1933. Verdict: 10 years ITL. Additional Information: First Gypsy lawsuit in Moscow, Part 2. Place of Residence: STON. Occupation: Prisoner. Indictment: [n.d.]. Deciding Body: Special Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of Leningrad Oblast. Date of Decision: November 25, 1937. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: December 8, 1937, city of Leningrad. Source: Архив НИЦ "Мемориал" (Санкт-Петербург); *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2929236>.

**Mihai, Drilla Dmitrievich** (variant patronymic: Dmitrovich). Year of Birth: 1894. Place of Birth: Romania, town of Furgman [?]. Nationality: Romanian. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Moscow. Occupation: Coppersmith and cauldron maker, worked as a foreman and supplier in the artel *Krasny zabaikalets* (Red Transbaikalian). Date of Arrest: April 22, 1932. Indictment: Art. 58-8; 58-10; 58-11; 59-12; 118; 129; 142-2 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Commission of the OGPU. Date of Decision: June 9, 1933. Verdict: 10 years ITL with confiscation of taken property. Additional Information: First Gypsy lawsuit in Moscow, Part 2. By the Decision of the Presidium of TsIK SSSR on January 17, 1937, the term was reduced to 8 years. Place of Residence: STON. Occupation: Prisoner. Indictment: [n.d.]. Deciding Body: Special Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of Leningrad Oblast. Date of Decision: November 25, 1937. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: December 8, 1937, city of Leningrad. No information about rehabilitation. Source: Архив



НИЦ “Мемориал” (Санкт-Петербург); *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2929237>.

**Mihai, Eduard Ignatievich.** Year of Birth: 1907. Place of Birth: Romania, city of Brăila. Nationality: Romanian. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence: Kazakh SSR, Guryev Oblast, city of Guryev. Occupation: Driver. Arrested: Guryev Okrug section of the NKVD. Date of Arrest: August 31, 1937. Indictment: Art. 58-6; 58-11 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: NKVD. Date of Decision: January 8, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Rehabilitating Body: Military Prosecutor's Office of the Central Asian VO. Reason for Rehabilitation: Decree of the PVS USSR of January 16, 1989. Date of Rehabilitation: June 26, 1988. Source: *Сведения Департамента КНБ Республики Казахстан по Атырауской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2994642>.

**Mihai, Fyodor Kuzmich.** Year of Birth: 1936. Place of Birth: [Romania], Moldavian SSR, Bratushany Rayon, village Gorodishche. Place of Residence: Moldavian SSR, Bratushany Rayon, village Gorodishche. Indictment: [n.d.]. Deciding Body: [n.d.]. Date of Decision: 1949. Verdict: [n.d.]. Source: УВД Читинской области; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2612100>.

**Mihai, Georgy Ivanovich.** Year of Birth: 1918. Place of Birth: [USSR], RSFSR, settlement unknown. Social Origin: Gypsy nomad. Nationality: Serbian. Education: Poorly literate. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Sverdlovsk Oblast, town of Nadezhdinsk, [urban-type settlement] Stary poselok. Occupation: Tinker, without a fixed place of work. Date of Arrest: March 9, 1938. Indictment: Art. 58-6 UK RSFSR (espionage). Verdict: Decision of Directorate of the NKVD of Sverdlovsk Oblast of December 26, 1938, case dismissed. Additional Information: Gypsy lawsuit in Nadezhdinsk. Source: GAAOSO, f. 1, op. 2, d. 5987.

**Mihai, Georgy Nikolaevich (Ditsa).** Year and Place of Birth: [n.d.]. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Moscow. Date of Arrest: 1935. Indictment: [n.d.]. Deciding Body: [OSO at the NKVD]. Date of Decision: [n.d.]. Verdict: [n.d.]. Additional Information: Second Gypsy lawsuit in Moscow. Source: GDASBUR, f. 4 (P), spr. 17664 (quoted by Жив'юк, 2021; Zhyvyuk, 2023).

**Mihai, Grigory Yakovlevich.** Year of Birth: 1902. Place of Birth: Romania, city of Bucharest. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Illiterate. Place of

Residence and Work: In 1938 convicted as an SOE prisoner, Norillag. Date of Arrest: November 23, 1941. Indictment: Art. 58-2; 58-11 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: OSO at the NKVD. Date of Decision: January 31, 1942. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: February 24, 1942, city of Norilsk. Rehabilitating Body: Krasnoyarsk Krai's Court. Date of Rehabilitation: November 24, 1956. Comment: In frames of the Kordubailo, V.D. case (57 people). Source: *Книга памяти Красноярского края*. Vol. 5; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/961770>.

**Mihai, Ilya** (variants: Mihai, Ivan; Ristako, Ilya). Year of Birth: 1897. Place of Birth: Serbia. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: Without a fixed place of residence. Occupation: Without a fixed place of work. Arrested: UGB at the Directorate of the NKVD of Smolensk Oblast. Date of Arrest: February 27, 1938. Indictment: Art. 58-6; 58-10; 169-2 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of Smolensk Oblast. Date of Decision: March 25, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: May 1938. Additional Information: Gypsy lawsuit in Smolensk. Date of Rehabilitation: May 10, 1989. Source: AUFSBSO, f. 1, op. 1, d. 24047-c.

**Mihai, Ilya Dmitrievich**. Year and Place of Birth: [n.d.]. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Moscow. Date of Arrest: 1932. Indictment: Art. 129; 17/142, part 2 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Commission of the OGPU. Date of Decision: June 9, 1933. Verdict: [n.d.]. Additional Information: First Gypsy lawsuit in Moscow, Part 2. Source: GARF, f. P 1235, op. 123, d. 27.

**Mihai, Ivan**. Year of Birth: 1897. Place of Birth: Serbia, city of Belgrade. Nationality: Gypsy man. Occupation: Without a fixed place of work. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Smolensk Oblast, town of Yartsevo. Arrested: UGB at the Directorate of the NKVD of Smolensk Oblast. Date of Arrest: February 27, 1938. Indictment: Art. 58-6; 58-10; 58-11 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of Smolensk Oblast. Date of Decision: March 25, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: May 22, 1938. Additional Information: Gypsy lawsuit in Smolensk. Rehabilitating Body: Prosecutor's Office of Smolensk Oblast. Date of Rehabilitation: May 10, 1989. Source: *Книга памяти Смоленской области*. Vol. 1; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2126947>.

**Mihai, Ivan Dmitrievich** (variants: la Zhungalesko [in the original written as Lazhunga Lesko]; Ivan-Nateriko la Zhungalesko; Natoriko la Zhungalesko). Year of Birth: 1899. Place of Birth: Romania, city of Focșani. Nationality:

Romanian Gypsy man. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Moscow. Occupation: Coppersmith. Date of Arrest: 1935. Indictment: Counter-revolutionary agitation. Deciding Body: OSO at the NKVD. Date of Decision: June 4, 1935. Verdict: 5 years ITL. Additional Information: Second Gypsy lawsuit in Moscow. Place of Residence: STON. Occupation: prisoner. Indictment: [n.d.]. Deciding Body: Special Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of Leningrad Oblast. Date of Decision: November 25, 1937. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: December 8, 1937, city of Leningrad. No information about rehabilitation. Source: Архив НИЦ “Мемориал” (Санкт-Петербург); *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2929239>.

**Mihai, Ivan Georgievich** (variant: Gogo Iovasko). Year of Birth: 1888. Place of Birth: Romania, city of Bucharest. Nationality: Romanian. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Moscow. Date of Arrest: October 1, 1932. Indictment: Art. 58-6; 58-8; 58-10; 58-11; 59-12 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Commission of the OGPU. Date of Decision: February 9, 1933. Verdict: 10 years imprisonment. Arrived in the Ukhtpechlag: September 22, 1936, from the Karlag. Died in place of detention: May 13, 1941. Additional Information: First Gypsy lawsuit in Moscow, Part 1. Source: *Книга памяти Республики Коми*. Vol. 9, Part 1; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/401423>.

**Mihai, Ivan Georgievich** (variant: Bulasko Balo-Balisho). Year of Birth: 1910. Place of Birth: Romania, city of Bucharest. Nationality: Romanian. Education: Literate. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Moscow. Occupation: Worker. Date of Arrest: 1932. Indictment: Art. 58-8; 58-10; 58-11 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Commission of the OGPU. Date of Decision: February 9, 1933. Verdict: 10 years ITL. Additional Information: First Gypsy lawsuit in Moscow, Part 1. Decision of the Presidium of the TsIK SSSR, the term was reduced to 8 years ITL. Place of Residence: STON. Occupation: Prisoner. Indictment: [n.d.]. Deciding Body: Special Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of Leningrad Oblast. Date of Decision: November 25, 1937. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: December 8, 1937, city of Leningrad. No information about rehabilitation. Source: Архив НИЦ “Мемориа” (Санкт-Петербург); *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2929238>.

**Mihai, Ivan Kuzmich**. Year of Birth: 1934. Place of Birth: [Romania], Moldavian SSR, Bratushani Rayon, village Gorodishhte. Place of Residence: Moldavian SSR, Bratushani Rayon, village Gorodishche. Indictment: [n.d.]. Deciding Body: [n.d.]. Date of Decision: 1949. Verdict: [n.d.]. Source: УВД Читинской

области; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2612099>.

**Mihai, Ivan Latsovich** (variants: Stanesko, I. L.; Stanesko-Mihai, I. L; Mihai-Stanesko, I. L). Year of Birth: 1911. Place of Birth: [n.d.]. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Moscow. Address: 10 Third Svobodnaya Street. Occupation: Tinker, *Greko-Rumynskaya* (Greek-Romanian) Gypsy artel. Date of Arrest: 1935. Indictment: [n.d.]. Deciding Body: [OSO at the NKVD]. Date of Decision: [n.d.]. Verdict: [n.d.]. Additional Information: Second Gypsy lawsuit in Moscow. Source: *Московская правда*, Archival files No.No. 13012, П 79135; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2667513>.

**Mihai, Ivan Nikolaevich**. Year and Place of Birth: [n.d.]. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Moscow. Date of Arrest: 1932. Indictment: Art. 118; 129; 142-2 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Commission of the OGPU. Date of Decision: June 9, 1933. Verdict: [n.d.]. Additional Information: First Gypsy lawsuit in Moscow, Part 2. Source: GARF, f. P 1235, op. 123, d. 27.

**Mihai, Ivan Rusalimovich** (variants: Bukuro la Nyamtosko; Mihai, Ivan Rusalimych). Year of Birth: 1892 (variant: 1899). Place of Birth: Romania, city of Focşani. Note: In 1916, he came to Russia and wandered around various cities. Social Origin: Gypsy nomad. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Moscow. Address: Marina Roshcha district, 21 Sixth alleyway. Occupation: Tinker. Date of Arrest: 1932. Indictment: Art. 58-8; 58-10; 58-11 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Commission of the OGPU. Date of Decision: February 9, 1933. Verdict: 10 years ITL. Additional Information: First Gypsy lawsuit in Moscow, Part 1. Note: Escaped from the camp and lived under fictitious documents in the name of Toma Mihai. Date of Arrest: August 27, 1933. Indictment: Art. 82, 72 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Troika at the PP OGPU of Moscow Oblast. Date of Decision: September 10, 1933. Verdict: 10 years ITL. Rehabilitating Body: Prosecutor's Office of the USSR. Date of Rehabilitation: May 4, 1989. Source: GARF, f. 10035, op. 2, d. 74091; *Московская правда*. Archival file No. 30157 (1933); *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2667484>.

**Mihai, Ivan-Yarko**. Year of Birth: 1900. Place of Birth: Serbia, city of Belgrade. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Smolensk Oblast, town of Yartsevo. Occupation: Without a fixed place of work. Arrested: UGB at the Directorate of the NKVD of Smolensk Oblast. Date of Arrest: February 27, 1938. Indictment: Art. 58-10; 58-11 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Troika at the

Directorate of the NKVD of Smolensk Oblast. Date of Decision: March 25, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: May 15, 1938. Additional Information: Gypsy lawsuit in Smolensk. Rehabilitating Body: Prosecutor's Office of Smolensk Oblast. Date of Rehabilitation: May 10, 1989. Source: *Книга памяти Смоленской области*. Vol. 1; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2126948>.

**Mihai, Loiza Ivanovich.** Year of Birth: 1900. Place of Birth: Romania, city of Bucharest. Citizenship: Romania. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Poorly literate. Place of Residence: RSFSR, [Kuybyshev Oblast], Koldyban Rayon, village Dubovka. Occupation: Tinker. Deciding Body: Koldyban RVK. Date of Decision: November 9, 1942. Verdict: Mobilised in the Labour Army. Demobilised: November 21, 1943, escaped. Source: *Gedenkbuch. Книга Памяти немцев-трудармейцев ИТЛ Бакалстрой-Челябметаллургстрой. 1942–1946; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2543511>.

**Mihai, Milan Gratsevich.** Year of Birth: 1893. Place of Birth: Serbia, town of Dovgrad. Nationality: Serbian. Education: Home-based. Place of Residence: Tajik SSR, Stalinabad Oblast, Ordzhonikidzeabad Rayon. Occupation: Tinsmith. Deciding Body: Ordzhonikidzeabad RVK. Date of Decision: December 26, 1942. Verdict: Mobilised in the Labour Army. Demobilised: October 5, 1946, town of Kyshtym. Source: *Gedenkbuch: Книга Памяти немцев-трудармейцев ИТЛ Бакалстрой-Челябметаллургстрой. 1942–1946; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2543512>.

**Mihai, Petro.** Year and Place of Birth: [n.d.]. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Moscow. Date of Arrest: 1932. Indictment: Art. 17/142, part 2 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Commission of the OGPU. Date of Decision: June 9, 1933. Verdict: [n.d.]. Additional Information: First Gypsy lawsuit in Moscow, Part 2. Source: GARF, f. P 1235, op. 123, d. 27.

**Mihai, Rista** (variant: Mikoi, Rista). Year of Birth: 1902. Place of Birth: Serbia, city of Belgrade. Social Origin: Artisan. Nationality: Serbian. Education: Poorly literate. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Sverdlovsk Oblast, town of Nadezhdinsk, special settlement 6th line. Occupation: Without a permanent place of work. Date of Arrest: March 9, 1938. Indictment: Art. 58-6 UK RSFSR (espionage). Verdict: Decision of Directorate of the NKVD of Sverdlovsk Oblast of December 27, 1938, case dismissed. Release: RO of the UGB at the Directorate

of the NKVD of Sverdlovsk Oblast. Additional Information: Gypsy lawsuit in Nadezhdinsk. Source: GAAOSO, f. 1, op. 2, d. 6043.

**Mihai, Rista Derdi** (variant: Toma le Mardyulako). Year of Birth: 1876. Place of Birth: Romania, city of Bacău. Nationality: Romanian. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Moscow. Occupation: Worker-coppersmith. Date of Arrest: 1932. Indictment: Art. 58-8; 58-10; 58-11 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Commission of the OGPU. Date of Decision: February 9, 1933. Verdict: 10 years ITL. Additional Information: First Gypsy lawsuit in Moscow, Part 1. Place of Residence: STON. Occupation: Prisoner. Indictment: [n.d.]. Deciding Body: Special Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of Leningrad Oblast. Date of Decision: November 25, 1937. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: December 8, 1937, city of Leningrad. No information about rehabilitation. Source: Архив НИЦ “Мемориал” (Санкт-Петербург); *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2929240>.

**Mihai, Rista Dmitrievich**. Year and Place of Birth: [n.d.]. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Moscow. Date of Arrest: 1932. Indictment: Art. 129, 17/142, part 2 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Commission of the OGPU. Date of Decision: June 9, 1933. Verdict: [n.d.]. Additional Information: First Gypsy lawsuit in Moscow, Part 2. Source: GARF, f. P 1235, op. 123, d. 27.

**Mihai, Rista Ivanovich**. Year of Birth: 1910. Place of Birth: Romania, city of Bucharest. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Smolensk Oblast, town of Vyazma. Occupation: Without specific occupations. Arrested: Vyazma RO at the Directorate of the NKVD. Date of Arrest: July 20, 1938. Indictment: Art. 58-6; 58-9; 58-11 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of Smolensk Oblast. Date of Decision: October 2, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: October 2, 1938. Additional Information: Gypsy lawsuit in Smolensk. Date of Rehabilitation: September 30, 1956. Source: *Книга памяти Смоленской области*. Vol. 1; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2126949>.

**Mihai, Rista Nikolaevich** [King Chula's brother]. Year and Place of Birth: [n.d.]. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Moscow. Nationality: Gypsy man. Date of Arrest: 1932. Indictment: [n.d.]. Deciding Body: Commission of the OGPU. Date of Decision: February 9, 1933. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: [n.d.]. Additional Information: First Gypsy lawsuit in Moscow, Part 1. Source: GARF, f. 10035, op. 2, d. 74091.

**Mihai, Savva** (variant: Madoki). Year and Place of Birth: [n.d.]. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Moscow. Date of Arrest: 1932. Indictment: [n.d.]. Deciding Body: Commission of the OGPU. Date of Decision: February 9, 1933. Verdict: [n.d.]. Additional Information: First Gypsy lawsuit in Moscow, Part 1. Source: GDASBUR, f. 4 (P), spr. 17664 (quoted by Жив'юк, 2021; Zhyvyuk, 2023).

**Mihai, Stepan Nikolaevich**. Year of Birth: 1912. Place of Birth: Serbia, city of Belgrade. Nationality: Romanian. Education: Poorly literate. Place of Residence: Tajik SSR, Stalinabad Oblast, Ordzhonikidzeabad Rayon. Occupation: Coppersmith, tinsmith. Deciding Body: Ordzhonikidzeabad RVK. Date of Decision: December 26, 1943. Verdict: Mobilised in the Labour Army. Demobilised: January 24, 1944, escaped. Source: *Gedenkbuch. Книга Памяти немцев-трудармейцев ИТЛ Бакалстрой-Челябметаллургстрой. 1942–1946; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2543513>.

**Mihai, Tamara Izotovna**. Year of Birth: 1905. Place of Birth: Serbia, city of Belgrade. Nationality: Gypsy woman. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Leningrad. Date of Arrest: April 15, 1934. Indictment: Art. 58-6 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Troika at the PP OGPU of Leningrad Oblast. Date of Decision: April 29, 1934. Verdict: 5 years imprisonment. Arrived in the Vorkuta branch of the Ukhtpechlag: January 11, 1938. Release: May 8, 1939. Source: *Книга памяти Республики Коми*. Vol. 8, Part 1; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/401425>.

**Mihai, Tanas Georgievich**. Year and Place of Birth: [n.d.]. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Sverdlovsk Oblast, town of Nadezhdinsk. Indictment: Art. 58-6 UK RSFSR (espionage). Deciding Body: [n.d.]. Date of Decision: [n.d.]. Verdict: [n.d.]. Additional Information: Gypsy lawsuit in Nadezhdinsk. Source: GAAOSO, f. 1, op. 2, d. 51219.

**Mihai, Toma Georgievich** (Epo le Chukurosko). Year and Place of Birth: [n.d.]. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Moscow. Date of Arrest: 1938. Indictment: [n.d.]. Deciding Body: [n.d.]. Date of Decision: [n.d.]. Verdict: [n.d.]. Source: GDASBUR, f. 4 (P), spr. 17664 (quoted by Жив'юк, 2021; Zhyvyuk, 2023).

**Mihai, Toma Ristovich** (variant: la Zinkako, Toma Ristovich). Year of Birth: 1909. Place of Birth: Romania, city of Focşani. Nationality: Romanian Gypsy

man. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Moscow. Occupation: Coppersmith-tinker in artel *Yugoslavets* (Yugoslavian). Date of Arrest: 1935. Indictment: Counter-revolutionary agitation. Deciding Body: OSO at the NKVD. Date of Decision: June 4, 1935. Verdict: 5 years ITL. Additional Information: Second Gypsy lawsuit in Moscow. Place of Residence: STON. Occupation: Prisoner. Date of Arrest: 1937. Indictment: [n.d.]. Deciding Body: Special Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of Leningrad Oblast. Date of Decision: November 25, 1937. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: December 8, 1937, city of Leningrad. No information about rehabilitation. Source: Архив НИЦ “Мемориал” (Санкт-Петербург); *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2929241>.

**Mihai, Toma Yankovich** (variant: Toma Ia Yankosko). Year of Birth: 1891. Place of Birth: Romania, city of Focșani. Nationality: Romanian Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Moscow. Occupation: Coppersmith in Artel. Date of Arrest: 1935. Indictment: Counter-revolutionary agitation. Deciding Body: OSO at the NKVD. Date of Decision: June 1, 1935. Verdict: 5 years ITL. Additional Information: Second Gypsy lawsuit in Moscow. Place of Residence: STON. Occupation: Prisoner. Date of Arrest: 1937. Indictment: [n.d.]. Deciding Body: Special Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of Leningrad Oblast. Date of Decision: November 25, 1937. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: December 8, 1937, city of Leningrad. No information about rehabilitation. Source: Архив НИЦ “Мемориал” (Санкт-Петербург); *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2929242>.

**Mihai, Tomi Ionovich**. Year of Birth: 1912. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], city of Kiev. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Leningrad. Date of Arrest: April 15, 1934. Indictment: Art. 58-6 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Commission of the OGPU. Date of Decision: April 20, 1934. Verdict: 10 years imprisonment. Arrived in the Vorkuta branch of the Ukhtpechlag: January 11, 1938. Release: October 7, 1944. Source: *Книга памяти Республики Коми*. Vol. 8, Part 1; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/401426>.

**Mihai, Tomma Nikolaevich** (variant: Tomma Babako) [King Chula's brother]. Year and Place of Birth: [n.d.]. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Moscow. Nationality: Gypsy man. Date of Arrest: 1932. Indictment: [n.d.]. Deciding Body: Commission of the OGPU. Date of Decision: February 9, 1933. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: [n.d.]. Additional Information: First Gypsy lawsuit in Moscow, Part 1. Source: GARF, f. 10035, op. 2, d. 74091; GDASBUR, f. 4 (P), spr. 17664 (quoted by Жив'юк, 2021; Zhyvyuk, 2023).



**Mihai, Tomma Nikolaevich** (variant: Gogo le Balashesko). Year of Birth: 1893. Place of Birth: Romania. Nationality: Romanian. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Moscow. Occupation: Coppersmith-tinker. Date of Arrest: 1932. Indictment: Art. 58-10; 58-11 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Commission of the OGPU. Date of Decision: June 9, 1933. Verdict: 10 years ITL. Additional Information: First Gypsy lawsuit in Moscow, Part 2. By the Decision of the Presidium of TsIK SSSR of July 27, 1936, the term was reduced to 7 years ITL. Place of Residence: STON. Occupation: prisoner. Indictment: Art. 58-8; 58-11 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Special Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of Leningrad Oblast. Date of Decision: November 25, 1937. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: December 8, 1937. Place of Burial: city of Leningrad. Source: Архив НИЦ “Мемориал” (Санкт-Петербург); *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2929235>.

**Mihai, Vasily Grigorievich**. Year of Birth: 1911. Place of Birth: Romania, city of Bucharest. Nationality: Romanian. Education: Literate. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Chelyabinsk Oblast, Kopeysk Rayon, urban-type settlement Potanino. Occupation: Cauldron maker, artel of Cauldron makers. Date of Arrest: March 8, 1938. Indictment: Art. 58-6; 58-11 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of Chelyabinsk Oblast. Date of Decision: September 25, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: October 12, 1938. Additional Information: Gypsy lawsuit in Potanino. Rehabilitating Body: Prosecutor's Office of Chelyabinsk Oblast. Date of Rehabilitation: July 17, 1989. Source: *Книга памяти Челябинской области*; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2517186>.

**Mihai, Vasily Nikolaevich** [King Chula's brother]. Year and Place of Birth: [n.d.]. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Moscow. Nationality: Gypsy man. Date of Arrest: 1932. Indictment: [n.d.]. Deciding Body: Commission of the OGPU. Date of Decision: February 9, 1933. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: [n.d.]. Additional Information: First Gypsy lawsuit in Moscow, Part 1. Source: GARF, f. 10035, op. 2, d. 74091.

**Mihai, Vasily Petrovich** (variant: Toma le Mitasko). Year of Birth: 1889. Place of Birth: Romania, city of Bucharest. Nationality: Romanian. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Moscow. Occupation: Coppersmith-tinker in artel Metropromsoyuz. Date of Arrest: 1932. Indictment: Art. 58-8; 58-10; 58-11 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Commission of the OGPU. Date of Decision: February 9, 1933. Verdict: 10 years ITL. Additional Information: First Gypsy lawsuit in Moscow, Part 1. By the Decision of the Presidium of the VTsIK SSSR

(Protocol No. 22/60 of July 27, 1936), the term was reduced to 8 years ITL. Place of Residence: STON. Occupation: prisoner. Indictment: [n.d.]. Deciding Body: Special Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of Leningrad Oblast. Date of Decision: November 25, 1937. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: December 8, 1937, city of Leningrad. No information about rehabilitation. Source: Архив НИЦ “Мемориал” (Санкт-Петербург); *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2929233>.

**Mihai, Vishan Dmitrievich.** Year of Birth: 1903. Place of Birth: Romania, town of Bukhtley-Maria [?]. Nationality: Romanian. Education: Literate. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Moscow. Occupation: coppersmith. Date of Arrest: 1932. Indictment: Art. 58-8; 58-10; 58-11 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Commission of the OGPU. Date of Decision: February 9, 1933. Verdict: 5 years ITL. Additional Information: First Gypsy lawsuit in Moscow, Part 1. Place of Residence: STON. Work: prisoner. Indictment: [n.d.]. Deciding Body: Special Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of Leningrad Oblast. Date of Decision: November 25, 1937. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: December 8, 1937, city of Leningrad. No information about rehabilitation. Source: Архив НИЦ “Мемориал” (Санкт-Петербург); *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2929234>.

**Mihai, Vladimir Afanasyevich.** Year of Birth: 1920. Place of Birth: Romania, city of Bucharest. Nationality: Romanian. Education: Literate. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Chelyabinsk Oblast, Kopeysk Rayon, urban-type settlement Potanino. Occupation: Cauldron maker and tinker, Artel of cauldron makers. Date of Arrest: March 8, 1938. Indictment: Art. 58-6; 58-11 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of Chelyabinsk Oblast. Date of Decision: October 5, 1938. Verdict: 10 years ITL. Additional Information: Gypsy lawsuit in Potanino. Rehabilitating Body: Prosecutor’s Office of Chelyabinsk Oblast. Date of Rehabilitation: June 17, 1989. Source: *Книга памяти Челябинской области*; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2517187>.

**Mihai, Yan Alexandrovich** (variant: Polshevano, Yeno). Year of Birth: 1901. Place of Birth: Romania, city of Bucharest. Nationality: Romanian. Education: Poorly literate. Place of Residence: Ukrainian SSR, Zaporizhzhia Oblast, Novomykolaivka Rayon, town of Novomykolaivka. Occupation: Coppersmith, kolkhoz *Novyi shlyakh* (New Way). Date of Arrest: February 27, 1938. Indictment: Polish intelligence agent. Deciding Body: Special Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD Dnipropetrovsk Oblast. Date of Decision: October 15, 1938. Verdict:

VMN. Date and Place of Execution: November 29, 1938. Place of Burial: Ukrainian SSR, city of Zaporizhzhia. Date of Rehabilitation: 1990. Source: *Реабілітовані історию*, <http://www.reabit.org.ua/nbr/?ID=321684>.

**Mihai, Yegor Nikolaevich** [King Chula]. Year and Place of Birth: [n.d.]. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Moscow. Nationality: Gypsy man. Date of Arrest: March 4, 1932. Indictment: Art. 118; 129; 142-2 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Commission of the OGPU. Date of Decision: February 9, 1933; June 9, 1933. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: [n.d.]. Additional Information: First Gypsy lawsuit in Moscow, Part 1 & 2. Source: GARF, f. 10035, op. 2, d. 74091; GDASBUR, f. 4 (P), spr. 17664 (quoted by Жив'юк, 2021; Zhyvyuk, 2023).

**Mihai, Yelizaveta Fistovna**. Year of Birth: 1879. Place of Birth: Serbia, city of Belgrade. Nationality: Gypsy woman. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Leningrad. Date of Arrest: April 15, 1934. Indictment: Art. 58-6 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Troika at the PP OGPU of Leningrad Oblast. Date of Decision: April 21, 1934. Verdict: 5 years imprisonment. Arrived in the Vorkuta branch of the Ukhtpechlag: May 1, 1934. Release: April 15, 1939. Source: *Книга памяти Республики Коми*. Vol. 8, Part 1; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/401422>.

**Mihai, Yury Dmitrievich**. Year of Birth: 1887. Place of Birth: Romania, city of Bucharest. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Smolensk Oblast, town of Vyazma. Occupation: Without specific occupations. Arrested: Vyazma RO at the Directorate of the NKVD. Date of Arrest: July 20, 1938. Indictment: Art. 58-6; 58-9; 58-11 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of Smolensk Oblast. Date of Decision: October 2, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: October 2, 1938. Additional Information: Gypsy lawsuit in Smolensk. Rehabilitating Body: VT of the Moscow VO. Date of Rehabilitation: August 30, 1956. Source: *Книга памяти Смоленской области*. Vol. 1; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2126950>.

**Mikhailin, Kuzma Ivanovich**. Year and Place of Birth: [n.d.]. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Moscow. Date of Arrest: 1932. Indictment: Art. 142-2 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Commission of the OGPU. Date of Decision: June 9, 1933. Verdict: [n.d.]. Additional Information: First Gypsy lawsuit in Moscow, Part 2. Source: GARF, f. P 1235, op. 123, d. 27.

**Mikhailov, Yegor Kalistratovich.** Year of Birth: 1922. Place of Birth: [USSR, RSFSR], Moscow Oblast, village Krutino. Social Origin: Worker. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Primary. Place of Residence and Work: 16th ITK, prisoner. Note: from August 9, 1941, served in the Red Army; October 19, 1941, captured; October 20, 1941, escaped; in 1941 convicted under Art. 58-1 UK RSFSR (7 years imprisonment). Place of Residence: RSFSR, Sverdlovsk Oblast, Ivdellag. Date of Arrest: June 12, 1942. Indictment: Art. 58-14 UK RSFSR (counter-revolutionary sabotage). Date of Death: August 7, 1942. Case dismissed due to death of the accused by determination of the Criminal Cases Jury of the Sverdlovsk OS of August 8, 1942. Source: GAAOSO, f. 1, op. 2, d. 22655.

**Mikhelson, Dina Nikolaevna.** Year of Birth: 1907. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Kalinin Oblast, Kholm Rayon, village Zhiryane. Nationality: Gypsy woman. Education: Incomplete higher education. Party Membership: expelled from the VKP(b). Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Tomsk. Occupation: School no. 43, history teacher. Date of Arrest: July 22, 1938. Indictment: ChSIR. Deciding Body: OSO at the NKVD. Date of Decision: October 13, 1938. Verdict: 3 years ITL. Arrived in Akmolinsk camp department of the Karlag on November 13, 1938, from the prison in the city of Novosibirsk. Release: July 13, 1942. Date of Rehabilitation: January 1957. Source: *Книга памяти Томской области; Книга памяти "Узницы АЛЖИРа"; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2383388>, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/4408>.

**Moga, Zlato Gruevich** (variant: Mogoizolta Gruevich). Year of Birth: 1904. Place of Birth: Austria-Hungary, city of Budapest. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Oryol. Occupation: Variety artist. Date of Arrest: 1938. Indictment: [n.d.]. Deciding Body: [n.d.]. Date of Decision: [n.d.]. Verdict: VMN. Additional Information: Gypsy lawsuit in Oryol. Source: *Книга памяти Орловской области*. Vol. 2; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1735721>.

**Moltosarova, Lilia Sergeevna** (variant: Maltasarova, L. S.). Year of Birth: 1930. Place of Birth: [USSR, ZSFSR], Tbilisi Oblast, city of Gori. Social Origin: Worker. Nationality: Serbian Gypsy woman. Education: Lowest. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Chelyabinsk Oblast, Zlatoust colony. Occupation: Prisoner (convicted in 1947 by Decree of June 4, 1947, at 5 years imprisonment). Date of Arrest: January 9, 1950. Indictment: Art. 58-10, part 1 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Special Camp Court ITL and Colonies of Chelyabinsk Oblast. Date of

Decision: March 7, 1950. Verdict: 8 years imprisonment. Rehabilitating Body: Prosecutor's Office of Chelyabinsk Oblast. Date of Rehabilitation: July 8, 1992. Source: *Книга памяти Челябинской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2517432>.

**Morozevsky, Vasily Titovich.** Year of Birth: 1921. Place of Birth: [USSR, RSFSR], Smolensk Oblast, Elnya Rayon, village Ivanovka. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Komi ASSR, Ustvymlag. Occupation: Prisoner, worker in p/k Puris of the commandant's Lagpunkt. Indictment: Art. 58-14 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Special Camp Court of the ITL. Date of Decision: November 19, 1945. Verdict: 5 years imprisonment and 3 years loss of rights. Source: *Книга памяти Республики Коми. Vol. 7, Part 1; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/402128>.

**Morozov, Pyotr Ivanovich.** Year of Birth: 1915. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Western Oblast, village Dyatlovo. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Karelian ASSR, Medvezhyegorsk Rayon. Occupation: Prisoner. Date of Arrest: September 3, 1938. Indictment: Art. 82 UK RSFSR (escape). Deciding Body: Troika at the NKVD of the Karelian ASSR. Date of Decision: November 10, 1938. Verdict: VMN. No information about rehabilitation. Source: *Поминальные списки Карелии; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/281273>.

**Moskalenko, Kirill Ivanovich.** Year of Birth: 1906. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Moscow Oblast, Dmitrov Rayon, town of Kuznetsovka. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Karelian ASSR, Medvezhyegorsk Rayon, White Sea-Baltic Combine of the NKVD. Occupation: Prisoner. Date of Arrest: February 3, 1938. Indictment: Art. 82 UK RSFSR (escape). Deciding Body: Troika at the NKVD of the Karelian ASSR. Date of Decision: March 21, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: March 31, 1938, railway station Medvezhya Gora (tract Sandarmokh). No information about rehabilitation. Source: *Поминальные списки Карелии; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/281285>.

**Moskalev, Anton Andreevich.** Year of Birth: 1886. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Smolensk Governorate, Gzhatsk Uyezd, village Lomki. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Leningrad. Address: 11 Pestelya Street, Apt. 95. Occupation: Material purchasing agent of the 1st State Foundry Factory. Date of Arrest: November 4, 1937. Indictment: Art. 58-6 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Commission of the NKVD and the Prosecutor's Office of the

USSR. Date of Decision: January 10, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: January 15, 1938, city of Leningrad. Source: *Ленинградский мартуролог*. Vol. 7; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2755580>.

**Moskalev, Grigory Ivanovich.** Year of Birth: 1915. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Smolensk Oblast, town of Vyazma. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Perm Oblast, Lagpunkt Pilva of the Usollag. Occupation: Prisoner. Date of Arrest: April 27, 1942. Indictment: Counter-revolutionary sabotage. Deciding Body: [n.d.]. Date of Decision: June 29, 1942. Verdict: 7 years imprisonment with loss of rights for 5 years. Rehabilitating Body: Prosecutor's Office of Perm Oblast. Date of Rehabilitation: September 22, 1992. Source: *Книга памяти Пермской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1795598>.

**Moskalev, Mikhail Alexeevich.** Year of Birth: 1920. Place of Birth: [USSR, RSFSR], Ivanovo Oblast, Shuya Rayon, town of Palekh. Nationality: Gypsy man. Occupation: Prisoner of the ITK. Date of Arrest: June 2, 1944. Indictment: [n.d.]. Deciding Body: [n.d.]. Date of Decision: [n.d.]. Verdict: 10 years prison. Source: *Книга памяти Республики Марий Эл; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/449885>.

**Movza, Nikolay.** Year of Birth: 1890. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], city of Leningrad. Social Origin: Nomad. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Poorly literate. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Sverdlovsk Oblast, town of Nadezhdinsk. Occupation: Without specific occupations. Date of Arrest: January 9, 1938. Indictment: Art. 58-6 UK RSFSR (espionage). Verdict: Decision of Directorate of the NKVD of Sverdlovsk Oblast of December 20, 1938, case dismissed. Release: Ural RO at the Directorate of the NKVD of Sverdlovsk Oblast. Release: December 22, 1938. Additional Information: Gypsy lawsuit in Nadezhdinsk. Source: GAAOSO, f. 1, op. 2, d. 2364.

**Muntyan, Dmitry.** Year of Birth: 1866. Place of Birth: Romania, city of Bucharest. Nationality: Romanian. Place of Residence: Without a fixed place of residence. Occupation: Without specific occupations. Arrested: Vyazma RO at the Directorate of the NKVD. Date of Arrest: July 26, 1938. Indictment: Art. 58-6; 58-9; 58-11 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of Smolensk Oblast. Date of Decision: October 2, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: October 2, 1938. Additional Information: Gypsy lawsuit in Smolensk. Rehabilitating Body: VT of the Moscow VO. Date of Rehabilitation:

August 30, 1956. Source: *Книга памяти Смоленской области*. Vol. 1; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2127640>.

**Muntyan, Rista Dmitrievich** (variant: Muktyan, R. D.). Year of Birth: 1918. Place of Birth: Romania, city of Bucharest. Nationality: Romanian. Occupation: Didn't work. Arrested: Vyazma RO at the Directorate of the NKVD. Date of Arrest: July 25, 1938. Indictment: Art. 58-6; 58-9; 58-11 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of Smolensk Oblast. Date of Decision: October 2, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: October 2, 1938. Additional Information: Gypsy lawsuit in Smolensk. Rehabilitating Body: VT of the Moscow VO. Date of Rehabilitation: August 30, 1956. Source: *Книга памяти Смоленской области*. Vol. 4; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2127641>.

**Muntyan, Yerg[ul]**. Year of Birth: [n.d.]. Place of Birth: [n.d.]. Nationality: Gypsy man. Date of Arrest: 1935. Indictment: [n.d.]. Deciding Body: [OSO at the NKVD]. Date of Decision: [n.d.]. Verdict: [n.d.]. Additional Information: Second Gypsy lawsuit in Moscow. Source: GDASBUR, f. 4 (P), spr. 17664 (quoted by Жив'юк, 2021).

**Murga, Iosip Markovich**. Year of Birth: 1889. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Moldavian ASSR, village Ananyivka. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence: [n.d.]. Date of Arrest: June 4, 1933. Indictment: Art. 54-8 UK UkSSR. Deciding Body: Kryzhopil RV DPU. Date of Decision: July 4, 1933. Verdict: Case dismissed. Source: *Реабілітовані історією*, <http://www.reabit.org.ua/nbr/?ID=18656>.

**Murinkin, Petro Petrovich**. Year of Birth: 1910. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Tambov Governorate, town of Kozlov. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Poorly literate. Place of Residence: Ukrainian SSR, Zhytomyr Oblast, Malyn Rayon, village Vyrva. Date of Arrest: March 24, 1938. Indictment: Art. 54-1a UK UkSSR. Deciding Body: Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of Zhytomyr Oblast. Date of Decision: October 3, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: October 4, 1938, city of Zhytomyr. Additional Information: Gypsy lawsuit in Zhytomyr. Date of Rehabilitation: 1990. Source: *Реабілітовані історією*, <http://www.reabit.org.ua/nbr/?ID=293456>.

**Murtazaev, Rustem**. Year of Birth: 1909. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Crimean Oblast, city of Simferopol. Social Origin: Worker. Nationality: Gypsy

man. Education: Poorly literate. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Sverdlovsk Oblast, Isov Rayon, rural-type settlement Murzinka, special resettler. Occupation: Pavda mechanisation wood site, lumberjack. Date of Arrest: March 7, 1945. Indictment: Art. 58-10 UK RSFSR (anti-Soviet agitation). Deciding Body: Criminal Cases Jury of the Sverdlovsk OS. Date of Decision: April 10, 1946. Verdict: 5 years ITL. Rehabilitating Body: Prosecutor's Office of Sverdlovsk Oblast. Date of Rehabilitation: June 15, 1992. Source: GAAOSO, f. 1, op. 2, d. 46248; *Книга памяти Свердловской области*. Vol. 5; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2083670>.

**Musselius, Anna Ivanovna** (maiden name Mey). Year of Birth: 1897. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Courland Governorate, city of Libava. Nationality: Latvian woman (Gypsy woman). Education: Middle. Occupation: Housewife. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Leningrad Oblast, village Pulkovo. Address: Pulkovo Astronomical Observatory, apt. 6. Date of Arrest: September 7, 1937. Indictment: ChSIR. Deciding Body: OSO at the NKVD. Date of Decision: September 23, 1937. Verdict: 5 years ITL. Additional Information: She died in exile on July 17, 1950, in the rural-type settlement Chugunash, Kemerovo Oblast. Rehabilitating Body: Leningrad Prosecutor's Office. Date of Rehabilitation: May 10, 1989. Source: Архив НИЦ "Мемориал" (Санкт-Петербург); Мемориальный музей "Следственная тюрьма НКВД" (Томск); *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2932617>.

**Nabaranchuk, Petro Tarasovich**. Year of Birth: 1915. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Bessarabia Governorate, city of Kishinev. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Poorly literate. Occupation: Hairdresser. Place of Residence: Ukrainian SSR, Zhytomyr Oblast, city of Zhytomyr. Date of Arrest: March 30, 1938. Indictment: Art. 54-1a UK UkSSR. Deciding Body: Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of Zhytomyr Oblast. Date of Decision: October 3, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: October 4, 1938, city of Zhytomyr. Additional Information: Gypsy lawsuit in Zhytomyr. Date of Rehabilitation: 1989. Source: *Реабілітовані історією*, <http://www.reabit.org.ua/nbr/?ID=302646>.

**Nazarov, Nikolay Vasilyevich**. Year of Birth: 1908. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Kalinin Oblast, village Yesikovichi. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Karelian ASSR, Medvezhyegorsk Rayon, White Sea-Baltic Combine of the NKVD. Occupation: Prisoner. Indictment: Art. 82 UK RSFSR (escape). Deciding Body: Troika at the NKVD of the Karelian ASSR. Date of Decision: June 28, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: July 5, 1938,



railway station Medvezhya Gora (tract Sandarmokh). No information about rehabilitation. Source: *Поминальные списки Карелии; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/281511>.

