FEATURES OF THE NEW ECONOMIC POLICY IN KAMCHATKA (RUSSIA) IN THE 1920S

INTRODUCTION

The New Economic Policy (NEP) of the 1920s was a transitional period on the way to the formation of a new type of economy—the Soviet one. In March 1921, at the tenth Congress of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks), V.I. Lenin proposed to recreate a multi-structured economy, as well as to use the organizational and technical experience of the capitalists while maintaining the "commanding heights" in the hands of the Bolshevik government. As a result of the NEP, it was possible to preserve the socialist system, as well as to restore and stabilize the country's economy, which had fallen into decline after the policy of "war communism".

The market transformations of the 1990s and early 2000s contributed to the growing interest among researchers in the topic of the NEP of the 1920s, which was carried out in the USSR. In the post-Soviet period, many scientific conferences were held to discuss the possibilities of using the experience of the NEP period in the new Russian realities (GALLYAMOVA, 2012). This topic began to attract the attention of foreign authors (STEPHAN, 1994; GLAZA, 2009). The problems of studying the NEP were significantly expanded due to the appearance of regional studies on this topic. Certain aspects of the implementation of the NEP in the Far East were considered in the works of A.T. Mandrik (2004), A.I. Gorelikov (2008), and S.M. Stasyukevich (2015).

Several topics remain controversial in the study of the NEP, including the identification of the chronological boundaries of the process, the disclosure of socio-economic contradictions of this period, the analysis of the effectiveness of the reforms carried out, the correlation of the NEP goals and its results. An equally important problem is the identification of regional features of the implementation of the NEP, "which were determined by the specifics of socio-economic and political development, and without which it is impossible to recreate a complete and reliable picture of the implementation of the NEP throughout the country" (SESITSKAYA, 2006, p. 391).

The purpose of this study is to identify the regional features of the NEP in the USSR on the example of the economic development of Kamchatka in the 1920s. The chronological framework for the implementation of the NEP in the region does not coincide with those that are generally accepted concerning the European part of the country’s territory (1921-1928). The transition to the NEP in Kamchatka was carried out spontaneously in the 1920s and did not have a clear plan for organizing events. There was virtually no peasantry in Kamchatka, and the policy of "war communism" was not carried out. Individual manifestations of the NEP began to be traced in 1923-1925. The completion of the NEP only partially dates back to the end of the 1920s, as the private sector and Japanese concessions in the Kamchatka fishing industry persisted into the 1930s. The analysis of the specific features of the NEP in the territory remote from the central regions will allow not only raising the question of the variability of the implementation of the NEP on the territory of the USSR but also thinking about the interpretation of the conceptual content of "NEP" concerning individual regions of the country.

The use of new, unpublished documents from regional archives allows revealing the specific manifestations of NEP in Kamchatka: the concession activities of foreign entrepreneurs (KOSHKAREVA, 2012), the parallel emergence of joint-stock companies and the birth of the foundations of state industry (ILINA, 2013), the implementation of a policy of cooperation (SESITSKAYA, 2005, 2006). The involvement of historical sources from the State Archive of the...
Kamchatka Territory (SAKT) supports the conclusions with factual evidence. Materials from the following funds of the SAKT were used in the course of the study: R-106 - “Kamchatka Joint-Stock Company”, F. R-132 - “Okhotsk-Kamchatka Joint-Stock Fishing Company”, F. R-210 - “Kamchatka Basin Authority for the Protection and Reproduction of Fish Stocks and Fisheries Regulation”, F. R-544 - “Collection” Research of natural resources of Kamchatka”, F. P-19 - “Kamchatka Gubbyuro of the All-Union Communist Party (b)".

METHODS
The methodological basis of the research was the principles of objectivity, historicism, and system analysis. The principle of objectivity implied the rejection of overly politicized assessments in the process of analyzing the transformations of the period of the NEP. Relying on a set of archival materials allowed restoring a reliable picture of the historical past, reflecting the past events as adequately as possible. The principle of historicism helped to reveal the essence and content of the economic development of Kamchatka, depending on the conditions that existed in the region at the beginning of the implementation of the NEP, as well as further changes during the 1920s. The principle of system analysis allowed identifying facts and events within the framework of the studied problem of Russian history as a reflection of characteristic phenomena in a holistic system. This principle helped to fit the regional manifestations of the NEP into the general ideas about the implementation of this course in the USSR.

