



IRSTI 02.41.41

A policy of 'dekulakization' and deportations from the republic: on the example of special resettlers exiled from Kyrgyzstan to Ukraine (1930-1933)

Gulzat Alagozkyzy

National Academy of Sciences of the Kyrgyz Republic, Institute of the History, Archeology, and Ethnology named after B. Dzhamgerchinov, Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan

E-mail:

esimde.gulzat@gmail.com

<https://orcid.org/0000-0001-6644-3558>

DOI: 10.32523/2616-7255-2022-140-3-122-135

Abstract. In this article, the author performs a study of kulaks exiled from the territory of Kyrgyzstan to the south of Ukraine in the 1930s. The study analyzes the evolution of the attitude of the Soviet regime towards the kulaks within the framework of the policy of collectivization. The author analyzed the goals of the repressive policy in the 30s of the twentieth century, the criteria, and the mechanism for selecting the repressed. The article also considers a number of the main problems of the history of mass repressions against the kulaks during the Great Terror in 1937- 1938. The main attention is paid to identifying the specifics of repressive measures in relation to various target groups of order № 00447: former kulaks, participants in peasant uprisings, clergy, religious activists, and criminals. Based on the microhistorical approach, the focus of repressions on strengthening the collective farm system is determined.

Documents gathered during the expedition searching for information about kulaks from the archives of Ukraine and Kyrgyzstan, in which the author took part, was used as a source base for the article. Besides archival materials, oral histories gathered by the Esimde research platform from the families and descendants of kulaks deported to Ukraine, and open information published in the mass media were used.

Keywords: Esimde; kulak; collectivization; repression; the Great Terror; Ukraine; society; totalitarianism; Kherson; Kyrgyzstan.

Received 10 June 2022. Revised 20 June 2022. Accepted 31 July 2022. Available online 30 September 2022.

For citation:

Alagozkyzy G. A policy of 'dekulakization' and deportations from the republic: on the example of special resettlers exiled from Kyrgyzstan to Ukraine 1930-1933 // Bulletin of the L.N. Gumilyov ENU. Historical sciences. Philosophy. Religion Series. 2022. – Vol. 140. – №. 3. – P. 122-135. DOI: 10.32523/2616-7255-2022-140-122-135.

Для цитирования:

Алагозкызы Г. Политика «раскулачивания» и высылки за пределы республики: на примере спецпереселенцев из Кыргызстана в Украину 1929-1933 гг. // Вестник ЕНУ им. Л. Гумилева Серия Исторические науки. Философия. Религиоведение. – 2022. – Т. 140. – №. 3. – С. 122-135. DOI: 10.32523/2616-7255-2022-140-3-122-135

Introduction

A policy of dekulakization was carried out in the early 1930s. Deportations implemented within this campaign are still relevant as a scientific problem. First of all, despite this Soviet campaign of repressions being quite a very well-known part of history, many of its aspects have not been fully and thoroughly studied so far.

In the Soviet period, dekulakization was explained as an outstanding victory of the soviet system within the communist party's ideology.

Moreover, the topic of deportation, which took place in the 1930s, from Kyrgyzstan to the south of Ukraine practically hasn't been considered by the scientific community.

Several published materials, archival documents, and memoirs were used as sources. They can be divided into several groups.

The first group of sources consists of laws and resolutions issued by the central government defining regulations of 'eliminating kulaks as a class. Those are mainly previously published materials.

The second group of sources consists of office documents. These documents belong to communist party organizations and public administrations of a specific region, district, or rural government. It includes many discovered documents in the state archives of the Kherson and Odesa regions of Ukraine and the state archive of Kyrgyzstan. For the first time, these archival documents were studied as part of a scientific study.

Materials and methods

The third group of sources: Investigation materials kept in the Kherson state archive: questionnaire forms for arrestees, testimonies obtained from arrestees and witnesses, indictments, and the Troika decisions – all of these generate significant interest for this

research. Also, an economic book of 1944 kept in the self-government of the Vinogradovo village, Kherson region, was examined. This economic book includes a list of deported individuals and includes information about their economic activities. The Esimde research platform has published this economic book as an open source (Database of dekulakized, 2022: 10).

Information about the general processes that took place in the cotton industry, is reflected in the documents in the R-433 fund «Management of the Authorized All-Ukrainian Cooperative Union for Technical Cultures and Cotton Production» («Ukrkhlopok») in the Kherson, R-453 fund «Cotton sector of the All-Ukrainian Union of Agricultural Collectives» («Ukrkolkhozcentr»), city of Kherson, Odessa region, R-3121 fund «Office of the Authorized Trust of Odessa region» («Soyuzsovetkhozbytovaya») in Ukraine, People's Commissariat for Agriculture of the USSR, city of Kherson, Odessa region.

The fourth group of sources is articles in mass media. They have published materials in the Azattyk Radio, Akipress news agency, and others. Reviewing these materials is very important for creating an objective and comprehensive picture of this topic.

One more additional group of sources – biographies, stories, memoirs, diaries, letters, and oral histories. In this article, we dwell on the book «Tangled destinies 2 (Chiesh tagdyrlar 2)» (Nogaibayeva, 2019: 10) – a compilation of oral histories published by the Esimde (research platform <https://esimde.org>) research platform. This compilation is dedicated to researching the destinies of people, who were dekulakized and deported from the territory of Kyrgyzstan to Ukraine SSR. This book has collected stories of families, who were declared «an enemy of people» and deported to Ukraine SSR. This work includes memoirs, photographs, lists of exiled individuals, and materials collected from archival sources.

The history of collectivization of the soviet economy was classified by issuing official prohibitions, historical misrepresentations, and restricting access to archival sources. Before 1991, the most significant archival documents on this topic were considered classified information not only for foreign but even for local researchers. In soviet history, dekulakization was justified as a measure creating conditions for re-education and eliminating inequalities. For instance, historian Ivan Trifonov says in one of his works: «establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat during the liquidation of the exploiting classes absolutely does not have any motives for revenge. One of the goals of this policy is a gradual re-educating 'kulaks' in the spirit of socialism» (Viola, 2007: 15).

