

3rd International Conference
«Research, Innovation and Education» 2016

Zueva L.I., Ibraeva D.M.

TOTALITARIANISM IN WORKS OF THE SOVIET AND FOREIGN RESEARCHERS ON BORDER OF THE XX-XXI CENTURIES

Zueva L.I., Kazakhstan, Ye.A.Buketov Karaganda State
University, candidate of history science, docent;master
Ibraeva D.M., Kazakhstan, Ye.A.Buketov Karaganda
State University, candidate of history science, docent;master

Abstract

In the article investigated questions of becoming and development of soviet and foreign historiography of totalitarianism, political repressions and creation of the punitive system in USSR. Author spares special attention on the selection of the basic stages of becoming and development of historiography, it's description, and systematization and generalization of numerous works in history of totalitarianism with account on actual directions and subjects.

Keywords: repressions, GULAG (State Administration of Reformatory Camps), Karlag (Karaganda Reformatory Camp), stalinism, direction, stage, period, community-service camps

The interest to the problem of totalitarianism for a long time saved in global community, certainly contributes development studying of this phenomenon and may lead the emergence of new concepts and modernization of existing theories. It is important to have internal acquired immune to totalitarianism, the propaganda of national and religious discord for new generations that never knew the horrors of war with nazism and stalinism oppression. Therefore in the early XXI century the great scientific and political relevance has the study of soviet and foreign historiography of totalitarianism, 1930's- 1990-ies and the post-soviet period formed a serious empirical basis of the studying phenomenon of totalitarianism, giving the opportunity to rise to the level of new theoretical generalizations and conclusions.

An important task of modern independent Kazakhstan in the plan of his further development is to complete overcoming of consequences of totalitarianism in all spheres of life and society. As

**3rd International Conference
«Research, Innovation and Education» 2016**

noted the head of our state N. Nazarbayev: «overcoming the psychological consequences of totalitarianism is not just our projection of the future, and this new interpretation of the past» [1, p. 232]. In modern conditions there are numerous publications devoted to the theme of totalitarianism, where the history of Karlag occupies a special place.

The purpose of writing the article about conducting historical research in the soviet and post-soviet periods was need for interim results on the conduct historiographical analysis published at the turn of XX-XXI centuries in works of soviet and foreign researchers, their systematization and allocation of the main stages in the historiography of the problem.

Cognitive strategy the historiography of the soviet and post-soviet periods leads us to the understanding of historiographical truth and ways to achieve it. In general complex object epistemology, it is expressed from the point of view of historiography by the following formula: truth is an objective reflection of the historical knowledge recorded in the work of the historiographer [2, p. 125].

Historiographical corpus on the problem under study can be divided into three main areas of research - the works of soviet scientists, foreign researchers, and historiography of modern Kazakhstan. We will concentrate on the first two.

The first area of research includes soviet historiography, which divides, in our opinion, into three periods of its development: the first from late 20's to early 30's of the XX century, the second from 1956 – 1985, the third from 1985 – 1991. Inside this periodization highlights the following relevant topics: totalitarianism, correctional labour institutions of the USSR, repression and the history of Karlag, stalinism.

The first stage of soviet historiography (late 20's-early 30-ies of XX century) is characterized by the presence of works devoted to the study of correctional labour institutions of USSR. These works appeared in connection with the organization of places of deprivation of liberty and the activities of the Gulag. Based on the principles of the class approach A. Y. Vyshinsky [3], S.V. Pozmyshev [4], E. G. Shirvindt [5], M. M. Isaev [6], A. A. Gartenzaun [7] justified the need for the establishment of the penitentiary system in the Soviet state. Summing up the first experience of the institutions in the fight against crime is reflected in the research of M. S. Pogrebinsky [8], B. S. Utevsky [9].

The second stage of the soviet historiography of science (1956-1985.) is characterized by a criticism of stalinism. In the works of Yu. Polyakov [10], M. V. Nechkina [11], L. V. Tcherepnin [12] stalinism was seen as a perversion of the principles of socialism

**3rd International Conference
«Research, Innovation and Education» 2016**

and a departure from leninism. In this period appeared also the work of I. L. Savinskaya, A. I. Poltorak [13], A. A. Malkov [14] about history of camps system.

