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## Nordic Fishermen in the Soviet Union: Ethnic Purges and the Cleansing of the Cultural Landscape

### Introduction

Historians have put forward many explanations for the mass repression of various ethnic groups that was committed by Stalin's regime; two approaches are particularly relevant. Most scholars focus on the security dilemma in the border area, suggesting a need to secure the ethnic integrity of Soviet space against neighbouring capitalistic enemy states. They stress the role of international relations and believe that representatives of the so-called "Western minorities" were killed or deported not because of their ethnicity, but rather because of their connection to countries hostile to the Soviet Union and the fear of disloyalty to the Bolshevik regime.<sup>1</sup> Other scholars argue that the Soviet Terror against minorities was similar to a genocide based on ethnic criteria.<sup>2</sup>

Most prior studies of the ethnic aspects of the Stalinist Terror have focused on the large "diaspora nationalities" and on central power makers. This study focuses on aspects that have been understudied by previous research on the Soviet Terror, as

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<sup>1</sup> Nicholas Werth, "The Mechanism of a Mass Crime: The Great Terror in the Soviet Union, 1937–38". *The Specter of Genocide: Mass Murder in Historical Perspective*. Edited by Robert Gellately and Ben Kiernan. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2003, 215–239; Michael Mann, *The dark side of democracy: explaining ethnic cleansing*. Cambridge University Press, New York 2005, 318–328; Hiroaki Kuromiya, *The voices of the dead: Stalin's great terror in the 1930s*. Yale University Press, New Haven 2007, 141–143; Victor Dönninghaus, *V teni Bol'shogo brata. Zapadnye men'shinstva v SSSR 1917–1938 gg.* ROSSPEN, Moskva 2011.

<sup>2</sup> Auvo Kostiaainen, "The Finns of Soviet Karelia as a Target of Stalin's Terror". *World Congress for Central and East European Studies, Ethnic and national issues in Russian and East European history*. Edited by John Morison. St. Martin's Press, New York 2000, 214–229; Norman M. Naimark, *Stalin's genocides*. Princeton University Press, Princeton NJ 2010; Timothy Snyder, *Bloodlands: Europe between Hitler and Stalin*. Bodley Head, London 2010, 92–108.

well as on the history of Nordic emigration to the East.<sup>3</sup> This paper concentrates on small homogeneous communities of Nordic fishermen in the Soviet Union.

In her study of Polish and German settlements in Ukraine, Kate Brown shows that Soviet policy in the ethnic borderland demonstrated the weakness rather than the strength of a regime that used mass violence to destroy prosperous and independent communities.<sup>4</sup> Andrea Graziosi and Elena Solonchuk turn attention to the powerful resistance of the German colonists of Ukraine to collectivization and state-run anti-religious actions, based in particular on significant humanitarian aid from Germany.<sup>5</sup> The case of the Nordic communities is different. First, the empirical material contains no evidence of mass resistance or disloyalty of Nordic settlers to the Soviet policy. The first and only Swedish kolkhoz in the Soviet Union was voluntarily founded by re-emigrants from Sweden and by Swedish communists as an “exemplary kolkhoz” under the auspices of the Communist International. The Finnish kolkhoz *Tarmo* (Energy) on the Barents Sea coast was the richest fishery cooperative in the Soviet Union. Second, although the Finnish settlers lived in the border area and represented a “hostile state”, the Swedish colonists lived inland. Unlike Finland, Sweden was not on the list of primary Soviet enemies. Thus, the security situation was different for these two groups. How did this difference affect the state-run terror? How did the contact colonists had with their homelands contribute, both to the survival and to the destruction of ethnic communities? Finally, this paper discusses the long-term roles of state violence. How have ethnic purges affected local communities in the long-term perspective? How was the cleansing of the non-Slavic cultural heritage and landscape implemented? In what way is the Nordic past of target settlements represented in today’s Russia and Ukraine? Using a micro-historical approach, this

<sup>3</sup> See: Max Engman, *S:t Petersburg och Finland*. Finska vetenskaps societeten, Diss. Helsingfors Universitet 1983; Bengt Jangfeldt, *Svenska vägar till S:t Petersburg: kapitel ur historien om svenskarna vid Nevans stränder*. Wahlström & Widstrand, Stockholm 1998; Helene Carlback, “Svenskar i Ryssland – svenskt i Ryssland”. *Människan i historien och samtiden: Festskrift till Alf W Johansson*. Edited by Ragnar and Fredrika Bjorklund. Hjalmarson & Hogberg, Stockholm 2000, 62–81; *In the North My Nest is Made: Studies in the History of the Murman Colonization 1860–1940*. Edited by Alexey Iurchenko and Jens Petter Nielsen. European University, St. Petersburg 2005; Alexey Golubev and Irina Takala, *The Search for a Socialist El Dorado. Finnish Immigration to Soviet Karelia from the United States and Canada in the 1930s*. Michigan State University Press, Michigan 2014.

<sup>4</sup> Kate Brown, *A Biography of No Place: From Ethnic Borderland to Soviet Heartland*. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA 2005.

<sup>5</sup> Andrea Graziosi, “Collectivisation, révoltes paysannes et politiques gouvernementales à travers les rapports du GPU d’Ukraine de février-mars 1930”. *Cahiers du monde russe*. Volume 35, 1994, 438–472; Elena Solonchuk, “Raskulachivanie v nemetskikh rayonakh Odesskogo okruga: zima-vesna 1930 goda”. *Nemtsy Odessy i Odesskogo regiona*. Edited by Alfred Eisfeld and Elvira G. Pleskaya-Zebold. Astroprint, Odessa 2003, 217–233.

study reaches a new level of detail on the nature and long-term results of the Soviet Terror.<sup>6</sup>

## Theory and method

The theoretical model of this study is based on the ethnic violence approach – the investigation of different phases and dimensions of ethnic cleansing. This model sees ethnic violence as a gradual political process that is divided into various phases and dimensions. The first phase concerns the preparation and conceptualization of state-run mass violence. The crucial question here is how an ideology of hatred is formulated by the political leadership and then mediated to the local authorities and the broader public through official records and the press. The second phase relates to the technology and short-term effects of mass killing and deportation. The last phase involves the long-term results of the destruction, the cleansing of cultural landscapes, the politics of forgetting and its consequence for the affected ethnic community.<sup>7</sup> The present article covers the third phase, with a particular focus on the long-term results of ethnic purges and the destruction of a cultural landscape. The empirical material is based on two homogeneous communities of Baltic Sea fishermen in the Soviet Union: a fishing village, Uura, located in the Murmansk region, and a Swedish settlement, Gammalsvenskby, located in the Kherson region.

