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POLICY IN RELATION TO DISPERSED ETHNIC MINORITIES IN 1921–1927 (BASED ON MATERIALS FROM KUBAN AND THE BLACK SEA REGION)

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Abstract. *Introduction.* The national policy of the 1920s in relation to dispersed ethnic groups is of interest for understanding the historical context of the management of interethnic relations. The topic has not been sufficiently studied in the territories of Kuban and the Black Sea region, which are multiethnic, densely populated regions subject to mass migration. The authors of the article seek to identify the regional conditions and features of the implementation of the national policy of the 1921–1927 in relation to the dispersed ethnic minorities of Kuban and the Black Sea region. *Methods and materials.* The theoretical basis of the research is the constructivist approach, historical-system, and historical-comparative methods. *Analysis and results.* The regional conditions for the implementation of the national policy of the 1920s in relation to the dispersed ethnic minorities of the Kuban and Black Sea region have been established: the borderline location of ethnic areas; the influence of diasporas on the social activity of ethnic minorities; the increased level of international and interregional migration; the dominance of the rural type of residence and agricultural occupations; and significant differences in interethnic interactions in the regions of the region. The specifics of the implementation of the national policy of the 1920s in the Kuban and the Black Sea region consisted of the slow creation of national sections under the Soviets and party committees of the Communist Party, the conflict between the tendencies of government bodies to rely on the working people as a whole and the poor strata of a multiethnic society. The strategy of korenizatsiia realized in interrelated aspects: personnel policy, the elimination of illiteracy, raising the status of ethnic minority languages, and land reform. The authors argue that the Soviet national policy of the 1921–1927 period in relation to dispersed ethnic minorities involved the creation of local autonomies (the cantonization strategy). In Kuban and the Black Sea region, a territorial variant of local autonomy applied to Armenians, Greeks, Germans, and Shapsugs. Extraterritorial autonomy realized in relation to other peoples. *Authors' contribution.* A.V. Baranov has provided research conceptualization, methodology development, source text writing, and final conclusions. V.V. Kasyanov has participated in the development of curricula and their implementation, the collection and interpretation of archival materials, the follow-on revision of the text, and final conclusions. *Funding.* The research was carried out with the financial support of the Kuban Science Foundation and at the expense of a grant from the Russian Science Foundation within the framework of project No. 24-18-20096, https://rscf.ru/project/24-18-20096/

Key words: national policy, 1921–1927, dispersed ethnic minorities, Kuban, Black Sea region.

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ПОЛИТИКА В ОТНОШЕНИИ ДИСПЕРСНЫХ ЭТНИЧЕСКИХ МЕНЬШИНСТВ В 1921–1927 гг. (НА МАТЕРИАЛАХ КУБАНИ И ЧЕРНОМОРЬЯ)

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Аннотация. *Введение.* Национальная политика 1920-х гг. в отношении дисперсных народов представляет интерес для понимания исторического контекста управления межэтническими отношениями. Тема недостаточно исследована на материалах Кубани и Черноморья – полиэтничных густозаселенных регионов, подверженных массовым миграциям. Авторы статьи стремятся выявить региональные условия и особенности реализации национальной политики в 1921–1927 гг. в отношении дисперсных этнических меньшинств Кубани и Черноморья. *Методы.* Теоретической основой исследования выбраны конструктивистский подход, историко-системный и историко-компаративный методы. *Анализ и результаты.* Установлены региональные условия реализации национальной политики 1920-х гг. в отношении дисперсных этнических меньшинств Кубани и Черноморья: пограничное размещение этнических ареалов; влияние диаспор на общественную активность этнических меньшинств; повышенный уровень международной и межрегиональной миграции; доминирование сельского типа проживания и аграрных занятий; значительные различия межэтнических взаимодействий в местностях региона. Особенности реализации национальной политики на Кубани и в Черноморье состояли в замедленном создании национальных секций при советах и партийных комитетах РКП(б), конфликте между тенденциями опоры органов власти на трудящихся в целом и малоимущие слои полиэтничного общества. Стратегия коренизации реализовалась во взаимосвязанных аспектах: кадровой политике, ликвидации неграмотности, повышении статуса языков этнических меньшинств, земельной реформе. Авторы пришли к выводу, что советская национальная политика 1921–1927 гг. в отношении дисперсных этнических меньшинств предполагала создание локальных автономий (стратегию кантонизации). На Кубани и в Черноморье территориальный вариант локальной автономии применен в отношении армян, греков, немцев и шапсугов. В отношении иных народов реализовалась экстерриториальная автономия. *Вклад авторов*. А.В. Баранов – концепция исследования, развитие методологии, написание исходного текста, итоговые выводы. В.В. Касьянов – участие в разработке концепции исследования и ее реализации, сбор и интерпретация архивных материалов, доработка текста, итоговые выводы. *Финансирование.* Исследование выполнено при финансовой поддержке Кубанского научного фонда и за счет гранта Российского научного фонда в рамках проекта № 24-18-20096, https://rscf.ru/project/24-18-20096/