**Nepomnyashchy, Vladimir Glebovich** (variant: Sukonnikov, V. G.). Year of Birth: 1913. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Irkutsk Oblast, town of Kirensk. Social Origin: Worker. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Poorly literate. Place of Residence: [n.d.]. Date of Arrest: 1935. Indictment: Decree of August 7, 1932. Deciding Body: [n.d.]. Date of Decision: 1935. Verdict: 10 years ITL. Date of Arrest: 1939. Indictment: Art. 58-10 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: [n.d.]. Date of Decision: 1939. Verdict: 10 years ITL. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Sverdlovsk Oblast, city of Nizhny Tagil. Occupation: Tagillag, 10th camp section, prisoner. Date of Arrest: May 22, 1943. Indictment: Art. 58-10 UK RSFSR ([anti-Soviet] propaganda and agitation, distribution of anti-Soviet literature), 58-14 (counter-revolutionary sabotage). Deciding Body: Criminal Cases Jury of the Sverdlovsk OS at the Tagillag. Date of Decision: July 7, 1943. Verdict: 10 years imprisonment. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Irkutsk Oblast, town of Cheremkhovo. Occupation: Worker of the 6th distance railway track service station Cheremkhovo VSZhD. Date of Arrest: April 26, 1957. Indictment: Art. 58-10, part 1 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Irkutsk OS. Date of Decision: June 15, 1957. Verdict: 5 years ITL. Acquitted. April 26, 1962. Rehabilitating Body: Prosecutor's Office of Sverdlovsk Oblast. Date of Rehabilitation: May 15, 1989 (variant: November 19, 1992). Source: GAAOSO, f. 1, op. 2, d. 49364; НИПЦ "Мемориал" (Москва); *Книга памяти Иркутской области*. Vol. 8; *Книга памяти Свердловской области*. Vol. 5; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2084255>, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2863041>, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1305128>.

**Nevzorov, Vladimir Dionisovich**. Year and Place of Birth: [n.d.]. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Moscow. Date of Arrest: 1932. Indictment: Art. 17/142, part 2 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Commission of the OGPU. Date of Decision: June 9, 1933. Verdict: [n.d.]. Additional Information: First Gypsy lawsuit in Moscow, Part 2. Source: GARF, f. P 1235, op. 123, d. 27.

**Nikolaenko, Arkhip Osipovich**. Year of Birth: 1872. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Poltava Oblast, town of Globino. Social Origin: Peasant. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Primary. Place of Residence: Ukrainian SSR, Poltava Oblast, town of Globino. Occupation: Individual Peasant. Date of Arrest: April 28, 1932. Indictment: Art. 54-2, 54-11 UK UkSSR. Deciding Body: Troika at the Collegium of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR. Date of Decision: October 22,

1932. Verdict: 3 years of deprivation of the right to reside in 12 cities and localities of the USSR. Rehabilitating Body: Prosecutor's Office of Poltava Oblast. Date of Rehabilitation: December 27, 1989. Source: *Реабілітовані історією*, <http://www.reabit.org.ua/nbr/?ID=172275>.

**Nikolaenko, Fyodor Nikolaevich.** Year of Birth: 1918. Place of Birth: [USSR, RSFSR], Western Oblast, Komarichi Rayon, village Lukinka. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Karelian ASSR, Medvezhyegorsk Rayon, White Sea-Baltic Combine of the NKVD. Occupation: Prisoner. Date of Arrest: May 3, 1938. Indictment: Art. 82 UK RSFSR (escape). Deciding Body: Troika at the NKVD of the Karelian ASSR. Date of Decision: July 31, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: August 7, 1938, railway station Medvezhya Gora (tract Sandarmokh). No information about rehabilitation. Source: *Поминальные списки Карелии; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/281782>.

**Nikolaenko, Kiril Vasilievich.** Year of Birth: 1895. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Western Oblast, Komarichi Rayon, village Lukinka. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Karelian ASSR, Medvezhyegorsk Rayon, White Sea-Baltic Combine of the NKVD. Occupation: Prisoner. Date of Arrest: February 3, 1938. Indictment: According to Order No. 00447. Deciding Body: Troika at the NKVD of the Karelian ASSR. Date of Decision: March 21, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: March 31, 1938, railway station Medvezhya Gora (tract Sandarmokh). No information about rehabilitation. Source: *Поминальные списки Карелии; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/281780>.

**Nikolaev, Alexander Fyodorovich** (variant: Podolsky, Pyotr Stepanovich). Year of Birth: 1888. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Voronezh Oblast, Korotoyak Rayon, rural-type settlement Korotoyak. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Perm Oblast, Kotomysh OLP No. 6 of the Usollag. Occupation: Prisoner. Date of Arrest: January 1, 1942. Indictment: [n.d.]. Deciding Body: [n.d.]. Date of Decision: July 23, 1942. Verdict: The case was dismissed due to the death of the accused. Died in place of detention: June 29, 1942. Rehabilitating Body: Prosecutor's Office of Perm Krai. Date of Rehabilitation: March 27, 2006. Source: *Книга памяти Пермской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1796808>.

**Nikolaev, Vladimir Andreevich** (variant: Balok, Tuto Yansovich; another variant of the patronymic: Yanovich). Year of Birth: 1902. Place of Birth:

Austria-Hungary, city of Budapest. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Smolensk Oblast, town of Vyazma. Occupation: Without specific occupations. Arrested: Vyazma RO at the Directorate of the NKVD. Date of Arrest: March 20, 1938. Indictment: Art. 58-6; 58-9; 58-11 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of Smolensk Oblast. Date of Decision: October 2, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: October 9, 1938. Additional Information: Gypsy lawsuit in Smolensk. Rehabilitating Body: Prosecutor's Office of Smolensk Oblast. Date of Rehabilitation: April 19, 1989. Source: *Книга памяти Смоленской области*. Vol. 1; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2128255>.

**Nikolavu, Pavel Fomich.** Year of Birth: 1907. Place of Birth: Greece, city of Gorf [Corfu?]. Nationality: Greek. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Smolensk Oblast, Vyazma Rayon. Occupation: Without specific occupations. Arrested: Vyazma RO at the Directorate of the NKVD. Date of Arrest: March 20, 1938. Indictment: Art. 58-6; 58-9; 58-11 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of Smolensk Oblast. Date of Decision: October 2, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: October 9, 1938. Additional Information: Gypsy lawsuit in Smolensk. Rehabilitating Body: Prosecutor's Office of Smolensk Oblast. Date of Rehabilitation: April 19, 1989. Source: AUFSSBO, f. 1, op. 1, d. 15402-с; *Книга памяти Смоленской области*. Vol. 1; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2128244>.

**Nilov, Nil Ivanovich.** Year of Birth: 1884. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Pskov Oblast, Pushkinskie Gory Rayon. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Poorly literate. Occupation: Didn't work, wandered with the camp. Date of Arrest: November 10, 1937. Indictment: [n.d.]. Deciding Body: Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of Kalinin Oblast. Date of Decision: December 16, 1937. Verdict: 5 years imprisonment. Date of Rehabilitation: April 3, 1996. Source: *Книга памяти Псковской области*. Vol. 2; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1825780>.

**Nitkovsky, Pyotr Karlovich.** Year and Place of Birth: [n.d.]. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Moscow. Date of Arrest: 1932. Indictment: Art. 94, part 2 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Commission of the OGPU. Date of Decision: June 9, 1933. Verdict: [n.d.]. Additional Information: First Gypsy lawsuit in Moscow, Part 2. Source: GARF, f. P 1235, op. 123, d. 27.

**Novak, Yan Petrovich.** Year of Birth: 1872. Place of Birth: [n.d.]. Nationality: Gypsy man. Occupation: Individual activity, tailor. Arrested: Dorogobuzh RO

of the NKVD. Date of Arrest: June 12, 1938. Indictment: Art. 58-10 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of Smolensk Oblast. Date of Decision: September 28, 1938. Verdict: 5 years ITL. Rehabilitating Body: Prosecutor's Office of Smolensk Oblast. Date of Rehabilitation: July 24, 1989. Source: *Книга памяти Смоленской области*. Vol. 4; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2128418>.

**Novodopchenko, Nikolay Vasilievich.** Year and Place of Birth: [n.d.]. Nationality: Romanian Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Komi ASSR, Sevzheldorlag. Occupation: Prisoner. Date of Arrest: [n.d.]. Indictment: [n.d.]. Deciding Body: [n.d.]. Date of Decision: [n.d.]. Verdict: [n.d.]. Place of Death: Sevzheldorlag. Source: Documentation Center of the GULAG History Museum; *Открытый список*, [https://ru.openlist.wiki/Новодопченко\\_Николай\\_Васильевич](https://ru.openlist.wiki/Новодопченко_Николай_Васильевич).

**Nurbaev, Nurutdin.** Year of Birth: 1877. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Andizhan Okrug, kishlak Osh. Nationality: Nomadic Gypsy man. Education: Illiterate. Profession: Dekhan [Peasant]. Place of Residence: Uzbek SSR, Tashkent Okrug, railway station Kaunchi. Arrested: S/D OO OGPU. Date of Arrest: February 12, 1930. Indictment: Art. 58-10 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: [n.d.]. Release: April 7, 1930. Rehabilitating Body: Prosecutor's Office of South Kazakhstan Oblast. Reason for Rehabilitation: Law of the Republic Kazakhstan of April 14, 1993. Date of Rehabilitation: July 23, 2004. Source: МВД Республики Казахстан; *Открытый список*, [https://ru.openlist.wiki/Нурбаев\\_Нурутдин\\_\(1877\)](https://ru.openlist.wiki/Нурбаев_Нурутдин_(1877)).

**Ogla, Ninel Alexeevna.** Year of Birth: 1930. Place of Birth: [USSR, RSFSR], Yakut ASSR, Cherepanovskoe Rayon (?), village Cherepanovskoe. Nationality: Gypsy woman. Education: Primary. Place of Residence: Kazakh SSR, South Kazakhstan Oblast, city of Chimkent. Occupation: Prisoner, 4th Chimkent ITK MVD. Arrested: Section ITK at Department of MVD of South Kazakhstan Oblast. Date of Arrest: December 2, 1947. Indictment: Art. 58-10; 58-14 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Visiting session of the Special Camp Court at the ITL of the Kazakh SSR. Date of Decision: December 2, 1947. Verdict: 10 years ITL. Rehabilitating Body: Main Prosecutor's Office of the Republic of Kazakhstan. Reason for Rehabilitation: Law of the Republic Kazakhstan of April 14, 1993. Date of Rehabilitation: November 29, 1999. Source: *Сведения Департамента КНБ Республики Казахстана по Южно-Казахстанской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/3000696>.

**Okoman, Fedir Semyonovich.** Year of Birth: 1907. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire]. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: Ukrainian SSR, Moldavian ASSR, Krasni Okny Rayon, village Stavrove. Occupation: Worker-blacksmith. Date of Arrest: March 1, 1938. Indictment: Art. 54-10 UK UkSSR (counter-revolutionary agitation). Deciding Body: Special Troika of the NKVD of the Moldavian ASSR. Date of Decision: April 11, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: April 18, 1938. Rehabilitating Body: Odesa Oblast's Prosecutor. Date of Rehabilitation: July 28, 1989. Source: DAOO, f. P 8065, op. 2, spr. 13408.

**Orlov, Nikolay Ivanovich.** Year of Birth: 1924. Place of Birth: [USSR, RSFSR], Stalingrad Oblast, Voroshilovsky Rayon, village Peregruznoe. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Komi ASSR, Ustvymlag. Occupation: Prisoner. Date of Arrest: May 15, 1948. Date of Decision: June 28, 1948. Deciding Body: Special Camp Court at the Ust-Vym ITL. Indictment: Art. 58-14 UK RSFSR. Verdict: 6 years imprisonment and 3 years loss of rights. Source: *Книга памяти Республики Коми; Открытый список*, [https://ru.openlist.wiki/Орлов\\_Николай\\_Иванович\\_\(1924\)](https://ru.openlist.wiki/Орлов_Николай_Иванович_(1924)).

**Orlov, Yegor Yegorovich.** Year of Birth: 1917. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], city of Moscow. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Moscow. Date of Arrest: 1935. Deciding Body: [n.d.]. Verdict: [ITL]. Occupation: [Prisoner]. Date of Arrest: 1937. Indictment: Art. 58 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of the Dalstroy. Date of Decision: September 26, 1937. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: December 20, 1937. Date of Rehabilitation: April 12, 1956. Source: *Книга памяти Магаданской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1456598>.

**Orlovskaya, Roza Ryleevna.** Year of Birth: 1916. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Moscow Oblast, town of Podolsk. Nationality: Gypsy woman. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Karelian ASSR, Medvezhyegorsk Rayon, White Sea-Baltic Combine of the NKVD. Occupation: Prisoner. Indictment: According to the Order No. 00447. Deciding Body: Troika at the NKVD of the Karelian ASSR. Date of Decision: November 20, 1937. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: November 28, 1937, railway station Medvezhya Gora (tract Sandarmokh). Date of Rehabilitation: June 8, 1967. Source: *Поминальные списки Карелии; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/282043>.

**Orlovsky, Vladimir Stanislavovich.** Year of Birth: 1923. Place of Birth: [USSR], Ukrainian SSR, city of Kiev. Nationality: Gypsy man. Komi ASSR, Ustvymlag. Occupation: Prisoner. Date of Arrest: December 23, 1941. Indictment: Art. 58-14 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: VS of the Komi ASSR at the Ustvymlag. Date of Decision: January 10, 1942. Verdict: 10 years imprisonment and 5 years loss of rights. Source: *Книга памяти Республики Коми*. Vol. 2; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/405266>.

**Orvat, Vladimir Petrovich.** Year of Birth: 1906. Place of Birth: Austria-Hungary, city of Budapest. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Altay Krai, town of Slavgorod. Occupation: Prisoner in prison No. 5. Date of Arrest: May 26, 1943. Indictment: Art. 58-10, part 2 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Altay Krai's Court. Date of Decision: July 21, 1943. Verdict: 10 years with consequent loss of rights for 5 years. Rehabilitating Body: Altay Krai's Court. Reason for Rehabilitation: for lack of corpus delicti. Date of Rehabilitation: February 9, 1993. Source: *Книга памяти Алтайского края*. Vol. 5; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/815374>.

**Ounodi-Lakatos, Iosif.** Year of Birth: 1891. Place of Birth: [Austria-Hungary], Zemplín Okrug (Hungary), village Lisko. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Primary. Place of Residence: Ukrainian SSR, Transcarpathian Oblast, Uzhhorod Rayon, town of Chop. Occupation: Musician. Date of Arrest: [n.d.]. Indictment: [n.d.]. Deciding Body: Special Court of Transcarpathian Ukraine. Date of Decision: October 31, 1945. Verdict: 8 years' imprisonment. Date of Rehabilitation: 1990. Source: *Реабілітовані історією*, <http://www.reabit.org.ua/nbr/?ID=142466>.

**Panchenko, Maria Petrovna.** Year of Birth: 1914. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire]. Nationality: Gypsy woman. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Astrakhan Oblast, Yenotaevka Rayon, village Yekaterinovka. Work: Temporary. Indictment: Anti-Soviet agitation. Deciding Body: Astrakhan OS. Date of Decision: May 30, 1942. Verdict: 5 years [imprisonment]. Source: *Книга памяти Астраханской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1184773>.

**Panchenko, Yakov Yefimovich.** Year of Birth: 1899. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Oryol Oblast, village Pavlichi. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Karelian ASSR, Medvezhyegorsk Rayon, White Sea-Baltic Combine of the NKVD. Occupation: Prisoner. Date of Arrest: May 5, 1938. Indictment: Art. 82 UK RSFSR (escape). Deciding Body: Troika at the NKVD

of the Karelian ASSR. Date of Decision: July 31, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: August 7, 1938, railway station Medvezhya Gora (tract Sandarmokh). No information about rehabilitation. Source: *Поминальные списки Карелии; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/282274>.

**Panich, Grigory Moiseevich.** Year and Place of Birth: [n.d.]. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Moscow. Date of Arrest: 1932. Indictment: Art. 129, part 2 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Commission of the OGPU. Date of Decision: June 9, 1933. Verdict: [n.d.]. Additional Information: First Gypsy lawsuit in Moscow, Part 2. Source: GARF, f. P 1235, op. 123, d. 27.

**Pastika, Sava Savich.** Year of Birth: 1893. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Moldavia, village Slobodzenya. Nationality: Gypsy man. Social Origin: Worker. Education: Incomplete secondary school. Place of Residence: Ukrainian SSR, Vinnytsia Oblast, city of Vinnytsia. Occupation: Director of mill No. 15. Date of Arrest: June 28, 1944. Indictment: Art. 54-3 UK UkSSR. Deciding Body: VT of the NKVD troops of Vinnytsia Oblast. Date of Decision: June 23, 1945. Verdict: 10 years with loss of rights for 5 years. Rehabilitating Body: Vinnytsia Oblast's Prosecutor. Date of Rehabilitation: August 8, 1994. Source: *Реабілітовані історією*, <http://www.reabit.org.ua/nbr/?ID=20807>.

**Pavlenko, Yekaterina Ivanovna.** Year of Birth: 1907. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], city of Voroshilovsk. Nationality: Gypsy woman. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Stavropol Krai, village Takhta. Occupation: Without specific occupations. Date of Arrest: January 3, 1942. Indictment: [n.d.]. Deciding Body: [n.d.]. Date of Decision: [n.d.]. Verdict: 10 years ITL. Source: *Книга памяти Ставропольского края*. Vol. 5; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1031031>.

**Pavlovsky, Ivan Osipovich.** Year of Birth: 1876. Place of Birth: [Austria-Hungary], Poland, town of Piotrków. Nationality: Polish. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Smolensk Oblast, town of Vyazma. Occupation: Without specific occupations. Arrested: Vyazma RO at the Directorate of the NKVD. Date of Arrest: March 20, 1938. Indictment: Art. 58-6; 58-9; 58-11 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of Smolensk Oblast. Date of Decision: October 2, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: October 9, 1938. Additional Information: Gypsy lawsuit in Smolensk. Rehabilitating Body: Prosecutor's Office of Smolensk Oblast. Date of Rehabilitation: April 19, 1989. Source: AUFSSBO, f. 1, op. 1, d. 15402-с; *Книга памяти Смоленской области*.

Vol. 1; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2129372>.

**Pavlovsky, Nanosh Karlovich** (variant: Pavlovsky, Nanosha K.). Year of Birth: 1910. Place of Birth: Austria-Hungary, city of Краков. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Novosibirsk. Occupation: Without specific occupations. Date of Arrest: January 28, 1938. Indictment: Art. 58-6; 58-9; 58-10; 58-11 UK RSFSR (Participation in a counter-revolutionary sabotage and espionage organisation). Deciding Body: Commission of the NKVD and the Prosecutor of the USSR. Date of Decision: April 29, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: June 5, 1938. Additional Information: Gypsy lawsuit in Novosibirsk. Date of Rehabilitation: October 10, 1956. Source: *Книга памяти Новосибирской области*. Vol. 5; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/3101893>.

**Pavlovsky, Nikolay Ilyich**. Year of Birth: 1902. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire]. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: [RSFSR], Volkhov Front. Occupation: Red Army soldier, 199th Road Construction Battalion. Date of Arrest: July 16, 1942. Indictment: Art. 58-10, part 2 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: VT of the Volkhov Front. Date of Decision: August 22, 1942. Verdict: Case dismissed for lack of corpus delicti. Source: *Книга памяти Алтайского края*. Vol. 7; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/815741>.

**Pavlovsky, Viktor Osipovich**. Year of Birth: 1918. Place of Birth: [USSR], Kazakh SSR, city of Alma-Ata. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Buryat-Mongolian ASSR, city of Ulan-Ude. Date of Arrest: 1938. Verdict: [ITL]. [Date of Arrest: 1942]. Indictment: Art. 58 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: VT. Date of Decision: December 23, 1942. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: February 3, 1943. Date of Rehabilitation: March 1993. Source: *Книга памяти Магаданской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1456872>.

**Perov, Mikhail Ivanovich**. Year of Birth: 1917. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Oryol Oblast, Krasnaya Zarya Rayon, village Novaya Lyubovsha. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Komi ASSR, Ukhtizhemlag. Occupation: Prisoner, OLP No. 7, Lagpunkt Tobys. Date of Arrest: November 20, 1942. Indictment: Art. 58-14 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Court Collegium of the VS of the Komi ASSR at the Ukhtizhemlag. Date of Decision: November 30, 1942. Verdict: 5 years imprisonment without the right of correspondence.



Source: *Книга памяти Республики Коми*. Vol. 7, Part 2; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/406789>.

**Pertsev, Alexander Ivanovich.** Year of Birth: 1891. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Azov-Black Sea Krai, town of Krasny Sulin. Social Origin: Worker. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Poorly literate. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Azov-Black Sea Krai, town of Krasny Sulin. Occupation: Krasny Sulim plant, blacksmith. Date of Arrest: February 26, 1938. Indictment: Anti-Soviet counter-revolutionary agitation aimed at discrediting the Soviet government, Soviet justice and the press; defeatist sentiments. Deciding Body: Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of Moscow Oblast. Date of Decision: March 4, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: March 10, 1938, city of Moscow. Place of Burial: Butovo [Firing Range]. Date of Rehabilitation: February 1990. Source: *Бутовский полигон. 1937–1938*. Vol. 4; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2651232>.

**Petrov, Savely Mikhailovich.** Year of Birth: 1908. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Tatar ASSR, city of Kazan. Nationality: Serbian. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Sverdlovsk Oblast, town of Nadezhdinsk. Occupation: Without specific occupations. Date of Arrest: January 9, 1938. Indictment: [n.d.]. Deciding Body: [n.d.]. Date of Decision: October 19, 1938. Verdict: 8 years ITL. Additional Information: Gypsy lawsuit in Nadezhdinsk. Source: GAAOSO, f. 1, op. 2, d. 51219; *Книга памяти Свердловской области*. Vol. 6; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2086498>.

**Pichugin, Nikolay Grigorievich.** Year of Birth: 1906. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], North Caucasus Krai, stanitsa Georgievskaya. Social Origin: Peasant of average means. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Lowest. Place of Residence: Without a fixed place of residence. Occupation: Without specific occupations. Sentenced in 1934 to 8 years ITL. He served his sentence in Dmitlag, where he worked as a blacksmith in the mechanical workshops of the 2nd section of the Central Rayon. Date of Arrest: January 16, 1938. Indictment: He made statements of provocative and slanderous sentiments; counter-revolutionary systematic agitation against the USSR Constitution, kolkhozes and the prosperous life of collective farmers. Deciding Body: Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of Moscow Oblast. Date of Decision: January 26, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: January 31, 1938, city of Moscow. Place of Burial: Butovo [Firing Range]. Date of Rehabilitation: March 1990. Source: *Бутовский полигон. 1937–1938*. Vol. 6; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2651514>.

**Piko le Ristako** (variant: Hristo Bimbash). Year of Birth: 1899. Place of Birth: Romania, city of Bucharest. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Moscow, Aviatsionny lane, apt. 10a. Occupation: Coppersmith. Date of Arrest: 1935. Indictment: Art. 58-10; 58-11 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: OSO at the NKVD. Date of Decision: October 15, 1935. Verdict: [n.d.]. Additional Information: Second Gypsy lawsuit in Moscow. Source: GARF, f. 10035, op. 2, d. 74091.

**Poletaev, Semyon Andreevich**. Year of Birth: 1888. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Nizhny Novgorod Oblast, Balakhna Rayon, worker in rural-type settlement Bolshoe Kozino. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Gorky. Occupation: Cauldron maker in [plant] GAZ named after V. M. Molotov. Date of Arrest: September 2, 1937. Indictment: Art. 58-6 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Commission of the NKVD and the Prosecutor of the USSR. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: January 14, 1938. No information about rehabilitation. Source: *Книга памяти Нижегородской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1526232>.

**Poletaev, Vasily Ivanovich**. Year of Birth: 1908. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Leningrad Oblast, Slavkovichi Rayon, Shishlovskoe Selsoviet, village Kuleshovo. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: Without a fixed place of residence. Occupation: Without specific occupations. Date of Arrest: August 11, 1937. Indictment: Verdict. Deciding Body: Special Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of Leningrad Oblast. Date of Decision: August 29, 1937. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: August 31, 1937. No information about rehabilitation. Source: *Ленинградский мартиролог*. Vol. 5; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2760631>.

**Polyakov, Mikhail Antonovich**. Year of Birth: 1889. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Ukrainian SSR, Dnepropetrovsk Oblast, Vasilkov Rayon, village Pavlovka. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: 3 primary, 2 years. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Perm Oblast, Solikamsk Rayon, village Nikino. Occupation: Blacksmith in kolkhoz. Date of Arrest: January 7, 1943. Indictment: Anti-Soviet agitation. Deciding Body: [n.d.]. Date of Decision: March 2, 1943. Verdict: 10 years imprisonment. Rehabilitating Body: Prosecutor's Office of Perm Oblast. Date of Rehabilitation: 1992. Source: *Книга памяти Пермской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1800085>.

**Polyakov, Mikhail Vasilievich.** Year of Birth: 1894. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Siberian Krai, Irkutsk Okrug, town of Tulun. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, West Siberian Krai, Irkutsk Okrug, town of Tulun. Occupation: Artisan saddler. Date of Arrest: March 19, 1930. Indictment: Art. 58-2; 58-11 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Special Troika at the PP OGPU of Siberian Krai. Date of Decision: December 25, 1930. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: January 22, 1931, city of Irkutsk. Rehabilitating Body: Prosecutor's Office of Irkutsk Oblast. Date of Rehabilitation: March 24, 1989. Source: *Книга памяти Иркутской области*. Vol. 7; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1306783>.

**Polyakov-Kants, Asiiy Antonovich** (variant: Polyakov-Kants, Pyotr Vasilievich). Year of Birth: 1884. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Bessarabia, Izviskaya Volost. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Komi ASSR, Ustvymlag. Occupation: Prisoner, Syktyvkar branch. Date of Arrest: September 2, 1930. Indictment: Art. 58-14 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: ISCh [informational and investigative section] at the Syktyvkar branch of the Ustvymlag. Date of Decision: January 30, 1932. Verdict: case dismissed. Date of Arrest: [1937]. Indictment: [n.d.]. Deciding Body: n.d.]. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: September 9, 1937, Moscow. Place of Burial: Butovo [Firing Range]. Source: *Книга памяти Республики Коми*. Vol. 7, Part 2; *Возвращённые имена*, <http://visz.nlr.ru/person/book/komi/17/1170>; *Жертвы массового террора*, <http://www.sinodik.ru/?q=bio&id=84710>.

**Polyansky, Ivan Timofeevich.** Year of Birth: 1913. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Stalino Oblast, town of Nikopol. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Komi ASSR, Ustvymlag. Occupation: Prisoner, worker 1 p/k commandant's office at Lagpunkt. Date of Arrest: February 6, 1945. Indictment: Art. 58-14 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: VS of the Komi ASSR. Date of Decision: March 20, 1945. Verdict: 7 years imprisonment and 3 years loss of rights. Source: *Книга памяти Республики Коми*. Vol. 7, Part 1; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/408408>.

**Popov, Pavlo Davidovich.** Year of Birth: 1914. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Dnipropetrovsk Oblast, city of Dnipropetrovsk. Nationality: Gypsy man. Social Origin: Worker. Education: Primary. Occupation: Red Army soldier of the repair and restoration battalion of the 17th mechanised brigade. Date of Arrest: November 27, 1937. Indictment: Anti-Soviet statements. Deciding Body: [n.d.]. Date of Decision: [n.d.]. Verdict: 5 years ITL. Date of Rehabilitation: May 24, 1993. Source: *Реабілітовані історією*, <http://www.reabit.org.ua/nbr/?ID=111608>.

**Posevich, Mikhail Ivanovich** (variant: Pasevich, M. I.). Year of Birth: 1925. Place of Birth: [USSR], Byelorussian SSR, town of Vichi [?] (variant: city of Kishinev). Social Origin: Gypsy Nomad. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Poorly literate. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Sverdlovsk Oblast, town of Krasnoturinsk, Bogoslovlag. Occupation: Prisoner (convicted in 1943 under Art. 169 UK RSFSR for 5 years ITL), Bogoslovlag, camp site No. 2. Date of Arrest: July 7, 1944 (variant: September 27, 1944). Indictment: Art. 58-14 UK RSFSR – counter-revolutionary sabotage (variant: Art. 58-10 UK RSFSR – anti-Soviet agitation). Deciding Body: Permanent session of the Sverdlovsk OS at the Bogoslovlag. Date of Decision: July 22, 1944 (variant: November 18, 1944). Verdict: 10 years imprisonment. Date of Arrest: April 24, 1946. Indictment: Art. 58-10 UK RSFSR (anti-Soviet agitation). Deciding Body: Special Camp court at the Bogoslovlag. Date of Decision: May 22, 1946. Verdict: 5 years imprisonment. Rehabilitating Body: Criminal Cases Jury of the VS RSFSR. Date of Rehabilitation: April 10, 1956 (under Art. 58-10; [convinced] in 1944), August 3, 1956 (under Art. 58-14; [convinced] in 1944), November 23, 1956 (under Art. 58-10; [convinced] in 1946). Source: GAAOSO, f. 1, op. 2, d. 20538, d. 20529, d. 18298; *Книга памяти Свердловской области*. Vol. 6; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2087807>.

**Pushkarev, Alexander Stepanovich**. Year of Birth: 1910. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Smolensk Oblast, village Khaluy. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Karelian ASSR, Medvezhyegorsk Rayon, White Sea-Baltic Combine of the NKVD. Occupation: Prisoner. Date of Arrest: August 5, 1938. Indictment: Art. 82 UK RSFSR (escape). Deciding Body: Troika at the NKVD of the Karelian ASSR. Date of Decision: September 1, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: September 17, 1938, railway station Medvezhya Gora (tract Sandarmokh). No information about rehabilitation. Source: *Поминальные списки Карелии; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/283097>.

**Radionitsky, Alexey Maksimovich**. Year of Birth: 1887. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Voronezh Oblast, town of Boguchar. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Novgorod Oblast, Staraya Russa Rayon, town of Staraya Russa. Occupation: Staraya Russa resort engineer. Date of Arrest: July 12, 1937. Indictment: [n.d.]. Deciding Body: [n.d.]. Date of Decision: [n.d.]. Verdict: 10 years ITL. Released in 1946. Source: *Книга памяти Новгородской области*. Vol. 1; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1553333>.

**Rakityansky, Olexandr Petrovich.** Year of Birth: 1919. Place of Birth: [USSR, RSFSR], Belgorod Oblast, city of Belgorod. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Primary. Place of Residence: Ukrainian SSR, Stalino Oblast, city of Stalino. Occupation: Didn't work. Date of Arrest: May 15, 1944. Indictment: [n.d.]. Deciding Body: VT of the NKVD troops of Stalino Oblast. Date of Decision: [n.d.]. Verdict: 25 years ITL with loss of rights for 5 years confiscation of property. Date of Rehabilitation: 1995. Source: *Реабілітовані історією*, <http://www.reabit.org.ua/nbr/?ID=247330>.

**Reshetnikov, Dmitry Fyodorovich.** Year of Birth: 1918. Place of Birth: [USSR], Ukrainian SSR, Podolia Governorate, village Kamenka. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Poorly literate. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Novosibirsk. Occupation *Bayan* [accordion] player. Date of Arrest: January 28, 1938. Indictment: Art. 58-6; 58-9; 58-10; 58-11 UK RSFSR (Participation in a counter-revolutionary sabotage and espionage organisation). Deciding Body: Commission of the NKVD and the Prosecutor of the USSR. Date of Decision: April 29, 1938. Verdict: 10 years ITL. Additional Information: Gypsy lawsuit in Novosibirsk. Date of Rehabilitation: October 10, 1956. Source: *Книга памяти Новосибирской области*. Vol. 5; *Бессмертный барак*, <https://bessmertnybarak.ru/books/person/1869481/>.

**Reshetnikov, Yakov Vasilievich.** Year of Birth: 1916. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Omsk Oblast, Tyukalinsk Rayon, village Dolganovka. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Primary. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Perm Oblast, Lagpunkt Nech, 2nd section, Usollag. Occupation: Prisoner. Date of Arrest: February 14, 1941. Indictment: Counter-revolutionary sabotage (escape). Deciding Body: [n.d.]. Date of Decision: July 19, 1941. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: September 12, 1941. Rehabilitating Body: Prosecutor's Office of Perm Oblast: Date of Rehabilitation: December 8, 1992. Source: *Книга памяти Пермской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1801683>.

**Rigo, Olexandr Stepanovich.** Year of Birth: 1919. Place of Birth: Czechoslovakia, town Most na Ostrove [?]. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Primary. Place of Residence: [Ukrainian SSR, Transcarpathian Oblast]. Occupation: Without a fixed place of work. Date of Arrest: August 21, 1945. Indictment: Service in the German intelligence agencies. Deciding Body: [n.d.]. Date of Decision: [n.d.]. Verdict: 20 years ITL. Date of Rehabilitation: June 30, 1994. Source: *Реабілітовані історією*, <http://www.reabit.org.ua/nbr/?ID=109935>.

**Risto Dobrodzyano.** Year and Place of Birth: [n.d.]. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Moscow, 10 Yamskoe pole Street. Date of Arrest: 1935. Indictment: [n.d.]. Deciding Body: [OSO at the NKVD]. Date of Decision: [n.d.]. Verdict: [n.d.]. Additional Information: Second Gypsy lawsuit in Moscow. Source: GARF, f. 10035, op. 2, d. 74091.

**Risto, Toma Petrovich.** Year of Birth: 1882. Place of Birth: Serbia. Nationality: Serbian. Education: Illiterate. Occupation: Artisan – coppersmith. Date of Arrest: April 8, 1938. Indictment: Art. 59-9 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: [n.d.]. Date of Decision: [n.d.]. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: October 3, 1938. Date of Rehabilitation: May 19, 1989. Source: *Книга памяти Республики Башкортостан*. Vol. 7; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/13218>.

**Risto, Vlado** (variant: Badya le Ristaku). Year of Birth: 1905. Place of Birth: Serbia. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: Without a fixed place of residence. Occupation: Without a fixed place of work. Arrested: UGB at the Directorate of the NKVD of Smolensk Oblast. Date of Arrest: February 27, 1938. Indictment: Art. 58-6; 58-10; 169-2 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of Smolensk Oblast. Date of Decision: March 25, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: May 1938. Additional Information: Gypsy lawsuit in Smolensk. Source: AUFSSBO, f. 1, op. 1, d. 24047-c.

**Ristoroforov, Lona Forovich** (variants: Liesku, L. F., Lona le Liesko). Year of Birth: 1911. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], city of Odesa. Nationality: Austrian. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Smolensk Oblast, town of Yartsevo. Occupation: Without a fixed place of work. Arrested: UGB at the Directorate of the NKVD of Smolensk Oblast. Date of Arrest: February 27, 1938. Indictment: Art. 58-6; 58-10; 58-11 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of Smolensk Oblast. Date of Decision: March 25, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: May 20, 1938. Additional Information: Gypsy lawsuit in Smolensk. Rehabilitating Body: Prosecutor's Office of Smolensk Oblast. Date of Rehabilitation: May 10, 1994. Source: *Книга памяти Смоленской области*. Vol. 1; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2131890>.

**Romanenko, Grigory Dmitrievich.** Year of Birth: 1895. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Azov-Black Sea Krai, Kushchyovskaya Rayon, stanitsa Kislyakovskaya. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Primary. Place of Residence: RSFSR,

Azov-Black Sea Krai, Staroshcherbinovskaya, stanitsa Staroshcherbinovskaya. Occupation: Kolkhoz member. Indictment: [n.d.]. Deciding Body: VT of the NKVD troops of Krasnoyarsk Krai. Date of Decision: January 29, 1942. Verdict: 10 years ITL. Date of Rehabilitation: [n.d.]. Reason for Rehabilitation: Law of the RSFSR of October 18, 1991. Source: *Книга памяти Краснодарского края. Подготовительные материалы; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/914244>.

**Romanenko, Mark Iosifovich.** Year and Place of Birth: [n.d.]. Nationality: Gypsy man. Occupation: Without specific occupations. Indictment: [n.d.]. Deciding Body: [Ukrainian SSR, Mykolaiv Oblast], Kirov city department of the RKM NKVD. Date and number of minutes of the meeting: November 27, 1937, No. 15. File: No.: 29. Date of Decision: [n.d.]. Verdict: [n.d.]. Source: DAMO, f. P 5859, op. 2, spr. 1–250, [http://mk.archives.gov.ua/docs/2017/spisok\\_represir\\_protokol.pdf](http://mk.archives.gov.ua/docs/2017/spisok_represir_protokol.pdf).

**Romanenko, Nina Spiridonivna.** Year of Birth: 1922. Place of Birth: [USSR], Ukrainian SSR. Nationality: Gypsy woman. Place of Residence: Without a specific place of residence. Occupation: Without specific occupations. Date of Arrest: October 12, 1937. Indictment: Art. 54-10 UK UkSSR. Deciding Body: Holovanivsk RO of the NKVD of Odesa Oblast. Date of Decision: November 8, 1937. Verdict: Case closed, released from custody. Source: DAKO, f. П 5907, op. 2, spr. 1215; *Український мартиролог*, <https://archives.gov.ua/um.php?nac=22&p=1&&id=70983>.

**Rupin, Afanasy Timofeevich.** Year of Birth: 1918. Place of Birth: [USSR, RSFSR], city of Yakutsk. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Komi ASSR, Sevzheldorlag. Occupation: Prisoner, column No 72. Date of Arrest: August 5, 1942. Indictment: Art. 58-14 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: VT of the NKVD troops. Date of Decision: September 2, 1942. Verdict: Found guilty. Case dismissed by Military Collegium of the VS USSR October 2, 1942. Source: *Книга памяти Республики Коми. Vol. 7, Part 2; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/411719>.

**Russo, Mikhail Grigorevich.** Year of Birth: 1898. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Moldavian SSR, Kishinev Rayon, village Nishkan. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Primary. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Novosibirsk Oblast, city of Stalinsk. Occupation: Shoemaker at a repair shop. Date of Arrest: August 9, 1942. Indictment: Art. 58-10, part 2 UK RSFSR (anti-Soviet agitation). Deciding Body: OSO at the NKVD. Date of Decision: April 21, 1943. Verdict: 10 years ITL. Date of Rehabilitation: July 12, 1989. Source: *Книга памяти Новосибирской*

области. Vol. 4; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1611170>.

**Ruzhenko, Grigory Ivanovich.** Year of Birth: 1899. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Poltava Oblast, Gololaysky Rayon, village Rozhitsa. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Primary. Occupation: Didn't work. Date of Arrest: June 26, 1941. Indictment: [n.d.]. Deciding Body: [n.d.]. Date of Decision: [n.d.]. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: December 8, 1941. Date of Rehabilitation: July 1992. Source: *Книга памяти Курской области*. Vol. 1; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1427720>.

**Sadkevich, Nikolay Ivanovich.** Year of Birth: 1911. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Kuybyshev Oblast. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Karelian ASSR, Medvezhyegorsk Rayon, White Sea-Baltic Combine of the NKVD. Occupation: Prisoner. Indictment: According to Order No. 00447. Deciding Body: Troika at the NKVD of the Karelian ASSR. Date of Decision: August 26, 1937. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: September 3, 1937, Karelian ASSR, railway station Segezha. No information about rehabilitation. Source: *Поминальные списки Карелии; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/283770>.

**Sadyk, Vladimir Chukurlovich.** Year of Birth: 1924. Place of Birth: [USSR, RSFSR], city of Kirov. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Kuybyshev Oblast, village Dubovka. Occupation: Tinker. Deciding Body: Koldyban RVK, Kuybyshev Oblast. Date of Decision: November 9, 1942. Verdict: Mobilised in the Labour Army. Demobilised: November 21, 1943, escaped. Source: *Gedenkbuch. Книга Памяти немцев-трудармейцев ИТЛ Бакалстрой-Челябметаллургстрой. 1942-1946; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2547989>.

**Samusev, Pyotr Stepanovich.** Year of Birth: 1924. Place of Birth: [USSR], Byelorussian SSR, Mogilev Oblast, Bykhov Rayon, village Lubyanovka. Social Origin: Peasant. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: 3 years. Note: 2 convictions in 1941; twice under the Art. 162 UK RSFSR (1 year and 3 years imprisonment). Place of Residence: RSFSR, Sverdlovsk Oblast, rural-type settlement Krasny Kamen, Tagillag. Occupation: Prisoner, 8th separate section. Date of Arrest: June 13, 1942. Indictment: Art. 58-10 UK RSFSR (anti-Soviet agitation). Deciding Body: Criminal Cases Jury of the Sverdlovsk OS. Date of Decision: July 16, 1942. Verdict: 5 years imprisonment. Rehabilitating Body: Criminal Cases Jury of the VS RSFSR. Date of Rehabilitation: January 15, 1958. Source: GAAOSO, f. 1, op. 2, d. 24664.



**Sandulenko, Ilya Vasilyovich.** Year of Birth: 1890. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Kiev Governorate, Fastov Rayon, village Velikaya Motovilovka. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence: Ukrainian SSR, Khmelnytsky Oblast, Slavuta Rayon, village Potereba. Occupation: Individual Peasant. Date of Arrest: February 24, 1939. Indictment: Espionage. Deciding Body: A special meeting of NKVD. Date of Decision: October 17, 1939. Verdict: 8 years imprisonment in ITL. Date of Death: Died in the camp infirmary on November 13, 1941. Rehabilitating Body: Military Prosecutor's Office of the Carpathian VO. Date of Rehabilitation: August 31, 1989. Source: DAKhO (Khmelnytskyi), f. P 22538; *Реабілітовані історією*, <http://www.reabit.org.ua/nbr/?ID=180797>.

**Savin, Stepan Mikhailovich.** Year of Birth: 1899. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Transbaikal Oblast, Chita Uyezd, village Kenon. Nationality: Gypsy man. Party Membership: Former VKP(b) member. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Chita. Occupation: Served in the White Army; served in the People's Revolutionary Army of the Far Eastern Republic; worked at store No. 11 as manager. Date of Arrest: January 17, 1938. Indictment: Art. 58-10 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of Chita Oblast. Date of Decision: January 31, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: February 19, 1938. Rehabilitating Body: Chita OS. Date of Rehabilitation: June 20, 1964. Source: *Книга памяти Читинской области*. Vol. 5; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2593802>.