The methodology of this study is based on a micro-historical approach. This approach brings isolated and cohesive national communities under the researcher's microscope. As Giovanni Levy points out, the micro-historical method allows the researcher to reduce the scale of observations significantly and to focus on a particular social group, after having processed a massive complex of written and oral sources.<sup>8</sup> Thus, this approach provides an opportunity to explore ethnic purges and landscape cleansing through the example of local homogeneous groups. A micro-historical approach makes it possible to reach a new level of detail. Micro-history does not mean ignoring a macro-historical perspective. On the contrary, an investigation into

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<sup>6</sup> This study was supported by the Foundation for Baltic and East European Studies and Södertörn University as a part of the project *Nordic Minorities and Ethnic Cleansing on the Kola Peninsula* (2013–2016). The author wishes to thank Prof. Norbert Götz, Prof. Lars Elenius, Dr. Tatiana Shrader, Prof. Kari Alenius and anonymous reviewers for their comments and suggestions on prior drafts.

<sup>7</sup> Andrej Kotljarchuk, "The Nordic Threat: Soviet Ethnic Cleansing on the Kola Peninsula". *The Sea of Identities. A Century of Baltic and East European Experiences with Nationality, Class, and Gender*. Edited by Norbert Götz. Södertörn University Academic Studies, Stockholm 2014b, 53–83.

<sup>8</sup> Giovanni Levi, "On Microhistory". *New perspectives on historical writing*. Edited by Peter Burke. Polity, Cambridge 2001, 97–119.

the past of Nordic colonies reveals the expansive pages of European history. Like Nazism, Stalinism was a Europe-wide phenomenon.

## Historical background

The Finnish colony Uura (*Ura-Guba* in Russian) was founded in 1864 on the Kola Peninsula by fishermen from Finland and Sweden-Norway. Most of its population came from the coastal region of the Grand Duchy of Finland – Oulu Province. Like elsewhere in the most northern part of Scandinavia, the fishermen and hunters of sea animals coexisted there with Sami reindeer herders and farmers, creating a mix of cultures.<sup>9</sup> Uura is situated on the Ura River, 2 km from the Gulf of Ura and 25 km from the deep sea. Today, the settlement Ura-Guba is part of the Kola district of the Murmansk region in Russia. From 1864 to 1933, Uura was a principally Finnish settlement on the Russian coast of the Barents Sea, and the centre of the Lutheran Church on the Kola Peninsula. A Finnish school was opened in the village in 1868 and functioned until 1939. The 1928 regional census counted 2,111 Finns (including Karelians) in the Murmansk region. The total population on the Kola Peninsula at that time was 27,229 persons. Therefore, Finns at that time made up approximately 7.7 per cent of the entire population. With a population of 450 individuals, Uura was the largest settlement of the autonomous Finnish national district that was established in 1930, and was the administrative centre of the district from 1938 to 1940. About 58 per cent (1,297 individuals) of the population of the Finnish national district at that time was Finnish. Together with Sami, Norwegians and Swedes, they made up the majority – 72 per cent of the entire population.<sup>10</sup>

Gammalsvenskby (*Staroshvedskoe* in Russian and *Staroshvedsk'ke* in Ukrainian) was founded in 1782 in what was then called New Russia, by a group of 965 Swedish fishermen from the Baltic island of Dagö (now Hiiumaa). Recent archaeological studies show that Scandinavians settled on Dagö at the time of the Vikings.<sup>11</sup> The Swedish *Guta Saga* reports that Dagö served as a transit point for Viking expeditions.<sup>12</sup> Gammalsvenskby was founded as a small fishing town on the riverside of Dnepr, 80 km from the Black Sea coast. Here, the Swedish islanders were to build a prosperous centre of the fishing industry. Prior to the 1917 revolution, Gammalsvenskby was a

<sup>9</sup> *The Barents Region: a transnational history of subarctic Northern Europe*. Edited by Lars Elenius, Hallvard Tjelmeland, Maria Lähteenmäki and Alexey Golubev. Pax forlag, Oslo 2015, 219–220.

<sup>10</sup> *Murmanskii okrug: Statistiko-ekonomicheskoe opisaniye*. Izdatel'stvo Murmanskogo okruzhnogo ispolkoma, Murmansk 1929, 10–12.

<sup>11</sup> Felicia Markus, *Living on another shore: early Scandinavian settlement on the North-Western Estonian coast*. Diss. Uppsala University, Uppsala 2004.

<sup>12</sup> *Guta saga: the history of the Gotlanders*. Edited by Christine Peel. Viking Society for Northern Research, University College London, London 1999, 4–5.

small town with a population of about 1,000 individuals, the administrative centre of the Swedish district (*volost*) and the largest Swedish settlement east of Finland.<sup>13</sup> Today, the village is called Zmiivka and located in the Beryslav Raion in the Kherson region, Ukraine. By 1926, the Kherson district had 1,032 settlements inhabited by 565,865 people. Of the district's population, 77.4 per cent were ethnic Ukrainians, 11.9 per cent were Russians, 6.5 per cent were Jews, and 2.7 per cent were Germans. At that time, Swedes made up 4 per cent (888 persons) of the rural population of the Beryslav Raion.<sup>14</sup> In 1929, the entire Swedish population of Gammalsvenskby immigrated to its historic homeland. In Sweden, the emigrants were denied a separate settlement and were dispersed throughout the country to undergo "instruction of the Swedish norms of activities of economic nature and the everyday kind".<sup>15</sup> The colonists who disagreed with this policy (around 300 individuals) returned home, followed by a dozen families of Swedish communists. In 1931, under the auspices of the Communist International, the Swedish Communist Party's kolkhoz was established in Gammalsvenskby.<sup>16</sup>

### Cross-border cooperation

Sweden and Finland had a crucial role in the development of Gammalsvenskby. Since the middle of the nineteenth century, inhabitants of the village established long-lasting contacts with the Kingdom of Sweden and the Grand Duchy of Finland. A number of Swedish institutions (a school, Lutheran church, library and choir) were established in the village due to humanitarian aid from Finland and Sweden. Swedish Female Missionary Workers (*Kvinnliga Missions Arbetare*, KMA) founded its mission in Gammalsvenskby in 1895; the mission functioned until 1929. At the initiative of KMA, a kindergarten was opened and handicraft circles for young girls began. In 1922, the Swedish Red Cross opened a medical clinic in the village.<sup>17</sup> As a result of these initiatives, the colonists received an inoculation of modern Swedish

<sup>13</sup> Julia Malitska, "People in between: Baltic islanders as colonists on the steppe". *The Lost Swedish Tribe: Reapproaching the history of Gammalsvenskby in Ukraine*. Edited by Piotr Wawrzyniuk and Julia Malitska. Södertörns högskola, Huddinge 2014, 61–85.

<sup>14</sup> Calculated by the author on the basis of *Kороткі підсумки перепису населення України 1926*. Volume 5, Kharkiv 1928.