Ключевые слова: национальная политика, 1921–1927 гг., дисперсные этнические меньшинства, Кубань, Черноморье.

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Introduction. The national policy of the 1920s in relation to dispersed peoples is of interest for understanding the historical context of managing interethnic relations. The topic has not been sufficiently studied using materials from the Kuban and the Black Sea region – multiethnic, densely populated regions subject to migration. The authors of the article seek to identify the areas of settlement of dispersed ethnic minorities of the Kuban and the Black Sea region in the context of the history of settlements and the gradual integration of dispersed peoples into a multiethnic Soviet society.

The purpose of the article is to identify regional conditions and features of the implementation of the national policy of the 1920s in relation to dispersed ethnic minorities of Kuban and the Black Sea region.

The topic is studied during the period 1921–1927. The criterion for choosing the framework of the analysis was the dating of the new economic

policy in the region. In March 1921, the Tenth Congress of the Russian Communist Party (b) adopted a resolution on the goals and methods of national policy. Prior to this, a full-scale civil war continued in the Kuban-Black Sea region, and only the first steps were taken by the party organs of the RCP(b) to create institutions specialized in policies towards dispersed peoples. The curtailment of the NEP from the beginning of 1928 was accompanied by the recentalization of power and the gradual abandonment of the course of "korenization" in national politics.

The geographical limits of the study are the Kuban-Black Sea region, which existed from 1920 to the summer of 1924. Later, in 1924–1930, the Armavir, Kuban, Maykop, and Black Sea districts existed on this territory. The problems of national policy require taking into account the identity (self-awareness) of the population. These territories together were consistently referred to in the public opinion of the region as "Kuban" or "Kuban-Black Sea region." The ethnopolicy of the RCP(b) in the Adygea-Cherkess and Karachay-Cherkess Autonomous Regions (AO), Shapsug district, is not considered, since this aspect has already been studied by the authors [4].

National policy is understood as a set of purposeful actions of party and state authorities, as well as public organizations controlled by them (Komsomol, trade unions, women's councils, etc.). The set of actions of these bodies in relation to dispersed ethnic groups implemented a single communist ideology, legislative acts, and organizational scheme, and sometimes national sections were created under party committees, uniting representatives of several small ethnic groups.

Dispersed ethnic minorities are understood as population groups that do not have a compact geographic area. The specificity of Kuban and the Black Sea region as a border region was the presence of many peoples who lived partly in foreign countries (Greeks, Germans, Assyrians, Poles, Bulgarians, etc.).

The level of development of the topic is insufficient; articles on narrow specialized aspects prevail. During the Soviet period, the policy of the RCP(b) – VKP(b) in relation to dispersed ethnic minorities of the region was not studied. Attention to the topic began to be shown in the 1990s. A manifestation of this stage was a collection of articles edited by N.F. Bugay [7], in which the course in relation to dispersed ethnic groups was first illuminated. In modern Russian historiography, conceptual works on the national policy of the USSR were written by D.A. Amanzholova, K.S. Drozdov, T.Yu. Krasovitskaya, V.V. Tikhonov [2], and V.N. Kruglov [18].

Special studies of the policy towards dispersed ethnic minorities of the South of the RSFSR were conducted by V.G. Schneider [52], V.Z. Akopyan and A.A. Magometov [1], E.F. Krinko [17], and A.V. Averyanov [3]. Changes in the ethnic composition of the population of Kuban and the Black Sea region in the 1920s were identified by V.N. Rakachev and Ya.V. Rakacheva [50]. General studies of national districts and village councils were conducted by M.E. Ignatova [13] and I.G. Ivantsov [15]. O.V. Bershadskaya [6], K.V. Romanchenko [51], and M.V. Belozerova [5] give priority attention to the national policy in the Black Sea region, the most multiethnic subregion.

