

# Anthropology Of Economic Crime During Great Patriotic War (1941-1945)

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The article considers the evolution of the economic criminality phenomenon against total war. The article describes the types of the most wide-spread wartime misdeeds and shows the extent to which the representatives of various social layers are involved in them in the USSR. The authors analyzed the circumstances which made people commit lucrative delinquencies. In addition, the authors depict the personal characteristics of public property plunderers and propose their own typology.

*Keywords: USSR, the Great Patriotic War, economic crime, delinquent conduct factors, anthropology of law violators.*

## **Introduction**

The victory the USSR won over the Third Reich and its satellites is one of the most significant events of the XXth century. None has any doubt that it was possible due to the efforts of heroic and self-sacrificing Soviet people both on the battlefields and at work. A professional collection of papers alone includes tens of thousands scientific research. However, the people had to combat not only with a foreign enemy but also the challenges inside the country. In a row of these challenges a special part is given to the spread of criminal elements, in particular, in the economic area. Previously, Russian art experts didn't pay proper attention to this problem. The authors see the reason in the sacralization of war memories. The understanding that "the history...shall not have "not beneficial" or "uncomfortable" phenomena, it shall be considered as a whole, without any embellishment and flaws" has been formed just a little while ago (Address of the President of the Russian Federation...).

The country's participation in a long and large-scale warfare inevitably causes escalating tension on a consumer market due to the transition of a significant part of production facilities to the satisfaction of the defensive needs. This leads to a harsh drop of living standards, the authorities face the challenge of introduction of supplying goods by cards. In these conditions people use compensating behavioral mechanisms to reduce heir losses to minimum. Some of them are implemented beyond the legal boundaries causing crime committing, and high ranks and unblemished reputation can serve as an ideal "screen" for various "profits".

The purpose of the present article consists in the classification of persons brought to justice in the period 1941-1945 for economic offenses, in particular, for the following misdeeds: for

speculation (article 107 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR in force in 1926); state looting and fraud (article 128, point “v”); official position abuse (article 109); funds/property misappropriation or embezzlement (article 116); plundering from state and public warehouses/storages (article 162, points “g”, “d”); bribery (article 117-119); forgery (article 120), as well as in compliance with the Decree of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR of August 7, 1932 “On Protecting Property of State Enterprises, Collective Farms and Cooperation and Strengthening of Public (Socialistic) Property” (Law 7/8).

### **Research objects**

The idea how a law-abiding person can become a plunderer, fraud, or briber just in the course of a single day and starts using underhanded practices for wealth accumulation as the moment arises or on a regular basis is considered by a special discipline - Criminal Economic Anthropology. In its framework the most important economic criminal personality traits are identified. Thus, social&demographic characteristics include gender, age, marital status, education level and professional skills, occupation, residence, material and living conditions. Moral&psychological properties relate to labor, social activity, family, moral and legal norms, and influence the lifestyle, needs, interests, value orientation. Social&role regulators describe the quality of the public function conduct by a person. At last, criminal&legal criteria are applied for the delicts in terms of their subject, place, reasoning, recidivism, conspiracy presence (5, pp. 15-17). A detailed analysis of the available Russian and English historiography dedicated to the problem in question, documents from central and regional archives (funds of the Party Control Committee, Public Prosecutor’s Office, Supreme Court, People’s Commissariats of Internal Affairs, Justice, State Control, sectoral agencies) allows revealing most of the listed parameters for the persons breaking the law for benefit gaining.

### **Methodology**

The social anthropology significance for a historian consists in the thing that is, first of all, declares a self-sustainability of individual activity strategies in specific circumstances; secondly, it allows penetrating the inner world of the “other” and consider his or her point of view concerning some events; thirdly, it identifies the context of the events occurring by means of characteristic social attitudes, consolidated opinions and stereotypical interpretations of significant events (7. p. 6).

The extraordinary nature of the state research object stipulated for the application of comprehensive tools. Thus, a deconstruction method provided for a correct understanding of the intended purpose, content&style specificity and source founding. The same method helped the authors understand the explanatory models and narrative&rhetorical mechanisms applied by the scientists to interpret the data gathered. Archive materials were processed by means of a sociological (study of status markers and relationships in the society), prosopographical (revealing standard biographical attributes of some or other people groups), statistical (data compilation, index grouping, scaling, table making) and mathematical (identification of trends, dynamics, correlation, significant components) methods. Information and target methods alongside with discourse methods have been also relevant as they allowed reconstructing the self-interested persons plans and logic, obtain the data on their opinions and beliefs. To illustrate the core of the events occurring, the authors used a detailed reconstruction of a specific case (case study).

The article methods include a variety of neo-institutional theory entitled “Economics of Crime and Punishment”. Its basic principle of “optimizing behaviour” stipulates that both a delinquent and a law enforcement officer consciously plan the activity selecting the option when the gained profit will be expectedly higher than potential expenses (14). In this situation the authors also take into account the consideration that economic agents rather use heuristic analysis than

strictly apply optimization rules because of the complexity of their composition and the absence of possibility to calculate and account for the utility of each potential action (12). Alongside with this, to recreate a whole picture the authors had to apply a historical&culturological approach in the framework of which the delinquency phenomenon is explained by a specific mentality of certain population layers (the poor, outcast, professional criminals, dishonest directors and officials) while the progress drivers are considered to be stable patterns determined by the values and traditions, ideology and upbringing, existing laws and the peculiarities of authority exercising (4).

## Results

The research conducted showed that the Soviet state suffered from an acute procurement crisis during the Great Patriotic War. Its climax was reached in the second half of 1942 - beginning of 1943, and further the situation was gradually becoming more stable. However, the shortage of food and everyday objects was still perceived everywhere. This led to a range of negative phenomena in the social and economic areas. In particular, speculative transaction increased in their number, and involved, on the one part, the directors relating to the production and distribution of wealth, and, on the other part, wide layers of working people - qualified employees, evacuated people, disabled war veterans, women, old men and teenagers who had to sell on the market the ration tickets, rationed goods, goods and chattels or something that they were able to hide or take from the plant for purchasing necessary products, wearing and shoes.

The false measurement, weighing and fraud of clients in the shops, canteens, household workshops became wide-spread due to a simplicity and impunity of such legal offenses. All the "saved" products were illegally appropriated by operating personnel who acted with the consent of and under guidance of their direct managers in most cases.

A trend of forming organized criminal communities had clearly manifested itself; these groups consisted of administration employees: 1) at the factories, plants and trade cooperatives which are the main producers of consumer commodities; 2) working at the railroads that transported various cargoes; 3) distribution centers, warehouses, refrigerators served as distribution centers; 4) working in the rationing ticket bureaus and sales outlets which provided turnover and the redemption of "food papers".

The activity of criminal elements in the operating procurement departments of large industrial plants, social security bodies, hospitals, orphanages. Due to a constant and hard to control flow of people and valuable things in such institutions dishonest executive managers could easily plot the plans for accumulating and using unaccounted reserves for personal profiteering.

At the rural areas bread and fuel stealing became more frequent during harvesting and purveyance campaigns. The plunderers could include the chairmen of agricultural artels and the directors of machine&tractor stations managing the procurement agencies and mills, weighers and storehouse heads, mechanics and common collective farm workers.

One should also point to the increase of a so-called "high-ranked crimes" when certain party and Soviet functioneries practiced a mere deception falsifying the accounting documents and thus getting incentives and promotions. They arbitrarily disposed the resources entrusted violating a set procedure and the limits of their use, practiced self-procurement, organized pompous banquets at government expense and were sure that due to their contacts and high-rank patrons they can flee from criminal prosecution. Alongside with this, some representative of the directors' community had to deviate from the legal requirements. The created "surplus of goods" were not intended for misappropriation but served as a kind of an insurance fund allowing for the provision of smooth work in the area entrusted in critical moments.

In addition, corruption occurred in security agencies and courts, in particular, on the lower and mid levels. The conscription of militia officers and lawyers resulted in the replacement of the

experienced and approved employees with new ones, and the latter did not correspond to the requirements set in some cases; however, these new employees perceived themselves as masters of somebody else's destinies. Such flaws as bribery and everyday corruption were frequently observed in their community.

