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The attitude of the soviet authorities to the first wave of ‘nomaders’ according to the documents of the ‘special folders’ of the CC CP(B)K

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Abstract: *The central party organs dealt with all issues of the internal and foreign policy of the republic, led the national economy, public organizations, and personnel policy. Therefore, the documents of the ‘special folders’ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party (b) Kazakhstan reflect various spheres of the life of the republic, which for a long time were not available to researchers due to the highest secrecy stamp imposed. The article deals with one of such areas of the problem – the settlement of Kazakh repatriates and representatives of other nationalities from China, who left during the civil war, collectivization, famine and repressions, who, unable to withstand the attitude of local residents and the persecution of the authorities of the country, republic or regions to which they moved, returned back to Kazakhstan. The ways of solving problems related to their settlement in Soviet farms, organization of trade with them, their cultural services, medical care, their resettlement, maintenance and veterinary services for their livestock are analyzed. Authors describes the reasons and measures to prevent the mass return of "nomads" back to China, despite all the decisions taken, the measures taken by the leadership of the republic in connection with the gaps made by some representatives of local authorities during their placement.*

Key words: Central Committee of the CP(b)K, Xinjiang, special folders, migration, defectors, nomads

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Introduction

In a nomadic civilization, there has long been a practice when members who do not agree with the decision of one or another ruler, head of the clan, sultan or khan, not wanting to have anything in common with them, separated from them and changed their summering or wintering place. By such an action, members of a tribe or clan expressed their disagreement with the decision made or the actions taken. The trend that has developed over thousands of years has become widespread with the suppression of national liberation movements against the colonial policy of the Russian Empire and as a result of political and economic reforms, repressions of the Stalinist regime in the Kazakh steppe. To this were added those fleeing the famine of 1931-1933 in search of food who fled to neighboring regions, republics and states. In Soviet historiography, they are known as ‘nomads’, although this had nothing to do with the above-mentioned migration. It was a spontaneous flight of the population from their places of permanent residence in search of food in order to survive. The reason for including in these terms, in this concept, both the Kazakhs who fled to escape during the suppression of the movement against the colonial policy of the Russian Empire, and the Kazakhs who fled against the forced collectivization of the Soviet government of that period, and ‘refugees’ to neighboring regions in the famine period of 1932-1933 for the purpose of self-preservation, can be seen as a way to hide information about the Clemming.

Turar Ryskulov wrote in his letter to Stalin: “... this is not just a migration (usually in the summer, over short distances and in the presence of livestock), but leaving their homes by a significant part of hungry people in search of poor food, emigrants reach 40-50 percent of the total population”.¹ As proof that the scale of emigration to neighboring regions, union republics and neighboring states exceeded the republican level and this reached the highest echelons of power in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (henceforth USSR), V. Kondrashin cites in his monograph *The Tragedy of the Russian Village* a telegram from Stalin and Molotov to the plenipotentiary representative of the Central Committee of the Communist Party (Bolshevik) of Kazakhstan (henceforth CP(b)K) and the Council of People’s Commissars of the USSR Sh.Z. Eliava for the procurement of meat products in Kazakhstan. In it, in connection with the letter of Kolosov, the consul in Kulzha, dated January 15, 1931, to the Deputy People’s Commissariat for Foreign Affairs L.M. Karakhan “instructed to establish the reasons for the Kazakhs’ migration to the Ili district territory of Xinjiang province.”² Emigration and famine have acquired such a large-scale and dangerous character that the leadership of Kazakhstan was forced to deal with the issues of stopping emigration.

¹ Aldazhumanov *et al.*, 2010: 272.

² Kondrashin, 2008: 339.

But many of them, unable to withstand the attitude of local residents and the persecution of the authorities of the country, republic or regions in which they moved, returned back to Kazakhstan from 1934 to 1964, and from Xinjiang (henceforth PRC) they began to return from 1943. Citizens who returned from the PRC received in the official documents of the Central Committee of the CP(b)K the name 'defectors', 'nomads', 'returned Soviet citizens'. But these migration processes were kept in secret.

In Soviet times, information about the problem of migration was not published for a long time, if such information was found little by little in the 1926 population census, then in the 1939 and 1959 censuses there is no information about migration at all. Questions about migration were not included in the census questionnaire. It only emphasized that migration in the USSR was carried out in an organized manner, the data of the current migration registration provide enough information about migration. Since it was decided that the study of migration processes is not valuable for planning state organizations and bodies, this question was not included in the 1959 census. Only since 1953 did the statistical departments begin to collect materials on those who had migrated and left. Only after a group of scientists justified the need to pay special attention to the problem of migration at the Congress of Statisticians in Minsk in 1960, a section on migration was included in the 1970 census.³ Since the 1960s, studies have been carried out related to demographic problems, including the problem of migration, although these were works written from a class, materialistic point of view, based on the principles of the ideology of the Soviet era, the valuable archival data presented in them will never lose its value.

