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MIGRATION OF THE JEWS FROM THE UKRAINIAN SSR TO THE JEWISH AUTONOMOUS REGION (BIROBIDZHAN) DURING THE SECOND HALF OF THE 1920-ies – FIRST HALF OF THE 1930-ies

Abstract. The Purpose of the Research. In this article, we will try to consider the reasons for the emergence of a programme for the creation in the Far East of the Soviet Union of the Jewish Autonomous Region (Birobidzhan) and to reveal the process of resettlement to it of the Jewish population from the Ukrainian SSR during the second half of the 1920-ies – the first half of the 1930-ies. **The Methodology of the Research.** During the preparation of the article there were used universal principles of scientific knowledge, basic methods of scientific and historical research, and modern conceptual approaches to the research of socio-economic, political history of the development of the Jewish community of Ukraine. **The scientific novelty** is determined by the combination of the published materials and archival ones that shed light on the organization of the Soviet government programme to resettle the Jews in the Far East of the USSR. A separate story of the article is dedicated to coverage of participation in the resettlement programme of the Ukrainian Society for Land Management of Jewish Workers (SLMJW). The resettlement of the Jews to Birobidzhan began in 1928 and was in an uneven manner. The colonization of the region

took place under difficult natural conditions. During the early years, a relatively large number of migrants arrived. But because of difficult living conditions, poor climate, lack of work and social infrastructure, more than half of the 1928-ies – 1933-ies migrants returned. The Birobidzhan project caused controversy between supporters and opponents of the Jewish colonization of the USSR. The project criticized SLMJW management, pointing out the unfavourable conditions for the displaced persons and the enormous costs of moving and settling the displaced persons. Since 1929, the Society attracted funds from foreign voluntary Jewish organizations to assist the refugees. The agreements were concluded with “Agro-Joint”, the American Committee for the Resettlement of Foreign Jews in Birobidzhan. With their involvement, by the mid-1930-ies, roads were constructed in Birobidzhan, and wetlands were drained over a large area. The displaced Jews occupied leading positions in the region. The Jewish schools were created, newspapers and magazines were published. **The Conclusions.** The relocation to Birobidzhan from the very beginning of the campaign was propaganda. SLMJW offices were opened in all regions of the USSR in order to collect donations for assistance programmes for the impoverished and declassified Jews. The Society produced a huge mass of campaign materials, held lotteries among its members for the benefit of displaced persons. Delegations of workers and journalists were sent to Birobidzhan for further agitation. But in spite of all the measures, Jewish section officials acknowledged that the Jews vote with their feet, not their hands. Out of the newly created region, there was a constant outflow of migrants. In 1931, even demobilized Jewish soldiers were involved into resettlement. More than a thousand people went to Birobidzhan. The only year successful for resettlement was 1932, when famine raged in Ukraine. The Society managed to recruit fourteen thousand people to relocate from Ukraine, but by the next year, sixty percent returned back to Ukraine. Twenty-five thousand were planned to be resettled in 1933, and only three thousand were those who wish.

Key words: the Jews, Resettlement, Jewish Autonomous Region, the Far East, the Ukrainian SSR.

ПЕРЕСЕЛЕННЯ ЄВРЕЇВ З УКРАЇНСЬКОЇ СРР ДО ЄВРЕЙСЬКОЇ АВТОНОМНОЇ ОБЛАСТІ (БІРОБІДЖАН) В ДРУГІЙ ПОЛОВИНІ 1920-х – ПЕРШІЙ ПОЛОВИНІ 1930-х рр.

