## ONLINE APPENDIX ENEMIES OF THE PEOPLE

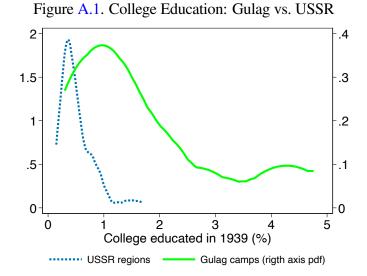
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Notes: The dashed line shows the distribution of the share of college educated across USSR regions in 1939. The solid line shows the same distribution across Gulag camps in 1939, confirming the higher proportion of college educated people in camps. In both cases, the share by education level is among all individuals for which education data is available. The data are from the 1939 Soviet census and the State Archive of the Russian Federation (GARF).

Table A.1. Offences of Gulag prisoners in 1939

	sum	mean	min	max
Enemies of the people	370,699	12,357	0	72,314
Dangerous crimes against the administartive order	36,146	1,205	0	9,189
Other crimes against the administartive order	169,012	5,634	369	50,747
Theft of public property	24,101	803	51	7,621
Misconduct in office, Economic crimes	85,286	2,843	243	25,421
Crimes against persons	61,003	2,033	150	18,289
Crimes against property	140,190	4,673	205	39,924
Socially harmful and dangerous elements	207,044	6,901	137	56,713
Military offences	8,705	290	18	2,595
Other delicts	28,062	935	55	6,996
Total prisoners	1,130,248	35,320	0	286,269

Notes: The table shows the number of Gulag prisoners in 1939 by type of offence. This classification allows us to measure the share of *enemies* among camp prisoners. The data is from the State Archive of the Russian Federation (GARF). It suggests that in 1939 there were 1,130,248 prisoners, 370,699 of which were *enemies*. Many of the non-political criminals were petty criminals. We do not have the same level of detail on offences for 1952, but we know that there were 1,697,011 prisoners, 485,754 of which were *enemies*. The crime of *enemies* was that defined by Article 58 as counterrevolutionary activities. These included treason to the motherland, espionage and sabotage. The other groups of prisoners were criminals of different types, classified as dangerous or arrested for disrupting the administrative order, or for crimes against property or persons.

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Table A.2	EINNIC	groups:	тшая	VS.	USSK
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	Tuote The Euline groups. Outug (s. Obsit											
	Camps 1939 (%)	Census 1939 (%)	Difference	Camps 1952 (%)	Census 1959 (%)	Difference						
Russians	63.05	58.09	+4.96	53.55	54.64	-1.09						
Ukrainians	13.81	16.47	-2.66	22.50	17.84	+4.66						
Belorussians	3.40	3.09	+0.31	4.43	3.79	+0.64						
Tatars	1.89	2.52	-0.63	1.95	2.34	-0.39						
Uzbeks	1.86	2.84	-0.98	1.14	2.88	-1.74						
Jews	1.50	1.77	-0.27	0.89	1.09	-0.20						
Germans	1.41	0.84	+0.57	1.02	0.78	+0.24						
Kazakhs	1.30	1.82	-0.52	0.92	1.73	-0.81						
Poles	1.28	0.37	+0.91	1.09	0.66	+0.43						
Georgians	0.89	1.32	-0.43	0.48	1.23	-0.75						
Armenians	0.84	1.26	-0.42	0.81	1.33	-0.52						
Latvians	0.58	0.07	+0.51	1.47	0.67	+0.80						
Lithuanians	-	-	-	2.38	1.11	+1.27						
Estonian	-	-	-	1.21	0.47	+0.74						
Moldovans	-	-	-	0.96	1.06	-0.10						
Azerbaijanis	-	-	-	0.68	1.41	-0.73						
Notes: The tab	le chows the chore of a	thnia groups among C	ulag prisonare	and compares it to the	respective chores in the	USSP population The 1052 date						

Notes: The table shows the share of ethnic groups among Gulag prisoners and compares it to the respective shares in the USSR population. The 1952 data is from the State Archive of the Russian Federation (GARF) and 1939 numbers are from Getty et al. (1993). We restrict ethnic groups to those accounting for at least 0.45% of the Gulag population in 1952. The other ethnic groups in 1952 are Turkmens, Tadjiks, Kyrgiz, Finns, Bashkirs, Udmurts, Romanians, Iranians, Afghans, Mongols, Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, Greeks, and Turks. Overall the ethnic composition in camps was not that different from the Soviet Union as a whole. Russians were slightly over-represented in camps in 1939 while other ethnic groups are roughly in line with the distribution of the 1939 Census. In 1952 Ukrainians appear to be the most overrepresented in camps, while other ethnic groups are in line with the closest census in 1959.

(2)(1)sum sum mean mean Any resource 0.34 25 0.32 30 Calcium phosphate 1 0.01 1 0.01 Coal 7 0.08 4 0.05 Gold 2 0.02 2 0.03 0.01 Iron 1 1 0.01 Stone 24 0.27 20 0.26 Tin 1 0.01 1 0.01 0 Uranium 0.00 0 0.00 Agriculture 28 0.32 25 0.32 2 Arms industry 0.02 2 0.03 45 0.51 0.53 **Construction Material** 41 7 0.08 7 0.09 Energy industry 53 0.60 50 0.65 Forestry 23 Light Manufacturing 0.26 21 0.27 0.05 Mechanic industries 4 4 0.05 Metal industry 5 0.06 4 0.05 8 Research 0.09 8 0.10 Services 15 0.17 15 0.19 Construction of Mines 21 0.24 18 0.23 33 **Construction of Housing** 0.38 30 0.39 72 0.82 64 0.83 Construction of Infrastructure 48 0.55 44 0.57 Construction of Manufactures

Table A.3. Economic activities across camps in 1952

Note: The table shows the number and share of Gulag camps by economic activity. For example, 25 camps among 77 in nowadays Russia, or 32%, were involved in the extraction of natural resources. 65% were involved in forestry, 83% in infrastructure construction. The data on economic activities is from Memorial.

