

ҚАЗАҚСТАН РЕСПУБЛИКАСЫ
ҒЫЛЫМ ЖӘНЕ ЖОҒАРЫ БІЛІМ МИНИСТРАЛІГІ
ҒЫЛЫМ КОМИТЕТІ
Ш.Ш. УӘЛИХАНОВ АТЫНДАҒЫ ТАРИХ ЖӘНЕ ЭТНОЛОГИЯ ИНСТИТУТЫ



«EDU.E-HISTORY.KZ»
ЭЛЕКТРОНДЫҚ ҒЫЛЫМИ ЖУРНАЛЫ



2024. 11 (2)
сәуір-маусым

ISSN 2710-3994

ISSN 2710-3994 (online)

Құрылтайшысы және баспагері: Қазақстан Республикасы Ғылым және жоғары білім министрлігі Ғылым комитеті Ш.Ш. Уәлиханов атындағы Тарих және этнология институты ШЖҚ РМК

Ғылыми журнал Қазақстан Республикасы Инвестициялар және даму министрлігінің Байланыс, ақпараттандыру және ақпарат комитетінде 2014 ж. 29 қазанында тіркелген. Тіркеу нөмірі № 14602-ИА. Жылына 4 рет жарияланады (электронды нұсқада).

Журналда тарих ғылымының *келесі бағыттары* бойынша ғылыми жұмыстар жарияланады: тарих (дүниежүзі және Қазақстан тарихы), деректану және тарихнама, археология, этнология, антропология.

Жарияланым тілдері: қазақ, орыс, ағылшын.

Редакция мен баспаның мекен-жайы:

050010 Қазақстан Республикасы, Алматы қ., Шевченко көш., 28-үй

ҚР ҒЖБМ ҒК Ш.Ш. Уәлиханов атындағы Тарих және этнология институты ШЖҚ РМК

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Журнал сайты: <https://edu.e-history.kz>

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Тарих және этнология институты 2024
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ISSN 2710-3994 (online)

Учредитель и издатель: РГП на ПХВ «Институт истории и этнологии им.Ч.Ч. Валиханова»
Комитета науки Министерства науки и высшего образования Республики Казахстан

Научный журнал зарегистрирован в Комитете связи, информатизации и информации
Министерства по инвестициям и развитию Республики Казахстан, свидетельство
о регистрации:

№ 14602-ИА от 29.10.2014 г. Публикуется 4 раза в год (в электронном формате).

В журнале публикуются научные работы *по следующим направлениям* исторической науки:
история (всемирная история и история Казахстана), источниковедение и историография,
археология, этнология, антропология.

Языки публикации: казахский, русский, английский.

Адрес редакции и издательства:

050010 Республика Казахстан, г. Алматы, ул. Шевченко, д. 28

РГП на ПХВ Институт истории и этнологии им. Ч.Ч. Валиханова КН МНВО РК

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Сайт журнала: <https://edu.e-history.kz>

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ISSN 2710-3994 (online)

Founder and publisher: RSE on REM “Ch.Ch. Valikhanov Institute of History and Ethnology” of the Committee of Science of the Ministry of Science and Higher Education of the Republic of Kazakhstan

The scientific journal is registered at the Committee for Communications, Informatization and Information of the Ministry for Investments and Development of the Republic of Kazakhstan, registration certificate: No. 14602-IIA dated October 29, 2014. The journal is published 4 times a year (in electronic format).

The journal publishes scientific works in the *following areas* of historical science: history (world history and history of Kazakhstan), source studies and historiography, archeology, ethnology, anthropology.

Publication languages: Kazakh, Russian, English.

Editorial and publisher address:

28 Shevchenko Str., 050010, Almaty, Republic of Kazakhstan

RSE on REM Ch.Ch. Valikhanov Institute of History and Ethnology CS MSHE of the Republic of Kazakhstan

Tel.: +7 (727) 261-67-19, +7 (727) 272-47-59

E-mail: edu.history@bk.ru

Journal website: <https://edu.e-history.kz>

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ТАРИХ / ИСТОРИЯ / HISTORY


Published in the Republic of Kazakhstan
 Electronic scientific journal “edu.e-history.kz”
 Has been issued as a journal since 2014
 ISSN 2710-3994.
 Vol. 11. Is. 2, pp. 361–372, 2024
 Journal homepage: <https://edu.e-history.kz>

FTAXP / MPHTI / IRSTI 03.20
https://doi.org/10.51943/2710-3994_2024_38_2_361-372


NOMAD MIGRANTS AS VICTIMS OF POLITICAL REPRESSIONS

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Abstract. *Introduction.* The article presents the analysis of documentary sources on the nomadic Kazakhs as one of the consequences of agricultural reforms such as the confiscation of bai property and livestock, forced collectivization and sedentarization that began in 1928. These reforms were aimed at modernizing the traditional Kazakh economy according to the Soviet model. The implementation of reforms by forceful methods caused discontent among Kazakh sharua. 1928–1934, this dissatisfaction became the basis for the forced resettlement of Kazakhs with their property from their places of residence to other regions and neighboring republics. *Goals and objectives:* to analyze the history of mass migration of residents as resistance to Soviet reforms; to prove the repressive nature of measures applied by local authorities in order to stop the migration process and return them to the country; to evaluate the forced migration of the population as a factor that led to the demographic catastrophe in the form of the famine of 1931–1933. The scientific and practical significance of the work is determined by the documentary update of this topic in the history of the Fatherland. The study critically assesses the provisions of the modernization theory used in Russian historiography and, based on the data obtained, concludes on the repressive nature of the uprooting. *Results.* The article analyses for the first time based on archival data the history of nomadic migration to Tajikistan as a resistance to the reforms carried out by the totalitarian authorities of Kazakhstan. The documents of the persecution processes conducted in 1934–1935 against the organizers of nomadic migration from the southern region of Kazakhstan to Tajikistan, which were in the secret funds of departmental archives, were studied and introduced into the scientific turnover. *Conclusion.* The results will allow updating the scientific knowledge on the history of this nomadic migration and will be used as additional data in the topics on the history of political repressions.