### **Discussion**

During the Great Patriotic War the most wide-spread offense in the economic area was speculation. Speculation was understood as the buy-up and re-selling by individuals for lucrative purposes and the accumulation of agricultural products and consumer commodities. The sanction stipulated for this misdeed was imprisonment for at least 5 years with a full or partial property forfeiture. Severe procurement crisis caused by a catastrophic situation at the frontline, the loss of the most economically developed territories as well as the transition of agricultural and industrial plants to the operation for defensive needs negatively influenced the living standards of the overwhelming majority of people. Starting from September 1, 1941 already the Government decree on the rationed distribution of key food products and bare necessities came into force suspending free trade. As the approved regulations couldn't satisfy even humble needs, these groups of goods were in a roaring demand.

City markets turned into specific centers of underhanded transactions. Previously, the main participants of illegal transaction were people from other regions. Since the start of warfare they stopped their activity until the clarification of the situation. Instead, average citizens started to practice such speculations. Thus, in December 1941 pianist Vainshtein got seven bread loaves at the state price; the same day he sold these loaves at the prices of 30 rubles per each and explained it by the absence of money to buy milk for his child. Zinc plant freight mover Yushkin bought 800 g of butter by ration tickets at the prices of 18 rubles 40 kopecks and immediately sold 500 g of the products at 60 rubles to buy necessary things. Both were brought to court (Uniform State Archive of the Chelyabinsk region (OGACHO). F.1041. Ser.5 C.2. P.201). Those in power saw an enemy, a profiteer, in virtually every visitor of the row of shopping stalls; and this "enemy" was guilty of the total deficit occurrence. However, soon punitive bodies realized that most detainees did not have any lucrative purposes. They were pushed to breaking set regulations by contingencies. For example, in Q1 1942 a total of 42,529 cases were initiated under the article 107 of the Criminal Code across the country; 53,836 people were brought to trial. But the corresponding numbers for Q2 equaled 22,369 and 29,923.(State Archive of the Russian Federation (SARF). F.9415. Ser.5 C.89. P.17). A double decrease is obvious. From that time and further, repressions were not applied as punishing measures towards the members of military men families, senior people, teenagers, physically challenged people and people with dependents. Thus, in most cases they were sentenced to the imposition of fine or warning.

The criteria for holding liable for speculation were changed. New criteria included a group character of the crime committed, its recurrence and a significant volume of the goods sold of questionable provenance at overvalued prices. A central role was given to the combat with underground speculation and revealing of its facilitators in trade and economic organizations, i.e. The militia focused on the "experts" in this area. A special place in this group is occupied by business travelers, mostly engineering&technical employees and procurement officers. These were generally middle-aged men with families and children with the education of at least 7 forms. In 1943 in Magnitogorsk these particular citizens comprised the majority of those brought to trial because of speculation (OGACHO. F. 234. Ser.18. C.88. P.13). Visiting versatile cities and towns with a business mission, they also sold the most demanded goods which had been bought at a lower price somewhere else. Sometimes risky business trips to other regions were undertaken by economic persons not for lucrative purposes but because they allowed gaining necessary amounts for resolving urgent production issues. Thus, chairman of

the Chelyabinsk artel "Shveinik" Vlasova together with chief accountant Popova visited the Kostanai market to sell garments produced in compliances with the work orders of labor reserves management. The surplus of goods were formed by saving the fabric and increasing the fabric spending, and also replacing the articles. Accumulated funds were allocated to the erection of a sewing workshop in place of one of the barracks in the street Kaslinskaya, Chelyabinsk. By the way, the cooperative regularly overfulfilled the plan and multiple times was awarded a red challenge banner of the Executive Committee of the City Council and the Party City Community. Still, learning about these unapproved voyages, the bureau of the Soviet District Committee issued a reprimand to Vlasova with the record in the registration card of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) (hereinafter also referred to as AUCP(b)) member (OGACHO. F.297. Op.2. C.918. Pp.15,71,72,75). In 1943 Director of Mitrofanovsky Distilling Plant Tretyakov had to forward supply trains with the plant products (166 thousand bottles of vodka) to the suppliers to pay for the provided raw materials and services. Immediately, the district prosecution office initiated a case against him; however, clarifying that this barter was approved by the central administration, closed the case due to a lack of evidence (OGACHO. F. 288. Ser. 9. C.201. P.9). The machine and tractor station in Uisk managed to find spare parts, repair and deliver the equipment to the fields only after a silent consent of the Party District Committee for transferring 12 sheep, 2 pigs, 550 kg of onion, 770 kg of potato, 62 kg of honey and 5,500 rubles in cash to a "certain right person" in Chelyabinsk (OGACHO. F. 288. Ser.8. C.68. P.13).

Speculation in its manifested form was characteristic for the executive managers who were entrusted significant material assets. For example, Director of the Chelyabinsk factory "Smychka" of the District Consumer Goods Department Kozlov born on 1908, Russian, originated from poor peasants and finished only seven forms at school, was married and had 2 underage children, the member of AUCP (b), physically challenged during the Patriotic War and had not been brought to the court, plundered and sold the plant products, felt boots and felt, on the market. The damage was estimated to be equal to 109,639 rubles. 50 kopecks. His accomplices were Deputy Director, Chairman of Trade Union Committee, personal driver. The crime was revealed by the Party Control Committee (PCC) of Chelyabinsk at the Central Committee of All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks for the Chelyabinsk region on the tip of Chief Mechanic Kashirin, technical director Chernov, commercial director Vinnichenko (OGACHO. F. 297. Op.2. C.914. Pp.5,99,100).

The memorandum report "On Abusive Practices at Flour Milling Plant No. 10, in the Artel "Bolshevik" and Other Economic Entities" of May 1, 1944 made by Head of the Magnitogorsk City Department of NKVD captain Vishnyakov to Secretary of the Party City Committee Fokin and Chairman of the City Executive Committee Petryakov revealed illegal turnover schemes. For example, unaccounted 50 kg of seed oats prepared for seeding at the subsidiary plots of the flour milling plant and 1 tonne of feed chaff were given to cooperative workers who promised to sew new suits for the plant administration. The informal agreement was suggested by Chairman of the industrial artel, member of the AUCP(b) Ermolenko and housekeeping manager Makarov (previously convicted under the article 116 CC). Some plant employees also came for negotiations, these were Chief Engineer Tsyrenshchikov (previously convicted by the art. 133 CC - breach of laws regulating labor application), accountant Bugrov (son of a rich peasant, was in a labor camp), mechanic Stokov (previously convicted under the article 109 CC) and party organizer Pechersky. As a result of the investigation a resolution was passed on non-initiating criminal cases and consideration of the mentioned "incidents" as disciplinary misdeeds as illegal turnover involved not only discredited executive managers but also communist directors. They considered it was not reasonable to injure them in the eyes of public. (OGACHO. F. 234. Ser.19. C.95 P.106).

The attempts to get goods were taken by so-called latent thieves who didn't take part in the criminal life and comprised a category of loyal citizens in everyday life. Some people trying to flee from labour mobilization did not hesitate to get a grip of what's lying about. In February 1943 unemployed citizens Zagridanov, Gabidov, Sabirzhanov entered the territory of the groats mill No.8 in Chelyabinsk making use of the absence of guards. They poured groats from the trains and took it to the market [OGACHO. F. 288. Ser.7. C.227 P.75]. The driver of the garage of the People's Commissariat for State Security Directorate for the Chelyabinsk region was stopped by Highway Patrol. In the car 4 rolls of finishing paper in standard package were found; no documents were enclosed for the items. The infringer claimed that he hadn't checked trunk before departing and had no idea whose cargo it was. The Patrol didn't believe him. The driver was sentenced to 1 year of correctional labor work with the deduction of 25% from the wages (OGACHO. F.1041. Ser.5 C.6. P.46).