**Sedenko, Petro Nilovich.** Year of Birth: 1905. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Izmail Oblast, Liman Rayon, village Shabo. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: Ukrainian SSR, Izmail Oblast, town of Bilhorod-Dnistrovskiy. Occupation: Worker – commandant of the construction site in the town of Bilhorod-Dnistrovskiy. Arrested: Directorate of the NKGB of Odessa Oblast. Date of Arrest: November 25, 1944. Indictment: Art. 54-16 UK UkSSR (treason against the Motherland), 54-6 UK UkSSR (Espionage); the reason was that he had a connection with Romanian intelligence agents, contributed to their subversive activities and the creation of intelligence sources (the materials contain photos and identification cards). Decision of the Directorate of the NKGB on March 26, 1945, the case was closed due to lack of evidence, but the accused was sent to a special camp of the NKVD for filtering. Source: AUSBUEO, spr. 9296.

**Selezneev, Pyotr Fyodorovich.** Year of Birth: 1901. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Voronezh Oblast, town of Novokhopersk. Social Origin: Son of Gypsy nomad. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence:

Without a fixed place of residence. Occupation: Without specific occupations. Sentenced in 1936 to 3 years ITL. He served his sentence in Dmitlag, where he worked as a watchman at the 2nd precinct of the Central Rayon. Date of Arrest: February 21, 1938. Indictment: Systematic counter-revolutionary agitation, praise of enemies of the people, vulgarisation of Party and government leaders, the Soviet system, and the Stalinist Constitution. Deciding Body: Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of Moscow Oblast. Date of Decision: March 4, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: March 8, 1938, Moscow. Place of Burial: Butovo [Firing Range]. Date of Rehabilitation: February 20, 1990. Source: *Бутовский полигон. 1937–1938*. Vol. 6; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2654064>.

**Selyami, Abduraim.** Year of Birth: 1892. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], city of Simferopol. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Poorly literate. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Crimean ASSR, city of Simferopol. Address: 50 Tsiganskoy [Gypsy] Street. Occupation: He has not worked anywhere since April 1937. Indictment: Released from ITL in April 1937, he did not engage in socially useful work. He began to constantly visit the bazaar among the criminal elements, buying things and stealing. On April 28, 1937, he stole a leather jacket from Pirozhenko, which he tried to sell at the Buying Point, where he was detained. Deciding Body: Troika of the NKVD of the Crimean ASSR. Date of Decision: August 13, 1937. Verdict: 8 years ITL. Source: GDASBU, f. 6 P, op. 6, spr. 8, ark. 171, [https://tsdea.archives.gov.ua/metric-books/?arch\\_id=39&fund\\_id=88&affair\\_id=6638.#lg=1&slide=186](https://tsdea.archives.gov.ua/metric-books/?arch_id=39&fund_id=88&affair_id=6638.#lg=1&slide=186).

**Semyonov, Roman Nazarovich.** Year of Birth: 1923. Place of Birth: [USSR, RSFSR], Omsk Governorate, Tara Uyezd, Ust-Ishim Volost, village Bolshaya Tara. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Omsk. Occupation: Red Army soldier of the 119th Reserve Rifle Regiment. Date of Arrest: February 17, 1943. Indictment: Art. 58-10, part 2 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: VT military unit No. 330. Date of Decision: March 25, 1943. Verdict: 10 years ITL. Rehabilitating Body: VT of the Siberian VO. Reason for Rehabilitation: Lack of corpus delicti. Date of Rehabilitation: July 4, 1990. Source: *Книга памяти Омской области*. Vol. 7; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1675389>.

**Serafimovich, Nikolay Alexandrovich.** Year of Birth: 1922. Place of Birth: [USSR, RSFSR], city of Chelyabinsk. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Komi ASSR, Ukhta Combine at the MVD. Occupation: Prisoner, mechanic, worker of the 35th Lagpunkt, OLP-7. Date of Arrest: April 17, 1946. Indictment: Art. 58-10, part 1; 58-14 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body:

Special Camp Court at the ITL. Date of Decision: May 10, 1946. Verdict: 10 years imprisonment and 5 years loss of rights. Source: *Книга памяти Республики Коми*. Vol. 7, Part 1; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/413778>.

**Settar, Ava.** Year of Birth: 1923. Place of Birth: [USSR, RSFSR], Crimean ASSR, city of Alushta. Social Origin: Worker. Nationality: Gypsy woman. Education: Literate. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Sverdlovsk. Occupation: Uralmashplant, canteen, food distributor. Preventive measure: A written undertaking was taken not to leave the home site [i.e. house arrest]. Date of Arrest: September 12, 1942. Indictment: Art. 58-1B UK RSFSR (family member of a traitor to the Motherland). Deciding Body: OSO at the NKVD. Date of Decision: October 3, 1942. Verdict: 5 years exile in North Kazakhstan. Rehabilitating Body: Decree of the PVS USSR of January 16, 1989. Date of Rehabilitation: March 28, 1989. Source: GAAOSO, f. 1, op. 2, d. 37015; *Книга памяти Свердловской области*. Vol. 7; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2090973>.

**Sharkezi, Ivan Oleksandrovich.** Year of Birth: 1890. Place of Birth: [Romania, Transylvania, city of Târgu Mureş]. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: Romania, Transylvania, city of Târgu Mureş [sic!]. Occupation: Peasant, Worked in his household. Date of Arrest: May 10, 1941. Indictment: Art. 80 UK UkSSR. Deciding Body: [n.d.]. Date of Decision: [n.d.]. Verdict: [n.d.]. He died in prison in Sevurallag from pulmonary tuberculosis. Reason for Rehabilitation: Case dismissed for lack of corpus delicti. Date of Rehabilitation: June 21, 1990. Source: DACHO (Chernivtsi), f. P 2838, op. 3, spr. 1687; *Український мартиролог*, <https://archives.gov.ua/um.php?nac=22&p=1&&id=88185>.

**Sharkozi, Iosif.** Year of Birth: 1880. Place of Birth: Hungary. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Leningrad Oblast. Date of Decision: 1935. Indictment: Violation of the Passport Law – SOE. Deciding Body: [n.d.]. Date of Decision: [n.d.]. Verdict: Eviction in Murmansk Oblast, Kirovsk Rayon. Source: УВД Мурманской область; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1497791>.

**Sharkozi, Stepan Tomasovich** (variant: Sharkozi, D. T.). Year of Birth: 1894. Place of Birth: Hungary. Nationality: Hungarian (Gypsy man). Social Origin: Gypsy. Education: Literate. Place of Residence: Uzbek USSR, city of Tashkent. Occupation: Touring artist. Arrested: 2nd squad of OO OGPU at the Moscow VO. Date of Arrest: April 5, 1933. Indictment: Art. 58-10 UK RSFSR (anti-Soviet

agitation, political banditry, involvement in the supreme Gypsy Court 'Roma Kriss Bary'). Deciding Body: Troika at the PP OGPU of Moscow Oblast. Date of Decision: April 22, 1933. Verdict: 3 years ITL. Additional Information: First Gypsy lawsuit in Moscow. Rehabilitating Body: Prosecutor's Office of the city of Moscow. Date of Rehabilitation: December 25, 1992. Source: GARF, *Открытый список*, [https://ru.openlist.wiki/Шаркози\\_Степан\\_Томасович\\_\(1894\)](https://ru.openlist.wiki/Шаркози_Степан_Томасович_(1894)).

**Sharshun, Iosif Ioganovich.** Year and Place of Birth: [n.d.]. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Sverdlovsk Oblast, town of Nadezhdinsk. Occupation: Tinkers' artel *Serbia*. Indictment: Art. 58-6 UK RSFSR (espionage). Investigative Case dismissed; indictment is prequalified for Art. 107 UK RSFSR (speculation). Deciding Body: [n.d.]. Verdict: [n.d.]. Additional Information: Gypsy lawsuit in Nadezhdinsk. Source: GAAOSO, f. 1, op. 2, d. 2196.

**Shcherbakov, Ilya Ivanovich.** Year of Birth: 1910. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Azov-Black Sea Krai, Zverevo Rayon, khutor Bolshaya Fyodorovka. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, stanitsa Gornaya, MTS. Indictment: Art. 58-10, part 1 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Special Court Collegium of the Azov-Black Sea Krai's Court. Date of Decision: March 8, 1937. Verdict: 5 years ITL, and loss of rights for 2 years. Source: *Книга памяти Ростовской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1897647>.

**Shcherbakov, Pyotr Alexeevich.** Year of Birth: 1878. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Taganrog Okrug, Agrafenova Rayon, village Agrafenova. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Primary. Place of Residence: China, city of Kulja. Arrested: Dzharkend border detachment. Date of Arrest: November 2, 1933. Indictment: Art. 58-6; 59-9 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Troika at the PP OGPU. Date of Decision: February 11, 1934. Verdict: 3 years of exile. Rehabilitating Body: Prosecutor's Office of Taldy-Kurgan Oblast. Reason for Rehabilitation: Decree of the PVS USSR of January 16, 1989. Date of Rehabilitation: December 13, 1989. Source: *Сведения Департамента КНБ Республики Казахстан по Алматинской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/3034800>.

**Shishkarev, Georgy Alexeevich.** Year of Birth: 1914. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Moscow Oblast, town of Posad. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Komi ASSR, Pechorlag. Occupation: Prisoner, column No. 16. Date of Arrest: February 15, 1946. Indictment: Art. 58-14 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: VT at the NKVD troops of the US SPZhD. Date of Decision:

March 16, 1946. Verdict: By decision of the Military Collegium of the VS USSR of January 19, 1955, released for lack of corpus delicti. Source: *Книга памяти Республики Коми*. Vol. 7, Part 2; Vol. 1; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/425669>.

**Shishkov, Ivan Grigorievich.** Year of Birth: 1910. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Kalinin Oblast. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Kalinin. Date of Arrest: 1939. Indictment: [n.d.]. Deciding Body: [n.d.]. Verdict: [ITL]. [Date of Arrest: 1941]. Indictment: Art. 58 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: VT. Date of Decision: September 11, 1941. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: November 27, 1942. Date of Rehabilitation: February 1994. Source: *Книга памяти Магаданской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1455096>.

**Shishkov, Leonid Ivanovich.** Year of Birth: 1912. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], city of Moscow. Nationality: Gypsy man. Occupation: Convicted thrice from 1936 to 1938; served term in the Norillag. Indictment: Art. 58-12; 58-14 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: OSO at the NKVD. Date of Decision: March 10, 1943. Verdict: 10 years ITL. Rehabilitating Body: Krasnoyarsk Krai's Court. Date of Rehabilitation: 1957. Source: *Книга памяти Красноярского края*. Vol. 9; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/981875>.

**Shishkov, Vasily Nikolaevich.** Year of Birth: 1902. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], city of Ryazan. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Karelian ASSR, Medvezhyegorsk Rayon, White Sea-Baltic Combine of the NKVD. Occupation: Prisoner. Indictment: According to Order No. 00447. Deciding Body: Troika at the NKVD of the Karelian ASSR. Date of Decision: August 26, 1937. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: September 3, 1937, Karelian ASSR, railway station Segezha. No information about rehabilitation. Source: *Поминальные списки Карелии; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/286848>.

**Shkuratov, Ivan Mikitovich.** Year of Birth: 1920 (variant: 1922). Place of Birth: [USSR], Ukrainian SSR, Donetsk Oblast, Telmanovo Rayon, village Svobodne. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Incomplete secondary school. Occupation: Red Fleet of the 402nd artillery division of the 1100th battery. Date of Arrest: August 18, 1942. Indictment: [n.d.]. Deciding Body: VT of the Leningrad naval garrison. Date of Decision: [n.d.]. Verdict: 10 years ITL with loss of rights for 3 years and confiscation of property. Date of Rehabilitation: 1994. Source: *Реабілітовані історією*, <http://www.reabit.org.ua/nbr/?ID=254996>.

**Sidelnikov, Vasily Maksimovich.** Year of Birth: 1892. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Poltava Oblast, city of Poltava. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Middle special. Place of Residence: Kazakh SSR, Kyzyl-Orda Oblast, city of Kyzyl-Orda. Arrested: Directorate of the NKVD Kyzyl-Orda Oblast. Date of Arrest: July 18, 1941. Indictment: Art. 58-10 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Kyzyl-Orda OS. Date of Decision: September 11, 1941. Verdict: 10 years ITL. Rehabilitating Body: PVS of the Kazakh SSR. Reason for Rehabilitation: for lack of corpus delicti. Date of Rehabilitation: March 3, 1989. Source: *Сведения Департамента КНБ Республики Казахстан по Кызыл-Ординской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/3013889>.

**Siimon, August Kristovich.** Year of Birth: 1910. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Byelorussian SSR [today in Latvia], town of Vilyany. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Komi ASSR, Vorkutlag. Occupation: Prisoner. Date of Arrest: October 15, 1941. Indictment: Art. 58-14 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: OO of the Vorkutlag. Date of Decision: November 3, 1941. Verdict: case dismissed. Source: *Книга памяти Республики Коми*. Vol. 7, Part 2; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/414251>.

**Silenko, Prokofy Ivanovich.** Year of Birth: 1911. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Ukrainian SSR, village Karanda. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Karelian ASSR, Medvezhyegorsk Rayon, White Sea-Baltic Combine of the NKVD. Occupation: Prisoner. Date of Arrest: September 18, 1937. Indictment: Art. 58-10; 58-11 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Troika at the NKVD of the Karelian ASSR. Date of Decision: November 20, 1937. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: December 3, 1937, Watershed (VII–VIII locks of the White Sea Canal). Rehabilitating Body: Prosecutor of the Karelian ASSR. Date of Rehabilitation: April 12, 1989. Source: *Поминальные списки Карелии; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/284234>.

**Silnitsky, Nikolay Afanasievich.** Year of Birth: 1906. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Smolensk Oblast, village Luginovo. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Karelian ASSR, Medvezhyegorsk Rayon, White Sea-Baltic Combine of the NKVD. Occupation: Prisoner. Date of Arrest: August 5, 1938. Indictment: Art. 82 UK RSFSR (escape). Deciding Body: Troika at the NKVD of the Karelian ASSR. Date of Decision: September 1, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: September 17, 1938, railway station Medvezhya Gora (tract Sandarmokh). No information about rehabilitation. Source:

*Поминальные списки Карелии; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/284264>.

**Simonenko, Vladimir Mikhailovich.** Year of Birth: 1910. Place of Birth: Romania, city of Bucharest. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Komi ASSR, Pechorlag. Occupation: Prisoner, saddler, worker of the 231st column of the 18th department of the Pechorlag. Date of Arrest: January 9, 1942. Indictment: Art. 58-14 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: VT at the NKVD troops of the US SPZhD. Date of Decision: May 25, 1942. Verdict: 8 years imprisonment and 2 years loss of rights. Source: *Книга памяти Республики Коми*. Vol. 7, Part 1; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/414362>.

**Sinkevich, Nikolay Vasilievich.** Year of Birth: 1920. Place of Birth: [USSR, RSFSR], Buryat-Mongolian ASSR, village Khonkholey. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Poorly literate. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Chelyabinsk. Occupation: Cadet of the 53rd Machine Gun Training Regiment. Date of Arrest: March 30, 1943. Indictment: Art. 58-10, part 2 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: VT at the 8th Reserve Rifle Brigade. Date of Decision: April 17, 1943. Verdict: 8 years ITL with confiscation of property. Rehabilitating Body: Prosecutor's Office of Omsk Oblast. Reason for Rehabilitation: Law of the RF [without specification]. Date of Rehabilitation: June 8, 1995. Source: *Книга памяти Омской области*. Vol. 7; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1675794>.

**Sinyatkin, Fyodor Gerasimovich.** Year of Birth: 1916. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Voronezh Oblast, Tokarevka Rayon. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Poorly literate. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Perm Oblast, Oralovo OLP of Usollag. Occupation: Prisoner. Date of Arrest: December 8, 1942. Indictment: Counter-revolutionary sabotage. Deciding Body: [n.d.]. Date of Decision: August 23, 1943. Verdict: 4 years imprisonment. Rehabilitating Body: Prosecutor's Office of Perm Oblast. Date of Rehabilitation: April 3, 2000. Source: *Книга памяти Пермской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1803867>.

**Slichenko, Nikolay Fyodorovich.** Year of Birth: 1890. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Voronezh Governorate, Korotoyak Uyezd, village Krasino. Social Origin: Peasant. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Lowest. Occupation: Farmer and horse trader. Date of Arrest: May 10, 1921. Indictment: Counter-revolutionary activity. Deciding Body: Collegium of the Voronezh Governorates ChK. Date of

Decision: October 27, 1921. Verdict: 2 years concentration camp. Rehabilitating Body: Prosecutor's Office of Voronezh Oblast. Date of Rehabilitation: April 2, 1992. Source: *Книга памяти Воронежской области*. Vol. 4; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/3114965>.

**Sluzhenikin, Mikhail Mikhailovich.** Year of Birth: 1915. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Voronezh Oblast. Social Origin: Worker. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Middle. Place of Residence: Uzbek CCP, city of Bukhara. Occupation: Didn't work. Arrested: Directorate of the MGB of the Crimean ASSR. Date of Arrest: November 29, 1949. Indictment: Art. 58-10 UK RSFSR (anti-Soviet agitation). Deciding Body: Crimean OS. Date of Decision: January 16, 1950. Verdict: Sent for special treatment in a psychiatric hospital in the city of Kazan with isolation from society; on February 28, 1955, placed in a mental hospital on a general basis. Rehabilitating Body: VS of the Ukrainian SSR. Date of Rehabilitation: February 21, 1962. Source: Омельчук, 2008; *Реабилитированные историей. Автономная Республика Крым*. Vol. 5; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/3071091>.

**Smailov, Mustafa.** Year of Birth: 1898. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Crimean Oblast, town of Sary Krym. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Illiterate. Occupation: Worker. Place of Residence: Kazakh SSR, Guryev Oblast, Inder Rayon, rural-type settlement Inder. Arrested: Directorate of the MGB of Guryev Oblast. Date of Arrest: June 15, 1949. Indictment: Art. 58-10; 58-3 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Guryev OS. Date of Decision: September 1, 1949. Verdict: 10 years ITL. Rehabilitating Body: Main Prosecutor's Office of the Republic of Kazakhstan. Reason for Rehabilitation: Law of the Republic Kazakhstan of April 14, 1993. Date of Rehabilitation: November 13, 1997. Source: *Сведения Департамента КНБ Республики Казахстан по Атырауской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/3015031>.

**Smirnov, Vasily Stepanovich.** Year of Birth: 1879. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Moscow Oblast, Serpukhov Rayon, village Polunino. Nationality: Gypsy man. Indictment: [n.d.]. Deciding Body: OSO at the NKVD. Date of Decision: 1940. Verdict: 5 years imprisonment. Occupation: Prisoner. Date of Arrest: June 22, 1941. Indictment: Art. 58-14 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: VS of the Tatar ASSR. Date of Decision: January 16, 1943. Verdict: 8 years imprisonment with loss of rights for 3 years. Died in place of detention: August 31, 1943, city of Kazan, OLP-1. Source: *Книга памяти Республики Татарстан; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/531023>.



**Soldatenko, Tikhon Nikolaevich.** Year of Birth: 1907. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Akmolinsk Oblast. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, [Altay Krai], Slavgorod Rayon, railway station Omskaya, ballast quarry, 296 km. Occupation: Labour army soldier of the 366th battalion. Date of Arrest: May 18, 1942. Indictment: Art. 58-10, part 2 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: VT of the Omsk railway station. Date of Decision: June 3, 1942. Verdict: 7 years [imprisonment]. Rehabilitating Body: Military Prosecutor's Office of the Siberian VO. Date of Rehabilitation: February 3, 1993. Source: *Книга памяти Алтайского края*. Vol. 5; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/823269>.

**Solovyov, Nikolai Matveevich** (variant: Dulkevich, Alexander Dmitrievich). Year of Birth: 1920. Place of Birth: [USSR, RSFSR], Tula Oblast, Serebryanye Prudy Rayon, village Vasilevskoe. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Komi ASSR, Ustvymlag. Occupation: Prisoner. Date of Arrest: November 15, 1945. Indictment: Art. 58-14 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Special Camp Court of the Ust-Vym ITL. Date of Decision: December 18, 1945. Verdict: 10 years imprisonment and 5 years loss of rights. Source: *Книга памяти Республики Коми*. Vol. 2; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/415768>.

**Solovyov, Nikolay Vasilievich.** Year of Birth: 1917. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Chelyabinsk Oblast. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Omsk. Date of Arrest: 1940. Verdict: [ITL]. [Date of Arrest: 1941]. Indictment: Art. 58 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: VT. Date of Decision: September 6, 1941. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: November 15, 1941. Date of Rehabilitation: March 1993. Source: *Книга памяти Магаданской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1451512>.

**Stanesko, Gogo Parfentievich** (variant: Trifole le Mardyulako). Year of Birth: 1886. Place of Birth: Romania. Nationality: Gypsy nomad. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Moscow. Occupation: Elected head of a Gypsy camp near Moscow. Date of Arrest: 1932. Deciding Body: Collegium of the OGPU. Date of Decision: February 9, 1933. Indictment: Art. 58-6; 58-8; 58-10; 58-11; 59-12 UK RSFSR. Verdict: 10 years ITL. Additional Information: First Gypsy lawsuit in Moscow, Part 1. Place of Residence: STON. Occupation: prisoner. Indictment: [n.d.]. Deciding Body: Special Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of Leningrad Oblast. Date of Decision: October 14, 1937. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: November 1, 1937, in Karelian ASSR (tract Sandarmokh).

Note: His fellows in the case, Gypsy coppersmiths, were taken from Solovki in the last stage in 1937 and shot on December 8). Source: *Ленинградский мартиролог*. Vol. 6; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2766866>.

**Stanesko, Nikolay Lotsevich** (variants: Yergulo le Piyadako; Stanesko, Nikolay Latsevich). Year of Birth: 1876. Place of Birth: [n.d.]. Nationality: Romanian. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Moscow. Occupation: Nomad. Date of Arrest: 1932. Indictment: Art. 58-8; 58-10; 58-11 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Commission of the OGPU. Date of Decision: February 9, 1933. Verdict: 10 years ITL. Additional Information: First Gypsy lawsuit in Moscow, Part 1. By the Decision of the Presidium of TsIK SSSR on May 27, 1936, the term was reduced to 8 years. Place of Residence: STON. Occupation: Prisoner. Indictment: [n.d.]. Deciding Body: Special Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of Leningrad Oblast. Date of Decision: November 25, 1937. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: December 8, 1937, city of Leningrad. Source: Архив НИЦ "Мемориал" (Санкт-Петербург); *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2929490>.

**Stanesko, Yergul Georgievich**. Year of Birth: [n.d.]. Place of Birth: Romania, city of Bonevi [?]. Nationality: Romanian. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Moscow. Date of Arrest: 1932. Indictment: Art. 58-8; 58-10; 58-11 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Commission of the OGPU. Date of Decision: February 9, 1933. Verdict: 10 years ITL. Additional Information: First Gypsy lawsuit in Moscow, Part 1. Place of Residence: STON. Occupation: Prisoner. Indictment: [n.d.]. Deciding Body: Special Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of Leningrad Oblast. Date of Decision: November 25, 1937. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: December 8, 1937, city of Leningrad. Source: Архив НИЦ "Мемориал" (Санкт-Петербург); *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2929489>.

**Stanevsky, Pavel Mikhailovich**. Year of Birth: 1914. Place of Birth: Austria-Hungary, town of Demecher. Social Origin: Gypsy man. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Poorly literate. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Sverdlovsk Oblast, town of Nadezhdinsk. Occupation: Tinker in different canteens. Date of Arrest: January 14, 1938. Indictment: Art. 58-6 UK RSFSR (espionage). Verdict: Decision of the Directorate of the NKVD of Sverdlovsk Oblast of November 28, 1938, case dismissed. Release: Ural RO of the UGB at the Directorate of the NKVD of Sverdlovsk Oblast. Release: November 29, 1938. Additional Information: Gypsy lawsuit in Nadezhdinsk. Source: GAAOSO, f. 1, op. 2, d. 7238.

**Stepanenko, Leonid Semyonovich.** Year of Birth: 1920. Place of Birth: [USSR, RSFSR], city of Smolensk. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Poorly literate. Occupation: Served in the ITK-6. Place of Residence: RSFSR, [Oyrot Autonomous Oblast], town of Gorno-Altaysk. Indictment: [n.d.]. Deciding Body: [n.d.]. Date of Decision: October 14, 1940. Verdict: 4 years imprisonment. Source: *Книга памяти Республики Алтай; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/136270>.

**Stepanenko, Mikhailo Sidorovich** (variant: Markovsky, Sergey Fyodorovich). Year of Birth: 1903. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Kiev Governorate, village Zalese. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence and Work: Without specific occupations and place of residence. Date of Arrest: March 21, 1938. Indictment: Art. 54-1a UK UkSSR. Deciding Body: Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of Zhytomyr Oblast. Date of Decision: October 3, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: October 4, 1938, city of Zhytomyr. Additional Information: Gypsy lawsuit in Zhytomyr. Date of Rehabilitation: 1990. Source: *Реабілітовані історією*, <http://www.reabit.org.ua/nbr/?ID=308585>.

**Stepanov, Fedir Lukich.** Year of Birth: 1905. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Smolensk Governorate, village Kisely. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence and Work: Without specific occupation and place of residence. Date of Arrest: May 3, 1938. Indictment: Art. 54-1a UK UkSSR. Deciding Body: Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of Zhytomyr Oblast. Date of Decision: October 3, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: October 4, 1938, city of Zhytomyr. Additional Information: Gypsy lawsuit in Zhytomyr. Date of Rehabilitation: 1989. Source: *Реабілітовані історією*, <http://www.reabit.org.ua/nbr/?ID=308580>.

**Stepanov, Ivan Iudovich.** Year of Birth: 1913. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Novosibirsk Oblast. Nationality: Gypsy man. Date of Arrest: 1932. Verdict: [ITL]. [Date of Arrest: 1938]. Indictment: Art. 58 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of the Dalstroy. Date of Decision: January 24, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: April 13, 1938. Date of Rehabilitation: June 1989. Source: *Книга памяти Магаданской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1454976>.

**Stepanov, Pavel Dmitrievich.** Year of Birth: 1941 [typing mistake]. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], [Tomsk Governorate], Savunsky Rayon, village

Narym. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence: Kazakh SSR, Pavlodar Oblast, Pavlodar Rayon, village Yamyshevo. Occupation: Worker. Arrested: Pavlodar RO of the NKVD of Pavlodar Oblast. Date of Arrest: 1941. Indictment: Art. 58-10 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Pavlodar OS. Date of Decision: 1941. Verdict: 10 years ITL. Rehabilitating Body: Pavlodar OS. Reason for Rehabilitation: Law of the Republic Kazakhstan of April 14, 1993. Date of Rehabilitation: October 29, 1999. Source: *Сведения Департамента КНБ Республики Казахстан по Павлодарской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/3016568>.

Strizhevskaya, Valentina Grigorievna. Year of Birth: 1919. Place of Birth: [USSR], Ukrainian SSR, city of Odesa. Nationality: Gypsy woman. Education: Primary. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Perm. Occupation: Prisoner, Section of ITK, city of Perm. Date of Arrest: July 27, 1941. Indictment: Counter-revolutionary sabotage (absenteeism), anti-Soviet activity. Deciding Body: [n.d.]. Date of Decision: August 7, 1941. Verdict: 10 years imprisonment. Rehabilitating Body: Prosecutor's Office of Perm Oblast. Date of Rehabilitation: October 17, 1992. Source: *Книга памяти Пермской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1805235>.

Sukhovskikh, Ivan Nikolaevich. Year of Birth: 1909. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Leningrad Oblast, Kaduy Rayon, village Posopkovka. Social Origin: Nomad. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Poorly literate. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Chelyabinsk Oblast, town of Karabash. Occupation: Prisoner (sentenced in 1933 to 1 year probation; in 1935 to 1 year), Mining Administration, central mine, mechanic. Date of Arrest: April 16, 1937. Indictment: Art. 58-10 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Chelyabinsk OS. Date of Decision: May 23, 1937. Verdict: 7 years ITL. Source: OGACHO, f. P 467, op. 5, d. 3228, 3229, <https://archive74.ru/dbases/victim/index>.

Sukhovsky, Alexander Ivanovich (variant: Sukhovskoy, A. I.). Year of Birth: 1900. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Leningrad Oblast, town of Ostrov. Social Origin: Merchant. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Lowest. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Pskov Oblast, town of Ostrov. Address: First May Street Nr. 99. Occupation: Cabman. Convicted in 1933 to 10 years ITL. He served his sentence in the Dmitlag, where he worked as a groom of the Perervin district. Date of Arrest: February 12, 1938. Indictment: Counter-revolutionary agitation among prisoners. Deciding Body: Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of Moscow Oblast. Date of Decision: February 19, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: February 26, 1938, city of Moscow. Place of Burial: Butovo

[Firing Range]. Date of Rehabilitation: June 15, 1989. Source: *Бутовский полигон. 1937–1938*. Vol. 3; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2655728>.

**Sukonnikov, Andrey Glebovich.** Year of Birth: 1909. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Irkutsk Oblast, town of Kirensk. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Poorly literate. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Irkutsk Oblast, town of Ust-Kut, ITK. Occupation: Prisoner. Date of Arrest: February 23, 1938. Indictment: Art. 58-7, 58-10, 58-11 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of Irkutsk Oblast. Date of Decision: March 9, 1938. Verdict: 10 years imprisonment. Date of Rehabilitation: May 15, 1989. Source: *Книга памяти Иркутской области*. Vol. 8; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1305128>.

**Sunduchenko, Yakov Afanasyevich.** Year of Birth: 1904. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Kursk Oblast, Sudzha Rayon, village Mokhovoy kolodets. Social Origin: Poor peasant. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Poorly literate. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Kursk Oblast, Sudzha Rayon, village Mokhovoy Kolodets. Occupation: Worked in agriculture. Date of Arrest: March 19, 1938. Indictment: Counter-revolutionary propaganda among prisoners. Deciding Body: Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of Moscow Oblast. Date of Decision: May 20, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: May 27, 1938, city of Moscow. Place of Burial: Butovo [Firing Range]. Date of Rehabilitation: February 10, 1990. Source: *Бутовский полигон. 1937–1938*. Vol. 5; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2655657>.

**Surmay, Vikenty Stefanovich.** Year of Birth: 1931. Place of Birth: [Czechoslovakia], Transcarpathia Oblast, Uzhhorod Rayon, village Seredne. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Primary. Place of Residence: Ukrainian SSR, Stalino Oblast, city of Gorlovka. Occupation: Student. Date of Arrest: May 17, 1949. Indictment: [n.d.]. Deciding Body: Donetsk OS. Date of Decision: [n.d.]. Verdict: 10 years ITL 3 with loss of rights for 5 years. Date of Rehabilitation: 1993. Source: *Реабілітовані історією*, <http://www.reabit.org.ua/nbr/?ID=252208>.

**Ter-Karim.** Year and Place of Birth: [n.d.]. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Moscow. Nationality: Greek Gypsy man. Date of Arrest: 1923. Indictment: Espionage. Verdict: Case dismissed, released. Additional Information: Went abroad. Source: GDASBUR, f. 4 (P), spr. 17664 (quoted by Жив'юк, 2021; Zhyvyuk, 2023).

**Terpovsky, Andrey Gordeevich.** Year of Birth: 1909. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Transbaikal Oblast, city of Chita. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Chita Oblast, city of Chita, Chernovskaya labour colony. Occupation: Prisoner. Date of Arrest: May 18, 1938. Date of Decision: January 19, 1939. Indictment: Art. 58-7 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: [n.d.]. Date of Decision: [n.d.]. Verdict: Case dismissed. Rehabilitating Body: Prosecutor's Office of Omsk Oblast. Date of Rehabilitation: January 26, 1997. Source: *Книга памяти Читинской области*. Vol. 7; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2597286>.

**Timofeev, Fyodor Yegorovich.** Year of Birth: 1927. Place of Birth: [USSR, RSFSR], Novgorod Oblast, Demyansk Rayon, village Klin. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Literate. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Novgorod Oblast, Demyansk Rayon, village Klin. Occupation: Without specific occupations. Date of Arrest: March 15, 1942. Indictment: [n.d.]. Deciding Body: [n.d.]. Date of Decision: May 15, 1942. Verdict: case dismissed, released. Source: *Книга памяти Новгородской области*. Vol. 4; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1556408>.

**Timofeeva, Alexandra Yegorovna.** Year of Birth: 1925. Place of Birth: [USSR, RSFSR], Novgorod Oblast, Demyansk Rayon, village Klin. Nationality: Gypsy woman. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Novgorod Oblast, Demyansk Rayon, village Klin. Occupation: Without specific occupations. Date of Arrest: March 15, 1942. Indictment: [n.d.]. Deciding Body: [n.d.]. Date of Decision: May 15, 1942. Verdict: Case dismissed, acquitted. Source: *Книга памяти Новгородской области*. Vol. 4; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1556421>.

**Tkachuk, Boris Zakharovich.** Year of Birth: 1886. Place of Birth: Romania, village Ivashkoutsy. Social Origin: Employee. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Higher. Place of Residence: Ukrainian SSR, Poltava Oblast, town of Lubny. Occupation: University teacher. Date of Arrest: January 13, 1937. Indictment: Art. 54-8, 54-11 UK UkSSR. Deciding Body: VS USSR. Date of Decision: July 14, 1937. Verdict: VMN with confiscation of personal property. Date and Place of Execution: July 15, 1937, city of Kiev. Rehabilitating Body: VS USSR. Date of Rehabilitation: July 7, 1966. Source: *Реабілітовані історією*, <http://www.reabit.org.ua/nbr/?ID=176958>.

**Toma, Stepan Maksimovich.** Year of Birth: 1886. Place of Birth: Romania, city of Bucharest. Nationality: Romanian. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Moscow. Occupation: Mechanic, artel Inostranets (Foreigner). Date of Arrest: 1932. Indictment: Art. 58-8; 58-10; 58-11 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Commission of the OGPU. Date of Decision: April 9, 1933. Verdict: 10 years ITL. Additional Information: First Gypsy lawsuit in Moscow. Place of Residence: STON. Occupation: Prisoner. Indictment: Counter-revolutionary terrorist propaganda among prisoners. Deciding Body: Special Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of Leningrad Oblast. Date of Decision: February 14, 1938. Verdict: VMN: Date and Place of Execution: February 17, 1938, in Solovki. Source: *Ленинградский мартиролог*. Vol. 8; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2769095>.

**Tomashevich, Klimenty Ivanovich.** Year of Birth: 1882. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Byelorussian SSR, Vitebsk Oblast, Orsha Rayon, village Poluchanka. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Moscow. Address: 2 Kooperativna Street, Apt. 24. Occupation: Master roller, Gypsy artel *Tsygkhiprom*. Date of Arrest: [n.d.]. Indictment: [n.d.]. Deciding Body: [n.d.]. Date of Decision: [n.d.]. Verdict: [n.d.]. Source: *Московская правда*. Archival file No. П 76777; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2670782>.

**Trifonov, Sergey.** Year of Birth: [n.d.]. Place of Birth: [n.d.]. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: [n.d.]. Occupation: Prisoner. Date of Arrest: [n.d.]. Indictment: [n.d.]. Verdict: [n.d.]. Source: База данных Красноярского общества “Мемориал”; *Открытый список*, [https://ru.openlist.wiki/Трифонов\\_Сергей](https://ru.openlist.wiki/Трифонов_Сергей).

**Trubin, Konstantin Borisovich.** Year and Place of Birth: [n.d.]. Nationality: Gypsy man. Date of Decision: [n.d. – before 1941]. Indictment: [n.d.]. Deciding Body: [n.d.]. Date of Decision: [n.d.]. Verdict: Exiled to Kolyma. Occupation: Foreman-geologist. Source: *Репрессированные геологи; Бессмертный барак*, <https://bessmertnybarak.ru/books/person/1729784/>.

**Tsibulsky, Yakov Alexandrovich.** Year of Birth: 1892. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire, St Petersburg Governorate], village Lemno. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: [n.d.]. Date of Decision: [n.d.]. Verdict: Mobilised in the Labour Army. Served in: Vogoslovlag. Source: *Книга памяти советских немцев-узников Богословлага; Открытый список*, [https://ru.openlist.wiki/Цибульский\\_Яков\\_Александрович\\_\(1892\)](https://ru.openlist.wiki/Цибульский_Яков_Александрович_(1892)).

**Tsikolan, Trokhim Merkuriyovich.** Year of Birth: 1913. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire]. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: Ukrainian SSR, Odesa Oblast, Bilyaivka Rayon, village Bilyaivka. Occupation: Without a specific occupation. Date of Arrest: May 12, 1945. Indictment: Art. 54-1 UK UkSSR (treason against the Motherland), Art. 2 of the Decree of PVS USSR of April 19, 1943 (About measures of punishment for spies, traitors to the Motherland from among Soviet citizens and their helpers). Deciding Body: VT of the NKVD troops of Odesa Oblast; Reason – during the German-Romanian occupation, he voluntarily worked as a translator in the mayor's office and the Romanian prosecutor's office. Date of Decision: September 19, 1945. Verdict: 15 years ITL with loss of rights for 5 years and confiscation of property. By the resolution of the Odesa Oblast Commission for Review of Criminal Cases on Persons Convicted of Counter-Revolutionary Crimes of February 9, 1955, the sentence was left unchanged. According to the conclusion of the Prosecutor of Odesa Oblast of February 11, 1997, he was found to be reasonably convicted and not subject to rehabilitation; the conviction is qualified under Art. 54-3 UK UkSSR. Source: AUSBUOO, spr. 06600, No. 000190.

**Tsyganov, Vasily Yemelyanovich.** Year of Birth: 1897. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Gorky Oblast, Perevoz Rayon, village Revizen. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: [n.d.]. Date of Arrest: December 1, 1935. Indictment: [n.d.]. Deciding Body: Collegium of the Water Transport Court on Special Cases of the Caspian Basin. Date of Decision: February 29, 1936. Verdict: 5 years ITL. Rehabilitating Body: General Prosecutor's Office of the RF. Date of Rehabilitation: July 8, 1992. Source: *Книга памяти Республики Дагестан; Открытый список*, [https://ru.openlist.wiki/Цыганов\\_Василий\\_Емельянович\\_\(1897\)](https://ru.openlist.wiki/Цыганов_Василий_Емельянович_(1897)).

**Tsygansky, Alexander Albinovich.** Year of Birth: 1908. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Novosibirsk Oblast, Kuybyshev Rayon, village Mikhailovka Vtoraya. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Primary. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Novosibirsk Oblast, Kuybyshev Rayon, village Mikhailovka Vtoraya. Occupation: Blacksmith in kolkhoz named after Yaroshenko. Date of Arrest: February 16, 1938. Indictment: Art. 58-6; 58-9; 58-10; 58-11 UK RSFSR (Participation in a counter-revolutionary espionage-insurgent organisation, vandalism, and anti-Soviet agitation). Deciding Body: Commission of the NKVD and the Prosecutor of the USSR. Date of Decision: April 12, 1938. Verdict: VMN (shot down). Date and Place of Execution: April 28, 1938. Date of Rehabilitation: August 29, 1958. Source: *Книга памяти Новосибирской области; Открытый список*, [https://ru.openlist.wiki/Цыганский\\_Александр\\_Альбинович\\_\(1908\)](https://ru.openlist.wiki/Цыганский_Александр_Альбинович_(1908)).



**Tsygansky, Anton Albinovich.** Year of Birth: 1917. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Novosibirsk Oblast, Kuybyshev Rayon, village Mikhailovka Vtoraya. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Incomplete secondary. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Novosibirsk Oblast, Kuybyshev Rayon, village Mikhailovka Vtoraya. Occupation: Accountant in kolkhoz named after Yaroshenko. Date of Arrest: February 16, 1938. Indictment: Art. 58-6; 58-9; 58-10; 58-11 UK RSFSR (Participation in a counter-revolutionary espionage-insurgent organisation, vandalism, and anti-Soviet agitation). Deciding Body: Commission of the NKVD and the Prosecutor of the USSR. Date of Decision: April 12, 1938. Verdict: VMN (shot down). Date and Place of Execution: April 28, 1938. Date of Rehabilitation: August 29, 1958. Source: *Книга памяти Новосибирской области; Открытый список*, [https://ru.openlist.wiki/Цыганский\\_Антон\\_Альбинович\\_\(1917\)](https://ru.openlist.wiki/Цыганский_Антон_Альбинович_(1917)).

**Tudor, Georgy Georgievich.** Year of Birth: 1902. Place of Birth: Romania, Mehedinți District, village Zachuzhan. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Primary. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Tomsk. Occupation: Vodokanalrest, sewage disposal unit. Date of Arrest: August 29, 1937. Indictment: [Participation in] Polish Military Organisation. Deciding Body: [n.d.]. Date of Decision: October 20, 1937. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: November 4, 1937. Date of Rehabilitation: February 1960. Source: *Книга памяти Томской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2389685>.

**Tudor, Konstantin Alexeevich.** Year of Birth: 1905. Place of Birth: Romania. Nationality: Romanian. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence: Kazakh SSR, Kustanay Oblast, city of Kustanay. Occupation: Worker. Arrested: Directorate of the NKVD of Kustanay Oblast. Date of Arrest: August 7, 1937. Indictment: Art. 58-6 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: OSO at the NKVD. Date of Decision: January 8, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Rehabilitating Body: Prosecutor's Office of Kustanay Oblast. Reason for Rehabilitation: Decree of the PVS USSR of January 16, 1989. Date of Rehabilitation: November 4, 1989. Source: *Сведения Департамента КНБ Республики Казахстан по Костанайской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/3022043>.