Among foreign works, the monograph by T. Martin [20] is important, in which the concept of the "empire of positive action" in the USSR is substantiated. G. Lieber [19] and J.R. Smith [53] conducted a critical analysis of "indigenization" and assessed the possibilities and obstacles of the Bolshevik Party's course. W. Denninghaus studied the specifics of the policy towards "Western" ethnic minorities on the scale of the USSR [8]. However, systematic studies of the topic based on materials from Kuban and the Black Sea region in the 1920s have not yet been created. The source base of the works is quite narrow.

Methods of the study. The theoretical basis of the study is the constructivist approach and historical-systemic and historical-comparative methods. The use of constructivism makes it possible to show that ethnicity is determined to the greatest extent by self-awareness; identification can be changed by the policy of government bodies in a fairly short period of time. The historical-systemic method involves revealing the relationships and interactions between participants in national policy and between the all-Russian and regional levels of implementing political strategy. The historical-comparative method was used to identify patterns and features of the stages of national policy in Kuban and the Black Sea region, policy towards various ethnic groups, and multi-ethnic localities.

The source basis is the results of the 1920 and 1926 population censuses, materials of current

statistical accounting, directive documents, and reports of the bodies of the Communist Party and local Soviets. Particularly valuable are the resolutions and reports of the national sections of the Agitation and Propaganda Department of the Kuban-Black Sea Regional Committee of the RCP(b), district party committees. The bulk of the documents are stored in the funds of the Documentation Centers of Contemporary History: Krasnodar Territory and Rostov Region, the State Archive of Rostov Region.

Analysis. *Objectives and conditions of national policy in relation to dispersed ethnic minorities.* The national policy of the USSR in the period under study carried out in accordance with the priorities of the "indigenization" strategy – ensuring equality of peoples, creating territorial autonomies, and achieving representation of peoples in government bodies, economic and public organizations. This national policy was adopted at the X Congress of the RCP(b) (March 1921) and was implemented on a full-scale basis on the basis of the resolution of the XII Congress of the RCP(b) "On the National Question" (April 1923) [16, pp. 79-88]. It intended to promote representatives of ethnic minorities to leadership positions, eliminate illiteracy in native languages, and achieve the use of languages in the official sphere. Various forms of territorial and extraterritorial autonomies are used.

The implementation of the national policy of the RCP(b) in the Kuban and the Black Sea region was complicated by a number of circumstances: the negative historical memory of the Adyghe and Karachays about the Caucasian War, the inequality of ethnic groups in land use, and the powerful migration influx of new settlers during the years of the First World War and the Civil War (among them Armenians, Greeks, and Assyrians – refugees from Turkey). Until the autumn of 1924, the rebel movement of the "green cause" continued. The threat of intervention remained, which forced the authorities to be wary of the peoples' connections with foreign countries, especially the facts of dual citizenship and calls for emigration.

According to the All-Russian Census of 1920, among the residents of the Kuban-Black Sea region there were 91% Russians (including 11% Malo-Russians (future Ukrainians) and 1% Belarusians), 3% "highlanders" (before the separation of the Karachay-Cherkess and Adygea-Cherkess Autonomous Regions), 2% Armenians and Greeks, and less than 2% in total – Jews, Germans, and Poles [21, p. 62]. The ethnic structure of the localities varied significantly. The most polyethnic were the Black Sea District and the cities.

The results of the All-Union Population Census of 1926 provide the most reliable data on the ethnic structure (see Table, which contains

Ethnic composition of the population of Armavir, Kuban, Maikop and Black Sea districts according to the All-Union population Census on December 17, 1926 (people)

Ethnic groups	Armavir district	Kuban district	Maykop district	Black Sea district	Kuban – Black Sea Region
Russians	552 176	498 102	212 549	96 169	1 358 996
Ukrainians	305 126	915 450	94 322	103 922	1 418 820
Armenians	19 198	21 023	9 801	27 729	77 751
Belorussians	8 386	8 434	1 600	4 882	23 302
Bulgars	509	545	94	171	1 319
Greeks	464	5 747	1 926	15 134	23 271
Georgians	601	703	246	3 479	5 029
Jews	717	1 965	641	2 358	5 681
Latvians	243	933	100	535	1 811
Moldovans	142	2 543	161	6 158	9 004
Mordvins	311	152	410	208	1 081
Germans	21 856	7 255	962	2 968	33 041
Poles	1 632	2 611	1 131	2 020	7 394
Tatars	1 297	1 729	557	807	4 390
Gypsies	935	1 383	242	106	2 666
Circassians	3 722	490	38	4 228	8 478
Czechs and Slovaks	102	212	65	2 728	3 107
Estonians	1 185	166	89	1 797	3 237
The whole population	927 392	1 489 088	330 135	291 437	3 038 052

Note. Sources: [57–60].

information about the populations of over 1,000 people across the region). Within the four districts into which the Kuban-Black Sea Region was divided in 1924, not counting Karachay-Cherkessia and Adygea, 3,038.0 thousand people lived there.

