



Use of Correctional and Labour Measures on the Inmates of The Solovetsky Camp in the 1920s and 1930s

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Abstract: The main aim of the research behind this article is to analyze changes in essence of Soviet labour policy in the 20s and 30s of the 20th century and show the weakness of democratic law under a totalitarian regime. Solovetsky Camp of Special Destination and its inmates are the subjects of investigation in this article. Analysis of legal acts and literature of the 1920s shows the correctional focus of the first labour camps. This fact is confirmed by the number of correctional institutions and by cultural and educational work. Solovetsky camp was the first “corrective labor” institution in the USSR, founded in 1923. However, further reform of the penal system radically reorganized penitentiary institutions and aimed them at solving economic problems. The result was countrywide dissemination of forced labour camps like the Solovki.

For many years the Solovki was the largest camp in the Soviet Union, where the methods of using forced labor on large masses of prisoners were worked out. Solovki became the main structure in the penal system of the state along with the other concentration camps. But price of economic achievements were not commensurate with the number of lost humans lives. The history of Solovetsky camp reflects main events in the country, while the period of Solovetsky camp is separate stage of the development of the penitentiary system in Russia.





Keywords: Solovetsky Camp of Special Destination (Soviet Union), penitentiary system, human rights, northern forced labour camps, correctional measures, educational work, social and economic aims.



1. Introduction

At the present time the penitentiary system of the Russian Federation is being reformed. One of the targets of this process is to change the approach to problems of correction of inmates and their future socialization. Modern challenges in the functioning of penitentiary institutions have deep historical roots, and their solution requires a reference to international practice, as well as to past experience of their own country.

Island Small Muksalma, Solovki, 2011. Here was one of the branches of the Solovetsky camp. **Photo:** D. Tolokontseva

Research is needed by the fact that imprisonment as a form of punishment is currently the most applicable in many countries, including Russia, and is connected with the most significant limitation of the constitutional, civil and other rights of convicts. On the basis of Article 74 (paragraphs 1 and 2) of the Criminal Executive Code of Russian Federation,¹ correctional institutions are correctional colonies, juvenile correctional colonies, prisons, and medical correctional institutions. Correctional colonies are divided into settlement colonies and penal colonies of common, strict and special mode. A correctional colony in Russia is a correctional settlement used to exile prisoners and separate them in a remote location. Historically colonies have often been used for penal labour. According to the director of the Federal Penitentiary Service Alexander Reimer, there are more than 750 000 prisoners (1729 persons serve sentence for life) in Russian prisons and colonies today. At the same time there are 755 penal colonies, 160 settlement colonies, 5 colonies for persons sentenced to life imprisonment and 7 prisons.²

The first phase of the reform has already begun (from 2009 to 2012) and includes changes in legislation, introduction of alternative sanctions and administrative su-

1. Uголовно-исполнительный кодекс Росси́йской Федера́ции 08.01.1997 №1-FZ / Criminal Executive Code of Russian Federation [<http://www.consultant.ru/popular/uikrf/>], accessed March 31, 2012.
2. Reforma penitentsiarnoy sistemy Rossii: a novy li "innovatsii"?: analiticheskaya stat'ya / Penal reform in Russia: are "innovations" new?: analytical paper. [<http://prisonlife.ru/analitika/1132-reforma-penitentsiarnoj-sistemy-rossii-a-novy-li.html>], accessed March 31, 2012.





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pervision to the law practice. The second phase will be the period from 2013 to 2016. During this time many penal colonies will be transformed into prisons on the European model while establishing new colonies and settlements, and there are plans to create social centers for post-penitentiary adaptation. The final stage (year 2017–2020) will be summarizing and planning for further development of the penitentiary system.³

One of the first results of the reform is implementation of the principle of separation between repeat offenders and first time offenders.

Co-Chair of the human rights organization “For the rights of prisoner”, Gennady Chernavsky,⁴ encouraged reformers to create social councils for making the system of Russian penitentiary institutions more open. The closed penitentiary system had become the historical legacy of the Soviet past, but the Soviet penal policy also introduced a positive experience, which can be used in modern time. For example, the Corrective Labour Code of the RSFSR in 1924 already provided for separation between repeat offenders and first time offenders. Review of the practical experience also gives rise to disputes and interesting conclusions. The period of 1920s and 1930s is used in this work to analyze the changes in the essence of Soviet labour policy based on the example of Solovetsky camp.