	1				U	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	Enemies 1952 (%)					
Total prisoners (ln)	0.022	0.002	0.014	0.000	0.000	0.000
Latitude	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
Longitude	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
Altitude	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
Ruggedness	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
Rooting	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
Workability	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
Precipation in Jul	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
Temp in Jul	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
Precipation in Jan	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
Temp in Jan	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
Pop within 100km in 1926 (ln)	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
km to 1937 railway (ln)	0.002	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
Coal (=1)	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
Gold (=1)	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
Iron (=1)	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.674	0.000
Stone (=1)	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
Uran (=1)	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
Tin (=1)	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
Calcium (=1)	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
Any resource	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
Energy	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
Metal	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
Forestry	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
Agriculture	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
Materials	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
Mechanical	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
Light manufacturing	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
R&D	-0.036	0.000	-0.030	0.000	0.000	0.000
Services	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
Infrastructure	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
Extractive	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
Housing	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
Manufacturing	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
N	77	77	75	75	67	67
Model	LASSO	SQRT-LASSO	LASSO	SQRT-LASSO	LASSO	SQRT-LASSO
Region FE	No	No	Dummies	Dummies	FE	FE
<u> </u>		TAGGO	11. 1.		1	

Table A.4. The predictors of the share of enemies across Gulags

Notes: In this table we estimate a LASSO model to determine the subset of variables that best predicts the share of *enemies* across camps. We include models where we use absolute values or the square root of coefficients to determine the LASSO's penalty. Columns 1-2 do not include region fixed effects, columns 3-4 include region dummies as additional variables that can be selected by the LASSO, and columns 5-6 include region fixed effects.

	1	ENEMY	RELATIVE	S		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	Enemy relatives		Enemy relatives		Enemy relatives	
Enemies 1952 (%)	1.583	1.432	1.449	1.583	1.432	1.444
	(0.319)	(0.353)	(0.354)	(0.319)	(0.354)	(0.355)
Total prisoners		0.027	0.024	(	0.027	0.025
I I I I I I I I I I I I I I I I I I I		(0.014)	(0.014)		(0.014)	(0.014)
Latitude		0.007	0.010		0.007	0.011
		(0.007)	(0.008)		(0.007)	(0.008)
Longitude		0.002	0.002		0.002	0.002
8		(0.003)	(0.003)		(0.003)	(0.003)
Pop within 100km - 1926 (ln)		()	0.006		(,	0.006
1			(0.005)			(0.005)
KM to 1937 railway (ln)			-0.007			-0.004
			(0.015)			(0.022)
N	2167	2167	1111	1980	1980	924
Clusters	29	29	26	27	27	24
R-sq	0.18	0.18	0.19	0.19	0.20	0.20
Moscow in	yes	yes	yes	no	no	no
Region FE	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
	E	ENEMY GR	ANDPARE	NTS		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	Enemy relatives	Enemy relatives	Enemy relatives		Enemy relatives	Enemy relatives
Enemies 1952 (%)	0.569	0.449	0.465	0.569	0.449	0.458
	(0.102)	(0.122)	(0.120)	(0.102)	(0.123)	(0.121)
Total prisoners		0.026	0.022		0.026	0.023
		(0.005)	(0.006)		(0.005)	(0.007)
Latitude		-0.001	0.002		-0.001	0.003
		(0.005)	(0.004)		(0.005)	(0.004)
Longitude		-0.001	0.000		-0.001	-0.000
		(0.001)	(0.001)		(0.001)	(0.002)
Pop within 100km - 1926 (ln)			0.006			0.006
			(0.004)			(0.004)
KM to 1937 railway (ln)			-0.010			-0.005
			(0.010)			(0.014)
N	1658	1658	879	1500	1500	721
Clusters	29	29	26	27	27	24
R-sq	0.04	0.05	0.05	0.05	0.06	0.06
Moscow in	yes	yes	yes	no	no	no
Region FE	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes

## Table A.5. Respondents are more likely to be grandchildren or relatives of *enemies* if near<br/>camps with a higher share of *enemies* in 1952

Notes: Here we check if survey respondents in 2016 living near camps which had a larger share of *enemies* are more likely to identify as the grandchildren or relatives of *enemies*. The table shows the results of regressions across 2,167 individuals living within 100 km of 1952 Gulags in Russia in 2016. Here we use a specification akin to equation (1). The left-hand side variables are dummies indicating whether the individual had grandparents or relatives sent to labor camps or prisons for political reasons before 1990, i.e. whether they identify as grandchildren or relatives of *enemies*. The right-hand side variable of interest is the share of *enemies* among prisoners in 1952. All regressions include region (oblast) fixed effects. Standard errors clustered by Gulag clusters (at the treatment level) are in parentheses. The results suggest that individuals are more likely to identify as descendants of *enemies* in 2016 if they live near a camp with a higher share of *enemies*. 28 percentage points, is associated with an increase in the probability of respondents being relatives of an *enemy* by 45 percentage points.

