CLIMATIC DEVIATIONS AS A FACTOR OF SOCIAL DISRUPTION (ON THE EXAMPLE OF THE KRASNOYARSK TERRITORY IN THE 1940S)*

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Abstract: *Significant deviations of climatic conditions in Siberia in the middle of the 20th century caused serious social disruption in the region. Analysis of the influence of weather phenomena of the 1940s on the socio-economic changes in the country as exemplified by the Krasnoyarsk Territory as the geographical centre of Russia, revealed a number of significant consequences. An indicator of climatic calamities of 1945-1947, primarily droughts and early frosts, was social disasters, expressed in the spread of hunger, dystrophy, deterioration in the state of health of the population, an increase in the number of children in orphanages, and activation of the deviant behaviour of some residents. The socio-economic consequences of climatic deviations resulted in the recognition of the necessity for accelerated development of agricultural engineering by the authorities, including the use of agricultural science, the use of mineral fertilizers, the spread of new crops to minimize the negative impact of weather deviations on social life in the future. The practical significance of the empirical and analytical material of the paper may lie in its use for writing synthetical works on the effects of climate on social processes, teaching general and special courses in universities, and application in managerial practice to avoid mistakes of predecessors.*

Keywords: conversion, frost, hunger, peasantry, Siberia, Krasnoyarsk Territory.

The issue of social consequences of climatic deviations is being brought to the foreground in connection with the progressive acceleration of the accumulation of weather deviations around the world. The matters of influence of meteorological conditions on socio-economic changes in Russia have recently found certain coverage, both in populist and scientific literature[1,2]. Whereas the influence of climatic cataclysms of the pre-revolutionary period and their consequences are described as phenomena unaffiliated with power, the consequences of the cataclysms of the Soviet period are associated with malicious acts of the Bolsheviks. Some researchers constantly emphasize that hunger in the Soviet Union,

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[1] H.T. Van, A.T. Huu, D. Ushakov, "Liberal reforms and economic growth: Current issues and interrelations", in *Journal of International Studies*, 2017, vol. 10, no. 4, p. 109-118.

[2] D. Ushakov, S.G. Akhmetova, L.V. Nevskaya, "Economic growth and environmental performance: Correlation issues and future priorities", in *International Journal of Ecological Economics and Statistics*, 2017, vol. 38, no. 4, p. 164-172.

including in the 1940s, was not an objective phenomenon, but was deliberately organized by the Soviet government. This point of view is reflected in the works of V.F. Zima[3], V.A. Isupova[4] and in historiographic reviews[5]. Another part of the researchers is trying to show that in the history of Russia the hunger years happened, if not regularly, then often due to climatic cataclysms, harvest failure and backward agricultural technology[6]. I.M. Volkov sees a decrease in agricultural production and the tragedy of the famine of 1946-1947 in the grave consequences of the war[7]. V.S. Poznansky believes that the causes of hunger lie in "a combination of natural and social negative phenomena"[8].

Researchers of the post-war period in the history of the Krasnoyarsk Territory did not specifically analyse the impact of climatic disasters on the socio-economic status of the population. Nevertheless, some references to hunger as a fact are cited in their works[9]; the section "Hunger in the Early Post-War Days" was highlighted in the 3rd volume of the book "Krasnoyarsk Territory in the History of the Fatherland"[10].

To date, there is no consensus on the causes and primary climatic or political conditions of influence on the socio-economic condition of the population of the country and the Krasnoyarsk Territory in the 1940s.

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[3] V.F. Zima, *Famine in the USSR 1946-1947: origin and consequences*, Institute of the Russian History, Moscow.

[4] V.A. Isupov, *Demographic disasters and crises in Russia in the first half of the 20th century*, Siberian Chronograph, Novosibirsk, 2000.

[5] Yu.V. Demina, "The post-war famine of 1946-1947 in modern Russian historiography", *Bulletin of the Orenburg Pedagogical Institute,* 2016, no. 3, p. 65-72; R.R. Khisamutdinova, "The famine of 1946-1947 in the latest studies of historians (late 1980s-2000s)", in *Proceedings of the Samara Scientific Centre of the Russian Academy of Sciences*, 2009, vol. 11, no. 6, p. 331-336.

[6] A.V. Shalak, "Regarding the assessment of the scope of famine of 1946-1947", in *Historical and Economic Research*, 2009, vol. 10, no. 2, p. 101-107.

[7] I.M. Volkov, The village of the USSR in 1945-1953 in the latest studies of historians (late 1980-1990s), 2015. Available at: http://anikvn.ru/ %D0 %A4 %D0 %B0 %D0 %BB %D1 %8C %D1 %81 %D0 %B8 %D1 %84 %D0 %B8 %D0 %BA %D0 %B0 %D1 %86 %D0 %B8 %D1 %8F_ %D0 %B8 %D1 %81 %D1 %82 %D0 %BE %D1 %80 %D0 %B8 %D0 %B8/Volkov_rus_der.html.

[8] V.S. Poznansky, *Social cataclysms in Siberia: famine and epidemics in the 20-30s of the XX century*, Publishing House of the Siberian Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Novosibirsk, 2007.