In the course of the research, not only general scientific methods (analysis, synthesis, generalization) were used, but also special historical methods (descriptive-narrative, historical-genetic, historical-systemic). The descriptive-narrative method was implemented by collecting the necessary archival materials and compiling a narrative about the events and processes that took place in Kamchatka in the 1920s. The use of the historical and genetic method involves demonstrating the genesis of socio-economic transformations in the process of economic development of the region during the period when the country was implementing a NEP. The main purpose of the historical-genetic method is to explain the facts, to identify the causes of their appearance, features of development, and consequences. The basis of the historical-system method of historical research is the unity of historical development, special and general. The identification of specific features of the NEP of the 1920s in Kamchatka forms a holistic view of this period in the history of the USSR consists of an introduction, literature review, methods, results, discussion, and conclusion.

RESULTS
In modern historiography, the traditional framework of the NEP in Soviet Russia is considered to be the period from 1921 to 1928. Therewith, the main manifestations of the NEP are the development of private trade, the cooperative movement, the assumption of the presence of foreign capital in the country’s economy. The combination of capitalist and socialist systems was realized within the framework of state capitalism, that is, private capital was used under the control of the state. Even though all these features took place throughout the territory of Soviet Russia (USSR), the North-East was characterized by its own characteristics.

Organization of trade and supply of Kamchatka
In the early 1920s, trade in Kamchatka was in the hands of Russian and foreign firms: Churin Group, Nihon-Mohi, Wolfson, Seidenberg and Wittenberg, Olaf Swanson, the Hudson Bay Joint Stock Company, and others, who had been carrying out their activities in Kamchatka before the revolution (SAKT, F. R-29. Op. 1.D. 11. L. 7). The American Company “Swenson and Co.” since 1917 has begun to carry out its vigorous activity in the purchase and export of furs. During the Civil War, O. Swenson had been having relations with the “White movement”, having concluded an agreement with its representative V. Bochkarev for the monopoly exploitation of fur-bearing regions of the Okhotsk-Kamchatka Territory. The resulting Soviet power in the future considered it undesirable to involve O. Swenson in cooperation because of his past contacts with the “Whites”.

A strong competitor to O. Swenson was the English Company “Hudson Bay”, which appeared in 1921, and monopolized almost all of the huge fur-bearing areas of Canada. Having arrived for the first time in 1921 with goods from Vancouver, Hudson Bay JSC immediately took a new
path of work. Instead of the usual accepted trade with schooners, the Company quickly organized its branches, covering the most important shopping centers of the Okhotsk coast. The Joint-Stock Company carried out its activities in Kamchatka through a trusted person in the company - A.K. Gogendeyk (SAKT, F. P-19. Op. 1.D. 37.L. 59).

The problem of supplying the population with food and essential goods arose at the beginning of the Sovietization of Kamchatka. State trade was not yet developed and could not perform this function. As a result, the supply of Kamchatka on a contractual basis was entrusted to the Joint-Stock Company Hudson Bay. In 1923, the “Directorate of the People’s Commissariat for Foreign Trade in the Far East” (“Dalvneshtorg”) entered into an agreement with a British company, according to which it was obliged to deliver the necessary amount of goods to the Kamchatka Peninsula to supply the population with consumer goods. The list of these goods with the indication of their quantity was approved by “Dalvneshtorg” (SAKT, F. P-19. Op. 1.D. 37.L. 59). The collection of furs and the supply of goods to the population was carried out by the Hudson Bay apparatus with the assistance and control of the “Dalvneshtorg”. Export abroad of all furs collected on the Kamchatka Peninsula remained the monopoly of “Dalvneshtorg”, but the English company was allowed exporting furs for sale in London (SAKT, F. P-19. Op. 1.D. 37.L. 59).

The problem of supplying the population with goods was not completely solved as a result of the state’s involvement in the cooperation of Hudson Bay. Merchants used and encouraged the naive psychology of the local population of Kamchatka, carrying out the delivery of goods that often had nothing to do with necessities (gramophones, silk, cigars, coats, beads, etc.). The Joint-Stock Company also inflated the margins on the purchase price of goods.