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$ \begin{array}{c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c $			(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5	) (6)	(7)	(8)
$\begin{array}{c ccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$			0	Migrant	Migran	t Migra	ant Migi	rant Migrar	t Migrant	Migrant
Enemy relatives         0.010         0.010         0.010         0.005         0.011           Latitude         0.058         0.046         0.043         0.066         0.055         0.060           Latitude         0.043         0.052         0.054         0.047         0.053         0.047           Longitude         0.043         0.052         0.054         0.047         0.053         0.047           Korral         0.0078         (0.078)         (0.074)         (0.089)         (0.089)         (0.099)           Female         0.053         0.054         0.056         0.057           Kage         0.002         0.002         0.002         0.002         0.002         0.002           N         15431         15431         15431         12874         19341         19341         19341         15933           R-sq         0.41         0.41         0.42         0.40         0.40         0.41         0.41           Migrant > 1990         Migrant > 1990 <td< td=""><td>Enemy grandp</td><td>arents</td><td>-0.008</td><td>-0.008</td><td>-0.001</td><td>-0.00</td><td>)1</td><td></td><td></td><td></td></td<>	Enemy grandp	arents	-0.008	-0.008	-0.001	-0.00	)1			
$\begin{array}{c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c $		(	(0.018)	(0.018)	(0.018)	(0.01	9)			
$\begin{array}{c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c $	Enemy relative	s	`´´	· /	. ,		0.0	10 0.010	0.005	0.011
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$\begin{array}{c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c $	Latituda			0.058	0.046	0.04		, ,	,	
$\begin{tabular}{ c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c$	Latitude									
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$ \begin{array}{c ccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	Longitude									
$ \begin{array}{c ccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$				(0.078)	(0.078)	(0.07	4)	(0.089)	) (0.089)	(0.091)
$\begin{array}{c ccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	Female				0.053	0.05	4		0.056	0.057
$\begin{array}{c ccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$					(0.009)	(0.00	9)		(0.008)	(0.008)
$\begin{tabular}{ c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c$	Age				· · ·	<b>`</b>	,		· · · ·	
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N         15431         15431         15431         15431         12874         19341         19341         19341         19341         15933           R-sq         0.41         0.41         0.41         0.42         0.40         0.40         0.41         0.41           AFTER 1990           Migrant > 1990         Migrant	Income									
R-sq         0.41         0.41         0.41         0.42         0.40         0.40         0.41         0.41           AFTER 1990           (1)         (2)         (3)         (4)         (5)         (6)         (7)         (8)           Migrant > 1990						、 、	,			· /
AFTER 1990           (1)         (2)         (3)         (4)         (5)         (6)         (7)         (8)           Migrant > 1990         Migra	Ν		15431	15431	15431	1287	4 193	41 19341	19341	15933
$\begin{tabular}{ c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c$	R-sq		0.41	0.41	0.41	0.42	2 0.4	0 0.40	0.41	0.41
$\begin{tabular}{ c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c$					AFTE	R 1990	)			
Enemy grandparents         0.021         0.020         0.004         0.003           Enemy grandparents         0.021         0.020         0.004         0.003           Enemy relatives         -0.019         -0.018         -0.006         -0.011           Latitude         -0.151         -0.140         -0.148         -0.118         -0.107         -0.107           Longitude         0.177         0.166         0.175         0.165         0.157         0.158           Longitude         0.177         0.166         0.175         0.165         0.157         0.158           (0.019)         (0.017)         (0.018)         (0.041)         (0.037)         (0.042)           Female         0.013         0.018         0.021         0.022         0.006           (0.006)         (0.007)         (0.006)         0.007)         (0.006)         0.007)           Age         -0.006         -0.006         -0.006         -0.007         0.010         0.010           N         15431         15431         15431         12874         19341         19341         19341         19341										
(0.017)         (0.017)         (0.016)         (0.016)           Enemy relatives         -0.019         -0.018         -0.006         -0.011           Latitude         -0.151         -0.140         -0.148         -0.118         -0.107         (0.015)           Latitude         -0.151         -0.140         -0.148         -0.118         -0.107         -0.107           (0.025)         (0.020)         (0.020)         (0.046)         (0.041)         (0.050)           Longitude         0.177         0.166         0.175         0.165         0.157         0.158           (0.019)         (0.017)         (0.018)         (0.044)         (0.037)         (0.042)           Female         0.013         0.018         0.021         0.022           (0.006)         -0.006         -0.006         -0.007         0.006         -0.007           Age         -0.006         -0.006         -0.007         0.010         0.000)         0.000)         0.000)           Income         0.012         -0.004         -0.003         0.003         0.003         0.003           N         15431         15431         12874         19341         19341         19341         19341							Migrant > 199	0 Migran > 1990	Migrani > 1990	Migrant > 1990
$ \begin{array}{c ccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$		(0.017)	(0.017)	(0.01	6)	(0.016)				
Latitude         -0.151         -0.140         -0.148         -0.118         -0.107         -0.107           (0.025)         (0.020)         (0.020)         (0.046)         (0.041)         (0.050)           Longitude         0.177         0.166         0.175         0.165         0.157         0.158           (0.019)         (0.017)         (0.018)         (0.041)         (0.037)         (0.042)           Female         0.013         0.018         0.021         0.022           (0.006)         (0.007)         (0.006)         (0.007)         0.006         -0.007           Age         -0.006         -0.006         -0.006         -0.007         0.0000)         (0.000)           Income         0.012         0.012         0.010         0.010         0.010           N         15431         15431         15431         12874         19341         19341         19343	Enemy relatives									
(0.025)         (0.020)         (0.020)         (0.046)         (0.041)         (0.050)           Longitude         0.177         0.166         0.175         0.165         0.157         0.158           (0.019)         (0.017)         (0.018)         (0.041)         (0.037)         (0.042)           Female         0.013         0.018         0.021         0.022           Age         -0.006         -0.006         -0.006         -0.007           Income         0.012         0.012         0.010           N         15431         15431         15431         12874         19341         19341         19341	Latitude		-0.151	-0.1	40	-0.148	(0.013)			
(0.019)         (0.017)         (0.018)         (0.041)         (0.037)         (0.042)           Female         0.013         0.018         0.021         0.022           (0.006)         (0.007)         (0.006)         (0.007)           Age         -0.006         -0.006         -0.006           (0.000)         (0.000)         (0.000)         (0.000)           Income         0.012         0.010           1004)         15431         15431         12874         19341         19341         19343								(0.046)	(0.041)	(0.050)
Female         0.013         0.018         0.021         0.022           (0.006)         (0.007)         (0.006)         (0.007)           Age         -0.006         -0.006         -0.006         -0.007           (0.000)         (0.000)         (0.000)         (0.000)         (0.000)           Income         0.012         0.010         0.010           N         15431         15431         12874         19341         19341         19341	Longitude									
(0.006)         (0.007)         (0.006)         (0.007)           Age         -0.006         -0.006         -0.006         -0.007           (0.000)         (0.000)         (0.000)         (0.000)         (0.000)           Income         0.012         0.010         (0.003)           N         15431         15431         12874         19341         19341         19341         15933	Female		(0.019)					(0.041)		
(0.000)         (0.000)         (0.000)         (0.000)         (0.000)           Income         0.012         0.010         0.010           (0.004)         (0.003)         (0.003)         (0.003)           N         15431         15431         12874         19341         19341         19341				(0.00	)6)	(0.007)			(0.006)	(0.007)
Income 0.012 0.010 (0.004) (0.003) N 15431 15431 15431 12874 19341 19341 19341 15933	Age									
(0.004)         (0.003)           N         15431         15431         12874         19341         19341         19343	Income			(0.00	00)				(0.000)	
N 15431 15431 15431 12874 19341 19341 19341 19341 15933	meone									
<u>R-sq</u> 0.19 0.19 0.24 0.25 0.18 0.18 0.24 0.26	Ν	15431	15431	154.			19341	19341	19341	
	R-sq	0.19	0.19	0.2	4	0.25	0.18	0.18	0.24	0.26

Table A.6. The descendants of <i>enemies</i> are not more likely to be migrants
SINCE BIRTH

Notes: Here we check if those that identify as grandchildren or relatives of *enemies* are more or less likely to have migrated. The table shows the results of regressions across 15,431 individuals in ex-USSR countries in 2016. The left-hand side variables are dummies indicating whether the individual has migrated since birth or since 1990 (lower panel), using the answer to the question: *How long have you lived in this city/town/village?*. The right-hand side variables of interest are dummies indicating whether the individual had grandparents or relatives in labor camps or prisons for political reasons before 1990. All regressions include primary sampling unit regions (PSU) fixed effects. Robust standard errors are in parentheses. The results suggest that those who identify as grandchildren or relatives of *enemies* are not more likely to have migrated since birth or since 1990.