The primary mission of the soviet government – improving the socio-economic situation in the country through eliminating inequalities and establishing kolхозes – this point of view was reflected in the works of M.A.Krayev «Victory of collectivization in USSR» (Viola, 2007:15) and S.P.Trapeznikov «Leninism and the Agrarian and Peasant Question» (Trapeznikov, 1974: 20).

A problem reviewed in this article was enriched with scientific works in the 1990s. According to the opinions of G.E.Glezerman (Glezerman, 1949), B.A.Abramov (Abramov, 1952), Y.S.Kukushkin (Kukushkin, 1962), N.A.Ivnitskiy (Ivnitskiy, 2004), the Soviet government's campaign of total collectivization was implemented in an authoritarian-mandative manner, the rights of peasants were violated and their right to private property was not taken into account. Since Kyrgyzstan obtained sovereignty in 1991, Kyrgyz historians Z. Altymyshova (Altymyshova, 2017: 11), B. Abdrahmanov (Abdrahmanov, 2022: 114), J.Botonoyev (Ботоноев, 2015), A.Kubatova and J.Baydildeyev are also doing their research on this topic.

In this article, the author emphasizes the point that during the collectivization of peasants the soviet regime was not just considering them as a potential resistance factor but also had plans to use them as manpower to be used in to be developed economies of territories where they have been deported. Relying on archival

documents, oral histories, and memoirs, the author of this article believes that the deportation of 'kulaks' in the 1930s was not just a campaign of eliminating potentially anti-soviet elements from Kyrgyzstan's territory but also to provide a free labor force in improving the economical situation of Ukraine territories, where they have been exiled. To be more precise, in the 1930s, the working-age population of Central Asia, which was skilled to work in cotton fields, has been 'dekulakized' and expelled to southern Ukraine, thus a problem of manpower shortage was resolved.

Discussion

In the author's opinion, the attitude of the state towards peasants has been changing over time and the general political situation in the country. Sometimes these changes have been accompanied by creating good conditions for peasants and their families, and sometimes peasants were fallen into disfavor and had been treated badly. For instance, In 1937-1938, during the Great Terror, some kulaks were not just executed by shooting, but information about capital punishment sentences was classified and hidden from families. Here we can see attempts taken by the totalitarian regime of making rational decisions from an economic point of view. At the same time, we can see that the regime was trying to legitimize its authority by hiding its severe sentences, not by threats against helpless parts of the nation but by showing itself as a power, which will bring prosperous life to everyone.

1927 was a transition year in the relationship between the soviet regime and the peasantry. That year, the implementation of the New Economic Policy (NEP) was completed, and the regime accepted repressions as the main tool of its policy toward peasants. A crisis appeared in grain harvesting, and disputes in the political bureau posed a serious threat of a shortage of grain not just for export, but even for domestic consumption. Stalin and his supporters considered the grain crisis as a threat to domestic stability and industrialization policy, thus violence against peasants was rationalized. The actions of Stalin

led to the social and political crises, strengthened violence in the public administration system, and the first steps were taken in creating a command economy and a Stalinist police state. The activity of the Joint State Political Directorate under the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR (ОГПУ, Russian: Объединённое государственное политическое управление – ОГПУ) in economic affairs was increasing day by day (Viola, 2007). In 1927, ОГПУ carried out a mass campaign against higher-income peasants, spiritual leaders, and landholders under the pretext of fighting «anti-soviet elements» in the countryside. This campaign was prolonged in 1928 and accompanied by violent confiscations of grain. In the autumn of 1929, Joseph Stalin declared total collectivization in the country as the beginning of a Great Turn, or a Great Break in the building of socialism. Large mechanized collective farms, or Kolkhozes, were to be established instead of small peasant farms.

When we take into account the sequence of events, processes of collectivization and dekulakization cannot be reviewed separately from each other. Despite this, the fates of dekulakized peasants and those, who were forced to collectivization were developed in two different ways. The liquidation of kulaks as a class can be assessed as eliminating peasants, who could stand up against the new state system (Conquest, 1986:10). The policy of dekulakization was implemented simultaneously with collectivization in the Soviet country, and because of that during 1930-1931, more than 1.8 million farmers were subjected to deportation (Viola, 2007: 20). This campaign of forced displacement was aimed at fighting counter-revolution and building socialism in the countryside. Total collectivization and dekulakization practices were accompanied by mass diseases, famine, and executions, which caused the deaths of a large number of people – approximately 390,000 up to 530,000-600,000 people (Conquest, 1986: 117). According to historian N.A.Ivnitskiy, at least 5-6 million people, a population of 1 million peasant farms were denied the right to private ownership of land. In fact, only a small part of those people could be considered exploiters in the countryside (Ivnitsky, 2004: 7).

A policy of dekulakization and mass expulsion was carried out as part of it: an example of deportees from Kyrgyzstan to Ukraine

In the 1920s, the Soviet government was pursuing a policy of restricting kulaks, but since December 27th, 1929, when «Liquidation of kulaks as a class» was announced, mass repressions against kulaks, who were wealthy peasants, began to take place in Kyrgyzstan too, as well as in other parts of USSR. According to estimates of tax service, in 1929, there were 3406 kulak farms, which made up 1.8% of the total number of farmers (Botonoev, 2015: 3). Up to 10% of farmers have been subjected to dekulakization by local authorities. The «liquidation of kulaks as a class» campaign started without proper legal regulations and clear instructions, thus it encouraged local authorities to take radical measures in practice. As a result, the majority of middle peasants, and even some poor peasants were subjected to dekulakization.

