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PROBLEMS OF CHECHENS’ ADAPTATION IN PLACES OF SPECIAL SETTLEMENT (1944-1952)

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Abstract

This article is devoted to forced migration of the people of the North Caucasus during the Stalinist regime. Using the example of Chechens and Ingushes, we attempted to apply the mechanism of using destructive measures of influence not only on certain groups of people, but also on whole nations. After arriving in Kazakhstan, people were distributed among collective farms, construction sites, mines, and enterprises with the status of "special settlement". The adaptation period for Chechens and Ingushes in Kazakhstan was difficult. Analysis of the status of special settlers, their living conditions, political and moral status, as well as measures taken by the state in relation to special settlers, convinces that the deportation of people to Kazakhstan was a political move of the totalitarian regime. Many Chechens and Ingushes did not agree with the powerless position and expressed dissatisfaction with their position in various protest forms. Due to limited human resources, the work of the special settlers was widely used in various areas of production: agricultural work, construction of mines, coal mining, mining, industrial and civil construction, and other sectors of the Kazakhstan economy. The USSR made successful attempts to socialize Chechens and Ingush in the places of their new residence. One of the objectives of these attempts was to prevent their physical extinction, mainly from disease, disorder and famine.

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Keywords: Deportation, Chechens, Kazakhstan, special settlement, labor, legal status.



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1. Introduction

The resettlement of Chechens has covered fifteen regions of Kazakhstan. Deported Chechens and Ingushes experienced the repressions to which refers the Law of the Republic of Kazakhstan of April 14, 1993 "On the rehabilitation of victims of mass political repression". In particular, these are various coercive measures applied by the state for political reasons in the form of imprisonment, eviction from places of residence, sending to exile, eviction to special settlement, engaging in forced labor in conditions of restricted freedom, deprivation and restriction of rights and freedoms, defining nations as "dangerous" for the state.

Although the actions of the Soviet state in relation to the North Caucasian people did not have the character of open genocide, at the same time, the policy was aimed at destruction of their socio-cultural foundation. Destruction of the clan ties of Chechens and Ingushes, scattered across the vast territory of Kazakhstan and the difficulty of communication would have led to a weakening of national unity, with the subsequent disappearance of such. This qualifies the acts of the USSR in relation to the deported people as ethnic discrimination.

2. Problem Statement

In the post-Soviet period, the problem of repressed people began to acquire pronounced political relevance. This issue is important because national identity in modern society is being revived, through the knowledge of historical experience accumulated by previous generations. Kazakhstan, in the territory of which was created the whole system of camps and special settlements, became a place for the eviction of Chechens and Ingushes, which points out a state system of repressing people. One of the most relevant problems in the history of the deportation period was behavioral motives and mood of the population, manifested in various conditions and circumstances. The analysis of the special settlement regime is necessary for choosing the right decisions in modern Russian domestic and foreign policy in terms of developing civil society and preventing a return to the total control system.

3. Research Questions

In this article, we have considered some issues of resettlement, settlement, the nature of work, legal support of Chechens and Ingushes based on archival material in the regions of Kazakhstan during the forced resettlement.

4. Purpose of the Study

The purpose of the study is a comprehensive study of changes in the daily and industrial life of Chechens and Ingushes in the first years of their stay in places of special settlement.

5. Research Methods

Research methods. The principles of historicism, systems approach, objectivity, values-based approach allowed us to analyze the events and facts that occurred in the places of resettlement of Chechens and Ingushes in Kazakhstan in 1944-1952, to make a logical sequence of historical events that are analyzed.

The historical-evolutionary approach made it possible to take into account the transformation processes of the Chechen-Ingush society that occurred in a relatively short period – 1944-1953. The problem approach to the study allowed reflecting the specific historical situation in which the labor socialization of special settlers took place, as well as its multidimensionality and contradictions.