Анотація. Мета дослідження. У пропонованій статті виявлено причини появи програми зі створення на Далекому Сході Радянського Союзу Єврейської автономної області (Біробіджан) та розкрити процес переселення до неї єврейського населення з Української СРР в другій половині 1920 – першій половині 1930-х рр. **Методологія дослідження.** При підготовці тексту статті використано універсальні принципи наукового пізнання, основні методи науково-історичного дослідження, сучасні концептуальні підходи до вивчення соціально-економічної, політичної історії розвитку єврейської громади України. **Наукова новизна** визначається поєднанням опублікованих та архівних, які проливають світло на організацію радянської урядової програми з переселення євреїв на Далекий Схід СРСР. Окремо у статті висвітлено участь у переселенській програмі Українського товариства з землеоблаштування єврейських трудящих (ТЗЕТ). Переселення євреїв до Біробіджану розпочалося в 1928 р. і проходило нерівномірно. Колонізація регіону відбувалася у складних природних умовах. У перші роки прибула відносно велика кількість переселенців. Але через важкі побутові умови, поганий клімат, відсутність роботи та соціальної інфраструктури більше половини з них впродовж 1928 – 1933 рр. повернулися назад. Біробіджанський проєкт викликав полеміку між прибічниками та противниками єврейської колонізації СРСР. Проєкт критикувало керівництво ТЗЕТу, наголошуючи на несприятливих умовах для переселенців та величезних витратах на переїзд і облаштування переселенців. З 1929 р. товариство залучило до допомоги переселенцям кошти іноземних добровільних єврейських організацій. Договори були укладені з “Агро-Джойнтом”, Американським комітетом з переселення іноземних євреїв в Біробіджані. За їх участі до середини 1930-х рр. у Біробіджані були побудовані дороги, проведено на значній території осушення боліт. Євреї-переселенці зайняли керівні посади в області. Створювались єврейські школи, виходили газети та журнали. **Висновки.** Переселення до Біробіджану з самого початку кампанії мало пропагандистський характер. У всіх регіонах СРСР відкривалися відділення ТЗЕТу, з метою збору пожертв на реалізацію програм допомоги збіднілому та декласованому єврейству. Товариство випускало величезну масу агітаційних матеріалів, проводило лотереї

серед своїх членів на користь переселенців. Відправляли до Біробіджану делегації робітників та журналістів для подальшої агітації серед переселенців. Але незважаючи на всі заходи, діячі єврейської секції визнавали, що євреї голосують ногами, а не руками. З новоствореної області постійно відбувався відтік переселенців. У 1931 р. до переселення залучили навіть демобілізованих солдат-євреїв. Їх поїхало до Біробіджану більше тисячі осіб. Єдиним роком, вдалим для переселення, був 1932 р., коли в Україні лютував голод. Товариству вдалось завербувати для переселення з України чотирнадцять тисяч охочих, але вже наступного року шістдесят відсотків повернулись назад в Україну. В 1933 р. планувалось переселити двадцять п'ять тисяч, а охочих виявилось тільки три тисячі.

Ключові слова: євреї, переселення, Єврейська автономна область, Далекій Схід, Українська СРР.

The Problem Statement. The history of the Jewish Autonomous Region (Birobidzhan) is little known to modern public. It occasionally causes a certain emotional reaction among them. Only a limited number of amateur historians and researchers know about the problem of organizing the Jewish national unit in the Far East during the communist roots. However, the issue of the resettlement of the Jews to the Far East during the 1920-ies and 1930-ies must be considered in the context of the ruralization of the Jews of the former “pale of settlement” and the solution of the “Jewish issue” by the Communist Party authorities during the above-mentioned period. In this historical segment, the Bolsheviks tried to implement, through socio-economic “rehabilitation” of the society, a programme for the Sovietization of the various peoples of the former Russian Empire, as well as to unify and centralize the power.

The Analysis of Recent Researches and Publication. The issue of the creation of the Jewish Autonomous Region (Birobidzhan) was considered by both domestic and foreign historians in the context of the implementation of Stalin’s national policy. Part of the researchers, mostly Russian, consider the “Birobidzhan project” as “one of the territorial projects that became surprisingly the most” long-lasting “and in some ways even effective” (Brener, Zaremba, 2013, p. 9) Resettlement to the corner of the Soviet Empire of the Jews from the border areas, in their opinion, this is not a manifestation of Stalin’s anti-Semitism, but one of the options for the creation of national territorial autonomy, along with the creation of Jewish agricultural areas in Crimea and southern Ukraine. The other part, mostly the Jewish historians and nationals, understands the Far East as another test, a terrible blow to the fate that Eastern European Jews endured in the first half of the XXth century. They indicate the dire climate of living in the Jewish Autonomous Region (JAR), the lack of industry and possibilities for engaging in agriculture.

The purpose of the article is an attempt to consider the reasons for the emergence of a programme for the creation in the Far East of the Soviet Union of the Jewish Autonomous Region (Birobidzhan) and to reveal the process of resettlement to it of the Jewish population from the Ukrainian SSR during the second half of the 1920-ies – the first half of the 1930-ies. The separate plot of the article is dedicated to the coverage of participation in the resettlement programme of the Ukrainian Society for Land Development of Jewish Workers (SLDJW).