Keywords: Mass migration, socio-demographic catastrophe, ethnocide, political repression

For citation: Kabyl A., Tursun Kh., Abikey A. Nomad migrants as victims of political repressions // Electronic scientific journal "edu.e-history.kz". 2024. Vol. 11. No. 2. Pp. 361–372. (In Eng.). DOI: 10.51943/2710-3994_2024_11_2_361-372

АУАКӨШУШІЛЕР – САЯСИ ҚУҒЫН-СҮРГІН ҚҰРБАНДАРЫ

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Аңдатпа. *Kirişne.* Мақала 1928 жылдан басталған байлардың мал-мүліктерін тәркілеу, күштеп ұжымдастыру мен отырықшыландыру сияқты ауылшаруашылық реформаларының салдарларының бірі ретінде орын алған ауакөшішілердің деректік құжаттарын талдауға арналады. Бұл реформалар дәстүрлі қазақ шаруашылығын кеңестік үлгіде модернизациялау мақсатын көздеді. Оның күштеу тәсілдерімен іске асуы шаруалардың наразылығын туғызды. Осы наразылық 1928–1934 жылдары қазақтардың тұрғылықты жерлерінен басқа өңірлерге, көрші республикаларға мал-мүлкімен мәжбүрлі түрде ауакөшуіне негіз болды. *Зерттеудің мақсаты және міндеттері* Тұрғындардың жаппай ауа көшуінің тарихын кеңестік реформаларға қарсылық ретінде талдау; жергілікті биліктің ауакөшу процесін тоқтату және оларды елге қайтару мақсатында қолданған шараларының қуғын-сүргіндік сипатын дәлелдеу; тұрғындардың мәжбүрлі ауакөшуін 1931–1933 жылдардағы ашаршылық түрінде демографиялық апатқа ұрындырған фактор ретінде бағалау. *Жұмыстың ғылыми және тәжірибелік маңыздылығы* Отан тарихындағы осы тақырыпты деректік тұрғыда жаңалауымен ерекшеленеді. Зерттеуде ресейлік тарихнамада қолданылатын модернизация теориясының ұстанымдары сыни тұрғыда бағаланып, деректік негізде ауакөшу процесінің репрессиялық сипаты туралы тұжырым жасалды. *Нәтижелер.* Мақалада тоталитарлық биліктің Қазақстанда жүргізген реформаларына қарсылық ретінде Тәжікстанға ауакөшу тарихы алғаш рет архив құжаттары негізінде талданды. Қазақстанның оңтүстік аймағынан Тәжікстанға ауакөшуді ұйымдастырушыларға қатысты 1934–1935 жылдары жүргізілген қуғындау процестерінің ведомстволық архивтердің құпия қорларындағы құжаттары зерттеліп, ғылыми айналымға ұсынылды. Жасалған қорытындылар мен нәтижелер осы ауакөшу тарихындағы ғылыми білімдер мазмұнын жаңалайды және саяси қуғын-сүргін тарихы тақырыптарында қосымша дерек ретінде қолданылады.


Түйін сөздер: Ауакөшу, әлеуметтік-демографиялық апат, этноцид, саяси қуғын-сүргін

Дәйексөз үшін: Қабыл А.Ә., Тұрсұн Х.М., Әбікей А.М. Ауакөшушілер – саяси қуғын-сүргін құрбандары // «Edu.e-history.kz» электрондық ғылыми журналы. 2024. Т. 11. № 2. 361–372 бб. (Ағылш.). DOI: 10.51943/2710-3994_2024_11_2_361-372


ОТКОЧЕВНИКИ – ЖЕРТВЫ ПОЛИТИЧЕСКИХ РЕПРЕССИЙ

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Аннотация. *Введение.* В статье проведен анализ документальных источников, свидетельствующих об откочевке казахов, как одном из последствий сельскохозяйственных реформ, таких как конфискация байского имущества и скота, насильственная коллективизация и седентаризация, начавшихся в 1928 году. Эти реформы были направлены на модернизацию традиционного казахского хозяйствования согласно советской модели. Реализация реформ силовыми методами вызвала недовольство казахских шаруа. В 1928–1934 годах это недовольство стало основой для вынужденного переселения казахов с их имуществом из мест проживания в другие области и соседние республики. *Цель и задачи исследования:* проанализировать историю массовой миграции жителей как сопротивления советским реформам; доказать репрессивный характер мер, применяемых местными властями в целях приостановления миграционного процесса и возвращения их в страну; оценка вынужденной миграции населения как фактора, приведшего к демографической катастрофе в виде голода 1931–1933 годов. В исследовании критически оценены положения теории модернизации, используемой в российской историографии, и на основе полученных данных сделан вывод о репрессивном характере процесса откочевания. *Результаты.* В статье впервые на основе архивных данных проанализирована история откочевания в Таджикистан как сопротивление реформам, проводимым тоталитарными властями Казахстана. Изучены и введены в научный оборот документы процессов преследования, проводившихся в 1934–1935 годах против организаторов откочевки из южного региона Казахстана в Таджикистан, находившиеся в секретных фондах ведомственных архивов. *Заключение.* Проведенное исследование позволит обновить научные знания по истории откочевки, также данные, полученные в ходе исследования могут использоваться в качестве дополнительных источников по истории политических репрессий.