In the third stage of development of soviet historiography (1985-1991) expand the source base of research of the problem associated with the democratization of public life in the USSR. The attention of researchers A. D. Volkogonov [15] L. A. Gordon and E. V. Klopov [16], A. I. Shevelev [17] R. A. Medvedev [18] at this time turned to the study of the genesis of stalinism and political repressions. It is separately necessary to note the work of S. I. Kuzmin [19], devoted to the emergence and functioning of the soviet camp system.

Theoretical and methodological basis of historical research of soviet historiography never allowed any deviations from party recommendations and the natural elements of any scientific creativity was viewed as the shortcomings and even the political mistakes of retreat from marxism-leninism.

Today it is especially important to show that the soviet historical science was an organic part of the soviet socio-political system. This circumstance determined many internal processes of historiography and the specifics of the relationship between historiography and other state and public institutions. Due to the high degree of politicization of the soviet historical science the list of questions which historians have approached the past are strictly regulated with party documents and decisions.

Nowadays clearly delineated and implemented several approaches to the analysis and estimates the soviet historiographical tradition. For seventy years soviet historiography have been on the rise according them. Drawing on marxist ideas, it could allegedly able to successfully avoid the crisis faced by the global historical thought in the XIX--XX centuries, has established itself as the most advanced scientific direction and consistently address main theoretical, methodological and historical problems. The experience and achievements of national historiography received the recognition and support of many progressive representatives of foreign historical schools.

However, proponents of this view admit that development has not been delivered at separate stages of the drawbacks. The most significant of them were: the stalinist version of the interpretation of marxism-leninism led to a specific decrease in the level of research, to theoretical confusion, a number of researchers had the theoretical disorientation of a number of researchers; the costs of party leadership in science has resulted in numerous bans; restrictions on

**3rd International Conference
«Research, Innovation and Education» 2016**

work with archival materials, strict regulation of contacts with representatives of foreign historiography.

For another approach inherent recognition for a differentiated approach to soviet historiography. Developed certain options differentiation. For example, negative manifestations in different degrees has affected various branches of historical science, in particular, it is noted that many ills of historical science of soviet period stemmed from the privileged position of party history. In addition, according to the supporters of the aforementioned approach, it is necessary to take into case each account that in historical research distorted, deformed which meets today in strict academic criteria.

Finally, it is possible to allocate more radical approach to assessing the development of soviet historiography, in which the question extended in historiography were answered (and answered if at all) the requirements of scientific character, having in mind not only modern science, but the ideas of the soviet time. Moreover, if in 1985-1986 on the profound internal crisis of the soviet historiography spoke and wrote mostly publicists and intellectuals, in recent years, this position was widespread among professional historians [20].

Thus, it can be argued that soviet historiography in its development has gone from justification of the need of struggle against «enemies of people» and «dissidents» to ascertain the causes of political repression and the conditions of development of the personality cult in USSR.

The second historiographical works we refer to foreign literature about totalitarianism and history of Karlag. These works include both Western European, American, and Russian studies, which were published after the collapse of USSR and formation of independent states. Describing the foreign historiography on this subject we can distinguish two periods in its development: first – 1930-1980-ies., the second - from the beginning of the 1990s – to the present time. Inside those stages we have identified certain periods that cover the time of the «cold war» - 40-50-ies of XX century, 60-90-ies of the XX century and the post-soviet period development of the Republic of Kazakhstan.

In the first stage, before the war, the West began to publish the first evidence of prisoners of the Soviet Gulag S. P. Melgunov [21], S. A. Malsagov [22], N. I. Kiselev-Gromov [23], M. Z. Nikonov-Currant [24]. In 1930th years the most famous work of the Frenchman Jacques Rossi [25].

During the Second World War, the special conditions of wartime, and the USSR's participation in the anti-Hitler coalition

**3rd International Conference
«Research, Innovation and Education» 2016**

determined the weakening in the West of the research interest Gulag issues.