**Tumashevich, Filipp Alexandrovich.** Year of Birth: 1909. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Leningrad Oblast, Dregelsky [Zhukovo] Rayon, village Borok. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Komi ASSR, Sevzheldorlag. Occupation: Prisoner, Column Worker No. 2, railway station Kerki Izhma branch. Date of Arrest: May 29, 1944. Indictment: Art. 58-14 UK

RSFSR. Deciding Body: VT at the NKVD troops of the US SPZhD. Date of Decision: June 19, 1944. Verdict: 10 years imprisonment and 5 years loss of rights. Source: *Книга памяти Республики Коми*. Vol. 7, Part 2; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/419443>.

**Tumashevich, Konstantin Ivanovich**. Year of Birth: 1918. Place of Birth: [USSR, RSFSR], Kalinin Oblast, village Mashury. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Karelian ASSR, Medvezhyegorsk Rayon, White Sea-Baltic Combine of the NKVD. Occupation: Prisoner. Date of Arrest: May 20, 1938. Indictment: Art. 82 UK RSFSR (escape). Deciding Body: Troika at the NKVD of the Karelian ASSR. Date of Decision: July 31, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: August 7, 1938, railway station Medvezhya Gora (tract Sandarmokh). No information about rehabilitation. Source: *Поминальные списки Карелии; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/285450>.

**Tverdostupova, Valentina Alexeevna**. Year of Birth: 1916. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Odessa Oblast, city of Kirovograd. Social Origin: Worker. Nationality: Gypsy woman. Education: Incomplete higher education. Place of Residence: Byelorussian SSR, Brest Oblast, town of Baranovichi. Address: 34 Tserkovnaya Street. Occupation: Doctor, Infectious Diseases Hospital. Date of Arrest: July 28, 1944. Indictment: Art. 63-2 УК Byelorussian SSR (treason against the Motherland). Deciding Body: OSO. Date of Decision: July 21, 1945. Verdict: 5 years ITL. Rehabilitating Body: VT of the Byelorussian VO. Date of Rehabilitation: February 12, 1957. Source: *Белорусский "Мемориал"; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2848009>.

**Tvorogova, Maria Abramovna** (variant: Oskolkova, M. A.). Year of Birth: 1912. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Ukrainian SSR, Odessa Oblast, city of Nikolaev. Nationality: Gypsy woman. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Komi ASSR, Ustvymlag. Occupation: Prisoner, worker of the 13th Lagpunkt. Date of Arrest: December 22, 1939. Indictment: Art. 58-14 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: VS of the Komi ASSR. Date of Decision: March 26, 1940. Verdict: 3 years imprisonment. Source: *Книга памяти Республики Коми*. Vol. 7, Part 2; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/417899>.

**Vaidanovich, Anna Vasilievna**. Year of Birth: 1877. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Sverdlovsk Oblast, town of Verkhoture. Social Origin: Merchant (Gypsy nomad). Nationality: Gypsy woman. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Chelyabinsk Oblast, Bagaryak Rayon, village Podkorytovo.

Occupation: Without specific occupations. Date of Arrest: December 22, 1937. Indictment: Art. 58-2; 58-10; 58-11 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Directorate of the NKVD of Chelyabinsk Oblast. Date of Decision: January 2, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: January 27, 1938. Rehabilitating Body: Criminal Cases Jury of the VS USSR. Date of Rehabilitation: October 26, 1955. Source: OGACHO, f. P 467, op. 6, d. 75, <https://archive74.ru/dbases/victim/index>.

**Vaidanovich, Valentina Grigorievna.** Year of Birth: 1919. Place of Birth: [USSR, RSFSR], town of Verkhoture, Sverdlovsk Oblast. Social Origin: Merchant (Gypsy nomad). Nationality: Gypsy woman. Education: 6th grade. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Chelyabinsk Oblast, Bagaryak Rayon, village Podkorytovo. Occupation: Without specific occupations. Date of Arrest: December 22, 1937. Indictment: Art. 58-2; 58-10; 58-11 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Directorate of the NKVD of Chelyabinsk Oblast. Date of Decision: January 2, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: January 27, 1938. Rehabilitating Body: Criminal Cases Jury of the VS USSR. Date of Rehabilitation: October 26, 1955. Source: OGACHO, f. P 467, op. 6, d. 75, <https://archive74.ru/dbases/victim/index>.

**Vakalchuk, Volodymyr Khomich.** Year of Birth: 1900. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Volhynia Oblast, Novel Rayon, village Voloshki. Social Origin: Peasant. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence and Work: Kolkhoz member, [kolkhoz] *Spylnyi lan* (Common Field), Mahdalynivka Rayon, Dnipropetrovsk Oblast, Ukrainian SSR. Date of Arrest: July 31, 1941. Indictment: Counter-revolutionary agitation among the mobilized Red Army soldiers. Deciding Body: [n.d.]. Date of Decision: [n.d.]. Verdict: [n.d.]. Date of Rehabilitation: December 25, 1989. Source: *Реабілітовані історією*, <http://www.reabit.org.ua/nbr/?ID=102273>.

**Vanya le Babasko.** Year and Place of Birth: [n.d.]. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Moscow. Date of Arrest: 1932. Indictment: [n.d.]. Deciding Body: Commission of the OGPU. Date of Decision: February 9, 1933. Verdict: [n.d.]. Additional Information: First Gypsy lawsuit in Moscow, Part 1. Source: GDASBUR, f. 4 (P), spr. 17664 (quoted by Жив'юк, 2021; Zhyvyuk, 2023).

**Vasiliev, Yegor Petrovich.** Year of Birth: 1890. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Moscow Oblast, town of Bolkhovo. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Komi ASSR, Intlag. Occupation: Prisoner. Date of Arrest: March 22, 1944. Indictment: Art. 58-11; 58-14 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: VS of the Komi ASSR at the Intlag. Date of Decision: April 24, 1944. Verdict: 10 years imprisonment and 5 years loss of rights. Source: *Книга памяти Республики Коми*.

Vol. 2; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/375006>.

**Vasilieva, Alexandra Maximovna.** Year of Birth: 1924. Place of Birth: [USSR, RSFSR], city of Chita. Nationality: Gypsy woman. Social Origin: Worker. Education: Poorly literate. Place of Residence: Kazakh SSR, Karaganda Oblast, city of Karaganda, Leninsky Rayon, urban-type settlement Mikhailovka. Date of Arrest: May 8, 1945. Deciding Body: Karaganda OS. Indictment: Art. 58-12 UK RSFSR. Verdict: 3 years ITL. Source: *База данных Красноярского общества "Мемориал"; Открытый список*, [https://ru.openlist.wiki/Васильева\\_Александра\\_Маскимовна\\_\(1924\)](https://ru.openlist.wiki/Васильева_Александра_Маскимовна_(1924)).

**Vashin, Vasily Konstantinovich.** Year and Place of Birth: [n.d.]. Nationality: Gypsy man. Date of Decision: November 1943. Indictment: SOE. Deciding Body: [n.d.]. Date of Decision: [n.d.]. Verdict: Deportation in Novosibirsk Oblast. Source: УВД Томской области.

**Vedmedenko, Timofey Matveevich** (variant: Vidmidenko, T. M.). Year of Birth: 1914. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Chernigov Governorate. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Altay Krai, Topchikha Rayon. Occupation: Chistiunka OLP at the Siblag, prisoner. Date of Arrest: February 10, 1937. Indictment: Art. 58-10, part 1 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of West-Siberian Krai. Date of Decision: August 1, 1937. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: August 18, 1937. Rehabilitating Body: Prosecutor's Office of Altay Krai. Date of Rehabilitation: May 8, 1989. Source: *Книга памяти Алтайского края*. Vol. 3; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/793279>.

**Verbenko, Innokenty Petrovich.** Year of Birth: 1886. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Transbaikal Oblast, Nerchinsky Zavod Uyezd, village Sivachi. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Chita Oblast, Nerchinsky Zavod Rayon, village Lezhankino. Occupation: Worked at the Shakhtam mine, Worker. Date of Arrest: September 11, 1937. Indictment: Art. 58-7; 58-10 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Commission of the NKVD and the Prosecutor of the USSR. Date of Decision: December 10, 1937. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: January 5, 1938. Rehabilitating Body: VT of the Transbaikal VO. Date of Rehabilitation: August 19, 1960. Source: *Книга памяти Читинской области*. Vol. 2; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2573109>.

**Verbitskaya, Yevdokia Alexeevna.** Year of Birth: 1896. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Novgorod Oblast, Valday Rayon, village Lutovenka. Nationality: Gypsy woman. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Novgorod Oblast, Krestsy Rayon, rural-type settlement Krestsy. Occupation: Oil depot driver. Date of Arrest: June 10, 1942. Indictment: [n.d.]. Deciding Body: [n.d.]. Date of Decision: July 22, 1942. Verdict: Case dismissed, released. Source: *Книга памяти Новгородской области*. Vol. 4; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1541233>.

**Verbitsky, Ivan Nikolaevich.** Year of Birth: 1892. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], [Novgorod Oblast.], town of Staraya Russa. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Novgorod Oblast, Staraya Russa Rayon, without a fixed place of residence. Date of Arrest: July 10, 1942. Indictment: [n.d.]. Deciding Body: [n.d.]. Date of Decision: July 22, 1942. Verdict: Case dismissed, acquitted. Source: *Книга памяти Новгородской области*. Vol. 4; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1541235>.

**Verbitsky, Vasily Ivanovich.** Year of Birth: 1923. Place of Birth: [USSR, RSFSR], Novgorod Oblast, Volot Rayon, village Ryabovo. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Novgorod Oblast, Volot Rayon, village Ryabovo. Occupation: Without specific occupations. Date of Arrest: June 10, 1942. Indictment: [n.d.]. Deciding Body: [n.d.]. Date of Decision: September 26, 1942. Verdict: Case dismissed, acquitted. Source: *Книга памяти Новгородской области*. Vol. 4; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1541234>.

**Verbitsky, Vladimir Ivanovich.** Year of Birth: 1912. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Moscow Oblast. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Moscow Oblast. Date of Arrest: 1934. Verdict: [ITL]. [Date of Arrest: 1938]. Indictment: Art. 58 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of the Dalstroy. Date of Decision: February 3, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: February 7, 1938. Date of Rehabilitation: September 1989. Source: *Книга памяти Магаданской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1456411>.

**Vidak, Grigory Avgustovich** (variant: Viktorchik, G. A.). Year of Birth: 1914. Place of Birth: Romania, city of Bucharest. Social Origin: Nomad. Nationality: Romanian Gypsy man. Education: Poorly literate. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Sverdlovsk Oblast, town of Nadezhdinsk (variant: Nadezhdinsk Rayon, village

Sosva). Date of Arrest: January 14, 1938. Indictment: Art. 58-6 UK RSFSR (espionage). Deciding Body: [n.d.]. Date of Decision: [n.d.]. Verdict: Case dismissed. Release: Directorate of the NKVD of Sverdlovsk Oblast. Release: December 11, 1938. Additional Information: Gypsy lawsuit in Nadezhdinsk. Source: GAAOSO, f. 1, op. 2, d. 31030.

**Vidrazhku, Natalia Alexandrovna.** Year of Birth: 1919. Place of Birth: [Romania], Moldavian SSR, town of Kagul. Nationality: Gypsy woman. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Komi ASSR, Ustvymlag. Occupation: Prisoner in the Ustvymlag. Date of Arrest: December 14, 1947. Indictment: Art. 58-14 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Special Camp Court at the Ust-Vym ITL. Date of Decision: March 9, 1948. Verdict: 5 years imprisonment and 3 years loss of rights. Source: *Книга памяти Республики Коми*. Vol. 2; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/375641>.

**Vinogradov, Guman.** Year and Place of Birth: [n.d.]. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Moscow. Date of Arrest: 1932. Indictment: Art. 17; 142-2 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Commission of the OGPU. Date of Decision: June 9, 1933. Verdict: [n.d.]. Additional Information: First Gypsy lawsuit in Moscow, Part 2. Source: GARF, f. P 1235, op. 123, d. 27.

**Vinogradov, Ivan Grigorievich.** Year and Place of Birth: [n.d.]. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Moscow. Date of Arrest: 1932. Indictment: Art. 17/142, part 2 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Commission of the OGPU. Date of Decision: June 9, 1933. Verdict: [n.d.]. Additional Information: First Gypsy lawsuit in Moscow, Part 2. Source: GARF, f. P 1235, op. 123, d. 27.

**Vinogradov, Pyotr.** Year and Place of Birth: [n.d.]. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Moscow. Date of Arrest: 1932. Indictment: Art. 142-2 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Commission of the OGPU. Date of Decision: June 9, 1933. Verdict: [n.d.]. Additional Information: First Gypsy lawsuit in Moscow, Part 2. Source: GARF, f. P 1235, op. 123, d. 27.

**Vitalinsky, Stepan Andreevich.** Year of Birth: 1888. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], city of Voronezh. Social Origin: Gypsy nomad. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Chelyabinsk Oblast, city of Chelyabinsk. Occupation: ITK, prisoner (convicted in 1937 under Art. 74 UK RSFSR for 3 years ITK). Date of Arrest: March 30, 1938. Indictment: Art. 58-6; 58-9; 58-11 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: [n.d.]. Date of Decision: December 21, 1938. Verdict: case dismissed. Source: *Книга памяти Челябинской области*;

*Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2505659>.

**Vishnyakov, Ivan Nikolaevich.** Year of Birth: 1909. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Moscow Governorate, town of Ruza. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Primary. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Tomsk Oblast, Tomsk Rayon. Occupation: Prisoner. Date of Arrest: December 13, 1930. Indictment: Art. 58-2 UK RSFSR (counter-revolutionary sabotage). Deciding Body: [n.d.]. Date of Decision: March 27, 1931. Verdict: 3 years punishment cell. Date of Rehabilitation: May 12, 1989. Source: *Книга памяти Томской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2374643>.

**Vishnyakov, Pavel-Andrey Dmitrievich.** Year of Birth: 1922. Place of Birth: [USSR, RSFSR], Vologda Oblast, Biryakovo Rayon, village Zagvozkino. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Komi ASSR, Sezheldorlag. Occupation: Prisoner. Date of Arrest: March 20, 1947. Indictment: Art. 58-14 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: VT at the NKVD troops of the US SPZhD. Date of Decision: April 8, 1947. Verdict: 10 years imprisonment and 5 years loss of rights. Source: *Книга памяти Республики Коми. Vol. 2; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/375981>.

**Vishnyakov, Sergey Yakovlevich.** Year of Birth: 1914. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], city of Moscow. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Kuybyshev. Date of Arrest: August 7, 1941. Indictment: Art. 58-10 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Kuybyshev OS. Date of Decision: October 8, 1941. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: December 25, 1941, city of Kuybyshev. Rehabilitating Body: Prosecutor's office of Samara Oblast. Date of Rehabilitation: April 15, 1992. Source: *Книга памяти Самарской области. Vol. 16, Vol. 14, Vol. 3 (Самара); Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1914404>.

**Vishnyakova, Zinaida Dmitrievna.** Year of Birth: 1900. Place of Birth: Austria-Hungary, town of Lendik [?]. Nationality: Gypsy woman. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Novosibirsk. Date of Arrest: January 28, 1938. Indictment: Art. 58-6; 58-9; 58-10; 58-11 UK RSFSR (Participation in a counter-revolutionary sabotage and espionage organisation). Deciding Body: Commission of the NKVD and the Prosecutor of the USSR. Date of Decision: April 29, 1938. Verdict: 10 years ITL. Additional Information: Gypsy lawsuit in Novosibirsk. Date of Rehabilitation: October 10,

1956. Source: *Книга памяти Новосибирской области*. Vol. 5; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/3100938>.

**Vlavatsky, Stepan Pavlovich**. Year of Birth: 1869. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Buryat-Mongolian ASSR, Selenginsky [Gusinoozersk] Rayon. Nationality: Gypsy man. Occupation: Watchman of the bridge repair office 2nd Special Red Banner Army at the VSZhD. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Irkutsk Oblast, VSZhD, railway station Zima. Date of Arrest: July 26, 1940. Indictment: Art. 58-10 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: [n.d.]. Date of Decision: [n.d.]. Verdict: Released from custody due to age and health conditions. Source: *Книга памяти Иркутской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1316085>.

**Vodopyan, Dmitry Alexeevich** (variant: Lezviev, Mikhail Vasilevich). Year of Birth: 1895. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Grodno Governorate, village Karguz-Berezovka. Nationality: Gypsy man. Social Origin: Gypsy nomad. Education: Poorly literate. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Kabardino-Balkarian ASSR, town of Nalchik. Occupation: Self-taught – artist, sculptor. Date of Arrest: October 8, 1937. Indictment: Anti-Soviet agitation among acquaintances. Deciding Body: Troika at the NKVD of the Kabardino-Balkarian ASSR. Date of Decision: November 19, 1937. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: November 20, 1937. Rehabilitating Body: VT of the Transcaucasian VO. Date of Rehabilitation: April 11, 1961. Source: *Книга памяти Кабардино-Балкарии; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/178240>.

**Volkov, Ivan Danilovich**. Year of Birth: 1906. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Central Black Earth Oblast. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Chita Oblast, Chernovsky Rayon. Date of Arrest: 1933. Verdict: [ITL]. Occupation: Prisoner. [Date of Arrest: 1937]. Indictment: Counter-revolutionary activity. Deciding Body: Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of the Dalstroy. Date of Decision: September 23, 1937. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: November 17, 1937. Date of Rehabilitation: July 1989. Source: *Книга памяти Магаданской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1454571>.

**Volkov, Fyodor Nikolaevich**. Year of Birth: 1902. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Samara Oblast, village Kashenka. Nationality: Russian (Gypsy man). Date of Arrest: December 22, 1937. Indictment: Art. 58-10; 58-11 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of Kuybyshev Oblast.



Date of Decision: December 31, 1937. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: February 10, 1938, city of Kuybyshev. Rehabilitating Body: Prosecutor's office of Kuybyshev Oblast. Date of Rehabilitation: July 26, 1989. Source: *Книга памяти Самарской области*. Vol. 20, Vol. 12 (Самара); *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1914541>.

**Volkov, Ivan Timofeevich.** Year of Birth: 1894. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Kalinin Oblast, village Eglino. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Karelian ASSR, Medvezhyegorsk Rayon, White Sea-Baltic Combine of the NKVD. Occupation: Prisoner. Indictment: Art. 82 UK RSFSR (escape). Deciding Body: Troika at the NKVD of the Karelian ASSR. Date of Decision: December 28, 1937. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: January 19, 1938, Karelian ASSR, railway station Segezha. No information about rehabilitation. Source: *Поминальные списки Карелии; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/275737>.

**Volkov, Ivan Vasilievich.** Year of Birth: 1917. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Chelyabinsk Oblast, town of Shchedrinsk. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Karelian ASSR, Medvezhyegorsk Rayon. Occupation: Prisoner. Date of Arrest: September 10, 1938. Indictment: Art. 82 UK RSFSR (escape). Deciding Body: Troika at the NKVD of the Karelian ASSR. Date of Decision: November 10, 1938. Verdict: VMN. No information about rehabilitation. Source: *Поминальные списки Карелии; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/275735>.

**Voloshin, Dmitro Pavlovich.** Year of Birth: 1914. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Bessarabian Governorate, city of Kishinev. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence and Work: Without a fixed place of work and residence. Date of Arrest: March 21, 1938. Indictment: Art. 54-1a UK UkSSR. Deciding Body: Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of Zhytomyr Oblast. Date of Decision: October 3, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: October 4, 1938. Additional Information: Gypsy lawsuit in Zhytomyr. Date of Rehabilitation: 1990. Source: *Реабілітовані історією*, <http://www.reabit.org.ua/nbr/?ID=280349>.

**Voloshin, Volodymyr Timofiyovich.** Year of Birth: 1883. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Minsk Governorate, town of Rechitsa. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence and Work: Without a fixed place of work and residence. Date of Arrest: March 24, 1938. Indictment: Counter-revolutionary activity. Deciding Body: Troika at the Directorate of the

NKVD of Zhytomyr Oblast. Date of Decision: October 3, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: October 4, 1938. Additional Information: Gypsy lawsuit in Zhytomyr. Date of Rehabilitation: 1989. Source: *Реабілітовані історією*, <http://www.reabit.org.ua/nbr/?ID=275382>.

**Voronov, Ivan Vasilievich.** Year of Birth: 1892. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Western Oblast, Meshchovsk Rayon, village Slobodka. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Kaluga Oblast, town of Sukhinichi. Occupation: Nomad. Indictment: Art. 58-10 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Troika at the UGB at the Directorate of the NKVD of Western Oblast. Date of Decision: September 29, 1937. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: October 12, 1937. Source: *Книга памяти Калужской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1338083>.

**Vosho le Vankasko** (variants: Ivanov, Vosho; Ivanov, Ivan Ivanovich). Year of Birth: 1900. Place of Birth: Greece, city of Athens. Social Origin: Artisan. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, town of Losinoostrovsk, 64 Medvezhskoe road. Occupation: Coppersmith. Date of Arrest: 1935. Indictment: Art. 58-10; 58-11 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: OSO at the NKVD. Date of Decision: October 15, 1935. Verdict: [n.d.]. Additional Information: Second Gypsy lawsuit in Moscow. Source: GARF, f. 10035, op. 2, d. 74091.

**Yakovenko, Grigory Andriyovich.** Year of Birth: 1890. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Lugansk Oblast, urban-type village Belovodsk. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Primary. Place of Residence: Ukrainian SSR, Lugansk Oblast, city of Lugansk. Occupation: Didn't work. Date of Arrest: April 13, 1946. Indictment: On charges of aiding and abetting a traitor to the Motherland. Deciding Body: VT at the NKVD troops of the Ukrainian VO. Date of Decision: October 9, 1946. Verdict: acquitted due to lack of corpus delicti, released from custody. Source: *Реабілітовані історією*, <http://www.reabit.org.ua/nbr/?ID=75550>.

**Yakovlev, Ivan Grigorievich.** Year of Birth: 1912. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Voronezh Oblast, Tokarevka Rayon. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Karelian ASSR, Medvezhyegorsk Rayon. Occupation: Prisoner. Date of Arrest: September 10, 1938. Indictment: Art. 82 UK RSFSR (escape). Deciding Body: Troika at the NKVD of the Karelian ASSR. Date of Decision: November 10, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: November 27, 1938, railway station Medvezhya Gora (tract Sandarmokh). No information about rehabilitation. Source: *Поминальные списки Карелии; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/287210>.

**Yanko-Molchanov, Nikolay Nikolaevich.** Year of Birth: 1897. Place of Birth: [n.d.]. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Middle. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Moscow. Address: 18/36 Bolshoy Savvinsky lane, apt. 4. Occupation: Automotive technician at the 4th State Automobile Plant *Spartak*. Date of Arrest: May 7, 1927. Indictment: Participation in a counter-revolutionary terrorist group. Deciding Body: Commission of the OGPU. Date of Decision: October 3, 1927. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: October 7, 1927, city of Moscow. Place of Burial: Cemetery Vagankovskoye. Rehabilitating Body: Prosecutor's Office of the Russian Federation. Date of Rehabilitation: February 9, 1994. Source: *Расстрельные списки. Ваганьковское кладбище. 1926–1936; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2660200>.

**Yarko le Siminako** (variant: Ivanovich, Mihai). Year of Birth: 1905. Place of Birth: Serbia. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: Without a fixed place of residence. Occupation: Without a fixed place of work. Arrested: UGB at the Directorate of the NKVD of Smolensk Oblast. Date of Arrest: February 27, 1938. Indictment: Art. 58-6; 58-10; 169-2 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of Smolensk Oblast. Date of Decision: March 25, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: May 1938. Additional Information: Gypsy lawsuit in Smolensk. Source: AUFSSBO, f. 1, op. 1, d. 24047-с.

**Yelovsky, Trofim Grigorievich.** Year of Birth: 1897. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Kursk Governorate. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Tomsk Region, Asino District, rural-type settlement Chichka-Yul. Occupation: Non-statutory agricultural artel *Novy put* (New Way), stableman. Date of Arrest: March 29, 1939. Indictment: Art. 17, [58-11] UK RSFSR (counter-revolutionary activity). Deciding Body: [n.d.]. Date of Decision: June 3, 1939. Verdict: Released. Source: *Книга памяти Томской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2377190>.

**Yeremenkova, Agafena Vasilievna.** Year of Birth: 1850. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire]. Nationality: Gypsy woman. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence: Kazakh SSR, Kustanay Oblast, rural-type settlement Borovskoy. Arrested: Kustanay Uyezd Militsiya. Date of Arrest: July 14, 1920. Indictment: Art. 58-10 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Chelyabinsk Governorate ChK. Date of Decision: August 20, 1920. Verdict: 6 years' probation. Rehabilitating Body: Prosecutor's Office of Kostanay Oblast. Reason for Rehabilitation: Law of the Republic Kazakhstan of April 14, 1993. Date of Rehabilitation: August 9, 2000. Source:

*Сведения Департамента КНБ Республики Казахстан по Костанайской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2966027>.

**Yermakov-Kalininsky, Nikolay Alexandrovich** (variants: Kalinovskiy, N. A.; Yermakov, Sergey Yakovlevich). Year of Birth: 1902. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Smolensk Oblast, Tyomkino Rayon, village Lyadnoe. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Komi ASSR, Ukhtizhlag. Occupation: Prisoner. Date of Arrest: June 21, 1941. Indictment: Art. 58-14 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Judicial Commission of the VS of the Komi ASSR at the Ukhtizhlag. Date of Decision: July 3, 1941. Verdict: VMN. Source: *Книга памяти Республики Коми*. Vol. 2; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/383404>.

**Yezdovskis, Wilhelm Mikelovich**. Year of Birth: 1916. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Latvia, city of Elgava. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Komi ASSR, Ukhtizhlag. Occupation: Prisoner. Date of Arrest: September 19, 1949. Indictment: Art. 58-14 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Special Camp Court at the ITL "AO". Date of Decision: October 15, 1949. Verdict: 10 years imprisonment and 3 years loss of rights. Source: *Книга памяти Республики Коми*. Vol. 2; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/383008>.

**Yurchenko, Afanasy Vasilievich** (variant: Yurenko, A. V.). Year of Birth: 1915. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], city of Tbilisi. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Poorly literate. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Perm Oblast, Solikambumlag [i.e. Vishlag] NKVD. Occupation: Prisoner on a punishment trip. Date of Arrest: December 1, 1941. Indictment: [n.d.]. Deciding Body: [n.d.]. Date of Decision: March 7, 1942. Verdict: Acquitted. Rehabilitating Body: Prosecutor's Office of Perm Oblast. Date of Rehabilitation: January 30, 2000. Source: *Книга памяти Пермской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1812116>.

**Yurchenko, Vasil Sidorovich**. Year of Birth: 1884. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Ukrainian SSR, Dnipropetrovsk Oblast, town of Pavlograd. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Primary. Place of Residence: Ukrainian SSR, Stalino Oblast, city of Mariupol. Occupation: Didn't work. Date of Arrest: December 19, 1943. Indictment: [n.d.]. Deciding Body: [n.d.]. Date of Decision: [n.d.]. Verdict: [n.d.]. Date of Rehabilitation: 1955. Source: *Реабілітовані історією*, <http://www.reabit.org.ua/nbr/?ID=262205>.

**Yurdak, Elena Nikolaevna.** Year of Birth: 1916. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Moldavian SSR, Peschanka Rayon, village Peschanka. Nationality: Gypsy woman. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Komi ASSR, Ukhtizhmag. Occupation: Prisoner. Date of Arrest: January 12, 1943. Indictment: Art. 58-14 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: VS of the Komi ASSR at the Ukhtizhmag. Date of Decision: March 25, 1943. Verdict: 7 years imprisonment. Source: *Книга памяти Республики Коми*. Vol. 2; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/427067>.

**Yurin, Demyan Iosifovich.** Year of Birth: 1905. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Odessa Oblast, Berezovka Rayon, village Nesterenko. Social Origin: Gypsy nomad. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Poorly literate. Address: Without a fixed place of residence. Occupation: Without specific occupations. Sentenced in 1934 to 7 years ITL. He served his sentence in the Dmitlag, where he worked as a blacksmith in the 2nd precinct of the Central Rayon. Date of Arrest: February 21, 1938. Indictment: Counter-revolutionary agitation, praising “enemies of the people”, vulgarising the leaders of the Party and government, interpreting the correctional labour policy in a counter-revolutionary spirit. Deciding Body: Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of Moscow Oblast. Date of Decision: March 2, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: March 8, 1938, city of Moscow. Place of Burial: Butovo [Firing Range]. Date of Rehabilitation: March 23, 1990. Source: *Бутовский полигон. 1937–1938*. Vol. 6; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2659935>.

**Yushchenko, Leontiy Dmitrovich.** Year of Birth: 1885. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Sumy Oblast, Seredina-Buda Rayon, village Zhikhovo. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Illiterate. Place of Residence: Ukrainian SSR, Sumy Oblast, Seredyna-Buda Rayon, village Zhykhove. Occupation: Without a fixed occupation. Date of Arrest: April 7, 1936. Indictment: Socially dangerous person. Deciding Body: Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of Chernihiv Oblast. Date of Decision: April 9, 1936. Verdict: Case closed. Source: AUMVSUSO, f. 10, spr. 2366; *Реабілітовані історією*, <http://www.reabit.org.ua/nbr/?ID=202515>.

**Yuzepchuk, Somko Venediktovich.** Year of Birth: 1885. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Volhynia Governorate, Kovel Uyezd, Starye Koshary Volost, village Shayno. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Poorly literate. Occupation: Blacksmith. Place of Residence: Ukrainian SSR, Zhytomyr Oblast, Chervonoarmyisk Rayon, village Veliky Lug. Date of Arrest: April 4, 1938. Indictment: Espionage in favour of Poland. Deciding Body: Troika at the

Directorate of the NKVD of Zhytomyr Oblast. Date of Decision: November 3, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: November 4, 1938, city of Zhytomyr. Additional Information: Gypsy lawsuit in Zhytomyr. Date of Rehabilitation: 1962. Source: *Реабілітовані історією*, <http://www.reabit.org.ua/nbr/?ID=268202>.

**Zakharov, Nikolay Pavlovich.** Year of Birth: 1925. Place of Birth: [USSR, RSFSR], Udmurt ASSR, Krasnogorsk Rayon, village Novochurino. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Komi ASSR, Intlag. Occupation: Prisoner. Date of Arrest: March 22, 1944. Indictment: Art. 58-11; 58-14 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: VS of the Komi ASSR at the Intlag. Date of Decision: April 24, 1944. Verdict: 10 years imprisonment and 5 years loss of rights. Source: *Книга памяти Республики Коми. Vol. 2; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/385174>.

**Zamfir, Ivan Vasilyovich.** Year of Birth: 1906. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Izmail Oblast, Novaya Ivanovka Rayon, village Iserlia. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: Ukrainian SSR, Izmail Oblast, town of Bilhorod-Dnistrovs'kyi. Occupation: Worker-blacksmith at *Rembudkontora* [Repair of Flats Office]. Date of Arrest: July 28, 1951. Indictment: Art. 54-10, part 2 UK UkSSR (anti-Soviet agitation anti-Soviet propaganda using religious or national superstitions in a military environment). Deciding Body: Izmail OS. Date of Decision: September 29, 1951. Verdict: 10 years ITL with loss of rights for 3 years and confiscation of property. By the decision of VS of the Ukrainian SSR dated January 4, 1955, the term was reduced to 5 years, and the confiscation of property was removed from the sentence. Acquitted on February 4, 1955, under Article 1.6. of the Decree of the PVS of the USSR of March 27, 1953. Rehabilitating Body: Plenum of VS of Ukrainian SSR. Date of Rehabilitation: [n.d.]. Source: AUSBUOO, spr. 24438, No. 01132.

**Zaritsky, Vasil Mikhailovich.** Year of Birth: 1888. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Odesa Oblast, village Krasnye Okny. Nationality: Gypsy man. Party Membership: Non-partisan, but a member of the VKP(b) in 1934–1941. Place of Residence: Ukrainian SSR, Odesa Oblast, Kotovskiy Rayon, village Zatishshya. Occupation: Peasant-collective farmer of the kolkhoz named after Tymoshenko. Date of Arrest: August 7, 1944. Indictment: Art. 54-1 UK UkSSR (treason against the Motherland). Resolution of the Military Prosecutor's Office of the Odesa VO of October 10, 1945, case closed due to lack of corpus delicti, released from custody on October 20, 1945. Source: AUSBUOO, spr. 8595.

**Zernichenko, Nikolay Fomich.** Year of Birth: 1914. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Ukrainian SSR, Chernigov Oblast, village Andreevka. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Karelian ASSR, Sororka Rayon, Sororka Selsoviet. Occupation: Prisoner. Date of Arrest: August 1, 1938. Indictment: Art. 82 UK RSFSR (escape). Deciding Body: Troika at the NKVD of the Karelian ASSR. Date of Decision: September 1, 1938. Verdict: VMN. No information about rehabilitation. Source: *Поминальные списки Карелии; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/277408>.

**Zhmurchenko, Sergey Filippovich.** Year of Birth: 1916. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], city of Nikolaev. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Karelian ASSR, Medvezhyegorsk Rayon, White Sea-Baltic Combine of the NKVD. Occupation: prisoner. Date of Arrest: August 1, 1937. Indictment: Based on Decree No. 00447. Deciding Body: Troika at the NKVD of the Karelian ASSR. Date of Decision: August 26, 1937. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: September 3, 1937, Karelian ASSR, railway station Segezha. No information about rehabilitation. Source: *Поминальные списки Карелии; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/277161>.

**Zhuchkov, Grigory Mikheevich** (variant: Murachkovsky, Ivan Iosifovich). Year of Birth: 1924. Place of Birth: [USSR, RSFSR], Smolensk Oblast, village Kardymovo. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Khabarovsk, ITL at Khabarovsk Krai. Occupation: Prisoner. Arrested: Komsomlsk City Department of the MGB. Date of Arrest: October 30, 1950. Indictment: Art. 58-10 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Camp Court ITL and Colonies of Khabarovsk Krai. Date of Decision: March 1, 1951. Verdict: 10 years imprisonment. Rehabilitating Body: Conclusion of the Prosecutor General's Office of the Russian Federation. Reason for Rehabilitation: Law of the RSFSR of October 18, 1991. Date of Rehabilitation: July 22, 1992. Source: *Книга памяти Хабаровского края*. Vol. 1; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1049048>; <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1057039>.

**Zhukov, Alexey Ilyich.** Year of Birth: 1906. Place of Birth: Serbia, town of Nigoti [Negotin?]. Nationality: Serbian. Place of Residence: Without a fixed place of residence. Occupation: Coppersmith-tinker, leading a nomadic lifestyle. Date of Arrest: July 6, 1938. Indictment: Art. 58-6; 58-11 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Troika. Date of Decision: October 17, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: November 23, 1938. No information about rehabilitation. Source: *Книга памяти Нижегородской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1512574>.

**Zhukov, Badya Nikolaevich.** Year of Birth: 1920. Place of Birth: [n.d.]. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: Without a fixed place of residence. Occupation: Without specific occupations. Arrested: Vyazma RO at the Directorate of the NKVD. Date of Arrest: July 26, 1938. Indictment: Art. 58-6; 58-9; 58-11 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of Smolensk Oblast. Date of Decision: October 2, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: October 2, 1938. Additional Information: Gypsy lawsuit in Smolensk. Rehabilitating Body: VT of the Moscow VO. Date of Rehabilitation: August 30, 1956. Source: AUFSSBO, f. 1, op. 1, d. 2606-c.

**Zhukov, Nikolay Ivanovich** (variant: Tom Bambulesku). Year of Birth: 1876. Place of Birth: Romania, city of Bucharest. Place of Residence: Without a fixed place of residence. Occupation: Without specific occupations. Arrested: Vyazma RO at the Directorate of the NKVD Smolensk Oblast. Date of Arrest: July 25, 1938. Indictment: Art. 58-6; 58-9; 58-11 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of Smolensk Oblast. Date of Decision: October 2, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: October 2, 1938. Additional Information: Gypsy lawsuit in Smolensk. Rehabilitating Body: VT of the Moscow VO. Date of Rehabilitation: August 30, 1956. Source: *Книга памяти Смоленской области*. Vol. 1; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2118131>.

**Zhukovsky, Fyodor Ivanovich.** Year of Birth: 1917. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Ryazan Oblast, town of Skopin. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Komi ASSR, Ukhtizhemlag. Occupation: Prisoner. Date of Arrest: June 21, 1941. Indictment: Art. 58-14 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Criminal Cases Jury of the VS of the Komi ASSR at Ukhtizhemlag. Date of Decision: July 3, 1941. Verdict: 10 years imprisonment. Source: *Книга памяти Республики Коми*. Vol. 2; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/384279>.

**Zhukovsky, Pyotr Yakovlevich.** Year of Birth: 1916. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Western Oblast, village Merkulovo. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Karelian ASSR, Medvezhyegorsk Rayon, White Sea-Baltic Combine of the NKVD. Occupation: Prisoner. Date of Arrest: May 5, 1938. Indictment: Art. 82 UK RSFSR (escape). Deciding Body: Troika at the NKVD of the Karelian ASSR. Date of Decision: July 31, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: August 7, 1938, railway station Medvezhya Gora (tract Sandarmokh). No information about rehabilitation. Source: *Поминальные*



*списки Карелии; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/277184>.

**Zolotarev, Mikhail Andreevich.** Year of Birth: 1916. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Omsk Oblast, Uporovo Rayon, village Korkino. Social Origin: Peasant. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: Poorly literate. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Chelyabinsk Oblast, city of Chelyabinsk, 1st section ITK. Occupation: Prisoner (convicted in 1937 under Article 166 UK RSFSR to 8 years imprisonment), 1st section ITK, unskilled worker. Date of Arrest: August 1, 1937. Indictment: Art. 58-10 UK RSFSR. Deciding Body: Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of Chelyabinsk Oblast. Date of Decision: August 26, 1937. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: August 28, 1937. Rehabilitating Body: Prosecutor's Office of Chelyabinsk Oblast. Reason for Rehabilitation: Decree of the PVS USSR. Date of Rehabilitation: March 31, 1989. Source: *Книга памяти Челябинской области; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/2510104>.

**Zolotarev, Vasily Andreevich.** Year of Birth: 1914. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], city of Kuibyshev. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Karelian ASSR, Medvezhyegorsk Rayon. Occupation: Prisoner. Date of Arrest: September 26, 1938. Indictment: Art. 82 UK RSFSR (escape). Deciding Body: Troika at the NKVD of the Karelian ASSR. Date of Decision: November 10, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: November 27, 1938, railway station Medvezhya Gora (tract Sandarmokh). No information about rehabilitation. Source: *Поминальные списки Карелии; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/277426>.

**Zolotarev, Vasily Pavlovich.** Year of Birth: 1920. Place of Birth: [USSR, RSFSR], Orenburg Oblast, town of Buzuluk. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: BOMZh. Date of Arrest: October 1, 1937. Indictment: SOE. Deciding Body: Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of Orenburg Oblast. Date of Decision: October 7, 1937. Verdict: 9 years imprisonment. Served in Vorkuta branch of the Ukhtpechlag. Release: July 1, 1946. Source: *Книга памяти Республики Коми*. Vol. 8, Part 1; *Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/385693>.

**Zorin, Vladimir Petrovich** (variant: Pashun, Velya). Year of Birth: 1904. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], Bessarabia Oblast. Social Origin: From a shepherd's family. Nationality: Gypsy man. Education: School of Red Commanders [in Kharkov]. Party Membership: VKP(b) Member from 1919. Place of Residence:

Ukrainian SSR, city of Kharkov. Occupation: Correspondent, journalist, writer, editorial office of the Vesti newspaper. Date of Arrest: 1937. Indictment: [n.d.]. Deciding Body: [n.d.]. Date of Decision: [n.d.]. Verdict: VMN: Date and Place of Execution: 1937, city of Kharkov. Date of Rehabilitation: 1957. Source: *База данных о жертвах репрессий Харьковской области. (Украина); Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/3077112>.

**Zubenko, Maria Semyonovna.** Year of Birth: 1916. Place of Birth: [Russian Empire], city of Novosibirsk. Nationality: Gypsy woman. Place of Residence: RSFSR, Amur Oblast, Bamlag. Occupation: Prisoner. Indictment: [n.d.]. Deciding Body: Troika at the Directorate of the NKVD of Far Eastern Krai. Date of Decision: March 31, 1938. Verdict: VMN. Date and Place of Execution: August 9, 1938. Rehabilitating Body: Decision of Prosecutor's Office of Amur Oblast. Date of Rehabilitation: August 30, 1990. Source: *Книга памяти Амурской области. Vol. 8; Жертвы политического террора*, <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/1085405>.

**N.N. [39 people].** Year and Place of Birth: [n.d.]. Nationality: Gypsy men. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Moscow. Date of Arrest: 1932. Indictment: [n.d.]. Deciding Body: Commission of the OGPU. Date of Decision: [n.d.]. Verdict: [n.d.]. Additional Information: First Gypsy lawsuit in Moscow. Rehabilitating Body: [n.d.]. Source: GARF, f. P 1235, op. 123, d. 29; GDASBUR, f. 4 (P), spr. 17664 (quoted by Жив'юк, 2021; Zhyvyuk, 2023).

**N.N.** Year and Place of Birth: [n.d.]. Nationality: Gypsy man. Place of Residence: RSFSR, city of Novosibirsk. Date of Arrest: [n.d.]. Indictment: Art. 58-6; 58-9; 58-10; 58-11 UK RSFSR (Participation in a counter-revolutionary sabotage and espionage organisation). Deciding Body: Commission of the NKVD and the Prosecutor of the USSR. Date of Decision: [n.d.]. Verdict: [n.d.]. Additional Information: Gypsy lawsuit in Novosibirsk. Date of Rehabilitation: [October 10, 1956]. Source: Тепляков, 2008. <https://memorial.krsk.ru/Articles/2008/2008Тепляков/03.htm>.