The background of the Gulag in the early years of the Soviet State is associated with the functioning of concentration camps and thereafter forced labour camps, the Solovetsky camp having a special place among them. This means, firstly, that the Soviet camp system was created by the model of the Solovetsky camp, and secondly, that a number of new labour camps have been formed on the basis of its units.⁵

The period under review is an interesting object of study because the formation and determination of the main directions of development of the Soviet penal system happened at this stage. It is characterized by the transition from a decentralized to a centralized system of detention facilities management, searching for new organizational forms of penal institutions, emergence of overlapping institutions in the penal system, and conflicting views on the correctional role of labour.

The first steps of Soviet authority in the area of penal policy and practice were controversial. Their content is largely determined by the lack of scientific basis,

3. Principy ugovolno-ispolnitelnoy sistemy Rossii ustarely i nuzhdautsya v peresmotre: analiticheskaya statya / The principles of the penal system in Russia are outdated and need revision: analytic paper. [<http://prisonlife.ru/analitika/1110-principy-ugolovno-ispolnitelnoj-sistemy-rossii.html>], accessed March 31, 2012.
4. Reforma penitentsiarnoi sistemy Rossii: a novy li “innovatsii”? : analiticheskaya stat'ya / Penal reform in Russia: are “innovations” new?: analytic paper. *Supra* note 2.
5. Upadyshev, Nikolay Gulag na Evropeyskom Severe Rossii: genezis, funktsionirovanie i raspad (1929–1960) / *Gulag in the European North of Russia: genesis, functioning and decay (1929–1960)*: monograph. Pomor State University, Archangelsk. 2007, p.324.





material and human resources, and by economic ruin and violent class struggle. After the October Revolution of 1917 the Soviet government received from its predecessors a heavy legacy of detention colonies, especially in terms of material and living conditions of prisoners. In turn, Bolsheviks had attained power and wanted to determine the political line with regard to different categories of persons who provide resistance to the new government. Therefore the prison system at that time was retained without serious changes.

An important feature of this period is that the activity of penal institutions was governed only by departmental regulations, most of which were stamped “secret” and “top secret.” During this period, there was no public prosecutor’s supervision over the activities of these institutions. Reporting of The People’s Commissariat for Internal Affairs (NKVD) was closed. All of this prevented the study and analysis of correctional labour work. Since the second half of the 1930s research in law schools, teaching a course of corrective labour law, and training specialists for corrective labour institutions had been stopped.⁶

2. Solovetsky Camp of Special Destination and its Departments

The first labour camps were called “the North” because of their location. The North region was attractive because of its remoteness and undeveloped resources, and the labour camps also played a significant role in the socio-economic development of the region and the whole country.

In 1923 the Solovetsky camp of Special Destination (known as Solovetsky lager osobogo naznachenia – SLON) was opened. It may be considered as the “mother of the Gulag” according to Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn,⁷ in that part of his famous novel “Archipelago Gulag” which refers to the terrible statistics of spread of Solovetsky camp from Solovki



Solovetsky monastery, 2011.
Photo: D Tolokontseva

6. Artamonov, Victor *Nauka sovetskogo trudovogo prava*. Publisher: Moskva. 1974. p.85 / *Science of soviet labor law*.
7. Solzhenitsyn Aleksandr. *Archipelago GULAG*. YMCA-PRESS Paris 1973 [<http://www.osaarchivum.org/gulag/b.htm>], accessed March 31, 2012.





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throughout Russia. If in 1923 there were no more than 3,000 inmates, by the 1930s about 50,000 people were detained in Solovetsky and also 30,000 in Kemi.⁸

More than 1 million people were inmates of Solovetsky camp and of its other departments on the continent (the territory from St. Petersburg to Norilsk).⁹

In the specified period correction of inmates was assumed to be achieved through labour, by ideological, moral, legal, aesthetic and physical development of the person. The penitentiary law fixed the main means to improve the inmates by labour, control, correctional work, education and social activities.