The Statement of the Basic Material. While embarking on a socialist experiment in Ukraine, the Bolshevik regime was forced to take into account the presence in the republic of a large proportion of national minorities, represented mainly by peasant ethnic groups. An exception was the Jewish national minority, who lived compactly during the beginning of the 1920-ies in the towns of Right-Bank Ukraine. The peculiar way of life and style of life, the difficult economic situation, set before the Bolshevik regime the difficult tasks of conducting socialist experiments among the Jewish community.

The Communist Party political bosses declared that it would provide opportunities for cultural and economic and political development of various national groups, including the Jewish one. According to the slogans declared by the Bolshevik regime, public organizations had the task of directing and coordinating the work to serve the needs of the non-indigenous population of the republic. It also applies to the Jewish community.

The Soviet leadership initially sought to solve the problems of the Jewish community through the Jewish section of the CC(b)U. The district units of the sections were to study the problems of the towns and to solve them. But the Jewish sections were more involved into covert political work in order to identify and destroy elements hostile to the Bolshevik regime, and did nothing for urban beautification. Only 30–35% of Jewish children were enrolled in education. Health care was also insufficient. One hospital often served up to 25–30 settlements. The Jewish population did not see any point in appealing to the local Soviet authorities, encountering hidden and open anti-Semitism there, which led to the illegal restriction of suffrage and violation of existing legislation (Gusev, 1999, p. 79).

In other words, the Soviet leadership formed a new Jewish culture, defining the main directions of development of the Jewish minority and integration of the Jews of the towns into the Soviet community. But in practice, the Jews were covered with oxygen, and they were given the role of a scum of society. All this made the Jews view the Communists as their enemies. The Jews from towns sought to cooperate with Zionist parties and various economic national organizations operating in the towns. This is a very worrying party functionary. In their view, such a situation on the ground led to widespread influence on the Judaism of the Zionist and petty bourgeois parties. The townspeople found support in the Zionist movement in the struggle against the local party apparatus, which represented them as an exploitative element (RSASPH, f. 445, d. 1, p. 86, p. 38).

The Jewish community participated actively in the revolutionary events of 1917 – 1921. An extensive network of the Jewish political parties and public associations operated in Ukraine. Among them, the Zionist parties and organizations had the greatest anti-Bolshevik views. After the establishment of the Bolshevik regime in Ukraine, the Zionists went underground and continued to oppose the Sovietization of the Ukrainian Jewry. During the first half of the 1920-ies, the Zionist movement enjoyed the support of the Jews in cities and towns in Right-Bank Ukraine.

Surveys conducted by the local authorities of the SPD and governmental organizations in 1925 found widespread support for the Jewish organization “Gekholutz”, which operated illegally in Ukraine and covered about 6,000 boys and girls. The organization was in favor of uniting handicraft young people who dissuaded from the possibility of a normal life under Soviet power. They were united in the idea of switching to agriculture so that, as in the Torah, the life of a Jew was full of milk and honey (Naiman, 1998, p. 44). Therefore, the organization and the Soviet system immediately found themselves on different sides of the barricades.

The secret note of the Central Committee of the CP(b)U of December 15, 1924 stated that “the party (Paoley-Zion) is the legal apparatus of the struggle of the Zionist Socialists. It builds its units by utilizing all legal and illegal capabilities. Members of the organization, representing the interests of “Paoley-Zion”, got into agricultural artillery, cooperatives; advocated the resettlement of the Ukrainian Jewry in Palestine. Therefore, one must fight for the elimination of “Geholutz” (RSASPH, f. 445, d. 1, p. 167, p. 1).

In addition to “Geholutz”, the Zionist-Socialist Party (ZSP), the Party of Socialist-Workers (PSW), as well as youth organizations were active in the towns: the Unified All-Russian Organization of Zionist Youth (UAOZY), the Zionist-Socialist Union of Youth (ZSUJ), child’s

group (Hoshover, Hashoir) (CSAPOU, f. 1, d. 20, c. 2019, pp. 50–51). Zionist organizations also fought communist propaganda published by the local press. Leaflets were distributed; secret evenings and meetings were organized. In particular, a leaflet was issued to the Congress of National Minorities, which called on the Jewish craftsmen, artisans and workers to fight against “wrongdoing by the RCP (b) in the Jewish issue” (RSASPH, f. 445, d. 1, c. 167, p. 9). In a leaflet of August 31, 1926, the Shepetivka unit of “Geholuts” emphasized: “The policy of Jewish section led to the terrible impoverishment of the Jewish mass. Even moving to Kherson steppes cannot bring them out of poverty” (RSASPH, f. 445, d. 1, p. 167, p. 60).