Russians (now understood to mean only Great Russians) made up 1,359.0 thousand people, including 33.5% of the residents of the Kuban District, 59.5% of the Armavir District, 64.4% of the Maikop District, and 33.0% of the Black Sea District. Ukrainians, whose numbers were unjustifiably inflated by an order of magnitude due to the determination of nationality by origin, made up 1,418.8 thousand people – 61.5% of the population of the Kuban District, 32.9% of the Armavir District, 28.6% of the Maikop District, and 35.7% of the Black Sea District. Armenians numbered 77.8 thousand people, of which 1.41% were residents of the Kuban District, 2.07% of the Armavir District, 2.97% of the Maikop District, and 9.51% of the Black Sea District (especially numerous in the Sochi District). There were 33.0 thousand Germans in the Kuban-Black Sea Region, including 0.49% of the residents of the Kuban District, 2.36% of the Armavir District, 0.29% of the Maikop District, and 1.02% of the Black Sea District. Greeks (23.3 thousand people) made up 0.39% of the population of the Kuban District, 0.05% of the Armavir District, 0.58% of the Maykop District, and 5.19% of the Black Sea District (mainly in Novorossiysk, Gelendzhik, and the Krymsk District). Belarusians (23.3 thousand people) settled in the Kuban District (0.57% of the district's residents), in Armavir (0.9%), in Maykop (0.48%), and in the Black Sea District (1.7%). Moldovans (9.0 thousand people) mainly settled in the Black Sea District (2.11% of the population), as were 8.5 thousand Circassians (1.45% of the Black Sea District's residents), 7.4 thousand Poles (0.69% of the Black Sea District's population), and 5.7 thousand Jews (0.81% of the Black Sea District's residents) [57–60].

Each of the peoples is characterized by a special set of prevailing professions, types of land use, and settlement. It is necessary to take into account the unevenness of urbanization and, therefore, the social and professional structure of the peoples. Thus, among the population of the Kuban District in 1926, city dwellers accounted for 14.2%, and among Russian residents – 22.8%, among Ukrainians – 7.0%, Armenians – 66.8%, Germans – 17.6%, Greeks – 21.2%, Belarusians – 30.1%, Moldovans – 7.3%, Poles – 56.6%, and Jews – 90.7% [58]. Similar ratios of the level of urbanization existed in other studied districts. The situation changed due to migration flows and land reforms. Within nations, class stratification was supplemented by estate stratification (for example, Cossacks among Russians and Ukrainians) and division into old-timers and new settlers. Thus, the numerous refugees from the Ottoman Empire (Armenians, Greeks, and Aysors) were only partially accounted for by statistics. Their economic situation was poor in comparison with the old-timers from among these peoples.

Main stages of the implementation of national policy in Kuban and the Black Sea region. The first measures of the national policy of the RCP(b) in the Kuban-Black Sea region were taken immediately after the re-establishment of Soviet power in the spring of 1920. The period 1920 – spring of 1921 was characterized by rudimentary forms of national policy towards dispersed ethnic minorities, as the Civil War continued in the South of Russia in the form of insurgencies and Wrangel landings. Representatives of the People's Commissariat for Nationalities of the RSFSR began to operate in the region. With the arrival of the Red Army in the city of Novorossiysk, a bureau for Armenian refugees formed, with a communist section attached to it. They held rallies and other types of agitation among refugees from the Ottoman Empire. It was planned to open an Armenian workers' and peasants' club. The competitor, the "Armenian bourgeois-nationalist refugee committee," dissolved following a complaint from the committee section. The report of the Armenian section to the Black Sea Regional Committee of the RCP(b) stated the goal of the activity: "The creation of the Armenian section in Novorossiysk will be of colossal importance for the establishment of Soviet power in the Middle East, including in Armenia" [9, l. 1-2, 16]. The Armenian sector, headed by V.S. Tarakhchyan, was created as part of the Kuban-Black Sea Regional Committee of the RCP(b) [1, p. 83]. It was subordinate to the Department of the Peoples of the East of the regional party committee and, in particular, mobilized communists to be sent to leadership positions in Armenia after the establishment of Soviet power there [62]. In the autumn of 1920, the Cossack and