Sometimes delinquent conduct was demonstrated by rather self-fulfilled although selfish labouring men who experienced such a strong discomfort inside because of being forced to live in the conditions of everyday deficiency that wouldn't stop in their attempt to improve their situation with the help of asocial adaptive practices. They used previously acquired knowledge, skills and competences to do this. A certain Vegner, a German, the son of the Tsar Army officer, artists, was a stock manager of the Operating Procurement Department of the Design&Installation Directorate, organized a criminal group which included Kamyshkalova, his live-in lover who worked as a barmaid in the same place, Rogova, keeper of the store of Chelyaborg and Kylosova, unemployed. Vegner falsified fund orders for food products which were further taken out from the market stalls and sold on a gray market. For March-July 1943 the group members stole 5 tonnes of bread alone. After this facts were revealed all of them were convicted and sentenced to 10 years of forced labour camps (OGACHO. F. 288. Ser.7. C.227 P.30). In the Sosnovsky district of the Chelyabinsk region employee of a printing house Gainina stole 10 kg of fonts and, supported by citizen Shevchenko, falsified the tickets on the exemption from military service, passes for traveling along the railroad, mission orders (OGACHO. F. 288. Ser.7. C.227 P.49). In 1942 electrical fitters of Kirovsky Plant Utrobin and Volkov, controller Chulkin, workshop head Abramov, gas welder Vetrov, storekeeper Kharitonov tampered watchmen Kropivin and Trushkin, and for 3 months took out castolin, pine rosin, caustic soda from the plant and made dish soap and sold it on the market at elevated prices using the labor of children of tender years. This way they managed to "earn" over 100 thousand rubles. (OGACHO. F. 288. Ser.7. C.227 P.45). Generally, the analysis of criminal statistics showed that approximately 70% of persons involved directly worked with supplies in the organization where looting was conducted, and only 30% were third persons.

A certain group of hazardous anti-social elements should include those who concealed their vicious propensities but couldn't do it anymore in the extreme war situation. Moral relativism, mere demagoguery and cunning behaviour were the markers one could use to identify this type of people. Evacuated from Voroshilovgrad Citizen Kharisov, working at one of the armament plant of Chelyabinsk, deserted from the production facility. He was caught by the militia and returned to the plant again. As a result he became embittered and started practicing sabotage: filled a steel teeming ladle with slag, brought mechanism out of operation. After being suspended from work by the Workshop Head, he claimed to be sick and registered a sick leave certificate which he further extended from January 12 to May 1, 1942 by false diagnoses. All this time he humbugged and plundered. Finally, the pretender was apprehended; the authorities took out 4 passes to various food service areas, several bread books and ration coupons for 1 date which unambiguously showed their illegal origin. Member of AUCP(b) SC Beketov personally accompanied Kharisov on the way to the pretrial detention facility. Next day he met the "arrested" person again; the latter ordered 3 portions of dinner. Seeing his enemy, Kharisov said out loud: "Come to me, comrade Beketov, let's have a quick bite". Beketov was perplexed

and thanked. This incident negatively influenced the spirit in the group (OGAChO. F. 1041. Ser.1. C.71. P.71). Some citizen stole sheets and blankets from a dormitory of a front-line town and sold them on the Zlatoust market. During the court proceeding he referred to the order of Stalin on the inadmissibility of leaving anything for the enemy. He was declared not guilty. Judge Turyanovskaya was called to the regional directorate of the Republican People's Commissariat of Justice and was reprimanded for encouraging looters (OGAChO. F. 1041. Ser.1. C.68. P.48).

Sometimes stealing was conducted by absolutely normal people who just tired of sombre days and wanted some holiday. For example, Zaramenskikh D.I., invalided out from the army because of trauma, 32-year father of three children, was convicted for 3 years of imprisonment by the People's Court of the Dalmatovsky District of the Chelyabinsk region because he facilitated taking out of 8 poods of rye and 15 kg of kerosene from the warehouse; he exchanged these products for an accordion. He was imprisoned for 1 month at NKVD jail. The Supreme Court of RSFSR felt sorry for the accordionist and replaced the rest of sentence by a conditional sentence (SARF. F.385 Ser.12. C.62. P.76).

A complex and crucial issue which significantly determined an image of economic criminality during the war were petit thefts from the production facilities committed by the workers and teenagers. In Q3 1944 they made 34 % of all the delicts committed by this social group (SARF. F.385 Ser.12. C.62. P.76). Greater punitive measures <sup>1</sup> didn't take any effect due to a range of subjective and objective circumstances. Exemplify by specific cases. In April 1944 the list of "notorious desorganizers" sentenced to the imprisonment included 17-year old young communist Sergey Motorin who had been considered a top performer who fulfilled the plans by 300% not too long ago. He was the hero of publications in a general circulation paper, was awarded commendations and bonuses. At the conveyor line reorganization he was transferred from one machine to another several times. Sergey didn't manage to re-qualify for such a short time, his performance was lower, and so did his wages. He hadn't money even for buying up a food ticket. He sold undergarment, left a dormitory and spent nights in the workshop. Neither Komsomol Committee, nor Trade Union were interested in his destiny. Answering the question of Head of Chelyabinsk Directorate of NKVD M.F. Pavlov on the reasons of this abnormal situation occurring in the life of a normal guy, Party Organizer Rukhinin said that "this is not an orphanage, we should fulfill the plan and cannot bring up homeless children. These thefts cannot be changes, they should be shot". The militia officer in chief decided to report the case to the Secretary of the Regional Committee of the AUCP(b) N.S. Patolichev. The Party management insisted on urgent measures taking. A 6-hour working day without extra work hours and night shifts was introduced for teenagers. It was prohibited to use them for those works that stipulate for hard or harmful labour conditions and were provided a day off every week. Most of them were provided a two-week leave with the stay in the plant recreation center. Every underage worker was provided by garments, shoes, three meals daily. Gradually, the crime situation at this section became normal (OGAChO. F.288. Ser.8. C.228. Pp.10,15). The negligence to the daily living needs of the employed youth on the part of plant administration was an obvious facilitating factor for such types of misdeeds. The other reasons include the absence of one or both parents, lack of supervision and provocations on the adults' part. Unfortunately, the district element of the law enforcement system didn't study or prevent the juvenile delinquency prerequisites during the wartime because it was beyond its opportunities.

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<sup>1</sup> By the Decree of the Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR of August 10, 1940 "On Criminal Liability for Petit Thefts at Production and for Disruptive Behaviour" those caught in stealing were sentenced for 1 year of imprisonment while previously for such a misdeed a person got public reprimanding at the conditions of damage compensation or dismissal and exclusion from the trade union. (Authors' note).

In the first place, superior authorities required operative employees to improve the crime detection rate and not the skill of understanding the peculiarities of juvenile psychology. It resulted in mistakes during investigation. In September 1944 three Chelyabinsk schoolers of 12-16 years were almost imprisoned. L.Shulgin, Yu. Popov and S.Pushkarev. They took instruments from the Science Classroom of the school No. 48 (place of their study) without authorization. They were detained for 2 months. However, the court spotted just a childish curiosity in their actions, not the lucrative purposes. It was revealed that children constructed homemade electrical machines and just lacked the components (OGACHO. F.1041. Ser.5 C.7. Pp.88,90). Young metalworker of Chelyabinsk Welding Plant A.A.Vaev, born in 1927, having no prior criminal record, was arrested by the suspicion in group deceptive practices with product coupons. He was distressed, got sick and incriminated himself under the pressure of an investigator. At the court he withdrew his testimony and was vindicated as his confession was a sole proof against him (OGACHO. F.288. Ser.9. C.201. P.29).

The memorandum to the RSFSR public prosecutor A.A. Volin "On Results of the Cassation Practice Study on Cases of Socialist Property Stealing under the Law dated August 7, 1932" dated April 9, 1943, told about 15-year-old Baranov, sentenced to 10 years of imprisonment, who, together with other suspects, took part in the theft of 1,700 m of the cloth from a railway carriage. The RSFSR Supreme Court changed the penalty under the article 162 CC, paragraph "d" suggesting 3 years of imprisonment, for the reason that the teenager lived alone after the evacuation to Kuybyshev (his father fought in the Red Army and his mother had gone missing) and fell under malignant influence of the streets □SARF F.461. Ser.8. C.437. P.17,18). To avoid such blunders, V.Ya. Gromilov, Head of the USSR DAMSP Department argued that employees were allowed taking part in the investigation of cases concerning thefts of the state-owned property only after the consent of heads of republican, territorial and regional militia directorates. □SARF F.9415. Ser.5 C.89. P.37).