			rwion	~		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	College (=1)	College (=1	) College (=1)	) College (=1)	College (=1)	College (=1)
Enemies 1952 (%)	1.860	1.917	2.745	1.858	2.021	2.719
	(0.384)	(0.138)	(0.247)	(0.387)	(0.259)	(0.245)
Total prisoners		0.034	-0.015		-0.028	-0.013
I.		(0.015)	(0.017)		(0.072)	(0.077)
Latitude		-0.092	-0.089		-0.071	-0.091
		(0.032)	(0.022)		(0.039)	(0.044)
Longitude		-0.005	-0.012		-0.004	-0.011
Longitude		(0.004)	(0.006)		(0.004)	(0.009)
Pop within 100km - 1926 (1	n)	(0.004)	0.071		(0.004)	0.071
1 op within 100km - 1920 (i	11)		(0.021)			(0.036)
KM to 1937 railway (ln)			-0.033			-0.035
KW to 1957 Tanway (III)			(0.032)			(0.033)
N	601	601	. ,	502	502	
	601	601	601	503	503	503
Clusters	29	29	29	25	25	25
R-sq	0.06	0.07	0.07	0.08	0.08	0.09
Moscow in	yes	yes	yes	no	no	no
Region FE	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Iı	nadequate educ. Ina	dequate educ. 1	Inadequate educ.	Inadequate educ.	Inadequate educ.	Inadequate educ.
Enemies 1952 (%)	-0.293	-0.322	-0.483	-0.335	-0.277	-0.403
	(1.332)	(0.867)	(1.050)	(1.335)	(0.874)	(0.927)
Total prisoners		0.231	0.237		0.236	0.296
		(0.041)	(0.044)		(0.104)	(0.214)
Latitude		-0.215	-0.219		-0.223	-0.258
I an aite da		(0.088) -0.016	(0.093) -0.019		(0.093) -0.018	(0.158) -0.024
Longitude		-0.016 (0.005)	-0.019 (0.007)		-0.018 (0.004)	-0.024 (0.015)
Pop within 100km - 1926 (ln)		(0.003)	0.010		(0.004)	0.034
10p within 100km - 1920 (m)			(0.032)			(0.085)
KM to 1937 railway (ln)			0.028			0.035
			(0.057)			(0.068)
N	2130	2130	2130	1861	1861	1861
Clusters	33	33	33	29	29	29
			0.00		0.10	0.10
R-sq	0.08	0.09	0.09	0.10	0.10	0.10
R-sq Moscow in Region FE	0.08 yes	0.09 yes	0.09 yes	0.10 no	0.10 no	0.10 no

Table A.7. Firms near camps with a higher share of *enemies* have a more educated workforce in 2014, and are less likely to say that an inadequately educated workforce is an obstacle to operations

Notes: The table shows the results of regressions across 2,130 firms located within 100 km of 1952 Gulags in Russia in 2014. The left-hand side variables are dummies indicating whether the firm's average employee has a college education, or if it identifies an inadequately educated workforce as an obstacle to operations (bottom panel). The right-hand side variable of interest is as in our baseline in Table 5, the share of *enemies* among prisoners in 1952. All regressions include regions (oblast) fixed effects. Standard errors clustered by Gulag clusters (at the treatment level) are in parentheses. The results suggest that a firm near a camp with a higher share of *enemies* in 1952 is more likely to have college-educated employees. According to column (1), a 28 percentage point increase in *enemy* share increases the probability that a firm's average employee has a college educated workforce is an obstacle to operations, although the effects are not statistically significant.

	U				( )/		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	
	Average wage (ln)						
Enemies 1952 (ln)	0.037	0.017	0.018	0.027	0.029	0.029	
	(0.009)	(0.017)	(0.018)	(0.006)	(0.018)	(0.018)	
Prisoners within 100km (ln)		0.033	0.027		-0.045	-0.049	
		(0.040)	(0.040)		(0.036)	(0.038)	
Latitude		0.042	0.046		0.048	0.048	
		(0.018)	(0.020)		(0.016)	(0.018)	
Longitude		-0.005	-0.005		-0.004	-0.003	
		(0.007)	(0.007)		(0.006)	(0.006)	
Pop within 100km - 1926 (ln)			0.003			-0.006	
			(0.010)			(0.011)	
KM to 1937 railway (ln)			-0.008			-0.012	
			(0.017)			(0.021)	
N	699226	699226	699226	433491	433491	433491	
Clusters	125	125	125	115	115	115	
R-sq	0.07	0.08	0.08	0.04	0.04	0.04	
Moscow in	yes	yes	yes	no	no	no	
Region FE	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	
Weights	emp	emp	emp	emp	emp	emp	

Table A.8. Using *Enemies* in 1952 (ln) (instead of *Enemies* (%))

*Notes*: The table mimics the regressions in Table 5 but replaces the share of *enemies* with the log of *enemies*. The table shows the results of regressions across 699,226 firms located within 100 km of a 1952 Gulag, in Russia in 2018. Columns 4-6 exclude firms within 100 km of Moscow. All regressions are weighted least squares, with the numbers of employees per firm used as weights, and include region (oblast) fixed effects. Standard errors clustered by Gulag clusters (at the treatment level) are in parentheses. The results in column (1) suggest that firms near Gulags with 10% more *enemies* pay 3.7% higher wages.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	Average wage (ln)					
Enemies (% pop 1926)	0.974	0.496	0.759	0.970	0.559	0.694
	(0.369)	(0.312)	(0.346)	(0.369)	(0.317)	(0.357)
Prisoners within 100km (ln)		0.062	0.052		0.011	0.007
		(0.028)	(0.025)		(0.017)	(0.018)
Latitude		0.033	0.041		0.038	0.044
		(0.017)	(0.017)		(0.015)	(0.016)
Longitude		-0.005	-0.005		-0.002	-0.002
		(0.005)	(0.005)		(0.003)	(0.004)
Pop within 100km - 1926 (ln)			0.017			0.008
			(0.009)			(0.009)
KM to 1937 railway (ln)			-0.008			-0.010
			(0.018)			(0.021)
N	699226	699226	699226	433491	433491	433491
Clusters	125	125	125	115	115	115
R-sq	0.07	0.08	0.08	0.04	0.04	0.04
Moscow in	yes	yes	yes	no	no	no
Region FE	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Weights	emp	emp	emp	emp	emp	emp

Table A.9. Using *enemies* as a share of the 1926 population (instead of total prisoners)

Notes: The table mimics the regressions in Table 5 but takes *enemies* as a share of the 1926 population within 100km, to which we also add total prisoners, instead of as a share of only total prisoners. The table shows the results of regressions across 699,226 firms located within 100 km of a 1952 Gulag, in Russia in 2018. All regressions are weighted least squares, with the numbers of employees per firm used as weights, and include region (oblast) fixed effects. Standard errors clustered by Gulag clusters (at the treatment level) are in parentheses. Results in column (1) suggest that increasing the population share of *enemies* by 10 percentage point increases average wages by around 10%.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	Value Added per employee (ln)					
Enemies within 100km (%)	0.237	0.042	0.474	0.110	0.101	0.457
	(0.208)	(0.226)	(0.227)	(0.216)	(0.203)	(0.210)
Prisoners within 100km (ln)		0.084	0.049	0.035	0.025	0.002
		(0.034)	(0.030)	(0.027)	(0.029)	(0.030)
Latitude		0.014	0.052		0.020	0.054
		(0.013)	(0.014)		(0.010)	(0.012)
Longitude		-0.011	-0.008		-0.009	-0.005
		(0.005)	(0.004)		(0.004)	(0.004)
Pop within 100km - 1926 (ln)			0.038			0.030
			(0.012)			(0.011)
KM to 1937 railway (ln)			-0.066			-0.069
			(0.009)			(0.011)
N	762597	762597	762597	478669	478669	478669
Clusters	125	125	125	115	115	115
R-sq	0.04	0.04	0.04	0.05	0.05	0.05
Moscow in	yes	yes	yes	no	no	no
Region FE	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Weights	emp	emp	emp	emp	emp	emp