Ключевые слова: Откочевка, социально-демографическая катастрофа, этноцид, политическая репрессия

Для цитирования: Кабыл А.А., Турсун Х.М., Абиkey А.М. Откочевники – жертвы политических репрессии // Электронный научный журнал «edu.e-history.kz». 2024. Т. 11. № 2. С. 361–372. (На Англ.). DOI: 10.51943/2710-3994_2024_11_2_361-372

Introduction

The 20s and 30s of the XX century were a catastrophic period in Kazakh history from a socio-economic and demographic period. Since 1925, the actions of Kazakh authorities as confiscation of the rich's property, forced collectivization and forced sedentarization life, and liquidation of the middle class caused dissatisfaction in the population. Protest of people against the destruction of traditional cultural and economic structures has grown into mass resistance. As the most optimal way to get rid of political persecution and economic pressure, most of the local population preferred to migrate to neighboring republics. Thus, throughout history, nomadic migration has gone from being an economic concept to a political one. The history of mass migration from South Kazakhstan to Central Asia in the 1920s–1930s is a new topic that needs scientific reconstruction.

One of the issues of “white spots” in the former Soviet historiography is the history of Soviet reforms in Kazakhstan in the 1920s–1930s. The totalitarian authorities prohibited the study of reforms that resulted in a significant socio-economic and, most crucially, demographic catastrophe. The decree of the head of state Kassym-Jomart Tokayev “State Commission for the Complete Rehabilitation of Victims of Political Repression” of November 24, 2020, included the study of political repression in the state program 1920–1930. The history of mass migration is relevant as a research area of this program, the purpose of which is to prepare proposals for the legal rehabilitation of refugees forced to leave Kazakhstan during the repressive policy of the government. Therefore, the history of migrants from southern Kazakhstan to neighboring Tajikistan needs to be analyzed based on archival data.

The Decree "On Confiscation and Deportation of Large and Rich Farms and Semi-Feudal Estates" of 27 August 1928 was the beginning of the demographic catastrophe in Kazakhstan after the mass migration and in the following years. The main reason for the mass migration was the confiscation of property and the exile of the rich people who formed the backbone of the traditional economy.

Materials and methods

The basis of the research materials is data from archival documents. As a result of scientific search the documents have been found in the funds of the Turkestan Regional State Archive (SATR), the Central State Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan (CSA RK), the Archive of the Police Department of the Turkestan Region (APDTR) and the Central State Archive of the Republic of Tajikistan (CSA RT), Archive of Contemporary History of the Republic of Tajikistan (AMH RT), State Archive of the Russian Federation (SA RF) Russian State Archive of Economics (RSAE) and introduced into scientific circulation. In this regard, archaeographic research methods have been used to search, analyze, and process the research data. The methods of historical demography enable systematizing the history of mass migration and the historical-comparative method has been used to evaluate historical events and phenomena. A statistical approach was employed to ascertain the predicted number of migrants in Tajikistan and demonstrate that this process is inherently organizational.

Discussion

Over the years of independence, many studies have been conducted on the theme of "rehabilitating" in the history of Kazakhstan in the 20s–30s of the twentieth century. Among these studies, only the research on mass migration to neighboring republics or abroad due to the famine and political persecution during agricultural reforms was subjected to special analysis. The historians, who paved the way for the new generation to study these events as one of the topical problems in national history, and turned them into an object of research for the first time, are M.K. Kozybayev (Kozybayev, 1991), M.K. Kozybayev, Zh.B. Abylkhozhin and K.S. Aldazhumanov (Kozybayev, 1992). Particular attention can be paid to the works of T. Omarbekov (Omarbekov, 1994; Omarbekov, 2018), who conducted fundamental research on this topic. The historian specifically examines the history of the mass migration of persecuted rebels as one of the main consequences of the uprisings

in Kazakhstan. The researcher worked with the funds of domestic archives and examined the migration process in the complex cause-and-effect relationships of the 1920s–1930s reforms, and his works served as the basis for new findings on the topic. The fundamental research by M. Tatimov (Tatimov, 1993, Tatimov., 1989) based on statistical analysis that examined this issue from the point of historical demography, made it possible to determine the estimated number of migrants. Throughout independence, there are some studies about the Kazakh people who migrated to Tajikistan. Among these studies, we can mention Zh. Taldybaev's (Taldybaev, 2016), R. Baidaly's (Baidaly, 2020), B. Kalshabaev's (Kalshabaeva, 2020), O.I. Isenov and B.K. Kuponov's (Isenov, 2022) works. The scientists presented the archive data in the research and introduced them into the scientific community. The objective of our research is to analyse and make available for circulation the materials comprising the declassified funds of special archives.