In the era of perestroika and glasnost in the second half of the 1980s, researchers began to analyze in a new way the political factors that directly influenced the demographic situation. In the works on the consequences of the suppression of the national liberation uprising of 1916, land reform, forced collectivization, the famine of 1931-1933, among the factors that directly influenced the decline in the Kazakh population, the problem of migration began to be considered as the main factor affecting the national composition of the population of Kazakhstan.

Researchers got the opportunity to study in depth various multidirectional types of migration in the USSR, including the migration of Kazakhs from their homeland and return, its causes and consequences.⁴ Since the main object of research conducted during the Soviet era was population growth and demographic development, no special analysis was carried out on the problem of migration and it is considered within complex problems.

³ Asylbekov & Kudajbergenova, 2005: 74.

⁴ See e.g. Aldazhumanov *et al.*, 2010; Asylbekov, 2003.

The demographic catastrophe caused by the policy of the Soviet government in the Kazakh steppe was written by such foreign scientists,⁵ who studied the scale and consequences of forced collectivization in the Soviet Union, including in Ukraine, the famine in 1931-1932, they condemned the economic policy of the Stalinist regime, they also dwelled on the problem of the mass migration of Kazakhs from the regions of Kazakhstan bordering China to China. Some of the researchers⁶ widely using archival data in their writings, criticize the one-sided Soviet policy that led to a demographic catastrophe in Kazakhstan in 1920-1930 years.

After Kazakhstan gained independence, cardinal changes took place in the methodology of historical research. The importance is being given, more attention is being paid to and the shadow aspects of the history of Kazakhstan are being explored, which were not explored under a totalitarian system with strict restrictions.⁷

The number of people resettled in Russia, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan, Karakalpakstan, China, Iran and Afghanistan has reached 1 million 30 thousand people due to the excesses made during the famine campaign and collectivization. Of these, 616 thousand people emigrated permanently, including about 200 thousand Kazakhs moved to China, Mongolia, Afghanistan, Iran, and 414 thousand Kazakhs subsequently returned to Kazakhstan.⁸

The repatriation from China of Kazakhs and representatives of other nationalities who moved in those years together with the Kazakhs to Kazakhstan is described fragmentarily in the works of domestic and foreign researchers and demographers.⁹ The researchers of these periods, relying on the available materials of their time, in their works directly or indirectly provide a comprehensive analysis and assessment of migration processes in Kazakhstan. All domestic researchers conclude that the return of Kazakhs from China began in the second half of the 1950s.

⁵ Olcott, 1987; Kappeler, 2001; Wheatcroft & Davies, 2009.

⁶ Conquest, 1961, Demko, 1969; Ohayon, 2006; Pyanchola, 2009; Kindler, 2017.

⁷ In the joint works of one of the founders of the formation as a science of the field of historical demography of Kazakhstan historical science Asylbekov & Galiev, 1991; see also Kozina, 2007; Zharkenova, 2017; Among the works that considered migration processes in Kazakhstan in the Soviet era, one can include the works of Karzhaubaeva, 2003; Naimanbaev, 2004; Yensenov, 2007; Smailova, 2007; Erimbetova, 2009; Kudaibergenova, 2011.

⁸ Aldazhumanov *et al.*, 2010: 272.

⁹ And so Talas Omarbekuly (1997) comes to the conclusion that in 1932 the number of refugees from China to the USSR began to increase in comparison with refugees from the USSR to China and by the end of this year, the migration of Kazakhs to China had stopped; Yensenov (2007: 29) in his work gives accurate information about the actual number of people who moved in 1954-1956 from the People's Republic of China 'Soviet citizens' and their placement in the regions; Kudaibergenova (2010: 52), in her dissertation connects the beginning of the migration of Kazakhs from the People's Republic of China with the years of the 'thaw' in the political life of the USSR; Asylbekov (2003: 25-30) notes that the process of returning Kazakhs to their historical homeland began in the 1950s; Mazhitov (*et al.*, 2016: 110) lack of growth in the number of Kazakhs in China in 1953-1964 years is explained by the return of the Kazakhs from China to their homeland; In the studies of Kinayatuly (2001: 22), migration from China in 1957-1962 is considered as the beginning of resettlement and moving to the historical Motherland.

According to this conclusion, the researchers covered only officially returned citizens after the establishment of diplomatic relations between the PRC and the USSR.