In reporting the SPD of the republic to the Central Committee of the Communist Party (b) B, prepared in September 1925, it was noted that the Chekists were faced with an extraordinary nature, the administrative measures to combat the Zionist movement are not succeeding, as the forces of the Zionists from the environment of the Jewish mass are growing with tremendous force, where the main contingent is the youth. It was stated that they needed to fight all Jewish people. It was concluded that the struggle against the economic becomes a struggle against the people (Gusev, 1999, p. 84).

Various methods and techniques were used to organize their work among the Jewish population of towns of the Jewish section. Among them are the repressive and encouraging ones. The first one was to arrest members of the Zionist underground, discredit its activists, and organize demonstration trials. The second one included measures of socio-economic stimulation of participation of the Jews of the towns in the implementation of the Bolshevik programmes, namely enrollment to the Komsomol units, participation in the work of local councils, transition to the occupation of “socially useful” work.

At the end of 1924, the Soviet authorities moved to implement a programme of state resettlement to the south of Ukraine and the Crimea. The slogan is: “Solve the problem of Right-Bank towns by engaging the Jews in agriculture”. The slogans and goals of the state resettlement campaign were written off from the slogans of the Zionist parties and the Jewish non-governmental organizations, but only the accents were changed: resettlement not to Palestine but to the south of Ukraine and Crimea.

The programme was to be implemented by the State Committee for Land Management of Jewish Workers and the voluntary organization SLMJW – Society for Land Management of Jewish Workers. As early as December 11, 1925, the Main Bureau of Jewish sections under the Central Committee of the Communist Party (b) of Ukraine at the meeting of December 11, 1925, resolved: “to involve the widest masses of the Jewish population, including some prominent but not active Zionists, in the SLMJW, and give orders to local sections to conduct intensify the fight against the Zionists, actively involve the SLMJW” (RSASPH, f. 445, d. 1, p. 152, p. 55). The Society worked under the auspices of the Main Bureau of Jewish section of the CC CP(b) U and the NKVD of Ukraine. Initially, in addition to conducting displacement measures, the SLMJW had, under the guise of surveying the economic status of the Jewish of the towns, to identify active participants in anti-Soviet organizations. In late 1925, the leadership of the All-Ukrainian SLMJW sent a secret report to the CPC of the USSR concerning the situation of the Jewish population of Right-Bank Ukraine (RSASPH, f. 445, d. 1, p. 86, p. 20, 28, 30). All the facts in the report spoke of the success of the anti-Soviet element. After considering the report, the CPC of the USSR decided that, in addition to the administrative and criminal prosecution of the Zionist underground, to carry out counter-attacks, using the Zionist Party slogans to quickly launch a migrant campaign (RSASPH, f. 445, d. 1, p. 86, p. 31).

Another decision of the meeting was to involve former members of the Zionist underground in the society, who would, through their speeches, agitate for the participation of Jews in the resettlement and rehabilitation programs of the town. At the same time, the management of the All-Ukrainian SLMJW made changes in the charter of the company. In July 1926, the SLMJW Central Board ordered the local branches of the SLMJW to involve the Jewish non-labor elements and former members of the Zionist movement in the society (CSASAAU, f. 413, d. 1, p. 165, p. 55).

The local authorities, the society together with the Jewish section clearly performed the tasks of the CC CP(b) U on resettlement. In October 1926, the secretariat of the CEC of the USSR considered the petition for a presidium of the CEC of the Ukrainian SSR “On the allocation of free land in the regions of the Russian Federation for the resettlement of Jews” (Chyrko, 1995, p. 74). During 1927, the CEC of the USSR, together with the All-Union Resettlement Committee, elaborated a programme of resettlement to Birobidzhan district of Khabarovsk Territory of the Russian SFSR. During the first year, the All-Union Resettlement Committee planned to resettle 12 000 Jewish immigrants in Birobidzhan. In 1927, the committee sent a list of tasks for dealing with the Jewish settlers to the local Soviet authorities.