Mountain sections of the regional executive committee of the Soviets were also formed (the latter gave rise to the regional executive committee of the Adygea-Cherkess Autonomous Region). In May 1921, organizational meetings of the Muslim, Greek, Polish, Hungarian, Estonian, Latvian, and German sections were held at the sub-department of national minorities of the regional committee of the RCP(b). The sub-department was headed by Ya. G. Georgiadi [26; 55]. A similar sub-department, divided into sections, was formed in May 1921 at the Kuban-Black Sea regional executive committee of the Soviets.

The party sections of national minorities faced a shortage of paid qualified employees, a deficit of premises and financing, and inconsistency in the organizational structure. Thus, there were 49 Greek communists in the entire region [26, l. 2 r., 3-4]. On September 7, 1921, a party conference of "national minorities in the Kuban-Black Sea region" convened. Its participants criticized the indifference of local workers and their alienation from the needs of national minorities. The participants in the discussion proposed making the subdepartment of national minorities efficient and entrusting it with the registration and distribution of party workers – "national minorities". The practice of publishing party newspapers in Greek, Adyghe, and Ukrainian approved, as well as introducing permanent columns on the "national question" in the regional newspaper "Krasnoye Znamya" and in local newspapers in Russian [33, l. 1–2 r., 18].

The activities of the sections sharply intensified in the autumn of 1923 in anticipation of the victory of the revolution in Germany. On October 22, 1923, an organizational meeting of the initiative group for the creation of the section of the peoples of the West (later renamed the Polish-German-Czech) was held in Krasnodar. The report was made by K.I. Golodovich, the chairman of the meeting was N. F. Gikalo, and an active participant was an employee of the regional department of the OGPU, Ya.A. Bukhband, who outlined the goal: "we want to create cadres for the West." Golodovich expressed himself similarly: "to organize a section... in connection with the events in Germany and in the West in general." As a result, the Organizational Bureau was formed, headed by Bukhband, who was instructed to form two sections (German and West Slavic) and to establish the registration of national party cadres. Such sections were organized in January 1924, but due to the defeat of the German Revolution, their tasks (political education, the elimination of illiteracy, the creation of national cooperatives and theater troupes) became purely intra-regional [36; 46].

A study of the minutes and reports of the sections of national minorities for 1924 leads to the conclusion about weak, unorganized activity. Instructors and section leaders most often worked for free, had no plans, and had no regular communication with the regional committee of the RCP(b). The turnout of ordinary participants, especially non-party members, at meetings of the Polish, Greek, and German sections remained low. Many communists had a poor knowledge of their native language, which made it difficult for them to influence [14; 48]. The Black Sea District Committee of the RCP(b) admitted in its report for January–February 1924 that, due to staff reductions, there were no longer any paid instructors for work with national minorities. Newspapers and propaganda brochures not published in local languages, a Soviet-Party school not created, and teachers not retrained to teach in minority languages. In the district with a population of almost 300 thousand people, there was only one school for the elimination of illiteracy and one political literacy circle. Of the eight non-Party conferences, only one was held in Armenian. Communication between the district authorities and the local Soviets was poorly established. Partly because of this, the Greeks of the Tuapse and Sochi districts wanted to emigrate, although the main reason was the disorderly land relations and the inflated taxes for the "cultural farms" of tobacco growers and winegrowers [24, l. 50; 25].

In 1924, positive changes were noted in the work of the sections. An international club of minorities was created in the regional center, Krasnodar, with 264 people attending its meetings; 11 clubs were created. A week of education of national minorities was held, and a library and a section of national minorities opened at the trade union of education workers. A questionnaire was developed for members and candidates for membership in the RCP(b) – representatives of national minorities (it asked them to indicate their knowledge of languages, place of work and position, and the possibility of performing new

duties). The Polish section organized courses to study their native language and established a subscription to Polish left-wing newspapers. The Armenian regional section and its branch in Novorossiysk worked energetically, where political literacy courses were established and 40 Armenian loaders joined the party [28; 48, l. 15-21, 24].