The Politburo of the All-Union Communist Party (of Bolsheviki) formalized the decision in a resolution titled «On measures for the elimination of kulak households in districts of comprehensive collectivization» on 30 January 1930. According to this resolution, kulaks were assigned to one of three categories: first category – counter-revolutionist activists, organizers of terrorist acts and uprisings; second category – the remaining part of counter-revolutionist activists made of richest and middle-level landowners; third category – other kulaks.

One part of the kulaks was brought to trial, and the second part of them was subjected to deportation to remote areas. For example, before 1931, about 6 thousand families were deported to Ukraine and Caucasus. The unjust policy of the Soviet government in dekulakization had led to an armed uprising of peasants. Some part of the rural population suffered from collective punishment caused by the implementation of the dekulakization policy and during the armed uprisings in Issyk-Kul, Naryn regions, and southern Kyrgyzstan.

Second-category kulaks were supposed to be relocated to remote provinces, and sparsely

populated regions, such as the High North, Ural, Siberia, and Kazakhstan. But Ukraine SSR wasn't on the list of «remote areas of the USSR». Nevertheless, Central Asian peasants and their families have been proclaimed as kulaks of the second category and subjected to forced displacement to Ukraine on the basis of the abovementioned resolution.

Deportation to Ukraine

In the early 1930s, the dekulakization of Central Asian peasants and their deportation to Ukraine had pursued both political and economical goals. Kulaks from Central Asia were expelled to Ukraine for ten years (Kherson, 1948: 40).

Political goal – expelling population to remote areas, who could rise against current ideology in the future, thus providing self-defense from unexpected «hostile elements». After the October revolution and Civil War, the Central Committee of the Communist Party established its dictatorship. The main goal of Lenin, Stalin, and their associates was to keep the captured power at any cost.

Economic goal: by dekulakization and deportations – providing manpower and improving the socio-economic situation of the country. In the 1930s, the able-bodied population of Central Asia, which was skilled to work in cotton fields, has been subjected to dekulakization and expelled to southern Ukraine, thus a problem of manpower shortage was resolved

At the end of the 1920s, research had been undertaken and it was planned to grow cotton in southern Ukraine and Northern Caucasus, thus the creation of new cotton growing regions had begun in the USSR (Collection of documents, 2019) in general, Ukraine has its own history of experimenting and cultivating cotton. Since the XIX century, cotton fans started their first amateur steps in cultivating this crop. In 1827, 5 hectares of cotton were sown in the Kherson province, its harvest amounted to 4-5 centners. From 1904 to 1915, scientific experiments on cultivating cotton were conducted in the Kherson province, but due to the First World War, these experiments were

forced to be postponed. In 1924, experimental works were resumed in the Kherson experimental station. Up to 1928, scientists have substantiated the practicability and economic feasibility of cultivating this crop in these soils.

Since 1929, cotton has been cultivated on a commercial scale in southern regions of Ukraine. As a result of the economic blockade of the USSR, this important industrial crop was strategically important for the development of many sectors of the economy. In the 1930s, cotton was given a status of «a field crop», and areas for its cultivation were increased 8 times from 1930 to 1935 (Collection of documents, 2019).

Resistance to collectivization and changes in traditional lifestyle was widespread in southern Ukraine too. Under such circumstances, the administrative-command system was restricting the freedom of deported individuals in practice and forced them into physical labor.

It was vitally necessary to increase the productivity of cotton cultivation in new regions, but this goal was unachievable at the beginning of the adoption of this crop due to insufficient local manpower. That problem was overcome at the expense of the deported Central Asian able-bodied population, who was specializing in cotton cultivation.

According to data for September 1931, 3444 families, and 15111 individuals were deported from Central Asia to Ukraine (Collection of documents, 2019:7). According to the documents reflecting the placement of the special settlers on a regional and sectoral basis, on October 20th, 1931, 14914 individuals from Central Asia were located in Ukraine. 5898 individuals (39.5%) of them were involved in cotton cultivation, 1502 individuals (10.1%) in special industrial crop cultivation and 7514 individuals (50.4%) (Collection of documents, 2019:12) were sent to the sovkhos state-owned farms, specializing in livestock and seed production.

According to the certificate of the OGPU's Special Department for the Deportation of Kulaks, on 30th August 1931, a major part of the deportees from Uzbekistan was sent to Ukraine (Collection of documents, 2019:7). The reason for this was the expertise of Uzbek deportees in cotton cultivation.

Country of origin	Amount of households
Uzbekistan	3328
Tajikistan	638
Kyrgyzstan	619
Tashawuz regions (Turkmenistan)	430
Total	5015
(Collection of documents, 2019: 7).	

Archival documents and memoirs say that Central Asian deportees were transported to Ukraine by train, in freight wagons. Their final point of destination was Akimovka and Novoalekseyevka. Kulaks deported from Kyrgyzstan were placed in the villages of Hlebodarovka (Hristovka) and Chalbasy (current Vinogradovo) in Skadovsk county of Kherson Province of Ukraine. Kyrgyzstani deportees to Ukraine were not only ethnical Kyrgyz individuals. Among them, there were ethnical Russian and Ukrainian families, who immigrated to Kyrgyzstan back in tsarist times.

According to the document, dated 1932, about building houses for special settlers found in the Kherson State Archive, there were requirements as follows:

- 1) Maximum concentration of special settlers through full concentration of local farm families in each sovkhoz state farm;
- 2) Each settlement receiving special settlers must be provided with necessary public service facilities (schools, hospitals, public baths, bakeries, cooperatives, goods stocking warehouses, post offices, savings banks, «red corners» or clubs, boarding schools, nurseries);
- 3) Camps must be located close to workplaces (usually, not far than 2-3 kilometers);
- 4) Camps for special settlers must have enough land nearby for agricultural purposes at close range;
- 5) While working in the fields, the open type of constructions (for protection from the sun and bad weather, for dining) should be temporarily provided, they must have a stove with the cauldron, rooms for dishwashing, preparing the meal, and dining;

6) Facilities must be constructed in accordance with the national characteristics of deportees;

7) During the construction, fire safety and sanitary requirements must be met.