Later, the government, dissatisfied with the course of the settlement of the Crimea, put forward a new idea – the entrenchment of the city of Birobidzhan and the land boundary with it under auspices of Committee of SLMJW, approved by the resolution of the CEC Secretariat of the USSR in March 1928. At the same time the government approved the resolution “On the Economic Arrangement of the Jewish Towns” (September 1928), and Presidium of the Council of nationalities “On the Economic Arrangement of the Able Bodied Jewish Population”. The resolutions dealt mainly with the elimination of unemployment among the Jewish population, the retraining of the inhabitants of the towns, the need for full registration of the Jews through the People’s Commissar of Labour, etc. SLMJW had to provide a financial assistance to families of the poor IDPs, where possible, to find work for them, to provide them with school, to assist local labour exchanges, and mutual aid committees (CSASAAU, f. 571, d. 1, c. 265, p. 8).

On March 28, 1928, the meeting of the Presidium of the CEC of the USSR concerning the Jewish resettlement in Birobidzhan district was held. At the meeting, the CEC Presidium decided to enshrine under auspices of Committee of SLMJW of Birobidzhan District in the Far East with a focus on establishing a national Jewish administrative unit there. Committee of SLMJW immediately submitted all operational work on the settlement of Birobidzhan to the central board of SLMJW. The SLMJW Central Board was fully engaged in addressing the issue of the Jewish resettlement in the Far East (Chetyre goda OZET, 1930, p. 48).

Despite the setbacks in the Crimea and Ukraine, the idea of consolidation of the Jewish population in the USSR continued to develop during 1928 – 1929. In order to compactly settle the Jews of Ukraine, representatives of the Jewish section, SLMJW and other organizations offered to use the territory of the Briansk, Pskov, Smolensk, Smolensk regions and Salsk district in the North Caucasus region and, eventually, the areas of the Far East. By agreement between the resettled civic organizations, sponsors, and American businessman Williams during the second half of the 1920-ies, the territory for the Jewish autonomy was defined – in the area of Tikhonkaya station (Birobidzhan suburb), although no Jews lived here until 1928.

The Presidium of the CEC of the USSR noted that the main task of conducting the resettlement campaign should be the resettlement to the Far East, Sakhalin and Karelo-Murmansk region simultaneously with the beginning in these areas of railway and industrial construction.

The work on organizing mass resettlement of the Jews to “autonomy” territory began in Ukraine. In May 1928 the first group of the Jewish migrants was sent to Birobidzhan. A special commission was set up to serve the first batch of migrants travelling to Birobidzhan via Kharkiv. It was noted that 162 IDPs from 13 different points passed through Kharkiv station. Rallies, general meetings of employees at city factories and plants were held at the stations.

Propaganda of the resettlement process was also conducted by the country’s top political leadership. In his speech at the II Congress of the SLMJW, M.I. Kalinin noted: “Take, for example, Berdychiv. There are leather factories in Berdychiv. The average wage of workers there is 100–120 rubles. It is clear that they will go to Birobidzhan only if significant material incentives are created for them...” (Kozerod, 2002, p. 143).

In the same year, the SLMJW Central Board concluded a corresponding agreement with the Far Eastern Migration Office. Under the agreement, all the work on preparation of funds (except land management), namely road, land reclamation, hydrotechnical works, as well as administrative and housing construction for the Jewish displaced persons, was transferred to the SLMJW in the person of its Birobidzhan representation. By the time of the organization of agricultural, credit and consumer cooperative societies, SLMJW had to deal with the provision of displaced persons with everything necessary for their economic development in the area (Kozerod, 2002, p. 49). The first migrant groups began arriving in Birobidzhan in late April 1928.

UkrSLMJW joined the campaign to resettle Jewishness in Ukraine in Birobidzhan in the spring of 1928. Authorities, together with the Ukrainian Society, elaborated an agitation program called “Dispersive the malicious evidence of a new area, which is widespread as well known by the Zionists among the Jewish poor men in the USSR and in the Foreign Press” (Zvit Pravlinnia Vseukrozetu. XII 1928, 1928, p. 7). During the campaign, branches of the Society in Ukraine conducted a bi-weekly campaign on the implementation of the SLMJW lottery and the promotion of the migrant campaign in Birobidzhan (Zvit Pravlinnia Vseukrozetu za chas z 1926 to 15.XII. 1928, 1928, p. 11).