However, in reviewing the historiography of the issue, we are convinced that the history of mass migration to Tajikistan was considered only in the general issues of foreign research. The foreign researchers Davis R., Wheatcroft S. (Davis, Wheatcroft, 2011: 416) and Sarah Cameron (Sarah Cameron, 2020) make generalizations about Kazakh mass migration.

Researchers divide the history of the Kazakh settlement in Tajikistan into 5 (five) periods. The first period is the Kazakh people's migration to Tajikistan was mainly from the clans of the Junior Juz, Mangystau, and Kazakh people who moved as part of the Turkic tribes (called Uzbek-Kazakh) during the attack of the nomadic Uzbeks led by Shaybani on Maverrannahr and Afghanistan at the beginning of the XVI century. The second period is the arrival of the Kazakh people after 1723 during the Kazakh-Dzungar wars, the period of the so-called "Aktaban shubyryndy, Alkakol sulama". The third period is characterised by mass migration in protest against Soviet reforms in the 1920s and 1930s. The fourth period is the mass resettlement of migrants to Tajikistan during the famine in Kazakhstan in 1932–1933. During this period, a limited number of refugees crossed into Afghanistan via Tajikistan. The fifth period is the resettlement of qualified specialists sent to work in production, etc. under the USSR from the 1950–1960s (Isenov, 2022: 98). Our research is devoted to the analysis of historical data of the third period of settlement in Tajikistan.

Results

Tajikistan was one of the Central Asian countries where the population migrated under the pressure of Soviet policy. In the period from 1927 to 1933, many farms from Kazakh regions moved to Korgantobe, Aral and other regions of Tajikistan. (AMH RT. Coll. 3. Cat. 18. File. 39. P. 6). In 1929–1932, funded by Soyuztrans of Tajikistan, many influential people of Kazakhstan organized migration from the south of Kazakhstan to Tajikistan. One of the representatives of the Alash movement Serikul Aldabergenov was an organizer of the mass migration from Kazakhstan to Uzbekistan and Tajikistan.

On December 5–13, 1917, the delegates of the second All-Kazakh-Kyrgyz Congress in Orynbor voted on declaring Alash autonomy, and S. Aldabergenov was one of those who "laid stones so that the day of Alash autonomy would be officially celebrated today" (Alash qozgalysy..., 2005, 27). These data show that Serikul was an active representative of the Alash movement.

The Kazakh authorities employed a multifaceted approach, combining repressive measures with political and organizational strategies, to halt the influx of migrants and facilitate their return to the country. As one of the measures at the state level, in June 1933, the South Kazakhstan Regional Institute of the OGPU (United State Political Administration) filed a case against the Kazakh migrants to Tajikistan. This case was designed to "expose" a counter-revolutionary organization with a center in Zhanabazar and branches in Kulyab, Aral, Parkhar, Guzar, and Baysunda in the border zone, as well as in the Zhanakorgan, Turkestan, and Aulieata regions of Kazakhstan (APDTR. C. 16646. Vol. 2. P. 201). On June 8, 1932, the OGPU of the South Kazakhstan region brought a case under Article 59 against the leaders of the mass migration to Tajikistan: Shopanov Otegen, Dauletov Nurtas, Mynbaev Omar (APDTR. C. 15446. Vol. 1. Pp. 262–272). On this charge, a case was brought against 66 people led by Ibadullaev Saruar, Nygmetov Makhmud, Mamraimov Seydakhmet, Tileubergenov Kutymbay, Smailov Wayda (APDTR. C. 15446, Vol. 2. Pp. 201–267).

The analysis of documents from these cases in the departmental archives allows us to reconstruct the history of the Kazakh mass migration to Tajikistan.

In the interrogation report of July 27, the investigator asked S. Aldabergenov questions to identify the Kazakh figures he sought advice in moving from Uzbekistan to Tajikistan.

Analyzing the data in the investigation reports, we can see that Serikul talked to S. Kozhanov and followed his advice on that issue. In 1931–1932 S. Kozhanov served as the head of the Regional Cooperation of the Cotton Center (SA RF. F. 62. I. 4. C. 700. P. 110). The person who once ruled the state in the Republic of Turkestan was able to serve his countrymen who moved to Uzbekistan in this position.

In the winter of 1929–1930, the people began mass migration from the south Kazakhstan to Myrzashol in small groups. In August 1930, concerned about their fate, S. Aldabergenov sent his relative Sary Akylbekov to Sultanbek Kozhanov in Tashkent asking for advice about the settlement of migrants. “It was known that Kozhanov provided protection for the affluent Kazakh population from persecution by the Soviet authorities, despite his prominent position within the Soviet political system. I anticipated that he would offer counsel on the circumstances of Kazakh migrants.” (APDTR. F. 15446. Vol. 1. P. 29) and names the rich people and their children, whom S. Kozhanov saved from the political and economic pressure of the Soviet regime. Returned from Tashkent, S. Akylbekov says that “Sultanbek Kozhanov advised all Kazakh migrants to gather in the Fergana valley and organize camel caravans to transport Soyuztrans goods”.