[9] E.A. Borisenko, "The main ways to solve the personnel problem on the collective farms of the Krasnoyarsk Territory in the post-war years (1946–1953)", in *Bulletin of Tomsk State University,* 2017, no. 421, p. 80-87.

[10] A.A. Grigoryev, *Krasnoyarsk Territory in the history of the Fatherland,* Book Publishing House, Krasnoyarsk, 2000.

In our opinion, it is necessary to consider all aspects of the impact on the food supply system of the population of the region and the country at large. Therefore, the purpose of the paper is to analyse the mutual influence and interdependence of climatic disasters and socio-economic disruption.

Materials and methods

The work was prepared on the basis of a study of documents of the State Archive of the Krasnoyarsk Territory. The authors analysed the transcripts of the sessions of the Krasnoyarsk Territorial Council of Workers' Deputies, Plenums of the Territorial Committee of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks; Minutes of meetings of Party-Soviet assets; decisions of the regional branches of government that directly encountered the impact of climatic disasters on the population of a number of regions of the territory and were looking for solutions. The territorial newspaper Krasnoyarsky Rabochy and the regional newspaper did not place the emphasis on problems because of the closed nature of the subject matter. The memories of the inhabitants of the territory about that time also became the analysis subject of the authors.

In 1940s, the country's agriculture was under-equipped in terms of machinery. It was provided during the development of the national economy, when industry and natural resources influenced the economy development[11]. Climatic cataclysms of the 1940s caused certain socio-economic changes. Furthermore, it is necessary to consider the state of the country and territory, which were affected by wartime, economic devastation, demographic changes. Therefore, upon analysing documents, the principle of modernization was applied.

In the post-war period, the country, primarily the rear regions, moved to a new technical level, the territory was undergoing urbanization, agriculture was filled with technology and demanded widespread use of the achievements of agricultural science in connection with the reduction of the rural population, the decrease in the influence of weather conditions on agricultural production, and the need to solve the food problem. The state of post-war society was characterized by the awakening of the ability to think variably, critically evaluate situations, and not take everything as a

[11] H.T. Van, I. Onyusheva, D. Ushakov, R. Santhanakrishnan, Impedimental policies impacting shrinking world solar industry eco-economic development, in *International Journal of Energy Economics and Policy*, 2018, vol. 8, no. 4, p. 21-27.

given[12]. The principles of historicism, objectivity and systematicity underlie the methodology of researching the problem. The work is built in a problem-chronological order using conventional methods of historical knowledge, such as descriptive, typological, comparative historical.

Results and discussion

Russian agriculture is characterized by extreme instability of harvest over the years, which is rarely found in other grain-producing countries. Only a quarter of the country's land fund is located in favourable areas, and in the northern and middle forest zones there is not enough solar heat to produce a good harvest. This situation is also typical of the Krasnoyarsk Territory as a significant part of Siberia. The idiosyncratic climate of the territory is conditioned upon the long mileage of the territory from north to south longitudinally; the climate here is sharply continental with a large annual amplitude of air temperatures. Such a diverse climate picture allows to mitigate the impact of natural disasters on the socio-economic situation of a large territory.

The southern region, where Khakassia, Minusinsky, Shushensky, Kuraginsky, Beysky and other districts are located, is rich in fertile grey forest, chernozem and chestnut soils, therefore it is the main breadbasket of the region. However, the presence of steppe territories, lack of moisture, snowstorms and frequent early frosts make the region vulnerable to agricultural development. Natural disasters have repeatedly become the causes of harvest failures and famine. The last famine in Russia – the USSR – fell on the second half of 1940s, the time of the extraordinary efforts of the Soviet people to restore the national economy after the end of World War II.

Upon the analysis of the impact of climatic disasters on the socio-economic condition of the Krasnoyarsk Territory, it is necessary to consider the contradictory nature of the post-war world. A specific feature of economic development of the territory in the 1940s was the fact that there was no military destruction in the region; it was greatly developed as a result of the evacuation of industrial enterprises from the European part of the USSR and became the most important industrial centre of Eastern Siberia. Therefore, the working people of the region were tasked with modernization of production, fundamental change of technical and

[12] E.Yu. Zubkova, *Post-war Soviet society: politics and everyday life. 1945-1953*, ROSSPEN, Moscow, 1999.

technological processes in the course of conversion, implementation of new equipment, organization of labour, and assistance to the liberated regions of the country with human resources and equipment. The industry of the region during the war years began producing over one hundred new types of products[13].

The solution to these problems took place in a rather difficult climatic, economic and social situation both in the country and in the territory. Among the problems that accumulated during the war years, and were significantly aggravated in the post-war period, it is worth mentioning a significant number of men who went to war, youth moving from the village to the city to work at industrial enterprises, including extreme weather conditions. Thus, in 1943-1944, little precipitation fell on the territory of the region, the harvest was poor. As noted at the regional agro-technical meeting, the Secretary of the Territorial Committee of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks, I.G. Golubev, the region undersupplied about 15 million pounds of bread to the state and the battle front[14]. The possibility of sufficient harvesting of forage decreased, and the collective farmers were forced to donate livestock for future government supplies. This allowed the Krasnoyarsk Territory to procure 77.7 % more meat in 1943 than in 1942[15]. But in the future this circumstance became a certain ground for subsequent events of 1946-1947. Although back in 1944, the Krasnoyarsk Territory reduced the decline in grain procurements, and the Khakass Autonomous Region, as a region of the territory, produced 700 thousand poods more bread than in 1943.