6. Findings

In the harsh winter of 1944, Soviet leaders extended the practice of discrimination to Chechens and Ingushes, evicting them to the distant republics of the Soviet Union – Kazakhstan and Central Asia. The plan of the special operation on the resettlement of Chechens and Ingushes was made in February-April 1943. At the same time, the Kremlin strategists relied on their own experience gained during the eviction of other people of the Soviet Union. In October 1943, the deputy of NKVD, B. Kobulov, came to Kazakhstan to study the situation in detail. The senior government officials of the USSR instructed him to prepare relevant material on “anti-Soviet actions” that took place in the North Caucasus from the first days of the establishment of Soviet power. In a memorandum on the situation in the Chechen-Ingush Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic regions, sent by Kobulov to L. Beria, it was noted that there were 38 religious sects in the republic, of which an estimated 20,000 people were engaged in anti-Soviet activities. In 1943, cartographers, topographers, and surveyors arrived at the order of L. Beria to conduct surveys throughout the republic. Since that time, the troops concentrated on the territory of the Chechen-Ingush ASSR and nearby areas (Ibragimov, 2015).

A little earlier, Karachays, Kalmyks, a bit later Balkars and Crimean Tatars were evicted too. The decisions of the Soviet government officials to eliminate the autonomies of these and other people was the result of the lawlessness that prevailed in a totalitarian state and was the greatest political crime of the 20th century.

The deportation took place spontaneously and was not legal. According to the deportation documents, these documents were not a “law”, the will of the “supreme legislator” Stalin was put first. The state power and administration made decisions about each deportation, they drawn up plans, allocated funds, ensured the privacy of conducted events (Ubushayev, 2009).

In March 1944 on the territory of the USSR, according to the Department of Special Settlements established in March 1944 in the structure of the NKVD of the USSR, from the mid-1930s and until the end of the 1940s (according to the re-registration, conducted in 1949) lived: 1.024.722 Germans (Russian Germans), about 640.000 Chechens, Ingushes, Karachays, Balkarians, 92.000 Kalmyks, 692.000 formerly deported of predominantly Russian nationality, 194.000 Crimean Tatars, about 400,000 Greeks, Armenians, Bulgarians from Crimea, and also about 30.000 Greeks from the Black Sea coast of Georgia and Krasnodar region, about 100 thousand Meskhetian Turks, Kurds, Hemşin, more than 400.000 Poles. Also in the special settlement there were about 230.000 Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians, 12.000 Finns, 172.000 Koreans, 8.000 Chinese, more than 8.000 Iranians and representatives of other people from Ukraine and Belarus, and other territories of the country. Thus, about 3.5 million Soviet citizens were subject to forced resettlement (Bugay, 2016).

The forced resettlement of entire nations with the destruction of statehood and the forced change of their borders were not enforced by constitution or by any laws. The acts of the Stalin regime in relation to

whole nations can be considered a crime without a doubt. To deport Chechens and Ingushes, were involved up to 120,000 soldiers and officers, more than 15,000 railcars and hundreds of locomotives, 6.000 trucks. Only the transportation of special settlers cost the country 150 million rubles, this is the cost of 700 T-34 tanks. In addition, about 100,000 farms were destroyed, which, according to the calculations, is a loss of several billion rubles.

The paper about the transportation of special settlers from the Ordzhonikidzevskaya railway on March 17, 1944, prepared by the deputy chief of the NKGB USSR 3 Volkov and the head of the transportation department of the NKVD of the USSR Arkadyev, reported that by that time 180 echelons were loaded, 171 places arrived, 9 were on their way. During the reporting time, 468583 people arrived at the place of destination, which were heading to: Jalal – Abad Oblast 2428 of people, Oshskaya – 9908 of people, Frunzenskaya – 34110 of people, Dzhambulskaya – 16665 of people, Alma-Aty – 29089 of people Century, East Kazakhstan – 34542 of people, Kzyl-Ordynskaya – 6514 of people, Kustanai – 45665 of people, Aktyubinsk – 20309 of people, Semipalatinsk – 31236 of people, Pavlodar – 41230 of people, Akmola – 60330 of people, Karaganda – 37938 of people. It was also reported that the transportation was completed, 9 echelons were on their way, 5 echelons would reach destination on that day. The remaining 4 echelons, heading to the East Kazakhstan region, will reach destination on March 21, 1944. On March 21, 1944, 180 trains or 494.456 people arrived and unloaded in the Kazakh and Kyrgyz SSRs, of which 147 trains reached the Kazakh SSR, which amounted to 4.05941 people, and Kirghiz, respectively, 33 and 8,815 people (Sabanchiev, 2004).