In the practice of Soviet penitentiary institutions two stages are clearly observed. During the first stage (1920s to early 1930s) new forms, methods, ways and means of influence on inmates' personality were investigated. The main focus was on labour and correctional education of inmates.

However, during the second stage (early 1930s to early 1950s) correctional education was excluded from the penitentiary system because it did not correspond with the objectives of the state in the pre-war years, during World War II and the post-war reconstruction of the economy.

3. Use of Labour and Educational Measures to Correct Inmates.

The main objectives and principles of a penitentiary system began to form already at the stage of inception of the Soviet state, and is reflected in department documents, such as Temporary instruction of People's Commissariat of Justice on July 23rd 1918¹⁰ and Program of the eighth congress of the Communist Party in March 1919.¹¹ The Instruction provided for mandatory involvement of prisoners in physical labour and penalties for violators of the order (those who refused to work, etc). Self-sufficiency and correction of prisoners had been named among the basic principles of punishment.

8. Solzhenitsyn Aleksandr. *Archipelago GULAG*, [http://www.solovki.ca/maps_04/map_solovki_camp.php], accessed March 31, 2012.
9. *The Solovki Encyclopedia* (English). [<http://www.solovki.ca/english/camp.php>], accessed March 31, 2012.
10. Vremennaya instruktsiya Komissariata Yustitsii 23.07.1918 "O lishenii svobody kak mere nakazaniya i poryadke otbyvaniya takovogo" in *Sobranie zakoneniyy(53) 1918*, p.598. / Temporary instruction of Commissariat of Justice on July 23rd 1918 "The deprivation of liberty as a punishment, and order of serving."
11. KPSS v rezolutsiyakh i resheniyah s'ezdov, konferentsiy i plenumov Tsentralnogo komiteta / The CPSU in Resolutions and Decisions of Congresses, Conferences and Central Committee plenums. Vol. 2, 1970, pp.47–48.





According to these documents, imprisonment was replaced by compulsory labour and prisons were replaced by correctional institutions. The emphasis was on strengthening the correctional side of punishment, use of probation, and use of public censure and comrades' courts for certain categories of citizens. In a legal sense an offender on probation is ordered to follow certain conditions set forth by the court, often under supervision. Comrades' courts was a mechanism of "comrades' correcting of person by society" in the Soviet Union. They had the right to apply to violators any of the following measures: requiring public apology, declaring comradely warning, public censure or public reprimand, imposing a fine of up to 50 rubles, etc. If the comrades' court came to the conviction of the need to bring the offender to criminal or administrative responsibility, it made the decision to transfer the materials to the authorities.¹² But these principles could hardly be realized in the former prison buildings which had to operate not only as a place of punishment, but also serve the purpose of rehabilitation and correction of convicted persons. The Civil War was another reason why these ideas could not be realized in practice. Emergency wartime conditions led to a special system of detention, including concentration camps, forced labour camps and arbitrary executions.

The first mention of these camps occurred in the Resolution of the Council of People's Commissars of the RSFSR on September 5th 1918: "it is necessary to protect the Soviet Republic from class enemies by isolating them in concentration camps."¹³ Following this, the resolution of the Central Executive Committee May 17th 1919 "About the forced labour camps"¹⁴ legalized the status of the camps. The appearance of the camps is also connected with the desire of the Soviet authority to abandon the traditional prison of Imperial Russia – "the prison."

Legal basis for the execution of criminal penalties of imprisonment was included in the decision of People's Commissariat of Justice of November 15th 1920, published as the Regulations on the common prison of the RSFSR.¹⁵ It details the application of regulated community service, correctional and cultural education,

12. Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia (Russian) [[http://ru.wikipedia.org/wiki/Товарищеский суд](http://ru.wikipedia.org/wiki/Товарищеский_суд)], accessed March 31, 2012.
13. Postanovlenie SNK RSFSR 05.09.1918 "O krasnom terrore" in *Sobranie zakoneniyy(65) 1919*, p.710. / Resolution of the Council of People's Commissars of the RSFSR on September 5, 1918.
14. Postanovlenie VTSIK 17.05.1919 "O lageriyakh prinuditelnykh rabot" in *Sobranie zakoneniyy (20) 1919*, p.235. / Resolution of the Central Executive Committee May 17, 1919 "About the forced labour camps."
15. Postanovlenie Narodnogo Komissariata Yustitsii 15.11.1920 "Polozhenie ob obcshikh mestakh zaklucheniya RSFSR" in *Sobranie zakoneniyy (23–24) 1921*, p.141. / Regulations on the common prison of the RSFSR.