Analyzing the work of researchers who considered the problems of repatriates from China in the Soviet era, the following theses were identified:

1. The return of Kazakhs and other nationalities from China in those years to Kazakhstan, in the works of domestic and foreign researchers and demographers, is described fragmentarily, in a complex with other problems.

2. The study shows that the process of immigration from China in the 1940s is not well understood.

3. In textbooks on the history of Kazakhstan, those who returned to their homeland in the 1940s are not indicated as Kazakhs who immigrated from China.

4. Researchers who worked with various sources of data, when determining the number, chronological framework, and national composition of repatriates from China have drawn different conclusions.

5. The official status assigned to them was also heterogeneous in the documents of different periods. If in some documents they were called 'defectors', then in others they were called 'nomadic', and since 1955 they have been called 'returned Soviet citizens'.¹⁰

6. Due to the variety of such terminological equivalents and the secrecy, many documents have not been introduced into scientific circulation for a long time.

The organized and mass repatriation of Kazakhs from China can be considered in several stages. The first wave of which refers to the 40s of the 20th century considered in this article. In the documents of these years, they are considered as 'defectors' of the borders, due to which there was an urgent need to establish diplomatic relations with the neighboring state by the highest authorities. After the establishment of diplomatic relations in 1954, a second wave of migrants from China began. But this was a process already planned and prepared for the reception of migrants. And the third wave of repatriates from China dates back to the years of the independent Republic of Kazakhstan. According to government policy, huge quotas were allocated to those wishing to return to Kazakhstan, which gave its result and many Kazakhs from around the world, including China, returned to their homeland.

The Central Committee of the Communist Parties of Kazakhstan, as part of the state machine, existed in a totalitarian system and therefore worked in a secret mode. The archival fund inherited after the collapse of the parties has no precedent in modern archival work. This exclusivity lies in the specifics of its structure. Everyone knows that in the Soviet party and state office work there was a set of documents of

¹⁰ Kudaibergenova, 2011: 268.

the highest category of secrecy, the so-called 'special folders'. Most of the materials in the 'special folder' did indeed contain information constituting military and state secrets. These are issues of defense, mobilization, military-industrial production, border protection and others. Documents of an ideological nature were also kept, relating to party discipline, the struggle against nationalism, dissident movements, anti-Soviet manifestations, and unrest in society.

The specific approach required in assessing the reliability of party documentation is the features of the mechanisms of its functioning, interdepartmental duplication of information, the quantitative preponderance of materials with absorbed information and the decision-making mechanism of the central state and party bodies. Also of particular importance in a critical approach to assessing the reliability of information contained in party documents are the criterion of place, time of formation and the author of the document. If in the usual protocols the information was mainly of a propagandistic, ideological, educational nature, then the documents of the 'special folders' reflected the real situation of that time. They bear the imprint of the time in which they originated. These are documents that were used in current political activities that required an immediate and correct solution to the problem of that period. Although they are important sources for understanding the political history of the country, they require comparison with other sources of information.

Reception and resettlement of 'defectors' from China

One of these documents were documents from the complex of documents 'special folders' in the fund of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan, stored in the Administrative Code of the Republic of Kazakhstan, declassified by the decision of the interdepartmental commission in 2004-2008, related to the reception of repatriates from China. The documents not previously introduced into scientific circulation, relating to the period 1943-1962 are defined as: resolutions of the Central Committee of the CP(b)K, protocols, special message, memorandum, certificate. None of the above researchers made references to these documents. It should be emphasized that the information contained in these documents is of great importance in studying the chronological framework of the process of repatriation from China, revising their number, when placing them, in providing employment, housing and solving other social issues. These documents were typed on a typewriter letterhead of the Central Committee of CP(b)K, in the upper right corner are stamped: 'strictly secret' and 'special folder'. According to these documents, it is noted that due to the aggravation of the political situation in Xinjiang and the intensification of the persecution of the population by the Xinjiang authorities, cases of migration to the territory of the Kazakh SSR of those fleeing persecution have become more frequent and the issues of their reception and resettlement in specially designated areas and districts, providing jobs, housing, devices in schools, provision of food, medical

care. Although in these documents they were called ‘defectors’, they were no different from the categories of ‘nomads’ and ‘returning Soviet citizens’. The only difference was that at that time there were no diplomatic relations with the PRC on this issue. In the explanatory dictionary of the Russian language, the word ‘defector’ means a fugitive who went over to the side of the enemy, and the word ‘nomad’ means to leave a certain place or move to another place.¹¹