Having received this message, Serikul immediately went to Myrzashol, held a secret meeting of the migrants and conveyed S. Kozhanov’s proposal. But Serikul’s project to move to Fergana at Kozhanov’s proposal was rejected, and all participants made a one-sided decision, arguing that Soyuztrans of Tajikistan offered more favorable conditions for cameleers than Uzbekistan. At the meeting, the issue of attracting new migrants to Central Asia was considered and an agreement on sending people to organize a new wave of migrants from Kazakhstan to save their relatives from persecution of the Soviet regime was concluded. After this meeting, Serikul went to Tashkent to meet with Kozhanov with the help of Sherikhan Nurmukhamedov (APDTR. C. 15446. Vol. 1. Pp. 27–31).

During the interrogation on August 10, S. Aldabergenov was asked about the reason for mass migration to Tajikistan. Serikul gave three reasons for moving to Tajikistan. Firstly: we wanted to stay away from Kazakhstan because the rich Kazakhs were hiding. We thought that if we were in a neighboring country, we would be exposed and arrested. Secondly: Tajikistan is the youngest republic within the Soviet Union and directly borders capitalist countries, and the place where political and economic campaigns are slower. We thought that we could blend in with the population and hide our social status. Thirdly: influential people of our anti-revolutionary organization were thinking about moving to Afghanistan, and for this reason, Tajikistan would be very convenient for crossing the border. I didn’t go to Afghanistan because there was no guarantee of my safety” (APDTR. C. 15446. Vol. 1. Pp. 30–31).

During the interrogation, it became known that Serikul met and talked to the Chairman of the people’s commissariat of the Tajik ASSR Abdraim Khadzhibaev. In 1931, Khadzhibaev convened with approximately 50 Kazakh caravan men in Korgantobe. At the meeting, the chairman raised the issue of the return of transporters who were interested in paying for Vakhshstroy, a Moscow-financed project.

At that meeting, Khadzhibaev’s words that “the people from Kazakhstan to Tajikistan came at the expense of the republican institution Soyuztrans and state finances” indicate that the mass migration was not spontaneous, but organized. At that time, as a result of the policy of the government of Tajikistan, the settlers from all the republics of Central Asia set out to develop new lands.

There were also some concessions from the government to those who got a job (migrants - author). For example, at the above-mentioned meeting in Korgantobe, Khadzhibaev said: “There may be former rich people and kulaks among you. We do not classify displaced persons by class, we do not persecute anyone,” and also said that a commissioner for the return of displaced persons had recently come from Kazakhstan, and he refused to fulfill his request and put this man in prison for three days because he wanted to act independently. After that commissioner was released

from prison, he promptly returned to Kazakhstan.

Khadzhibayev says: “Our country will need camels over the next 30 years. I know that you have committed crimes, but I will not allow anyone to persecute you, even if the former Tsar Nicholai is among you”.

At the meeting, the labor standard for camel transporter was determined and a decision was made to create artels of camel drivers.

In twenty days Khadzhibaev came to Korgantobe again. He ordered to preparation pilaf for the Kazakh settlers. Serikul asked the head of government: “We are all fugitives here, we don’t have any documents to live here, can you help?”. After that Khadzhibaev immediately called his secretary and instructed all displaced persons to obtain certificates through the Soyuztrans agency. The next day everyone received a certificate.

At this meeting, Khadzhibaev instructed Serikul to organize the creation of the region of Kazakh settlers and to choose a place for settlement. He offers to get acquainted with the districts of Korgantobe, Aral, and Kongurd and promises to create a Kazakh district headed by a Kazakh leader, wherever they like (APDTR. C.15446, Vol. 1. Pp. 116–117).

From Serikul’s interrogation on August 16, we learn the reason why Khadzhibaev’s proposal was not implemented. To the question asked by investigator Ibragimov: “Did you organize Kazakh village councils on the orders of Khadzhibaev?” Serikul answered: “We decided that the organization of such village councils was ineffective and did not carry out any organizational work. If we create independent Kazakh administrative units, then we, the rich, will be oppressed again, and we decided that ultimately the Kazakh administrative units will destroy us” (APDTR C. 15446. Vol. 1. Pp. 116–117).

On 28 December 1934, the interrogator of the NKVD department of the KASSR Latypov concluded the investigation and transmitted the case of S. Aldabergenov and Zh. to the Special Department of the main directorate of State Security of the USSR. The case was then referred to the Special Department of the Main Directorate of State Security of the NKVD of the USSR.

Based on the results of a four-month investigation conducted in Shymkent prison, interrogators recognized the crime of S. Aldabergenov and Zh. Isaev, detained and brought from Tajikistan, and on September 29 charged them under Art. 16–53, 3 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR.

One of the accusations against the defendants is that “14,319 farms or 52 percent of the region’s residents were evicted from the Zhanakorgan district, the livestock was reduced by 95 percent, 7 thousand pounds of grain were plundered, the collective farms “Stalin”, “Enbek”, “Enbekshi Kazakh”, “Eltai” collapsed” (APDTR. C. 15446. Vol. 1. Pp. 262–272).

In the Turkestan region, 25 percent of collective farmers left, the livestock decreased by 76 percent, and “Usik Tas” and “Isaev” collective farms collapsed. 50 thousand pounds of grain, 180 pounds of sugar, and tea transported to Tajikistan were looted, mass migration to Afghanistan was organized, and more than 10 thousand Kazakh farms were concentrated at border posts.