Meteorological conditions of 1945 complicated the situation in agriculture of the territory. In a number of southern regions of the territory, as follows from agrotechnical reports, very little precipitation fell in winter and summer, and in June and July the air temperature reached 47 degrees. Drought adversely affected the seedlings of many crops and prevented their normal development. Furthermore, early frosts (from August 16 to August 20) from minus 6 to minus 5 degrees became destructive for them. As a result, only in the Shushensky district, where there were 37 collective farms, spring crops were lost on an area of almost 7827 hectares, corn – on 176 hectares, potatoes – 64.5 hectares, vegetables – 10 hectares. Therefore, the district had a very low total yield – 2

[13] N.P. Silkova, *Essays on the history of the Krasnoyarsk territorial organization of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. (1895-1980)*, Book publishing house, Krasnoyarsk, 1982.
[14] State Archive of the Krasnoyarsk Territory. Fund R-1374. Series 1. File 52. Sheet 145.
[15] A.P. Okladnikov, *History of Siberia. Since ancient times*, Nauka, Leningrad, 1968.

hundredweights per ha.

In some fields, re-reaping was applied, as reaping was performed with handcrafted threshers. In the Kuragino district, an extremely low amount of precipitation fell – 300 mm, while the average level in previous years was 500 mm. As a result, the yield was about 3 hundredweights per ha. The procurement plan was only 35 % complete. There was no precipitation in the Krasnoturan district from May 20 to August 18, so spring crops perished on 9030 hectares, and the remainder of the crops yielded a poor harvest of 0.5 to 4 hundredweights per hectare. In Idrinsky district, in all 57 collective farms, spring sowing was performed in satisfactory conditions with little rainfall, seedlings gave hope for a good harvest within 9 hundredweights per ha. However, the weather was dry in June-July, and frost hit on August 17-18 and as a result a poor harvest of 3.5 hundredweights per ha was obtained[16].

We can agree with the opinion of G.V. Dobrovolsky, and collective farm reports confirm that wartime negatively affected the soil layer, including the Krasnoyarsk Territory[17]. During the war years, the ploughing wedge was constantly reduced and went into fallow. The land was not cultivated, not fertilized, and swamped, because of the lack of manpower, equipment, animal traction. If prior to the war, the total sown area in the territory was 2 million 819 thousand hectares, then in 1946 it amounted to only about 1 million hectares.

The agricultural workers were tasked with not only expanding the arable land, but also improving the soil. Therefore, agronomists in their reports constantly offered to use the achievements of agronomic science, adhere to the sowing terms, use mineral fertilizers, apply snow retention, moisture protection, crop rotation more widely, use agricultural machinery, new organization of labour, material incentives, etc. All these proposed measures were elements of an intensive methodology for the development of agriculture, but in practice the extensive methodology won – the arable wedge increased. This contributed to the growth of sown areas in Siberia to 8.8 million hectares in 1946 compared to 8.4 million in 1944[18]. The same processes were inherent in the Krasnoyarsk Territory: if in 1945 the sown area was almost 1436 thousand ha, then in 1950 it

[16] State Archive of the Krasnoyarsk Territory. P-1374. Series 1. File 778. Sheets 1-2, 7-9, 17, 22, 45.

[17] G.V. Dobrovolsky, "Soil resources of Russia for 150 years", in *Russia in the world around it: 2002, (p. 1-16).* MNEPU Publishing House, Moscow, 2002, 336 p.

[18] A.P. Okladnikov, *History of Siberia. Since ancient times*, Nauka, Leningrad, 1968.

amounted to more than 2020 thousand ha[19].

An analysis of the agrotechnical reports of the district land departments, a memorandum dated November 1, 1945 of the Krasnoyarsk Territory Land Department describes the difficult situation in the agriculture of the territory in 1945, which led to the difficult food situation of 1946. The documents note the influence of climatic conditions not only on agricultural crops, but on all components of agriculture, primarily livestock. In 1945, the region failed to cope with plans to raise the level of this branch of the economy, and did not provide an increase in the stock population for all types of livestock. Livestock production was characterized by low productivity and high mortality rates. Collective farms had to hand cattle of low fatness over to the state, performing state deliveries in quantity, not in quality. This situation was especially relevant for the southern regions of the territory, which were its main food base. And such situation was observed throughout the entire Siberia, where by the beginning of 1946 the number of cattle had decreased by 10 % compared to 1941. This circumstance made it difficult for residents of the territory to purchase livestock in neighbouring regions. During this time, in the Krasnoyarsk Territory there was a decrease in large-horned livestock by 43 %, pigs – by 70 %, horses and sheep – by almost 50 %[20].