Documents on the first flows of refugees who, despite the difficulties of the war years, began to return to their homeland, ended up in the ‘special folders’ of the Central Committee of the CP(b)K. This is due to the consideration of their political status as ‘defectors’ and the need to quickly eliminate gross gaps and shortcomings in the organization of citizens who defected from the PRC. Seven resolutions, which were adopted by the Bureau of the Central Committee of the CP(b)K regarding the ‘migration’ of citizens from Xinjiang from 1943-1962, fell into ‘special files’. Despite the fact that the protocol is classified as ‘top secret’, the issue is not fully deciphered on the agenda, but only the code ‘NKGB issue’, ‘Sovnarkom issue’, ‘NKVD issue’, ‘Council of Ministers issue’ or simply ‘decision in special folders’. This means that the issue is discussed in a narrow circle of members of the bureau, on the provision of the NKGB, the NKVD, the Council of People’s Commissars or the Council of Ministers. Worried about the growing number of people persecuted by the Xinjiang authorities entering the territory of the Kazakh SSR, the NKGB in 1943 on September 24 proposed a solution to the issue in the bureau of the Central Committee of the CP(b)K. Therefore, at a meeting of the Bureau, it was decided, guided by state security measures, to place ‘defectors’ not in internal areas, but in specially designated areas and areas of border territories:

- in Kaskelen, Zhambyl, Enbekshikazakh districts of Almaty region;
- in Sharsk, Novo-Shulbinsk, Belagash districts of the Semipalatinsk region;
- in Predgornensk, Shemonaikha, Kirovsk and Ulansk districts of the East Kazakhstan region.

They ordered the leaders of these regions and districts to organize the reception of ‘defectors’ from Xinjiang and assist them in finding a job, study, as well as in providing them with housing, food supplies and medical care. They instructed the Council of People’s Commissars of the Kazakh SSR to allocate the necessary funds from the reserve fund of the Council of People’s Commissars for expenses related to the reception of defectors from Xinjiang. And the control over the implementation of this resolution is entrusted to a member of the bureau of the Central Committee of

¹¹ Ozhegov & Shvedova, 2008: 472, 499.

the Communist Party (b) K – the chairman of the NKGB of the Kazakh SSR comrade Babkin.¹²

The largest influx of ‘defectors’ from Xinjiang fell on the territory of the Markakol and Zaisan districts of the East Kazakhstan region. A lot of Kazakh population, along with a large number of livestock, moved to these areas of the East Kazakhstan region, in connection with which the bureau of the Central Committee of the CP(b)K on August 16, 1944, to resolve issues related to the economic organization of ‘defectors’ from Xinjiang, adopted a resolution on the creation of a commission these in the East Kazakhstan region as part of the Deputy Secretary of the Central Committee of the CP(b)K for animal husbandry, a representative of the NKGB of the Kazakh SSR, a representative of the Border Troops of the NKVD of the Kazakh District and a representative of the People’s Commissariat of Land of the Kazakh SSR under the chairmanship of the Deputy Chairman of the Council of People’s Commissars of the Kazakh SSR. The commission was instructed, together with the East Kazakhstan regional committee of the CP(b)K and the regional executive committee, to take the necessary measures for the resettlement, employment of ‘defectors-Kazakhs’ and the allocation of grazing for their livestock, to submit a report to the Council of People’s Commissars of the Kazakh SSR and the Central Committee of the CP(b)K to implement this resolution, as well as together with the East Kazakhstan regional committee of the CP(b)K and the regional executive committee – to submit practical proposals for the further economic arrangement of ‘defectors’ from Xinjiang.¹³

But as of April 4, 1945, the decision of the Bureau of the Central Committee of the CP(b)K had not been implemented. The Central Committee of the CP(b)K notes that cultural and medical services for migrants from Xinjiang, located in the Zaisan and Markakol districts of the East Kazakhstan region and the Alakul district of the Taldy-Kurgan region, trade with them and the provision of assistance in food and manufactured goods of the urgently needed part of the nomads are organized unsatisfactorily. The poor part of the nomads who did not have livestock to sell, purchase it in order to sell the delivered livestock for food and industrial goods was in a difficult situation. Explanatory work among the nomads was not deployed. Medical assistance to the nomads, among whom infectious diseases are common, was not provided to a sufficient extent. Animal treatment of nomadic cattle, which in many cases is a carrier of scabies, glanders and other diseases, was not organized, which threatened to transfer the diseases to the livestock of neighboring collective farms. In a number of cases, the executive committees of district councils and the boards of collective farms, for housing allocated for the resettlement of nomads, for the provision of livestock housing, pastures and fodder, took from the nomads a large number of

¹² AP RK. F. 708. Op. 1/1. D. 6. p. 228.