After the termination of the “Hudson Bay”, the supply of Kamchatka was transferred to the Soviet trade organizations. In 1924, the first state-cooperative "Okhotsk-Kamchatka Joint-Stock Fishing Company" was formed, which was entrusted with the task of the general development of the economy of the region, as well as the supply of the local population. "Okhotsk-Kamchatka Joint-Stock Fishing Company" was liquidated in 1925-1926 and trade functions were transferred to the State Export-Import Office - Gostorg, represented by its Far Eastern Branch (Dalgostorg). Finally, in 1928, Dalgostorg transferred its operations to the Kamchatka Joint Stock Company (REPORT OF THE KAMCHATKA DISTRICT REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE, 1928).

The organization of trade work in Kamchatka in the 1920s remained difficult. The region was cut off from the markets for the purchase of goods, the assortment was sparse and different from the assortment of the mainland. The features of remote areas of Kamchatka can also include the conditions of communication with them. Telegraph communication was established only with a third of the trading points. Often, the delivery of goods to retail outlets was possible in a short period, mainly in the summer. The slightest inaccuracy or error in the delivery of goods inevitably caused the need to correct it with the help of Northern Supply Haul.

The network of the trading apparatus was also developing with the strengthening of state trade in Kamchatka. The methods of calculation had been changed over time: instead of commodity exchange trading in the early 1920s, goods and furs were valued in monetary terms. This eliminated the possibility of any abuse.

**Attempts to implement a policy of cooperation**

In May 1921, the Council of People’s Commissars of the RSFSR announced the government’s intention to take the necessary measures to develop handicraft and small-scale industries, both in the form of private enterprises and in a cooperative form. The main objective of the policy of cooperation was the desire to organize, to unite the population for mutual assistance, that is, to teach them to collectivism, serving their economic needs. In Kamchatka, cooperation covered, first of all, fishing due to the specifics of the region, the economy of which was based on the fishing industry.

In December 1924, the Kamchatka Gubrevkom recognized the need to organize fishing cooperation in the Kamchatka province. For this purpose, an Organizational Bureau of Fishing Cooperation was established. The Organizational Bureau was assigned the following...
functions: 1) promotion of the emergence and development of fishing cooperatives and supervision of the correct setting of business in them; 2) finding funds for cooperatives and regulating the funds of cooperatives. In 1925, 16 commercial cooperative fishing artels were organized in the Petropavlovsk Uyezd (SAKT, F. P-19. Op. 1.D. 133.L. 22).

Consumer cooperation, on the other hand, did not have the opportunity to go on a broad path of independent activity to serve the economic needs of the population. The instructors of the Dalcentrosoyuz department who were transferred to Kamchatka to conduct work on the organization of cooperatives, during negotiations with the heads of Soviet, party, and public organizations, focused on the development of industrial cooperation in the region. It was believed that due to the economic features of Kamchatka, it was necessary to cooperate with such branches of the economy that could give quick results, strengthen the economic position of the peasantry and create favorable conditions for the organization of consumer societies. The task of consumer cooperation was considered to meet the needs of the population in products and consumer goods, to unite its purchasing power, to accustom it to joint purchases of the necessary goods and raw materials (SAKT, F. P-19. Op. 1.D. 133.L. 22).

The first fishing artels did not have their own fishing gear and their own capital, but they sought to strengthen both quantitatively and qualitatively so that they could independently harvest fish products in the future. In 1926, there were 21 artels in Kamchatka, in 1927 - 33, in 1928 - 28 (REPORT OF THE KAMCHATKA DISTRICT REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE, 1928). Fishing by the artels was carried out mainly in the rivers of local significance, only a part of the artels leased marine areas. Most of the artels signed contracts with private fishermen, both Russian and Japanese, handing them fish in raw form, often at a low price. Therewith, the artels received loans from private owners during the fishing season in the form of necessary fishing gear and other goods. By 1928, almost all artels began to work with the “Joint-Stock Kamchatka Society”, crediting through it with fishing equipment (REPORT OF THE KAMCHATKA DISTRICT REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE, 1928).

Fishing and Japanese capital in Kamchatka
The rich fish resources of Kamchatka attracted the attention of foreign capital. After the conclusion of the Russian-Japanese Fishing Convention of 1907, Japanese fishing concessions began to appear on the territory of the peninsula. The tsarist government did not take any measures to develop the domestic fishing industry, and Russian private traders, due to the lack of opportunities to obtain credit, working capital, and a fleet to service the fisheries, fell under the influence of the Japanese. The distance from the domestic market, problems with the sale of products gave rise to a situation when fish went to the Japanese market (SAKT, F. P-210. Op. 1.D. 2.L. 250).