Table A.10. The effect of the share of *enemies* on value added per employee

Notes: The table mimics the regressions in Table 5 but replaces average wages with value added, defined as revenues net of input costs, per employee. The table shows the results of regressions across 762,597 firms located within 100 km of a 1952 Gulag, in Russia in 2018. Columns 4-6 exclude firms within 100 km of Moscow. All regressions are weighted least squares, with the numbers of employees per firm used as weights, and include region (oblast) fixed effects. Standard errors clustered by Gulag clusters (at the treatment level) are in parentheses. The results suggest that firms near Gulags with a higher share of *enemies* create higher value added per employee. The coefficient in column (3) suggests that a one standard deviation increase in the share of *enemies* increases value added per employee by 14%.

	with Moscow									
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
	Lights per									
	capita (ln)									
Enemies (%)	1.010	0.716	1.019	0.825	1.029	0.793	2.315	1.551	2.123	1.365
	(0.286)	(0.329)	(0.318)	(0.342)	(0.291)	(0.294)	(0.643)	(0.605)	(0.519)	(0.591)
Ν	77	67	77	67	77	67	77	67	77	67
R-sq	0.11	0.69	0.12	0.70	0.11	0.76	0.19	0.73	0.19	0.72
Region FE	no	yes								
Moscow in	yes									
Year	2000	2000	2005	2005	2010	2010	2015	2015	2020	2020
				With	out Mos	cow				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
	Lights per									
	capita (ln)									
Enemies (%)	0.785	0.717	0.821	0.826	0.791	0.794	2.072	1.553	1.845	1.365
	(0.276)	(0.332)	(0.315)	(0.345)	(0.283)	(0.297)	(0.644)	(0.610)	(0.514)	(0.596)
N	71	61	71	61	71	61	71	61	71	61
R-sq	0.08	0.61	0.09	0.64	0.07	0.70	0.16	0.70	0.16	0.68
Region FE	no	yes								
Moscow in	no									
Year	2000	2000	2005	2005	2010	2010	2015	2015	2020	2020

 Table A.11. The effect of the share of *enemies* on night lights per capita

 With Moscow

Notes: The table shows the results of regressions across 100km-radius areas around Gulags in Russia in 2000, 2005, 2010, 2015, and 2020. All regressions include region (oblast) fixed effects. Regions with only one Gulag are dropped due to region fixed effects. Standard errors clustered by region are in parentheses. The results suggest that areas near Gulags with a larger share of *enemies* have brighter night lights per capita. The coefficient in column (10) in the bottom panel suggests that a one standard deviation increase in the share of enemies increases night lights per capita by 46%.

			VV 1 1		<u> </u>	UNIN	<u>ULS</u>			
	(1)		(2)		(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
J	unction 1954-89	Junctio	Junction 1954-89		nce city S	cience city	Defense factory	Defense factory	University	University
Enemies 1952 (%)	0.076	0	0.075 -0		.752	-0.752	-0.034	-0.034	-0.311	-0.311
	(0.243)	(0	0.245) (0		.187)	(0.189)	(0.163)	(0.164)	(0.293)	(0.295)
N	67		61		67	61	67	61	67	61
R-sq	0.43	(	0.43		).56	0.51	0.39	0.39	0.50	0.46
Moscow in	yes		no		yes	no	yes	no	yes	no
Region FE	yes		yes		yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
			V	VIT	H CO	NTROI	LS			
	(1)		(2)		(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
	Junction 1	954-89	Junction 195	4-89	Science cit	y Science	city Defense facto	bry Defense factor	y University	University
Enemies 1952 (%)	0.22	0.228		0.225		-0.236	5 -0.022	-0.022	-0.043	-0.042
	(0.30	(0.305) (0.3			(0.124)	(0.126	) (0.183)	(0.185)	(0.274)	(0.276)
Total prisoners 1952	-0.00	-0.005		-0.045		0.048	0.030	0.034	-0.020	-0.014
	(0.06	(0.067)		(0.064)		(0.056	) (0.021)	(0.024)	(0.062)	(0.069)
Latitude	0.00	0.005		0.006		0.017	0.009	0.009	0.014	0.014
	(0.03	0)	(0.030)		(0.020)	(0.020	) (0.018)	(0.018)	(0.032)	(0.032)
Longitude	0.01	0.019 0.019			-0.002	-0.002	2 -0.006	-0.006	-0.017	-0.017
	(0.01	(0.016) (0.017		(0.008)		(0.008	6) (0.007)	(0.007)	(0.013)	(0.013)
Pop within 100km - 192	26 (ln) 0.00	3	-0.006		0.075	0.077	0.005	0.005	0.060	0.062
	(0.02	3)	(0.023)		(0.011)	(0.011	) (0.009)	(0.009)	(0.015)	(0.015)
KM to 1937 railway (In	) -0.11	0	-0.128		-0.044	-0.040	) -0.010	-0.010	0.086	0.090
	(0.06	2)	(0.061)		(0.043)	(0.044	) (0.031)	(0.031)	(0.050)	(0.051)
N	67		61		67	61	67	61	67	61
R-sq	0.49	)	0.51		0.77	0.75	0.42	0.42	0.62	0.60
Moscow in	yes		no		yes	no	yes	no	yes	no
Region FE	yes		yes		yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes

Table A.12. The effect of the share of <i>enemies</i> on Soviet capital investments 1953-1989
WITHOUT CONTROLS

Notes: Here we explore the possibility that locations around camps with a larger share of *enemies* are richer today because they attracted a larger amount of investment in Soviet times. We check whether *enemies* are associated with more investment in railways, defense factories, or universities between 1953 and 1989 and if they were more likely to become science cities focused on R&D (see Schweiger et al. (2018)). The table shows the results of regressions across 100km-radius areas around 1952 Gulags. We use dummy variables on the left-hand side that capture the presence of different capital investment during 1953-1989. Railway is equal to 1 if new railway tracks were added within 100 km of a camp, and zero otherwise. Science city is equal to 1 if a science city was established within 100 km of a camp, and zero otherwise. Defense factory is equal to 1 if a new defense factory was built within 100 km of a camp, and zero otherwise. University is equal to 1 if a new university was opened within 100 km of a camp, and zero otherwise. All regressions include region (oblast) fixed effects. Robust standard errors are in parentheses. The results including region fixed effects suggest that there was no difference in investment in railways, defence factories, and universities near Gulags with a higher share of *enemies*, and these camps were less likely to be the locations of Soviet Science cities. Soviet planners were thus not more likely to invest more in camps with a higher share of *enemies*. This result also holds if we exclude Moscow. Capital investment thus does not seem likely to have driven the relationship between enemies and long-run prosperity. The data on railway is from Zhukov and Talibova (2018), on defence factories from Dexter and Rodionov (2017), on science cities from Schweiger et al. (2018), and on universities from Wikipedia.