¹³ AP RK. F. 708. Op. 1/1. D. 7. p. 117.

livestock, at a cost significantly exceeding the actual costs of collective farms for the resettlement of nomads and the maintenance of their livestock. The East Kazakhstan and Taldy-Kurgan regional executive committees and regional committees of the CP(b)K, as well as the Zaisan, Markakol and Alakul executive committees of the district councils and district committees of the party withdrew from the business of organizing trade, cultural services, providing medical assistance to nomads, their resettlement, maintenance and veterinary maintenance of livestock, as well as from the daily management of the matter of providing assistance in food and manufactured goods to the urgently needy part of the nomads. In connection with this state of affairs, the Central Committee of the CP(b)K adopted the following resolutions:

- “1. On the assignment of operational management of the organization of trade, cultural, medical care for the nomads, veterinary services for their livestock, as well as assistance in food and manufactured goods for the urgently needed part of the nomads.
2. Send Comrade Omarov to the East Kazakhstan region.
3. The organization of the reception of cattle sold by nomads, regardless of its quantity, and trade with nomads, shall be entrusted to the organizations of Cattle Import and Sovsintorg.
4. Oblige the Presidium of Kazpotrebsoyuz, the executive committee of the East Kazakhstan regional council and the regional committee of the CP(b)K to organize, through consumer cooperation in the Zaisan and Markakol districts, non-cash and gratuitous assistance to urgently needed nomadic farms (with the exception of singles) with food and manufactured goods at the expense of those released for this purpose by the government of the USSR of funds, according to the following assortment and norms for the release of goods for each month for one farm: cotton - 10 m, tea - 1 kg, flour - 16 kg, matches - 10 boxes, sugar - 2 kg, thread - 5 coils.
5. To ask the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks to allow the same procedure for helping urgently needy nomadic farms located in the Alakul district of the Taldy-Korgan region, to allocate Kazpotrebsoyuz for this purpose from the funds of the Sovsintorg for two months: cotton - 4000 m, tea - 500 kg, flour - 6.5 tons, matches 4000 boxes, sugar - 1 ton, thread - 250 spools, salt - 1 ton, kerosene - 1 ton.
6. Approve the composition of the brigades for the cultural and medical care of the nomads, as well as the repertoire of the cult brigades and the list of paintings.
7. To oblige the East Kazakhstan regional committee of the CP(b)K and the Taldy-Kurgan regional committee of the CP(b)K to attach one qualified Kazakh propagandist to each film shift for the period of its operation for a preliminary, before demonstration, explanation of the content of each film,

translation of its text from Russian into Kazakh and loud reading of silent pictures in Kazakh.

8. Instruct the Council of People's Commissars of the Kazakh SSR to discuss the issue of allocating funds to cover the costs of sending brigades and renting films for nomads.

9. Instruct the Propaganda and Agitation Department of the Central Committee of the CP(b)K from April 5 this year. to send from the city of Alma-Ata one qualified lecturer each to the Zaisan, Markakol and Alakul districts to conduct conversations among the nomads on issues of national politics and the state structure of the USSR, the international situation and events on the fronts of the Patriotic War.”¹⁴

Reasons for the Return of ‘Defectors’ to China and Measures to Prevent

Despite all the decisions taken, the measures taken by the leadership of the republic in connection with the difficult state of the country's economy during the war years and human factors, due to the gaps made by some representatives of the local authorities in the placement of ‘defectors’, there were facts of their mass return back to China. This is stated in a special message of the Minister of Internal Affairs of the Kazakh SSR, Major-General Pchelkin and the Head of the Kazakh District of the Border Troops of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, Major-General Badeinov, Secretary of the Central Committee of CP(b) K Shayakhmetov dated August 8, 1946.¹⁵ An additional reference to this letter indicates the number of persons detained while illegally crossing the border in the period from 1943 to 1946 and the areas where they were sent for accommodation.

It was found that the reason for their return to China was poor material-and-living conditions. Citizens who arrived from China were forced to return to China within 1-2 years, unable to cope with domestic conditions due to an unidentified permanent place of residence. During this time, 2,213 people were detained and returned. The same memorandum was received on August 30, 1946 in the name of the Secretary of the Central Committee of CP(b)K Shayakhmetov and the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Kazakh SSR Comrade Undasynov from the Minister of State Security of the Kazakh SSR Byzov and the Minister of Internal Affairs of the Kazakh SSR Pchelkin, who write that such discriminatory, hostile and direct criminal actions against the ‘defectors’ that took place in Taldy-Korgan, Semipalatinsk, East Kazakhstan regions, became the reason for their escape back to China. For example:

¹⁴ AP RK. F. 708. Op. 1/1. D. 8. p. 324–327.