After the establishment of Soviet power, the Dalrevkom decree of December 15, 1922 “On the Far Eastern fish and animal industries” regulated the leasing of sea fishing grounds. The concession rights that the Japanese had during the operation of the 1907 Convention were confirmed. Russian fishermen who carried out their activities in Kamchatka in the early 1920s (Demb and Co., TH Nadetsky, TH Cherkassky, TH Lurie, Grushetsky, and Co.) were under the control of the Japanese capital. Japanese Companies “Nichiro”, “Tsutsumi”, “Nakayama” and others financially absorbed domestic private owners and exercised control over them. Russian and Japanese entrepreneurs began to organize canning production in the region at about the same time. During the civil war and intervention, when the Japanese declared “free fishing” in Soviet territorial waters, Russian canneries began to close or were sold to the Japanese.

After the end of the intervention in 1922, some Russian industrialists (for example, S. Grushetsky) began to restore their canned fish production, but they could not raise the production of canned food above 4.3% of the total production. There was not a single Russian fish cannery in Kamchatka in 1925. In 1926, the Lurie Company in Kamchatka attempted to resume canning production (2.5% of the total production), and in 1927 expanded it with the construction of a factory in Palan (SAKT, F. R-544. Op. 1. D.45).

The first state fishing organization in the Far East - “Far Eastern Joint Stock Company for the operation of fish and marine animal Fisheries” (“Dalmoreproduct”) was established in 1923. Part of the shares of this organization belonged to the state, part - to a large industrialist M.M. Lurie. In the Far Eastern fishing industry, the state, at a certain stage supporting private owners,
promoted the creation of mixed joint-stock companies, which were led by the heads of private firms and state institutions (LARIN, 2018).

The next attempt to establish state production in the region dates back to the time of the appearance of the "Okhotsk-Kamchatka Joint-Stock Fishing Company" (1924). The original shareholders of "Okhotsk-Kamchatka Joint-Stock Fishing Company" were "Dalgorstorg", "Centrosoyuiz", and "Dalgosrybprom" (SAKT, F. R-132. Op. 1.D. 1.L. 3). "Okhotsk-Kamchatka Joint-Stock Fishing Company" was supposed to promote the development of fish and St. John’s wort fishing in Kamchatka. However, the Society could not compete with the Japanese industrialists. For example, in 1924 on the East Kamchatka coast of Kamchatka "Okhotsk-Kamchatka Joint-Stock Fishing Company" had at its disposal one sea and two river fishing areas. The "Okhotsk-Kamchatka Joint-Stock Fishing Company" did not deal with the traded sea area, and at the very beginning of the fishing season, it was transferred to the Japanese Joint-Stock Company Taihoku Gio Gio Kabushiki Kaisha (SAKT, F. R-132. Op. 1.D. 1.L. 3). Also, the tenants of the river fisheries did not have their own equipment. "Okhotsk-Kamchatka Joint-Stock Fishing Company" rented an elevator from the Japanese, two houses for accommodation and offices, a pier for receiving fish from the river" (SAKT, F. R-132. Op. 1.D. 1.L. 3).

The activity of Dalmoreproduct had lasted for two years – 1924 and 1925. Due to the large shortage of fishing in 1925, the Society collapsed and was liquidated. All property was transferred to the newly organized "Dalgosrybtrest". At the end of 1926, "Okhotsk-Kamchatka Joint-Stock Fishing Company" and Dalgosrybtrest merged into a single state organization, Dalgosrybtrest, which in the 1927 season became a single state organization with assets of 2.5 million rubles. However, the territory of activity of "Dalgosrybtrest" was large, covering the entire Far East, so the 'Kamchatka Joint-Stock Company' was created. The activity of the "Kamchatka Joint-Stock Company" was limited to Kamchatka, and the Company was entrusted with the tasks of comprehensive development of the entire economy of the peninsula (SAKT, F. R-132. Op. 1.D. 1.L. 3).