The period from 1924 to 1927 was characterized by the fact that the party and state authorities managed to create a unified but flexible organizational network of forms of work with ethnic minorities. Organizational forms and a set of measures in relation to national minorities defined in the resolution of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars of the RSFSR of April 9, 1924. In March 1925, the Presidium of the North Caucasus Regional Executive Committee of Soviets adopted a resolution on the creation of the institute of instructors of the regional executive committee for national minorities. Paid staff positions of instructors were introduced in the organizational department of the regional executive committee – representatives of the most numerous ethnic groups [31; 41, l. 27]. Instructors with such responsibilities were introduced into the apparatus of district and village Soviets, trade unions, the Komsomol, and other public organizations. In May 1925, the North Caucasus regional committee of the RCP(b) approved the Regulation on national sections at district committees of the RCP(b). It proposed to create sections at the agitation and propaganda departments of the party committees of those districts where national minorities lived compactly. The duties and procedures for the activities of instructors of the subdepartment for work with national minorities were formulated [30, l. 6, 46].

The instructions of the regional committee of the RCP(b) emphasized the need to conduct work through educational authorities, the press, trade unions, and non-party meetings [32, l. 31]. Thus, in 1925, non-party conferences of Germans and Greeks are held in the Black Sea District. They rejected the possibility of deporting Greeks and Armenians from the Black Sea coast – the border strip (the Sochi District Committee of the RCP(b), interested in preserving the hard-working refugees from Turkey, also disagreed with the deportation). The Department of Public Education of the District Executive Committee began to finance 26 national schools, and in the Sochi District in 1924, 3 secondary schools based on the languages of the main ethnic groups [40, l. 17; 41, l. 27 r.; 42]. In Novorossiysk, a department of national minorities of the Soviet-Party School formed, the number of its cadets in the 1926/27 academic year was planned to be increased to 100 people [43]. At the beginning of 1927, a council of national minorities organized under the Kuban District Department of Public Education. National departments formed in libraries of minority clubs, reading rooms and literacy centers, corners and circles in trade union clubs. Weekly columns in Ukrainian and Armenian were introduced in the Krasnodar newspaper *Krasnoye Znamya* [29].

The difficulties of policy towards ethnic minorities are assessed in the report of the North Caucasus Regional Executive Committee of Soviets (November 1925). Its signatories, Deputy Chairman of the Regional Executive Committee N.I. Kulikov and Head of the Organizational Department V.A. Bezborodov, noted the uneven cultural and political development of peoples: the almost complete illiteracy of a number of minorities, their lack of understanding of the Russian language and their unpreparedness for school education, and the shortage of trained workers. The authors compared the conditions of the peoples. Thus, Ukrainians, Armenians, and Germans (except for the Armenian refugees in the Maikop District) were relatively richer than others and had more qualified civil servants; Germans and Estonians were "weakly Sovietized" due to their religiosity. The Turkic and Caucasian peoples were considered the least involved in national policy measures [49].

The gradual ousting of opposition-minded public associations from legal forms of activity took place. The teaching and engineering staff were purged of "socially alien elements." All performances and lectures began to be checked by the political education subdepartment and only then permitted. The authorities believed that each nation should have one public organization to represent its interests. Thus, in the city of Novorossiysk, a conflict between two Jewish theater groups was resolved by their directive unification [23, l. 87].

The subdepartments of national minorities of the district committees of the VKP(b) sought to ensure the participation of ethnic groups in the

elections. Reporting meetings and voting conducted in native languages; propaganda literature printed in Ukrainian, Armenian, and Greek; and quotas provided for in city and district Soviets. However, the share of national minorities among Soviet deputies remained insufficient in 1925–1927. Party organs saw a solution in holding pre-election meetings of national minorities and poor groups and involving them in cooperatives [39; 45].

The territorial reform carried out in the North Caucasus region in 1924–1926 had a contradictory effect on the course of national policy. The boundaries of the disaggregated okrugs, and within them – the disticts – were determined by economic and geographical rather than ethnic principles. However, in a number of cases, exceptions were allowed. Thus, Shapsug National District was created as part of the Black Sea District (1924). Initially, its territory covered the areas inhabited by the Adyghe Shapsugs, but due to subsidization, areas inhabited by other peoples added to the district in order to provide access to the sea and highways [4]. On March 10, 1925, the Armenian National District (7 village councils) was created within the Maikop District at the expense of part of the lands of the Khadyzhensky and Goryacheklyuchevsky Districts [10, l. 26]. The location of the creation of the Armenian "small autonomy" was not the area with the largest proportion of Armenians in the population (such as the Adler District, which did not receive national status). The choice of location for the creation of the district was determined by the need to develop tobacco growing. Beyond the period under study, the German (Vannovsky) district near the city of Armavir was formed on February 27, 1928, and the Greek district, with its center in the stanitsa of Krymskaya was created in 1930.