When relocating to new places of residence, the deported people were not provided with food, fuel and basic medical care. Along the way, thousands of people, especially children and elder people died because of the weather, hunger and epidemic diseases. In some cases, the so-called "shipping station" was just a steppe. The North Caucasian people were settled over of Kazakhstan and Central Asia, some families were sent to the Uzbek SSR, the Tajik SSR, Irkutsk and Kostroma regions. In a secret memorandum by Beria, submitted in July 1944 to I. Stalin, V. Molotov and G. Malenkov, it was reported that the resettlement from the territory of the North Caucasus of Karachais, Chechens, Ingush, Balkarians — a total of 602 193 of people was satisfactorily conducted. 428.948 of people were placed in collective farms, 64.703 of people were placed in state farms, and 108,542 were transferred to work in industrial enterprises (Sabanchiev, 2001).

The inhuman conditions of life in the early years of the eviction led to a high mortality rate among special settlers. Due to poverty and diseases that prevailed especially in the early years of Chechens resettlement died not only old people and children, but also very young people. Only a few lived in more or less close to normal conditions, most of them huddled in huts and slums, having neither food nor clothing. The special settlers were under control all the time. Every migrant upon reaching the age of 16, had an ID card, a personal file, family records. Local authorities kept documents fixing the daily life of deportees (Isakieva, 2016).

Chechens, like all special settlers, were obliged to go through registration and re-registration procedures, reported in local commandant's offices. Special contingent issues were solved by the Department of Special Settlements of the Gulag of the NKVD of the USSR.

During the stay of the deportees in the places of settlement, a whole network of informants was formed with an impressive quantity of the deportees themselves. In the archives of Kazakhstan and Central Asia, can be found reports and information materials of local agencies on agent-operational work among special settlers (Bugay, 2012).

Deported people, including Chechens, could not be nominated and elected to any kind of authorities and public organizations. Special settlers were discriminated against and in the professional relation. It was restricted for them to study at universities and special educational institutions.

It is worth noting that even at the initial stage of the eviction; the people did not go silent. There were various forms of social protest, which appeared spontaneously and deliberately: escapes, refusals to submit to the special settlement regime, numerous appeals to local and central authorities, to government and military figures.

The legal status of Chechens in the first years of their stay in exile can be traced in memorandums of regional party secretaries of Kazakhstan. The reports reflect that they were among other citizens of the country who were forced to move to Kazakhstan, took part in the labor, public and political life of the country. At the same time, Chechens, as noted by the well-known scientist Zh.A. Yermekbayev, being in a different ethnic environment, felt animosity of some heads of departments, law, party and Soviet bodies, the local population, former prisoners released under an amnesty and transferred to a free settlement, and workers in the virgin lands that came to this region from different parts of the USSR. The reasons for animosity between special settlers from the North Caucasus and some individuals were: the imperfection of the legislative and regulatory systems of governing the daily lives of deportees and other categories of the population; suspicious attitude towards them as traitors of the Motherland, which provoked inadequacy of a certain part of the population to them (it was especially popular among former prisoners and recruited people); the negative attitude of officials to the needs of the special settlers and leisure time of citizens; drinking at home; lack of housing and everyday goods, ignorance of the national mentality of special settlers and their religion; the ideological work that aroused disgust; as well as other facts that occurred in the society. (Ermekbayev, 2009). One of the newspapers reported cruel fights between Chechens and former prisoners in the city of Leninogorsk in 1946, when 15,000 former prisoners were transferred from barracks to another districts and, instead of them, Chechens arrived. Now free prisoners sometimes returned to their former barracks and mocked Chechens. Every Chechen, including young people, adolescents, old people, women and children, participated in that fight. After these events, which caused deaths on both sides, Chechens were settled in the Semipalatinsk region, and leaders from the Chechen side, Uma and Mahmoud Akhmadov were condemned and sent to Nizhny Tagil (United Newspaper, 2006). Similar clashes happened in other places of the Chechen special settlements. In the state archive of the East Kazakhstan there is information about events connected with the ones of July 16-18, 1950. That were fights that took place between Chechens and the "recruited", i.e. evicted workers. The regional authorities urgently took measures to explain "the national policy of the CPSU, the inadmissibility of national discord, fights and lynching"; and in order to Chechens and workers to calm down and return to work".