The state fishing industry developed slowly. By 1927, it was planned to build the first state fish canning plant in Kamchatka – near the mouth of the Kamchatka River. In the 1926 season, preparatory work was carried out, the area for the plant was prepared and some materials and the first winches were delivered (SAKT, F. R-132. Op. 1.D. 1.L. 3). Only with the activities of the "Kamchatka Joint-Stock Company", the formation of the public sector of the fishing industry had begun.

The most important place among Japanese industrialists in Kamchatka belonged to the Joint-Stock Company "Nichiro Gio Gio Kabushiki Kaisha", which had been existed since 1914 and had been specially strengthened in 1921 due to the absorption of other weaker fishing organizations. The merger of Nichiro with another rival organization, Taihoku, in 1924 turned Nichiro GGKK into a virtual monopoly of Kamchatka’s fisheries. In 1925, the equipment of this Japanese syndicate in the East Kamchatka fishing area included 3 canneries for 19 lines, as well as floating vehicles, fishing gear in the amount of 2,205,065 rubles. All Okhotsk-Kamchatka Joint-Stock Fishing Company equipment was estimated at 105,430 rubles during this period (SAKT, F. R-132. Op. 1.D. 1.L. 3).

All 10 fish canneries in the West Kamchatka fishing area were owned by the Japanese company "Nichiro GGKK". The equipment of the factories was of the same type, American-made, and differed only in capacity in terms of the number of canned food boxes produced per day (from the number of installed lines or belts). From 1 to 5 belts were installed in the factories. The capacity of the tape was 800 boxes of sockeye salmon or 1,000 boxes of pink salmon per day (SAKT, F. R-132. Op. 1.D. 1.L. 3).

In 1926, In the East Kamchatka region, almost all the sea plots were leased by Japanese fishermen (17 plots). In 1927, the Japanese operated 14 sea sections. The company "Nichiro GGKK" has re-equipped its canneries, having launched new machines for the primary processing of fish ("Iron Chinese") (SAKT, F. R-132. Op. 1.D. 1.L. 3). The bulk of the canned food was exported from the fisheries directly to England, and the rest - to Japan.
All fish products of the Far Eastern Region in 1926 were expressed in 9,840,000 poods and were estimated at 43,464,000 rubles. Within the Kamchatka District, fish products were produced for 33,852,000 rubles, including 28,464,000 rubles by the Japanese. Also, within the Kamchatka District, the population extracted various fish for their own needs and dog food in the amount of 765,000 rubles. In total, therefore, fish products in the Kamchatka District were produced for 34,617,000 rubles (REPORT OF THE KAMCHATKA DISTRICT REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE, 1928).

DISCUSSION

In the course of the study, specific forms and methods of implementing a NEP in Kamchatka were identified. Firstly, the economy of Kamchatka, although poorly developed before the revolution, was in decline due to the consequences of the civil war. The process of Sovietization in Kamchatka began later than in the rest of Russia and lasted much longer. Thus, Soviet power was finally established only at the end of 1922 in Petropavlovsk-Kamchatsky. Even with the advent of Soviet power, the economic development of Kamchatka was slow, and industrial construction here began to develop significantly later in comparison with the European part of the territory of Soviet Russia. In this regard, the economy of the North-East of the country immediately entered the period of NEP, bypassing the policy of "war communism" and continuous expropriation.

Secondly, the dependence on the supply of necessary goods led to the fact that the share of private foreign capital in trade here was more significant than in other regions of the RSFSR and had been retaining its importance for a long time. The Soviet government sought to find options for cooperation with private trading companies and began to restrict their activities only when it became contrary to state interests.

Thirdly, the specifics of the economy of the northern regions of Kamchatka, seasonality in fishing did not allow creating a network of full-fledged production cooperatives. The policy of cooperation carried out among the population was of a directive nature. The main form of cooperation was industrial artels. Cooperatives had no means of production and often became dependent on private owners, both Russian and Japanese.

Fourthly, the remoteness of the territory, the lack of resources, and the weakness of the economic levers of the state led to the fact that private capital and foreign concessions in the fishing industry were active in Kamchatka. This determined the decision of the Soviet government to encourage the concession activities of Japanese entrepreneurs in the fishing industry in every possible way, even after the completion of the NEP.

The regional features of the NEP have not been sufficiently studied by scholars. This topic requires further discussion and the search for new approaches to more objective conclusions about what the NEP was.