These were seasoned criminals and adventurers who used to plan their schemes in a large scale and were inventive who posed the real, not the false threat to the community. One of them, Kukhtenko, on June 4, 1943 stole stamps and the round seal of the Moscow District Inspectorate for the People's Commissariat of Fuel Industry and traveled around Soviet cities as he pretended to be a high-rank official – a member of the government, an authorized person of the Council of People's Commissars etc. He falsified documents and got a lot of bread and food stamps, allegedly for geological and exploration crews, and sold them. Since September 1943, he made the rounds along Gus-Khrustalny-Chelyabinsk route. He was stopped by the militia on the market and they confiscated 74 sets of stamps and 27,174 RUB in cash. He escaped from the municipal militia department and continued his habitual craft: in Bryansk since November 1944 and in Orel two months later. During his adventures he misappropriated 3,926 kg of bread, 831 kg of meat, 188 kg of fats, 190 kg of sugar, 493 kg of grain. The damage he had inflicted to the state amounted to 580,900 RUB. Kukharenko had already had three sentences. At the early 1930<sup>s</sup>, the special meeting of NKVD had sentenced him to execution by a firing squad that had been replaced by 10 years in prison. Then articles 109 and 116 of the RSFSR CC appeared. In May 1945 the seasoned criminal was executed upon the decree of the Chelyabinsk Regional Court □OGACHO. F. 1041. Ser.5 C.8. P.24,211).

At the end of the 1990s the unprecedented story about N. Pavlenko, the large-scale scammer, was brought to the public knowledge. As he had defected from the army in March 1942, he founded the criminal gang disguised as a military construction unit. He gathered career criminals as well as his family and friends under its protection, more than 300 "soldiers" in total. As they had false official seals, blank pages and certificates, accomplices, by cheating and bribing commanders of rear sub-units started large-scale thefts and robberies of the state-owned and looted property on the territories liberated from the enemy. Before being caught in

1952, Pavlenko, by using the open account in the State Bank, had managed to appropriate more than 30 mln RUB. (11, p. 56-59).

A shadow deal sometimes was disguised as a standard sales and purchase contract although it actually implied several stages and a number of interested parties took part in it. Some Simonov was registered as an authorized person of one manufacturing site. With the consent of the director he sent the official request of three tons of enamel to Glavkhimbyt Group. He hid the invoice he had received and made the fake invoice on behalf of the manufacturing site where he increased the amount in three times and submitted it to the municipal department of the people's education urgently in need of the paint to make repairs in schools. At this, he asked to split the payment: to pay the part of it to the supplier, i.e. the group, and to distribute the remaining amount between two third-party companies, allegedly by set-off. He took his "fee" in cash. The trick was that the fraud used teachers' money to pay for services and goods received by him, not by the manufacturing site. Before being caught, he made few more such transactions: with the feed for the cattle, with wine and vehicle spare parts and appropriated about one million roubles. He built a large house for himself with an allotment, bought a bicycle, a motorbike and a cow. He presented his wife with the expensive jewelry. The irresistible lure of luxury played a cruel joke with Simonov. The reason for the custody was the testimony of his chauffeur who witnessed quick accumulation of that wealth □10, p. 32).

The relatively well-off life of shady businessmen would be impossible without a widespread chain that traded in the stolen fabrics, ready-made clothes, shoes, knitted items. One of its channels consisted of artisans registered in the financial department and having the individual labour activity. They supplied their own items made of the "illegitimate" raw material and semi-finished products to their customers. Such artisans that were middle-aged and elderly men, were found to be more than 40 thousand people in the USSR in 1945. □SARF F.9415. Ser.5 C.93. P.29). They resented the harsh discipline in the state-owned sector, wanted to be independent and to have unsupervised earnings. People with difficult lives could be found among them, such as deported people, well-off peasants in exile, former White Guards, foreign citizens, political prisoners as well as family members of convicted people. The fact that the private-owned trade was temporary allowed in the Ukrainian SSR after it had been liberated from occupation limited opportunities to ensure the accountability of those persons for profiteering.

The information about the lifestyle of thieving moneymakers is genuinely interesting. In June 1943, such persons were under surveillance in June 1943 in Malakhovka (Moscow Region). It was found out that they spent dozens of times more than their official income was. For example, Kashirin, who was employed as a meat cleaver, spent more than 10 thousand rubles as his salary was 250 RUB per month. As NKVD infiltrators notified, many of them were disguised as petty traders of needles, paper, nails but in fact they used the marketplace as a stock exchange where they made large-scale transactions with each other. They sold and purchased the products under the disguise of the kolkhoz trading. The administration of the market turned a blind eye to it in exchange to bribes □SARF F.9415. Ser. 5. C. 91. P.167).

Actually, bribery was a specific characteristics of the wartime routine. At the end of the 1930s it was mentioned only as a capitalistic relic that had been already wiped out. J. Heinzen, PhD of Glassboro University (USA), who studied this issue, states in his article "Corruption and Anti-Bribery Campaigns in the Period of Wartime and Postwar Stalinism, 1943-1953" that corruption specifically increased among Soviet officials after 1943. The researcher came to the conclusion that it was difficult to determine its absolute value as few cases made their way into statistical reports. Reasons included forced migration of population, poverty, urgent lack of accommodation, food and transportation, the destabilized legal system and disrupted logistics. The strict nature of laws against moneymaking that made accused persons into "buying a pardon" from servants of the law was emphasized. However, the historian made a meaningful

reservation that illegal gifts gave the opportunity to “operate” in the society supervised by the huge, oppressive, self-willing state machine and to cross institutional borders with it. The opinion was made that the law enforcement bodies, that were chief “investigators” and “persecutors” of bribery, were somehow corrupted too (9, p. 95).

The archive data partially prove the picture. Thus, the memorandum of M.F. Pavlov, the head of UNKVD for Chelyabinsk Region, to N.S. Patolichev, the first secretary of the Regional Party Committee “On the Work of the Militia in 1944” shows that 231 militia officers took advantage of their positions, 7 officers were caught on bribery, 4 officers came into contact with criminals. However, there were much more of them who were awarded: 530 people. By the way, junior officers in departments of internal affairs received only bread for food but only for themselves, not for their families. Even senior officers were not entitled to get reserved meals and ration packs (OGACHO F.288. Ser.8. C.227 P.32).

Omissions and connivance by law enforcement bodies made the environment fit for criminalization of economic relations. For example, Perenchenko, the director of Magnitogorsk “Soyuzsovkhoztrans” transport column No. 45 rented out vehicles to individuals who transported food from the countryside to the city at nights. During June-August 1943 only he earned 50,500 RUB for rendering that service. (OGACHO F.288. Ser.7. C.227 P.38). Khodusev, the chief inspector of Sverdlovsk Region Union of Consumer Communities took bribes in 30 kg of bread, 115 kg of vegetables, 24 kg of meat, 6 kg of fats, 2.2 kg of sugar, 6.5 l of vodka as well as great amounts of milk, tinned products and eggs during inspections of some village stores in July 1944. He was dismissed as a penalty (State Archive for the Sverdlovsk Region (SASR) F.282. Ser.2. C.166. P.76).

Shvedchikova, the representative of Chelyabinsk Municipal Party Committee, who came to the head of the human resource department for the municipal group of canteens to check documents, found him with a visitor who, without any shame in front of strangers, asked him: “Good man, please, find me a place in a good canteen, I will return the favor”. (OGACHO F.92. Ser.5 C.92. P.14). In January 1944, Shestakova, the instructor of the commercial department for the Chelyabinsk Municipal AUCP(b) Committee, during her inspection of the local party committee in Spetstorg, managed to speak frankly with Ogurtsova, the head of the food service industry. The woman told her that she, being a communist, felt great remorse as she had to always “placate” employees of bases otherwise she wouldn't get anything on government assignment. Apart from money, vodka, cigarettes, unlimited meals in a corporate restaurant were offered. Trusted contacts with Milk Processing Plant, Meat Processing Plant, Fish Trading Company, Vitamin Plant were made through gifts. Ogurtsova complained: “You go to work to commit crimes. Bribes are everywhere. Nothing is done without them”. She especially dwelled upon “business relations” with Zabitsky, a representative of Glavsnables. As he was responsible for redemption of fuel (wood and coal) orders, he got free deliveries of alcoholic beverages, tobacco, meat. Moreover, Spetstorg met not only personal needs of their director with their vehicles but also needs of his multiple mistresses (OGACHO F.92. Ser.5 C.263. P.13).