<sup>15</sup> Anna Wedin, *Gammalsvenskbybornas emigration till Sverige 1929. En studie i svenskhet och etniskt ursprung*. Unpublished C-thesis supervised by Andrej Kotljarchuk, Södertörns högskola 2007.

<sup>16</sup> Andrej Kotljarchuk, "Little Red Sweden in Ukraine: the 1930s Comintern project in Gammalsvenskby". *The Lost Swedish Tribe: Reapproaching the history of Gammalsvenskby in Ukraine*, 111–149.

<sup>17</sup> Andrej Kotljarchuk, *In Forge of Stalin. Swedish colonists of Ukraine in the totalitarian experiments of the twenties century*. Stockholm Studies in History 100, Stockholm 2014a, 27–65.

nationalism, and in their interactions with Soviet authorities, they referred to the government of Sweden as “our government”.<sup>18</sup>

In 1881, the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Russia prepared a secret report titled “Materials for the Solutions Related to the North of Russia, Murmansk, and the White Sea Ports”. The government was alarmed that emigrants from Sweden-Norway and Finland had built an autonomous economic zone on the Barents Sea coast within a short period of time. This development was regarded as a huge political mistake, and was seen to have resulted in “the peaceful conquest” of the Barents coast. The Russian government claimed that the colonists preferred to develop social-economic and cultural contacts with Sweden-Norway avoiding Russia.<sup>19</sup> Due to its geographical position and historical ties, the East Finnmark became a strategic point for Ura colonists. The port of Aleksandrovsk and the Norwegian town of Vardø were connected by a regular ferry. Kola Finns usually bought necessary goods in Vardø, including fishing equipment, boats and coffee. However, in the mid-1920s, Soviet authorities imposed a ban preventing Kola fishermen from travelling to the port of Vardø, and in the mid-1930s, all contact between the populations of Murman and Finnmark was forbidden.<sup>20</sup>

### From Lenin’s nationalities policy to Stalin’s purges

The nationalities policies of the Russian empire and the Soviet Union were entirely different. Tsarist Russia decided on the soft, long-term cultural assimilation of colonists. Lenin’s regime declared full support for minority rights. In line with the Marxist doctrine, the Bolsheviks anticipated that Nordic fishermen belonging to the working class would be grateful to the new nationalist and economic policies announced by the All-Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks), or VKP (b), in 1923. With the help of a favourable policy of *korenizatsiya* (the promotion of native cadres and culture), the Bolsheviks aimed to draw Nordic colonists over to their side.

In 1926, Gammalsvenskby became a centre of the Swedish national village council (*Shveds’ka nastyonalna silrada*), a part of the Kherson district. It was the only Swedish administrative unit in the Soviet Union, and had a Swedish school, library, club and church. By 1937, the Swedish kolkhoz that dealt with cotton production and fishery was one of the most prosperous cooperatives in Ukraine. The kolkhoz was a primary sponsor of a native elementary school, a Swedish cultural club and a library. The languages of administration were Swedish and Russian. Local Swedes and leftists from Sweden occupied leading administrative positions.

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<sup>18</sup> Kotljarchuk 2014a, 86.

<sup>19</sup> Kotljarchuk 2014b, 57.

<sup>20</sup> Kotljarchuk 2014b, 62–63.

**Eläköön maaliskuun 8:s päivä**  
**Kansainvälinen kommunistinen naistenpäivä!**

KAIKKIEEN MAIDEN PROLETAARIT, YHTYKÄÄ!

ПРОЛЕТАРИИ ВСЕХ СТРАН, СОЕДИНЯЙТЕСЬ!

Maaliskuun  
 8 pñä v. 1937.  
 8 марта  
 1937 г.  
 № 22 (368).

**Polarnoin kollektivisti**  
**ПОЛЯРНЫЙ КОЛЛЕКТИВИСТ**

NKP(b):n POLARNOIN RK:n JA RAJONIN TRK:n ÄÄNENKANNATTAJA.  
 ОРГАН ПОЛЯРНОГО РК ВКП(б) И РАЙИСПОЛКОМА.

**Kansainvälisenä kommunistisena naistenpäivänä**

Tänään, maaliskuun 8 päivä Sovettimaassamme ja koko maailmassa vietetään kansainvälistä kommunistista naistenpäivää. Sovettiliisossa me tämän juhlan tänä vuonna olemme vastaanuden Konstitutsion liiton alla, Konstitutsion johon on kirjoitettu kansojemme oikeudet, jotka on valloitettu yhteisistä taisteluista työssä.

Suuressa Konstitutsio-dokumentissa, jonka on laonut kansojen johtaja ja ystävien, nro. 22 Josef Vissarionovitsh Stalin, on esitetty myöskin naistenmiehen ja noiden elämä. Naisten suurista oikeuksista puhuu Konstitutsion pykälä 22, johon on kirjoitettu: „Naiselle annetaan SSTL:ssä samat oikeudet kuin miehelle tuotantoon, valitukseen, kulttuuriseen ja yhteiskunnalliseen elämään kaikilla aloilla. Naisten näiden oikeuksien toteuttamismahdollisuuden turvaavat yhtenäisen oikeuden antaminen niin naiselle kuin miehellekin työhön, työpaikkaan, lepoon, yhteiskunnalliseen vakautukseen ja sivistykseen valtion turvaama äidin ja lapsen intressien suojelun, lomien antaminen naiselle raskauden aikana, säilytään työpaikan, synnytyslaitosten, lastenseminien ja tarhojen laaja verkosto.“

Jokainen nainen maassamme on vipeä näistä oikeuksista, sillä hän voi täydellisesti nauttia niistä. Meidän maassamme ei ole mitään tuotannon tai työn alaa, johon ei osallistuisi nainen. Nainen-insinööri, nainen-entelijä, nainen-professori, tieteilijä, nainen-tekijä, tuotantolaisen johtaja, — ja paljon on joita, joiden työskentelevät näitä maassamme, osoittain työn mallinäytteitä.

Kuninka paljon onkain kasvattamassa sankaritittelejä!

Stahanovilaisten Dusja ja Maria Vinogradovain, traktoristien Pascha Angelin ja Pascha Kovardakin ja monien muiden maamme mainittavien ihmisten nimet tuntee koko ma. Sama nainen — se laukuu ylipästä Sovettien maassa!

Kokonaan toisenlaisissa oloissa elävät naiset Kansainvälistä kommunistista naistenpäivää kapitalistisissa maissa. Kurjuus, työttömyys, nälkä, — kaikki nämä ovat langenneet naisen osalle rajojemme takana. „Sivistyneessä“ Japanissa aina tähän päivään asti säilyi sananlasku: „Jos japanilainen kuojuutar katsotaan ihmiseksi, silloin puheilijapyiväskin voi kukkia.“ Ja tuo järjetön sananlasku osataan selviävätkin sitä katua asema, jossa japanilainen kuojuutar on.