According to the information on national village councils as of January 1, 1926, compiled by the executive secretary of the regional administrative commission Bryukhovetsky, there are 12 councils (7.5%) in the Armavir district, of which 7 are German, 2 each are Circassian and Tatar, and 1 is Estonian; in the Black Sea district there are 21 (28.4%), of which 6 are Armenian, 5 are Shapsug, 4 are Greek, 3 are German, and 1 each is Estonian, Moldovan, and mixed; in the Maikop district there are 7 (10%), all Armenian; and in the Kuban district no national village councils formed. The overwhelming majority (84%) of national village councils were created at the request of local authorities [54, l. 114].

At the same time, a number of territorial reforms were carried out without taking into account the ethnic factor. When the Karachay-Cherkess Autonomous Territory divided in 1926, areas with a predominantly Russian population transferred to the Armavir District without granting them autonomous status. The proposals of the People's Commissariat of Agriculture of the USSR and the Society for Land Management of Jewish Workers to allocate land from the stanitsa Primorsko-Akhtarskaya to the Gelendzhik for colonization were rejected by the regional and regional authorities in August 1925 [47, l. 106]. This occurred on the basis of the regional executive committee's ban on resettlement to the region up to the planned allocation of all local landless residents (only persons who knew how and wanted to engage in agriculture were considered to be such) [12, l. 23; 56, l. 16]. The resettlement did not develop; by the spring of 1928, the Jewish section of the Black Sea District Committee of the VKP(b) planned to settle only 25 families in rural areas [37].

The specificity of land relations during the NEP years was that labor share land use was preserved in unequal amounts. Thus, in the Black Sea District in 1927, well-to-do peasants with agricultural incomes per head over 100 rubles made up 1% of Shapsug households, 4.5% of Armenian households, no more than 7.2% of Greek households, 10% of Georgian households, and 46.0–53.5% of German households. Agricultural cooperation covered the Czechs, Armenians, and Estonians to the greatest extent (50–55% of families), and the Greeks (20%), Georgians, and Moldovans (35%) to the least extent [22, pp. 38-39, 41]. Sharp differences determined by the level of farming practices, placement in favorable or unfavorable areas, and the length of residence (degree of adaptation to local conditions). Among the Greeks and Germans, the majority were foreign citizens or dual nationals. Sentiments in favor of emigration were spreading, especially as the NEP was being curtailed in the spring of 1926. The Bolshevik Party pursued different policies with respect to the "socially close" poor and "socially alien" kulak strata, taking into account

the strong influence of patriarchal-clan relations and religious organizations.

Multinationality and the influx of migrants complicated the problem of land inequality, which caused local conflicts. Thus, in the summer of 1925, Armenian peasants of the Sochi region filed a complaint with the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR, A.I. Rykov, objecting to the transfer of land to other ethnic groups. The conflict was resolved by holding a non-party conference of Armenian peasants and strengthening the composition of party workers who resolved minority issues [47]. Another conflict occurred in the summer of 1927 in the village of Melikhovsky in the Krymsk region between permanent residents and Greek tenants who did not want to move to new, poorly maintained plots of land. The Greek section of the Black Sea District Committee of the VKP(b) proposed increasing lending and involving the poorest layer of Greek refugees in cooperatives [34]. The Kuban District Committee of the VKP(b) proposed introducing representatives of national minorities into the district and local land management commissions and into the district executive committee of the Soviets [33, l. 2]. The Black Sea District Committee of the VKP(b) carried out land reform based on equal allocation of land to Russians and ethnic minorities, and priority lending and machinery was provided to the poorest layers of all peoples [11, l. 2].

The development of classes and schools in native languages was difficult. A survey of schools in the city of Krasnodar by the board for national minorities under the Kuban district committee of the VKP(b) on January 15, 1927, showed "insufficient coverage of children," including due to the unwillingness of parents to provide education in their native language; there was a shortage of premises, teachers, and funding; and a number of teachers (former clergy) were accused of "foreign" origin and "political illiteracy." There was a shortage of agitators in the reading huts. Weak connections noted between instructors working with national minorities and rural party and government bodies [35, l. 14; 38]. The Collegium for National Minorities Affairs at the Kuban District Committee of the VKP(b) noted on November 24, 1927, the unsatisfactory state of the Greek Department of the Pedagogical College (low stipends, poor dormitories). The problem was resolved by regional authorities [44].