By the way, the story about the role of attractive women who provoked influential, affectionate men not overburdened with moral principles into illegal deeds is often found in sources. So, on April 10, 1944 the joined party meeting of the military persecution department and the military tribunal of NKVD units for Chelyabinsk garrison heard the personal case of the court secretary Romanova, who, out of greed, lived with the head of the food warehouse Korolev and used to get food from him such as butter, grains, lard, sugar, cigarettes, money being aware that they were stolen. When the latter was dismissed, Romanova said that she was breaking up with him as he was unable to provide for her now. The insulted lover broke into apartment of his mistress, started shooting, sought to kill her and himself. By the way, the woman had the husband on the frontline who sent her money under the certificate, she received the outfit and the salary from

the Military tribunal. Her pleas for material assistance were regularly met. It was also found out that she had the intimate relations with the persecutor of Zlatoust Sazhko who also made valuable gifts to her and was ready to get a divorce for his new flame, but the local municipal party committee did not approve it. The femme fatale had a permanent written warning registered in her record card □OGAChO F.1097. Ser.1. C.30. P.9,10).

Jealous wives deprived of their husbands' attention often punished those “responsible comrades” who liked to “have some fun”. Such mishap happened with Kasitsky, the people's judge for Glyadansky District of Chelyabinsk Region. He did not submit valuable items confiscated from accused persons as physical evidence to the District Financial Directorate for further sale and the revenue to the budget but appropriated them. He made the same thing with money of respondents confiscated as a reimbursement for the damage made to the state. He spent that money to entertainment. During one court hearing, his spouse entered the room, called his husband, who was a Themis' servant, a bandit and informed everyone who was present about mischiefs done by him. Then he was dismissed from the party and the job and sent to the prison □OGAChO F.1041. Ser.1. C.65. P.84,85).

In April 1942 the Department for Chelyabinsk Regional VKP (b) Committee reviewed the issue “On Some Municipal District Military Commissars Taking Advantage of Their Position”. It was found out that some of them illegally relieved logistic employees from the draft in exchange to the food. So, the military commissar for Yurgamyshsky District Kutin provided the exemption to the head of the district store Zykov. After the latter stopped meeting the increased demand, he was immediately sent to the army. The reason for the investigation was the notification about the individual corruption of the military commissar who regularly drank in the company of women of easy virtue. The District Party Committee asked to dismiss the soiled manager from his job and to bring him to the Party's account □OGAChO F.288. Ser.42. C.20. P.507,508□.

The accidents described above were usually explained by faulty headhunting and omissions in having educational measures, according to the tradition of that period. Partially, this was true. The urgent lack of qualified employees made employees with the profile education or at least with the relevant work experience to be worth their weight in gold. In order to fill a vacancy as quickly as possible, managers skipped checks of the biographical information submitted by candidates. Such negligence resulted into troubles. For example, the South Ural bread plants had the sole requirement to day laborers – to have passports with them. □OGAChO F.1041. Ser.1. C.74. P.2□. Librarians worked in food units as spare hands, portions were made by mechanics and sewers, turners and types were employed as waiters. Photographers were attendants of the dining hall, accountants were dishwashers, economists, teachers and rate setters were cashiers □OGAChO F.92. Ser.5 C.92. P.5,7□. Of course, these people, while changing their occupation, did not think about being useful in their new jobs but were led only by the desire to feed themselves at the expense of others.

In 1943 some Sergeeva was employed as a collector of the Central Saving Bank No. 20 of Chelyabinsk for the reason that she had been previously employed as a cashier in the Pushkin public garden. However, the militia regularly arrested her for wasteful spendings and she was released under the Restriction of Travel Order. The story had a sad ending: the woman appropriated 186 thousand RUR and escaped □OGAChO F.288. Ser.7. C.227 P.37). The mass false weighting of consumers was found in the canteen of the Magnitostroy Group No. 12. The kitchen was managed by the cook Lokshin who had spent 6 years in prison and the bread slicer Osipova who had also been in the camp for overpricing of the goods. Both of them were from families of political prisoners. This information was recorded by the summary of the Department of the Magnitogorsk Municipal AUCP(b) Committee “On Fighting Crimes in the City” □OGAChO F.234. Ser.18. C.72. P.3□. The most blatant case happened on the Kalinin plant that employed the large-scale thief Simonov who had previously been sentenced to

execution by a firing squad according to the Law dated August 7, 1932 with the replacement of the sentence to 10 years in prison, as a responsible person for the cargo delivery in the supply department. He immediately started producing fake agreements. The damage caused by him was more than 1 mln RUB. □OGACHO F.288. Ser.9. C.124. P.27□.

In their information letter dated August 1, 1944, the USSR People's Commissariat of Justice noted penetration of former clerks, salespeople and accountants who had only finished the elementary school, to Regional Bar Councils. □OGACHO F. 1041. Ser.2. F.30. Vol. 95). Many of them were attracted by the opportunity to get excessive fees for “cushy jobs” while cheating their customers. It is not surprising that 30 defenders (each fifth) lost their position for shameful deeds during the very first wartime year in Chelyabinsk Region. □OGACHO F.1041. Ser.5 C.3. P.336□. However, there are reverse examples when old-schooled lawyers were blackguarded for their honest and hard-line compliance with their official duty. In April 1942 I.N. Fursov, the lawyer of Petukhovskiy District for Chelyabinsk Region, won the case of Mikhaylova-Kurakevich, a member of AUCP(b), a wife of the commander, the World War II disabled veteran. She was accused of exaggeration of the settling-in allowance for evacuation and in illegal appropriation of food stamps for three children while she was a mother of two. The court got certificates confirming the death of one child during the trip to the destination and confirming the right to the additional payment the family was due after the wage of the husband for his service in the Red Army was recalculated. The lawyer was also able to prove that the head of the District Commercial Department Sopin was the part of the accusation. He gave his evidence to take revenge on the woman for her exposure of District Executive Committee's employees who wasted food funds for evacuated persons. The persecutor Kotokhov was extremely unhappy with such result. He made that Fursov was dismissed from the Party and the job for “his deliberate discredit of the District administration”. □OGACHO F.1041. Ser.2. C.22.. Pp.24-26).

During the war a type of a sincere “truth-seeker” was particularly illustrated by real examples. Below the authors present a case of Sadykov Mukhamet Mukhametovich, a Bolshevik with a pre-revolutionary service, former miner and a “red”guerrilla fighter. By the recommendation of the party bodies in January 1944, he was appointed to the position of the Food Supply Department Head of the Gumbeyskiy Mining Department under the jurisdiction of the Soviet People's Commissariat of Non-Ferrous Metallurgy (station Gumbeika of the South Ural railroad). The facility was occupied with the extraction of tungsten, gold and other rare metals. At first a newcomer was welcomed warmly. He was invited to fishing where fish was stunned with explosives, duck shooting with barbecue made of free lamb taken in the state-owned farm under the department patronage. In addition, he was invited to multiple parties, and one of them, was exceptionally luxurious with elite alcohol beverages served for the amount of 15 thousand rubles for 8 guests. After assimilating in the community, Sadykov understood that a large household of 1,000 ha of farming lands and household workshops (shoe, pimy production, tanning, sewing) served only privileged persons. Excess products were put on the market while the profit was distributed in compliance with the “table of ranks” (i.e., according to the position held). Industrial alcohol extracted for production needs was sold as drinkable, and the cost difference was not accounted. Industrial goods supplied from the state target funds at the state price never reached common miners. The goods were gripped by their administration who immediately put cash to a closed money box. With the request to help restore justice, Sadykov applied to the plant party organization at first, further - to the Nagaibakskiy District Committee of All-Union Communist Party of the Bolsheviks, and then - to the executive office. However, no official response was provided. He decided to abstain from joining such collective feasts. Occasionally, Sadykov initiated a series of inspections on wealth distribution; after that, the “trouble maker” was persecuted. The Party Control Regional Committee and the appropriate People's Commissariat joined the investigation. Finally,

Director of Gumbeyredmet Grigorovich was brought to court for the admitted excesses. But the truth-seeker was also punished. He was accused of indulging funds misused and dismissed (OGACHO F.297. Op.2. D.928. Pp.3-7).