In 1929–1930 Aldabergenov Serikul and Isaev Zhanadil, together with the influential ishan (Muslim spiritual mentor) Ibadullaev Saruar and other exiled rich people, created a counter-revolutionary organization by their political views and determined their tasks to cause economic damage to the agriculture of Kazakhstan by migrating to Central Asia and preventing the implementation of collectivization.. The organization of mass migration was carried out with funds from the Central Asian institution “Soyuztrans” under the guise of creating transport artels.

Serikul and Zhanadil admitted in the indictment only that they organized the migration and prepared them for emigration (APDTR. C. 15446. Vol. 2. P. 221).

Upon completion of the investigation conducted based on this accusation, on January 2, 1935, the case of Zh. Isaev and S. Aldabergenov under Article 16–58 of the Criminal code of the RSFSR, the indictment was approved by the regional department of the NKVD and the Special Department of the state security directorate of the NKVD and then sent to the Special Department of the NKVD of the USSR (APDTR. C. 15446. Vol.1. Pp. 195–196).

By the protocol of the institution of 23 March 1935, S. Aldabergenov was sentenced to serve a five-year term for involvement in a counter-revolutionary organization in the Krasnoyarsk region

from 28 June., 1934; Zh. Isaev, who was exiled to the Urals in 1928 and subsequently escaped, was sentenced to five years of labour camp imprisonment, commencing on 28 May 1934. (APDTR. C. 15446. Vol. 1. Pp. 23–24). Zh. Isaev was sent to Siblagn on April 22, 1935. S. Aldabergenov was sent to the Krasnoyarsk regional department of the NKVD on May 6, 1935.

From the investigation reports we notice that there is a conflict of interest between the authorities of Tajikistan and Kazakhstan regarding the migration of Kazakh farms to Tajikistan. The process of returning migrants to the country had economic and political significance for Kazakhstan. For Tajikistan, which had successfully begun to develop new lands and establish a national economy, it was important to use settlers for transportation. Representatives of Kazakhstan wanted to return the migrants to the country, but the government of Tajikistan was interested in settling them in their country. In order to achieve these objectives, both parties employed a range of organizational, propaganda, administrative, and coercive measures. Zhanadil Isaev clarified this issue during interrogation on June 29, 1934. In the period 1929–1932, some Kazakh figures organized mass migration from south Kazakhstan to Tajikistan with the financing of the Soyuztrans establishment of Tajikistan. In late 1932 and early 1933, the search for Kazakhs who had left Tajikistan and their return to Tajikistan became a very important political campaign in Uzbekistan.

In the spring of 1930 at the meeting of 25 Kazakh activists organized by Otegen Shopanov in Tashkent, Shopanov declared: “The government of Kazakhstan decided to destroy the rich and religious people, so we have no opportunity to return to the country. In this regard, I reached an agreement with representatives of Tajikistan in Soyuztrans, who organized camel transporters' artels and offered to go to Tajikistan... I will pay 50 rubles for each camel. We will go to Tajikistan” (APDTR. C. 15446. Vol. 1. P. 73). Kazakh influential people prepared their relatives and friends for a mass migration. Thus, 50–60 thousand farms have settled in the southern regions of Uzbekistan and Tajikistan.

The interrogation revealed that among the caravanbashi (head of caravan) of migrants in Tajikistan, there were no wealthy individuals. This was due to their fear of exposure and their reluctance to reveal their names in government institutions. It is evident that although the contracts were concluded on behalf of officials, the caravans were in fact led by these Kazakh influential individuals. It is known that during this time Serikul talked to the chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the Tajik ASSR Abdraim Khadzhibaev several times. In 1931 about 50 Kazakh settlers took part in the meeting with Khadzhibayev in Korgantobe. At the meeting, the chairman raised the issue of returning camel transporters to Soyuztrans of Tajikistan, who were interested in Vakhshstroy, financed by Moscow. Khadzhibaev's assertion at the aforementioned meeting that the “arrival of migrants to Tajikistan from Kazakhstan at the expense of the republican institution Soyuztrans, state finance” (APDTR. C. 15446. Vol. 1. P. 57) was not spontaneous but rather organized, indicates that the mass migration was not an unplanned event. At that time, as a consequence of the government of Tajikistan's planned resettlement policy, migrants from all the Central Asian republics were to develop new lands.

The history of the settlement of Kazakh people in Tajikistan is closely connected with collectivization. The reason, according to available archival data, is that in 1928 they came to Ghazli (Bukhara) in Uzbekistan, and after the Russians took over this land (during the Soviet era), half of the people went to Afghanistan and the others were settled to the collective farms in Pashrabad, Oktyabr district, Tajikistan. For example, Alasha, Sherkesh, Koskulak, Kunanarys, and Balykshi were united into one collective farm, and Esenbet, Turkmen-Adai into another one. The Kazakh, Uzbek, and Lakai people also became one collective farm. Each collective farm had 60–80 hectares of arable land and 40–80 families. The Kazakh people were mostly in Korgantobe, and in the Parkhar district (Kalshabaeva, 2020: 101).

Those who became refugees outside the republic found work in different establishments of the national economy and even in distant places. It turned out that those who went to the construction of the Vakhsh hydroelectric power station in Tajikistan themselves had neither work, nor money (Taldybaev, 2016).