¹⁵ AP RK. F. 708. Op. 1/1. D. 9. p. 92.

С П Р А В К А

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О количестве задержанных пограничными округами перебежчиков из Китая по частям за 1943-1946 г.г. в местах их поселения.

	1943 год	1944 год	1945 года	1946 год.	Всего
12 ОМН 94	38	6	1	139	
49 погранотряд 111	75	29	42	257	
11 ОМН -	8	50	-	58	
30 погранотряд 44	355	398	193	990	
50 погранотряд 11	548	163	43	765	
10 ОМН -	1	-	3	4	
Всего:-	200	1025	616	282	3313

Fig. 1. Information about the number of defectors from China detained by the frontier units, 1943-1946.

In the Alakol district of the Taldy-Korgan region, under the pretext of helping to obtain a loan, 290 sheep were collected from ‘violators of the border’, which the workers of the district divided among themselves.

For various reasons, the chairman of the collective farm ‘Sotsial’ of the same district, Terminov, received 3 horses, a bull, 24 sheep and 6,000 rubles of money from the ‘border violator’ Bayadilov. At the end of the list continuing on and on, it is said that the ‘defectors’ who returned to the USSR with their cattle, left without winter food, having lost their livestock, were left without funds, those wishing to join the collective farm were not taken to the collective farm because of the lack of instructions from above, young people among them who wanted to get an education were used for sowing work, without being placed in educational institutions.

On August 26, 1946, the instructor of the personnel department B. Omarbekov, the representative of the Council of Ministers of the Kazakh SSR Aimambetov, the representative of the border troops of the Kazakh SSR captain Chernousov, who, on behalf of Secretary Kruglov, checked the work on the reception, employment and creation of housing and material conditions for those ‘defectors’ who returned from Western China to the Semipalatinsk and East Kazakhstan regions, reported that the decision of the Central Committee of the CP(b)K of September 24, 1943 in these areas is not being implemented, and the chairman of the Ayagoz district committee of

the CP(b)K Beisembaev, the chairman of the Ayagoz district Council of working people's deputies Amirgalin, the chairman of the Shar district committee of the Communist Party of Bolsheviks Abishev admitted that they were absolutely unaware of such a decision, that they did not deal with the issue of accommodating 'defectors' at all. As a result, it turned out that there were facts of leaving the place of location and migration to China by many 'defectors', that people detained at the border without being sent to permanent settlements in a timely manner, staying in the border zone for a long time, are used to carry out sowing and other work, there were cases of people being placed in other areas not specified in the government decree, in Ayaguz, Zyryanovsk and other areas, that 'defectors' who received a warning that they would not stay in these areas on a permanent basis and early or later they will be relocated to other regions and for this reason the lack of management of the economy has been in a state of uncertainty and turmoil for two years now. The head of the district department of the Ministry of State Security dealt with the issues of their employment, and the heads of the districts turned out to be completely unaware of the presence of 'refugees' from China in the region. In none of the districts where the inspection was carried out, general explanatory and propaganda work was carried out with the 'defectors'. In Ayagoz, there were also cases of employing only able-bodied people, separating the disabled, the elderly and children from their families. The deputy head of the Ayagoz district department of the Ministry of State Security, junior lieutenant Satpaev, explaining the facts of family separation, the separation of the able-bodied from the disabled by hopelessness in front of the instructions received from above gives the following story as an example:

“In July of this year, the senior inspector of the Administrative and economic department of the Ministry of State Security for the Semipalatinsk region, junior lieutenant Temirgazin, came from Semipalatinsk to Ayaguz, who, leaving their families in Ayaguz, selected 13 able-bodied border violators in Ayaguz, the latter were taken to Semipalatinsk. There were cases when representatives of various enterprises came from Semipalatinsk to Ayaguz and, by agreement with the Ministry of State Security, selected for themselves an able-bodied skilled workforce.

When employing 'defectors', without taking into account their professional characteristics as blacksmiths, locksmiths, carpenters, felters, and shoemakers, all of them were sent to menial work or field work. The 'defectors' working at the enterprises had low wages, and they could not take advantage of the benefits established by Soviet law. At the enterprises where the 'defectors' worked, wages were not issued for more than 5 months, overproduction expenses were withheld from the wages of the 'defectors', 'defectors' were sent to unscheduled unpaid work.

‘Defectors’ were placed in basements that did not meet sanitary standards, barracks without furniture, blankets, dishes; they did not have wearable clothes and shoes.