According to the report on the work of the subdepartment of national minorities of the Kuban district committee of the VKP(b) for October 1926 – October 1927, there were 7 national sections and 2 authorized representatives; the subdepartment had 11 full-time employees, and 581 communists of these nationalities were registered. A paid position of instructor of the district executive committee was introduced. Similar bodies formed at the district level. 2 political schools were organized in the city of Krasnodar and 18 self-education circles. National minorities' clubs attended by 945 people and circles by 480 people. 2267 representatives of small peoples received education in 57 illiteracy elimination centers. From October 1, 1925, to October 1, 1927, the number of schools in the district increased by 1.5 times, and teachers and students by 2 times. However, the coverage of ethnic minorities by school education remained insufficient: 40% of Germans, 35% of Armenians, and 30% of Greeks [27, l. 1-6].

The curtailment of the NEP manifested itself in the border region in the purge of the state apparatus of "counterrevolutionary elements (especially defectors of various nationalities and foreign nationals)", carried out in November 1926. On November 26, 1926, members of the bureau of the Black Sea District Committee of the VKP(b) resolved to accept political emigrants for work only with the consent of the OGPU bodies, to carry out "the removal of the most harmful elements," and to expel smugglers and currency dealers from the district. Since the district was a border zone, it was henceforth forbidden for foreign nationals and defectors to settle there, and OGPU and police surveillance was strengthened over those already living there. Party cells were ordered to strengthen control over public organizations and clubs of minorities, especially Estonians and Poles [61] (in 1926, foreign nationals constituted 5% of the district's population – significantly more than in neighboring districts) [60].

The start of emergency grain procurements in January 1928 launched the mechanisms for preparing collectivization, which radically changed the priorities of national policy, including in relation to dispersed ethnic minorities. The political and economic consolidation of society and its

ideological cohesion came to the fore [63], as a result of which the course of "indigenization" was gradually discontinued in 1931–1933.

Results. The regional conditions of the national policy of 1921–1927 in relation to dispersed ethnic minorities of the Kuban and the Black Sea region are the border location of ethnic areas, the influence of diasporas on the social activity of ethnic minorities, the increased level of international and interregional migration, the dominance of the rural type of residence and agrarian occupations, and the differences in interethnic interactions in the localities of the region. The specific features of the implementation of the national policy in the Kuban and the Black Sea region consisted in the slow creation of national sections under the Soviets and party committees of the RCP(b) and the conflict between the tendencies of the authorities to rely on the workers as a whole and the low-income strata of the multiethnic society. The strategy of indigenization is implemented in interconnected aspects: personnel policy, elimination of illiteracy, raising the status of the languages of ethnic minorities, and land reform. The Soviet national policy of 1921–1927 in relation to dispersed ethnic minorities implied the creation of local autonomies (cantonization strategy). In Kuban and the Black Sea region, the territorial version of local autonomy applied to Armenians, Greeks, Germans, and Shapsugs. Extraterritorial autonomy implemented with respect to other peoples. National policy with respect to dispersed ethnic groups in Kuban and the Black Sea region changed dynamically.

The following stages of the development of national policy in relation to dispersed ethnic groups in the Kuban and the Black Sea region have been identified. In 1921 – early 1924, the legal and institutional foundations of the policy were established with an extreme shortage of resources for its implementation, and forms and methods were sought. As their general and political education progressed, representatives of dispersed ethnic minorities became involved in the national sections of party organizations. From the spring of 1924 to 1925, the regional and district committees of the RCP(b) carried out the unification of institutions and tasks of national policy, and the first national districts (Shapsug and Armenian) were formed. The administrative and territorial reform of 1924 ensured the creation of autonomous districts. A system for training and promoting party and Soviet personnel – representatives of ethnic minorities – was set. In 1926–1927, these reforms brought positive results in the areas of organizing national village councils, education and printing in the languages of ethnic minorities, and land management. Later, national policy was subordinated to the goals of the collectivization that had begun, which led to the gradual curtailment of "korenizatsiia" and the cessation of the creation of national districts and village councils (since 1931).

The study makes it possible to substantiate the mapping of ethnic areas and national regions of the Kuban-Black Sea region in the historical atlas of the region, which is currently being prepared by the authors for publication.

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