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food, treatment and other elements of inmates' life, and determined the legal status of the prisons administration. The second section was entirely devoted to the control of detention: prisoners were granted certain rights; for example, they were allowed to keep books, writing materials, and photographs in the cells. Also they had the right to receive visits, to dispose of part of their wages, etc.¹⁶

Solovetsky Camp of special Destination was established on October 13th 1923 by the decree of the Council of People's Commissars.¹⁷ According to the decree, the camp was intended to "isolate especially dangerous state criminals, both criminal and political, acts of which have done or may do significant harm to peace and the integrity of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics."

But "Special Destination" meant that people were sent to the Solovetsky Islands not only for committing crimes. Inmates were often "social aliens" – these people threatened the "red regime" only by the fact of their existence. Most inmates were sent to Solovki without any court decisions.

A state model was established in Solovki, with division into classes, capital, Kremlin, army, navy, courts, prison and material resources, which were inherited from the monastery. Local currency, newspapers and magazines were also established in the camp. At the initial stage the inmates of Solovetsky camp could elect the head of the camp, use personal property, write newspapers and magazines, and meet with close relatives. Political prisoners were able to create party factions and discuss policy issues, the camp regime, life and leisure. The working day was 8 hours and free movement within the camp was allowed during the day.¹⁸

The camp opened a theatre, museum and nursery-garden, in which experiments were conducted on the domestication of the eider and ranching fur-bearing animals. The large number of writers and journalists among inmates helped to establish regular recurrent publications.

16. Shlykov Vladimir "Evolutsiya penitentsiarnogo proizvodstva v Rossii." in *Istoria gosudarstva i prava* (21) 2008. pp.25–26. / The evolution of penitentiary process in Russia.
17. Gulag (Glavnoe Upravlenie lagereiy) 1917-1960. Glavnyiy redaktor AleksandrYakovlev. Moskva. Mezhdunarodniy fond "Demokratia" Publisher / Gulag(General Directorate of Camps) 1917-1960. Aleksandr Yakovlev (ed.),Moscow.International Found"Democracy." [<http://www.alexanderyakovlev.org/>], accessed March 31, 2012.
18. MorukovYury "Solovetsky lager' osobogo naznachenia (1923–1933)," in *Almanakh Solovetskoe more* (3) 2004 pages / Solovetsky camp of Special Destination (1923–1933).





4. Compulsory Labour as a Measure to Correct Inmates

Analysis of legislation and literature of the 1920s shows that the reform of correctional labour law radically changed the foundations of cultural and educational work in prisons. The aim was to explain to prisoners the basic tasks of the state in the fields of economic development, internal and external policy.

Thus, the Criminal Code of the RSFSR 1922 had a great theoretical and practical importance. Correction and rehabilitation of prisoners were fixed as the main purpose of the punishment.

It should be mentioned that the reform came into its main phase after the approval of the Correctional labour code in 1924.¹⁹ This document stated the objectives and methods of penitentiary policy during the new stage of historical development. Execution of sentences was connected with the use of corrective labour.

The code declared that imprisonment “must be appropriate and should not cause physical suffering or humiliation of human dignity” (Article 6).

Detention facilities were classified into three groups (Article 46):

I. Institutions for the application of social security with correctional nature:

- 1) detention houses;
- 2) forced labour houses;
- 3) labour colonies – agricultural, handicraft and factory;

Forced labour at home and in colonies was for offenders from the number of “working people” and had a lighter mode.