Because of hostile relations between the recruited workers and Chechens, Ingushes, the MGB Department of the Akmola region, 2807 families or 10,148 people were resettled from the cities of Akmola, Atbasar and Makinsk, dated June 24, 1952. The number of adults deported is 6442, children – 3706 people.

The following are to be resettled: 1.655 families from the North Caucasus (Chechens, Ingush), or 6,790 people, including: adults – 4.121, children – 669 people.

Difficult living conditions in places of special settlement forced Chechens and Ingush to resist. The most common form of resistance to the authorities among them was escapes from the places of exile. The dispatches of the commandants, cumulative information sheets for each area of their residence contain data on the escape of special settlers. On April 1, 1944, 1079 Chechens and Ingushes fled from their places of residence, 758 who fled were detained, 290 escapes were prevented. For three years from 1944-1948, 2213 Chechens and Ingushes were detained by the internal affairs agencies of the Grozny region. (Isakieva, 2016). For example, in July, August and September 1944, 91 special settlers fled to the Buysky District of the Kostroma Region due to poor material and living conditions. 62 soldiers who had fled were called off from the frontline and deported on a national basis. The postwar years are the years of even more strict regime of special settlement. On February 14, 1947, the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs and the USSR Prosecutor General's Office issued a paper "On the procedure of special settlers' criminalization for escapes from the places of their settlement". The order provided strict penalties - up to 10-15 years of imprisonment. Investigation cases of escapes of special immigrants were executed at the place of detention of the fugitives and at the end of the investigation were sent to the Status Conference (OS) at the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs. Resolutions of the Status Conference on the special settlers convicted for escaping were sent to the Ministry of Internal Affairs-UMVD of the region from which the settlers escaped. From now on, disabled migrants (juvenile, multi-family) were not to be imprisoned for escaping. They were to be sent to the Ministry of Internal Affairs-Ministry of Internal Affairs at the place of their permanent settlement. On October 1, 1948, out of 451.724 special settlers from the North Caucasus who were in a special settlement, 15.992 people escaped and 2.637 people fled. Data on Chechens and Ingushes is not given.

On November 24, 1948, the USSR Council of Ministers issued a decree "On Evicted Persons", which stated the facts of continuing escapes from places of settlement and returning to places of former residence of persons evicted to remote eastern regions of the USSR. Some people were allowed to return to their former residence by the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the USSR.

At the same time, unauthorized departure (escape) was punished by 20-40 years of hard labor. In addition, those were determined, who were subject to punishment for harboring evicts, who helped them to escape, as well as those who issued them permission to return to their places of residence. The decree determined the term of imprisonment for violators of the regime of special settlement – 5 years.

By this decree were criminalized and condemned for 8 years of imprisonment migrants those, who evaded socially useful labor. On the part of the MGB, were undertaken measures to identify, detain and arrest migrants who had fled from places of mandatory settlement.

On November 26, 1948, USSR was issued a new decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the "On criminal responsibility for escaping from places of mandatory and special settlement of citizens evicted to certain regions of the Soviet Union during the Patriotic War".

For unauthorized departure from the places of mandatory settlement, the perpetrators were criminalized for 20 years of hard labor.

Citizens who were guilty of harboring those who fled or who helped them to escape were imprisoned for up to 5 years. All possible measures were taken to impose a regime of intimidation in order to force the deported citizens to obey the authorities and accept the idea that they were departed forever.