Forced nomadic migration in the Kazakh land began to increase in the spring of 1930. According to the People's Commissar of finance of Kazakhstan on August 9, 1931, many farms of Kazakhstan from 27 districts (the remaining 47 districts were not calculated) moved to the Central Asian republics in 1930 and until August 5, 1931. During this period 3436 farms transported 187909 livestock to Uzbekistan, and 1767 farms drove 88350 livestock to Tajikistan (Koigeldiev, Omarbekov 1993: 136).

The documents of 1936 indicate that 9650 Kazakh farms from Kazaly, Karsakpai, Shymkent, Arys, Talas, Shauldir, Turkestan settled in the regions of Tajikistan Korgantobe, Zhylykol, Baymanabat, Pyanzh, Vakhshstroy, Shirobat, Stalinabad (CSA RK. F. 5. I. 16. C. 365. Pp. 4–5).

There is evidence to suggest that during the initial period of mass migration to Uzbekistan, the government of Tajikistan had a clear intention to attract Kazakh people, who had migrated with their property to settle in new locations. For example, on March 8, 1931, Khodzhibaev, chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the TASSR, sent a telegram to Dadabaev, head of the Namangan district department: "I agree to settle the Kazakh people with their camels. The fare is non-refundable from our account, and give each farm a loan of 50 rubles" (CSART. F. 18. I. 1. C. 370. P. 133). We can say that these data provide the number of Kazakh people and livestock migrated to Tajikistan. This is merely a brief overview of the activities of the Committee on Migrant Workers, a government-sponsored entity established to facilitate the employment of individuals hailing from other republics. The relevant documentation can be found in the archives of Tajikistan.

In the documents sent by local authorities to higher ones, there is evidence that 178 Kazakh families of 807 people on the territory of Tajikistan had 229 horses, 11 bulls, 33 cows, 112 camels, 191 donkeys, and 42 sheep. However, 1215 people, that made up 281 families were recorded as ishan-khojas separate from the Kazakh people (CSA RT. F. 18. I. 1. C. 370. P. 274). If we take into account that Uzbekistan included their ishan-khojas in statistical data, then these ones can also be considered resettled Kazakh people.



Picture 1. Directions of mass migration in the south of Kazakhstan

(The map was taken from the Internet, and the routes of the outmigration were transferred from the authors' research).

As Table indicates, the majority of migrants to the Central Asian republics came from the southern and western regions. Some migrants and the famine refugees, moving to Tajikistan through Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan, settled in Turkey through Afghanistan and Iran. This mass migration process continued since 1993 in the form of re-emigration.

In order to return the migrants some brigades were formed in districts and regions and their trips were organized. The government and authorities of Kazakhstan tried to return the Kazakh migrants to the Soviet Union. Financed from the funds of the republic, special brigades organized visit

of those regions for resettlement. “The organization of brigades to other republics was as follows: the departure of the 1st brigade was planned to Uzbekistan and Tajikistan; the 2nd brigade to Turkmenistan and Karakalpakstan; the 3rd brigade to the Kyrgyzstan; the 4th brigade to Orynbor and Volga region; the 5th brigade to Siberia” (CSA RK. F. 5. I. 16. C. 365. P. 2). Upon the return of the Kazakh migrants from neighboring republics “in the brigade to Uzbekistan and Tajikistan, Baidautov and Satygulov were sent to Karakalpakstan; Abdrakhmanov, Zhanuzakov and Adamov were sent to Turkmenistan” (CSA RK. F. 5. I. 16. C. 365. P. 3).

The basis for remigration was the longing of refugees for their homeland, reduction of political pressure, that is, agitation and propaganda of local authorities to return them to the country, and the implementation of measures to assist. An example of remigration is that “234 farms with a total population of 881 migrants in Tajikistan turned to party and Soviet organizations with a request to move and settle in Southern Kazakhstan with all their property” (ACH RT. F. 3. I. 18. C. 39. P. 6).

The Kazakh authorities conducted special visits to Tajikistan with the objective of ascertaining the situation of Kazakh migrants residing in the country. According to the report of the authorized representative of the Central Asian Economic Council Nurtumov, as soon as he arrived in Stalinabad, he met with the chairman of the Council of people’s commissars of the Tajik SSR Rakhimbaev and the secretary of the CCCP(b) of Tajikistan Broido. Broido received them in his apartment and convinced them that the Kazakh people grew good crops, received a good daily wage in the collective farms, and made their living by transporting goods, mainly cotton and grain, from region to region.

The estimated calculation indicates that in 1932–1933, the Kazakh migrants in Tajikistan had approximately 5,000–6,000 camels. As a consequence of the misdirection of migrants to various regions, a proportion of them returned to their countries of origin, namely Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, and Kazakhstan. But no one knows about their condition and the difficulties they went through on their way. Those migrants faced many difficulties and obstacles. Many swindlers, robbers, and false representatives from different regions of Kazakhstan blackmailed them by calling them “runaway rich kulaks”.

Among those authorities, who dealt with the repatriation issue, some people abused their powers, and swindlers under the guise of a government representative. For example, “trusted representatives Orumbaev Bizhan, Alzhanov Pazil and Kalzhan walked around Stalinabad, Korgantobe, Aral districts and other settlements. There is evidence that these representatives were engaged in extortion and intimidation of the people” (SATR. F. 121. I. 1. C. 703. P. 13). Unfortunately, their real face was unknown to the authorities of Tajikistan.