It is recommended to choose locations for constructing special camps for resettlers as far as possible from freely living local communities. Special camps must be far from railway stations (Kherson archive).

From 1931-1932, additional funds had been allocated from the Soviet government's Reserve Fund for the provision of deported kulaks (Collection of documents, 2019: 9). For example, in 1932, Ukraine's SSR allocated 100,000 roubles for the cultural needs of deportees (Collection of documents, 2019: 9). Schools with Uzbek, Kazakh, and Kyrgyz languages of learning have been opened for children of Central Asian kulaks. Since 1933, the attitude towards special resettlers in exile has improved. According to data gathered by journalist Amirbek Usmanov, 105 teachers were sent to Ukraine in order to teach children of former kulaks and baymanaps (higher-income Kyrgyz feudal lords) (Usmanov, 2013: 70). Teachers like Almakuchuk from Kemin, Moldois from Chym-Korgon, and future academician Begimaly Jamgyrchinov with his spouse gave lessons in Kyrgyz school in Skadovsk county (Usmanov, 2013:70). Children of kulaks were under state care and studied in Kyrgyz school in Chalbasy.

Researcher journalist Amirbek Usmanov has interviewed Iskakbay Isabekov, who studied from 1939 to 1940, in a Kyrgyz school in Chalbasy, Kherson, Ukraine. Iskakbay Isabekov shared his memories: «Complete orphans studied in an orphanage in the village of Mayachki, which was several kilometers far from Chalbasy, in the Russian language. Kyrgyz children in Chalbasy studied in two shifts: senior grades before noon, and junior grades afternoon. Teachers were rotated every one or two years. Our teachers from Kyrgyzstan were only males. School principal Jantoloshev was ethnical Kazakh. Books have been brought from Frunze (current Bishkek). Classes were taught in the Kyrgyz language. Also, we studied Ukrainian, Russian and German

languages. Only Kemel, son of Jangarachev Satarkul studied in a Russian school. All other 350 students studied in the Kyrgyz language» (Usmanov, 2013:70).

In the report about accommodation of special resettlers from Central Asia dating from 1932, it is said that deportees were settled in the Skadovsk and Kahovka sovkhoz state farms (Kherson archive). According to this report, 4804 individuals, and 1317 families are in Skadovsk sovkhoz, provision with cultural living conditions and other necessities of deportees was like this:

- 1) schools – for 500 students, studying in shifts;
- 2) kindergartens – 4;
- 3) ambulatories – 5;
- 4) urgent care centers – 4;
- 5) bath and laundry – 5.

In Kahovka sovkhoze: 850 families, total 3212 individuals. They have been accommodated in 41 government buildings and 230 houses (Kherson archive, 92).

Kahovka Sovkhoze has been provided with:

- 1) schools – for 230 students in one shift;
- 2) urgent care centers – 4;
- 3) hospitals – 1;
- 4) kindergartens – 5;
- 5) facility for public bath and laundry – 2 (Kherson archive, 92).

According to these documents, it may be concluded that the government created living conditions for special resettlers in exile.

Since 1932, Central Asian deportees in Ukraine were able to get health insurance. Telegram dated back on the 10th of May, 1932, found in the Kherson regional archive: «*Main workforce in our sovkhozes is made up of Uzbeks, Turkmens, and Kyrgyz people (special resettlers). They take medical treatment by a doctor, who works under a special contract*» (Kherson archive, 264).

«The Great Terror»

On 31st July 1937, Nikolay Yezhov, head of the People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs, put his signature on Operational order #00447 «About operations to repress former kulaks, criminals, and other anti-Soviet elements». According to

this order: «Start the action for securing the active anti-Soviet social elements, former kulaks, and criminals on August 5, 1937, on the territory of all soviet republics and regions. On the territory of Uzbek, Turkmen, Kazakh, Tajik, and Kyrgyz SSRs operations will start on 10th August. On the territory of the Far East, Krasnoyarsk Krai, and Eastern Siberia operation will start on 15th August».

On the basis of this order, from August 1937 to November 1938, NKVD USSR started its operation to repression of anti-Soviet elements. During this mass repression campaign, about 1.7 million individuals were arrested, 390,000 individuals were executed by shooting, and 380,000 were sent to the GULAG labor camps.

According to the abovementioned operative order, kulaks, which were deprived of their rights to land ownership, as well as other deportees were subjected to large-scale repressions again. This order became famous in history under the name of «a Great Terror».

As a result of archival research work in the Kherson regional state archive, it became known that in the 30-50th years of the XX century 7777 individuals were victims of repressions, 293 of them were Central Asians. 224 resettlers were sentenced to the highest form of punishment – the death sentence.

On 9th October 1938, the Troika of the Mykolaiv region, within the People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs (NKVD) of the USSR sentenced 61 individuals to the death penalty – execution by shooting. Among them were 12 Kyrgyzstanis, accused of «creating a counter-revolutionary Kyrgyz nationalistic insurgency movement». These 12 individuals were subjected to dekulakization and deported from Kyrgyz SSR to Ukraine in 1931-1933.

Besides Kyrgyzstanis, there were Uzbek, Kazakh, and Turkmens, execution of 61 individuals by the Mykolaiv regional Troika was carried out flawlessly. 5 more individuals were sentenced to serve 10 years in corrective-labor camps. All of those 66 individuals were arrested in July 1938 by the Skadovsk county department of NKVD for «anti-soviet activity». They have been subjected to fabricated charges,

as follows: actively engaging in acts, organizing the «basmachy movement», «espionage in favor of Japan», «counter-revolutionist Kyrgyz nationalistic insurgency movement», «counter-revolutionist Uzbek nationalistic insurgency movement», and other crimes.