		Ga Graz	Kapue	Barzarez	Ry Goale.				
	Спис.число в/к на 1 ЯНВАРЯ 1952 года.	L				-			
	а) мухчин 67 хордин	18997	28580	1341	5 25616	1913	1 2653		
	IIO BOSPACTY:	12589	1346	262	2 8373	3958	1055		
	Непостигине 17 лет " 18 "	- 92	12 28	55	44		-		
	От 18 до 25 лет.	5966	7008	2443	<u>5233</u> 5832				
	0* 35 * 45 * 0* 45 * 50 *		10395	1638	5242	6225	5884	7652	
	От 50 " 60 " Старие 60 "	5296 2603			4506				
SB	ПО ХАРАКТЕРУ ПРЕСТУП								
Land		3 5	7 132	<u>4118</u> 1 3					
Trent									

Figure A.2. Example of archive microfilms with data on Gulags

Notes: The picture provides an example of the microfilms in the State Archive of the Russian Federation (GARF). It shows the number of prisoners by gender, age, and crime committed, in a specific camp in 1952. The data on 1952 camps is from the "Summary of the numerical composition of prisoners in the corrective labor camps" (Russian: Svodnye zifrovye svedenie o sostave zakluchonyx ITL.) and the microfilm containing this information is: GARF 9414 1 1356.

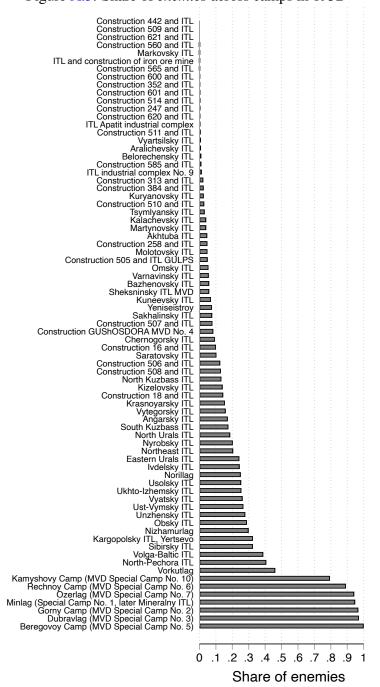


Figure A.3. Share of *enemies* across camps in 1952

Notes: The bars show the share of *enemies* among prisoners by camp in 1952. The average share of *enemies* was .19 and the standard deviation .28. ITL stands for Ispravitelno-trudovoi lager, i.e. corrective labor camp. MVD is Ministry of Internal Affairs. Source: State Archive of the Russian Federation (GARF). We use Wikipedia for the translation of camp names.

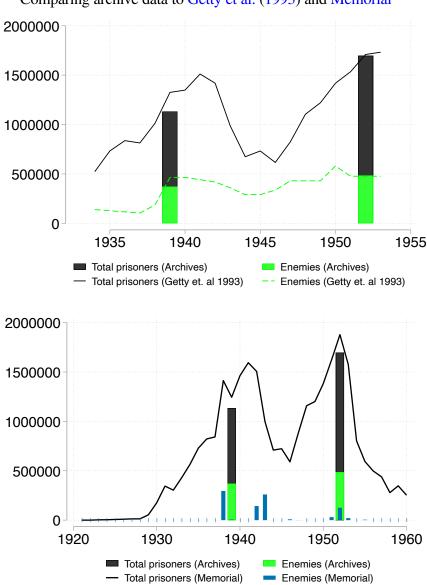
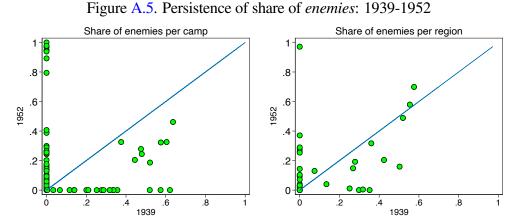
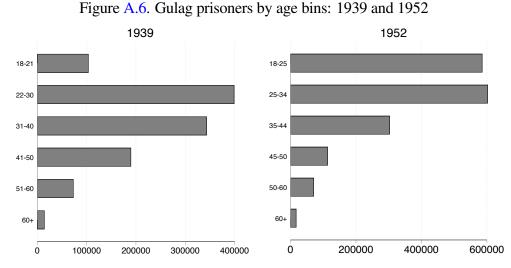


Figure A.4. Gulag prisoners and *enemies*: Comparing archive data to Getty et al. (1993) and Memorial

Notes: The graphs compare the number of Gulag prisoners and share of *enemies* from microfilms of the State Archive of the Russian Federation (GARF) to aggregate data from Getty et al. (1993), in the top graph, and from Memorial. For 1939, the archives cover a total of 1.13 million prisoners, while Getty et al. (1993) reports 1.35 million and Memorial 1.26 million. For 1952, the archive data covers 1.69 million prisoners while Getty et al. (1993) reports 1.7 million and Memorial 1.9 million. Our lower numbers are due to prisoners that can't be matched to camps, as they work on various infrastructure projects. Memorial also provides some data on the share of *enemies* on camp-specific webpages. But as seen at the bottom of Figure A.4, these data are not complete. The historical Memorial data on Gulags is also available from Tatiana Mikhailova online, but this version does not contain information on *enemies*. Overall these graphs confirm that our data on shares of *enemies* across Gulags, obtained from GARF, is in line with aggregate figures from previous studies.

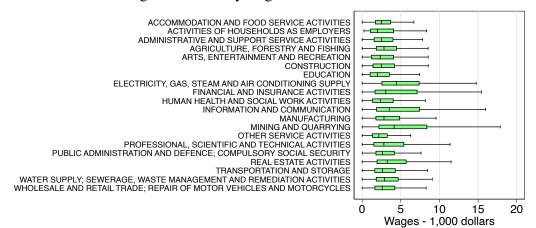


Notes: The scatters show the relationship between the share of *enemies* across camps in 1939 and 1952. On the left-hand side, each dot is a camp, on the right-hand side, each dot is a region. The solid lines are 45 degree lines. The figures show that for camps that existed in 1939 and persisted until 1952, the share of *enemies* in 1939 is correlated with that in 1952. This is also true if we consider persistence at the region level, where camps in 1952 may be near those that existed in 1939 in the same region. The data is from the State Archive of the Russian Federation (GARF).