As a result of the 1945 drought, pastures burned out in Khakassia, Shushensky, Minusinsky, Ermakovsky and other districts of the south of the Krasnoyarsk Territory, and cattle, from the very beginning of spring, were in the pasture with poor grass and in some places deprived of watering places. Furthermore, cattle were weakened after the winter of 1944-1945, because it was not provided with forage in full, and concentrated feed was completely absent. The provision of forage over the territory amounted to 66 %, in the Minusinsk district – circa 27 %, which affected the physical condition of the horses and their use in agricultural work. Thus, in the Krasnoturansky district, during spring works of 1945, there was an acute shortage of animal traction. Only 2700 horses were in working condition, while in 1941 there were 10 thousand. As a result, the load on one horse was 19.5 hectares, which was twice the norm. The cattle were exhausted to such an extent that in spring they had to lift it and pull it onto pastures using ropes[21]. Such situation influenced

[19] A.M. Ivanova, T.V. Filippova, N.I. Temerova, A.S. Penza, *In memory of the great feat: facts in numbers*, Krasnoyarskstat, Krasnoyarsk, 2015.
[20] A.P. Okladnikov, *History of Siberia. Since ancient times*, Nauka, Leningrad, 1968.
[21] State Archive of the Krasnoyarsk Territory. Fund R-1374. Series 1. File 703. Sheet 8; File 778. Sheet 20; File 52-a. Sheet 17.

the timing of spring sowing and harvesting, and, therefore, the results of labour of rural workers. Weakened collective farms and state farms could not sufficiently resist natural disasters.

Arid spring, summer and autumn, the absence of precipitation caused the sowing of winter crops in dry soil and poor seedlings in the spring of 1946, which was also arid. In June, frost occurred in the eastern group of districts of the territory. Autumn of 1946 turned out to be rainy. As Secretary of the Krasnoyarsk Territorial Committee of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks, A. Aristov, noted in his memorandum report in December 1946, the availability of forage in some areas was about 50 %. In this regard, he appealed to the Deputy Minister of Livestock with a request for the allocation of additional feed to the southern districts of the region[22]. Lack of animal traction, low level of mechanization, agrotechnical culture and labour discipline delayed the sowing campaign. The seed fund did not withstand such criticism. In the reports of agronomists, there was a large contamination of seeds, along with their large insufficiency on collective farms. Often, collective farm chairmen did not accept seeds from other regions that were not acclimatized to local conditions.

At the plenums of the Krasnoyarsk Territory Executive Committee, it was noted that in places, where more advanced farming methods were used, including crop rotation, and multicourse system, the consequences of the climate catastrophe were mitigated. Such farms included individual collective farms and state farms of the Chernorechensky district, where the chairmen took care of timely sowing, cultivating the land, providing animals with food, saving them from anthrax, used zoned seeds and local livestock breeds, etc. Such measures led to a good harvest of the variety-testing section of the Uyar district, the issuance of 2 kg of grain for one workday by the Chernorechensky village council[23]. But such examples are few. This example suggests that, with a higher level of agriculture, the effects of drought would not be as significant. In addition, the Minister of Agriculture I.A. Benediktov summarized that the material and technical base of agriculture undermined by the war could not effectively influence the effects of drought[24]. Despite the difficult climatic conditions of 1946, the Krasnoyarsk Territory delivered to the state 9 million 400 thousand

[22] State Archive of the Krasnoyarsk Territory. Fund R-1374. Series 1. File 58. Sheet 25.
[23] State Archive of the Krasnoyarsk Territory. Fund P-26. Series 16. File 20. Sheet 106; Fund R-1374. Series 2. File 576. Sheet 58.
[24] I.A. Benediktov, *The development of agriculture in the post-war period,* Gospolitizdat, Moscow, 1947.

poods of bread more than in 1945. This became possible as a result of the heroic labour of the peasants of those districts of the territory that were not affected by drought and bad weather like the southern districts.

The weather conditions of 1947 were more favourable for agriculture. Siberia gave the country more products than in 1946. Krasnoyarsk Territory has reached the pre-war level of agricultural production. The region handed over 31 million pounds of bread, which was 6.5 million pounds more than in 1946. The mechanization of work in rural areas reached 61 % versus 52 % in 1940. If in 1945 there were 323 combines in the region, then in 1950 they amounted to 2,276[25]. Thus, the Krasnoyarsk rural workers helped to abolish the card system for foodstuffs at the end of 1947.

Long-term climatic cataclysms necessitated the accelerated development of agricultural engineering. By 1950, 50 plants produced over 150 models of new machines for agriculture[26]. For 1946-1950, Siberian peasants received 28 thous. tractors, 31.1 thous. trucks, 13.7 thous. grain combines, 112.3 thous. trailed implements. The village received machinery of more advanced models, the manufacture of which considered the requests of peasants.

The only Krasnoyarsk combine plant in Siberia made its contribution to the mechanization of rural labour. Since mid-1944, it completely switched to the production of combines. On April 13, 1944, the first combine harvester, called the Krasnoyarsk Communard, left the factory gate, and by the Victory Day on May 9, 1945, 350 units of trailed agricultural machines were produced. In 1946, the company produced 4.5 times more harvesters than in 1945. But trailed harvesters did not meet the requirements of the post-war lifting of agriculture. In 1947, the first in the Soviet Union self-propelled combine S-4 "Stalinets" was produced, which was operated by one person, instead of five.