- 4) insulators for special purposes;

This mode was more severe, as it was intended for detention with strict isolation of persons who did not belong to the “working class”, were recognized as particularly dangerous, or transferred by order of disciplinary sanction from other places of detention.

- 5) transition forced labour houses.

These established a semi-free mode and kept prisoners who had served some time in other places and were able to work. Free movement within the institution and disposal of money was allowed. The prisoners were allowed short-term absences from the evening before the day of rest until the next morning, as well as some holidays.

19. Gulag (Glavnoe Upravlenie lagerey) 1917–1960, *supra* note 17.





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II. Institutions for the application of social protection of a medical and teaching nature:

- 1) labour houses for juvenile offenders from the worker and peasant youth;

III. Institutions for the application of social protection of a medical character:

- 1) colonies for the mentally unbalanced, tuberculosis sufferers and other ill prisoners;
- 2) institutions of psychiatric expertise.

The code mentioned (Article 4) that the impact of correctional labour will be conducted by the further improvement and development of a network of labour colonies and transition forced labour houses. It proclaimed a movement from prison to correctional institutions. Moreover, all places of detention should make up a unified system of corrective labour institutions with different types of treatment (Article 6). Mode of operation, labour, cultural and educational work among the prisoners were thoroughly regulated.

Supervisory Commissions were established for each place of detention and controlled the course of punishment. These included the chief of the place of detention, a judge and a representative of the national offices of trade unions (Articles 19–22).

The code allowed public organizations to participate in the labour practices through the supervisory commissions (Articles 13–22). These commissions were created at the regional inspections in places of detention. They solved the problems of early release. Supervisory commissions had to monitor the actions of the administration in places of detention. Various specialists and members of the public were widely involved in the work (Articles 13–18).

Labour was compulsory for all prisoners capable of it (Article 52) and was intended to prepare a prisoner for life in society. Prison labour was paid, two days of special diligence at work was equal to three days in prison. The code also introduced a progressive system of punishment by imprisonment, which provided changes to prison conditions based on the prisoners' distribution into classes with different legal status, according to the results of their corrective labour action (Articles 100–107). The purpose was to motivate the labor of prisoners.

Cultural and educational work with prisoners required appropriate equipment and facilities. The objectives of this study were to raise the intellectual and civil level of prisoners' development by reporting them the educational and professional knowledge, and introducing the basics of the Soviet system, rights and duties of a citizen.

Correctional education of prisoners was proposed as a main object in the code. Organization of prisoners control at Solovetsky camp was a testament of practical





implementation of certain provisions from the code. Correctional education at the camp was expressed by lectures and by scientific, literary, artistic, musical, sports and other societies. At the end of 1924 an amateur theatre – Khlam (the trash) was established. The title is an abbreviation of the participants' occupation: artists (h), writers (l), actors (a) and musicians (m). Prisoners were able to publish their own journal and newspaper. However, torture and abuse were the basic methods of “correction” of inmates. Cultural and educational work was intended only to give a positive appearance of the camp prison. In winter, prisoners brought water from one ice-hole to another, in summer they moved logs from place to place. Punishments were also cruel and sadistic. In winter, prisoners were showered with cold water outside, lowered into an ice-hole, or placed in a cold cell in only their underwear. In summer, naked prisoners were tied to a tree and left for the night with mosquitoes, killing them slowly.

Considering the abovementioned situation it can be concluded that in other circumstances the code could help to create real reform of the soviet penitentiary system. However, in practice, its provisions were only declarative. In particular, it facilitated creation and strengthening of the “corrective labour” camps.

5. Forced Labour as a Factor of Social and Economic Development

The Resolution of the Central Executive Committee of USSR on April 7, 1930 approved “Regulations on labor camps”,²⁰ which contained a number of fairly liberal regulations:

Three modes are envisaged in labour camps: initial, light, and privileged. In particular, prisoners who were kept in light and privileged modes could be involved in work in various institutions and enterprises. They could live in dormitories, had the right to go outside the camp, and even to hold positions in the camp administration. Prisoners of the initial mode were contained in special chambers, had no right to leave them, and were confined to the general work within the camp. Meetings were resolved not only with close relatives, but also with friends, no more than two times a year and not earlier than three months from the date of arrival of the prisoner in the camp. But at the same time, mainly in departmental documents “enemies of the people” were denied many of the rights which were given “all prisoners.”