Notes: The bars show the number of prisoners by age group in all camps in 1939 and 1952. Gulag prisoners are older on average than the population as a whole. While children of *enemies* were also often arrested, they were often sent to orphanages in colonies rather than to Gulag camps, according to Applebaum (2012). Camps with a higher share of *enemies* have a higher share of older prisoners, in line with *enemies* being the educated elite. The data is from the State Archive of the Russian Federation (GARF).

Figure A.7. Yearly wages in Russia - 2018



Notes: The boxplot gives the distribution of yearly wages in US dollars in Russia in 2018 by sector (Level 1 Codes of the NACE classification). The data is from SPARK, and wages are estimated from medical insurance payments which amount to 5.1% of wages and are mandatory across firms for all employees. The wages were converted to 2018 US dollars using the average exchange rate in 2018 of 65 rubles per dollar. The average wage across sectors was around 7,000 dollars a year. Outside values are omitted.

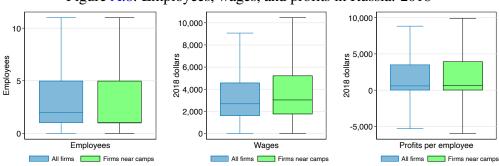


Figure A.8. Employees, wages, and profits in Russia: 2018

Notes: The boxplot gives the distribution of employees, wages, and net profits per employee per year in 2018 across all firms in Russia and for the subset of firms located within 100 km of a Gulag. This is the subset we use in our regressions. The data is from SPARK, and wages are estimated from medical insurance payments which amount to 5.1% of wages and are mandatory across firms for all employees. Comparing the average numbers from the Census with our sub sample of firms located within 100 km of Gulags we find that the size of firms appears similar while wages and net profits per employee appear higher in firms located within 100 km of Gulags. The median number of employees in Russian firms is 2, and 50% of the firms have 1-5 employees. Using a nominal exchange rate of 65 ruble per US dollar, the average exchange rate in 2018, we estimate that Russian workers were paid on average 7,000 US\$ per year or 584 US\$ per month in 2018. 50% of the firms report their profits to be between 0 and 3,523 US\$ per employee with an average of 3,009 US\$. The total of wages and profits of all the firms in our data is 96 Trillion Rubles which is close to the officially reported 104 trillion Rubles in 2018. This discrepancy can be attributed to the fact that information on firms in the security and military sectors is not made available to the public and thus not in our data.

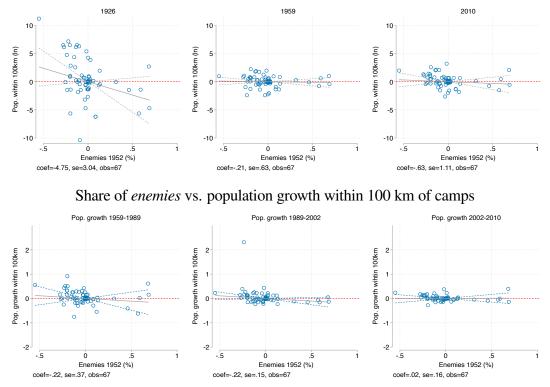
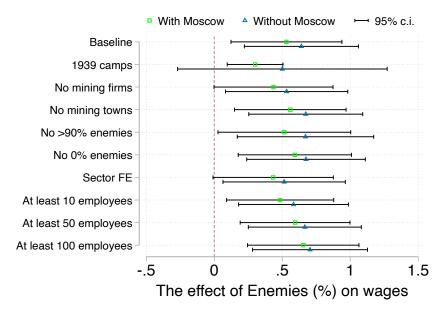


Figure A.9. Share of *enemies* vs. population within 100 km of camps

Notes: The top scatters show the relationship between the share of *enemies* in camps in 1952 and population within 100 km of camps in 1926, 1959, and 2010, conditional on region fixed effects. Each circle is a 100km-radius area around a camp. The solid lines show the linear fit and the dashed lines show the 95% confidence interval. Areas near camps with a higher share of *enemies* had a lower population in 1926, but similar populations in 1959 and 2010. The bottom graphs show the relationships between the share of *enemies* and population growth, in Soviet times (1959-1989), in the aftermath of the fall of the Soviet Union (1989-2002), and in more recent times (2002-2010). The scatters show that the relationship is not statistically significant. Overall it suggests that the locations of *enemies* did not fare differently in terms of population dynamics in the post-Gulag years. The data on Gulags is from the State Archive of the Russian Federation (GARF), and the population data is from the 1926 and 1959 Soviet census and the 2010 Russian census and available on Wikipedia.



## Figure A.10. The effect of the share of *enemies* on wages Robustness to various specifications

Notes: The figure shows the effects of the share of *enemies* on local wages when we estimate alternative specifications akin to those of column 1 (with Moscow) and column 4 (without Moscow) in Table 5. All regressions are weighted least squares, with the numbers of employees per firm used as weights, and include region (oblast) fixed effects. The whiskers are 95% confidence intervals based on standard errors clustered by Gulag clusters (at the treatment level). The baseline effects are those in column 1 and 4 in Table 5. The second set of coefficients shows the effect of *enemy* shares across camps in 1939 instead of 1952. In the third set of results, we remove all mining firms from the sample. In the fourth set we exclude all locations, or firm clusters, where mining firms account for more than 1% of all firms. In the fifth set, we remove all firms affected by a share of *enemies* above 90%. In the sixth set we remove all firms near Gulags with no *enemies*. In the seventh set of results, we include sector fixed effects. In the three last sets, we restrict our sample to firms with more than 10, 50, or 100 employees. Overall the results suggest that across alternative specifications, we find firms near Gulags with a larger share of *enemies* to pay higher wages.

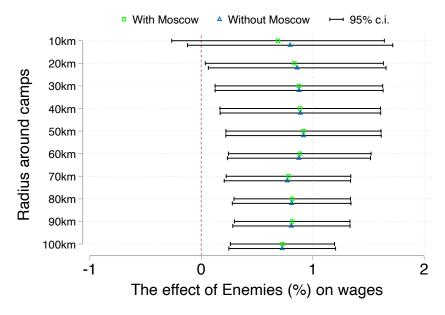


Figure A.11. The effect of the share of *enemies* on wages Robustness to various radius around camps

Notes: The figure shows the effects of the share of *enemies* on local wages when we estimate specifications akin to those of column 1 (with Moscow) and column 4 (without Moscow) in Table 5 but varying the size of the radius around camps, from 10 to 100 km. All regressions are weighted least squares, with the numbers of employees per firm used as weights, and include region (oblast) fixed effects. The whiskers are 95% confidence intervals based on standard errors clustered by Gulag clusters (at the treatment level). The baseline effects are those for firms within 100km of camps, as in column 1 and 3 in Table 5. The results are robust whether we reduce or extend the radius around camps to include all firms within 10 to 100 km of Gulags.