To replenish and improve the nutrition of the population in the region, the question of the development of horticulture, beekeeping, vegetable growing, and rabbit farming was constantly raised. Thus, in the Minusinsk basin and southern regions of the region, gardening and the cultivation of melons and gourds developed, which later turned into a commodity branch of agriculture. Compared to 1940, the production of fruit and berry crops doubled by 1947 and continued growing. New

[25] A.M. Ivanova, T.V. Filippova, N.I. Temerova, A.S. Penza, *In memory of the great feat: facts in numbers*, Krasnoyarskstat, Krasnoyarsk, 2015.
[26] L.M. Goryushkin, *The peasantry in Siberia during the period of consolidation and development of socialism*, Nauka, Novosibirsk, 1985.

industrial crops were produced – sugar beets, sunflowers, flax, hemp, tobacco for the production of shag as additional sources of profitability for collective farms and collective farmers.

At the IV Plenum of the Territory Party Committee in February 1946, which examined the course of preparations for spring sowing in the region, the necessity of taking care of the accumulation and preservation of moisture in the soil and snow retention was emphasized. Attention was drawn to climatic factors, including the fact that in Khakassia during the first period of winter there was a lot of snow for the first time in several years, however, snow retention was not performed in time, and after the snowstorms the land was completely without snow cover. The plenum delegates also recalled history, emphasizing that droughts in the southern regions of the region are commonplace, they happened before, as evidenced by the remainders of ancient irrigation canals[27].

Thus, adverse climatic conditions determined the agricultural economy of the Krasnoyarsk Territory for several years, and not just one year. At the XVIII session of the Territorial Executive Committee in July 1947, these conditions were called "systematic drought"[28]. They were aggravated by wartime, the accelerated pace of post-war industrial development, and the weak material and technical base of agriculture. The hard work of the rural population, favourable meteorological conditions, the saturation of agricultural production with technology, the application of the achievements of agricultural science led to good harvests in 1940s: for three consecutive years the region performed and exceeded the grain yield plan. By a decree of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks in March 1949, agricultural leaders and Party-Soviet leaders of the territory were awarded orders and medals[29].

One of the social consequences of the meteorological deviations of the 1940s was the increase in migration flows. It should be noted that the collective farmers were practically attached to the ground, because they were not issued any passports, and they could not leave the collective farm without permission. But people found ways to leave, because hunger and illness forced them to leave their homes. In 1946 - 1950 over 3 million new settlers arrived in the cities and working villages of Siberia, mainly

[27] State Archive of the Krasnoyarsk Territory. Fund P-26. Series 16. File 20. Sheet 63.
[28] State Archive of the Krasnoyarsk Territory. Fund R-1386. Series 1. File 1022. Sheet 57.
[29] A.V. Sushkov, "Power and corruption: The leadership of the Krasnoyarsk Territory and the case of theft of products at the Krasnoyarsk plant of fruit and berry wines (1949)", in *Ural Historical Bulletin*, 2011, no. 3, p. 89-95.

from the village[30]. As a result, the number of workers on the collective and state farms of Siberia was declining. The state, according to the experience of the war years, had to send the townspeople to reap the harvest – workers, employees and students[31].

After the war ended, a chronic shortage of labour was experienced everywhere in the country. From 1940 to 1945, the number of able-bodied collective farmers in the Krasnoyarsk Territory decreased by almost half, from 429,100 to 210,000 people. At the beginning of 1945, there were 25,000 people with disabilities in the region[32]. The number of able-bodied men was especially reduced, by 74 % from the pre-war level[33]. This situation was aggravated by the re-evacuation of able-bodied workers in the western regions of the country.

The union government and local authorities sought to minimize the negative consequences of natural disasters. Thus, during the spring-summer work of 1945, the government allocated special funds for organizing 60 tea houses for collective farmers in the territory, and public procurement of products was allowed[34]. The Khakassian Autonomous Region was affected by drought for four years in a row, bread and other products had to be imported there from neighbouring regions by 11-12 thousand hundredweights[35]. As the materials of the meetings of the Territorial Committee, District Committees of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks, and District Executive Committees display, matters of food, material and domestic improvement of the situation of the population of the territory were constantly on their agenda. Measures to increase the supply of soap, construction materials, improvement of cities and villages, including the restoration of ponds, bridges, and the launch of the first phase of the Abakan Canal, were analysed and outlined. Particular attention was paid to the restoration of construction crews.

At the V Plenum of the Territorial Committee of the All-Union

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[30] L.G. Olekh, *History of Siberia,* Fenix, Rostov-on-Don, 2005.

[31] D. Ushakov, I. Elokhova, I. Kharchenko, "Tax instruments in public regulation of population employment: The factors of today's efficiency", in *International Journal of Ecological Economics and Statistics*, 2017, vol. 38, no. 2, p. 161-168.