For example, the case of Moldokulov Mambet, which was executed by the firing squad in 1938, was saved in the Kherson regional state archive (Kherson archive, certificate #580). «Moldokulov Mambet, born in 1899, place of birth: Alamudun County of Kyrgyz SSR. Literate. Arrested in 1928 due to he discredited the Soviet government. Dekulakized in 1934. Deported to Ukraine. Was sentenced to death in 1938, in Skadovsk county of Ukraine, because he expressed his opinion that 'there is a severe famine in USSR and a war against Germany would break out soon».

From February to October of 1938, 63 individuals in total among all deportees from Kyrgyzstan to Ukraine were arrested and held accountable by articles 54-2, 54-7, 54-10, and 54-11 of the Criminal Code of Ukraine SSR (Kherson archive, certificate #580). They were accused of «creating and being a member of the hidden counter-revolutionist nationalistic organization while they were living in the Skadovsk county, during 1931-1938; conducting counter-propaganda activities against Soviet government; aiming to destroy the New Path (Noviy Put) kolhoz; making attempts to revive their ancient feudal bay-manap rights and tribalistic influence; participating in armed resistance against Soviet government in rows of the basmachy movement in Kyrgyzstan» (Kubatova, 2021: 5).

Deportees in the village of Chalbasy: Satarkul Jangarachev (year of birth: 1888), Kydyrbaev Abdylas (1903), Kundubaev Sagyn (1895), Baibosunov Arun (1907), Baibosunov Kojogul (1895), Baktygulov Beishe (1889), Sataev Bopoy (1893), Ashirov Niyazaly (1885), Januzakov Israil (1911), Januzakov Isak (1906), Sultanov Japar (1897) – 9 of arrestees were sentenced to death by firing squad, only two of them – Baibosunov Arun and Januzakov Israil were sentenced to serve 10 years in correctional-labor camps.

Again six months later, 12 Kyrgyzstanis were repressed for «creating a counter-revolutionist

Kyrgyz nationalistic insurgence movement» (Collection of documents, 2019: 67).

Journalist A.Usmanov wrote about it on the website of Azattyk Radio. They are

1. Sadyrov Ibragimbek, literate, profession: horse breeder, 47 years old;
2. Hudaybergenov Ahmat, gardener, 62 years old;
3. Baltobayev Yrzahmat, semiliterate, a chaikhana tea shop worker (married), 37 years old;
4. Atambayev Mambet, semiliterate, (married), 63 years old;
5. Asanov Isa, semiliterate, (married), 59 years old;
6. Bayzakov Shabdanaly, literate, (married), 63 years old;
7. Suranov Kyshtoobay, artel worker, (married) 42 years old;
8. Umurzakov Bayali, artel worker, (married), 35 years old;
9. Bolotov Sultanali, literate, (married), 45 years old;
10. Bedenbayev Abdula, artel warehouse worker, (married), 38 years old;
11. Badyagin Semyon, semiliterate, artel worker, (married), 38 years old;
12. Isabekov Abdusamat, semiliterate, artel worker, (married), 55 years old (Usmanov, 2021: 3).

«10 years in the camps without right of correspondence»

This formulation meant that they had been sentenced to death, this is how families were told about their sentence during the Great Terror. Certificates of death of repressed individuals with real dates of death began to be issued only in 1989.

The family of Januzakov Isak also received a letter with such formulation: «10 years in the camps without right of correspondence». Januzakov Isak was de-kulakized and deported to the Skadovsk county of Ukraine (Kherson archive, certificate No.233). He was executed by shooting in 1938, on a false charge of having links with the basmachy movement. Personal files of

Januzakov Isak are kept in the Kherson regional state archive (Kherson archive, certificate No.233).

In 1959, his spouse, Januzakova Sayra, wrote a letter and requested information about her husband. After that, she received a reply that he «passed away in prison due to an illness» (Kherson regional state archive, fund R-4033, volume 5). In the 1960s, the Soviet government classified all information about repressed individuals during the «Great Terror».

One more example, Moltoev Akmat's personal file. Taking into consideration archival documents brought from Ukraine, the Esimde research platform interviewed Akmatov Daken, an elder resident of the Temir village in Issyk-Kul province (Kherson archive, certificate #217). His parents were subjected to dekulakization in the 1930s and were deported to southern Ukraine. His father was serving his time in expulsion, announced as «an enemy of people», charged with «helping basmachy movement», «being an ideological counter-revolutionist», and was executed by shooting in 1938.

The decision on the death penalty for Moltoev Akmat was hidden from the family, thus his children knew nothing about the fate of their father. The wife of Moltoev Akmat and his son Daken returned to Kyrgyzstan in 1944. Daken wrote to K.Voroshilov, requesting any information about the fate of his father:

«My father Akmat Moltoev, worker of the Jany Jol kolhoz, was arrested along with other men in one night of 1937, in the village of Chalbasy, Kherson province, current Ukraine SSR. So far, it is unknown for what charges he was arrested. At that time, I was only 5 years old and I can't even recall my father. I know him only from my old mother's stories and memories. I just kindly ask you to tell me what fate was prepared for my father. Please, do not refuse our request. 01/20/1960». This letter is still kept in the Kherson regional state archive. Here is the text of a letter of reply to him: «Upon submitted request of Akmatov Daken, I kindly ask you to invite him and inform him orally that his father was sentenced to serve 10 years without the right of correspondence, and passed away in prison

due to heart disease on 30th September 1944». A document given as a response letter is still kept in the archive.

One more document kept in the Kherson regional archive confirms that information about the repressed individuals during the Great Terror was classified. A text of the document: «I, Major Ivanov, head of the archival service and accounting of the Department of State Security Service on Kherson province under the Council of Ministers of the Ukraine SSR, have reviewed the request submitted by Mihail Kuzmich Zhidanov, address 22 Papanin Street, Przhevalsk, Issyk-Kul Province, Kyrgyz SSR. «

M.K.Zhidanov is requesting information about the location of his father, Zhidanov Kuzma Romanovich, born in 1883, arrested in 1938 by the NKVD.