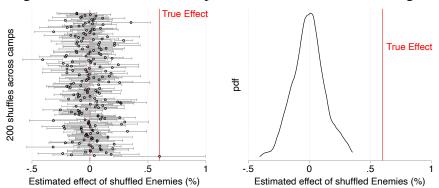


Figure A.12. The effect of 200 placebo shares of enemies on wages

Notes: The left figure shows the effects of 200 placebo shares of *enemies*, which we obtain by shuffling actual shares of *enemies* across 1952 camps, and by estimating the specifications in column 6 (without Moscow) of Table 5. All regressions are weighted least squares, with the numbers of employees per firm used as weights, and include region (oblast) fixed effects. The whiskers are 90% confidence intervals based on standard errors clustered by Gulag clusters (at the treatment level). The right figure shows the distribution of the 200 placebo effects, roughly centred around zero. In both figures the vertical line shows the magnitude of the true effect. Overall the results suggest that the true effect of the share of *enemies* on wages is very unlikely to be due to chance.

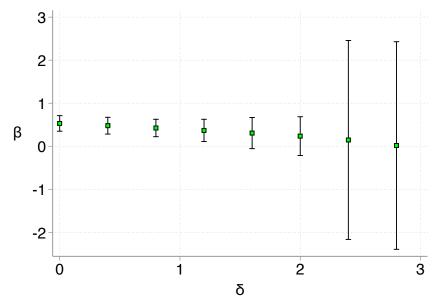


Figure A.13. The effect of the share of *enemies* on wages Robustness to omitted variable bias

Notes: The  $\beta$  shows the effects of the share of *enemies* on local wages when we estimate specifications akin to those of column 1 (with Moscow) in Table 5 but assuming there is an omitted variable that may bias the coefficient on the share of *enemies*. We follow the methodology in Oster (2019) and Oster (2013) where the  $\delta$  captures the strengths of selection on unobservables, relative to selection on observables, which in this case are the total number of prisoners per camp. We focus on this observable variable as it is positively correlated with the share of *enemies* and could capture unobservable features of locations which are linked to development. A  $\delta = 1$  suggests equal selection on observables and unobservables and is an appropriate upper bound according to Oster (2019). We set Rmax=1.3 × the R-squared in column 1 in Table 5, as suggested in Oster (2019). All regressions are weighted least squares, with the numbers of employees per firm used as weights, and include region (oblast) fixed effects. The whiskers are 90% confidence intervals based on bootstrapped standard errors. The baseline effects are those when  $\delta = 0$ . Overall the results are robust to a potential omitted variable bias as long as selection on unobservables is not 2 times larger than on observables.

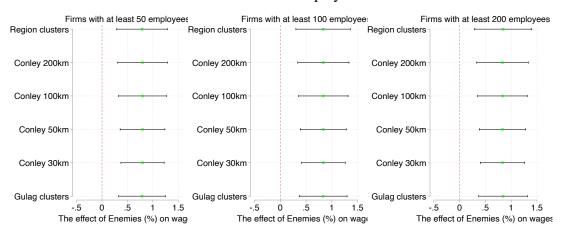


Figure A.14. - The effect of *enemies* on wages - Robustness to different standard error clusters and minimum employee cutoffs

Notes: The figure shows the effect of *enemies* on wages. It corresponds to the specifications in column 1 of Table 5. Gulag clusters are our benchmark standard errors and the ones we use throughout the paper. Region clusters are simply s.e. clustered at the region (oblast) level. The others are Conley s.e. using different radius and estimated using the acreg Stata package by Colella et al. (2019). Overall the figure shows that out results are robust to the choice of standard errors and to different samples of firms.

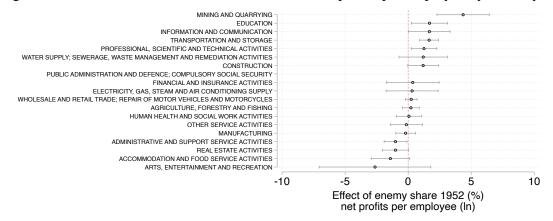


Figure A.15. The effect of the share of *enemies* on net profits per employee by Industry

Notes: The figure shows the effects of the share of *enemies* on net profits per employee when we estimate the specification of column (1) in Table 7 by industry (NACE categories). All regressions are weighted least squares, with the numbers of employees per firm used as weights, and include region (oblast) fixed effects. The whiskers are 90% confidence intervals based on standard errors clustered by Gulag clusters (at the treatment level). The results suggest that in some industries such as professional and scientific activities, firms near Gulags with a larger share of *enemies* make higher profits per employee.

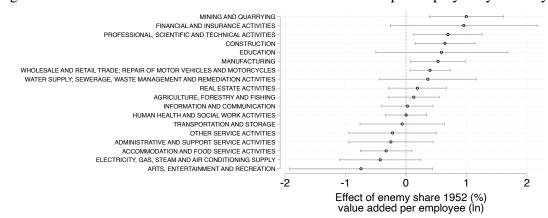
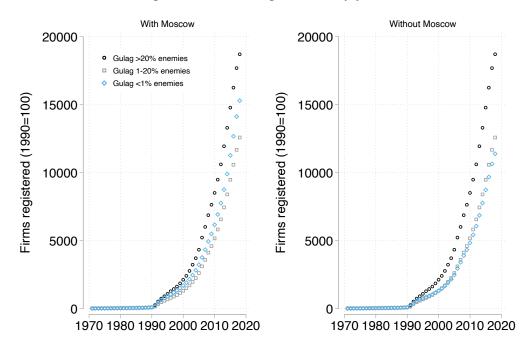
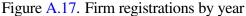


Figure A.16. The effect of the share of *enemies* on value added per employee by Industry

Notes: The figure shows the effects of the share of *enemies* on value added per employee when we estimate the specification of column (1) in Table A.10 by industry (NACE categories). All regressions are weighted least squares, with the numbers of employees per firm used as weights, and include region (oblast) fixed effects. The whiskers are 90% confidence intervals based on standard errors clustered by Gulag clusters (at the treatment level). The results suggest that in many industries such as manufacturing, finance, as well as professional and scientific activities, firms near Gulags with a larger share of *enemies* have higher value added per employee.





Notes: The figure shows the growth of registered firms since 1990 across Gulag locations (within 100 km of camps) with different shares of *enemies*. It suggests that there was a higher rate of firm creation in locations with a higher share of *enemies*. Note that the registration data is based on the 2018 cross section of firms from SPARK, and that the data is thus subject to survival bias.

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