In mid-April 1928, UkrSLMJW received a task from the SLMJW Central Board for the society to work in Birobidzhan. Based on the tasks of the All-Union SLMJW, the Ukrainian Presidency of the SLMJW held a joint meeting of all delegates of the Society at the All-Union Congress of cult educators and local delegates. The meeting was attended by 50 people. The meeting resulted in the adoption of a program of work by UkrSLMJW to relocate the Jewish residents of Ukraine to Birobidzhan. The programme emphasized the need to familiarize the Jewish poor in Ukraine with what constitutes Birobidzhan District in the Far East, to cover all difficulties in the relocation area; developing and implementing a plan for the pre-recruitment of resettlement candidates; acquaintance of the Jewish population with the basic knowledge of agriculture and soil and climate peculiarities of the region through the involvement of the Jewish intellectuals, agronomists, propagandists; conducting agitation among the migrants so that the resettlement takes place in cooperative and collective forms, a constant emphasis on the priority of collective forms of labour (Zvit Pravlinnia Vseukrozetu za chas z 1926 to 15.XII. 1928, 1928, p. 8).

The selection of displaced persons took place by preventing the socially unreliable, the demoralized Jewish migrants (SARF, f. 9498, d. 1, p. 408, p. 2). That is, members of the Zionist movement and “disenfranchised” were not allowed to move to Birobidzhan. In the first months of its operation, Ukr SLMJW encountered great difficulties due to the lack of a prepared resettlement plan, material base for resettlement to Birobidzhan; the state authorities did not take into account the difficult natural conditions of the region, putting

forward relocation control figures. It seems that the beginning of the resettlement campaign in Birobidzhan is not only the desire of the Soviet authorities to ensure the work of the poor Jews of Right-Bank of Ukraine, but the desire to resolve the Jewish issue immediately.

Commenting on the work of the Second All-Ukrainian Congress of the TZET, the newspaper "Vesti AUCEC" wrote: "The resolution of the Presidium of the CEC of the USSR on the appointment of Birobidzhan for the resettlement of Jews was approved in March, and already in May the resettlement of the Jews began. The first difficulties were the unpreparedness of the administration, its lack of skills, lack of money and cattle. From the 4 million hectares in Birobidzhan, only 500,000 hectares can be considered suitable for agriculture, but the area also needs land improvement, construction of roads etc". (Blium, 1996, p. 21).

The work of the society was constantly behind schedule, especially in the construction of roads and hydraulic measures. However, by the joint efforts of Ukr SLMJW and the All-Union TZET, 2 000 Jewish displaced persons were displaced by the beginning of 1930 in Birobidzhan.

In 1930, at the second All-Union Congress of the SLMJW, it was decided to increase the resettlement of large groups and large mechanized collective farms to Birobidzhan. Moreover, the branches of the company had to carry out measures to eliminate kulaks, to combat trade elements among the migrants (OZET. S'ezd 2-y, 1931, p. 7).

Resettlement to Birobidzhan came to the fore in the conduct of resettlement activities by the Ukrainian SLMJW. Funds received from the campaign accounts were accumulated and sent to the Birobidzhan project. Such use of funds and change of accents caused a negative reaction among the executives and ordinary members of the Ukrainian SLMJW. Discussions begun within the organization that led to accusations against the Ukrainian leadership's of manifestations of local nationalism. In particular, in August 1932, Kyiv District Branch adopted a resolution stating that first-class resettlement to Ukrainian foundations was nationalism, the creation of national Jewish districts in Ukraine was also nationalism, and the creation of a national Jewish district in Birobidzhan was a manifestation of international friendship and class understanding. (CSAPOU, f. 1, d. 20, c. 5288, p. 3).

The Conclusions. Thus, from the very beginning, the Birobidzhan Campaign was doomed to failure. And not only because the Jews, instead of the sunny and warm banks of the Jordan River, received a permanent taiga of the Amur River. The reason for the failure was another: the unwillingness of the state apparatus to create conditions for the reception and service of the Jewish IDPs. There were no mobile programmes. The state authorities moved away from the resettlement campaign. Only slogans were proclaimed, and it was only verbal point there was a lack of progress. Almost all of the activities were funded and supported by voluntary Jewish societies – Agro-Joint, SLMJW. Since the early 1930-ies, the IDP migration to the JAR laid the foundation for full control of the state regime of the SLMJW. Units of the Society were opened even in Buryatia. During the mid-30-ies the value of the company was leveled. Only the central board of the SLMJW, the Belarusian and the Ukrainian SLMJW were working on the implementation of the migration programme. The work of the society was a drop in the sea of the state indifference to the problems of resettlement. Even during the best years of 1935 – 1936, the Jewish population of Birobidzhan did not exceed 20 000 people, mostly from Ukraine.

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