20. Postanovlenie SNK SSSR 07.04.1930 “Polozhenie ob ispravitelno-trudovykh lageryakh” in Sobranie zakonodatelstva SSSR. (22) 1930, p.686. / Resolution of the Central Executive Committee of USSR April 7th 1930 “Regulations on labor camps.”





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The main objective of forced labour camps proclaimed protection of society from dangerous offenders, particularly social isolation (Article 1), combined with a socially useful work, and their adaptation to the conditions of the labour hostels. Persons convicted by a court to imprisonment for a term not less than 3 years were sent to labour camps. The prisoners were divided into three categories:

- 1) workers (workers, peasants and servants), who had voting rights, condemned for the first time for a period not exceeding five years for counterrevolutionary crimes;
- 2) the same, but were sentenced to a term exceeding five years;
- 3) incapable inmates and convicts of counterrevolutionary crimes (meaning primarily from the former propertied classes.). Prisoners of the third category could not hold their administrative office in the camp, and were subjected to other forms of discrimination. As the prisoners received food depending on the productivity of their labour, then by definition of the camps administration their rations were meager.

The early 1930s were marked by the construction of major economic projects such as the White Sea-Baltic Canal,²¹ the Baikal-Amur railway, the Moscow-Volga canal and others.²² This was the reason to involve the workforce and material resources. As a result the need of new forms and methods of educational influence on the prisoners arose. These forms and methods ensured the effective implementation of economic aims. Thus, the practice of “educational labor” had only one result: Some of the prisoners became disabled from overwork or died and were immediately replaced by others.

The camps became integral parts of the economic system, and their main task was increasingly to solve the national economic problems. Forced labour camps set up in areas of development for the construction of canals, roads, industrial facilities, mining, and logging by prisoners.

6. The Spread and Decay of Solovetsky Camp of Special Destination

Changing the nature of the labour policy in the Soviet Union led to the spread throughout the country of the new type of prison – the labour camp. Solovetsky

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21. Makurov, V. “Belomoro-Baltiyskiy Kanal v Karelii 1933–1941,” in *Arcticheskaya entsiklopediya*. Petrozavodsk, publisher 1994. [<http://arcticportal.ru/index.php>], accessed March 31, 2012 / White Sea-Baltic Canal in Karelia 1933–1941.
 22. Upadyshev, *supra* note 5, p.324.





Camp of special Destination was the only one until 1929 and became the foundation for building new camps.²³

The system of labour camps guaranteed the solution of numerous economic problems, while reducing the cost of the actual holding of prisoners and penal policy. Summarizing the existing research approaches, the following main features of this model were:²⁴

- detention became part of the economic system;
- three basic functions were distinguished: punitive, economic and correctional;
- the main aim was the solution of economic tasks;
- the use of forced labour of inmates was required;
- correctional education was based on inmates' involvement in the workflow;
- graded ration, socialist competition, and Stakhanov's day (Alexei Stakhanov was a Soviet coal miner who devised a method ("Stakhanovism") for speeding up the toil of Russian workers) were used to stimulate labour. Socialist competition or socialist emulation was a form of competition between state enterprises and between individuals practiced in the Soviet Union and in other Eastern bloc states;²⁵
- self-will and violence were used against violators of the camp security and those who objected to work; and
- the creation and distribution of camp subculture, especially criminal slang.

Camp population and industrial activity grew rapidly. As a result, the situation of Solovki inmates worsened, the number of sick and disabled increased. Hard work led to an increase in diseases and in the number of disabled persons among the inmates. Even better food in the Arctic region²⁶ and the possibility of using private money did not stop the morbidity and mortality.

Decrees of Politburo and the Council of People's Commissars 1929–1930s led to the toughening of penitentiary policy, but at the same time had a significant impact on other spheres of public life. These decisions predetermined the subsequent development of the Soviet prison system, which was based on the Gulag and

23. Upadyshev Nikolay "Ot Solovkov k Gulagu: zarozhdenie Sovetskoiy lagernoiy sistemy," in *Otechestvennaya istoriya*. (6) 2006, p.90. / From Solovki to the Gulag: emergence of the Soviet camp system.