Japanissa edelleenkin on voimassa naisten osto ja myynti. Yksistään vuonna 1933 myytiin yli 50 000 16—23 ikävuoosta tyttöä.

Tällainen on naisen asema kapitalistisissa maissa.

Vihalla ja kiihtymyksellä on tähtyneet naisten sydämet riistävähilhoisista kohtaan. Laajenee ja kasvaa kansainrintama fasismia ja solaa, nälkää ja kurjuutta vastaan. Sankaritittele Espanjan naiset kulkevat tämän taistelun eturiveissä. Verrällin he puottavat vapautaan.

Sovettiliiton Konstitutsio kuin majakka valaisee maailman työtekeville teitä. Se on ohjelmansa heidän taistelussaan vapautensa ja onnensa puolesta. Maaliskuun 8 päivä — naisten kansainvälisenä solidaarisuuden päivänä — me toivotamme rajantakaisille sisarillemme pikaista vapautumista kapitalistien ortuudesta ja sorroista.

Eläköön Kansainvälinen kommunistinen naistenpäivä!

Eläköön työtätekevät naiset koko maailmassa! OLEMME VALMIINA opiskelemaiseksi. He ovat järkevääsantitärpirin, jota ohjaa lääkäripunkin lääkäritov. Grigorjev. Säännöllisesti joka sunnuntai naiset ja viikonpäivä pirin jäsenet kokoontuvat opiskelemaan. Voimme sanoa, että naiset ovat ymmärtäneet täällä, kuinka tärkeistä on opiskella santitäriltoa.

M. ILLE.



HÄNESTÄ VOI OTTAA ESIMERKKIÄ

Kukapa ei tuntisi Paro Anderssenin Läätsin kylässä. Hän on iäkään puolinen nainen, jonka kasvotille on raskas työ aikoinaan painanut leimansa.

Paro Anderssenin työskentelee kylän klubilla siivoojana. Mutta hänen työnsä ei sisälly ainoastaan tähän. Kollektivistit eivät näe häntä ainoastaan klubilla. Paro nähdään kolhoosin kaikissa aputöissä.

Työskennellen kesällä heinäkuussa, hän sai kaikista korkeimman työkorvauksen. Nyt hän on verkonkorjaus- ja kuto-

mistöissä. Ollen aina elämän iloinen ja innokas, hän innostaa esimerkiksi myöskin toisia kolhoosnikkainia.

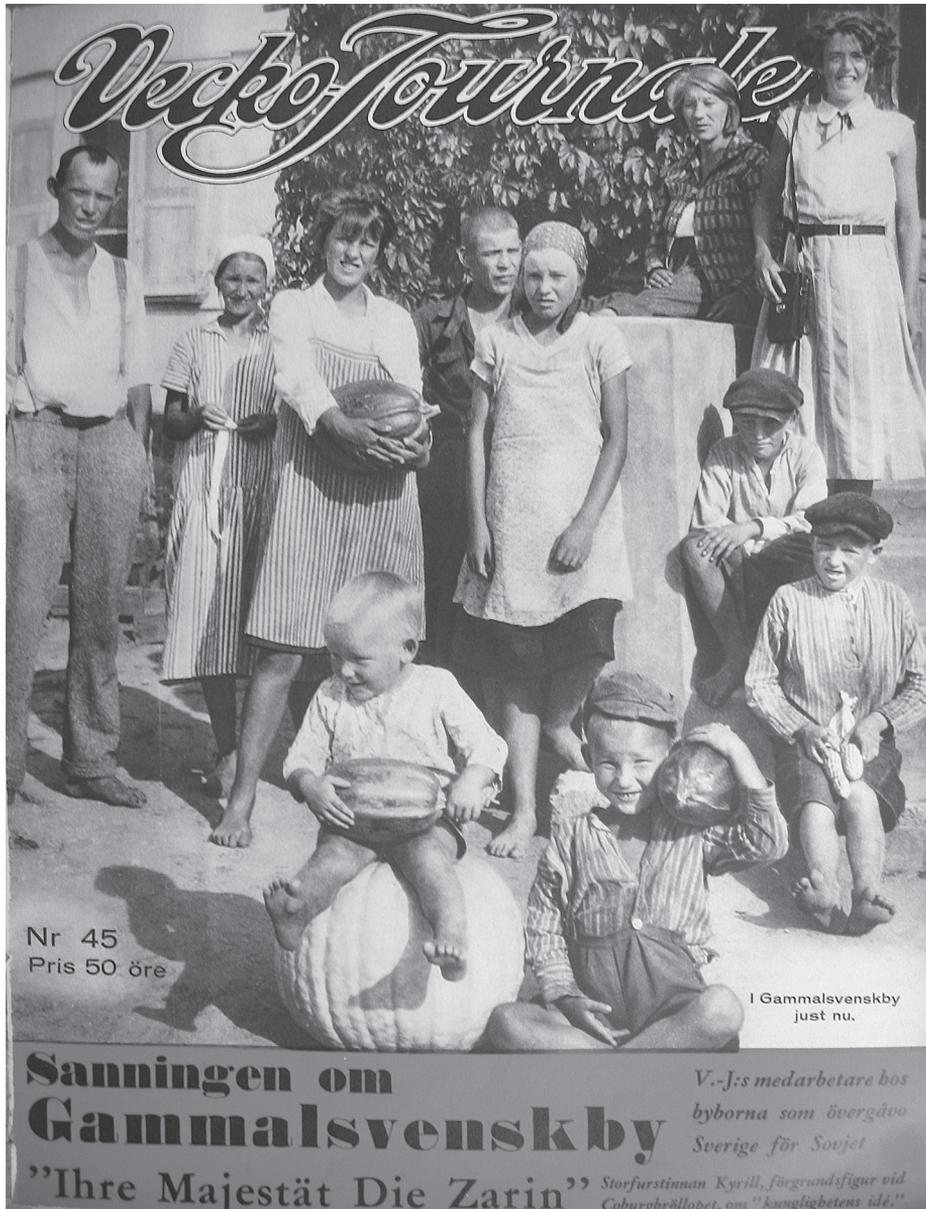
Anderssenin talo on kylässä kaikkein pienin talo. Mutta se on samalla kaikkein kulttuurisin asunto. Parolla on pieni lapsi, mutta se ei estä häntä ottamasta osaa yhteiskunnalliseen työhön. Paro onkin MOPR:n jäsen. Punaisen ristin jatsheikan jäsen ja kaikkien kolhoosin ja kylän kokouksien aktiivinen osanottaja. Paro oli lukutaidoton. Nyt

hän lukee ja kirjoittaa vapaasti. — Minä olen vanha, — puhelee hän. — Lukemaan ja kirjoittamaan olen oppinut vasta vanhoilla päivillä. Ennen minulla ei ollut oikeutta sivistykseen. Opiskelisin enemmänkin, mutta näkö on jo mennyt huonoksi. Mutta nuorten, jonka nuoruuden päivät kuluvat näin ihanaa aikana, on opiskeltava enemmän.