In the period of «cold war» in foreign historiography can be divided into two stages.

The first phase covers the second half of the 1940s and 1950s. With the beginning «cold war» in the United States have intensified research on the problems of totalitarianism and forced labour in USSR, and gained in Western historiography to the end of the 1940s documentary on the soviet system of forced labor, allowed to proceed to the stage of scientific understanding of the problem. The first scientific work on this subject was the book of D. Dallin and B. Nikolaev «Forced labor in Soviet Russia» [26].

The lack of reliable data about almost all aspects of the Gulag is extremely difficult for foreign researchers who study history of the soviet camps, but the number of publications on this subject has steadily increased. The main source of information still were witnesses and participants of events highlighted various ways abroad, as well as the testimony of foreigners who visited USSR in war years. The first research work in the West about the soviet camp system is book «Concentration camps in USSR» of the founder of the Munich Institute for the study of the history and culture of USSR A. B. Yakovlev [27].

In 1950-ies inside of camp topic appeared publications with theme of subjects connected with the resistance in the Gulag in works of P. O. Wingrove [28], P. N. Negretov [29].

Foreign authors used different approaches in the study of totalitarianism in the USSR. Some of them, within the framework developed in the West, the totalitarian concept has concentrated the main attention on the political aspect of the problem, considering the terror and mass repression in the Soviet Union as an integral and important feature of totalitarianism, they believed that the stalinist regime was one of its kind [30-31].

In Western historiography of 1940-1950 includes themes of generalization and systematization characteristic of disparate data about a totalitarian regime, the soviet system of forced labour and its role in the economy of the USSR.

The second phase of the period «cold war» covers the early 1960s - 1991 lower bound time period associated with the rise of the national liberation movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America, and the upper limit, with the collapse of the USSR and creation of independent States. At this time, foreign historians moved from disparate publications to comprehensive studies of totalitarianism and the Gulag history. Among researchers of this period should be noted R. Conquest [32], A. Nekrich [33], D. Brower [34], E. Bacon

**3rd International Conference
«Research, Innovation and Education» 2016**

[35], S. Cohen [36]. However, the narrow source base, lack of access to soviet archives for a long time still led to the emergence of subjective opinions and inaccuracies in the studies.

The study history of forced labor camps, labor and deportation problems of social and ethnic groups of soviet people was considered in the works of M. Maksudov [37], J. Niva [38].

Western and emigre historiography of the Gulag adjoins written in the Soviet Union and first published in Paris in 1973, historical and journalistic research of A. I. Solzhenitsyn's «Archipelago GULAG» [39]. Thanks to the writer, the GULAG entered into history of the XX century as a symbol of mass lawlessness, slave labor, criminal human rights violations, violent strain of Russian society.

Researcher L. Shapiro [40] focused on study of the history of the soviet repressive punitive system, focusing the study on scale of stalinist repression and forced labour system.

The third period from 1991 to the present time is characterized by an increase in number of works related to the study of repression. It happened due to the influence of factors such as the collapse of the Soviet Union and the reassessment of previous events. However, in the study remain the same.

A comprehensive study of the whole system of Gulag held R. Stettner in his book «The GULAG Archipelago» [41].

Western researchers did not limit their task in the study of specific historical subjects related to the functioning of the Soviet or any other concentration camps. In the writings of Hannah Arendt [42], Karl Jaspers [43], Alan Bullock [44], Joel Kotek, Pierre Rigolo [45], Nicolas Werth [46] gave understanding for the nature of the concentration camps, the conditions of their origination and existence. The concentration camp was seen as the highest manifestation of totalitarianism as a product of terror.

Foreign researchers, making sure that declassified in the early 1990-ies archival materials on the history of soviet repressive punitive system are representative and reliable, today make a significant contribution to the historiography is the work A. Graciosi [47], A. Applebaum [48], P. Gregos [49].

More and more attention of researchers attracted the gender aspect of the camp theme. M. Shutter in his work «Women in the Gulag. Everyday life and survival» based on the analysis of numerous interviews and memoirs of former prisoners of the Gulag was able to discover that the camp life of women prisoners [50].