**P.S.** The names of 40 people are not known.



## Investigation Cases

### 2.1 The Case of Ivan Rusalimich Mihai (Moscow, 1933)

#### 2.1.1 Reference

Top secret

I approve [handwritten resolution]  
Head of OO [1] OGPU Moscow VO [...] [2]  
August 6, 1933

#### REFERENCE

Ivan Rusalimych Mihai, called Bukuro la Nyamtsosko in the Gypsy language [3]. 41 years old, originates from Romanian Gypsies; a former tribal foreman of the Nyamtsoni Gypsy tribe [4]; former honorary [chairman] of the Gypsy “Supreme” Court *Roma[n]i kris bari* [5]. He was closely associated with the Gypsy king in the USSR Chula and with the Gypsy king in Poland Kvek, from whom he received fictitious documents; repeatedly visited the Polish consulate and tried to travel abroad; a big kulak, non-partisan, citizen of the USSR, tinker, lives in [Moscow, rayon] Maryina Roshcha on the 6th passage, No. 21, in his own home. He was indicted in Gypsy Lawsuits No. 20820, charged under Art. 58-8, 58-10, 58-11 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR. By a resolution of the Collegium of the OGPU dated February 9, 1933, he was sentenced to 10 years ITL, from where he escaped on July 27 of this year, obtained fictitious documents in the name of Tom Mihai and lives in Moscow in his house.

Based on the preceding, I order:

Ivan Rusalimych Mihai (Bukuro la Nyamtsosko) is to be arrested and indicted with crimes under Art. 82 and Art. 72 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR.

Authorised [...] [Signature]

Agree [handwritten resolution]  
Head of the 2nd Department of the OO OGPU of the Moscow VO [...] [Signature]  
Assistant chief of the OO OGPU of the Moscow VO [...] [Signature]

## Notes

1. Special Department (OO OGPU) is the name of the military counter-intelligence.
2. In the published investigation case, the names of the employees of the Soviet institutions, as well as of the summoned witnesses, are omitted.
3. In the documents from the investigation, the defendant's several names and surnames are noted – official, according to the passport and other documents, and Gypsy, used within the community. There are many mistakes in their spelling due to a misunderstanding of the Roma naming system by Soviet officials.
4. Hereinafter, the case repeatedly mentions “tribes” (Nyamtsoni, Poroni, Demoni, Dobrodzyaya, Burikoni, Dukoni, Chikuroni, Stoykoni, Bedoni, Mineshti) – Kelderari extended family who lived in Moscow at that time, each of which had its appellation.
5. Literally ‘big Gypsy Court’. It refers to *Romani kris* (Gypsy Court) – a traditional institution among some Roma groups (see. Marushiakova & Popov, 2007).

**Source:** GARF, f. 10035, op. 2, d. 74091, l. 1.

### 2.1.2 *Arrest Warrant*

USSR

OGPU

Representation of MO

Order no. 4289

Issued: 27 August 1933

Valid: 4 days

To the employee of the PP OGPU MO, comrade [...]

You are instructed to arrest Ivan Rusalimych Mihai (Bukuro la Nyamtsosko) living in ... [1].

All organs of Soviet power and citizens of the USSR must provide legal assistance to the bearer of this in the performance of the tasks entrusted to him.

PP OGPU MO

Head of the Operational Department of the PP OGPU MO [...] [Signature]

## Notes

1. The address where Ivan Mihai was registered is not filled in because he was detained after escaping ITL.

**Source:** GARF, f. 10035, op. 2, d. 74091, l. 2.

### 2.1.3 *Questionnaire*

#### QUESTIONNAIRE

Surname: Mihai, aka Bukuro la Nyamtsosko.

Name and patronymic: Ivan Rusalimych.

Age (year of birth): 41 years old, born in 1899.

Place of birth (registration): Romania, city/village of Focșani.

Social origin: From nomadic Gypsies.

Permanent residence: [city of Moscow], [Rayon] Maryina Roshcha, 6 passage, No. 21, own house.

Citizen of which state (Citizenship): Citizen of the USSR.

Nationality: Gypsy.

Education (if literate, indicate from which school or educational institution you graduated): Illiterate.

Social and property status at the time of arrest (list in detail real estate: buildings, movable property, the number of horses, cows, sheep, pigs and other agricultural implements, complex and simple, the amount of land and the amount of tax; if a kolkhoz member – then social and property position before joining the kolkhoz): I have my own house, had about 14 Austrian gold ducats.

The same before 1929: The same.

**Source:** GARF, f. 10035, op. 2, d. 74091, l. 3.

### 2.1.4 *Interrogation Protocol*

#### INTERROGATION PROTOCOL

On 25 August 1933, I, the authorised person of the 2nd section at the 2nd department of the OGPU MVO [...], interrogated the accused citizen:

1. Surname: Mihai, in Gypsy Bukuro la Nyamtsosko.

2. Name and patronymic: Ivan Rusalimych.
3. Age (Year of Birth): 42 years old.
4. Origin (where are you from, who are the parents, nationality, citizenship): From nomadic Gypsies, the city of Focşani, Romania, a citizen of the USSR.
5. Place of residence (permanent, last): Moscow, [Rayon] Maryina Roshcha, 6th passage, No. 21, own house.
6. Occupation (last place of service and position): Tinker.
7. Marital status (close relatives, their names, surnames, addresses, occupation before the revolution and recently): Widower, seven children [plus] one 17 years old [1], father Nyamtso la Ristako, 65 years old; brothers Gogo and Iono, 45 and 26 years old, I don't know where they are. The children are with their mother-in-law.
8. Property status (before and after the revolution of the interrogated person and his relatives): I have my own house.
9. Educational qualification (primary education, secondary school, higher, special, where, when, etc.): Illiterate.
10. Party membership and political beliefs: Non-partisan.
11. Where did you live, served and what did you do:
  - a) Before the war of 1904: In Romania, I was a tinker.
  - b) From 1904 to the February Revolution of 1917: In 1916, I came to Russia and wandered around various cities.
  - c) Where you were and what you did in the February Revolution of 1917, whether you took an active part and in what way it was expressed: The same.
  - d) From the February Revolution of 1917 to the October Revolution of 1917: The same.
  - e) Where you were, what you did in the October Revolution of 1917: The same.
  - f) From the October Revolution of 1917 to the present day: The same.
12. Information about the previous conviction (before the October Revolution and after it): At the beginning of 1933, I was charged under Art. 58-8, 58-10 and 58-11 of the Criminal Code of the RSFRS and in the Gypsy lawsuit (sentenced to 10 years).
13. Attitude towards military service: I did not serve and was not registered.

Testimony on the merits of the case:

At the end of 1932, I was arrested in the Gypsy lawsuit, and at the beginning of 1933, I was convicted under Art. 58-8, 58-10 and 58-11 for ten years concentration camp and was sent to Temnikovskiy ITL, from where I was sent to the Kem station on July 15 of this year to the 1st camp, from where on July 27, I ran away from work and came to Moscow, where after two days I bought from a Gypsy, whom I cannot name, a surname and a name, a passport, MA No. 352586, on

the name of Toma Mihai, born in 1901, and for the same name a power of attorney from the Gypsy artel Yugoslavia dated of July 13, 1933, No. 88. For this, I paid to the Gypsy person mentioned above thirty roubles in Soviet money. In addition to the above documents, I had a Service Certificate No. 36 in the name of Toma Mihai, a representative of the artel Yugoslavia, valid until November 24, 1933. I received it also from a Gypsy, whose name I also will not say, although I know him. Today, during my arrest, I threw all the above documents out of the car to my Gypsy acquaintances because I did not want fictitious documents to be found on me. I declare that the Gypsies Yergul, Vasily, Champi and others, walking with me and trying to recapture me from the OGPU officers, acted independently; I did not incite them to this. I plead guilty to escaping from the concentration camp.

Written down from my words correctly, read to me.

[...] [Signature]

### Notes

1. Unclear wording. The documents below confirm that he has eight children living with his mother-in-law, only one of whom is listed here as 17 years old, i.e. already an adult.

**Source:** GARF, f. 10035, op. 2, d. 74091, l. 6–7.

### 2.1.5 *Resolution*

#### RESOLUTION

#### On Choosing a Measure of Restraint and Bringing Charges

City of Moscow, August 28, 1933.

I, the authorised person of the 2nd section of the OO OGPU Capital city VO [...], having examined the investigative material in the case and taking into account that Ivan Rusalimych Mihai, aka Bukuro la Nyamtsosko, aged 41, comes from nomadic Romanian Gypsies, a tinker, lived on the 6th passage No. 21 in his own house, is sufficiently exposed that on February 9, 1933 the Collegium of the OGPU convicted him under Art. 58-8, 58-10 and 58-11 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR to 10 years in a concentration camp, from where he fled to



Moscow on July 27, 1933, and lived with fictitious documents in the name of Toma Mihai. On this ground, I decided to bring citizen Ivan Rusalimych Mihai as a defendant under Art. 82 and Art. 72 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR, I choose detention as a measure of suppression of methods of evading investigation and trial.

I approve [handwritten resolution]  
 Head of the OO OGPU Moscow VO [...] [Signature]  
 August 29, 1933

**Source:** GARF, f. 10035, op. 2, d. 74091, l. 8.

### 2.1.6 *Closing Indictment*

#### CLOSING INDICTMENT

On investigation case no. 8850, on charges against citizen Ivan Rusalimich Mihai, in Gypsy Bukuro la Nyamtsosko, [accused] under Art. 82 and Art. 72 on the Criminal Code of the RSFSR

[August] 29, 1933

I, the authorised person of the 2nd section of the OO OGPU Capital City VO [...], having examined the investigative arrest case No. 8850, found that the case arose from information that appeared in the OGPU of the Moscow VO that the Gypsy Ivan Rusalimych Mihai (Bukuro la Nyamtsosko) had fled from the ITL and was living in Moscow on fictitious documents in the name of Toma Mihai.

The investigation carried out in the case confirmed the above data in full. The arrested Ivan Rusalimych Mihai pleaded guilty that he fled from the camp after being sentenced to 10 years ITL in February of this year and lived with fictitious documents (case sheet 7). Based on the preceding, the accused:

Ivan Rusalimych Mihai (in Gypsy Bukuro la Nyamtsosko), 41 years old, descended from Romanian Gypsies, the tribal ex-foreman of the Gypsy tribe Nyamtsoni-Chukuroni, the former honorary judge of the Gypsy "Supreme" court Roman[i] kris bary, was closely associated with the Gypsy king in the USSR Chula (shot in March of this year) and with the Gypsy king in Poland, Kvek, from whom he received fictitious documents, repeatedly visited the Polish consulate and tried to make his way abroad illegally, a big kulak, a

landlord, a non-partisan member, a citizen of the USSR, a tinker by profession, lived in Maryina Roshcha, 6th passage, No. 21, in his own home. Further, the accused was convicted by the decision of the OGPU collegium on February 9 of this year under Art. 58-8, 58-10 and 58-11 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR to 10 years of imprisonment in ITL on July 27 of this year, fled from the camp to Moscow and lived on fictitious documents, i.e. he is charged with crimes under Art. 82 and Art. 72 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR.

Based on the above, I would propose that the investigation case Nr. 8850 be considered completed and submitted for consideration by the Judicial Troika of the PP OGPU MO, having previously agreed with the prosecutor of the Moscow oblast.

Reference: The following fictitious documents, found in the possession of the accused Ivan Rusalimych Mihai, were attached to the case as physical evidence during his arrest:

1. Passport No. 352586, issued by the 20th Police Department on May 21, 1933, valid for three years.
2. Service certificate No. 36/1, issued by the Gypsy artel of Yugoslavia.
3. Power of attorney issued by the Gypsy Artel Yugoslavia dated July 13, 1933, No. 88.
4. Agreement-deal concluded between the Gypsy artel Yugoslavia and Srednevolgostroy of July 21, 1933, no. 4356/314.

The arrested Ivan Rusalimych Mihai has been kept in the Butyrka detention centre since August 27, 1933, and is listed for maintenance of the Judicial Troika of the OGPU MO.

Colouring: Escape from the place of detention.

Authorised [...] [Signature]

Agree [handwritten resolution]

Head of the 2nd Department of the OO OGPU of the Moscow VO [...] [Signature]

Assistant Head of the OO OGPU of the Moscow VO [...] [Signature]

**Source:** GARF, f. 10035, op. 2, d. 74091, l. 9–10.

### 2.1.7 *Statement 1*

To the Supreme Prosecutor of the USSR Andrei Yanuarievich Vishinsky, from prisoner Ivan Yerusalemovich Mihai, born in 1882, located in the 8th Solovki department of the White Sea-Baltic Canal of the NKVD.

## STATEMENT

By the decision of the Troika of the PP OGPU MO of December 30, 1932, I was convicted under Art. 58-8, 58-10 and 58-11 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR to ten years ITL. On the merits of the charges brought against me, I consider it necessary to state the following:

In October 1932, an employee of the OGPU came to our artel and demanded that I and all the other comrades who worked with me hand over the gold we had, and I was instructed to collect it and hand it over. I proceeded without delay to the collection and brought in the twenty-five ducats I had. A month later, that is, on December 30, while at the market where I went to buy shoes for my child, I was arrested, escorted to the police, and from there to Lubyanka 14. At the PP OGPU MO, [where] I spent five days and [was] questioned once. During the interrogation, which lasted literally 5 minutes, the investigator demanded gold from me, to which I replied that I had no gold; there was only a gold chain weighing 25 zolotniks [1] and a medallion, which is a memory of my relatives, but which I am ready to give away immediately. The investigator refused to accept the offered things and handed me some kind of paper, saying that I had to sign it. Due to my inexperience and illiteracy, I did not think of asking about the contents of this paper and did not hesitate to sign it at once. After this interrogation, they transferred me to the Butyrka isolation ward, where I spent about three months without a single interrogation. All my demands and requests to call me for interrogation and explain the essence of my crime, to present a confrontation, remained without any result. During the investigation, they never asked me about terror or anti-Soviet activities. All accusations referred to the unwillingness to hand over the gold that I supposedly had and that I was acting as a judge among the Gypsies.

Thus, my entire prosecution and investigation were carried out in one interrogation, after which I listened to the sentence read to me, from which it became known to me that I was sentenced to 10 years. On February 6, 1933, I was sent to the camps. The charges against me under Art. 58-8, 58-10 and 58-11 are not substantiated by anything and are the fruit of the investigator's idle imagination. For 54 years of my life [2], I have never been involved in politics and was utterly absorbed in finding funds and subsistence for my large family. Finding myself in the camp, from the letter I received, I understand that while I was under investigation, my wife died during childbirth, leaving eight souls of children to the mercy of fate, of which one was a baby. I was so shocked by this news that I literally became insane. In this state, between July 2 and 7, I don't remember exactly; I went to the railway station, got on the first train to Moscow, and arrived at my family. I found the children homeless, starving and

hungry; without hiding, I set about repairing the house, which collapsed from old age and began to look for a livelihood. When I found my family, I decided to report to the NKVD organs myself. At home, I was arrested after one month from the moment of arrival. Even though I escaped due to the grief of my wife's death that befell me, I was deprived of the credit for the whole year of the served prison term – this way, the term was calculated from December 30, 1932, and after the second arrest from August 1933, apart from all the absurdity of the charges against me, the investigator apparently managed to mislead the collegium of the OGPU, as a result of which I was sentenced to 10 years of labour camp. For four years of my imprisonment, despite all the injustice of my conviction, I became a shock worker and eliminated illiteracy.

Based on the preceding, I ask you, the Supreme Prosecutor, to supervise the affairs of the NKVD, review my case, and verify the authenticity of the facts I have stated. I ask you to consider that I was innocently arrested from my family, which, after the death of my wife and my imprisonment, was left without a livelihood.

May 6, 1936  
[...] [Signature]

### Notes

1. 'zolotnik' – a unit of measure of weight in the Russian Empire,  $\approx 4.26575417$  g.
2. In this case, Ivan Mihai indicates a different, higher age than that indicated in his personal documents and confirmed by himself during the investigation.

**Source:** GARF, f. 10035, op. 2, d. 74091, l [not indicated].

#### 2.1.8 *Statement 2*

To the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR,  
from prisoner Ivan Yerusalemovich Mihai (Bukur),  
[convicted] to 10 years under Art. 58-8, 58-10 and 58-11 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR.

### STATEMENT

In the sixth year of my imprisonment, having served most of the sentence, I turn to you with an ardent request for pardon and alleviation of my fate in the form of annulment of the term remaining to be served.

By origin, I am a nomadic Gypsy and a poor man, born 54 years ago in the snow, in the tent of one of the camps, wandering at that time in Romania. I arrived in Russia with my camp about 30 years ago. I was never ranked among the wealthy part of the Gypsies, but I earned a piece of bread, first by trading in horses and leading a trained bear [1], and then engaged in the cauldron and copper business; my wife during our wanderings sometimes involved in fortune-telling. I never had wealth except for two donkeys, one wagon, and one tent. Throughout my life, I received by inheritance and collected with my wife 125 gold ducats, which were the decoration of my wife, as all Gypsy women wear, and which I gave to the authorities after the decree. When the order was issued to stop wanderings [2], I arrived in Moscow in 1924. I settled in Maryina Roshcha, where I became a member of a Gypsy artisans artel and remained until my arrest. If I committed any crime or mistake, I did it only out of my illiteracy and obscurity and by no means out of ill will. Indeed, among the Gypsies, sometimes some big fights and quarrels were terminated amicably, according to custom. Perhaps this is my fault for not informing the authorities. I warmly welcome the Soviet Stalinist constitution and wish to live as a free citizen in its beneficial influence. I think that you will condescend to my request and decide my fate, taking into account that I left eight children at home, 4 of whom were very young, and had no means of subsistence since my wife died during childbirth back in 1933, leaving a baby in the care of strangers. What was my crime? I don't know anything and only committed this because of my complete darkness. Therefore, I hope that you will heed my sincere request and reunite the father with orphans, especially since, in 6 years, I have probably already atoned for my guilt.

June 15, 1938

[...] [Signature]

### Notes

1. There is no other known historical evidence about Kelderari in the Russian Empire who trained bears; perhaps this is a case of self-exoticisation.
2. It is not clear what Ivan Mihai is referring to here; in any case, it is certain that in the 1920s (and in general until 1956), there were no prohibitions on the Gypsy nomadic lifestyle in the USSR.

**Source:** GARF, f. 10035, op. 2, d. 74091, l [not indicated].

## 2.2 The Case of a Group of Gypsies (Moscow, 1935)

### 2.2.1 *Resolution*

I approve [handwritten resolution]  
 Deputy Head of the NKVD MO [...]  
 July 17, 1935

#### RESOLUTION

##### On the Measure of Restraint

I, the authorised person from the 1st department of the OO UGB NKVD MO [...], having examined the intelligence and investigation material on the counter-revolutionary group of Gypsies, found:

In 1933, the OO OGPU MVO liquidated the counter-revolutionary organisation among the Gypsies, which arose based on clan and tribal traditions, headed by the Gypsy king and a privileged caste of elders. At the beginning of 1935, the Special Department again identified several counter-revolutionary groups among the Gypsies active in Moscow and its environs.

It has been established that the active counter-revolutionary Gypsy elements, continuing the tactics of their former "leaders", again formed a system of tribal foremen and secret Gypsy Courts, which were tasked with uniting the counter-revolutionary Gypsy activists against all measures of the Soviet government. The activities of the tribal elders are headed by the sharply counter-revolutionary Kulay le Porasko la Pindako from the Poroni tribe. (The Poroni tribe is considered one of the noble ones).

Kulay le Porasko is the brother of the convict in case no. 20820 [1] from 1933, for ten years in the concentration camp, he was actively involved in this case but was not arrested, as he was in hiding (declared on the run). Kulay le Porasko's closest aide is Piko le Ristako of the Dukoni tribe, who was also active in case no. 20280 and declared on the run.

Kulay le Porasko and his immediate assistant Piko le Ristako, carrying out organised counter-revolutionary work, systematically gathered all the elders of the Moscow Gypsy tribes, conducted intensified anti-Soviet agitation among them and trained cadres of counter-revolutionary activists for anti-Soviet activities among the tribes. The main aim preached by Kulay and Piko is revenge for the repressions against the counter-revolutionary Gypsy elements in 1933.

Kulay and Piko said:

“Soviet power should pay retribution for our executed brothers in every possible way.”

“Not a single Gypsy should work in Soviet production since Soviet power will soon end, and anyone who has a stamp on his passport about factory service will be shot under our power.”

“We ourselves will judge our Gypsies, and we will not allow the Soviet authorities to mock our people.”

The foremen of the Gypsy tribes brought up in the counter-revolutionary direction, conducted anti-Soviet agitation among the Gypsies, inciting them for revenge against the Soviet regime.

The counter-revolutionary group of Gypsy activists, led by Kulay le Porasko and Piko le Ristako, includes the following most notorious counter-revolutionary-minded elders:

1. Bratyan le Botasko – foreman of the Chukuroni tribe, lives – [Moscow], [Rayon] Maryina Roshcha, 6th passage, house No. 21.
2. Migai le Ordyanako le Ristako, le Frantsesko – foreman of the Demoni tribe, lives – [Moscow], Yaroslavskoe highway, Razzoranov lane, house No. 5.
3. Dzhorzhino le Burikosko – foreman of the Burikoni tribe, lives – [Moscow], 6th kilometre, the village of Krasny Severyanin.
4. Voshho Ivanov – Foreman of the Greek Gypsies, lives in the same place.
5. Risto Dobrodzyano – Foreman of the Dobrodzyani tribe, lives – [Moscow], 2nd Yamskoye field, house no. 10.
6. Hristo Voshho, foreman of Piko and Kulay for all Gypsy tribes, lives in [Moscow], [Rayon] Maryina Roshcha, Polkovaya Street, No. 38.

Undercover materials, confirmed by an undercover investigation, testify to the following facts:

“In January 1935, at a closed meeting of two tribes, Dukoni and Poroni, in the Red Corner of the Romanian Foreigner artel [2], under the chairmanship of Kulay and Piko, the question of the arrested Gypsy king and foremen was discussed. At this meeting, Piko was asked by the Gypsies to write a statement to Comrade Stalin. Then Piko went to the bedside table, where a plaster statue of Comrade Stalin was placed, and said: “What to write to him (cursing), he still won’t understand us and our kings.” Then Kulay came up and began stroking this statue on the head, saying: “You, too, will soon get the same thing that happened to Kirov [3]” (Testimony of a witness [...]).

[...]

“When comrade Kirov was killed, at a meeting of Gypsies, Kulay “explained” to the Gypsies the reasons for the murder in the following way: “Zinoviev [4] killed Kirov, he wanted to make Russia the old way. Zinoviev was like our King Chula, and Kirov was for Soviet power. He wanted everyone to be poor and

work for the Soviet government all their lives. When discussing the issue of collective farms and individual farmers, Kulay “explained”: “All the peasants were driven to the kolkhozes, and there they are given a pound of bread and nothing more, but the individual farmers live well.” Then Kulay asked the whole assembly a question: “Romale (Gypsies), if you are given rifles in your hands, who would you go to help?”, and after a long silence, he answered: “Of course, you need to go help Zinoviev for a common cause, because wealth is taken away under the Soviet regime” (Testimony of a witness [...]).

[...]

As a result of the counter-revolutionary work of Kulay and Piko, there are terrorist tendencies among the Gypsies. Based on the preceding, we decided:

[...]

An active counter-revolutionary group of Gypsies represented by: 1. Kulay le Porasko, la Piaydako; 2. Piko le Ristako; 3. Bratyan le Botasko; 4. Migai le Ordianako, le Ristako, le Frantsesko; 5. Dzhordzhino le Burikosko; 6. Vosho Ivanov; 7. Risto Dobrodziano; 8. Hristo Vosho must be arrested.

The investigation is to be led on the grounds of Art. 58-10 and 58-11 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR, after coordinating the issue with the prosecutor of the city of Moscow.

Authorised [...] [Signature]

Agree [handwritten resolution]

Head of the 1st Department [...] [Signature]

Head of the OO UGB NKVD MO [...] [Signature]

### Notes

1. This is the special operation ‘Kings’, which took place in Moscow in 1933, as a result of which 60 leaders of the tribal groups of Gypsies in Moscow were arrested.
2. Romanian Foreigner is a production artel of Tinsmith Gypsies in Moscow.
3. Sergey Mironovich Kirov (1886–1934), a Soviet statesman and Party leader, was killed on December 1, 1934.
4. Grigory Yevseevich Zinoviev (1883–1936), Soviet state and Party leader, was arrested on December 16, 1934.

**Source:** GARF, f. 10035, op. 2, d. 74091, l. 1–4.



### 2.2.2 *Interrogation Protocol*

Department of the NKVD MO UGB

## INTERROGATION PROTOCOL

July 23, 1935

I, the authorised officer of the 1st Department of the OO NKVD MO [...], interrogated the citizen [...]:

1. Surname: Alimov (real Gypsy surname Kulay le Porasko).
2. Name and patronymic: Andrey Ivanovich.
3. Date of birth: 1896.
4. Place of birth: Romania, in the city of Bucharest.
5. Place of residence: Moscow, Petrovsky Park, 3rd Slobodnaya Street, house No. 10/12.
6. Nationality and citizenship (citizenship): Romanian Gypsy, citizen of the USSR.
7. Passport: Located in the Commandant's Office at 14, No. 280260.
8. Occupation: Coppersmith artisan.
9. Social Origin: Nomadic Gypsy.
10. Social status (occupation and property status):
  - a) Before the revolution: A nomadic Gypsy.
  - b) After the revolution: The same.
11. Composition of the family: Wife Vurik, 32 years old, works in an artel. Daughter Masha is eight years old. Daughter Manditsa, 12 years old. Son Boday is six years old, and Pavel is two.

Testimony of the accused, Andrey Ivanovich Alimov, aka Kulay le Porasko

Dated July 23, 1935

Question: When did you first come to the USSR, in what way, with what passport, and what is your citizenship at present?

Answer: For the first time, I came to the USSR in Odessa from Romania at the beginning of 1918. We arrived by steamboat to the USSR from Romania, along the Danube River, which brought us to Odessa for quarantine. Two weeks later, we were sent to the city of Kiev. I lived in the city of Kiev until 1920. In 1920, I moved to Kharkov and then began to travel around the cities of the Soviet Union. Since 1927, I have been living in the city of Moscow. In 1933, I left with my 30 cauldrons for the town of Ufa; in Ufa, I was detained by the NKVD

at 6 in the morning and remained until 11 o'clock in the evening. I handed over ten pieces of *galti* at once [1] and was released at the same minute.

From Romania to the USSR, I arrived with the Romanian ship *Kualya*. In Kiev, I received a foreign passport because I called myself a foreigner. In 1934, I surrendered my foreign passport under the name Andrey Ivanovich Alim and received a passport under the name Andrey Ivanovich Alimov. With my foreign passport, I applied for Soviet citizenship. My request was not denied, and I am currently a citizen of the USSR.

Question: Since when have you been a chief of the Poroni tribe and a member of the Supreme Court? Who appointed or elected you, and what are your duties?

Answer: I have never been a chief of the Poroni tribe, nor have I ever been a member of the Supreme Court. I was always a poor Gypsy, and everyone beat me; I had 12 wounds on my head. There was no foreman in our Poroni tribe.

Question: For what purpose did you convene secret meetings of Gypsies, and what questions did you raise and discuss?

Answer: I have never called any meetings, and I have never participated in any meetings.

Question: The investigators know that among the aforementioned general meetings that you organised, you conducted counter-revolutionary agitation, scolded the leaders of the Soviet government, urged the Gypsies not to obey the measures and orders of the Soviet government, and urged the Gypsies not to take part in production work.

Answer: I have never conducted counter-revolutionary agitation anywhere, and I have never scolded the leaders of the Soviet government, I have not called on anyone, and I have not told anyone not to obey Soviet power; I have not called on anyone not to take part in production work.

Question: Why do you deny your real surname and name, *Kulay le Porasko*?

Answer: I am Andrey Ivanovich Alimov. All Gypsies know me as *Kulay le Porasko*. I can't tell you more.

The protocol was written down in my words correctly. It was read to me, and I signed.

I, Andrey Ivanovich Alimov, am *Kulay le Porasko*, responsible for my answers in the minutes from July 23, 1935.

The accused *Kulay le Porasko* twice refused to sign the interrogation report in the presence of a prison officer [...]. [2]

Interrogated by the authorised [...] [Signature]

Continuation of the testimony of Kulay le Porasko, 26 July 1935.

Question: Will you sign the interrogation protocol dated 23 July 1935?

Answer: I will not sign the interrogation protocol of 23 July 1935 because the protocol raises harsh questions against me. With this protocol, you will go back and forth, but no one will accept you, neither the prosecutor nor the judge, since I will not sign it.

Question: Why did you leave Moscow in 1933 and go to Ufa?

Answer: I heard that in Ufa they pay good money for copper utensils, i.e. much money. I had about 35 pieces of the copper cauldron. I checked these cauldrons in my luggage and arrived in Ufa. Before getting the money for the cauldrons, the NKVD arrested me at 6 o'clock in the morning, and in the evening at 11 o'clock, when I handed over the *galpiis* I was released. [Signature of the accused]

Question: Are you a member of the artel of copper workers in Moscow? Which one?

Answer: I am a member of the artel Yugoslavia. I go to the enterprises, take orders, conclude contracts on behalf of the artel, and send the dishes through the artel. [Signature of the accused]

Question: On behalf of the artel, you conclude contracts, take orders, and fulfil them; tell me if you are the chairman of the artel Yugoslavia.

Answer: Our chairman is citizen Ovchinnikov. He visits our artel monthly, receives a salary when we have money. I can't tell you more. [Signature of the accused]

The protocol was written down in my words correctly. It was read to me, and I signed. [Signature of the accused]

Interrogated by the authorised [...] [Signature]

Testimony of the accused Kulay le Porasko dated August 1, 1935

Question: The investigation established that you appointed foremen for the Gypsy tribes living in Moscow. Tell me, whom and for which tribe did you appoint?

Answer: I have never appointed anyone. I have not taken any fees from Gypsies, and I know nothing about this issue.

Question: The investigation knows that you instructed Hristo Vosho; what did the latter pass on to the appropriate tribe for execution?

Answer: I never visited Hristo Vosho, I never went to see him, I never had any conversations with him, and I don't know him.

Question: Do you know who Mihai la Stoykako is, and what can you say about him?

Answer: Mihai la Stoykako is from the Stoykoni tribe. Mihai la Stoykako was the head of the Stoykoni tribe. He accepted part of the Gypsies from the Bedoni tribe into his tribe, organised an artel, and contacted the Gypsy Kaminsky, who delivered them cauldrons. Soon, his artel disbanded. At present, it is not known what Pyotr Georgievich Mihai – la Stoykako is doing. [Signature of the accused]

Question: Do you know Piko le Ristako since he has been the foreman of the Dukoni tribe, and what can you tell about him?

Answer: Piko le Ristako was never a foreman of the Dukoni tribe; because I see him every day, I know that very well. Piko le Ristako helps the families of the Gypsies arrested in 1933. He does not deal with any anti-Soviet affairs. I can't say anything else.

The protocol was written down in my words correctly; it was read to me, and I will sign it. [Signature of the accused]

Interrogated by the authorised [...] [Signature]

Further testimony of the accused Kulay le Porasko dated August 31, 1935

Question: Since when did you begin to bear the surname 'Alimov', and what surname did you have before that?

Answer: I have been carrying the surname Alimov since childhood. My mother was Piado Alimova, and I was registered by my mother's last name. My childhood name is Andrey Ivanovich. [3] Before and after this, I had no other surnames and first names. [Signature of the accused]

Question: The investigation knows you had the surname 'Markov' in Ufa in 1933 and in Moscow. Is it true?

Answer: I never had the surname 'Markov', and none of the Markovs Gypsies knows me.

Question: Do you admit that you are Kulay le Porasko la Piadako?

Answer: I am indeed Kulay le Porasko la Piadako. [Signature of the accused]

Question: Tell us in detail why you denied your real names and first names during your arrest? Answer: I simply did not want to reveal my real name and surname. [Signature of the accused]

Question: Did you talk to any of the arrested Gypsies in the Butyrka detention centre, and with whom exactly?

Answer: I never talked to any of the arrested Gypsies in the Butyrka detention centre. There was one case when I threw a pack of cigarettes out of the

window to a Gypsy without any conversation. These cigarettes were taken away by the duty officer, and I spent 14 days on a *pugach* [4]; this happened because I did not know this rule. [Signature of the accused]

Question: The investigation knows for sure that you asked that Gypsy something in the Gypsy language. Is this true?

Answer: I absolutely did not pronounce a single sound either in Gypsy or in Russian. [Signature of the accused]

Question: Have you ever been on the courts under the “King” Chula, and what was your role?

Answer: I have never been to any court. Neither under “King” Chula nor after him. I travelled around the cities all the time. [Signature of the accused]

Question: The investigation knows for sure that you always came to court with whips and physically forced to obey the court decision. Is this true?

Answer: This is not true because I have never had a whip or been to court. [Signature of the accused]

Question: Did you intimidate the Gypsies, and therefore, the Gypsies did not complain about you to Soviet organisations?

Answer: Yes, indeed, I often fought with the Gypsies while drunk, but the Gypsies did not complain about me because the next day, I came and asked for an apology and gave money for drinking vodka for peace. [Signature of the accused]

Question: Have you ever been involved in any murders?

Answer: I have never been involved in any murders.

The protocol was written in my words, it was written correctly, it was read to me, and I signed it. [Signature of the accused]

Interrogated by the authorised [...] [Signature]

Additional testimony of the accused Kulay le Porasko, dated September 5, 1935  
The interrogation began at 2:45

Question: Is there any connection between the Gypsies living in Moscow and the “King” of the Gypsies living in Warsaw, Kvek? Who was the foreman signalman? When did he arrive in the USSR or leave? Who exactly?

Answer: At the end of 1927 or the beginning of 1928, a Gypsy woman came to Moscow from Warsaw with her family, Vera, the sister of Hristo Vosho. She had a lot of different goods, which Hristo Vosho sold with his father, Stepan. But the purpose of Vera’s arrival was not only profiteering because Vera and her family went back to Warsaw a month later. She inquired about the position of the Gypsies in Moscow and whether the organs of Soviet power were paying

attention to Gypsy affairs. When the Gypsy “King” in Warsaw, Kvek understood that everything was calm in Moscow, after Vera’s return to Warsaw, he immediately arrived in Moscow, went to many events, took out a lot of gold, and Gypsies from other countries began to gather in the city of Moscow.

Sandulo was the last to arrive from Poland in the USSR in 1930 and did not return to Warsaw. He stayed in Moscow with Pyotr Georgievich Mihai; the latter procured documents for him, and Sandulo is currently a citizen of the Soviet Union. [Signature of the accused]

Question: Which of the Gypsies knows well the arrival of the sister of Hristo Vosho and Sandulo?

Answer: The Gypsies living in Moscow at that time know well about the arrival of Vera and her affairs. Piko le Ristako knows, and Pyotr Georgievich Mihai knows well about the appearance of Sandulo because he received him in his house and settled the document for him.

The protocol was written down correctly; it was read to me, and I signed it. [Signature of the accused]

Interrogated by the authorised [...]. [Signature]

The interrogation ended at 4:10.

### Notes

1. This refers to *galbi* (‘gold coins’ in the Romani language).
2. According to Soviet legislation, the accused can refuse to sign the interrogation protocol
3. Apparently, in this case, the accused is not telling the truth – it seems incredible that in Romania, where he was born, he was called Andrey Ivanovich (a Russian name), and his mother was called Alimova (with a Russian feminine ending).
4. ‘Pugach’ – slang name for SHIZO (penal detention centre, i.e., solitary confinement cell).

Source: GARF, f. 10035, op. 2, d. 74091, l. 37–4406.

#### 2.2.3 *Closing Indictment*

I approve [handwritten resolution]

Head of the Department of the NKVD MO

September 19, 1935

## CLOSING INDICTMENT

Of Investigation Case No. 10131, on charges against the Gypsies: 1. Kulay le Porasko; 2. Piko le Ristako; 3. Pyotr Georgievich Mihai; 4. Vosho Ivanov; 5. Vosho Hristo; 6. Migai le Ordianako – according to Art. 58-10 and 58-11 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR.

September 19, 1935

I, the interim Head of the 8th Department of the OO UGB NKVD MO [...], having considered the investigation file no. 10131 on the charges against the Gypsies Kulay le Porasko, Piko le Ristako and others, found:

In 1933, the OO of the Moscow VO was opened and liquidated a counter-revolutionary intelligence organisation among the Gypsies settled in Moscow, headed by the former secret king Chula and having a “Supreme” [court] and local tribal courts. [1]

Through the crowned king of the Polish Gypsies, Kvek, the organisation connected with the 2nd Division of the Polish General Staff and, on the latter’s instructions, carried out intelligence activities in the USSR. In July 1935, the OO of MVD became aware that the former members of the liquidated counter-revolutionary organisation of Gypsies Kulay le Porasko and Piko le Ristako appeared in Moscow under false names, who in 1933 hid from arrest and returned to Moscow, where they started restoring Gypsy tribes, planted tribal elders, organised secret Gypsy Courts and conducted active agitation against Soviet power.

The investigation in the case established that the former member of the Gypsy Supreme Court, Kulay le Porasko, living in Moscow under the surname Andrey Ivanovich Alimov, declared himself among the Gypsies the “Gypsy King” and formed around himself an anti-Soviet kulak elite of Gypsies of various tribes, which included: 1. Kulay le Porasko, aka Alimov, former member of the “Supreme” court under King Chula; 2. Piko le Ristako, also known as Bimbash Hristo, son of the executed former honorary member of the “Supreme” Gypsy Court, foreman of the Dukoni tribe; 3. Pyotr Georgievich Mihai, aka Migai la Stoykako, foreman of the Stoykoni tribe; 4. Vosho Ivanov, aka Ivan Ivanovich Ivanov, aka Vosho la Vankasko, member of the tribal Gypsy Court; 5. Hristo Vosho, he is Peter Stepanovich Hristov; 6. Migai la Ordianako, aka Hristo Risto, son of the executed former honorary member of the “supreme court”.

The participants of the counter-revolutionary group set as their goal:

1. To preserve the tribes, customs and traditions, again, put at the head of each tribe a foreman from noble Gypsies.

2. To restore the pre-existing supreme Gypsy Court *Roma[n]i kris bari* and local tribal courts *Tsiny kris*, thereby diverting the Gypsies from applying to the Soviet courts.

3. To prevent the Gypsies from settling in industrial enterprises and kolhozoes; to fight against all measures of the Soviet government aimed at introducing the Gypsies to a settled life; to organise as before and preserve fictitious artels of tinkers, and to create the latter based on tribal associations headed by tribal foremen.

4. To create a fund for material assistance to Gypsies in prisons and concentration camps, and for the families of repressed Gypsies; to organise escapes of Gypsies from prisons and concentration camps and shelter those who fled. Along with this, the members of the group conducted anti-Soviet agitation among the Gypsies, spread provocative rumours about the leaders of the Party and made all kinds of ridicule against them. Gypsies were called upon to beat up government officials, particularly NKVD officers.

“All Gypsy artels in Moscow, although there is an official chairman, charter, press, etc., are fictitious. Inside the artel, all its members work individually. Each Gypsy buys goods on their own, prepares kitchen products from them and sells them individually on behalf of the artel. These fictitious artels exist in every tribe; they are usually led by the most intelligent people in the tribes, i.e. they also lead the tribes – the foremen. Such fictitious artels, under the leadership of the foreman of the tribe, helped the families of the arrested and convicted Gypsies” (from the testimony of the accused [...]).

“All Gypsy tribes have chiefs, some of them are currently under arrest: the chief of the Dukoni tribe was Piko le Ristako, the chief of the Poroni tribe was Kulay le Porasko, the chief of the Domoni tribe was Migai la Ordianako. Voshho Ivanov, who lived in the settlement of *Krasny Sibiryandin*, presented himself as the foreman of the Greek Gypsies. The Gypsies obeyed all the foremen implicitly. The foremen often arranged secret gatherings among themselves, at which they agreed on how to work further. The goal of the *starostat* [2] was this: to preserve the Gypsy laws, to preserve the Gypsy race and Gypsy traditions, and therefore, the Gypsies did not go to work in Soviet institutions and enterprises. There were no large Gypsy Courts (*Roma[n]i bari kris*) after the arrest in 1933. Still, small courts of *Tsiny Kris* were organised everywhere; for example, in our settlement, *Krasny Sibiryandin*, along the Medvezhev highway, house No. 64, a small tribal court *Tsiny Kris*, was organised. *Dzhordzhino le Burikosko* headed this court. Its members were Voshho Ivanov, *Badya le Ristako* and *Kopal le Ristako*. In my presence, this court judged one Gypsy – *Bukuro Konstantinov*, who allegedly did not marry according to Gypsy laws. According to the decision of this court, *Bukuro Konstantinov* paid 500 roubles in *sovznaki*



[3]. The elders and their activists looked at the Soviet-minded youth as traitors to the Gypsy laws, the Gypsy race and Gypsy authorities; therefore, such youth were persecuted, frightened with murder, and sometimes beaten.” (From the testimony of a witness [...]).

[1. Kulay le Porasko.] Being the foreman of the Poroni tribe, Kulay le Porasko simultaneously posed as the king of the Gypsies, organised illegal meetings of the Gypsy tribes, at which he proved to the Gypsies the need to preserve the tribe and the false artels and ordered the Gypsies not to go to production, to help the Gypsies convicted and deported by the NKVD and their families, and led anti-Soviet agitation among the Gypsies.

“After the arrest and exile of the leaders of the head of the Gypsies, their places were taken by other Gypsies, mostly from wealthy generations. Currently, Kulay le Porasko is the leader of the Gypsies living in Moscow. [...] I know that Kulay le Porasko convenes many Gypsy tribes, gives counter-revolutionary instructions and demands that the remaining Gypsies take revenge on the Soviet government for the defeat and arrest of their former leader. Kulay le Porasko demands that not a single Gypsy should work in Soviet production; at each separate gathering, he discredits the leader, Comrade Stalin, and members of the Soviet government, and in every possible way, scolds the Soviet government in obscene ways. Kulay le Porasko spreads rumours among the Gypsy tribes about the imminent death of Soviet power and threatens them that if they work in Soviet production and their passports have a mark of work, those persons will be shot upon the arrival of the white power and their children will be sent to shelter.” (From the testimony of a witness).