Another bright example is associated with the name of G.T.Komarov, Party member since 1932, disabled Patriotic War veteran, bearer of 2 orders, who worked as Head of HR Department of the Employee Provisioning Department "Magnitostroi". He applied to the Party Committee, Magnitogorsk City Committee and Party Regional Committee for the Chelyabinsk Region with the request to cut unapologetic self-procurement of the trust management. Due to this he was deprived of reserved catering and award fees, and later on he was dismissed from the EPD administration not to stay on anybody's way. Despite the fact that a new position officially was a promotion (nobody risked to offend an honorary veteran), Komarov solicited for being reinstated in the previous position and promised to "do his best for saving socialistic property"; he was distressed that "critics was "clamped", and if one dares to say the truth, the one meets one's death" [OGACHO. F.234. Ser.19. C.95 Pp.195-197]. It seems that a strong character, a deep feeling of being involved in the destiny of the motherland, a habit to properly fulfill one's professional and civil debt combined with an ideological toughening and national culture were the factors that encouraged such conduct. However, there is another interpretation of this phenomenon. British researcher of stalinism V. Moskoff considered such activists to be the fanatic devotees of the Soviet regimen who prevented the other people (Moskoff called them "desperate") from adapting to a severe wartime reality (16, p.175).

While in the cities and workmen settlements there was at least slight control over those taking the positions that stipulated for material liability, in the rural areas the situation was uncomfortable. In four district consumer associations of the South Ural a special order for the army on toast drying was conducted by people that did not inspire political or business trust. Virtually all of them were reprimanded several times for improper fulfillment of their functions, and one of them was even expelled from the party. Consequently, the plan on dispatching ready products in 1941 was implemented by 70% only, and a fourth part of it was not suitable for eating and was rejected by Inspector of the People's Commissariat of Trade of RSFSR [SARF. F.339. Ser.1. C.35. Pp.12, 13]. In some districts the authorities recruited the old, physically challenged people or convicted for thefts to guard collective farm fields and stores but clearly, they were not able to do it. The Uvelskaya agricultural artel n.a. Chapaev appointed citizen Vinokurov to the position of seed carrier. In 1941 he had been convicted and sentenced to 4 years of labor camps because of stealing but then he was released earlier due to "good behaviour". After stealing 528 kg of wheat from a threshing floor he was sentenced for 10 years (OGACHO. F.288. Ser.7. C.227 Pp.41). Tellingly, Head of Central Union of Consumer Associations of the USSR N. P. Sidorov, occupying this position throughout the wartime, advised Deputy Chairman of the Regional Consumer Union (RCS) for the Sverdlovsk region Shadrina to recruit rich peasants (those having families, household farming, a house, a cow and chickens) for materially liable position to avoid funds misuse in the village cooperative store. He explained his opinion as follows: such a person will not misappropriate as he or she will be afraid of losing the existing property (Russian State Archive of Economics (RSAE). F. 484. Ser. 10. D. 452. Pp. 79,80).

In most cases salespersons misconducted because of bad material conditions. Thus, Rogozina, the best baker of the RCS for the Sverdlovsk region with a 10-year experience, gained 100 rubles per month. For ploughing 1 ha of land at the subsidiary farming (1 person with a horse and a plow could do it in 2-3 days) one could gain 5 rubles. (SASR. F.2075. Ser.4. C.77. P.21). It was not possible to live off such wages and people committed thefts not to starve. In addition, due to the absence of a coupon system deep in the countryside it was difficult to check the compliance with commercial rules. There in place was a procedure in compliance with that food and consumer commodities were distributed by lists and ration coupons. The lists were

intentionally lost while the ration coupons stipulated for the procurement in the course of fund replenishment which was not always reported to common collective farm workers. Moreover, any types of ration coupons and cards made in the underground printing offices, were available for buying in the Ural markets to sellers and other people at the prices 100-3,300 rubles (Russian State Archive of Social&Political History (RSASPH). F.17. Ser.3. C.49. P.78), and then they could issue any goods against coupons in their stores with the help of relatives and friends. One should take into account the dismantled revisionary administration caused by a mass military conscription of men. About 1/5 of district consumer associations and village cooperative stores was studied. The accounting did not comply with the requirements of the times and was conducted in aggregate monetary terms, not in quantitative&sort indices as it was required. In 1941-1942, in case of shortage its amount was collected from the convicted person at the retail, and not at the market prices; thus, the thieves gained their profit. An absolutely unsatisfactory situation in the consumer's cooperation in terms of stealing and misuse of funds made the People's Commissariat of Trade to refer the draft decree on its dissolution and transfer of its functions to a newly formed department subdivision, the Directorate of Main Agricultural Trade, to the Council of People's Commissariat of the USSR in March 1942 (RSAE. F. 7971. Ser.16. C.171. Pp.192,193). However, the Government estimated additional expenses related to the reorganization and rejected the suggestion.

The spike in economic crimes in the village commonly fell into the period of harvesting and purveyance campaigns. It was connected with the violation of a set procedure of agricultural products delivery to the state. In autumn 1942 the Shchuchanskiy collective farm "Soglasie" failed the plan for provisioning bread, wool, milk, meat and was deprived of the right to distribute a part of the grown foodstuffs by labor days. According to the opinion of the board members, the blame rested with Chairman Vaganov who, with the knowledge and in the best interests of the workers of the agricultural council of the District Executive Committee and the Party District Committee wasted and misappropriated collective farm property. A general meeting of the members of the agricultural artel decided to discharge Vaganov from work and bring to court, to which the latter replied: "All your efforts are vain. I am protected everywhere in the district". Indeed, the district administration prohibited to bother him. This fact is unique that it was made public in the regional paper listing the names of all corrupted officials (Chelyabinskiy Rapochiy. December 13, 1942).

A more wide-spread situation was a so-called "re-advancing": compassionate facility directors tried to save fellow villagers from starving and allowed for the above-level use of the harvest collected before they were able to conduct compulsory supplies. For this they were at risk of criminal sentence. In autumn 1943 Chairman of the collective farm n.a. Chkalov of the Kusa district of the Chelyabinsk region Kukhtin was sentenced for 10 years for giving 2,194 kg of seeds to starving peasants. The same time 17 more colleagues of Kukhtin were sentenced for similar misdeeds (OGACHO. F.288. Ser.7. C.8. P.13). The policy of "decapitation" of agricultural facilities did not facilitate setting a system of justice; on the contrary, it caused the agricultural crisis in the country. The representatives of the collective farm active core uniformly and flatly refused to take managing positions as they didn't want to become scapegoats. Striving for normalizing the situation, on October 25, 1943 Chairman of Judicial Board of the Chelyabinsk Regional Court Vedrov supported the suspension of frivolous repressions against the collective farm chairmen (OGACHO. F.2022. Ser.1. C.7. P.29). The Prosecution Office of the USSR approved the directive of "more cautiously" holding them liable for economic misdeeds on April 21, 1944.

More frequently, criminal manipulation of consumable goods involved the local administration employees. At the meeting with the Chairmen of consumer's associations at the Chkalovsky Regional Party's Committee held on June 27, 1942, delegate from the Buranny District Consumer Union Chernyak claimed that the wives of the Executive Committee Chairman and

Head of the Military Department of the District Committee of the AUCP(b) uncontrollably manage the village cooperative stores. The cooperative worker told that the Second Secretary of the Buranny Regional Committee called him to his office and suggested joining to the distribution of funds intended for orphanages, hospitals and teachers; the suggestion was flatly rejected (Orenburg State Archive of Social&Political History (OSASPH). F.371. Ser.6. C.797. P.18). At that time only a brave man could dare to criticize such situations. To eliminate the undesired truth-seekers, a tried and tested procedure was applied. When the Regional Committee received a letter that specific directors practice self-supply, it was forwarded for the investigation to those mentioned in such letter. Thus, Administrator of the Salavat Department of State Bank Rakhmatullin (BASSR) wanted to bring to justice Secretary of the Regional Committee of the AUCP (b) Nigmatyanov who got a grip of a cooperative store while Regional Committee employee Semenov, to whom the bank employee had addressed, thought the Nigmatyanov would resolve the issue by himself and punish himself (National Archive of Republic of Bashkortostan (NARB). F.122 Ser.22. C.13 P.4).