[32] D.A. Malyutin, A.G. Gryaznukhin, L.F. Malyutina, "Review of the collection of documents "Krasnoyarsk Territory during the Great Patriotic War. 1941-1945 (according to the documents of the archival agency of the Krasnoyarsk Territory)", in *Past Years*, 2013, vol. 3, no. 29, p. 107-108.

[33] E.A. Borisenko, "The main ways to solve the personnel problem on the collective farms of the Krasnoyarsk Territory in the post-war years (1946–1953)", in *Bulletin of Tomsk State University,* 2017, no. 421, p. 80-87.

[34] State Archive of the Krasnoyarsk Territory. Fund R-1386. Series 1. File 947. Sheet 84.

[35] State Archive of the Krasnoyarsk Territory. Fund P-26. Series 16. File 21. Sheet 113.

Communist Party of Bolsheviks in June 1946, the need to build and restore livestock farms, barns, warehouses, covered currents for threshing grain, and collective farm dwelling houses was emphasized[36]. Furthermore, the task was to prepare for the commission of water flow into the 180-kilometer main canals in Askiz district, the development of small rivers and streams for irrigation[37]. To preserve the soil layer from weathering, it was proposed to increase grass planting, to create a strong sod layer and forest stands that are able to retain wind, moisture, and thereby create favourable conditions for harvesting[38]. The V Plenum of the Kuraginsky District Committee of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks decided to immediately stop cutting down forest shelterbelts, including in taiga along river banks, as the destruction of forests and lakes affects the climatic conditions of agricultural work[39].

To provide material support to the poor, in September 1946, a government decree was adopted to establish monetary compensation in the amount of 100-110 roubles, which the people called the "bread allowance". On November 9, 1946, the Council of Ministers of the USSR adopted a resolution "On the Deployment of Cooperative Trade in Food and Industrial Goods and on Increasing the Production of Food and Consumer Goods by Cooperative Organizations" to improve the supply of citizens.

These and other examples allow to disagree with the opinion of V.A. Isupova that "the neglect of the totalitarian regime towards a person and their needs led to a painful hunger of 1946-1947"[40]. Numerous decisions of the Organizing Bureau of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks, the Council of Ministers of the USSR, the Council of Ministers of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic, the presence of the Malenkov team in 1946, which assisted in

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[36] Krasnoyarskiy Worker, 1946. Available at: https://irbis.kraslib.ru/cgi-bin/irbis64r/irbis64r_91/cgiirbis_64.exe?I21DBN=PERIOD_VV&P21DBN=PERIOD&Z21ID=&S21REF=&S21CNR=10&S21STN=1&S21FMT=FULLWEBR&C21COM=S&2_S21P02=0&S21SRW=GOD&S21SRD=UP&2_S21P03=SHTV %3D&2_S21STR=G611595/1

[37] R. Dodonov, "Peculiarities of shipping in the Dnipro basin in 1875-1932", in *Skhid*, 2018, vol. 4, no. 156, p. 5-11. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.21847/1728-9343.2018.4(156).143517

[38] State Archive of the Krasnoyarsk Territory. Fund P- 26. Series 16. File 21. Sheet 139.

[39] State Archive of the Krasnoyarsk Territory. Fund P-34. Series 1. File 327-A. Sheets 125, 134.

[40] V.A. Isupov, "Black Spot" in the history of Siberia. News of the Siberian Branch of the USSR Academy of Sciences", in *Series of History, Philosophy and Philology*, 1990, no. 1, p. 31-33.

supplying the village with combustible fuel, transporting grain from the hinterlands, etc. evidence the attention of the central government to the situation in agriculture of the Krasnoyarsk Territory Council of People's Commissars of the USSR in July 1946 allowed a short-term loan for winter sowing[41]. In September 1946, it was allowed to postpone the repayment of the debt of previous years for mandatory deliveries of potatoes and vegetables by the collective farms to the state until the harvest of 1947 and 1948; discounts were provided to certain collective farms of the region[42]. In 1945, the Territorial Committee of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks and the Territorial Executive Committee appealed to the government three times with request to provide the region with a certain amount of bread from state reserves, but did not always receive a positive reply, since there was a difficult food situation in other regions of the USSR[43].

In December 1945, a meeting of the secretaries of the District Committees of the Party of the Krasnoyarsk Territory was held, dedicated to the danger of drought in 1946. At the meeting, the need for snow retention, meltwater, early pre-sowing loosening of the soil followed by deep spring ploughing were outlined. It was emphasized that the southern regions should undertake the creation of protective zones, irrigation[44]. The idea of the importance of observing agricultural regulations permeates through the materials of sessions of the Territorial Council and Party Bureaus. The same demand was heard at the Plenums of the Minusinsk District Committee of the All-union Communist Party of Bolsheviks, it was emphasized that drought periodically returned to the area and caused great damage to agriculture. Therefore, harvest was to be provided only by those fields where high agricultural technology was observed[45].