24. Ibid. Selezneva Irina *Vospitatelnaya sistema v mestakh lisheniya svobody v sovetskom gosudarstve: organizatsiya i pravovoe regulirovanie (1917–1956)*. Thesis of Candidate of Sciences in Law: Foundation of the Arkhangelsk Regional Scientific Library named after Vladimir Dobrolyubov, p.164. / Soviet prisons' educational system: the organization and regulation (1917–1956).

25. Wikipedia, [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Socialist_competition], accessed March 31, 2012.

26. Morukov, *supra* note 21.





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the use of forced prison labour. As a result, forced labour is increasingly viewed not only as a means of educational work, but also as the most important factor of social and economic development of the state.

Later there was the restriction of correctional education. The international situation after the mid-1930s and the fight against the “internal enemies” required to solve economic problems. Massive repression and toughening of prison conditions led to the cessation of all educational work.

7. Conclusion

Solovetsky camp, which established many of the features of the Gulag system, was finally disbanded in December 1933.²⁷ From November 1933 one of the departments of White Sea-Baltic camp and after 1937 Solovetsky Prison were located on Solovki. The inmates, administration and property were transferred to White Sea-Baltic camp (many of the camps have been eliminated or transferred to the continent). The experience of Solovetsky camp led to the decision to create a system of labour camps as the main type of penitentiary institutes.

It is necessary to agree with the opinion of Nikolay Upadyshev:²⁸ nowadays in the minds of many people, the Gulag is associated with the Soviet repressive system and is perceived as a symbol of Stalinist tyranny and lawlessness, but also history teaches us useful lessons and helps to find the correct way of democratization of Russian society.

In the history of the Gulag, the European North of Russia occupies a unique place because it is the area of origin of the camps, as well as a place where Gulag formation of various types have played a significant role in the socio-economic development of the region.

Coercive methods were the basis of the economy of that time, making this system not effective. Gulag economy was able to solve problems of extensive development, but could not adapt to new economic conditions, which required an intensification of production. In many ways, this was caused the crisis and the collapse of the Gulag.

27. Yakovlev, Aleksandr. Solovetsky lager' osobogo naznachenia: Documenty Central'nogo Arkhiva Federalnoy Sluzhby Bezopasnosti Rossii i Gosudarstvennogo arkhiva socialnykh dvizheniy i grup Arkhangel'skoiy oblasti. / “Solovetsky camp of special destination: Documents of the Central archive of the Federal Security Service of Russia and State archive of social movements and groups of Arkhangel'sk Region. [<http://www.alexanderyakovlev.org/almanah/inside/almanah-intro/1000545>], accessed March 31, 2012.

28. Upadyshev, *supra* note 23, 90.





The period of Solovetsky camp is a separate stage of development of the penitentiary system in Russia and played an important role in the economic and socio-cultural development of the European North region.

Использование принудительного труда и карательных мер исправительного воздействия в Соловецком лагере (20–30-е гг. XX века)

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Резюме

Современные проблемы функционирования исправительных учреждений имеют глубокие исторические корни, а их решение требует обращения к международной практике, а также к опыту прошлого собственной страны. Целью данного исследования является анализ изменения сущности советской исправительно-трудовой политики в 20–30-х годах XX века на примере Соловецкого лагеря особого назначения.

В первой половине рассматриваемого периода цели исправления осужденных предполагалось достигать посредством идеологического, нравственного, правового, трудового, эстетического и физического развития личности. В исправительно-трудовом законодательстве закреплялись основные средства исправления осужденных: труд, режим, воспитательная работа, общеобразовательное и профессиональное обучение, общественная активность правонарушителей. Далее происходит изменение сущности исправительной политики государства, вызванное необходимостью решения экономических задач, что и привело к созданию новых исправительно-трудовых лагерей в отдаленных регионах страны “по типу Соловецкого”. На примере Соловецкого лагеря статья рассматривает этапы исправительно-трудовой политики и системы.