The violations were reported to the capital. In November 1943 by the assignment of Political Bureau member A.A.Andreyev the Authorized Employee of CPC at the Central Committee of the AUCP(b) for the Bashkir ASSR M.Zakharov investigated the claim of Rozenberg, Lenina-era Bolshevik, former assistant Moscow prosecutor, who was in evacuation at the Dmitrievka settlement of the Ufimskiy District, BASSR. The reason was a true war between Party Secretary Krupenya and Head of the Political Department of District Machine&Tractor Station Chernukha; they were fighting for the impact in the consumer association. Each of them wanted to appoint his own insider there. The first absolutely trusted Chairman Flikshtein, actually, previously convicted to 1 year and 8 months for financial misconduct. The second one wanted to appoint Semenova, wife of his assistant on Komsomol work, as a head. A central point of the fight was a warehouse of stolen products; the warehouse was organized in the agricultural school by Director Vargasova who combined these functions with the position of Acting Member of Village Cooperative Store Revision Committee. Finally, after the investigation the NKVD bodies initiated a lawsuit, but the Regional Committee Secretary used his business connections among top management, managed not only to preserve his position but also help all the case participants to flee from punishment (8, p. 210,211).

In case the information on abusive practices was made public, regional authorities had to react somehow. In 1942 the Bureau of the Party Regional Committee for the Sverdlovsk region dismissed from the position and awarded a severe reprimand with the record in the registration card to Secretary of the Irbitsky District Committee Davydov; the reason was that, by the Secretary's written instruction, more than 300 kg of butter and sugar and virtually 2.5 kg of meat was transferred to the canteen of the Soviet Party Activist Group from the District Consumer Association with sacrifice of social and children institutions (Center of Documentation of Non-Commercial Organizations of the Sverdlovsk Region (CDNCOSR). F.4. Ser.38. C.48. P.16). June 1944, the Bashkir ASSR was the site of a scandalous case that was made public; the Chairman of the industrial artel "Karlaman", member of the AUCP(b) and order bearer, was brought to the office of employee of District Department of People's Commissariat for State Security Utayev. The secret service agent required new garments for his wives and daughter saying the following (literally): "You must dress us. Come hell, but sew a garment. If you have no material, steal it, but if you steal it, you'll be imprisoned. Send a tailoress to my house". This time the artel was conducting a special order for a frontline and supplied underlinen for orphanages. After the cooperator's address to the corresponding instances, invalid claims were rejected (NA BR. F.122 Ser.25. C.461. Pp.13,14).

We must say that the district administration didn't live in poverty. Since July 1943, official procurement norms for the administration through the system of the Central Union were set 3-5 times higher than those for the disabled veterans of the Great Patriotic War. Most likely, the

aforementioned disgraceful deeds were caused by cynicism, greediness, conceit and spiritual degradation of those who facilitated them. For 1943 - Q1 1944 in the Chelyabinsk region alone 340 members of the AUCP(b) were expelled from the Party or received party disciplinary actions for official position abuse, socialistic property stealing, embezzlement, forgery, fraud and speculation. (OGACHO. F.288. Ser.8 C.399. P.15). However, the authorities appreciated “responsible workers”, even if they were in fault. They got the right to make an appeal. Those who made right conclusion and improved, were forgiven and transferred to some other important position<sup>2</sup>.

Confidence in their ability to keep “afloat” made some directors to falsify the data in the summary reports. In particular, some defensive plants of the Sverdlovsk region elevated the indices on the output of tanks, missiles for multiple rocket launchers (“Katyushas”), mine shells, cartridges (1, pp. 222-224). The goal was both to escape from the punishment for failing frontline orders and obtain significant monetary bonuses. The absence of reprimands from the top was guaranteed by an allied mutual support of the officials: military representatives, party organizers of the AUCP(b), specialists of military agencies. Regional Party Committees were also interested in sending false information to reporting centers to maintain their reputation as well as the reputation of the familiar production organizers.

A specific case of such fraud was described in the article made by M. (17). On the last day of August 1943 the Chelyabinsk Tank Plant No. 255 reported a complete fulfillment of a monthly programme; the truth was the plan was completed only two weeks later. Consequently, the next assignment was at risk of failure. At the personal meeting the Secretary of the Regional Committee assigned the Plant Director to eliminate the lag by October 5, and already on October 2, i.e., 3 days earlier than the scheduled date, the plant administration telegraphed the exceedance of September control figures by 0.3% to Moscow. Actually, the declared production volume was reached only by mid October. However, the People’s Commissar of Tank Industry, basing upon the data obtained, considered it possible to award the labour collective the third reward for the victory in the All-Union Socialistic Competition. To make both ends meet, the administration invented forced downtimes in Q4. The workers reported the state inspector on dishonesty of their administration, but the auditing bodies did not reveal obvious violations. As such maneuvers were commonplace, they were not perceived as misdeeds by the auditors (17, p. 13).

It is appropriate to say about flexible regulations and obscure criteria defining individual legal awareness of some prominent economic executives. Disciplinary measures towards those in fault were limited by reprimanding, downgrading or transition from the members to the candidates to the AUCP(b). But this was rather an exception than a rule. For 1943-1947 yy. 5,248 people were deprived of the party membership card for corruption practices, forgery and misappropriation of state-owned funds which equaled 0.07% of a total number of communists in the country (15, p. 39).

Summarizing the above-mentioned, statistical information on the number of people convicted for the stealing of state property, abuse of the official position and crimes in the commercial sphere in the USSR for 1940-1944 yy., including women and teenagers under 16 years (2, p.25).

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<sup>2</sup> Director of the Kirov and Nizhny Tagil Plant No. 183 I.M. Zaltsman was accused of the fact of the embezzlement of approximately 100 tonnes of rationed products (meat, fish, fats, groats, sugar, cheese, etc.). It prevented the workers from coupon redemption. The Prosecution Office of the USSR initiated an investigation. However, a month later he was appointed to the position of the People’s Commissar of Tank Industry. See: (13, p. 123).

Year	Total cases of state property stealing	% of committed crimes		In servicing
		By women	Teenagers under 16	
.1940	171194	12.5%	3.5%	121292
1941	181443	14.3%	4.3%	123138
1942	193527	30.3%	7.4%	80866
1943	216608	41.8%	7.2%	88778
1944	248668	43.4%	6.9%	101048

It is obvious that for the last pre-war year 16% of economic crimes were committed by women or children, by the end of war every alternative person practiced stealing against a 1.5 times increased number of crimes in general. It is explained by extreme poverty of the families left without husbands and fathers, and the court mildness towards close family members of the Red Army soldiers which can be provoking in some sense. One should not ignore a cunning nature of malicious plunderers and speculators who engaged children, their mothers and the homeless into their criminal practices to flee from justice.

The figures on the sex, age and social composition of the convicted by Law of 7/8<sup>3</sup> at the beginning of 1946 are quite informative; they are provided in Tables 1, 2, 3 (without the data of those conducting official waste spending) (3, pp. 136,139)[.

Table 1.

Age	under 20 years.	under 30 years.	under 40 years.	under 50 years.	Older than 50 years
% of convicted people	4 %	20 %	22 %	35 %	19 %

Table 2.

Gender	men	women
% of convicted people	77 %	23 %

Table 3.

Social status	officials	collective farmers	housewives	beach-combers	Professional criminals	Workers
% of convicted people	62 %	12 %	10 %	7 %	6 %	3 %

## Conclusion

<sup>3</sup> This norm was intended for fighting with organized, frequently occurred and deliberate state property stealing. In total, in the country during the wartime every 20th theft registered was qualified by these markers. However, in certain regions, for example, in the Bashkir ASSR in the second half of 1944 this index reached 70%. The sanctions stipulated included freedom deprivation at least for 10 years or shooting death. (Authors' note).

During the Great Patriotic War the USSR established hard consumption rationing in compliance with the defense&industrial priorities and a professional&status position of the workers. However, even minimum necessary living standards were not complied with on a list of parameters. Under such conditions a social basis of economic crimes significantly expanded. Most citizens searched for any opportunity to buy goods at fixed prices and then illegally resell or exchange to satisfy their common needs. Some directors, Party&Soviet actors used various criminal practices for benefit gaining from their top positions. They were characterized by the arrogance and negligence of the subordinate interests in case these were not their “close friends”, Some representatives of the mentioned social category did not despise document manipulation. Collective responsibility protected from punishment in a reliable way.