The situation with ‘defectors’ on the collective farm was about the same. From such enterprises and collective farms, ‘defectors’ who were not accepted as members of the collective farm, who worked as hired workers, who had no means of subsistence, ran away, since wages were paid only in the fall. The bodies of the Ministry of State Security did not actually record them. Of the 1850 people distributed to Semipalatinsk and East Kazakhstan, only 650 people were registered with them. The regional and district executive committees did not provide any assistance, placing the problem of accommodating ‘defectors’ entirely on the shoulders of the Ministry of State Security.

When ‘defectors’ crossed the border, quarantined cattle had to be returned to them on the basis of a receipt issued upon arrival at their permanent place of residence. But the ‘defectors’ could not return their cattle.

According to many ‘defectors’, despite the fact that they were allowed to cross the border and settle on the territory of the USSR, although they lived here for 1-2 years, they are depressed that the attitude towards them as ‘not Soviet people’ has not changed. Their lack of any document entitling them to citizenship or residence prevents them from using the benefits provided by Soviet legislation, joining a collective farm, or using benefits for mothers with many children. It’s not that they help, they don’t let me live, asking for documents.”¹⁶

Yusupov and Asanov, who froze their legs while crossing the border in the winter of 1945, having received no medical and material assistance upon arrival in Ust-Kamenogorsk, wandered around the city in miserable conditions. According to the representative of the Ministry of State Security Miroshnichenko, no matter how many times it was raised, this issue was not properly resolved.

Also, the ‘defector’ Zhidov, who evacuated 10 families from the Tarbagatai region to Ust-Kamenogorsk at his own expense, could not withdraw his money from the regional council for a long time. According to Zhidov, who repeatedly asked for help, the Department of National Security sent to the regional council the relation,¹⁷ but there was no result.

As a result of indifference, indifference in the reception, resettlement, housing, work and economic support of the “defectors”, due to the inhuman, heartless attitude towards them, anti-Soviet sentiments arose among them, facts of flight to China were recorded due to revelry of anti-Soviet conversations, leaving the workplace,

¹⁶ AP RK. F. 708. Op. 1/1. D. 9. p. 101.

¹⁷ AP RK. F. 708. Op. 1/1. D. 9. p. 105.

settlements. Only in 1946, 60 people were registered by the border units who tried to cross and crossed the border.

When these data were reported to the chairman of the Semipalatinsk Regional Council of Working People's Deputies Baizakov, he noted that he could not take any measures until he received any instructions from the Council of Ministers, and the revision brigade of the Central Committee, which had been waiting for 6 hours for the 2nd secretary of the regional committee and could not get to him, believes that in the Semipalatinsk and East Kazakhstan regions 'defectors' are in a difficult situation, since no party or Soviet bodies are engaged in their accommodation, employment and improvement of their material and living conditions and proposes to consider this question to the Bureau of the Central Committee of the CP(b)K.

Based on the memorandum of the instructor of the personnel department B. Omarbekov, who checked the special message of the Minister of Internal Affairs of the Kazakh SSR, Major General Pchelkin and the Head of the Kazakh District of the Border Troops of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, Major General Badeinov, to the Secretary of the Central Committee of the CP(b)K Shayakhmetov from August 8, 1946 and verification of work on the reception, employment of 'defectors' who migrated from Western China to the Semipalatinsk and East Kazakhstan regions and the creation of housing and material conditions for them, representative of the Council of Ministers of the Kazakh SSR Aimambetov, representative of the border troops of the Kazakh SSR Captain Chernousov, by post – update of the Council of Ministers and the Central Committee of the CPC (b) of December 14, 1946:

“The executive committees of Almaty, Semipalatinsk, Taldy-Korgan, East Kazakhstan regions were instructed to place, work and arrange 'defectors' who migrated from Xinjiang within 2 months, it was forbidden to change their location. In these areas, it was decided to stop the placement of 'defectors' and send 600 families to the Kokshetau region, 800 families to the Kostanay region, 2000 families to the Pavlodar region, 500 families to the North Kazakhstan region. Thus, unable to cope with the arrangement of 'defectors' in the border areas specially designated for this, the Central Committee of the CP(b)K changes its policy towards 'defectors' in order to prevent further departures to China, decides to send them to the internal regions of the republic. The resolution obligated local executive committees to deliver 'defectors' from the border to state farms, provide finance, food, medical services, provide jobs, allocate land for housing construction, provide building materials, place children in schools, give a 10-year loan for the construction of a house, exempt from all taxes in 1947-1951, exchange certificates received at the consulate in Xinjiang for a Soviet document and grant Soviet citizenship”.¹⁸

¹⁸ AP RK. F. 708. Op. 1/1. D. 9. p. 93–96.