Tov. Anderssen on mainio kollektivistimainen. Hänestä voi ottaa kaikki meidän kylän toiset naiset esimerkiksi.

ILLE.

Front Page of the Finnish-language newspaper *Polarnoin kollektivisti* – the official organ of Finnish national district of Murmansk region. *Polarnoin kollektivisti*, no. 22, 8 March, 1937. – Courtesy of Russian National Library.



Leaders of the *Sveriges Kommunistiska Parti* kolkhoz on the magazine cover of Swedish *Vecko-Journalen*. Gammalsvenskby, Kherson district. Leftmost: Edwin Blom; in the centre, Karl Ture Gräs; rightmost: journalist Alma Braathen. – *Vecko-Journalen*, no. 45 (1932).

The Finnish national village council of fishermen (*Finskii natsionalnaya sel'skii sovet rybolovetskikh deputatov*) was established in Uura in 1930, in the same year the kolkhoz *Tarmo* was established in the village. By 1936, the kolkhoz *Tarmo* was recognized by the central government as most prosperous fishery kolkhoz in the country, with an average wage three times higher than in the industry.<sup>21</sup> The kolkhoz was a primary sponsor of the Finnish cultural club, a Finnish school that provided 7 years of schooling to its students and an orchestra. The languages of administration were Finnish and Russian, and the local newspaper, *Polarnoin kollektivisti*, was published in both Finnish and Russian. Local Finns and emigrants from Finland occupied leading administrative positions.

The Soviet policy changed dramatically when, in 1937, the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (NKVD) started top-secret operations to execute members of various ethnic minorities. The first operation, personally initiated by Stalin, had a German target, and the second a Polish one. A number of other "national operations" were organized by the NKVD concerning, for example, people of Greek, Latvian, Bulgarian, Estonian and Finnish descent.<sup>22</sup> According to official data, a total of 335,513 people were arrested in 1937–1938 in the course of national operations, and 247,157 of those arrested were shot.<sup>23</sup>

A mass arrest began in Uura in the summer of 1937 and continued until the fall of 1938. A total of 27 Finns (all men) were arrested in Uura and accused to be members of the fictitious Finnish underground espionage counter-revolutionary organization.<sup>24</sup> Similarly, 22 Swedes (20 men and two women) were arrested in Gammalsvenskby in 1937–1938 and accused of being members of the fictitious Swedish underground espionage counter-revolutionary organization.<sup>25</sup> These people simply disappeared, and it was only to some relatives that the NKVD gave oral information that the arrested people were sentenced to 10 years incommunicado. In reality, they were murdered – the Uura Finns in Leningrad and the Ukrainian Swedes in Kherson. The executions were decided not by a court, but by a so-called *troika* – a three-person meeting of the local NKVD chief, the local prosecutor and the party secretary.

<sup>21</sup> *Revolutsiia i natsionalnosti*. Moskva 1936, 25.

<sup>22</sup> Nikita Okhotin and Arsenii Roginskii, "Iz istorii 'nemetskoi operatsii' NKVD 1937–1938". *Repressii protiv sovetskikh nemtsev: Nakazannyi narod*. Zvenia. Moskva 1999, 35–74; Matthew Kott, "Soviet Genocide in Latvia: Stalin's Great Terror (1937–38) as Antecedent and Other Aspects of the Recent Historiography". *Latvijas Okupācijas Muzeja Gadagramāta*. Riga 2007, 42–54.

<sup>23</sup> Werth 2003, 232.

<sup>24</sup> Altogether, 694 Finns (about 25 per cent of the entire Finnish adult population) were arrested by the NKVD in the Murmansk region in 1937–38. See: Olga Mikoliuk, *Politicheskie repressii na Murmane v 30-ye gody XX veka*. Unpublished diss., State Pedagogical University, Murmansk 2003, 62–63.

<sup>25</sup> The number of arrested people added up to about 20 per cent of the entire adult population in Uura as well as about 20 per cent in Gammalsvenskby.



Pietari Ollekkainen – the fisherman of the Finnish kolkhoz Tarmo in Uura. He was born in 1907 in the Grand Duchy of Finland. Arrested by the Murmansk NKVD in Uura on 14<sup>th</sup> June 1938. Executed on 21<sup>st</sup> November 1938 in Leningrad. Rehabilitated in 1957.

The Great Terror in Uura and Gammalsvenskby had a disproportional impact on men. The brunt of the repression was directed against men at the age of sexual reproduction (20–45 years old), something that contributed to the vulnerability of the population. The Terror also had a great impact on men in the 46–72 age group. This cohort was born or had been in Scandinavia, and was regarded by the NKVD as potential spies. The official profile of the victims reflects the fact that men who occupied leadership positions were the target group of the Terror. The Communist Party cell in Gammalsvenskby contained 16 members in 1937; the party organization of Uura had 15 members at the start of 1937. Almost all of these members were arrested during the Great Terror. In Gammalsvenskby, the NKVD arrested Petter J. Knutas, the chairman of the Swedish kolkhoz and a member of the VKP (b); Johannes Utas, the deputy chairman of the kolkhoz; Woldemar Utas, the head of the Swedish national council and a member of the VKP (b); and many other communists. In Uura, the NKVD arrested practically all of the leading staff members: Eino Riasinen (born in 1894 in Finland), the chairman of the kolkhoz; Leonard Toivola (born in 1910 in Uura), a deputy chairman of the kolkhoz; Ludvig Heiskanen (born in 1910 in Uura), a deputy chairman of the kolkhoz; Arne Kuusela (born in 1911 in Turku), the head of the Uura party cell; Oskar Arvela (born in 1898 in Finland), the head of the kolkhoz's brigade; Albert Stold (born in 1895 in Uura), the captain of the first motorboat; Matti Hiltunen (born in 1897 in Finland), the captain of the second motorboat; Andreas

Tabell (born in 1896 in Viipuri), the head of the Finnish club; Johan Kolari (born in 1910 in Belokamenka), a deputy head of the Finnish club; and William Lotvoila (born in 1910 in Uura), a deputy head of the Finnish club.<sup>26</sup> Clearly, membership in the Communist Party did not serve as protection from arrest. As in Karelia, the Great Terror damaged Finnish culture and eliminated the most educated strata of the Kola Finnish minority.<sup>27</sup>

In order to explain the mass arrests of Soviet Finnish officials, the local press started a massive propaganda campaign.<sup>28</sup> Readers were told that the leaders of the Finnish national district were not true communists but “bourgeois nationalists” who usurped political power in the district and introduced Finnish language of documentation and Finnish schools. For example, in October 12, 1937, the leading Murmansk newspaper, *Polarnaya Pravda*, published an article about “an extreme nationalism” that flourished in Uura where “the ignoble bourgeois nationalists Peterson and Lahdenperä strongly incited enmity between Finns and Russians, trying to separate Finnish fishermen from their socialist fatherland”.<sup>29</sup> *Polarnyi kollektivist* explained to its readers that:

*It was the people's enemies – nationalists Peterson, Lahdenperä and Salo – who implemented the Finnization of our district, claimed that everything must be in Finnish, despite the fact that only 20 per cent of the Murmansk region's population are Finns. They fought hard against the Russian language, tried to preserve the isolation of the Finnish population, and despised everything*

<sup>26</sup> The biographical and statistical data of the present fragment is based on published or digital databases on the victims of the Soviet Terror, where ethnicity and place of birth and residence are mandatory criteria. Among them are the *Kniga pamiati. Poimennyi spisok represirovannykh zhitelei Kol'skogo poluostrova, a takzhe inostrannykh grazhdan, prozhivavshikh v Murmanskoi oblasti* (Memory Book: List of the Names of Persecuted People on the Kola Peninsula and Foreign Citizens, the residents of Murmansk oblast. Memorial, Murmansk 1997); the Memorial database with over 2.6 million names of victims of the Stalinist terror; the regional database of North-Western Russia titled “Recovered Names” and the database “Repressed Russia” with over 1.4 million names.

<sup>27</sup> *The Barents Region: a transnational history of subarctic Northern Europe*. 276–279.

<sup>28</sup> Andrej Kotljarchuk, “The Great Terror and Propaganda: A Nordic Approach”. *Minorities under Stalin. New perspectives for the research*. Edited by Andrej Kotljarchuk and Olle Sundström. Södertörn Academic Studies, Stockholm, forthcoming.

<sup>29</sup> Antonov, “Ura-Guba”, *Polarnaya Pravda* 12.10.1937. The head of the Finnish national district, Ejnar Lahdenperä was born in 1898 in Uura. As a poor fisherman, he was sent in 1930 to Leningrad to study at the Lenin Party School. In 1935, he became the head of the Finnish district. In September 1937, he was accused by the first secretary of the Murmansk VKP (b), Ermil Babachenko, to be “a leader of the underground Finnish nationalist counter-revolutionary underground organization” and was removed from his position. He committed suicide in the same month. Karl Peterson (1890–1938) was born and grew up in Helsinki. He was Deputy Head of the State Fishing Company *Murmanryba* and a member of the VKP (b). Arrested by the NKVD in September 7, 1937, he was shot on January 18, 1938, in Leningrad, and rehabilitated in 1958.

*Russian, that is, the Soviet [sic!]. Their politics achieved success to some extent and we now have Finns living in the Soviet Union who do not know the Russian language and do not want to study it. Our young people who graduate from the seven-year [Finnish] school do not speak the Russian language at all. As a result, these people's enemies have built on the Kola Peninsula a Chinese wall between the Finnish and Russian nations.<sup>30</sup>*

Mass arrests and disappearances ensured an absence of collective protests from the native population. Some individual protests were brutally oppressed by the secret police. When the Murmansk NKVD arrested Ernst Jääskeläinen, a Finnish fisherman, Elina Jääskeläinen, his mother, an old Bolshevik and a member of the Danish Communist Party, protested and told policemen that “the spilling of innocent blood would have its consequences”.<sup>31</sup> Elina was expelled from the Party “for empathy to the enemies of the people”, arrested and sentenced to five years of prison in the Gulag.<sup>32</sup> In 1937, Swedish colonists Jakob Hernberg and Gustav Knutas came to the conclusion that “a lot of good people were sentenced to death”. The NKVD arrested the two Swedes, and their talk resulted in a death penalty.<sup>33</sup>

### After the Terror

The Great Terror caused a deep economic crisis in previously prosperous kolkhozes. In January 1939, Murmansk authorities stated that only 20 per cent of the 1938 production plan was fulfilled by Finnish kolkhozes, and that most of the fishing boats were not staffed.<sup>34</sup> In August, 1938, the Swedish women of Gammalsvenskby visited the Kherson NKVD. They questioned who would take responsibility for a kolkhoz that remained completely bereft of men: “Who would harvest? Women

<sup>30</sup> Ivanov, “Za izuchenie russkogoazyka”, *Polarnyi kollektivist* 1.2.1938. Johannes Salo (1900–1938) was born in Terioki. Head of the Finnish kolkhoz *Herätys* and a member of the VKP (b), he was arrested by the Murmansk NKVD on August 5, 1937, and shot on January 8, 1938 in Leningrad. He was rehabilitated in 1989.

<sup>31</sup> Svetlana Savilova, “Politicheskie repressii protiv kol’skikh finnov”. *Almanakh Astes*. Volume 5, 2003, 139–140.

<sup>32</sup> Elina Jääskeläinen was born in Finland in 1877. In 1905, she immigrated to Denmark, where she became a member of the Party of Social Democrats. In 1921, she immigrated to Russia and became a member of the VKP (b). She was arrested by the NKVD on June 5, 1940, and died in the Gulag. She was rehabilitated in 1989. Ernst Jääskeläinen was born in 1908 in Denmark, in a Finnish family. He worked as a captain of a motorboat at the Finnish kolkhoz *Pohjantähti* (Polaris). Arrested by the Murmansk NKVD on March 8, 1938, he was executed in Leningrad on August 3, 1938 and rehabilitated in 1957.

<sup>33</sup> State Archives of Kherson oblast (DAKhO), fond R-4033, opys 5, sprava 364, ark. 10 verso.

<sup>34</sup> “K lovu ne gotoviatsia”. *Polarnyi kollektivist* 2.1.1939.

and children – they replied”.<sup>35</sup> These ethnic purges that caused a deep economic crisis provide evidence for Michel Foucault’s claim that it is meaningless to look for logically structured economic purposes in the activities of political regimes that prefer violence over dialogue and that do not care about economic consequences.<sup>36</sup>

A number of features separate the national operations of the NKVD from other parts of the Great Terror and make these operations similar to genocide. A suspicious ethnicity was the determining criterion for arrests. The murders were conducted on a mass scale without trial. Executions were decided out of court and on a mass scale by a troika, which then sought to conceal all traces of the event. Victims were killed under cover of night in special remote locations that were protected by the security service until the perestroika.