However, despite the adoption of legislative acts, escapes of special settlers continued. In a special decree about the escapes and detentions of the deported citizens, it was reported that in 1948 fled, and then caught – 15424 people, including 13761 people who had fled before; 5403 people were detained and brought to criminal responsibility. 2208 of the special settlers of the North Caucasus fled and were considered as refugees (Patiyev, 2004). Another measure to increase the punishment for escapes of special settlers was the order of the Minister of Internal Affairs of the USSR and the USSR Prosecutor General's Office of December 22, 1948 "On the procedure for impounding immigrants for escaping from the place of settlement and evading community works". By this order, individuals who were evicted to remote areas of the Soviet Union during the Great Patriotic War were permanently relocated. There was also a provision on the 20-year punishment for unauthorized departure (escape) from places of mandatory settlement. A letter to the Vice-Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers dated January 7, 1949 reported that "the bodies of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Grozny region over time (from the moment of eviction and until January 1949) detained 47 people who fled, 22 of them were arrested and imprisoned. 9 people of the elderly and juveniles are relocated to the places of settlement ... ". At the beginning of 1949, 11 people of Chechen nationality were on the list of those who fled and were wanted: Mukayeva Aziyat, Shakhgiriyeva Ziva, Arsanukaev Hamid, Berdaeva Zargan (Dzhambul region); Eldiev Akhmed, Kholukhaev Sasa, Kholukhaev Hussein, Makhmudov Ulorvali (Karaganda region); Kagermanov Ruby, Dosiev Magomed (Kustanai region) (Tsutsulayeva, 2011).

Thus, at the beginning of the resettlement, were observed group and individual protests among the Chechens, to what the Soviet state reacted very badly. Any protest was punished, sometimes even using armed force. As explained in the materials and documents, this was due to the nature of wartime. After the forced relocation, the main form of protest was escape from the places of settlement. According to historian N.F. Loud, judging by the available documents and materials, the expelled communities were not well integrated. There were those who diligently served the authorities and the NKVD of the USSR among the resettled citizens, including representatives of Islam.

Criminal cases on escapes, gangsters and anti-revolutionary crimes were sent to the NKVD-UNKVD for consideration by the Status Conference. All other cases were sent to the judicial. Chechens and Ingushes never lost hope of returning to their homeland. They went to the local and central bodies of the USSR with a request to return to their homelands and restore the status of their republic.

Consequently, the resettlement of citizens from the North Caucasus was difficult. The huge amount of deported people from different regions of the USSR caused great problems in their household. The Kazakh Republic itself was in need of capital assets, which were supposed to facilitate and speed up the process of attracting special settlers to work and adapt to life in a new place, yet did not always receive them. Local collective farms and enterprises were forced to provide housing and work for the special settlers. The difficult financial situation and the indifferent attitude of local leaders predetermined their slow adaptation to new places of residence. Only a comprehensive approach to the problem of special settlers allowed to decrease tension in solving their economic and labor placement. Even in such inhuman

conditions, the special settlers were forced to work hard, coping with the hardships created by the reformed national policies of the totalitarian regime.

By 1946, work on the collective farms and industrial enterprises was occupied by almost the entire adult population. Mothers of many children, old people and teenagers did not work. Collective work brought the Chechens closer to the local population. Their work was actively used in the construction of new mines, coal mining, mining, industrial and civil construction and other sectors of the economy of Kazakhstan.

The analysis of the decisions concerning the rights and obligations of special settlers and the facts of their lives, allows us to fix violations of the whole complex of their economic, social and political rights. In Soviet times, forced labor was an important factor in the development of the country's economy. According to statistical data, the work of the special contingent was widely used in agriculture, the mining industry, in the construction of industrial, housing and cultural - household objects, the construction of railways and. etc. Chechens, having adapted to the work on factories, achieved certain results in coal mining and other industries.

For 1945, out of 628 Chechens working at the Balkhash mine, regularly exceeded the production plan by 200-300% of 426 people. As of January 1, 1948, 2,271 families, or 10,393 people, from the North Caucasus, including Chechens who worked in 75 industrial enterprises and organizations were registered in Karaganda. In Temirtau, there were 593 families, or 2,414 people, representatives from the North Caucasus, who were involved in 7 industrial enterprises and organizations of the city; in Balkhash - 833 families, or 3122 special migrants, who worked at 9 industrial facilities.

By 1952, 15114 special settlers from the North Caucasus worked at industrial enterprises, construction sites, and in transport companies of the region. Chechens worked in the "Kirovugol", "Leninugol", "Molotovugol" trusts in coal mining, as well as in the construction of industrial and residential facilities in the "Promzhilstroy", "Karagandashakhtstroy" trusts, etc. They built barracks, utility rooms, built and repaired railway tracks, and worked in underground coal mining as miners, pile drivers, underground crane drivers, etc.