As a result of checking in April 1947 the level of implementation of the decisions of these adopted resolutions, based on the fact that it is not being implemented in the Taldy-Kurgan region, the Council of Ministers and the Central Committee of the CP(b)K adopt a new resolution. The resolution obliges the leaders of the region to eliminate the shortcomings as soon as possible. A brigade formed from the Council of Ministers and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China (b) is sent to the region on a business trip.¹⁹

Conclusions

Providing the first wave of ‘defectors’ with assistance in settling in the country’s farms, arranging material and living conditions, providing medical, social, and veterinary assistance was necessary to speed up the process of returning our compatriots who remained in China to the country. The poor demographic situation during the war years, the shortage of labor in the rear required an urgent solution to this problem. Therefore, since this was one of the ‘especially important’, ‘urgent’ issues, this is one of the reasons why these documents were stored in ‘special folders’. Despite the difficulties of the war and post-war years, with such special care, perseverance, the work performed on the reception and placement of ‘defectors’ became the reason for the massive return of compatriots to the country in 1954-1962.

According to these documents, it can be seen that even during the war the flow of refugees did not subside, they testify that such facts took place from time to time on the border of China and the Kazakh SSR, they make it clear that the process of returning our compatriots to our country continued uninterruptedly and for a long time. There was no agreement between the USSR and the People’s Republic of China on the return of Soviet citizens. That is why they were called ‘defectors’ due to the lack of a regulatory and legal framework for the migration. And in 1954, during the years of the thaw, on the basis of a 10-year agreement on relations between China and the USSR, ‘Soviet citizens’ began to return to the USSR. They were given the status of ‘nomads’. At the same time, on April 16, 1954, the Council of Ministers of the USSR adopted a resolution *On the resettlement of “Soviet citizens” in the People’s Republic of China for the development of “virgin lands* on September 17, 1955 (by a top secret decree № 751-329), in June-August adopted Decree (№ 1701) *On the repatriation of Soviet citizens outside the border and their employment in the USSR.*²⁰ The Central Committee of the CP(b)K of the KazSSR (Kazahskaya Sovetskaya Socialisticheskaya Respublika) also had resolutions during these years concerning the elimination of the shortcomings in the placement of ‘Soviet citizens’ who migrated from China. For example, the decision adopted on August 17, 1955, cited in the telegram of the Consul

¹⁹ AP RK. F. 708. Op. 1/1. D. 10. p. 228.

²⁰ Kudaibergenova, 2011: 268.

of the USSR, comrade Romanchuk, to eliminate flagrant shortcomings in the accommodation of 'Soviet citizens' who migrated from the PRC.²¹

Documents related to 'nomads' are also found in other descriptions of the affairs of the Council of People's Commissars, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Kazakh SSR. The process of the return of the Kazakhs from China began in 1934, in accordance with the documents from the fund of the 'Kazakh Regional Committee',²² it became known that only in 1943 this issue began to be discussed in the highest echelons of power and that this year so many people crossed the border so that the attention of the authorities was focused on this process.

If these documents provide information on the number of citizens who migrated from the PRC, areas and areas of their deployment, allocated funds, food, clothing, building materials, then in documents related to 'defectors' and 'migrants' in 'special folders' of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Kazakh SSR contains information on the reception, placement of nomads, the identification and correction of shortcomings made by local state bodies when working to improve their employment and living conditions, in political and ideological propaganda.

The fact that these documents were classified is not surprising, because at that time 80 percent of party documents were classified for no reason. And the fact that they were stored in special folders means that the party leaders gave the solution to this problem a special status and kept the Central Committee of CP(b)K under control. These documents have been preserved in the 'special folders' document complex as documents considering topical, important and urgent issues on the agenda of that period.

Despite the difficult times during the Great Patriotic War, the attitude of the Soviet authorities to the first wave of repatriates from the PRC was very positive. Enormous funds were allocated for their resettlement, employment, housing, food, industrial goods, building materials. Organized medical care, cultural-mass work among the population, veterinary care for livestock, provided pasture for livestock. It should be noted that many settlers crossed the border with a huge number of livestock. Decrees of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan were adopted on the immediate elimination of shortcomings in the reception of migrants and the punishment of those responsible for committing illegal actions and even inaction against migrants.

There have always been shortcomings, in any undertakings and in any business, but despite all the difficulties, a scheme was built for accepting citizens of Kazakhstan who migrated from China, identified possible problems, obstacles and difficulties that had to be faced in the process of their economic organization and

²¹ AP RK. F. 708. Op. 1/1. D. 19. p. 19.

²² AP RK. F. 141. Op. 1. D. 7372. p. 103.

ways to solve them. Thanks to this, the republic was able to accept and equip the bulk of the nomads who returned from China in 1954-1964.

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