The Great Terror was followed by the abolition of native autonomies and the liquidation of native cultural institutions. In 1938, the Finnish national district and the Swedish village council were abolished. In the same year, the Finnish school in Uura and the Swedish school in Gammalsvenskby were closed, as were thousands of non-Slavic schools across the country. In January, 1938, the Finnish-language edition of *Polarnoin kollektivisti* was stopped without explanation. Radical administrative reforms and the shutting down of native schools were carried out simultaneously with mass violence with respect to the Finnish population. Such a coincidence was not accidental. Using mass violence as a method of control, the Soviet governmentality achieved maximum effect. Stalin’s regime sent a clear signal to the younger generation of Soviet Swedes and Finns. During the 1920s, speaking fluent Swedish or Finnish was regarded as a great achievement, preparing the cadres for future revolution in the Nordic countries. Starting in 1937, a fluency in foreign languages was viewed with a great ideological suspicion that dismissed all practical points. Johannes Knutas from Gammalsvenskby testified about the procedure of military conscription to the Baltic Navy in 1939:

*On the draft board, I was told that I would be sent to the Baltic Navy, but then the military commissioner asked me how many languages I knew. Three, Swedish, German and Russian – I said. No, you do not suit us – answered he.*<sup>37</sup>

The forced changeover to teaching in a non-mother tongue was accompanied by a stigmatization of teachers and psychological stress for schoolchildren. In 1938, Anna Sigalet (born in 1931 in Gammalsvenskby) went to first grade just after the closing of the Swedish school. Anna testified that it was extremely difficult to learn in Ukrainian, of which she had a very poor knowledge. Moreover, in the second grade Russian

<sup>35</sup> Jörgen Hedman and Lars Åhlander, *Gammalsvenskby: historien om svenskarna i Ukraina*. Norstedt, Stockholm 1993, 304.

<sup>36</sup> Roddy Nilsson, *Foucault: en introduktion. Égalité*, Malmö 2008, 83–91.

<sup>37</sup> Hedman and Åhlander 1993, 291.

was added to the obligatory subject of Ukrainian. Although most of the children in Gammalsvenskby were Swedish, their native language was not taught. Subsequently, Anna's mother taught her to read Swedish, but her written Swedish left much to be desired. This is still a personal problem for Anna, since all her correspondence with her relatives in Sweden is conducted in Swedish.<sup>38</sup> The situation was typical. Finnish poet Roine Tuhkanen, a pupil of the Finnish school in the Leningrad region in 1938, recalls:

*When we returned from the winter holidays, we were stunned to see that the school had changed to Russian as the language of instruction, the former teachers disappeared; their place were taken by unknown Russian pedagogues. Our Russian was poor and this created difficulties in learning. In addition the school had banned the use of Finnish language even at breaks.<sup>39</sup>*

The prohibition of a school education in their native language deformed the normal psychological development of the children, opening the way for the assimilation of a young generation of Swedish and Finnish colonists, even in the remote areas of the country. As a rule, the post-war generation of Kola Finns and Kherson Swedes could not write or read in their mother tongue. After World War II, the children of Kherson Swedes and Kola Finns were deprived of the opportunity to learn their native language at school. The use of the mother tongue was limited and was reduced to short speech practices in families where both parents were Nordic.<sup>40</sup> Moreover, owing to the smallness of the Nordic communities and to displacement, mixed marriages became more frequent for Soviet Finns and Swedes after 1945. Gradually, Russian replaced Swedish and Finnish in everyday communication. The children born after the deportations were usually given Slavic names; they received an atheistic education and were not taught their native history. Individuals who felt the threat of losing their identity immigrated to the Nordic countries after 1991.

<sup>38</sup> Interview with Anna Lutko (nee Sigalet, born 1931), Zmiivka, November 1, 2004. In the author's archives.

<sup>39</sup> Vladimir Musaev, "Severo-Zapad Rossii v natsional'noi politike 1917–1930". *Tragediya velikoi derzhavy: Natsional'nyi vopros i raspad Sovetskogo Souza*. RAN, Moskva 2005, 130.

<sup>40</sup> Aleksandr Mankov, "A Scandinavian Island in a Slavonic Linguistic Environment. The Dialect of Gammalsvenskby: Nouns (Paper 2)". *International Journal of Slavic Studies*. Volume 3, Number 1, 2014, 120–170; Elena Busyreva, "Sud'by semei finskikh kolonistov Murmanskoi oblasti". *Trudy Kol'skogo nauchnogo tsentra RAN*. Volume 7, Number 27, 2015, 59–75.

## Deportation and the cleansing of the cultural landscape

In July, 1940, by the order of Lavrentiy Beria, the chief of the Soviet NKVD, all Finns, Norwegians, Swedes and Balts were deported as “foreign ethnicities” from the Kola Peninsula to inland Russia.<sup>41</sup> The Swedes of Gammalsvenskby were similarly deported in 1945.<sup>42</sup> These deportations led to the collapse of Uura and Gammalsvenskby. On August 5, 1940, Murmansk authorities reported to Moscow that because of the “relocation of foreign ethnic groups the territory of Polar [Finnish] and Kola districts remained totally empty”.<sup>43</sup> The deportations were followed by the massive destruction of material objects. In 1941, Uura became a base for the Soviet Northern Navy acting on the front line. A civil population only settled again in Uura in 1949. Russian newcomers re-established the fishery kolkhoz under its Russian name, *Energiya*. Wooden houses in the Finnish style, motorboats and the Lutheran church were lost forever. A Finnish past of the village became a taboo.<sup>44</sup> Without having a public space, the collective memory of the Kola Finns continued, mainly in oral form in family circles.<sup>45</sup> The deported Uura Finns never returned home, but remained after the war in various special settlements of the Gulag and were released only in 1954. As former “criminals”, they were forbidden to return to their homes in the Murmansk region, where the state established a highly militarized zone with a special regime for entering and for residence. This ban remained in effect until the collapse of the Soviet Union. Kherson Swedes who returned home after their deportation found their houses occupied by Ukrainians. The Swedish church was in ruins and the village had a new Slavic name, Zmiivka. The Finnish and Swedish settlements were small, with a fragile cultural heritage that was easily destroyed. As a result, a cultural landscape that had been created over a century of Nordic colonization was eradicated within a decade.

<sup>41</sup> Antti Laine, “Deportation of Finns from the Murmansk Region to Soviet Karelia in 1940”. *Aspects of Arctic and Sub-Arctic History: Proceedings of the International Congress on the History of the Arctic and Sub-Arctic Region*. Edited by Ingi Sigurðsson and Jón Skaptason. University of Iceland Press, Reykjavik 2001, 155–64; Andrej Kotljarchuk, “Norwegians in the Stalinist Terror: New Perspectives for Research”. *Fortid*. Volume 2, 2015, 18–22; Busyreva, 2015, 59–75.

<sup>42</sup> Andrej Kotljarchuk, “Tvångsnormaliseringens teknik och kollektivt motstånd. Ukrainasvenskar i Gulagarkipelagen”. *Historisk Tidskrift*. Volume 1, 2011, 3–24.

<sup>43</sup> “Dokladnaia zapiska ispolnitel’nogo komiteta Murmanskogo oblastnogo soveta”, 5.8.1940. The Russian State Archives of Economics in Moscow (RGAE), fond 5675, opis’ 1, delo 330, 46–47.