Sometimes prohibited but profitable transactions were conducted by good faith economic men striving to keep a stable pace of operation and motivating the staff at the plants entrusted. The membership in the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks), good biography and a great employment record protected these people from legal prosecution.

After a small break one could observe the activation of the “experienced” criminals, speculators-frauds and other antisocial elements adapting their specific skills and inclinations to the war situation. The undertaken stealing of state property were distinguished by a reasoning, impertinence and a great scale.

The authors should particularly outline petit thefts who had wit and inventiveness. Telling lies to the watchmen or conspiring with them, they turned the products of the plant and component parts into a source of additional income. This cohort must be separated from working teenagers who had lost their families and friends or isolated from the family and deprived of the attention on the part of a working team. Oftentimes, the violations of labor discipline were provoked by poor living conditions.

Industrial artels and specialists working by the patents were the intermediates in the selling and supplying of products unaccounted. According to social characteristics of that time, they were outcast that got used to independent actions, had business skills and knew the market situation. Underground tycoons shared a part of the profit with them which made the handicrafters feel quite self-confident in the dialogue with law enforcement bodies.

Most militia officers, court and prosecution office employees were the appropriate people for their positions. However, the absence of procurement benefits, emergency operation mode combined with a vast range of powers of authority and an opportunity to take decisions on force application at their own discretion facilitated bribery. The factor facilitating the position misuse was a desire to live a “better life”.

The increase in the number of economic misdeeds could be partially explained by the imbalanced and improper HR policy. The population priorities in terms of employment changed because of material problems. The prestigious jobs were those where one could get free catering or gain some profit: public catering places, stores, department distribution centers, wholesale bases, procurement agencies, etc. These were also the jobs to invite relatives and friends; the sharing of hidden products and consumer goods was discussed beforehand. These were also the object where, by fair means or foul, people with doubtful biographies get; here they practiced stealing of state property.

Alongside with this, pain and deprivations of the wartime did not psych out true patriots advocated rigorous compliance with socialistic laws. They had a significant life experience, battle experience, years long military service. They were brave enough to uphold the principles of social justice alone because they were sure everybody should follow them.

In the villages a criminal situation had its specific features explained by mass lack of food and sometimes by peasant starvation. As the state took a large part of harvested products for virtually no compensation, a socialized sector could not serve as a source of their existence. Alongside with this, a bad organization of dropping and threshing-floors caused the situation

when village residents, specially those offended by the actions of the Soviet authorities, tempted to take away the bread grown. Very often these were chairmen of agricultural artels who wasted grain, meat, milk and vegetables. Some did it for lucrative purposes being a link of a chain of local directors practicing self-supply, the other risked their position because of altruism helping common people to survive.

Consumer cooperation turned into a center of all possible abusive practices. As it was a sole official channel of goods supply to the village, somewhere its lower subdivisions were under the dictate of the district administration. Rich (by war criteria) “people servants”, healthy and strong, unapologetically stole from the weak and unprotected people although they should take care of them in the first place.

Note that in the period of 1941-1945 there was a rise in the number of delinquent economic misdeeds among women and teenagers who lost their breadwinners. They just didn’t see any other way out. However, the main malicious plunderers were men of 30-50 years taking key positions in various economic and management areas with appropriate education, qualification and having the authority in the selected activity sphere.

Therefore, during the Great Patriotic War the economic crimes involved not only criminals but also those social layers which used to be law-abiding people during a peaceful time. Their perfect reputation, involvement in the production process and a power vertical at various levels, from mere contractors to decision-making persons, facilitated crime implementation and made it more difficult to reveal lucrative purpose.

A large part of those trenching upon the state property did it because of unlucky train of events. They can be defined as an “accidental type” of lawbreakers committing petit thefts. However, this type of “criminals” came into view of law enforcement bodies.

Further, by the extent of social threat, one can name a “situation” type of criminals. It mostly involved the mid level directors who had positive characteristics in general, were politically literate, but were not able to combat with the temptation and sometimes abused their official powers to improve their financial situation.

The next type is called “unstable” criminals with significant deformations in their personal structure and held liable for disciplinary of criminal cases in the past. Their dominating traits were cynicism, moral relativism and inclination to manipulate the people around them.

At last, a “malicious type” demonstrated an absolute legal nihilism, hatred and disrespect for the existing social order, readiness to continue and improve their criminal actions. This type posed the greatest threat.

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### List of abbreviations

AUCP(b) - All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks).  
PCP - Party Control Committee.  
NKVD – People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs.  
NKGB – People's Commissariat for State Security.  
RCA - Regional Consumer’s Association.  
EPD - Employee Provisioning Department.  
CPC - Council of People's Commissars.  
CC - Criminal Code.

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#### Anthropology of economic crime during the Great Patriotic war (1941 - 1945)

The article is devoted to the problem of economic crime in the USSR, aggravated during the years of Great Patriotic War. The subject of the study was the anthropological parameters of persons who committed criminal offenses in the economic sphere. The random, situational, unstable and malicious types of offenders are identified and characterized. Previously, historians limited themselves to describing specific torts, systematizing them by type, quantity, and branches of production. At the same time, the human factor was not given due attention. The source base of the study includes Russian and English historiographic sources, materials from the federal and regional archives of the Russian Federation, as well as publications of periodicals of the war years. The originality of the task required the use of complex tools. The neoinstitutional theory in combination with the historical and cultural approach served as the methodological basis. Of the special methods, sociological, prosopographic, case-study, etc. were used. It is shown in the paper that the majority of the population loyal to the Stalinist regime, including women and adolescents, were involved in speculation. A significant part of the administration of enterprises and representatives of local authorities was engaged in criminal transactions for the purpose of personal enrichment. In addition, many workers viewed petty thefts from factories as one way of survival. Large thefts were organized and carried out by professional swindlers. The centers of concentration of shadow operations were fishing and consumer cooperation, where marginal elements predominated, and unaccounted cash served as a source for bribes to justice officials. In government trade and public catering, mainly relatives and proxies of influential people, focused on the creation and sale of unaccounted stocks, settled. The crop was plundered in the village. Both simple peasants and collective farm chairmen took part in this. If the former tried to escape from need, the latter were concerned about meeting the needs of the district authorities, on which their fate directly depended. It is concluded that the main contingent of embezzlers consisted of men from 30 to 50 years old, who held key positions in management, who received the appropriate education and qualifications.

Статья посвящена проблеме экономической преступности в СССР, обострившейся в годы Великой Отечественной войны. Предметом изучения стали антропологические параметры лиц, которые совершали уголовно наказуемые проступки в хозяйственной сфере. Выявлены и охарактеризованы случайный, ситуативный, неустойчивый и злостный типы правонарушителей. Ранее историки ограничивались описанием конкретных деликтов, систематизируя их по видам, количеству, отраслям производства. При этом человеческому фактору не уделялось должного внимания. Источниковая база исследования включает в себя русско- и англоязычные историографические источники, материалы федеральных и региональных архивов Российской Федерации, а также публикации периодических изданий военных лет. Неординарность поставленной задачи потребовала применения комплексного инструментария. Методологической основой послужила неoinституциональная теория в сочетании с историко-культурологическим подходом. Из специальных методов использовались социологический,

просопографический, case-study и др. В работе показано, что в спекуляцию было вовлечено большинство лояльного сталинскому режиму населения, в том числе женщины и подростки. Криминальными сделками с целью личного обогащения занималась значительная часть администрации предприятий и представителей местной власти. Кроме того, многие рабочие рассматривали мелкие кражи с заводов и фабрик как один из способов выживания. Крупные хищения организовывали и осуществляли профессиональные аферисты. Центрами сосредоточения теневых операций являлись промысловая и потребительская кооперация, где преобладали маргинальные элементы, а неучтенная наличность служила источником для взяток сотрудникам органов юстиции. В государственной торговле и общественном питании обосновались, преимущественно, родственники и доверенные лица влиятельных персон, ориентированные на создание и реализацию неучтенных запасов. В деревне расхищался выращенный урожай. В этом участвовали и простые крестьяне, и председатели колхозов. Если первые пытались спастись от нужды, то вторые были озабочены удовлетворением потребностей районного начальства, от которого напрямую зависела их судьба. Сделан вывод, что основной контингент казнокрадов составляли мужчины от 30 до 50 лет, занимавшие ключевые должности в управлении, получившие соответствующее образование и квалификацию.