Such incidents are not uncommon. Similarly, Kazakh cattle breeders who relocated to Uzbekistan in proximity to the border with Tajikistan encountered considerable challenges. For instance, some individuals purporting to represent Kazakh regions arrived in Karshy and proceeded to confiscate the property of the local population. But these false representatives were caught by the GPU and arrested, and at the end of April they were sentenced: one was sentenced to 10 years, the second to 8 years, and the other participants were sentenced to different terms (SATR. F. 121. I. 1. C. 703. P. 15).

In July 1934, the minutes of a meeting of the Bureau of the CC CP(b) of Tajikistan mention that the Kazakh settlers were provided with a long-term loan (265 thousand rubles for the Korgantobe and Aral regions). That year the Land committee was obliged to carry out the resettlement of the Kazakh population (SATR. F. 121. I. 1. C. 317. P. 2).

In our study, we focused on determining the approximate number of Kazakh asylum-seekers who flocked to Tajikistan in 1930–1934. In this regard, we provide a number of statistical conclusions through a comparative analysis of archival documents and the memories of generations of nomad migrants. The number of nomadic migrant leaders arrested in Tajikistan and interrogated in the Shymkent city prison was about one hundred people. At the end of each of them there were 30–40 households consisting of relatives. According to the 1937–1939 census data, the end of the 30-year period fell on the peak of the migration process due to forced migrations from Kazakhstan. There is information that “12712 Kazakhs lived in Tajikistan (RSAE. F. 1652. I. 336. C. 248. P. 73). The authenticity of these figures is doubtful. Studies in recent years have concluded that, despite the

re-emigration policy of the Kazakh authorities, "there are more than 300 thousand Kazakhs who did not return from the neighbouring Union republics" (Baidaly, 2020: 31) (on Central Asian republics). Investigative documents record that of the 14,319 households, representing 82 per cent of the residents of the Zhanakorgan district who were resettled, and the livestock population was reduced by 95 per cent (ADPTO. C. 16646. Vol. 2. P. 251).

In his testimony, Isaev Zhanadil, one of the leaders of the mass migration to Tajikistan, on August 13, 1934, mentioned the names of 18 leaders of the mass migration. In total, they transported 1425 farms to Tajikistan (APDTR. F. 15446. Pp. 1–122). Such data serves as the basis for determining the approximate number of migrants. Overall, the estimated number of Kazakh migrants forced to leave their homeland and settle in Tajikistan reached its maximum level in the mid-1930s. At that time, their estimated number was about 110–115 thousand.

«The main causes of change in Kazakh traditional society during the historical period of the Russian Empire rule were discussed and migration highlighted. Ethnic composition of the society has changed massively in this period and it is considered a negative feature of modernisation in Kazakhstan. It could separate people from their original culture, political, social, and economic environments» (Khazretali Tursun, 2022: 736). Therefore, forced migration in the Kazakh steppe can be evaluated as an ethn deformation factor.

Conclusion

One of the major consequences of the reforms in the 1920s–1930s under cover of modernizing traditional Kazakh society is the forced nomadic migration outside Kazakhstan. The document data of the secret fund of departmental archives testifies to the ethnocidal character of the mass migration and famine refugees that caused enormous damage to the socio-demographic situation of the Kazakh people.

Archival data shows that our compatriots migrated to other countries under political and social pressure, and were not a burden in those countries; on the contrary, they made an immeasurable contribution to the socio-economic development of those countries they migrated. It has been shown that this historical process is not spontaneous, as Soviet ideology presented, but organized. The position of mass migration organizers as the representatives of the traditional religious elite Ishan Saruar Ibadullaev, the Alash figure Serikul Aldabergenov, as well as Sultanbek Kozhanov, Begaidar Aralbaev, who occupied high positions in the Soviet government, indicates that the mass migration became a way of fighting to preserve the nation's gene pool.

Sources

APDPTO — Archive of the Police Department of the Turkestan Region
 SA RF — State Archive of the Russian Federation
 SAMHRT — State Archive of Modern History of the Republic of Tajikistan
 CSARK — The Central State Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan
 SA TR — State archive of Turkestan region
 CSA RK — Central State Archive of the Republic of Tajikistan
 RSAE — Russian State Archive of Economics

Дереккөздер

АДПТО — Архив департамента Полиции Туркестанской области
 ГА РФ — Государственный архив Российской Федерации
 ГАСИ РТ — Государственный архив современной истории Республики Таджикистан
 ҚР ОМА — Қазақстан Республикасы Орталық мемлекеттік архиві
 РГАЭ — Российский государственный архив экономики
 ТОМА — Түркістан облысы мемлекеттік архиві
 ЦГА РТ — Центральный государственный архив Республики Таджикистан

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EDU.E-HISTORY.KZ

электрондық ғылыми журналы 2024. 11 (2)

Бас редактор:
Қабылдинов З.Е.

Компьютерде беттеген:
Копеева С.Ж.

Жарияланған күні: 25.06.2024.
Пішімі 70x100/16. Баспа табағы 21,125.

Құрылтайшысы және баспагері:

Қазақстан Республикасы Ғылым және жоғары білім министрлігі Ғылым комитеті Ш.Ш. Уәлиханов атындағы Тарих және этнология институты ШЖҚ РМК

Редакция мен баспаның мекен-жайы:

050010, Қазақстан Республикасы, Алматы қ., Шевченко көш., 28-үй
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