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**“Who will remember if I forget?”: Gulag Returnees Write to Syktyvkar Memorial, 1989-2002”**

This paper examines the legacies of the Gulag in the Komi ASSR during the last years of the Soviet Union. After Gorbachev announced his new policy of glasnost, Gulag returnees who had been imprisoned in the Komi Republic, formerly one of the largest islands of the Gulag archipelago, wrote to the newly formed Syktyvkar branch of the Memorial Society from all over the Soviet Union. Many of these former political prisoners were writing about their pasts for the very first time. As those who bore the brunt of Stalinist violence and survived, Gulag returnees wrote autobiographical letters to Syktyvkar Memorial – engaging in a memory project left unfinished by Khrushchev’s Thaw that sought to reshape Soviet historical memory of Stalinism and the Gulag and to return the names and fates of their lost comrades. Analyzing local Komi newspapers that published about “political repressions” and hundreds of letters to Syktyvkar Memorial from former prisoners, exiles, and their children, this paper illuminates the legacies of the Gulag and the community that Gulag returnees formed through their correspondence. Analyzing their letters in the last years of the Soviet Union and after its collapse, this paper examines how Gulag returnees wrote themselves into Soviet history at its end.