CONCLUSION

The specifics of the NEP in Kamchatka were determined by all the previous development of the region. By the beginning of the implementation of the NEP in Kamchatka, trade was concentrated in the hands of Russian and foreign entrepreneurs who carried out their activities in the region even under the tsarist government. During the unfolding Civil War, European and American firms were making attempts to establish contacts with representatives of the "White" movement, and they were seeking to gain a foothold in the trade sphere on legal grounds after the establishment of Soviet power in Kamchatka. The largest competing firms in the early 1920s were the English Joint-Stock Company Hudson Bay and the American firm Olaf Swenson and Co. Considering the problem of organizing a delivery trade and supplying the population of Kamchatka in remote areas, the Soviet government was forced to cooperate with foreign entrepreneurs for some time. As a result of the strengthening of state trade in the region, contacts with these firms were discontinued.

One of the forms of the NEP was the organization of cooperation. Since the mid-1920s, attempts have been made to organize fishing cooperation in Kamchatka. For this purpose, cooperative fishing artels were created. Fishing by the artels was carried out mainly in the rivers of local significance, only a part of the artels leased marine areas. Most of the artels signed contracts with private fishermen, both Russian and Japanese, handing them fish in raw form,
often at a low price. In general, fishing artels had weak organizational foundations and material and technical equipment.

Japanese capital occupied a strong position in the fishing industry of Kamchatka in the period preceding the NEP, and in the 1920s. After the establishment of Soviet power, Japanese fishermen received the concession rights that the Japanese had had during the Russian-Japanese Fishing Convention of 1907 under the tsarist government. Russian fishermen who carried out their activities in Kamchatka in the early 1920s were under the control of the Japanese capital. Japanese firms financially absorbed domestic private owners and exercised control over them.

In the 1920s attempts were made to establish state production in the region, but the implementation of this task was difficult. The Okhotsk-Kamchatka Joint-Stock Fishing Company, which appeared in 1924, could not compete with Japanese industrialists. The largest Japanese company that carried out its fishing activities in Kamchatka waters was the Joint-Stock Company "Nichiro Gio Gio Kabushiki Kaisha", which monopolized the fishing industry of Kamchatka in the 1920s.

The NEP was gradually winding down on the territory of the USSR with the beginning of the course of industrialization. The Kamchatka Joint-Stock Company, which appeared in 1927, was entrusted with the tasks of comprehensive development of the entire economy of the peninsula. Along with this, private fishing capital had been maintaining its position on the territory of the Kamchatka Peninsula for some time. Only in 1933, the main fishing lands of the private sector were transferred to the Kamchatka Joint-Stock Company. The Japanese fishing industry in Kamchatka waters still had too much weight density. Japanese concessions continued to maintain their position in the region’s economy after the conclusion of the Soviet-Japanese Fishing Convention of 1928. The financial interest of the Soviet leadership in attracting foreign capital, the use of the technical and technological experience of Japanese fishermen, and the slow formation of the state fishing industry contributed to the long-term preservation of Japanese concessions in Kamchatka.

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Features of the new economic policy in Kamchatka (Russia) in the 1920s

Características da nova política econômica em Kamchatka (Rússia) na década de 1920

Características de la nueva política económica en Kamchatka (Rusia) en la década de 1920

Resumo

O objetivo deste estudo é identificar as características regionais da nova política econômica na URSS no exemplo do desenvolvimento econômico de Kamchatka na década de 1920. Os principais resultados do estudo foram relacionados à introdução de documentos de arquivamento em circulação científica, o que permite identificar as características específicas da nova política econômica em Kamchatka, como na remota região norte da URSS. As características da política econômica da década de 1920 em Kamchatka podem ser atribuídas ao fato de que o quadro cronológico da nova política econômica era diferente da parte europeia do país; cooperação tinha fundamentos organizacionais fracos; por muito tempo, houve uma presença de capital privado doméstico, e especialmente estrangeiro na vida econômica. O tema da identificação das características regionais da nova política econômica implementada pelo governo soviético na década de 1920 requer mais discussão na comunidade científica.

Keywords: Economic development. Foreign capital. Concessions. Japanese fishermen. Foreign firms.

Palavras-chave: Desenvolvimento econômico. Capital estrangeiro. Concessões. Pescadores japoneses. Empresas estrangeiras.