<sup>44</sup> Andrej Kotljarchuk, “Skandinavskie i finskie poseleniia na Murmane: istoriia i mesta pamiati”. *Murman i Rossiiskaya Arktika: proshloe, nastoiashchee, budushchee. Materialy mezhhregionalnoi nauchnoi konferentsii*, Murmansk Arctic State University, Murmansk, 2017, 177–188.

<sup>45</sup> Busyreva, 2015, 59–75.

## Returning memory?

Post 1991, the history of Uura and Gammalsvenskby is different. The present-day population of Uura-Guba is based on second and third generations of post-war Russian settlers. The official website of Uura-Guba does not represent its Finnish past.<sup>46</sup> A Finnish-language article on Wikipedia tells the Finnish history of Uura and mentions its famous natives (Orvo Björninen, Unto-Ilmari Kemppainen and Sven Lokka). The article also recalls Stalin's purges and the 1940 deportation.<sup>47</sup> However, the Russian version of the Wikipedia article on Uura-Guba does not mention the Finnish history of the settlement, nor does it refer to the Great Terror or the deportation of local Finns.<sup>48</sup>

In 2014, the villagers of Uura-Guba celebrated the 150-year jubilee of the settlement. The official ceremony was held at the Soviet War memorial, and the open-space performance presented a heroic struggle of Soviet soldiers against the Finns and the Nazis. The Finnish operation of the NKVD and the 1940 deportation were not mentioned. The destruction of the entire village in the 1940s was explained as being due to German bombing.<sup>49</sup> The history of World War II is still used in Russia for political purposes. The memory of the Great Patriotic War (the Russian term for World War II) often pushes out the memory of the Great Terror and Stalin's deportations. The Finnish past of the region is still a hot issue for the authorities. In October, 2012, a memorial dedicated to the Finnish victims of the Great Terror was supposed to be opened in Kirovsk, on the initiative of various Finnish non-state actors and the Russian human-rights organization Memorial; however, the police stopped the erection of the monument.<sup>50</sup> Uura-Guba is still part of a highly militarized area with a special security regime, and the Foreign Office of Finland recommends that citizens of Finland do not visit Uura-Guba.<sup>51</sup>

Swedes were eventually allowed to return to their village. Today, they are a tiny minority in the Ukrainian village of Zmiivka, making up only 3 per cent of the entire population.<sup>52</sup> Due to the activity of the Swedish community, contact with Sweden was re-established after 1991. As a result, the Swedish church was renovated and memorials dedicated to the Swedish victims of the Great Terror and the foundation of the colony in 1782 were erected. The locals still live in old stone houses built at the beginning of the nineteenth century in a typical Scandinavian way. The road

<sup>46</sup> "Official website of Uura-Guba". [www.ura-guba.ru/about](http://www.ura-guba.ru/about), accessed 31/3 2016.

<sup>47</sup> "Uura". <https://fi.wikipedia.org/wiki/Uura>, accessed 31/3 2016.

<sup>48</sup> "Uura-Guba". <https://ru.wikipedia.org/wiki/%D0%A3%D1%80%D0%B0-%D0%93%D1%83%D0%B1%D0%B0>, accessed 31/3 2016.

<sup>49</sup> Vestnik Vidiaevo. 17.10.2014.

<sup>50</sup> Yurii Ignatiev, "Kirovsk". *30 Oktiabria*. Volume 111, 2012, 3.

<sup>51</sup> Utrikesministeriet Finland. Resemeddelanden 8.2.2016. <http://www.formin.finland.fi>, accessed 31/3 2016.

<sup>52</sup> According to the 2001 Ukrainian census of 3,500 villagers, 111 were of Swedish ethnicity. See: State Statistics Service of Ukraine, [www.ukrcensus.gov.ua](http://www.ukrcensus.gov.ua), accessed 31/3 2016.

sign of Zmiivka is in both Ukrainian and Swedish. This former Swedish colony is a popular destination for Nordic tourists visiting Ukraine. In 2009, the King and Queen of Sweden visited Zmiivka. The Swedish language is taught at the local school, and the history of Gammalsvenskby is presented on the official website of Zmiivka.<sup>53</sup> The Swedish Church supports a local Lutheran parish, and the Swedish association *Svenskbyborna* provides humanitarian aid. Due to such contact with Sweden, inhabitants of Zmiivka of different descent have recovered the Nordic cultural heritage, despite a strong linguistic assimilation of local Swedes.<sup>54</sup> At the same time, the Russian representation of Ura-Guba still is based on the Stalinist concept of the Kola Peninsula as “ancestral Russian territory” (*iskonno russkaya zemlia*) that does not allow public commemoration of the Finnish past.

## Conclusion

The people of Uura and Gammalsvenskby suffered in the Great Terror in a similar manner, despite different geographical positions. The mass terror against the Kherson Swedes could not be explained by a security dilemma. Unlike the Finns, the Swedes were not officially covered by the national operations of the NKVD and therefore were not included in the official data. However, the state-run violence in Gammalsvenskby was designed in accordance with the principles of the Finnish operation.<sup>55</sup>

A number of features separate the national operations of the NKVD from other parts of the Great Terror and make those operations similar to genocide. A suspicious ethnicity was the determining criterion for arrests. Victims were killed under the cover of darkness and buried *en masse* in unmarked locations that were guarded by the secret police until the perestroika. However, children were not a target group of Soviet ethnic cleansing.

The results of this study show that for the state, the purposes of governmentality had priority over economic development in defining the direction and magnitude of the mass violence. The Great Terror and deportations resulted in the destruction of Nordic cultural institutions in the Soviet Union. The totalitarian regime justified this ethnic cleansing of Nordic population by fabricating threats of separatism, sabotage, extreme nationalism and espionage. Nordic colonies in the Barents and Black Sea areas were small, with a fragile cultural landscape that could easily be eradicated. The Nordic cultural heritage created over a century of Finnish colonization was totally destroyed in Ura-Guba. However, due to the presence of a Swedish community and

<sup>53</sup> Zahalny vidomosti pro Zmiivs'ku sil'radu. <http://rdaberyslav.gov.ua>, accessed 31/3 2016.

<sup>54</sup> Ludvig Forsman, “Svensk etnicitet utan svenskt språk i Gammalsvenskby”. *Svenskan i Finland 14*. Edited by Riita Kosunen, Paula Rossi and Kirsti Lepistö. Oulu University Press, Oulu 2014, 47–60.

<sup>55</sup> Kotljarchuk 2014a, 163–191.

contact with Sweden, the Nordic cultural landscape has been partly reconstructed in Zmiivka. Mass murder and deportations led to widespread mortality and assimilation of Soviet Nordic minorities. The decades of state-run mass violence became a major cause for the contemporary crisis of Finnish and Swedish identity in Russia and Ukraine.