The difficult food situation caused by droughts and crop failures contributed to an increase in the number of orphanages: in 1946, 13 additional orphanages were opened[46]. This was connected not only with an increase in mortality, but also with the fact that parents could not feed their children and simply brought them to District Executive Committees and Village Councils. Thus, in the Taseevsky orphanage, there were 17

[41] State Archive of the Krasnoyarsk Territory. Fund P-26. Series 16. File 20. Sheet 39; File 947. Sheet 138; File 4. Sheets 14, 131; Fund R-1386. Series 1. File 981. Sheet 294.
[42] State Archive of the Krasnoyarsk Territory. Fund P-26. Series 16. File 4. Sheet 146.
[43] State Archive of the Krasnoyarsk Territory. Fund R-1386. Series 1. File 947. Sheet 176.
[44] State Archive of the Krasnoyarsk Territory. Fund P-26. Series 16. File 20. Sheets 49, 64.
[45] State Archive of the Krasnoyarsk Territory. Fund P-54. Series 5. File 771. Sheet 13.
[46] State Archive of the Krasnoyarsk Territory. Fund R-1386. Series 1. File 980. Sheet 133.

children whose parents required help[47]. As M.V. Sviridov recalls, his mother brought him to the orphanage at the age of 5 and left him there, telling that the state would not let him die. The family had seven children, his father died at the frontline. And as far as in adulthood, he found his mother and discovered that his sister died of starvation. However, the government raised the standards for bread delivery to children under 15 years of age to 400 grams, to orphanages – to 500 grams[48], in practice there was a decrease in the norms. But orphanages were starving as well, as they did not fully receive the required amount of food. For example, in the second quarter of 1946, orphanages in the territory received less than a dozen tons of food products, which caused an increase in child mortality. Thus in 1946, 10 children died in the Subbotinsky orphanage of the Shushensky district[49].

Poor nutrition during the war and the early post-war days negatively affected the state of health of the population of the territory. The report on the state of affairs at the local level to the First Secretary of the Territorial Committee of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks, A. B. Aristov, noted that according to the results of the control examination by the brigade of the Territorial Executive Committee, in five (out of 52) districts of the territory, 13,104 patients with dystrophy were registered, including 5,285 children[50]. The letter from the Chairman of the Krasnoyarsk Territorial Executive Committee, E.P. Kolushchansky, to A.I. Mikoyan noted that as a result of the drought and harvest failure of 1945 in about 20 districts of the territory, about 22 thousand adults and children were diagnosed with dystrophy in 20 district of the territory and 9 districts of Khakassia. E.P. Koluschansky requested that the territory be allocated flour, meat, fats and sugar to combat dystrophy in March-April 1946. The government has responded to this request. By a decision of the Council of Ministers of the USSR of March 9, these products were allocated[51]. Secretary of the Khakassky Regional Committee of the Party, F.I. Afanasyev, informed Stalin that dystrophy was developing at an alarming rate in rural areas of the autonomous region: if there were 351 patients on December 7, 1945, then by 1 February 1947, 2,800 people were

[47] State Archive of the Krasnoyarsk Territory. Fund R-1386.Series 1. File 981. Sheet 337.
[48] State Archive of the Krasnoyarsk Territory. Fund R-1386.Series 1. File 947. Sheet 51.
[49] State Archive of the Krasnoyarsk Territory. Fund R-1386. Series 1. File 980. Sheet 136; File 981. Sheet 389.
[50] Our Krasnoyarsk Territory, 2014, July 28, no. 55. Available at: https://gnkk.ru/articles/1945-1950-posle-voyny/
[51] A.A. Grigoryev, *Krasnoyarsk Territory in the history of the Fatherland,* Book Publishing House, Krasnoyarsk, 2000.

registered[52].

The secretary of the Bei district wrote that as a result of the drought of 1945, 50 % of the crops burned in the district, 155 grams of grain per hectare were collected, and nothing ripened in the household plots. Therefore, there were many dystrophic people – as of March 15, 1946, there were 1,796 of them. The party secretary cited examples when parents brought their children to a district health centre, hospital or village council, left them there, and hid themselves, hoping that the state would take care of the children. An increase in skin diseases was noted as a result of a decrease in immunity in the population due to a weakened diet. Head Regional Health Department, M.G. Ananyev, at the XVIII session of the Territorial Council called the increase in the incidence of trachoma a "social disaster", emphasizing that in Khakassia alone the number of such patients increased by almost five thousand people in 1946[53]. It should be noted that Soviet Siberia inherited "acute social state issues, most of which were somehow determined by the imperfection of the management system"[54], which was not brought into full compliance with the modernizing tasks of the new government over a quarter-century, although such attempts were undertaken during the administrative reform of 1923[55].

It should be noted that the population that needed food increased in the territory. The population of the city of Krasnoyarsk alone increased by 25 % by 1949[56]. These are not only veterans, but also prisoners of war, of whom about 600 people were housed in the combine plant in June 1946, and about 1,700 Japanese prisoners of war worked at Krasmash[57]. Secretary of the Territorial Committee, A.B. Aristov wrote to the Secretary of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks Malenkov in January 1946 that the bread deficit was 102 thous. tons, and asked for a monthly reservation of 15 thous. tons of food grain

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[52] N.I. Drozdov, *Krasnoyarsk: five centuries of history*, Platina, Krasnoyarsk, 2006; State Archive of the Krasnoyarsk Territory. Fund P-26. Series 16. File 16. Sheet 5.