“Kulay le Porasko became the foreman of the Poroni tribe around 1925. Under King Chula, Kulay le Porasko always appeared in court with a whip and physically forced the convicted Gypsies to obey the court decision. Kulay le Porasko systematically abused the poor Gypsies. In 1927–1928, Kulay le Porasko smashed my father’s head, and we were all taken to the police station. On the way, Kulay le Porasko told my father and me: ‘If you say something about me to the police, I will sit for 10–15 days, and then I go out, you will no longer have life.’ In the militsiya, indeed, frightened by the threats of Kulay le Porasko, we said that we got a little excited and had a fight among ourselves and that we would make peace. On this basis, he was released. With such attacks on all other Gypsies, Kulay le Porasko created fame for himself among the Gypsy people, and indeed, he was considered a hero.” (From the testimony of the accused [...]).

“Kulay le Porasko is counter-revolutionary. [...] I know that Kulay le Porasko in 1923 was probably in Murmansk with his nephew Baragan, who killed

Kulay's niece Manditsa with an axe. The dead body was buried under the floor. After this murder, they left the city so no one would know about them. In 1932 or 1933, Kulay and other Gypsies left Moscow and headed, I don't know where. Near Novosibirsk, a pregnant woman was hit by Kulay le Porasko with a crowbar. Three days later, this woman, [by name] Lena, died. Kulay reconciled with the husband of the murdered Lena through a Gypsy Court, paying money for the murder (I don't know how much). I do not remember exactly in what year Kulay cut off the ear of a Gypsy woman named Zambilo. [...] Kulay's anti-Soviet agitation was expressed in the fact that he systematically summoned Gypsies and said that it is not necessary to enter the factories as workers; it is not necessary to work for the Soviet government because the Soviet power arrested our kings Chula and Tomma, our foremen and judges; there is no need to go to the Soviet court, we have our own court, if anyone needs to be punished, then our court will punish him. If the NKVD arrests one of you and asks about judges or the foremen, don't say anything, even if they cut your flesh into pieces. After the arrest of the Gypsy kings Chula and Tomma, Kulay announced to all the Gypsies that now he will be the king of the Gypsies, all the Gypsies must obey him, and whoever does not obey him, he will kill them." (From the testimony of a witness [...]).

"I know well Kulay le Porasko. After the arrest of 'King' Chula, he recently declared himself the 'King' of the Gypsies living in Moscow. Kulay le Porasko himself personally visited all the Gypsy tribes in Moscow and arranged secret meetings in each tribe, at which he conducted anti-Soviet agitation. Kulay le Porasko advised the Gypsies not to submit to Soviet power, to keep their fictitious artels, and not to participate in industrial labour. Kulay le Porasko appointed foremen over the tribes of the most anti-Soviet Gypsies. [...] During the murder of comrade Kirov, Kulay le Porasko arranged a meeting of the Gypsies of the Chukuroni tribe and told them: 'You see, Gypsies, one flew off, perhaps another one could fly off too. [...] If I knew where Zinoviev was, I would go to him and sign up for his Party.' [...] Kulay ordered to help the families of the prisoners. When each artel receives money, a certain amount is deducted for the families of the arrested and distributed among them depending on the number of eaters. Kulay le Porasko offered me 500 roubles, but I told him I didn't need any of their help. If I needed help, I would turn to the Soviet authorities, and they would help me. I don't remember the exact date, but I remember that Kulay offered me this help in the winter – February or March 1935. Kulay le Porasko also gave the order to allocate money for sending parcels to prisoners in concentration camps, and parcels were regularly sent to prisoners." (From the testimony of a witness [...]). In addition, witnesses confirm [...].

During the investigation, the accused, Kulay le Porasko, behaved defiantly, pleading not guilty to anything.

[2. Piko Le Ristako.] Another active member of the counter-revolutionary group was the accused foreman of the Dukoni tribe – Piko le Ristako, aka Hristo Bimbash, a former member of the “Supreme” court under the Gypsy king Chula and a personal bodyguard of the latter. Being the foreman of the tribe, Piko le Ristako organised a false artel of copper workers, through which he supported the families of repressed Gypsies and organised assistance to convicted Gypsies. Among the Gypsies of the Piko le Ristako tribe, he conducted systematic anti-Soviet agitation.

“The Gypsies Kulay le Porasko and Piko le Ristako gave a firm instruction to the elders of each tribe that each tribe should allocate a certain amount of money to help the families of arrested and convicted Gypsies. Assistance was provided as follows: the family of the arrested person buys copper, delivers it to the artel, and Piko le Ristako gives instructions: ‘Make dishes from copper, hand it over and give all the money to the person from whom the copper was received.’ At the direction of Kulay le Porasko, money was collected and distributed to the families of the repressed in proportion to the number of eaters. I am well aware that the Gypsy woman Matryona, the wife of the convicted Toma la Bobako, received regular financial assistance, and all the other wives of those arrested are being helped. [...] Piko le Ristako issued fictitious demands to each family on behalf of the artel. With these demands, the Gypsies received copper from the state institutions for the artel; in fact, they took copper for their benefit. All the assistance that is provided to the families of the arrested Gypsies was done secretly. The money received by the artel are formally divided among the members of the artel and then collected and handed over to the families of the arrested.” (From the testimony of a witness [...]).

“Piko le Ristako often convenes meetings with his Gypsies and categorically forbids them to enter Soviet production. [...] He always says that in production they will never give us our earnings, but they will give us bonds, and it says: ‘In ten years’. But in ten years, all will be forgotten. Remember the Nikolaev money! The same fate awaits Soviet bonds!” (From the testimony of a witness [...]).

“The foreman of the Dukoni tribe after the arrest of the ‘King’ of Chula is really Piko le Ristako. All the Gypsies from the Dukoni tribe obey him. Piko le Ristako forbids the Gypsies of their tribe from participating in Soviet enterprises. [...] Piko arranged a fight with the Dobrodzhaya tribe. Piko collected the dishes which were made by the Gypsies and handed them over but did not

pay the Gypsies money, saying: 'The money is needed to buy parcels for the arrested, and you will have time to get it next time. Our Gypsies are imprisoned for ten years because of all of you.' Piko le Ristako owes me personally 720 roubles, which Piko completely refused me." (From the testimony of the accused [...]).

In addition, the anti-Soviet activities of Piko le Ristako are confirmed by: [...].

The accused, Piko le Ristako, testified: "I, Piko le Ristako, belong to the Dukoni tribe. The Dukoni tribe among the Gypsies is Bar Bari [4], the most authoritative, honourable tribe. The Dukoni tribe has long been royal. After the arrest of 'King' Chula and, according to the certificate we received from the Red Cross, that Chula was shot, and his four brothers were also shot, I was to become, by heredity, the foreman of all the foremen of the Gypsies living in the USSR. But since I am illiterate and do not correspond to this title, from that time on, I began to lead an artel of Gypsies from the Dukoni tribe. I was helped in this work by Zhenika, aka Misha Yankovich, Volodya le Balishesko and Lolya le Metako. My duties were as follows: 1. to prevent excesses in the tribe; 2) to prevent confusion; to help the families of arrested and convicted Gypsies keep their children out of poverty and homelessness; to save the Dukoni tribe; to make reconciliation during a fight between tribes. [...] Assistance to the families of arrested and convicted Gypsies was expressed as follows: we told all the wives of convicted Gypsies: 'Now you have no husbands, you need to live, you have children, they need to be taken care of. We will support you. We have an artel, which, by its organisation, allows us to help you. You will be members of our artel, we will get goods, prepare products from it, you will participate in the work, and we will pay you money as a salary in proportion to the eaters.' [...]" (From the testimony of the accused Piko le Ristako).

"I convened secret Gypsy meetings to discuss the issue of arrested Gypsies and members of their families." (From the testimony of the accused Piko le Ristako).

3. Pyotr Georgievich Mihai, also known as Migai la Stoykako, comes from a wealthy Gypsy family, was the foreman of the Stoykoni tribe, and is associated with the Gypsy Kulay le Porasko. The latter worked in production in the Krasny Shtamp plant and made systematic absenteeism. He was practically engaged in buying and selling cauldrons. Among the Gypsies working in the production, he convinced the Gypsies to leave the job. He was anti-Soviet. He threatened the Gypsies who were called to the NKVD as witnesses in the case of the arrested Gypsies.

“I know when Mihai, in my presence in the Stoykoni tribe, said that there was nothing left for the Gypsies from work in production, the Soviet government took everything. There is no life for the Gypsies under the Soviet government since it robbed them. At the same time, he scolded the leaders of the Party and the Soviet government. Mihai systematically campaigned against the participation of Gypsies in industrial work, campaigned for the preservation of Gypsy laws and customs.” (From the testimony of a witness [...]).

“Pyotr Georgievich Mihai came to us in the Dukoni tribe on July 24 of this year and said: ‘If one of you goes to the NKVD and testifies, then let him blame himself; I won’t let him live anyway.’ [...] Pyotr Georgievich Mihai contributed to Kulay’s escape from arrest; now he set himself the task of not allowing a single Gypsy to testify against Kulay in the NKVD so that the latter was released.” (From the testimony of a witness [...]).

“I know Pyotr Georgievich Mihai well since I worked with him at the Krasny Shtamp plant. Pyotr Georgievich Mihai is anti-Soviet and always conducted anti-Soviet agitation among the Gypsies. Approximately in the first days of July of this year, we had a meeting of workers at the plant. All the workers attended this meeting; the plant’s director [and management] – Gerasimov, Bezruky, Grachov and others. Pyotr Georgievich Mihai spoke at this meeting and said: ‘We won’t work for you anymore. I’ll leave, and none of the Gypsies will come to work for you since we earn good money in our work and work as we want, but you don’t give us any payment.’

Pyotr Georgievich Mihai said: ‘You, [...] don’t go to work because, through you, we will be dragged to the factory.’ Pyotr Georgievich Mihai, at home on 2nd Church Lane, house no. 5, systematically arranged meetings of Gypsies and urged them not to go to the factory to work.” (From the testimony of a witness. [...])

Of the Gypsies closest to Kulay, who helped him (Kulay) escape from arrest, I know – Pyotr Georgievich Mihai. He wanted to send Kulay abroad. He told Kulay’s wife: ‘Let Kulay not be afraid now; I will send him abroad through the nearest border checkpoint.’ [...]” (From the testimony of a witness [...]).

“Pyotr Georgievich Mihai comes from a wealthy Gypsy family. The Stoykoni tribe was headed by Pyotr Georgievich Mihai. He organised a fictitious artel, accepted a part of the Gypsies from the Bedoni tribe, and delivered material according to fictitious accounts. Mihai is anti-Soviet, a very secretive person.” (From the testimony of the accused [...]).

In addition, [the above] is confirmed by witnesses: [...]

The accused, Pyotr Georgievich Mihai, pleaded not guilty.

4. Gypsies of the Mineshti tribe – Vosho Ivanov, aka Ivan Ivanovich Ivanov, aka Vosho le Vankasko, a member of the tribal court of the Burikoni and Mineshti tribe, in which he took part until the day of his arrest in this case. Among the Gypsies, he was engaged in extortion of money. He is anti-Soviet.

“Vosho Ivanov was a foreman in our settlement. He let the Gypsy Gusti into the village with his family on the condition that Gusti would marry his daughter to Ivanov’s brother Tanas upon arrival. But because Tanas is an older man, Gusti’s daughter refuses to marry him. During this time, I met her, but because I had no money, I could not marry her in a Gypsy way. Then she offered me to go somewhere for a while, get married, and return. In the first days of June of this year, I went with her to Zagorsk, and I returned three days later. And on the same night, Gusti and his sons raided me at 3 o’clock in the morning, beat me badly and my wife, took my wife away and took her to my father’s house. Rista Burikosko offered Gusti 8,000 roubles for my wife, and Dzhordzhina offered Gusti not to give me my wife but to sell her for 8,000 roubles. In turn, Vosho Ivanov offered Gusti [gold] ducats for my wife. Then I told Gusti and Dzhordzhina: “I will appeal to the Soviet authorities, and they will judge us there.” For my conversations, under the guidance of Dzhordzhina, I was beaten five times, my entire tent was torn up, and they threatened to kill me.

Convinced that I would appeal to the Soviet authorities, and to avoid this, they began to judge me themselves. The court’s composition included Dzhordzhino le Burikosko, Vosho Ivanov, Badya le Ristako, and Kopal le Ristako. Knowing that I was a poor Gypsy, they sentenced me to 500 roubles, [of which] 400 roubles to my wife’s father and 100 roubles to Badya, who had previously wanted to woo her. After paying the money, my beaten wife was returned to me, and I sold the boots and began to treat her.” (From the testimony of a witness [...]).

“In the city of Losinoostrovsk, the Moscow City Council released a site for the settlement of Gypsies. Vosho Ivanov organised a fictitious artel of copper workers in the settlement, obtained a seal and a current account, and let in all the Gypsies who could pay him for settling on the site. The site was released for construction for 12 families, and Vosho Ivanov invited about 35 families to live on his site. [...] In fact, no artel existed. Each Gypsy purchased goods independently and independently prepared products (kitchen utensils). Vosho Ivanov collected and handed over these products on behalf of the artel, received money as the chairman of the artel, and took a certain percentage for himself. For example, Vosho Ivanov handed over the products of Serbian Gypsies who came from Leningrad and received 2,000 roubles from them. [...] When I

asked Vosho Ivanov for one form of invoice, he said: 'Give me 250 roubles, and you will receive two invoices.' Since I did not have enough products, I asked other Gypsies who also had products but did not have an invoice or forms: '[...] I told them that Vosho Ivanov was demanding 250 roubles for the forms. These Gypsies were afraid to sell their products on a false invoice. Moreover, Vosho Ivanov asked too much.' [...] Vosho Ivanov collected 3,000 roubles from the Gypsies living in the settlement, saying, 'I spent my money, and you live on my site for free.' My grandmother Paraskeva and I personally paid Vosho Ivanov 700 roubles." (From the testimony of a witness [...]).

The foregoing was confirmed at a confrontation by a witness [...], "Vosho Ivanov comes from a wealthy Gypsy tribe called Mineshti. Vosho Ivanov is opposed to the Soviet regime. Among the Gypsies of the village of Krasny Severyanin, he always said that we used to be a rich tribe and are now rich, and you were poor before. Under Soviet power, you will die completely. If Soviet power disappears, then our tribe will become even richer, and you will remain poor." (From the testimony of a witness [...]).

Witnesses who gave similar testimony: [...]

The accused, Vosho Ivanov, pleaded not guilty.

5. Hristo Vosho, on instruction from Kulay, organised meetings of Gypsies, at which he agitated the Gypsies not to work in Soviet factories and plants because the Soviet power would inevitably die. He has a sister in Poland. In 1928, she came to the USSR illegally with espionage assignments from the king of the Polish Gypsies, Kvek.

"Hristo Vosho often organised Gypsy meetings. In my presence, it was, I suppose, on June 30 of this year, on Polkova Street, house no. 38, in the apartment [...], Hristo Vosho organised a Gypsy meeting, at which he said: 'Stoykoni, whom do you work for, whom do you help, why are you working for the Soviet government? After all, they don't pay you enough. Can't you find a job for yourself [...]'? Soon, the whites will come, and all the people working at the factory will be shot and exiled to forced labour since on their passports, they will have a stamp that they worked in Soviet institutions. The children will be driven into shelters." (From the testimony of a witness [...]).

"The functions of Hristo Vosho, as an assistant to the 'king' Kulay, included visiting all the Gypsy tribes living in the city of Moscow, transmitting to them all the instructions of Kulay and demanding their implementation. Approximately two months ago, Hristo Vosho was in our Dukoni tribe and announced that 'Piko has been appointed chief of the Dukoni tribe from Kulay.' At the same time, an order was issued from Kulay for all Gypsy artels to collect money for

Hristo Vosho, in particular, in our Dukoni tribe, about 300–400 roubles were collected for Hristo Vosho.” (From the testimony of a witness [...]).

“Recently, some Gypsies have been summoned to the NKVD. All these calls are monitored by Hristo Vosho, and everything is transferred to Kulay. Approximately on July 5 of this year, Hristo Vosho himself handed over to the Gypsies in Maryina Roshcha an order to Kulay to not let Natalia Mihai go anywhere, put guards around her, and not let her go out. Otherwise, they would take her to the NKVD and find out about the meeting at which she was beaten. Hristo Vosho demanded to place guards around the fence in which the Chukuroni tribe lives, including me, Natalia Mihai.” (From the testimony of a witness [...]).

In addition, the following witnesses confirm the anti-Soviet activities of Hristo Vosho: [...].

The accused, Hristo Vosho, pleaded not guilty.

6. Migai la Ordianako, also known as Le Ristako and Hristo Risto, was the son of a former honorary member of the Gypsy Supreme Court and a foreman of the Domoni tribe who was executed by the former OGPU in 1933. Living in Moscow, he was the foreman of the Domoni tribe, hostile to the Soviet regime, agitating the Gypsies not to work in production and taking revenge on the Greek Gypsies for his father, whom they allegedly extradited.

“In the spring of 1935, I walked along Razorenova Street, where Migai and other Gypsies live. Migai met me on the street and asked me what tribe I was from, from which Gypsies; I answered – from the Shanduloni tribe, Greek Gypsies. Then Migai declared: ‘Why did you imprison my father for ten years?’ He threatened me, declaring: ‘Wait, the Soviet power will perish, then we will deal with you; there will be no place for you on earth’. I asked what do you speak. At this time, Migai hit me in the face, and the Gypsies of their tribe immediately began to run, and I fled.” (From the testimony of a witness [...]; from the protocol of the confrontation).

“The person sitting in front of me is indeed a Gypsy of the Domoni tribe – Migai. His father’s name was Rista le Frantsesko, whom I have known since 1931. His father was convicted in 1933 by former OGPU as a chief of the tribe and a member of the Supreme Gypsy Court. His uncle Gogo le Frantsesko was also arrested and convicted by the bodies of the former OGPU in 1933 for counter-revolution. His second uncle, Toma Le Frantsesko, was convicted by the former OGPU too ... After his father, Migai, was also convicted, he presented himself as a foreman among the Gypsies of his tribe. To raise his authority among the Gypsies, he said to them: ‘Soviet power will not last long, and then we will



settle accounts with the Serbian and Greek Gypsies. We will kill them because they betrayed my father and uncle to the authorities.' At the same time, in 1935, he hit a Greek Gypsy [...], declaring: 'You need to be beaten.' [...]" (From the testimony of a witness [...]; from the protocol of the confrontation).

In addition, the following witnesses confirmed the anti-Soviet activities on Migai le Ordianako [...].

The accused, Migai le Ordianako, pleaded not guilty.

Based on the preceding, the following are accused:

1. Kulay le Porasko, aka la Piadako, aka Andrey Ivanovich Alimov, aka Markov, born in 1896, a native of the city of Bucharest (Romania), a Gypsy by nationality, a citizen of the USSR, a non-partisan, a coppersmith by profession, not on military registration, married, no criminal record, systematically hiding during arrests in 1933, lives in Moscow, 3rd Slobodnaya street, house No. 10/12. Being counter-revolutionary, he headed a counter-revolutionary group of Gypsies, declared himself a Gypsy "King", and organised a Gypsy foremanship according to the tribes. He led anti-Soviet agitation among the Gypsies, spread provocative rumours about the inevitable death of Soviet power and organised assistance to the families of the repressed Gypsies. He is accused under Art. 58-10, 58-11 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR. He pleaded not guilty. Fourteen testimonies and an eye-to-eye confrontation accused him.

2. Piko le Ristako, aka Hristo Bimbash, born in 1899, a native of Bucharest (Romania), a Gypsy by nationality, a citizen of the USSR, non-partisan, organiser of a fictitious artel of copper workers, a copper worker by profession, not registered in the military, married, not convicted, was under active investigation No. 20820, as a member of the bodyguard of the "King" Chula, a foreman of the Dukoni tribe, lives in [Moscow city], Aviatsionny lane, house No. 10/a. Being the son of a former honorary member of the Gypsy "Supreme" Court, who was shot by the former OGPU, and being counter-revolutionary minded, he was the closest assistant of Kulay le Porasko, carried out the activities of the convicted Gypsy "leaders", forbade Gypsies to take part in work at Soviet enterprises, distributed provocative rumours about the inevitable death of Soviet power, organised assistance to the families of arrested and convicted Gypsies. He is accused under Art. 58-10, 58-11 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR. He pleaded not guilty; 13 witness statements accused him.

3. Pyotr Georgievich Mihai, aka Petrov, aka Migai la Stoykako, born in 1896, a native of Bucharest (Romania), a Gypsy by nationality, a citizen of the USSR, a non-partisan, a coppersmith by profession, not on military register, not convicted, married, worked at the Krasny Shtamp plant, lived [in the city of

Moscow], 2nd Church Lane, house No. 5. As a foreman of the Stoykoni tribe, he led anti-Soviet agitation among the Gypsies, forbade the Gypsies to come to the NKVD and testify, led anti-Soviet agitation among the Gypsies to quit production. He is accused under Art. 58-10, 58-11 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR. He pleaded not guilty; nine witness statements and two eyes-to-eye confrontations accused him.

4. Voshko Ivanov, aka Ivan Ivanovich Ivanov, aka Voshko le Vankasko, born in 1900, a native of the city of Athens (Greece), a Gypsy by nationality, a citizen of the USSR, a non-partisan, a handicraft copper worker, married, not registered in the military, two times was arrested by the NKVD in 1932, lives in the city of Losinoostrovsk, Medvezhskoe highway, house no. 64. Being a member of the Gypsy Court, being anti-Soviet minded, he conducted anti-Soviet agitation among the Gypsies, had a fictitious seal of an artel, through which he extorted money from Gypsy artisans, was a foreman of the Greek Gypsies. He is accused under Art. 58-10, 58-11 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR. He pleaded not guilty; six witness statements and an eye-to-eye confrontation accused him.

5. Hristo Voshko, aka Pyotr Stepanovich Khristov, born in 1900, a native of the city of Athens (Greece), a Gypsy by nationality, a citizen of the USSR, a non-partisan, a coppersmith, is registered with the military, married, was prosecuted by the Dzerzhinsky People's Court under Art. 74 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR, lived [in the city of Moscow], Polkovaya street, house no. 38. Being anti-Soviet and an assistant to the "King" Kulay le Porasko, he convened illegal Gypsy meetings by tribes and carried out his counter-revolutionary instructions. He spread provocative rumours about the inevitable death of Soviet power, i.e. in crimes under Art. 58-10, 58-11 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR. He pleaded not guilty, and nine witness statements accused him.

6. Migai la Ordianako, aka le Ristako, aka Risto Hristo, born in 1911, a native of Serbia, a Gypsy by nationality, a citizen of the USSR, a non-partisan, artisan, a coppersmith by profession, married, not registered in the military, not convicted, lived [in Moscow], Razorenova street, house No. 5 is that: Being the son of an honorary member of the Supreme Court, from the foreman of the Domoni tribe, who was shot in the investigative case No. 20820, Rista le Frantsesko, and being hostile to Soviet power, campaigned among the Gypsies of his tribe for the Gypsies to leave production, threatened the Soviet-minded Gypsies to avenge their father, at the same time argued about the inevitable death of Soviet power, i.e., in crimes, provided for in Art. 58-10, 58-11 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR. He pleaded not guilty; five witness statements and two confrontations accused him.

Resolved:

Investigation case no. 10131 on charges of Kulay le Porasko, Piko le Ristako, Pyotr Georgievich Mihai, Vosho Ivanov, Hristo Vosho, Migai la Ordianako, under Art. 58-10, 58-11 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR, consider it completed and send it for consideration by the Special Council at the NKVD of the USSR, listing the accused for the latter. The case must be preliminarily coordinated with the Prosecutor of the city of Moscow.

Agree [handwritten resolution]

Head of the 8th Department of the UGB NKVD MO [...] [Signature]

Deputy Head of the OO UGB NKVD MO [...] [Signature]

#### REFERENCE

Defendants:

1. Kulay le Porasko. Arrested on July 22 this year and kept in the Butyrka detention centre. Passport no. 280260 in the name of Andrey Adamovich Alimov, handed over to the storage room of the USO of the NKVD MO, receipt No. 57.

2. Piko le Ristako. Arrested on July 20, 1935, and kept in the Butyrka prison. Passport No. 466717 in the name of Hristo Bimbash, handed over to the storage room of the USO of the NKVD MO, receipt No. 34.

3. Pyotr Georgievich Mihai. Arrested on July 29, 1935, and kept in the Butyrka prison. Passport no. 301945 was handed over to the storage chamber of the USO of the NKVD MO, receipt No. 104.

4. Vosho Ivanov. Arrested on July 20, 1935, and kept in the Butyrka prison. Passport no. 062060 in the name of Ivan Ivanovich Ivanov was handed over to the storage room of the USO of the NKVD MO, receipt No. 36.

5. Hristo Vosho. He was arrested on July 20, 1935, and kept in the Butyrka detention centre, and did not have a passport in his hands.

6. Migai la Ordianako. He was arrested on August 12, 1935, and kept in the Butyrka prison. Passport No. 395263 was handed over to the storage room of the USO of the NKVD MO, receipt No. 259.

#### Notes

1. The name 'Supreme Court', according to the logic of the investigative documents, means the traditional Gypsy Court – the *Romani kris*, which united the Gypsy local tribal courts *Tsiny kris* (literally 'Small Court', in the Romani), functioning within the Gypsy communities.

2. 'Starostat' is a neologism term denoting a group of leaders referred to in documents as 'foremen'.
3. Sovznaki – the official name for paper banknotes circulated in the RSFSR and the USSR from 1919 to 1924. Perhaps, in this context, the reference is to paper banknotes of a later period.
4. Literally 'biggest', in Romani language.

Source: GARF, f. 10035, op. 2, d. 74091, l. 188–205.

## 2.3 The Case of Alexey Mihai (Nadezhdinsk / Sverdlovsk, 1938)

### 2.3.1 *Interrogation Protocol*

#### INTERROGATION PROTOCOL to case No. ... 1938

January 31, [1938]

I, an employee of the Nadezhdinsk GO NKVD [...], interrogated Alexey Afonasevich Mihai as an accused:

1. Surname: Mihai.
2. Name and patronymic: Alexey Afonasevich.
3. Date of birth: 1918.
4. Place of birth: The city of Mytishchi, Mytishchi Rayon, Moscow oblast; father from Serbia, city of Bucharest [sic!].
5. Place of residence: Nomadic. The last place of work is the city of Nadezhdinsk, Sverdlovsk region.
6. Nationality and citizenship (citizenship): Serb-Gypsy, citizen of the USSR
7. Passport: Passport issued [in the city] Ivanovo, [...], September 10, 1935
8. Occupation: Nomadic artisan tinker
9. Social origin: The father is a nomadic Gypsy from Serbia, Bucharest.
10. Social status (occupation and property status): Nomadic.
  - a) before the revolution: The father and mother are nomadic Serbian Gypsies.
  - b) after the revolution: Nomadic Gypsy.
11. Composition of the family: Mother, Maria Afanasievna Mihai, 80 years old; wife, Sonya Sharshun-Mihai, 18 years old, lives in the city of Nadezhdinsk, Stary Poselok, line 6, house No. 14; father from Serbia, city of Bucharest. [illegible]

[Signature:] [...] [Mihai]

Testimony of the accused, Alexey Afanasyevich Mihai, dated February 1, 1938

Question: You have been arrested and charged as a member of a counter-revolutionary sabotage and rebel group in Nadezhdinsk. Do you plead guilty?

Answer: Yes, I do. I am a member of a counter-revolutionary espionage sabotage and rebel group in Nadezhdinsk.

Question: Under what circumstances, by whom and when were you recruited into the counter-revolutionary espionage, sabotage and rebel organisation in the city of Nadezhdinsk?

Answer: In 1937, having arrived in the city of Nadezhdinsk, I met with the Romanian Gypsy Sharshun, who, knowing me as a specialist tinker, invited me to work in the artisan artel of copper tinkers organised by him Sharshun, the Group [of tinkers] 'Serbia' and I agreed. Having gotten to know Sharshun closely, I learned from our conversation that he is an agent of Romanian intelligence, on the instructions of which he, Sharshun, carries out espionage, sabotage and rebel work in favour of Romania on the territory of the USSR. Under the guise of an artisan workshop, the Group of Tinkers' 'Serbia', Sharshun organised a spy, sabotage and rebel group. In one of the conversations with Sharshun, the latter suggested that I also participate in a spy subversive and insurgent group, to which I willingly agreed. Later, in December 1937, I married Sharshun's daughter, Sonia, and as a son-in-law, I enjoyed great confidence in Sharshun, an agent of the Romanian intelligence service.

Question: Who do you know of the persons involved in the espionage, sabotage and rebel group led by the Romanian intelligence agent Sharshun?

Answer: Of the persons involved in the espionage, sabotage and rebel group led by Sharshun, I know the following: Sharshun, Mihai Tanas, Movza, Stanesko, Arak, Arapov, Savely Petrov, Dmitriev.

Question: What do you know about the espionage, sabotage and rebellious activities of the persons mentioned above?

Answer: The persons mentioned above are Romanians and Serbs by nationality. By their status, they are nomadic Gypsies. During the wandering from city to city, the persons mentioned above were engaged in collecting all sorts of espionage information about the factories of the defence military industry, about airfields and airports, about the location of military units, as well as [inaudible] for the insurgent recruitment of persons hostile to Soviet power and carrying out sabotage. Separately, I cannot say about the activities of each member; I know only Tanas Georgievich Mihai and Savely Mikhailovich Petrov about espionage and sabotage and insurgent actions. [...]

[signature:] [...] [Mihai]

Continuation of the testimony of Mihai Alexey Afanasyevich of  
February 1, 1938. [...]

Savely Mikhailovich Petrov, a Serbian Gypsy, wandered around the USSR's cities and the Donbas large mines. According to Petrov, he gave much valuable and important information to the Romanian intelligence. In conversations with me, Petrov boasted that in 1935–1936, he worked as a tinker in the city of Pugachev, in the 53rd artillery regiment for tinsmithing of field kitchens and got very important information for Romanian intelligence, for which he received a reward from Romanian intelligence. In 1936, Petrov worked at the airfield in Balashov, where he got some information for the Romanian intelligence and carried out sabotage, what [sabotage], he did not tell me about. In addition, Petrov once blabbed in a conversation that he participated in some terrorist group in Moscow. Bombs were thrown somewhere in the Kremlin, after which many Gypsies from the terrorist group in which Petrov participated were arrested, and Petrov disappeared from Moscow. I know nothing more about Petrov and his espionage activities.

Question: What do you know about the espionage activities of Tanas Mihai?

Answer: From conversations with Tanas Mihai, I know he spent a long time in Moscow, Leningrad and Ivanovo-Voznesensk, where he organised espionage, sabotage and rebel groups, but I do not know the details of his espionage activities. He did not tell me.

Question: Tell us about your practical espionage, sabotage and rebel activities in Nadezhdinsk.

(to believe the crossed-out information) [Signature:] [...] Mihai]

Answer: While living in the city of Nadezhdinsk, on the instructions of the Romanian intelligence agent Sharshun in 1937, with the insurgent goal, I identified persons hostile to Soviet power. I learned the mood of the workers of the Nadezhda plant and the perspective of the special exile in the labour settlement. On the instructions of Sharshun and Petrov, with a sabotage purpose, we unscrewed the rail joints between the Nadezhda plant station and the Crossroads siding on the 8th kilometre of the railway named after L. M. Kaganovich to cause a train wreck, but due to the vigilance of the track watchman, the wreck failed. In early December, with Savely Petrov and Mihai Tanas, we set fire to the old building and the office of the People's Nutrition; the building burned to the ground. On the instructions of Sharshun, in January, together with Petrov and Mihai Tanas, we were supposed to carry out many major accidents at the Nadezhda Metallurgical Plant. Still, due to the arrest, sabotage was not fulfilled.

Everything is written down from my words correctly and read to me correctly.  
[Signature:] [...] [Mihai]

Source: GAAOSO, f. P 1, op. 2, d. 51219, l. 5–706.

### 2.3.2 *Act*

#### ACT

February 25, 1938

On this date, I, the undersigned employee of the Nadezhdinsk GO NKVD [...], drew up this act stating that Alexander Afonasevich Mihai categorically refused to sign the Decree on the indictment and detention. The present act is about this.

The employee of the Nadezhdinsk GO NKVD [...] [Signature]  
Accused [Signature:] [...] [Mihai]

Source: GAAOSO, f. P 1, op. 2, d. 51219, l. 806.

### 2.3.3 *Closing Indictment*

According to Investigation Case No. 32757

I approve [handwritten resolution]  
Head of the Nadezhdinsk GO NKVD [...] [Signature]  
On the charge of Alexey Afonasevich Mihai

#### CLOSING INDICTMENT

February 26, 1938

I, Operative Representative of the 3rd Department of the Nadezhdinsk City Department of the NKVD [...], having considered the investigation case on charges against Alexey Afonasevich Mihai, a nomadic Gypsy, born in 1918, a native of the city of Bucharest, Serbia, living in Nadezhdinsk, Sverdlovsk oblast.

The investigation established that Alexey Afonasevich Mihai, living in the city of Nadezhdinsk in 1937, was a member of a counter-revolutionary,

sabotage and insurgent organisation, having been recruited by an agent of the Romanian intelligence Sharshun. As a counter-revolutionary-minded element against the policy of the Party and the Soviet government, he was an active participant in counter-revolutionary activities. He carried out anti-Soviet agitation aimed at disrupting the ongoing activities of the Party and the Soviet government. In 1937, he identified persons hostile to the Soviet regime and carried out sabotage and wrecking work with an insurgent goal. He pleaded guilty. Based on the preceding, I decided:

Investigation case no. 32757, on the charges against Alexey Afonasevich Mihai, is subject to transmission to the Troika of the NKVD Directorate for the Sverdlovsk oblast.

Operational Authorised of the 3rd Division [...] [Signature]

Agree [handwritten resolution]

Head of the 3rd Department of the GO NKVD [...] [Signature]

Source: GAAOSO, f. P 1, op. 2, d. 51219, l. 10.

#### 2.3.4 *Extracts*

### EXTRACT FROM THE PROTOCOL of the meeting of the Troika at the UNKVD of the Sverdlovsk oblast on March 14, 1938

Listened:

[...] 424. Case no. 32757 Nadezhdinsk GO NKVD on charges against Alexey Afonasevich Mihai, born in 1918, a native of the city of Bucharest.

Alexey Afonasevich Mihai is accused of being a member of a counter-revolutionary subversive and insurgent organisation that aimed to overthrow Soviet power through an armed uprising.

On the instructions of the counter-revolutionary organisation, he set fire to the construction office and Narpit's office. [...]

Decided: [...] Alexey Afonasevich Mihai – to be shot.

Confiscate personal property. [...] [Signature]

Secretary of the Troika of the NKVD Directorate [...] [Signature]

Correct: Inspector of the 8th Division [...] [Signature]



## EXTRACT FROM THE ACT

The decision of the Troika of the NKVD Directorate for the Sverdlovsk Oblast of March 14, 1938, on the execution of Alexey Afonasevich Mihai was carried out on March 20, 1938, at 24:00.

Troika Secretary [...] [signed]

Source: GAAOSO, f. P 1, op. 2, d. 51219, l. 11–12.

## Notes

This case is an example of the falsification of interrogation protocols and the actual fabrication of the case. This became clear after the review of the files and additional investigation of the other group members. Among all the investigative cases in this period against a group of Roma in the city of Nadezhdinsk, the case of Alexey Afonasevich Mihai is the only one that was not sent for review or additional investigation, and in which a sentence of capital punishment was issued.

#### 2.4 The Case of Trifon Goman (Potanino / Chelyabinsk, 1938)

##### 2.4.1 *Resolution*

### RESOLUTION

#### On Choosing a Measure of Restraint and Presenting an Announcement

City of Kopeysk, March 8, 1938

I, [...], Assistant Operational Authorised of the Kopeysk GO NKVD, Department of the NKVD Directorate for the Chelyabinsk Oblast, examined the material on the charge against citizen Trifon Goman, born in 1914, a native of the city of Belgrade, Serbia. According to his social status, he is an artisan who works in an artel as a cauldron-maker and a tinker. Marital status – single. He lives

in the village of Potanino. [...] is convicted of being a member of a counter-revolutionary organisation and conducting espionage and sabotage work in favour of a foreign state. Based on the preceding, it is decided:

Citizen Trifon Goman is bought as a defendant under Art. 58-6-II of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR. He is to be sent to detention in the Chelyabinsk prison as a preventive measure for evading investigation and trial.

The operative authorised representative of the GO UNKVD [...] [Signature]

Agree [handwritten resolution]

Head of the Kopeysk GO UNKVD [...] [Signature]

This decision has been made known to me.

March 9, 1938

Defendant's Signature: [...]

**Source:** OGACHO, f. P 467, op. 3, d. 6561, l. 1a.

#### 2.4.2 *Order*

Directorate of the NKVD for the Chelyabinsk Oblast

ORDER NO. 702

Issued on March 3, 1938, to an employee of the Kopeysk City RO  
of the NKVD [...]

Valid for three days.

You are instructed to search and arrest citizen Trifon Goman, who lives in the village of Potanino. All organs of Soviet power and citizens of the USSR are to provide legal assistance to the bearer of the warrant in performing the tasks assigned to him.

Head of the Kopeysk RO of the NKVD [...] [Signature]

**Source:** OGACHO, f. P 467, op. 3, d. 656, l. 2.

### 2.4.3 *Protocol*

#### PROTOCOL

March 8, 1938

We, the undersigned, are employees of the 3rd Division of the NKVD Directorate for the Chelyabinsk Oblast [...] in the presence of attesting witnesses [according to the Decree] of the Kopeysk GO of the NKVD Directorate dated March 9, 1938, No. 699, conducted a search in the apartment of citizen Trifon Goman, who lives in the village of Potanino, in the house of Pozharka, and passport No. 080 [?] in the name of Tryfon Goman.

Trifon Goman was arrested during the search.

Signature of persons conducting the search: [...] [Signatures]

We certify the correctness of the protocol above and the absence of any abuses during the examination [...] (Signatures of the owner of the apartment and witnesses).

Source: OGACHO, f. P 467, op. 3, d. 656, l. 2.

### 2.4.4 *Questionnaire*

#### QUESTIONNAIRE OF ARRESTED

1. Surname: Goman.
2. Name and patronymic: Trifon.
3. Date of birth: Number – ?; month – ?; 1914.
4. Place of birth: Belgrade, Serbia.
5. Residence (address): Potanino settlement, Kopeysky Rayon, Chelyabinsk Oblast.
6. Profession and specialty: Cauldron maker.
7. Place of service and position or occupation: The settlement of Potanino, an artel of cauldron-makers and tinkers.
8. Passport: Series No. 0-1 [?].
9. Social background: [-].
10. Social status: [-].
- a) before the revolution: [-].
- b) after the revolution: [-].
11. Education (general and special): Semi-literate.

12. Party affiliation (past and present): Non-partisan.
13. Nationality and citizenship (citizenship): Romanian [sic!], citizen of the USSR.
14. Category of military reserve registration and where it is: Not registered.
15. Service in the White and other counter-revolutionary armies, participation in gangs and uprisings against Soviet power (when and in what capacity): Did not serve.
16. What kind of repressions was he subjected to under Soviet rule – a criminal record, arrest, and others (when; by what body and for what): Not convicted.
17. Family composition: Married.

Signature of arrested person: [...] [Signature]

1. Special external signs: [...]
2. Arrested by whom and when: Kopeysk GO NKVD, March 9, 1938
3. Place of detention: Chelyabinsk prison
4. Special remarks: [-]

Signature of the employee who completed the questionnaire: Authorised Assistant [...] [signed]  
March 25, 1938

Source: OGACHO, f. P 467, op. 3, d. 656, l. 4–406.

#### 2.4.5 *Interrogation Protocol*

##### INTERROGATION PROTOCOL

of the accused Trifon Goman Trifon Goman, born in 1914,  
a native of the city of Belgrade, Serbia, by the time of his arrest,  
worked in a cauldron-makers artel  
in the settlement of Potanino, Kopeysk Rayon

March 23, 1938

Question: You are charged with being an agent of Romanian intelligence and, on its instructions, carried out espionage and sabotage work on the territory of the USSR in favour of Romania. Would you like to be honest about this?

Answer: I plead guilty to the fact that I am an agent of the Romanian intelligence agencies, on whose instructions I carried out espionage and sabotage work in the USSR.

Question: By whom and when were you recruited as agents of Romanian intelligence?

Answer: I was recruited as an agent of Romanian intelligence in early 1936 by Dmitry Mikhailovich Goman, an agent of Romanian intelligence, under whose leadership I carried out intelligence assignments. After my recruitment as an agent, I received the following task:

To travel as often as possible to industrial cities and identify the mood of the workers and their economic situation, where and what kind of factories were being built, their character, and during the period when war was declared on the Soviet Union, to widely deploy subversive, destructive methods in order to disorganise the work of Soviet enterprises working for the war, thereby weakening the rear and ensuring the rapid defeat of the Soviet Union in the war.

In addition, during the war period, it was envisaged that I would carry out terrorist acts against responsible Soviet and Party workers, disorganise the rear, and at the same time conduct counter-revolutionary defeatist agitation among the population.

Question: Did you accept this task for execution?

Answer: Yes, I agreed with this task and accepted it for execution.

Question: List the names of the espionage and sabotage group members.

Answer: I know of the following persons in the sections of our underground counter-revolutionary espionage and sabotage group:

1. Alexandrov – chairman of the artel of cauldron workers (arrested).
2. Vladimir Grigorievich Mikhailov (arrested).
3. [Ilya Afanasyevich G]oman (arrested).
4. Athanasius Mihai (arrested).
5. Thomas Goman (arrested).
6. Vladimir Afanasyevich Mihai (arrested).
7. Vasily Grigorievich Mihai (arrested).
8. Vladimir Osipovich Ivanovich (arrested).

Question: How do you know this?

Answer: I knew that the persons listed above were agents of Romanian intelligence from the words of Dmitry Mikhailovich Goman when he recruited me. He then gave instructions to contact these persons as agents of Romanian intelligence and work with him together, which I subsequently did.

Question: Will you testify about the practical activities of your espionage and sabotage group?

Answer: Before talking about the practical activities of our counter-revolutionary group, I want to tell the investigation about how we masked our espionage and sabotage work.