After reviewing the archival investigation file about accusations of Zhidanov Kuzma Romanovich, born in Kyrgyz SSR, it was confirmed that he was sentenced to the death penalty by firing squad by the decision of the NKVD's Troika for Mykolaiv Province. The sentence was executed on 29th October 1938.

1. Inform an applicant that his father Zhidanov Kuzma Romanovich was sentenced to imprisonment for 10 years without the right of correspondence, and on 29th October 1943, he died of heart disease in prison.

2. Inform the 1st Special Department of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of USSR and the 1st Special Department of the Ministry of Internal Affairs for Kherson Province In order to mark that applicant was informed about the cause of death and its date.

3. Attach Zhidanov's request along with investigation files to the archive. Investigation file # 10125, kept in the Ukrainian Department of KGB under the Council of Ministers of Ukraine SSR. Major Ivanov (signature)» (Kherson archive, certificate #416).

Central Asian kulaks were sentenced to 10 years of expulsion to Ukraine. They were supposed to finish their sentence in 1941-1942, be released, and be able to go back to their home country. But, the territory of Ukraine was under

Nazi Germany's occupation, and because of that special resettlers were able to go back home only after Kherson was liberated, in 1944.

«An economic book» published by the Esimde research platform contains detailed information about the repatriation of Kyrgyzstanis back to their homeland in 1944. This source provides lists of families returned to Kyrgyzstan, and their economic activities. The process of repatriation continued up to 1947. There were Kyrgyzstanis who voluntarily wished to remain in Ukraine (Database of dekulakized, 2022).

The report of the Kherson regional state archive dated 1952 contains the following information: *According to the Government's Decree, 4150 families of kulaks from Uzbek, Turkmen, and Kyrgyz SSR, a total of 12126 individuals were resettled to the Skadovsk and Kahovka counties of Kherson Province. They have been placed in sovkhozes in the counties.*

As the Great Patriotic War broke out, around 800 men among resettlers have been evacuated deep within Soviet territory, and later they were drafted into the Soviet Army. During Nazi Germany's occupation, 2235 families of 7160 individuals have been resettled. There even were families moved to Germany's territory. After the territory of Kherson province was liberated from German invaders, the Department for Special Settlements under the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the USSR registered 5197 individuals – 1375 families working in the #1 and #2 sovkhozes in the Skadovsk county to the special control list.

In 1941, on the basis of the Decision of the Council of People's Commissars and Decree #00732 of the USSR Prosecutor's Office, the Kherson regional Department of the Ministry of Internal Affairs released 4816 special resettlers from expulsion (Kherson Security Service. op. 33: ref. 5). On 1st September 1952, 26 families from Central Asia were living in the special settlement – 101 individuals have been residing and working in the #2 cotton factory of Skadovsk county. For example, Kirill Matveyevich Kuzmin was born in 1915 in the city of Przhevalsk of Kyrgyz SSR. He worked as a farm worker in #2 Kahovka cotton sovkhoz in 1931 along with his parents, in 1947 he was transferred to the #2 sovkhoz of Skadovsk county (Kherson Security Service. op. 33: ref. 5).

During the German occupation, cotton industries didn't stop their operation. In the immediate post-war years the process of phased deregistration of special resettlers was initiated (Collection of documents, 2019: 9). On 16th May 1947, by Decree of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the USSR, a special control regime was introduced in the special settlements, and 'former kulaks' were released.

On the basis of regional and district committees of the communist party in areas where such special settlements were located, central authorities adopted a document on the cancellation of the special regime. Conditions were created for the repatriation of special resettlers to their home countries. In 1947, the Kherson regional executive committee decided to close Uzbek, Turkmen, and Kyrgyz schools. This decision was justified by the fact that special resettlers from Central Asia have been repatriated to their home countries.

Conclusion

At the end of the article, the author concludes that during the collectivization, the Soviet government was considering dekulakized peasants not just as a potential resisting factor, but as a resource for the development of economies of territories, where they have been displaced to. Relying on archival documents, oral histories, and memoirs specified in this article, the deportation of 'kulaks' in the 1930s, was not just an elimination of groups, which might stand up against the soviet government, this campaign aimed at providing Ukraine territories with free labor force for improving the economical situation of those areas. To be more precise, it may be concluded that the dekulakization and deportation campaigns, which took place in the 1930s on the territory of Central Asia have made it possible to resolve the problem of manpower shortage in southern Ukraine. After 1929, cotton was cultivated in southern Ukraine on an industrial scale. As a result of the economic blockade of the USSR, this important industrial crop was strategically important for the development of many sectors of the economy.

In the 1930s, cotton was given a status of «a field crop», and its acreage has been increased 8 times from 1930 to 1935.

The attitude of the state towards peasants has been changing over time and the general political situation in the country. Sometimes these changes have been accompanied by creating better living conditions for peasants and their families, and sometimes peasants have fallen into disfavor and have been treated badly. After 1932 better living conditions were created, and schools and hospitals were built for the deportees.

From 1937-1938, during the Great Terror, some kulaks were not just executed by shooting, but information about capital punishment sentences was classified and hidden from families. Here we can see attempts taken by the totalitarian regime of making rational decisions from an economic point of view. At the same time, we can see that the regime was trying to legitimize its authority by hiding its severe sentences, not by threats against helpless parts of the nation, but by showing itself as a power, which will bring prosperous life to everyone.