[53] State Archive of the Krasnoyarsk Territory. Fund 1386. Series 1. File 1022. Sheet 250.

[54] D.N. Gergilev, "Ways to solve the problems of the administrative-territorial structure of Russia at the beginning of the twentieth century (on the example of Siberia)", in *Humanitarian and Socio-Economic Sciences*, 2017, no. 5, p. 76-80.

[55] D.N. Gergilev, E.V. Polyansky, "Interpretation of the term "region" in zoning reform 1923", in *Clio*, 2018, vol. 6, no. 138, p. 106-112.

[56] P.I. Pimashkov, *Krasnoyarsk: stages of the historical path. To the 375th anniversary of the city of Krasnoyarsk,* Letter, Krasnoyarsk, 2003.

[57] State Archive of the Krasnoyarsk Territory. Fund R-1386. Series 1. File 1009. Sheet 156.

every month until a new harvest or import from other areas. Aristov also wrote about the need to assign the city of Krasnoyarsk to guaranteed food supply, to the 1st group of cities as an industrial city. Being in a group of non-industrial cities stipulated different boiling rates and the availability of grocery cards by factories, the Group B enterprises (a bakery, a tidy factory, a brick factory, etc.) did not receive food cards and guaranteed supplies, which led to complaints and public discontent, labor turnover[58].

Memoranda, anonymous letters to the Territorial Committee Party, reports of the chairmen of the District Executive Committees are evidence that the authors who emphasize the effectiveness of the individual economy of the peasants are only partially correct. In the period of climatic cataclysms, individual farms also suffered, but their owners did not have the social protection that collective farmers, workers of MTS and state farms received. Thus, in a response to an anonymous letter from the village of Tes of the Minusinsk district, it was emphasized that, despite the drought and failure of 353 hectares of grain crops, assistance was provided to the collective farmers, albeit limited. Payment of taxes was postponed until the next harvest; children were each given 100 grams of milk per day for a month, among the collective farmers there were no cases of swelling from famine, mass poverty, prostitution and theft[59].

Severe food, material and living conditions caused asocial elements of behaviour. Constantly, in memoranda to territorial authorities, speeches at Soviet-Party meetings, plenums and sessions, squandering in the card system was addressed, including distribution of workdays, violation of social justice, abuse of power, hiding grain, potatoes from delivery to the state. Theft was especially commonplace. In just half a year 1946, 3,247 hundredweights of oil was misappropriated in the Kuraginsky District Oil Industry[60].

There were cases of refusal to deliver products to the state in the districts of the territory. Thus, in June 1946, the Bureau of the Kuraginsky District Party Committee noted that 30-60 % of the farms of collective farmers, workers and office employees do not participate in the delivery of milk, meat, eggs, and try to sell them in the markets. The Bureau decided to conduct a wide explanatory work among the population of the district, verify the correctness of taxation on livestock products, and apply the law of November 21, 1942 to the malicious evaders[61]. In Chernogorsk,

[58] State Archive of the Krasnoyarsk Territory Fund P-26. Series 16. File 1. Sheets 1,2,6,7.
[59] State Archive of the Krasnoyarsk Territory. Fund P-26. Series 16. File 1. Sheet 8.
[60] State Archive of the Krasnoyarsk Territory. Fund P-34. Series 1. File 344. Sheet 298.
[61] State Archive of the Krasnoyarsk Territory. Fund P-34. Series 1. File 344. Sheets 231-

out of 1,346 households of individual milk distributors, 434 refused to deliver, and only seven consented. The reasons for the refusal were various, including unreliable measurement of the suppliers, delayed payment, ill-treatment of the delivered milk, which was often sour and used for other purposes[62]. Such causes of refusal were recorded everywhere. It was hard for people to watch the results of their labour perish from mismanagement.

Climatic disasters in Siberia 1945-1947, droughts and early frosts, were the basis for the genesis of social disasters, expressed in the spread of famine, dystrophy, worsening public health, an increase in the number of children in orphanages, and activation of deviant behaviour. The socio-economic consequences of climatic deviations were the recognition by the authorities of the necessity of accelerated development of agricultural engineering, the use of agricultural science, the use of mineral fertilizers, the spread of new crops to minimize the negative impact of weather deviations on social life in the future. Only high agricultural technology could prevent the severe consequences of climate anomalies.

However, there were not enough human and material resources in the post-war villages. But the difficult years, famine, and everyday difficulties that had been endured did not break the creative spirit of Soviet workers and led to an unprecedented upsurge in heroic labour aimed at restoring the economy destroyed by the war, including agriculture. The experience accumulated over the years, the lessons learned allowed to make it through 8 climatic disasters in 15 years in the late 1960s and early 1980s. The lean years of this period passed for the population of the USSR with the least losses. The clash of civilization and nature was decided in favour of the hard work of man and the use of the achievements of scientific and technological progress.

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[62] State Archive of the Krasnoyarsk Territory. Fund P-26. Series 16. File 4. Sheet 85.