An important trend was integration of research works of Russian and foreign scientists, manifested in the implementation of

**3rd International Conference
«Research, Innovation and Education» 2016**

joint scientific projects of D. A. Getty, G. T. Rittersporn and V. N. Zemskova [51].

Thus, foreign historiography has been considerable progress in the study of various aspects of the penitentiary system in the Soviet state and the activities of camps of prisoners of war and deported people. Unlike soviet researchers foreign authors considering the problems of totalitarianism and the history of the camps, began to consider the generalization of the history of the soviet camp system, based largely on memoir sources, focusing on the development of issues such as the use of forced labour in the soviet economy, the history of the soviet repressive system, the prison population. However, the limited source base and the dominance of ideological foreign researchers to a certain extent, reduce the scientific value of their work.

References:

- [1] Nazarbayev N. A. In the flow of history. - Almaty: Atamura, 1999. -296 p.
- [2] Zevelev I. A. Historical research: methodological aspect. Textbook. a manual for students. of higher educational institutions on special. «History».- - M.: Higher School, 1987. -160 p.
- [3] Vyshinsky, A. Y. Theory of court evidence in Soviet law. M.: The faculty of law. publishing house of people's Commissariat of justice of the USSR, 1941. -219 p.
- [4] Poznyshev S. V. Fundamentals of penitentiary science. M.: The faculty of law. publishing house of people's Commissariat of justice of the USSR, 1923. -342 p.
- [5] Shirvindt E. G. Our correctional-labour legislation. M.: Publishing house Ivanovo the penitentiary, 1925. - 115 p.
- [6] Isaev M. Basics of penal policy. M. - L.: Publishing house of the CSO, 1927. - 195 p.
- [7] Gartenzaun A. A. Fight against crime in the USSR. M.: The faculty of law. publishing house of people's Commissariat of justice of the USSR, 1928. - 310 p.
- [8] Pogrebinsky M. S. Labor commune OGPU/ edited by M. Gorky. // Library Ogonyok No. 454 Moscow: Ogonek, 1929. - 34 p.
- [9] Utevsky B. S. Soviet penitentiary and labour politics. M.: The faculty of law. publishing house of people's Commissariat of justice of the USSR, 1934. - 356 p.
- [10] Polyakov Y. A. The Great turn of history. - M.: Higher School, 1967. - 120 p.
- [11] Nechkina, M. V. Meeting of two generations. Moscow:

**3rd International Conference
«Research, Innovation and Education» 2016**

- Nauka.-1980. - 568 p.
- [12] Cherepnin, L. V. Patriotic historians of XVIII—XX centuries: Collection of articles.- M.: Nauka, 1984. - 344 p.
- [13] Savinskaya L. I., Poltorak A. I. Armed conflict and international law: the main problems. Moscow: Nauka.1970. - 413 p.
- [14] Malkov A. A. Activity of the Bolsheviks among the Russian prisoners of war army: 1915-1919, Kazan: Kazan.University, 1971. - 272 p.
- [15] Volkogonov D. A. Stalin. Political portrait. 1-2 hours. M.: News, 1989. - 432 p.
- [16] Gordon L. A., Klopov E. V. What was it? Reflections on the preconditions and the outcome of what happened to us in the 30-40-ies. M.: Politizdat, 1989. - 355 p.
- [17] Shevelev A. I. the Origins of Stalinism. Lecture for the course «Political history of the XX century». Training manual. M.: Higher school, 1990. - 119 p.
- [18] Medvedev R. A. On Stalin and Stalinism. M.: Nauka, 1990. - 256 p.
- [19] Kuzmin S. I. Bodies and troops of the MIA of Russia: fold. East. essay. M.: Nauka, 1996. - 396 p.
- [20] Afanas'ev, Yu. The phenomenon of Soviet historiography. http://revolution.allbest.ru/history/00317463_1.html (07.01.2016.)
- [21] Melgunov S. P. «Red terror» in Russia. 1918-1923. Berlin, 1924. - 256 p.
- [22] Malsagov, S. A. An island Hell. Soviet prison in the far North. London.: Cambridge University Press, 1926. - 315 p.
- [23] Kiselev-Gromov N. I. The death camps in the USSR. – Shanghai, 1936. - 230 p.
- [24] Nikonov-Smorodin, M. Z. Red drudgery. Sofia.: Notes of Solochyn, 1938. - 325 p.
- [25] Rossi, J. The Gulag Handbook. M.: Politizdat, 1931. - 365 p.
- [26] D. J. Dallin, B. I. Nicolaevsky Forced labor in Soviet Russia. New Haven.: Cambridge University Press, 1947. - 213 p.
- [27] Yakovlev A. B. The Concentration camps of the USSR. London.: Cambridge University Press, 1955. 123 p.
- [28] Wingrove P. O. On the underground organizations in the Soviet concentration camps in 1946 – 1954 // Keep Institute for the study of the USSR. Munich, 1957. - 256p.
- [29] Negretov P. N. All roads lead to Vorkuta. Benson Vermont, 1985. - 120 c.
- [30] Fainsod M. How Russia is Ruled. Cambridge University