References

- Абдрахманов Б., Репрессивные меры карательных органов Кыргызстана в 30-е годы XX века. Причины и последствия. [Электрон. ресурс] – 2022. – URL: http://arabaev.kg/dt.kg/img/1644660431_%20%D0%90%D0%B1%D0%B4%D1%80%D0%B0%D1%85%D0%BC%D0%B0%D0%BD%D0%BE%D0%B2%20%D0%91.%D0%96..pdf (дата обращения: 08.05.2022).
- Abramov B.A. Party of Bolsheviks – organizer of the fight for liquidation of kulaks as a class / B.A. Abramov. – Moscow: Nauka, 1952. – 136 p.
- Altymyshova Z. An impact of the Soviet repression system on children in Kyrgyzstan in the 1920-1930s // Journal of Turkic Studies. – 2017. – № 17/1. – P. 27-35.
- Collection of documents. No. 4 «Special resettlers in the history of the development of cotton in the Kherson region in the 30s and 40s of the 20th century» 08/20/2019. State archive of the Kherson region. – P. 6.
- Conquest R. The Harvest of Sorrow: Soviet Collectivization and the Terror-Famine / R. Conquest. – Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986. – P.117.
- Glezerman G.E. Liquidation of exploiting classes and overcoming class differences in the USSR / G.E. Glezerman. – Moscow, 1949. – 492 p.
- Ivnitskiy N.A. A fate of kulaks in the USSR / N.A. Ivnitskiy. – Moscow: Sobranie publishing house, 2004. – 295 p.
- Kherson regional Department of the Security Service of Ukraine. Operational and political-economic situation. – 1948. – Vol. 1. – P.2-4.
- Kherson regional Department of the Security Service of Ukraine. op. 33, ref. 5.
- Kherson regional state archive, fund R-4033, volume 4, certificate № 416.
- Kherson regional state archive, fund R-4033, volume 5, certificate № 580.
- Kherson regional state archive, fund R-4033, volume 5, certificate № 815.
- Kherson regional state archive, fund R-4033, volume 5, certificate № 233.
- Kherson regional state archive, fund R-4033, volume 5, certificate № 217.
- Kherson regional state archive, fund R-433, volume 1, case 132. – P.4.
- Kubatova A. Siblings who waited for their father for 75 years, 2021. – P.5.
- Kukushkin Y.S. Rural councils and class struggle in the countryside (1921-1932). – Moscow, 1962. – 294 p.
- Trapeznikov S.P. Leninism and the Agrarian and Peasant Question, In two volumes / S.P. Trapeznikov. – Moscow: Mysl publishing house, 1974. – 567 p.
- Усманов А. Потомки декулакизированных кыргызов в Украине, [Электрон. ресурс] – 2022. – URL: https://rus.azattyk.org/a/kyrgyzstan_ukraine_history/25008727.html. (дата обращения: 16.05.2022).
- Usmanov A. Failed dreams of women, who lost their husbands in Kherson, [Электрон. ресурс] – 2022. – URL: <https://esimde.org/archives/3932> (дата обращения: 16.05.2022).

Viola L. The Unknown Gulag. The Lost World of Stalin's Special Settlements / L. Viola. – Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007. – 320 p.

База данных раскулаченных и высланных с территории Кыргызстана в Украину (1927-1944 гг.). [Электрон. ресурс] – 2022. – URL: <https://esimde.org/archives/open-list> (дата обращения: 18.05.2022).

Ботоноев Ж. Политика «раскулачивания» Советской власти: трагедия или модернизация? [Электрон. ресурс] – 2022. – URL: http://mnenie.akipress.org/unews/un_post:3737 (дата обращения: 12.05.2022).

Ногойбаева Э., Шамшиев Б. Чиеш тагдырлар / Э. Ногойбаева, Б. Шамшиев. – Бишкек, 2019. – 162 б.

Г. Алагозкызы

Кыргыз Республикасы Ұлттық ғылым академиясы,

Б.Жамгырчинов атындағы Тарих, археология және этнология институты, Бишкек, Кыргызстан

«Тәркілеу саясаты» және елден жер аударту: Кыргызстаннан Украинаға арнайы жер аударылғандар мысалында (1929-1933 ж.)

Аңдатпа. Автор мақаласында 1930 жылдары Кыргызстан аумағынан Украинаның оңтүстігіне жер аударылған «құлақтарды» зерттеумен айналысады. Зерттеуде ұжымдастыру саясаты аясында кеңес өкіметінің кулактарға деген көзқарасының эволюциясы талданады. Автор ХХ ғасырдың 30-жылдарындағы қуғын-сүргін саясатының мақсат-міндеттерін, қуғын-сүргінге ұшырағандарды іріктеу критерийлері мен механизмін талдаған. Мақалада 1937-1938 жылдардағы Ұлы террор жылдарындағы кулактарға қарсы жаппай қуғын-сүргін тарихының бірқатар негізгі мәселелері де қарастырылған.

№ 00447 бұйрығының әртүрлі мақсатты топтарына: бұрынғы кулактарға, шаруалар көтерілістеріне қатысушыларға, дін қызметкерлері мен дін қайраткерлеріне, қылмыскерлерге қатысты репрессиялық шаралардың ерекшеліктерін анықтауға басты назар аударылады. Микротарихи көзқарас негізінде қуғын-сүргіннің колхоздық құрылысты нығайтуға бағытталғаны айқындалады.

Мақаланың дереккөзіне автор қатысқан Украина мен Кыргызстан мұрағаттарынан кулактар туралы мәліметтерді іздеуге арналған экспедиция кезінде жиналған құжаттар алынды. Мұрағат материалдарынан бөлек, Украинаға жер аударылған кулактардың отбасылары мен ұрпақтарынан «Есімде» зерттеу алаңы жинаған ауызша тарих деректері, бұқаралық ақпарат құралдарында жарияланған ашық мәліметтер пайдаланылды.

Түйін сөздер: Эсімде; кулак; ұжымдастыру; репрессия; үлкен террор; Украина; қоғам; тоталитаризм; Херсон; Кыргызстан.

Г. Алагозкызы

Национальная Академия наук Кыргызской Республики,

Институт истории, археологии и этнологии имени Б.Джамгерчинова, Бишкек, Кыргызстан

Политика «раскулачивания» и высылки за пределы республики: на примере спецпереселенцев из Кыргызстана в Украину (1929-1933 гг.)