Question: Tell me.

Answer: As I later learned from Goman, he had received an order from the Romanian intelligence agencies to collect information about the presence of significant factories and troops in the Chelyabinsk Region. We have chosen the most convenient place, Potanino, to carry out the task. In Potanino, we organised an artel of cauldron-makers and tinkers for disguise. Under this guise, we penetrated various factories to look for work in tinning. In particular, under cover of the latter, we managed to collect information about the 78th plant, the Chelyabinsk Tractor Plant, the new 114th [factory] under construction, the high-voltage Chelyabinsk electric main, the Chelyabinsk garrison, and already at the beginning of 1938 we developed a plan to carry out several significant acts of sabotage in the mines of the Chelyabinsk Coal Trust. Still, we failed to implement this plan due to our arrests.

Question: What did you personally do to collect espionage information?

Answer: Like all members of the counter-revolutionary organisation, I collected data of a spy nature and transferred it directly to Goman.

Question: Do you know to whom Goman gave this information?

Answer: I do not know about this, but I assume that this information was passed on to Grancho-Butsu, who lives in Moscow, from where they could pass it on to the Romanian intelligence.

The protocol was read to me, and the answers to the questions put to me were written down in my words correctly. [Signature]

Interrogation conducted by: Head of the Kopeysk GO Directorate of the NKVD [...] [Signature]

Assistant to the Operational Authorised Civil Defence Directorate of the NKVD [...] [Signature]

Source: OGACHO, f. P 467, op. 3, d. 656, l. 5–8.

#### 2.4.6 Protocol

### PROTOCOL

#### Of Announcement of the End of the Preliminary Investigation

March 25, 1938, the city of Kopeysk

I, Authorized Assistant to the Operational [...] Department of the NKVD for the Chelyabinsk oblast [...], recognise the preliminary investigation in the present

case as completed, based on Art. 206 of the Code of Criminal Procedure of the RSFSR. I announced this to the accused citizen, Trifon Goman, and presented the investigation proceedings for review while asking the accused what he wanted to add to the investigation, to which the accused, Trifon Goman, having familiarised himself with the preliminary investigation, stated that he has nothing to add to the previously given testimony on the present case. After that, it was announced to the accused, Trifon Goman, that the investigation in the present case was completed and based on Art. 208 of the Code of Criminal Procedure will be referred to ... [illegible].

Signature of the accused: [...] [Signature]

Investigator: [...] [Signature]

Source: OGACHO, f. P 467, op. 3, d. 656, l. 9.

#### 2.4.7 *Closing Indictment*

I approve [handwritten resolution]

Deputy Head of the NKVD of the USSR of the Chelyabinsk oblast [...]

#### CLOSING INDICTMENT

to investigation case no. 11934 on charges against Trifon Goman  
for crimes under Art. 58-6-II of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR

The Kopeysk GO of the NKVD Directorate for the Chelyabinsk Oblast uncovered and liquidated a spy group that acted in the service of the Romanian intelligence agencies and has recently been operating on the territory of the Chelyabinsk Oblast.

This spy group was created on the direct orders of the Romanian intelligence agencies.

The investigation established that [Trifon] Goman was involved in the Romanian intelligence agencies in early 1936 by the agent of the Romanian intelligence Dmitry Mikhailovich Goman, on whose instructions he conducted espionage work on the territory of the USSR in favour of Romania.

It was also established that Trifon Goman and other members of the counter-revolutionary group collected espionage information, which he passed on to the Romanian intelligence agencies.

Trifon Goman, interrogated as an accused, pleaded guilty in full.

He is also accused by the testimony of other defendants in the present case – Mihai, Ivanovich and others.

Based on the preceding:

Trifon Goman, born in 1914, a native of the city of Belgrade, Serbia, non-partisan, married. Before his arrest, he worked as a member of the Serbo-Romanian Cauldron-makers artel in the Potanino settlement, Kopeysky Rayon.

He is accused of the following:

He is an agent of the Romanian intelligence agencies and carried out espionage work on the territory of the USSR, i.e. committed crimes under Art. 58-6-II of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR.

Based on the foregoing, Trifon Goman is subject to trial by the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the USSR.

Authorised Assistant to the Operational GO of the NKVD Department [...] [Signature]

Head of the Kopeysk GO of the NKVD Department [...] [Signature]

Agree [handwritten resolution]

Head of the 3rd Department of the NKVD Directorate of the Chelyabinsk Oblast [...] [Signature]

Source: OGACHO, f. P 467, op. 3, d. 656, l. 10–11.

#### 2.4.8 *Extracts*

##### EXTRACT FROM PROTOCOL No. 5

Meetings of the Troika of the NKVD in the Chelyabinsk region on  
September 25, 1938

Listened:

[...] 4. Trifon Goman (no patronymic name), born in 1914, native of Leningrad, Romanian, a citizen of the USSR, non-partisan. Before his arrest, he worked in the artel of cauldron-makers. Romanian spy-saboteur. Recruited in 1936. Gathered espionage information on Plant No. 78, Chelyabinsk Tractor Plant, [Plant] 114, High-Voltage [Plant], Chelyabinsk garrison. Developed a plan to carry out sabotage in the mines in Chelyabinsk Coal Trust. Detained in the Kamyshlov prison. [...]

Decided: [...]

Trifon Goman – to be shot dead.

Personal property belonging to him – to be confiscated. [...]



Secretary of the Troika Directorate of the NKVD [...] [Signature]

The extract is correct: Senior inspector of the 8th department of the UGB [...] [Signature]

**Source:** OGACHO, f. P 467, op. 3, d. 656, l. 12.

#### EXTRACT FROM THE ACT

The decision of the Special Troika of the NKVD Directorate for Chelyabinsk Oblast of September 25, 1938, on the execution of Trifon Goman:

The execution was carried out on October 12, 1938, at 14:00.

Head of the 1st Special Department of the NKVD Directorate for Chelyabinsk Oblast [...] [Signature]

In total, 12 sheets were signed by an NKVD officer in Chelyabinsk Oblast [...] [Signatures]

**Source:** OGACHO, f. P 467, op. 3, d. 656, l. 13.

Alexander Chernykh

## Regulatory Acts

### 3.1 Art. 58 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR (1926/1927/1934/1938–1958/1961)

CRIMINAL CODE OF RSFSR 1926  
[...]  
SPECIAL PART OF THE UK RSFSR 1926

It was put into effect by the Decree of the VTsIK and the SNK RSFSR of June 6, 1927;

Also, on June 8, 1934, the Decree of TsIK included the Art. 58-1a–58-1g.

[...]

#### SPECIAL PART

#### Chapter One STATE CRIMES

##### 1. Counter-revolutionary crimes.

- Article 58-1. Counter-revolutionary is any action which aims at overthrowing, undermining or weakening the power of the Workers' and Peasants' Soviets and of the Workers' and Peasants' governments of the USSR, Union and Autonomous Republics that they elect, based on the Constitution of the USSR and the constitutions of the Union Republics, or any action to undermine or weaken external security of the USSR and the main economic, political and national achievements of the proletarian revolution.

Under the international solidarity of the interests of all working people, the same actions are recognised as counter-revolutionary even when directed at any other working people's state, even if it is not part of the USSR.

- Article 58-1a. Treason to the Motherland, i.e. actions committed by citizens of the USSR to the detriment of the military power of the USSR, its state independence or inviolability, such as espionage, the issuance of military or state secrets, defection to the side of the enemy, breakout or flight abroad, are punishable by the highest measure of criminal punishment – execution through shooting down with confiscation of all property, and under mitigating

circumstances – imprisonment for a term of ten years with confiscation of all property.

- Article 58-16. The same crimes committed by military personnel are punishable by the highest measure of criminal punishment – execution by shooting with confiscation of all property.

- Article 58-1B. In the event of an army serviceman escaping or flying abroad, adult members of his family, if they somehow contributed to the impending or committed treason or at least knew about it but did not bring it to the attention of the authorities, are punishable by imprisonment for a term of five to ten years with the confiscation of all property.

The remaining adult family members of the traitor, who lived with him or were dependent on him at the time of the commission of the crime, are subject to deprivation of voting rights and exiled to remote regions of Siberia for five years.

- Article 58-1r. Failure by military personnel to report impending or committed treason entails imprisonment for ten years.

Non-reporting by other citizens (not army servicemen) is prosecuted per Art. 58-12.

- Article 58-2. Armed uprising or invasion of Soviet territory by armed gangs for counter-revolutionary purposes, seizure of power in the centre or locally for the same purposes and, in particular, intending to tear away from the USSR forcibly and to separate from Union republics or any part of its territory or to annul the agreements concluded by the Union SSR treaties with foreign states entail the highest measure of social protection – execution by shooting or declaration of an enemy of workers with confiscation of property and deprivation of citizenship of the Union Republic and thereby citizenship of the Union SSR and expulsion from the USSR forever, with the admission, under extenuating circumstances, lowering up to imprisonment for a term not less than three years with confiscation of all or part of the property.

- Article 58-3. Relations for counter-revolutionary purposes with a foreign state or its individual representatives, as well as assistance in any way to a foreign state that is at war with the USSR or is fighting against it by intervention or blockade, entail the measures of social protection specified in Article 58-2 of this Code.

- Article 58-4. Rendering in any way assistance to that part of the international bourgeoisie, which, not recognizing the equality of the communist system that is replacing the capitalist system, seeks to overthrow it, as well as to social groups and organisations that are under the influence or directly organized by this bourgeoisie, in the implementation of hostile activities against the USSR, entails imprisonment for a term of not less than three years with

confiscation of all or part of the property with an increase, under especially aggravating circumstances, up to the highest measure of social protection – execution or declaring an enemy of workers with deprivation of citizenship of the USSR and expulsion from limits of the USSR forever with confiscation of property.

- Article 58-5. Inducement of a foreign state or any public groups in it through intercourse with their representatives, the use of false documents or other means to declare war, armed intervention in the affairs of the USSR or other hostile actions, in particular, to blockade, to seize state property of the USSR or union republics, severing diplomatic relations, severing treaties concluded with the USSR, etc. entails the measures of social protection specified in Article 58-2 of this Code.

- Article 58-6. Espionage, i.e. transfer, theft or collection for the purpose of transferring information that is, in its content, a specially protected state secret to foreign states, counter-revolutionary states or private individuals, shall entail imprisonment for a term not less than three years with confiscation of all or part of the property, and in those cases when espionage caused or could cause severe consequences for the interests of the USSR, the highest measure of social protection is the execution or declaration of an enemy of the working people with the deprivation of the citizenship of the union republic and thereby the citizenship of the USSR and expulsion from the USSR forever with confiscation of property.

Transfer, theft or collection for the purpose of transferring economic information that does not constitute a specially protected state secret in its content but is not subject to disclosure by the direct prohibition of the law or by order of the heads of departments, institutions and enterprises, for a fee or free of charge, to the organisations and persons indicated above, entail imprisonment for a term of up to three years.

- Article 58-7. Undermining the state industry, transport, trade, money circulation or credit system, as well as cooperation, committed for counter-revolutionary purposes, by appropriate use of state institutions and enterprises or opposing their normal activities, as well as using state institutions and enterprises or opposing their activities, committed in the interests of the former owners or interested capitalist organisations, entail the measures of social protection specified in Art. 58-2 of this Code.

- Article 58-8. The commission of terrorist acts directed against representatives of the Soviet government or leaders of revolutionary workers' and peasants' organisations and participation in the implementation of such acts, even if by persons not belonging to a counter-revolutionary organisation, entail the measures of social protection specified in Article 58-2 of this Code.

- Article 58-9. Destruction or damage with a counter-revolutionary purpose by an explosion, arson, or other means of railway or other means of communication, means of public communication, water supply, public warehouses or other structures, or state or public property entails the social protection measures specified in Article 58-2 of this Code.

- Article 58-10. Propaganda or agitation containing a call to overthrow, undermine or weaken Soviet power or to commit certain counter-revolutionary crimes (Articles 58-2, 58-9 of this Code), as well as the distribution or production or storage of literature of the same content, entails imprisonment for a period not less than six months.

The same actions during mass unrest or with the use of religious or national prejudices of the masses, in a military situation, or in areas declared under martial law entail the social protection measures specified in Art. 58-2 of this Code.

- Article 58-11. Any organisational activity aimed at the preparation or commission of the crimes provided for in this chapter, as well as participation in an organisation formed for the preparation or commission of one of the crimes provided for by this chapter, entails the measures of social protection specified in the relevant articles of this chapter.

- Article 58-12. Failure to report a reliably known, planned or committed counter-revolutionary crime entails imprisonment for at least six months.

- Article 58-13. Active actions or struggles against the working class and the revolutionary movement, conducted in a responsible or secret (agency) position under the tsarist system or with counter-revolutionary governments during the civil war, entail social protection measures specified in Art. 58-2 of this Code.

- Article 58-14. Counter-revolutionary sabotage, i.e. deliberate failure to perform certain duties by someone or deliberately negligent performance of them with the specific purpose of weakening the power of the government and the activities of the state apparatus, entails imprisonment for a term not less than one year with confiscation of all or part of the property, with an increase, under especially aggravating circumstances, up to the highest measure of social protection – execution with confiscation of property.

## 2. Especially Dangerous for the USSR Crimes against the Order of governing.

- Article 59-1. Any action that, while not directly aimed at overthrowing the Soviet power and the Workers' and Peasants' Government, nevertheless leads to a violation of the correct functioning of the governing bodies or the national economy and is associated with resistance to the authorities and obstruction of their activities, disobedience to laws or with other actions that

cause a weakening of the power and authority of the authorities is recognized as a crime against the order of governing.

Crimes against the order of governing committed without counter-revolutionary aims, crimes against the order of governing, which shake the foundations of state administration and the economic might of the USSR and the Union republics, are recognized as especially dangerous for the USSR. [June 6, 1927 (SU No. 49, art. 330)].

- Article 59-2. Mass riots accompanied by pogroms, destruction of railways or other means of transmission and communications, murders, arson and other similar actions entail:

- Article 59-2a. Concerning the organizers and leaders of mass riots, as well as all participants who have committed the above crimes or offered armed resistance to the authorities – imprisonment for a term not less than two years, with confiscation of all or part of the property, with an increase, under especially aggravating circumstances, up to the highest measure of social protection – execution, with confiscation of property;

- Article 59-2b. Concerning other participants – imprisonment for up to three years. Mass riots that are not aggravated by the crimes mentioned above but are associated with clear disobedience to the lawful demands of the authorities or with opposition to the fulfilment by the latter of the duties assigned to them, or forcing them to fulfil obviously illegal demands, entail – imprisonment for a term of up to one year.

- Article 59-3. Banditry, i.e. the organisation of armed gangs and participation in them and attacks organised by them on Soviet and private institutions or individual citizens, train stops, and the destruction of railways and other means of transmission and communications, entails – imprisonment for a term not less than three years, with confiscation of all or part of the property, with an increase, under especially aggravating circumstances, up to the highest measure of social protection – execution, with confiscation of property.

- Article 59-3a. Secret or open theft of firearms, parts of it and fire supplies:  
a) from the warehouses and storage facilities of the Red Army, paramilitary guards and paramilitary fire guards of enterprises and structures of particular national importance, the Workers' and Peasants' Militiya, the Underwater Expedition (EPRON), correctional labour institutions, as well as the home guard and labour units from persons exempted from military service on religious grounds, or

- b) from places of permanent or temporary location of units of the Red Army, militarised home guards and militarised fire brigade, Workers' and Peasants' Militiya, underwater expedition (EPRON), home guard and labour units and from corrective labour institutions – in cases where firearms, its parts and fire

supplies were under protection or special supervision, entails – imprisonment for a term of not less than one year and, in the case of the use of violence by the abductors, dangerous to the life and health of persons bearing appropriate defence or supervision – imprisonment for a term of not less than three years, with an increase under especially aggravating circumstances up to the highest measure of social protection – execution with confiscation of property.

- Article 59-3б. Destruction or damage of railway and other means of communication, structures on them, warning signs, rolling stock and ships to cause the wreck of a train or ship entails – imprisonment for a term not less than three years, with confiscation of all or part of the property, especially aggravating circumstances up to the highest measure of social protection – execution, with confiscation of property.

- Article 59в. Violation of labour discipline by transport workers (violations of traffic rules, poor-quality repairs of rolling stock and track, etc.), if this violation caused or could cause damage or destruction of rolling stock, track and track facilities, or accidents with people, untimely dispatch of trains and vessels, the accumulation of empty cargo, demurrage of wagons and boats at the places of unloading, and other actions that entail the disruption (non-fulfilment) of transportation plans outlined by the Government or a threat to the correctness and safety of traffic, entails – imprisonment for a term of up to ten years.

In cases where these criminal acts are clearly malicious in nature, the highest measure of social protection with confiscation of property is applied.

- Article 59-3г. Violation of official duties by employees of civil aviation and civil aeronautics (violation by the head of the airport of the rules for releasing aircraft into the flight, departure from the airport without an order from the head of the airport, violation of flight rules, etc.), if this violation caused or could cause damage or destruction of an aircraft or ground equipment for flights, or an accident with people entails – imprisonment for a term of up to ten years, and in especially aggravating circumstances – capital punishment.

- Article 59-3д. Violation of the rules on international flights (entry into the USSR and departure from the USSR without permission, non-observance of the routes indicated in the permission, landing places, air gates, flight altitudes, etc.) in the absence of signs of treason or other counter-revolutionary crimes, entails by itself – imprisonment for a term not less than one year or a fine in the amount of up to 10,000 roubles with or without confiscation of the aircraft.

- Article 59-4. Evasion of the next call to active military service entails – corrective labour for up to one year.

Evasion of another call to active military service under aggravating circumstances, in particular by causing bodily harm to oneself, feigning illness, forging documents, bribing an official, etc. or under the pretext of religious beliefs, entails – imprisonment for a term of up to five years.

- Article 59-5. Evasion of persons enrolled in the home guard and persons exempted from military service for religious reasons and from conscription in wartime in the home guard and labour units entails – imprisonment for at least one year.

- Article 59-6. Refusal or evasion in wartime conditions from paying taxes or from performing duties (in particular, military motor transport, military horse, military carriage and military ship) entails – imprisonment for a term of at least six months, with an increase, under especially aggravating circumstances, up to the highest measure of social protection – execution, with confiscation of property.

- Article 59-7. Propaganda or agitation aimed at inciting ethnic or religious hatred or discord, as well as distribution or production and storage of literature of the same nature, entails imprisonment for up to two years.

The same actions in a military situation or during mass unrest entail – imprisonment for a term of at least two years, with confiscation of all or part of the property, with an increase in especially aggravating circumstances, up to the highest measure of social protection – execution with confiscation of property.

- Article 59-8. Counterfeiting or sale in the form of trade in counterfeit metal coins, state treasury notes, USSR State Bank bonds, and government bonds, as well as counterfeiting or sale in the form of trade in counterfeit foreign currency, entails – the highest measure of social protection – execution with confiscation of property, with allowing, under extenuating circumstances, a reduction to imprisonment for a term not less than two years, with confiscation of all or part of the property.

Forgery in the form of the trade of checks, documents for cash deposits and deposits in securities, as well as certificates of money letters of credit, entails – imprisonment for a term of at least two years with confiscation of all or part of the property.

Forgery or sale in the form of marketing of counterfeit postal payment marks, railway and water transport tickets and other travel and cargo documents entails – imprisonment for a term of up to three years.

- Article 59-9. Qualified smuggling entails – in addition to the confiscation of goods carried out by the customs administration and the imposition of a fine, imprisonment for a term not less than one year, with confiscation of



all or part of the property, and in especially aggravating circumstances – with an increase up to the highest measure of social protection – execution, with confiscation of property.

- Article 59-10. Facilitating the illegal crossing of state borders, committed in the form of trade or by officials, entails – imprisonment for at least one year.

- Article 59-11. Violation of the Regulations on the monopoly of foreign trade entails – imprisonment for up to ten years, with confiscation of all or part of the property.

- Article 59-12. Violation of the rules on foreign exchange transactions entails – imprisonment for up to three years, with confiscation of all or part of the property.

- Article 59-13. Non-reporting of reliably known impending or committed crimes under Art. 59-1, 59-3, and 59-8 of this Code entail – imprisonment for up to one year.

**Source:** [No Author]. (1938). *Уголовный кодекс. С изменениями на 1 июля 1938 г. Официальный текст с приложением постатейно-систематизированных материалов.* Москва: НКЮ СССР pp. 26–38.

### 3.2 Decree on the Procedure for Organising and Managing Special Settlements (1930)

#### DECREE OF THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS OF THE RSFSR

On the Employment of Kulak Families Evicted to Remote Areas and on the Organisation, and Management of Special Settlements

October 13, 1930

Secret

The Council of People's Commissars of the RSFSR decides:

1. All kulak families that were dispossessed and evicted to remote areas (2nd category of dispossessed), in accordance with the Decree of the Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR on measures to strengthen the socialist reorganisation of agriculture in areas of complete collectivisation and to combat the kulaks are settled in special settlements.

2. Special settlements are organised in areas where there is a labour shortage for logging, mining, fishing, etc., as well as for the development of unused land.

Special settlements, as a rule, cannot be formed closer than 200 km from the border strip, near railways, cities, workers' settlements and large settlements, as well as factories and factories, collective farms, state farms and MTS. Deviation from this rule, on the proposal of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs of the RSFSR, is allowed in especially exceptional cases and only with the permission of the Council of People's Commissars of the RSFSR.

3. The locations of special settlements, as well as the number of kulak families settled in each of the settlements, are determined by the Krai (regional) land administration and administrative administration in agreement with the economic bodies interested in using the labour of special settlers and are approved by the Krai (regional) executive committee.

4. Special settlements are part of the district as special administrative units.

5. All able-bodied population of special settlements is attached, mainly, to economic organisations to perform the work specified in Art. 2; All the rest of the special settlers who cannot be used by economic organisations are attached to the land authorities for the development of unused lands.

6. Attachment of special settlers to economic organisations is carried out by agreements concluded by economic associations with Krai (Oblast) administrative institutions and departments of labour, in accordance with the rules of this resolution, on the basis of standard contracts approved by the People's Commissariat of Labour and the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs of the RSFSR, together with interested departments.

7. Special settlers who are not attached to economic organisations are allotted land plots from undeveloped lands. The order of the economic structure of these special settlers, as well as the procedure for setting firm tasks for them in sowing, is determined by the People's Commissariat of Agriculture of the RSFSR.

8. The working conditions of special settlers attached to economic organisations are regulated by this resolution, as well as by special instructions of the People's Commissariat of Labour of the RSFSR, issued in agreement with the People's Commissar of Internal Affairs of the RSFSR.

9. The wages of special settlers working in economic organisations are set in the amount corresponding to the wages of civilian workers. 25% of the salaries of special settlers are kept in a special fund of the regional (regional) executive committee for the needs of managing the settlements and for their cultural services.

The amounts of social insurance contributions are released from economic organisations in connection with the hiring of labour from special settlers and are transferred to a special fund of the regional (regional) executive committees. They are spent according to the purposes that this fund has.

10. The economic organisations to which the special settlers are attached are obliged to provide both the special settlers themselves and their families with suitable housing in accordance with the standards established by the RSFSR People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs, as well as medical care, in accordance with the standards established for special settlements by the RSFSR People's Commissariat of Health. Economic organisations are also obliged to provide fire protection and water supply to the specified special settlements and their connection with the place of work. In order to organise the activities specified in this article, the Economic bodies have the right to use the labour of special settlers in compliance with the requirements of Art. 9 of this resolution.

11. The supply of special settlers and their families with food and products of prime necessity is carried out by the bodies in charge of supplying the workers of this economic organisation.

12. From the special fund (Article 9), funds are allocated by the relevant district executive committee for the needs of school and preschool education of children of special settlers, particularly for universal compulsory primary education and special measures in the health field and nutrition.

13. Special settlers who have lost their ability to work and do not have relatives who are obliged to support them under current laws, as well as orphans of special settlers, are supported at the expense of a special settlement. The rules on the procedure for keeping these persons are issued by the NKSobes [People's Commissariat for Social Security] of the RSFSR in agreement with the People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs of the RSFSR.

14. The right of movement of special settlers and members of their families is limited. They can leave the territory of the village only with the permission of the commandant of the village.

15. Residence in the territory of a special settlement of persons who do not belong to the number of special settlers is allowed only with the permission of the district administrative department.

16. The People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs of the RSFSR is given the right to issue binding regulations defining the rules of internal order in special settlements.

17. Minor members of the family of special settlers who have not reached the age of 16 by January 1, 1930, may, upon reaching this age, leave the settlement in the manner established by the People's Commissar of Internal Affairs of the RSFSR. Those who have left the special settlements are sent to work

for hire following special rules issued by the People's Commissariat of Labour of the RSFSR in agreement with the interested people's commissariats. These persons cannot be sent to work within the area where the special settlement in which their parents live is located.

18. After a 5-year stay in the special settlement, adult special settlers and members of their families may be allowed to leave the special settlement according to the decisions of the Rayispolkoms, approved by the Krai (Oblast) executive committees. Such permission is given if these persons have proved their loyalty to the Soviet government and have steadily fulfilled the duties assigned to them.

Those who left the special settlement following this article cannot remain within the boundaries of the given region and return to the Krai (Oblast) from which they were expelled, as well as reside in large industrial centres, the list of which is established by the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs of the RSFSR.

19. Violation by special settlers of internal regulations in settlements, evasion of the work assigned to them and planned tasks, as well as the commission of petty domestic crimes (petty theft, insults, etc.), entails an administrative penalty in the form of a fine of up to 100 roubles or arrest up to 30 days, imposed by the commandant of the village with the approval of the head of the Rayon administrative department. The People's Commissariat of Justice of the RSFSR, in agreement with the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs of the RSFSR, is instructed to issue instructions on the application of this article within a month.

20. For the commission of crimes under Art. Art. of the Criminal Code (with the exceptions specified in Article 19), special settlers are sent to corrective labour colonies based on sentences of the judicial authorities or to correctional labour camps on the orders of the OGPU.

21. Management of special settlements is carried out by the Krai (Oblast) administrative departments through the commandants of the settlement appointed by them, in agreement with the district executive committees and bodies of the OGPU. A commandant is assigned to each village. The commandant has a technical apparatus in the amount determined by the Krai (Oblast) administrative department. The hiring of employees of the commandant's technical apparatus is carried out in agreement with the organs of the OGPU.

22. To ensure order and security on the territory of the special settlement, militsiya officers are assigned to the commandant in the amount of one to four at the rate of one militsiyaman per 50 families of special settlers.

23. The commandant of the village is granted the administrative rights of the Rayon administration department and the Selsoviet. The rights and obligations

of the commandant are determined by the instructions of the RSFSR People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs, issued in agreement with the OGPU within a month.

The commandant of the village is subject to the Regulations on Service in the Workers' and Peasants' Militiya and the disciplinary charter of the Workers' and Peasants' Militiya.

24. In his activities, the commandant of the village is directly subordinate to the Krai (Oblast) administrative department and the chairman of the Rayon executive committee.

25. The salary of the commandant of the village is set at a rate not lower than the rate of the head of the Rayon administration department and for militsiyamen under the commandant – not lower than the rates of district militsiya inspectors.

The commandant and militsiyamen at a special settlement are given a periodic increase in the amount established for militsiya officers (S.Uz. 1928 No. 51, Art. 386); however, that one year of service in a special settlement is equated to two years of service in other militsiya detachments.

26. To unite the work of departments for the arrangement of special settlers and their service, under the praesidium of the Krai (Oblast) executive committee, a permanent meeting is formed under the chairmanship of the head of the Krai (Oblast) administrative department, consisting of representatives of the administrative department, the OGPU, the land administration, the Krai (Oblast) council of the people economy and departments: labour, public education and health.

As part of the Krai (Oblast) administrative department, an inspectorate for special settlements is formed, the staff of which is approved by the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs of the RSFSR in agreement with the People's Commissariat of the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection of the RSFSR.

Submit this resolution for approval by the Presidium of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee.

Deputy Chairman of SNK RSFSR [A.] Lezhava [...] [Signature]

Manager of SNK and Economic Council RSFSR V. Usievich [...] [Signature]

Acting Secretary SNK RSFSR [M.] Naroditsky [...] [Signature]

Moscow, Kremlin

October 13, 1930

**Source:** GARF, f. A 259, op. 40, d. 1971, l. 111–114; f. P 1235, op. 141, d. 776, l. 1–4; f. P 5446, op. 12 A, d. 144, l. 33–36.

### 3.3 Operational Order of the NKVD No. 00447 (1937)

#### PEOPLE'S COMMISSAR FOR INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF THE UNION OF THE SSSR

##### OPERATIONAL ORDER

July 30, 1937, Nr. 00447

On the Operation to Repress Former Kulaks,  
Criminals and Other Anti-Soviet Elements

July 30, 1937

Moscow

The materials of the investigation into the cases of anti-Soviet formations establish that a significant number of former kulaks settled in the village, who were previously repressed, who fled from repressions, who fled from camps, exile, and work settlements. Many former repressed churchmen and sectarians and former active participants in anti-Soviet armed uprisings have settled. Significant cadres of anti-Soviet political parties (esers [1], Gruzmeks [2], Dashnaks [3], Musavatists [4], Ittikhadists [5] and others) remained almost untouched in the countryside, as well as cadres of former active participants in bandit uprisings, whites, punishers, repatriates, etc.

Some of the elements listed above, leaving the villages for the cities, penetrated industrial enterprises, transport and construction.

In addition, significant cadres of criminals still nest in the countryside and the city – livestock-stealers, horse-stealers, recidivist thieves, robbers, and others who were serving their sentences, fled from places of detention and hiding from repressions. The insufficiency of the fight against these criminal contingents has created conditions of impunity that contribute to their criminal activities.

It has been established that all these anti-Soviet elements are the main instigators of all kinds of anti-Soviet and sabotage crimes both on collective farms and state farms, in transport and in some areas of industry.

The state security organs are faced with the task of crushing this entire gang of anti-Soviet elements in the most merciless manner, protecting the working Soviet people from their counter-revolutionary intrigues, and finally, once and for all, putting an end to their vile subversive work against the foundations of the Soviet state.

In accordance with this, I order:  
FROM 5 AUGUST 1937, IN ALL REPUBLICS, KRAIS AND OBLASTS ARE TO START THE OPERATION TO REPRESS FORMER KULAKS, ACTIVE ANTI-SOVIET ELEMENTS AND CRIMINALS.

In the Uzbek, Turkmen, Tajik and Kyrgyz SSR, the operation is to start from 10 August this year, and in the Far East and Krasnoyarsk Krai and the East Siberian Oblast – from 15 August this year.

When organising and conducting the operation, be guided by the following:

#### I. CONTINGENTS. SUBJECT TO REPRESSION

1. Former kulaks who returned after serving their sentences and continue active anti-Soviet subversive activities.
2. Former kulaks who fled from camps or labour settlements, as well as kulaks who hid from dispossession and who are engaged in anti-Soviet activities.
3. Former kulaks and socially dangerous elements who were members of the rebel, fascist, terrorist, and bandit formations who served their sentences, hid from repressions or escaped from places of detention and resumed their anti-Soviet criminal activities.
4. Members of anti-Soviet parties (Esers, Gruzmeks, Musavatists, Ittikhadists and Dashnaks), former Whites, gendarmes, officials, Punishers [in tsarist Russia and during the Civil War], bandits, gang accomplices, ferrymen, re-emigrants who escaped from repressions, who escaped from places of detention and continue to conduct active anti-Soviet activities.
5. The most hostile and active members of the now liquidated Cossack-white guard insurgent organisation, fascist, terrorist and espionage and sabotage counter-revolutionary formations, exposed by investigative and verified intelligence materials.  
Elements of this category who are currently in custody, the investigation of whose cases have been completed, but the cases have not yet been considered by the judicial authorities, are also subject to repression.
6. The most active anti-Soviet elements of former kulaks, punishers, bandits, whites, sectarian activists, churchmen and others who are now held in prisons, camps, labour settlements and colonies and continue to carry out active anti-Soviet subversive work there.
7. Criminals (bandits, robbers, recidivist thieves, professional smugglers, recidivist swindlers, cattle thieves, and horse thieves) engaged in criminal activities and are associated with the criminal environment.

Elements of this category who are currently in custody, the investigation of whose cases have been completed, but the cases have not yet been considered by the judicial authorities, are also subject to repression.

8. Criminal elements located in camps and labour settlements and conducting criminal activities in them.

9. All the contingents listed above who are currently in villages – in kolkhozes, in sovkhozes, agricultural enterprises and in the city – in industrial and commercial enterprises, transport, Soviet institutions and construction are subject to repression.

## II. ABOUT THE MEASURES OF PUNISHMENT FOR THE REPRESSED AND THE NUMBER OF THE SUBJECT TO REPRESSION

1. All repressed kulaks, criminals and other anti-Soviet elements are divided into two categories:

a) the first category includes all the most hostile of the elements listed above. They are subject to immediate arrest and, upon consideration of their cases in Troikas, to SHOOTING.

б) the second category includes all other less active but still hostile elements. They are subject to arrest and imprisonment in camps for a term of 8 to 10 years, and the most vicious and socially dangerous of them – to imprisonment for the same terms in prisons as determined by the Troika.

2. According to the submitted credentials, the People's Commissars of the republican NKVD and the heads of the Krai's and Oblast's departments of the NKVD approve the following number of people subject to repression:

	1st category	2nd category	Total
1. Azerbaijan SSR	1,500	3,750	5,250
2. Armenian SSR	500	1,000	1,500
3. Byelorussian SSR	2,000	10,000	12,000
4. Georgian SSR	2,000	3,000	5,000
5. Kirghiz SSR	250	500	750
6. Tajik SSR	500	1,300	1,800
7. Turkmen SSR	500	1,500	2,000
8. Uzbek SSR	750	4,000	4,750
9. Bashkir ASSR	500	1,500	2,000
10. Buryat-Mongolian ASSR	350	1,500	1,850
11. Dagestan ASSR	500	2,500	3,000
12. Karelian ASSR	300	700	1,000



*(cont.)*

	1st category	2nd category	Total
13. Kabardino-Balkarian ASSR	300	700	1,000
14. Crimean ASSR	300	1,200	1,500
15. Komi ASSR	100	300	400
16. Kalmyk ASSR	100	300	400
17. Mari ASSR	300	1,500	1,800
18. Mordovian ASSR	300	1,500	1,800
19. ASSR Volga Germans	200	700	900
20. North Ossetian ASSR	200	500	700
21. Tatar ASSR	500	1,500	2,000
22. Udmurt ASSR	200	500	700
23. Chechen-Ingush ASSR	500	1,500	2,000
24. Chuvash ASSR	300	1,500	1,800
25. Azov-Black Sea Krai	5,000	8,000	13,000
26. Far Eastern Krai	2,000	4,000	6,000
27. West Siberian Krai	5,000	12,000	17,000
28. Krasnoyarsk Krai	750	2,500	3,250
29. Ordzhonikidze Krai [6]	1,000	4,000	5,000
30. East Siberian Krai	1,000	4,000	5,000
31. Voronezh Oblast	1,000	3,500	4,500
32. Gorky Oblast	1,000	3,500	4,500
33. Western Oblast	1,000	5,000	6,000
34. Ivanovo Oblast	750	2,000	2,750
35. Kalinin Oblast	1,000	3,000	4,000
36. Kursk Oblast	1,000	3,000	4,000
37. Kuibyshev Oblast	1,000	4,000	5,000
38. Kirov Oblast	500	1,500	2,000
39. Leningrad Oblast	4,000	1,0000	14,000
40. Moscow Oblast	5,000	30,000	35,000
41. Omsk Oblast	1,000	2,500	3,500
42. Orenburg Oblast	1,500	3,000	4,500
43. Saratov Oblast	1,000	2,000	3,000
44. Stalingrad Oblast	1,000	3,000	4,000
45. Sverdlovsk Oblast	4,000	6,000	10,000
46. Northern Oblast [7]	750	2,000	2,750
47. Chelyabinsk Oblast	1,500	4,500	6,000
48. Yaroslavl Oblast	750	1,250	2,000

*(cont.)*

	1st category	2nd category	Total
UKRAINIAN SSR			
1. Kharkov Oblast	1,500	4,000	5,500
2. Kiev Oblast	2,000	3,500	5,500
3. Vinitsa Oblast	1,000	3,000	4,000
4. Donetsk Oblast	1,000	3,000	4,000
5. Odessa Oblast	1,000	3,500	4,500
6. Dnepropetrovsk Oblast	1,000	2,000	3,000
7. Chernigov Oblast	300	1,300	1,600
8. Moldavian ASSR [8]	200	500	700
KAZAKH SSR			
1. North Kazakhstan Oblast	650	300	950
2. South Kazakhstan Oblast	350	600	950
3. West Kazakhstan Oblast	100	200	300
4. Kustanai Oblast	150	450	600
5. East Kazakhstan Oblast	300	1,050	1,350
6. Aktobe Oblast	350	1,000	1,350
7. Karaganda Oblast	400	600	1,000
8. Alma-Ata Oblast	200	800	1,000
NKVD Camps	10,000	—	10,000

3. The approved figures are indicative. However, the People's Commissars of the republican NKVD and the Heads of the Krai's and Oblasts' departments of the NKVD do not have the right to independently exceed them. Any unauthorized increase in numbers is not allowed.

In cases where the situation requires an increase in the approved figures, the People's Commissars of the Republican NKVD and the Heads of the Krai's and Oblasts' departments of the NKVD are obliged to submit to me the appropriate reasoned petitions.

Reducing the numbers, as well as transferring persons scheduled for repression in the first category to the second category and vice versa, is permitted.

4. The families of those sentenced in the first and second categories, as a rule, are not repressed, with the exception of:

a) Families whose members are capable of active anti-Soviet actions. Members of such a family, with a special decision of the Troika, are subject to placement in camps or work settlements.

б) Families of persons repressed under the first category, living in the border area, are subject to resettlement outside the border area within the Republics, Krai and Oblasts.

в) Families of the repressed under the first category, residing in Moscow, Leningrad, Kyiv, Tbilisi, Baku, Rostov-on-Don, Taganrog and in the Rayons of Sochi, Gagra and Sukhumi, are subject to eviction from these points to other regions of their choice, with the exception of border regions.

5. All families of persons repressed in the first and second categories should be registered and systematically monitored.

### III. OPERATION PROCEDURE

1. The operation should begin on 5 August 1937 and be completed within four months.

In the Turkmen, Tajik, Uzbek and Kirghiz SSRs, the operation will begin on 10 August this year, and in the East Siberian Oblast, Krasnoyarsk and Far Eastern Krai – from 15 August this year.

2. First of all, the contingents assigned to the first category are subjected to repression.

The contingents assigned to the second category are not subjected to repression until further notice.

In the event that the People's Commissar of the Republican NKVD, the head of the Directorate or the Oblast's department of the NKVD, having completed the operation on the contingents of the first category, considers it possible to start the operation on the contingents assigned to the second category, he is obliged, before actually starting this operation, to request my sanction and only after receiving it, start the operation.

With regard to all those arrested who will be sentenced to imprisonment in camps or prisons for various terms, as the sentences are passed, inform me how many people, for what terms of prison or camp, have been sentenced. Upon receipt of this information, I will give instructions on how to send the convicts and to which camps.

3. In accordance with the situation and local conditions, the territory of the Republic, Krai and Oblast is divided into operational sectors.

To organise and conduct an operation in each sector, an operational group is formed, headed by a senior official of the NKVD of the Republic, the Krai or Oblast NKVD department, who can successfully cope with the serious operational tasks assigned to him.

In some cases, the most experienced and capable heads of Rayon and city departments may be appointed heads of operational groups.

4. To equip operational groups with the necessary number of operational workers and give them means of transport and communication.

In accordance with the requirements of the operational situation, the groups should be given military or militsiya units.

5. The chiefs of operational groups are to be entrusted with managing the registration and identification of those subject to repression, managing the investigation, approving the indictments and carrying out the sentences of the Troikas.

The head of the operational group is responsible for organizing and conducting the operation on the territory of his sector.

6. Detailed identification data and kompromat materials are collected for each repressed person. On the basis of the latter, lists for arrest are compiled, which are signed by the head of the task force and sent in 2 copies for consideration and approval by the People's Commissar of Internal Affairs, the head of the department or the oblast department of the NKVD.

The People's Commissar of Internal Affairs, the head of the department or the regional department of the NKVD, examines the list and authorizes the arrest of the persons listed in it.

7. Based on the approved list, the head of the operational group makes an arrest. Every arrest is issued with a warrant. Upon arrest, a thorough search is carried out. Mandatory seized: weapons, ammunition, military equipment, explosives, toxic and poisonous substances, counter-revolutionary literature, precious metals in coins, ingots and products, foreign currency, copying devices and correspondence. Everything seized is recorded in the search protocol.

8. The arrested are concentrated in location according to the instructions of the People's Commissars of Internal Affairs, heads of departments or oblast departments of the NKVD. Places where detainees are concentrated must have premises suitable for accommodating detainees.

9. Those arrested are strictly guarded. All events are organised to guarantee against escapes or any excesses.

#### IV. ORDER OF INVESTIGATION

1. An investigation file is opened for each arrested person or a group of arrested persons. The investigation is carried out quickly and in a simplified manner.

During the investigation, all criminal connections of the arrested person should be revealed.

2. At the end of the investigation, the case is sent to the Troika for consideration.

The following shall be attached to the file: an arrest warrant, a search protocol, materials seized during the search, personal documents, a profile of the arrested person, intelligence and accounting material, an interrogation protocol and a brief indictment.

## V. ORGANISATION AND WORK OF TROIKA<sub>s</sub>

1. I approve the following personal composition of Republican, Krai's and Oblast's Troikas: [...] [9]

2. The meetings of the Troikas may be attended (where he is not a member of the Troika) by the Republican, Krai or Oblast prosecutor.

3. The Troika conducts its work either at the location of the respective NKVD, UNKVD, or oblast departments of the NKVD or by travelling to the locations of the operational sectors.

4. Troikas consider the materials submitted to them for each arrested person or group of arrested persons, as well as for each family subject to eviction separately.

Troikas, depending on the nature of the materials and the degree of social danger of the arrested person, may classify persons scheduled for repression in the second category to the first category and those scheduled for repression in the first category to the second.