**3rd International Conference
«Research, Innovation and Education» 2016**

- Press, 1953.-235 p
- [31]Freidrich K., Bzezinski Z. Totalitarian and autocracy. Cambridge University Press, 1955.- 235 p.
- [32]Conquest R. Soviet deportations nationalities. New York, 1960.- 230 p.
- [33]A. Nekrich. Punished people. New York, 1978.-262 p.
- [34]Brower D. Stalinism and the View from Below // The Russian Review. 1987. Vol. 46. - 456 p.
- [35]Bacon Ed. The GULAG at War: Stalin's Forced Labor System in the Light of the Archives. London, 1984. - 368 p.
- [36]Cohen S. Bolshevism and stalinism. M.: Nauka, 1989. - 574 p.
- [37]Maksudov. M. Loosen population in USSR in 1918-1958/ USSR: inside contradictions. Pub. 11. New York. 1984. P. 156-242
- [38]Niva J. Man and Gulag / USSR: inside contradictions. V. 16. New York. 1986. P. 175-224
- [39]Solzhnitsyn A. I. Archipelago GULAG. 1918 – 1956. M.: Nauka, 1989. - 365 p.
- [40]Schapiro L. From Lenin to Stalin. A History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Cambridge University Press, 1964. - 254 p.
- [41]Stettner R. «Archipel GULAG»: Stalins Zwangslager – Terrorinstrument und Wirtschaftsgigant; Entstehung, Organisation und Funktion des sowjetischen Lagersystems 1928-1956. Paderborn; München; Wien; Zürich, 1996. - 352 p.
- [42]Arendt H. Source of totalitarianism. M.: Nauka, 1996. 672 p.
- [43]Jaspers K. Sense and purpose of history. M.: Nauka, 1994. - 321 p.
- [44]Bullock A. Hitler and Stalin: life and power: comparing life writing in 2 volumes. Smolensk: Dom Knigi, 1994. - 354 p.
- [45]Koteka J., Rigolo P. Century of camps: depriving freedom, concentration, destroying: one hundred year of crime. M.: Nauka, 2003. - 315 p.
- [46]Werth N. Black book of communism. Crime, terror, repressions. M.: Politisdat, 2001. - 354 p.
- [47]Graciosi A. Great peasant war in USSR. Bolsheviks and peasants. 1917-1933. M.: Nauka, 2001. - 354 p.
- [48]Applebaum A. GULAG. A history of the soviet camps. Penguin Books, 2004. - 231 p.
- [49]Gregos II. Political economy of socialism. M.: Nauka, 2006. - 312 p.
- [50]Stark M. Frauen in Gulag: Alltag und Überleben, 1936 bis

**3rd International Conference
«Research, Innovation and Education» 2016**

1956. Munchen, 2003. - 315 p.

- [51] Getty J.A., Rittersporn G.T., Zemskov V.N. Victims of the Soviet Penal System in the Pre-war Years: A First Approach on the Basis of Archival Evidence //American Historical Review, 1993. - 1049 p.