Аннотация. В данной статье автор проводит исследование «кулаков», сосланных с территории Киргизии на юг Украины в 1930-е гг. В исследовании анализируется эволюция отношения советского режима к кулакам в рамках политики коллективизации. Автор проанализировал цели репрессивной политики в 30-е годы ХХ века, критерии и механизм отбора репрессированных. Также в статье рассмотрен ряд основных проблем истории массовых репрессий против кулачества в годы Большого террора в 1937-1938 гг. Основное внимание уделено выявлению специфики репрессивных мер в отношении различных целевых групп приказа № 00447: бывших кулаков, участников крестьянских восстаний, священнослужителей и религиозных деятелей, уголовников. На основе микроисторического подхода определяется направленность репрессий на укрепление колхозного строя.

Источниковой базой статьи послужили документы, собранные в ходе экспедиции по поиску сведений о кулаках в архивах Украины и Кыргызстана, в которой принимал участие автор. Помимо архивных

материалов использовались устные истории, собранные исследовательской платформой «Эсимде» от семей и потомков депортированных в Украину кулаков, открытая информация, опубликованная в СМИ.

Ключевые слова: Эсимде; кулак; коллективизация; репрессии; Большой террор; Украина; общество; тоталитаризм; Херсон; Кыргызстан.

References

Abdrahmanov B., *Repressivnye mery karatel'nyh organov Kyrgyzstana v 30-e gody HH veka. Prichiny i posledstviya* [Repressive measures of punitive organs of Kyrgyzstan in the 30 years of the twentieth century. Causes and consequences], Available at: http://arabaev.kg/dt.kg/img/1644660431_%20%D0%90%D0%B1%D0%B4%D1%80%D0%B0%D1%85%D0%BC%D0%B0%D0%BD%D0%BE%D0%B2%20%D0%91.%D0%96.pdf , (accessed). [in Russian].

Abramov B.A. *Party of Bolsheviks – organizer of the fight for liquidation of kulaks as a class*, (Nauka, Moscow, 1952, 136 p.).

Altyмышова Z. An impact of the Soviet repression system on children in Kyrgyzstan in the 1920-1930s. *Journal of Turkic Studies*. 2017. No. 17/1. P.27-35.

Collection of documents. #4 «Special resettlers in the history of the development of cotton in the Kherson region in the 30s and 40s of the 20th century» 08/20/2019. State archive of the Kherson region. P. 6.

Collection of documents. No.4 «Special resettlers in the history of the development of cotton in the Kherson region in the 30s and 40s of the 20th century». P. 9.

Conquest R. *The Harvest of Sorrow: Soviet Collectivization and the Terror-Famine*, (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1986, 117 p.).

Glezerman G.E. *Liquidation of exploiting classes and overcoming class differences in the USSR*, (Moscow, 1949, 492 p.).

Ivnińskiy N.A. *A fate of kulaks in the USSR*, (Moscow, Sobranie publishing house, 2004, 295 p.).

Kherson regional Department of the Security Service of Ukraine. *Operational and political-economic situation*. 1948. Vol.1. P.2-4.

Kherson regional Department of the Security Service of Ukraine. op. 33, ref. 5.

Kherson regional state archive, fund R-4033, volume 4, certificate No. 416.

Kherson regional state archive, fund R-4033, volume 5, certificate No. 580.

Kherson regional state archive, fund R-4033, volume 5, certificate No. 815.

Kherson regional state archive, fund R-4033, volume 5, certificate No. 233.

Kherson regional state archive, fund R-4033, volume 5, certificate No. 217.

Kherson regional state archive, fund R-433, volume 1, case 132. P.4.

Kubatova A. *Siblings who waited for their father for 75 years*, 2021. P.5.

Kukushkin Y.S. *Rural councils and class struggle in the countryside (1921-1932)*. (Moscow, 1962, 294 p.).

Trapeznikov S.P. *Leninism and the Agrarian and Peasant Question*, In two volumes, (Mysl publishing house, Moscow, 1974, 567 p.).

Usmanov A. *Potomki dekulakizirovannyh kyrgyzov v Ukraine* [Descendants dekulakized Kyrgyz people in Ukraine], Available at: https://rus.azattyk.org/a/kyrgyzstan_ukraine_history/25008727.html, [in Russian]. (accessed 16.05.2022).

Usmanov A. *Failed dreams of women, who lost their husbands in Kherson*, Available at: <https://esimde.org/archives/3932>. [in Russian]. (accessed 16.05.2022).

Viola L. *The Unknown Gulag. The Lost World of Stalin's Special Settlements*, (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2007, 320 p.).

Baza danyh raskulachennyh i vyslannyh s territorii Kyrgyzstana v Ukrainu (1927-1944 gg.) [Database of the kukulaks and deportees from Kyrgyzstan to Ukraine, 1927-1944]. Available at: <https://esimde.org/archives/open-list>, [in Russian]. (accessed 18.05.2022).

Botonoev Zh. *Politika «raskulachivaniya» Sovetskoj vlasti: tragediya ili modernizatsiya?* [The policy of «dekulakization» of Soviet power: tragedy or modernization], Available at: http://mnenie.akipress.org/unews/un_post:3737 [in Russian]. (accessed 12.05.2022).

Nogoibaeva E., Shamshiev B. *Chiesh tagdyrlar* [Fateful destinies], (Bishkek, 2019, 162 p.).

Information about the author:

Alagozkyzy Gulzat – researcher at the research platform «Esimde», Postgraduate student at the National Academy of Sciences of the Kyrgyz Republic, Institute of the History, Archeology and Ethnology named after B. Dzhamgerchinov, Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan.

Алагозкызы Гулзат – исследователь на исследовательской платформе «Эсимде», аспирант Национальной Академии наук Кыргызской Республики, Институт истории, археологии и этнологии имени Б.Джамгерчинова, Бишкек, Кыргызстан.