5. The Troikas keep minutes of their meetings, in which they record the sentences passed by them in relation to each convict.

The minutes of the meeting of the Troika are sent to the head of the operational group for the execution of sentences. Excerpts from the protocols in respect of each convict are attached to the investigative files.

## VI. PROCEDURE FOR ENFORCEMENT OF SENTENCES

1. Sentences are carried out by persons on the instructions of the chairmen of the Troikas, i.e., People's Commissars of the Republican NKVD, heads of departments or oblast's departments of the NKVD.

The basis for the execution of the sentence is a certified extract from the minutes of the meeting of the Troika outlining the sentence in respect of each convicted person and a special order signed by the chairman of the Troika, handed over to the person carrying out the sentence.

2. Sentences in the first category are carried out in places and in the order at the direction of the people's commissars of internal affairs, heads of departments and oblast's departments of the NKVD, with the obligatory complete secrecy of the time and place of the execution of the sentence.

Documents on the execution of the sentence shall be attached in a separate envelope to the investigation file of each convicted person.

3. Persons convicted under category two are sent to camps on the basis of orders reported by the GULAG to the NKVD of the USSR.

## VII. ORGANISATION OF MANAGEMENT OF OPERATIONS AND REPORTING

1. I entrust the general management of the conduct of operations to my deputy – the Head of the Main Directorate of State Security – Komkor [10] comrade [M. P.] FRINOVSKY.

To carry out work related to the management of operations, form a special group under him.

2. The minutes of the Troikas on the execution of sentences should be immediately sent to the head of the 8th Department of the GUGB NKVD of the USSR with the addition of registration cards in form No. 1.

For convicts in the 1st category, simultaneously with the protocol and registration cards, investigative files should also be sent.

3. Report the progress and results of the operation in five-day reports by the 1st, 5th, 10th, 15th, 20th and 25th of each month by telegraph and in detail by mail.

4. The counter-revolutionary formations newly discovered during the operation, the occurrence of excesses, escapes across the cordon, the formation of bandits and predatory groups and other emergencies should be immediately reported by telegraph.



When organising and conducting the operation, take comprehensive measures to prevent: the transition of the repressed to an illegal position; flight from their places of residence and especially abroad; the formation of bandits and predatory groups; the occurrence of any incidents.

Timely identify and quickly stop attempts to commit any active counter-revolutionary actions.

People's Commissar of Internal Affairs of the USSR  
General Commissar for State Security: [...] (N. Yezhov)  
Correct: [...] M. Frinovsky

### Notes

1. 'Eser' (socialist revolutionary) – a member of the Party of Socialist-Revolutionaries.
2. 'Gruzmek' – a member of the Social Democratic Party of Georgia (Georgian Mensheviks).

3. 'Dashnak' – a member of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation (Dashnaktsutyun).
4. 'Musavatis' – a member of the Muslim Democratic Musavat Party (in Azerbaijan).
5. 'Ittihadist' – a member of the Ittihad Party (in Azerbaijan).
6. Today Stavropol Krai.
7. Today, Arkhangelsk Oblast.
8. It refers to the Moldavian ASSR that existed in the period 1924–1940 as part of the Ukrainian SSR.
9. The names of the members of the Troikas, which are irrelevant in this case, are omitted.
10. 'Komkor' (corps commander) – senior military rank.

Source: RGASPI, f. 3, op. 58, d. 212, l. 55–78.

### 3.4 Decree No. 5859ss of the State Defence Committee (1944)

#### STATE DEFENCE COMMITTEE

##### DECREE

May 11, 1944, No. GKO-5859ss

##### ON THE CRIMEAN TATARS

Moscow, Kremlin

During the Patriotic War, many Crimean Tatars betrayed their Motherland, deserted from the Red Army units defending the Crimea, and went over to the side of the enemy, joined the volunteer Tatar military units formed by the Germans, who fought against the Red Army; during the occupation of the Crimea by the fascist German troops, participating in the German punitive detachments, the Crimean Tatars were especially distinguished by their brutal reprisals against Soviet partisans and also helped the German invaders in organising the forcible deportation of Soviet citizens into German slavery and the mass extermination of Soviet people.

The Crimean Tatars actively cooperated with the German occupation authorities, participating in the so-called "Tatar national committees" organised by German intelligence, and were widely used by the Germans to send spies and saboteurs to the rear of the Red Army. The "Tatar National Committees", in

which the White Guard-Tatar emigrants played the main role, with the support of the Crimean Tatars, directed their activities to the persecution and oppression of the non-Tatar population of Crimea and carried out work to prepare for the forcible secession of Crimea from the Soviet Union with the help of the German armed forces.

In view of the foregoing, the State Defence Committee DECIDES:

1. All Tatars must be evicted from the territory of Crimea and settled permanently as special settlers in the regions of the Uzbek SSR. The eviction is to be assigned to the NKVD of the USSR. To oblige the NKVD of the USSR (comrade Beria) to complete the eviction of the Crimean Tatars by June 1, 1944.

2. Establish the following procedure and conditions for eviction:

a) allow special settlers to take with them personal belongings, clothing, household equipment, dishes and food in the amount of up to 500 kilograms per family.

Property remaining in place, buildings, outbuildings, furniture and household land are taken over by local authorities; all productive and dairy cattle, as well as poultry, are accepted by the People's Commissariat of Meat and Dairy Industry (Narkommysomolprom), all agricultural products – by the USSR People's Commissariat of Procurements (Narkomzag), horses and other working cattle – by the USSR People's Commissariat of Agriculture (Narkomzem), breeding stock – by the USSR People's Commissariat of Sovkhoz (Narkomsovkhoz).

Acceptance of livestock, grain, vegetables, and other types of agricultural products is carried out with the issuance of exchange receipts for each settlement and each farm.

To instruct the NKVD of the USSR, the Narkomzem, the Narkommysomolprom, the Narkomsovkhoz and the Narkomzag of the USSR by July 1 this year to submit proposals to the SNK SSSR on the procedure for the return of livestock, poultry and agricultural products received from them by exchange receipts to special settlers.

b) to organise a reception from special settlers of property, livestock, grain and agricultural products left by them in places of eviction, send to the place a commission of the SNK SSSR consisting of: Chairman of the Commission comrade Gritsenko (Deputy Chairman of the SNK RSFSR) and members of the Commission – comrade Krestyaninov (member of the Collegium of the Narkomzem SSSR), comrade Nadyarnykh (member of the Collegium of the NKMiMP [People's Commissariat of Meat and Dairy Industry]), comrade Pustovalov (member of the Collegium of the People's Commissariat of Education of the USSR), comrade Kabanov (Deputy People's Commissar of State Farms of the USSR), comrade Gusev (member of the Collegium of the



Narkommysomolprom), comrade Pustovalov (member of the Collegium of the Narkomzag), comrade Kabanov (Deputy People's Commissar of Grain and Livestock Sovkhozes), comrade Gusev (member of the Collegium of Narkomfin SSSR).

To oblige the Narkomzem SSSR (comrade Benediktov), the Narkomzag SSSR (comrade Subbotin), the Narkommysomolprom SSSR (comrade Smirnov), the Narkomsovkhozov (comrade Lobanov) to receive livestock, grain, and agricultural products from special settlers, and in coordination with Comrade Gritsenko to send in the Crimea the required number of workers.

c) to oblige the NKPS [People's Commissariat of Communication Routes] (comrade Kaganovich) to organize the transportation of special settlers from Crimea to the Uzbek SSR in specially formed echelons according to the schedule compiled jointly with the NKVD of the USSR. The number of trains, loading stations and destination stations at the request of the NKVD of the USSR.

Payments for transportation shall be made according to the tariff for the transportation of prisoners.

d) The Narkomzdrav SSSR (comrade Miterev) to allocate for each echelon with special settlers, within the time limits agreed with the NKVD of the USSR, one doctor and two nurses with an appropriate supply of medicines and provide medical and sanitary care for special settlers on the way;

e) The Narkomtorg SSSR (comrade Lyubimov) to provide all echelons with special settlers daily with hot meals and boiling water.

To organize meals for special settlers on the way, allocate food to the Narkomtorg in the amount according to Appendix No. 1.

3. Oblige the secretary of the Central Committee of the KP(b) [Communist Party (Bolsheviks)] of Uzbekistan comrade Yusupov, the chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the Uzbek SSR comrade Abdurakhmanov and the People's Commissar of Internal Affairs of the Uzbek SSR comrade Kobulov until June 1 this year to carry out the following measures for the reception and resettlement of special settlers:

a) accept and resettle within the Uzbek SSR 140–160 thousand people of special settlers-Tatars sent by the NKVD of the USSR from the Crimean ASSR.

Resettlement of special settlers to be carried out in sovkhoz settlements, existing kolkhozes, subsidiary farms of enterprises and factory settlements for use in agriculture and industry.

b) in the areas of resettlement of special settlers, create commissions consisting of the chairman of the Oblispolkom, the secretary of the Obkom and the head of the UNKVD, entrusting these commissions with carrying out all activities related to the reception and accommodation of arriving special settlers.

c) in each Rayon of resettlement of special settlers, organise Rayon Troikas consisting of the chairman of the Rayispolkom, the secretary of the Raykom and the head of the RO NKVD, entrusting them with preparing for the accommodation and organizing the reception of arriving special settlers,

d) prepare horse-drawn vehicles for the transportation of special settlers, mobilizing the transport of any enterprises and institutions for this.

e) ensure that incoming special settlers are provided with household and yard plots and assist in the construction of houses with local building materials.

f) to organize special commandant's offices of the NKVD in the areas of resettlement of special settlers, attributing their maintenance to the expense of the budget of the NKVD of the USSR.

g) Central Committee and SNK of the Uzbek SSR by May 20 this year to submit to the NKVD of the USSR comrade Beria a project for the resettlement of special settlers in Oblasts and Rayons, indicating the station for unloading echelons.

4. Oblige the Agricultural Bank (comrade Kravtsov) to issue to special settlers sent to the Uzbek SSR, in the places of their settlement, a loan for the construction of houses and for household economy up to 5,000 roubles per family with an instalment plan of up to 7 years.

5. Oblige the Narkomzag SSSR (comrade Subbotin) to allocate flour, cereals, and vegetables to the SNK of the Uzbek SSR for distribution to special settlers during June-August of this year monthly in equal amounts, according to Appendix No. 2.

Issuance of flour, cereals and vegetables to special settlers during June-August of this year to produce free of charge, in payment for the agricultural products and livestock accepted from them in the places of eviction.

6. To oblige the People's Commissariat of Defence (comrade Khruleva) to transfer within May-June this year to reinforce the vehicles of the NKVD troops stationed by garrisons in the rayons of resettlement of special settlers – in the Uzbek SSR, the Kazakh SSR and the Kirghiz SSR, – Willis vehicles – 100 pieces and trucks – 250 pieces that have come out of repair.

7. To oblige Glavneftesnab [Main Directorate for Transportation and Supply of Oil and Oil Products] (comrade Shirokov) to allocate and ship until May 20, 1944, to places at the direction of the NKVD of the USSR 400 tons of gasoline at the disposal of the SNK of the Uzbek SSR – 200 tons.

The supply of motor gasoline is to be carried out at the expense of a uniform reduction in supplies to all other consumers.

8. To oblige Glavsnables (General Directorate for Wood and Timber Supply) under the SNK of the USSR (comrade Lopukhov) to supply the People's

Commissariat of Communication Routes with 75,000 wagon boards of 2.75 m each at the expense of any resources, with their delivery before May 15 this year; transportation of boards to NKPS to be carried out by its own means.

9. Narkomfin of the USSR (comrade Zverev) to release the NKVD of the USSR in May this year, 30 million roubles from the reserve fund of the SNK SSSR for the implementation of special measures.

Chairman of the State Defence Committee J. Stalin [...] [Signature]

cc: Comrades Molotov, Beria, Malenkov, Mikoyan, Voznesensky, Andreev, Kosygin, Gritsenko, Yusupov, Abdurakhmanov, Kobulov (NKVD UzSSR), Chadaev – all, Shatalin, Gorkin, Zhdanov, Smirnov, Subbotin, Benediktov, Lobanov, Zverev, Kaganovich, Miterev, Lyubimov, Kravtsov, Khrulev, Zhukov, Shirokov, Lopukhov – appropriate sections.

**Source:** GARF, f. P 9401, op. 2, d. 65, l. 44–48.

### 3.5 Decree of the President of the USSR No. 556 (1990)

#### DECREE OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE USSR

On the Restoration of the Rights of All Victims of Political Repression  
of the 1920s – 1950s.

No. 556, August 13, 1990

The heavy legacy of the past is massive repressions, arbitrariness, and lawlessness, which were committed by the Stalinist leadership on behalf of the Revolution, the Party, and the people. The desecration of the honour and life of compatriots, begun in the mid-1920s, continued with the most severe consistency for several decades. Thousands of people were subjected to moral and physical torture, and many of them were exterminated. The lives of their families and loved ones were turned into a hopeless period of humiliation and suffering.

Stalin and his entourage appropriated practically unlimited power, depriving the Soviet people of freedoms that are considered natural and inalienable in a democratic society.

Mass repressions were carried out, for the most part, by extrajudicial reprisals through the so-called special meetings, collegiums, Troikas, and Dvoikas. However, the elementary norms of legal proceedings were also violated in the courts.

The restoration of justice, begun by the 20th Congress of the KPSS, was conducted inconsistently and essentially ceased in the second half of the 1960s.

A special commission for the additional study of materials related to repressions rehabilitated thousands of innocently convicted; illegal acts against peoples subjected to resettlement from their native places have been abolished; the decisions of the extrajudicial bodies of the OGPU-NKVD-MGB in the 1930–50s on political matters were declared illegal; other acts have been adopted to restore the rights of the victims of arbitrariness.

But even today, thousands of court cases have not yet been revised. The stain of injustice has not yet been removed from the Soviet people, who suffered innocently during the forced collectivisation, were imprisoned, evicted with their families to remote areas without a livelihood, without the right to vote, and even without an announcement of a term of imprisonment. Members of the clergy and citizens persecuted for religious reasons must be rehabilitated.

The speedy overcoming of the consequences of lawlessness and political crimes on the basis of abuse of power is necessary for all of us, for the entire society that has embarked on the path of moral revival, democracy and the rule of law.

Expressing fundamental condemnation of mass repressions, considering them incompatible with the norms of civilization and on the basis of Articles 1277 and 114 of the Constitution of the USSR, I decide:

1. Recognise as illegal, contrary to basic civil and socio-economic human rights, the repressions carried out against peasants during the period of collectivisation, as well as against all other citizens for political, social, national, religious, and other reasons in the 20–50s, and completely restore the rights of these citizens.

The Council of Ministers of the USSR, the governments of the Union republics, in accordance with this Decree, to submit proposals to the legislative bodies before October 1, 1990, on the procedure for restoring the rights of citizens who have suffered from repression.

2. This Decree does not apply to persons justifiably convicted of crimes against the Motherland and Soviet people during the Great Patriotic War, in the pre-war and post-war years.

The Council of Ministers of the USSR shall submit to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR a draft legislative act defining the list of these crimes and the procedure for recognising in court persons convicted of their commission as not subject to rehabilitation on the grounds provided for by this Decree.

3. Taking into account the political and social significance of the complete solution of all issues related to the restoration of the rights of citizens who

were unreasonably repressed in the 1920s-1950s, entrust the supervision of this process to the Presidential Council of the USSR.

President of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, M. Gorbachev.

**Source:** *Правда*. (1990, August 12). Горбачев, М. Указ Президента СССР О восстановлении прав всех жертв политических репрессий 20-50-х годов, р. 1; *Ведомости Верховного Совета СССР*. (1990, No. 34). Горбачев, М. Указ Президента СССР О восстановлении прав всех жертв политических репрессий 20-50-х годов, р. 647.

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- LANB. Личный Архив Николая Бессонова (Personal Archive of Nikolay Bessonov): f. Николай Панков; f. Николай Стакевич.
- MSIR. Музей современной истории России (Museum of Contemporary Russian History).
- OGACHO. Объединенный государственный архив Челябинской области (United State Archive of Chelyabinsk Oblast): f. P 467, op. 3, d. 496; f. P 467, op. 3, d. 498; f. P 467, op. 3, d. 502; f. P 467, op. 3, d. 504; f. P 467, op. 3, d. 505; f. P 467, op. 3, d. 506; f. P 467, op. 3, d. 507; f. P 467, op. 3, d. 508; f. P 467, op. 3, d. 509; f. P 467, op. 3, d. 510; f. P 467, op. 3, d. 511; f. P 467, op. 3, d. 3228; f. P 467, op. 3, d. 3229; f. P 467, op. 3, d. 5722; f. P 467, op. 3, d. 6561; f. P 467, op. 3, d. 6668; f. P 467, op. 3, d. 7813; f. P 467, op. 6, d. 75. [with courtesy of Alexander Chernykh]
- OGMLT. Орловский Государственный литературный музей И. С. Тургенева (Oryol State Literary Museum of I. S. Turgenev): f. 29, op. 1, d. 49; f. 29, op. 1, d. 137; f. 29, op. 1, d. 156.
- PGASPI. Пермский государственный архив социально-политической истории (Perm State Archive of Socio-Political History): f. 641/1, op. 1, d. 3318; f. 641/1, op. 1, d. 6988. [with courtesy of Alexander Chernykh]
- RGAE. Российский государственный архив экономики (Russian State Archive of the Economy): f. 4372, op. 34, d. 440a; f. 5675, op. 1, d. 141; f. 5675, op. 1, d. 142; f. 5675, op. 1, d. 145; f. 5675, op. 1, d. 146; f. 5675, op. 1, d. 148; f. 5675, op. 1, d. 149; f. 5675, op. 1, d. 151; f. 5675, op. 1, d. 152; f. 5675, op. 1, d. 157; f. 5675, op. 1, a. 179.
- RGAKFD. Российский государственный архив кинофотодокументов (Russian State Archive of Film and Photo Documents): d. 99274, photo 0-47369; d. 99274, photo 4-99274.
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# Dictionary

## Abbreviations and Soviet Neologisms

<b>AO</b>	= Autonomous Oblast.
<b>Artel</b>	= Producers' Cooperative.
<b>ASSR</b>	= Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic.
<b>Belgosstroy</b>	= State Committee for Construction of the Byelorussian SSR.
<b>BOMZh</b>	= Persons of no fixed abode / homeless persons.
<b>ChK / CheKa</b>	= Extraordinary Commission for Combating Counter-Revolution and Sabotage.
<b>ChSIR</b>	= Traitor of the Motherland family member.
<b>Dalstroy</b>	= NKVD Main Directorate for the Construction of the Far North.
<b>DPZ</b>	= House of Preliminary Detention.
<b>Dvoika</b>	= The administrative (extrajudicial) repression body, including representatives of the NKVD and the Prosecutor's Office to the USSR.
<b>FSB</b>	= Federal Security Service of the Russian Federation.
<b>FZSP</b>	= Front Reserve Rifle Regiment.
<b>GAZ</b>	= Gorky Automobile Plant.
<b>GKO</b>	= State Defence Committee.
<b>Glavneftsnab</b>	= Main Directorate for Logistics of Oil Industry Enterprises.
<b>Glavsnables</b>	= Main Directorate for Supplying the National Economy with Timber and Firewood.
<b>GO</b>	= City Branch.
<b>Gosplan</b>	= State Planning Committee at the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR.
<b>GPU</b>	= State Political Directorate at NKVD RSFSR.
<b>OGPU</b>	= Joint State Political Directorate at the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR.
<b>GULAG</b>	= Main Directorate of Corrective Labour Camps at OGPU/NKVD/MVD.
<b>GVK.</b>	= City Military Commissariat.
<b>ITK</b>	= Corrective Labour Colony.
<b>ITL</b>	= Corrective Labour Camp.
<b>ITLK</b>	= Corrective Labour Camps and Colonies of NKVD.
<b>KNB</b>	= National Security Committee.
<b>Kolkhoz</b>	= Collective Farm.
<b>KPSS</b>	= Communist Party of the Soviet Union (from 1952).

<b>KPU(b)</b>	= Communist Party (Bolsheviks) of Ukraine.
<b>KTR</b>	= Criminal Prison Regime
<b>Kulak</b>	= Literally 'fist'; this is what wealthy peasants, who put in economic dependence and exploited their fellow peasants, were called in the early USSR.
<b>Lagpunkt</b>	= Separate subcamp.
<b>Laguchastok</b>	= Camp plot.
<b>Medprodsnab</b>	= State Office for the Supply of Workers in Copper Mines and Factories with Food and Industrial Goods.
<b>Mestechko</b>	= A historical type of settlement in the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth, often with a significant Jewish population.
<b>MGB</b>	= Ministry of State Security of the USSR.
<b>MO</b>	= Moscow Oblast.
<b>MOIK</b>	= Moscow Regional Executive Committee
<b>MOZO</b>	= Moscow Regional Agricultural Department
<b>MTS</b>	= Machine Tractor Station (a state enterprise for maintenance of agricultural machinery).
<b>MVD</b>	= Ministry of the Interior.
<b>Narkom</b>	= People's Commissar, head of People's Commissariat.
<b>Narkomfin</b>	= People's Commissariat of Finance.
<b>Narkommyasomolprom</b>	= People's Commissariat for Meat and Dairy Industry.
<b>Narkompros</b>	= People's Commissariat of Education.
<b>Narkomsovkhoz</b>	= People's Commissariat of Grain and Livestock Sovkhozos.
<b>Narkomtorg</b>	= People's Commissariat for Foreign and Domestic Trade.
<b>Narkomzag</b>	= People's Commissariat of Procurement.
<b>Narkomzdrav</b>	= People's Commissariat of Health.
<b>Narkomzem</b>	= People's Commissariat of Agriculture.
<b>NK RKI</b>	= People's Commissariat of the Workers' and Peasants' Inspectorate.
<b>NK Sobes</b>	= People's Commissariat for Social Security.
<b>NKGB</b>	= People's Commissariat for State Security of the USSR.
<b>NKO</b>	= People's Commissariat of Defence.
<b>NKPS</b>	= People's Commissariat for Communications.
<b>NKT / Narkomtrud</b>	= People's Commissariat of Labour.
<b>NKVD</b>	= People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs of the USSR (until 1934, NKVD of the RSFSR and OGPU).
<b>NKYu / Narkomyust</b>	= People's Commissariat of Justice.
<b>OLP</b>	= Separate subcamp.
<b>ON VTsIK</b>	= Department of Nationalities of VTsIK.

- OO** = Special Department (military counterintelligence) of the OGPU / NKVD / MVD.
- OS** = Oblast's Court.
- OSO** = Special Consultation's Meeting.
- Povit (powiat)** = The second-level unit of local administration used in the Russian Empire in territories that were formerly part of Poland.
- PP** = Plenipotentiary Representation.
- Promysel** = A temporary settlement where the settlers are engaged in the extraction of something.
- PVS** = Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR
- RF** = Russian Federation.
- RKKA** = The Workers' and Peasants' Red Army
- RKM** = Workers' and Peasants' Militiya (Police).
- RNK** = Council of People's Commissars of the Ukrainian SSR.
- RO** = Rayon's Department.
- ROM** = Rayon Police Department.
- RSFSR** = Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic.
- RVK** = Rayon Military Commissariat.
- Sel'po** = Rural Consumer Cooperative.
- Selsoviet** = Village Council; local self-administration, a part of the Soviet system of administration.
- SM** = Council of Ministers.
- Smersh** = Death of Spies (the name of a number of independent counterintelligence organisations and various military institutions in the USSR during World War II).
- SN TsIK SSSR** = Council of Nationalities at the Central Executive Committee of USSR.
- SNK PRSFSR** = Council of People's Commissars of the RSFSR.
- SNK SSSR / Sovnarkom** = Council of People's Commissars of the USSR.
- SOE** = Socially Dangerous Element.
- Sovkhoz** = Soviet Farm.
- SSP** = Union on Soviet Writers.
- SVE** = Socially Harmful Element.
- Tabor** = Gypsy nomadic unit; usually includes one or more extended consanguineous families.
- Troika** = The administrative (extrajudicial) repression body at various administrative units, including representatives of the NKVD, VKP(b) and the Prosecutor's Office of the USSR.

- Trudarmiya** = Labour Armies (1942–1946); system of compulsory labour.
- TsK VKP(b)** = Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks).
- TsK KPSS** = Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.
- TsIK SSSR** = Central Executive Committee of the USSR.
- TSKK** = Central Control Commission of All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks).
- TsUNKhU** = Central Office of National and Economic Accounting.
- UGB NKVD** = State Security Management Agency of the NKVD.
- UITLK** = Administration of Corrective Labour Camps.
- UK BSSR** = Criminal Code of the Byelorussian SSR.
- UK RSFSR** = Criminal Code of the RSFSR.
- UK USSR** = Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR.
- US SPZhD** = Administration of the Construction of the Severo-Pechora Railway.
- USO** = Criminal-Judicial Department.
- USSR** = Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.
- UVD** = Administration of Internal Affairs.
- VChK** = All-Russian ChK at the SNK RSFSR.
- VK** = Military Enlistment Office
- VKP(b)** = All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks).
- VMN** = The Highest Measure of Punishment (execution through shooting).
- VO** = Military District.
- Volost** = A lower territorial-administrative unit used in the Russian Empire.
- VS RSFSR** = Supreme Court of the RSFSR.
- VSTs** = All-Russian Union of Gypsies.
- VS USSR** = Supreme Court of the USSR.
- VSZhD** = East Siberian Railway.
- VT** = Military Tribunal.
- VSTs** = All-Russian Union of Gypsies.
- VTsIK** = All-Russian Central Executive Committee.
- VTsVK** = All-Ukrainian Central Executive Committee.
- VUZ** = Higher education institution / University.
- Zh. d.** = Railway.
- ZSFSR** = Transcaucasian Union Federal Socialist Republic.

## GULAG Camps of the NKVD

- Bakalstroy / Chelyabmetallurgstroy** = Correctional Labour Camp of the NKVD, created in 1941 for the construction of the Bakal Metallurgical Plant (since 1942 Chelyabinsk Metallurgical Plant).
- Bamlag** = Baikal-Amur Correctional Labour Camp.
- Bogoslovlag** = Bogoslovsk Correctional Labour Camp of the NKVD.
- Dallag** = Far East Correctional Labour Camp of the NKVD.
- Dalstroy** = Main Directorate of Construction of the Far North at the NKVD.
- Dmitlag** = Dimitrov Correctional Labour Camp of the NKVD.
- Dzhidlag** = Dzhidinsky Correctional Labour Camp of the NKVD.
- Intlag** = Intinsk Correctional Labour Camp of the NKVD.
- Ivdellag** = Ivdel Correctional Labour Camp of the NKVD.
- Karlag** = Karaganda Correctional Labour Camp of the NKVD.
- Kizellag** = Kizel Correctional Labour Camp of the NKVD.
- Lobvinlag** = Lobva Correctional Labour Camp of the NKVD.
- Norillag** = Norilsk Correctional Labour Camp of the NKVD.
- Pechorlag** = Pechora Correctional Labour Camp of the NKVD.
- Sevzheldorlag** = Northern Railway Correctional Labour Camp of the NKVD.
- Sevurallag** = North Ural Correctional Labour Camp of the NKVD.
- Sevvostlag** = Nord-East Correctional Labour Camp of the NKVD.
- Siblag** = Siberian Correctional Labour Camp of the NKVD.
- SLON** = Solovki Special Purpose Camp of the OGPU.
- STON** = Solovki Special Purpose Prison of the NKVD.
- Tagillag** = Nizhny Tagil Correctional Labour Camp of the NKVD.
- Tayshetlag** = Tayshet Correctional Labour Camp of the NKVD.
- Ukhtizhemlag** = Ukhta-Izhemsk Correctional Labour Camp of the NKVD.
- Ukhtpechlag** = Ukhta-Pechora Correctional Labour Camp of the NKVD.
- Usollag** = Usolye Correctional Labour Camp of the NKVD.
- Ustvymlag** = Ust-Vym Correctional Labour Camp of the OGPU/NKVD.
- Vishlag** = Vishera Correctional Labour Camp of the NKVD.
- Vorkutlag / Vorkutstroy** = Vorkuta Correctional Labour Camp of the NKVD.
- Yeniseylag** = Yenisey Correctional Labour Camp of the NKVD.



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Ill. 2a. Solovetsky Monastery, 2019.



Ill. 2b. Former prison barracks, 2019.



Ill. 3a. Stepan/Ishtvan and Praskovya Demeter. 1910s.

КОПИЯ стр. № 2

**АНКЕТА арестованного**

ВОПРОСЫ	ОТВЕТЫ
1. Фамилия	Деметр (Ишван)
2. Имя и отчество	Степан Петрович
3. Год и место рождения	Родился _____ года 1879 г. области, края <u>Деметр Венгрия</u> _____ гор. _____ село
4. Постоянное местожительство (адрес)	<u>Б. Дето д/б по Меловой ул.</u>
5. Место службы и должность, или род занятий	<u>Артем, каменщик</u> <u>медник, медик</u>
6. Профессия и профессиональная принадлежность, № билета	<u>медник медик</u> <u>или медик</u>
7. Искусственное волощение и возраст ареста (перечислить видоарбу медвального и движимые имущества: постройки, сооружения и прочие с.-х. орудия, количество обработанной земли, количество скота, лошадей и проч., орудия запаса с.-х. и т.д.). Если коллектив, указать имущество волощение до поступления в колхоз, время поступления в колхоз).	<u>Видеть медиком деревенский домик.</u>
8. Томе до 1929 г.	<u>Кован</u>
9. Томе до 1917 г.	<u>море.</u>
10. Социальное волощение в момент ареста	<u>Купец</u>
11. Служба в царской армии и чин	<u>не служил</u>
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КОПИЯ 1988

**Выписка из протокола**


\* Особого Совещания при Коллегии ОГПУ от 29/IV 1934 г.

Слушали:	Постановили:
1. Дело № 1232-34 г. по обв. ДЕМЕТР Степана Петровича, прозывается по кыргански Ишван, по ст. 58-6, 59-12 УК.	ДЕМЕТР Степана Петровича ИШВАН, 1879 г. р., кырган племени "И-МЕСТН", МЕДИК-ЛУДИЛЬЩИК - ЗАКЛОУТИТЬ В КОНЦЛАГЕРЬ СРОКОМ НА ДЕСЯТЬ /10/ ЛЕТ, СЧИТАЯ СРОК с 18/IV-34 г. ДЕЛО СДАТЬ В АРХИВ.

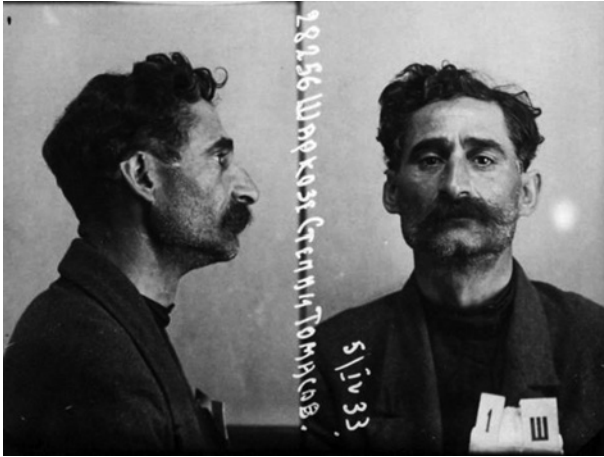
Подлин. за надлещ. подписисми

Верно:

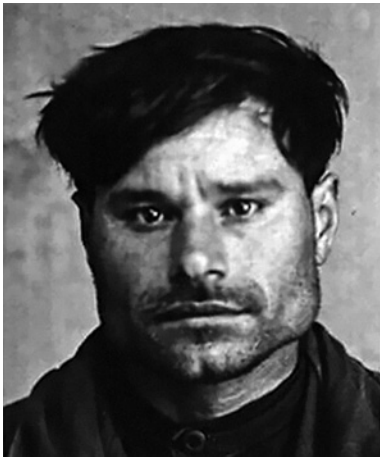
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Копия верно:  Сучков В.И.

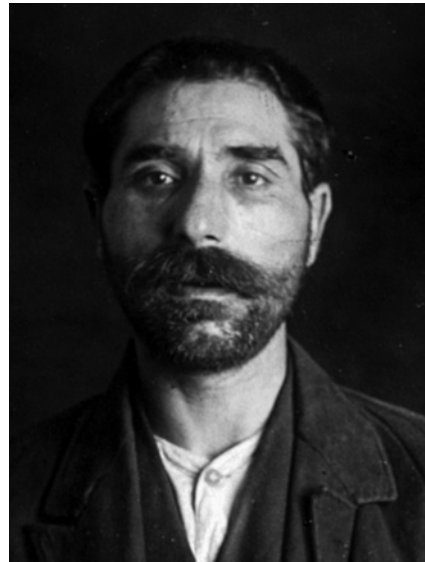
Ill. 3d. Protocol on charges against Stepan Demeter, 1934.



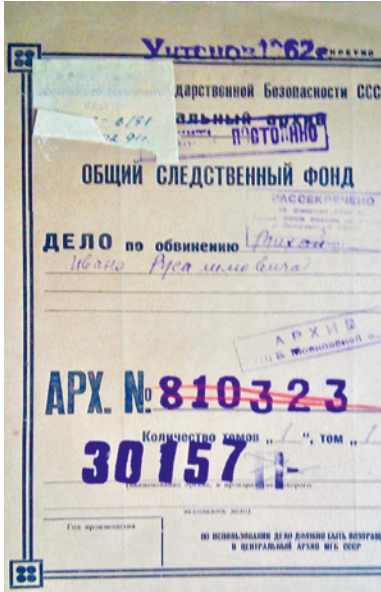
Ill. 4a. Stepan Sharkozi, 1933.



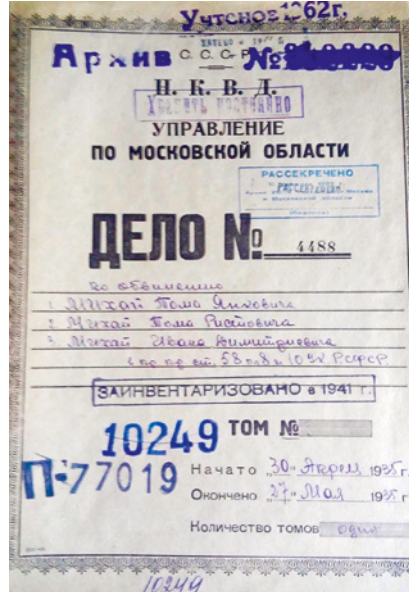
Ill. 4b. Dmitry Burlutsky, 1937



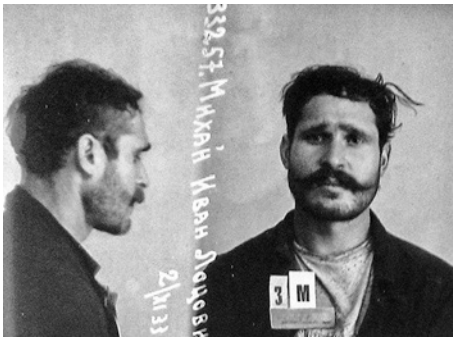
Ill. 4c. Tsinka Belon, 1938.



Ill. 5a. Investigative case of Ivan Mihai, 1932–1933.



Ill. 5b. Investigative case of 3 Kelderari men, 1935.



Ill. 5c. Ivan Mihai, 1932–1933.





Ill. 6a. Hicolay Drobovsky, 1938.



Ill. 6b. Anna Musselius with her family, 1930s.



Ill. 6c Olga Kononova (Starostina), 1930s.



Ill. 7a. Volodimir Zorin, 1930s.



Ill. 7b. Dmitry Vodopyan. 1930s.



Ill. 7c. Oktyabrsky/Pobeda Cinema in Nalchik, 2018.



Ill. 8a. Vadim Kozin and Leonid Zhukov's jazz orchestra. 1930s.



Ill. 8b. Vadim Kozin, 1940s.



Ill. 8c. Vadim Kozin, 1951.



Ill. 8d. Vadim Kozin monument in Magadan, 2018.



Ill. 9a. Bertha Chervonnaya – *Gypsy Csárdás*, 1927.



Ill. 9b. Bertha Chervonnaya, 1927.



Ill. 9c. Bertha Chervonnaya, 1936.



Ill. 9d. Bertha Chervonnaya, 1951.



Ill. 10a. Gypsy King Michał I Kwiek, 1934.



Ill. 10b. Michał Kwiek, 1937.

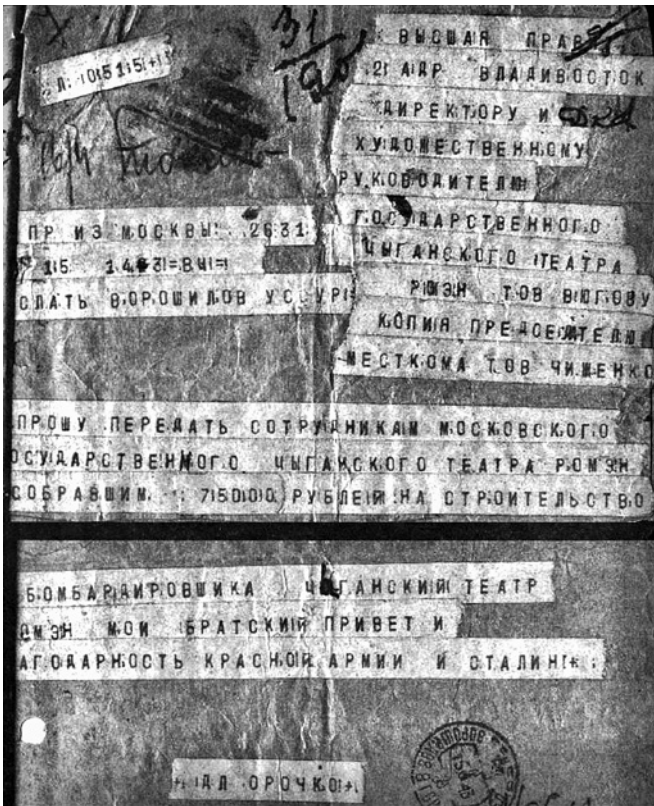


Ill. 10c. Gypsy King Janusz I Kwiek, 1937.

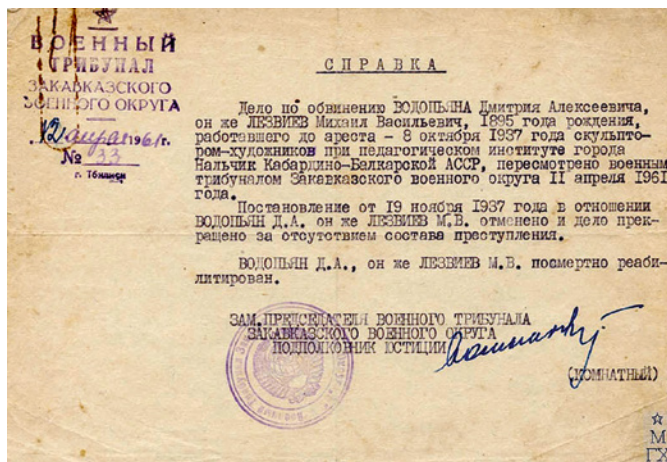




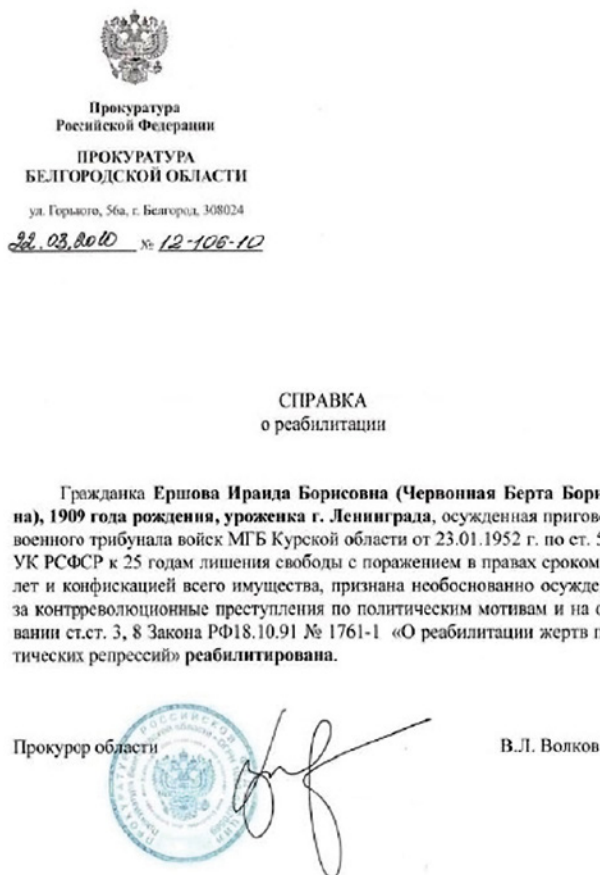
Ill. 11a. Gypsy King Janusz I Kwiek, 1937.



Ill. 11b. Telegram from I. V. Stalin to the State Gypsy Theater *Romen*, 1943.



Ill. 12a. The Rehabilitation Certificate of Dmitry Vodopyan, 1961.



Ill. 12b. The Rehabilitation Certificate of Berta Chervonnaya, 2010.

In their centuries-old history, the Roma (formerly known as Gypsies) experienced many difficult moments and cruel trials from their arrival in Europe until now. The history of the Roma in the USSR is no exception in this respect. Along with affirmative state policy towards them (at least until the end of the 1930s), they also fell victim to the massive political repressions of that time. In this book, the Roma victims of these repressions are made visible and the scale of the repressions against them is discussed. The authors describe the political repression of Roma not as an isolated historical phenomenon explicitly aimed at the Roma as a separate ethnic community but understand the events as a component of the mass terror and brutal against all Soviet citizens. In this way, the history of the Roma is inscribed in the general history of the USSR.

**Elena Marushiakova, Prof., and Vesselin Popov, Prof.,** have worked in the field of Romani studies for over four decades. Currently, they work at the Institute of Ethnology and Social Anthropology of the Slovak Academy of Sciences. They are also editors of the Brill | Schöningh publications “Roma Voices in History” and “Roma Portraits in History”.

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