Nowadays, there are many materials testifying to the work of the Chechen population. Thus, in a memorandum on the household and labor placement of special settlers from the North Caucasus in the North Kazakhstan region, it is noted that the overwhelming majority were scrupulous in their work. There are some examples about the active participation of Chechens in the production. In 1945, 6777 special settlers worked in collective farms of the North Kazakhstan region, during the year they worked for 161 workdays. 777 special settlers worked in state farms; the average monthly salary was 150 rubles, 337 people worked at the enterprises, the average salary of which was 275 rubles. On the collective farm "2nd Five-Year Plan" of the Bulayevskiy District, the special immigrant Vakhit Elmurzayev, working on the STZ tractor, for 10 working days at a norm of 45 hectares plowed 94 hectares and saved 56 kg of fuel. The special immigrant Alshi Elmurzayev, brigadier of the tractor detachment on the collective farm "Zhanagul" of the same area, was first in the MTS. Kalinin to fulfill the plan for the spring fieldwork. On the collective farm named after Budenny, the special migrant Alash Gavarov on the STZ tractor carried out a 104% norm for spring sowing. In the Svoboda kolkhoz of the Sovetsky District, the special emigrant smith Izrail Gataev repaired all agricultural equipment for spring-field work. By June 1, the hay harvesting equipment was fully

repaired and in 4 months of 1946 he worked for 400 workdays. In the farm "Agricultural worker" of the Petropavlovsky District, Kosumov I. worked in 1945 for 1,200 workdays, for which he received 30 hundredweights of grain and 36 hundredweights of potatoes. In the same collective farm, the special settler, Usman Abasov, worked for 1350 days and was rewarded with a sheep. The collective farm "New Way" of the Leninsky district had three field crop brigades, one of which consisted of Chechens and Ingushes. They were the first to carry out the brigade plan for spring sowing on the collective farm and after that, they assisted other brigades.

The able-bodied part males of special settlers from the first days of their stay in the Karaganda region were engaged in production. Many Chechens fulfilled and overfulfilled production standards. For example, in the Osakarovsky district on the Komsomolsky collective farm, Kh. Aldamov, A. Yusupov, S. Batukayev, and A. Yakhianov were rewarded with money and valuable gifts. In the collective farm "Oktyabrsky", the same district, six people were encouraged: Kh. Khamidov, A. Daikuev, Sh. Sidanov, T. Odaev, M. Obuev, P. Samaev, who worked for 500 to 600 workdays. In total, 435 people were awarded on collective farms in the region. It should be noted that special settlers were taught new types of professions to them. In 1947, 75 tractor drivers were trained in the Karaganda region, seven drivers, 471 special migrants were trained at FZO enterprises, 355 people mastered new professions. At the factory of powdered milk in Pavlodar, out of 27 people, 15 Chechens were Stakhanovists, 93 Chechens and Ingushes built a railroad on the Zhana Aul collective farm, Lebyazhinsky district, Pavlodar region.

The report of the Department of Internal Affairs for the Kyzyl-Orda region dated July 22, 1946 noted that "the majority of special settlers work hard, faithfully, fulfilling and exceeding their production standards in industrial enterprises, as well as in agriculture. Not a one violator of labor disciplines, the one who refuse to work, instigator and saboteur is registered.

Special settlers worked in all spheres of national economy of Kazakhstan. By the autumn of 1944, 2.158 Chechens, worked at Leninogorsk enterprises and in collective farms. Initially, their productivity was low, which was explained by the lack of work experience at industrial enterprises, low labor discipline and poor living conditions. The development of professions was hampered by the lack of Russian language knowledge. They gradually gathered the experience and skills of working in mines and enterprises. The introduction of brigade methods of training contributed to their speedy development and the acquisition of the necessary production skills. Only in August 1944, according to the Leninogorsk Mining Administration, there were 415 people who fulfilled the norm, and 382 of those who exceeded.

In the Zyryanovsk mine department in the mining shop, out of 85 working Chechens, 23 were Stakhanovists and "the best" workers — the driller Mezhidov V., who fulfilled the norm by 172%, the backfinder Hadisov L. — by 146%. In 1946, out of the total number of special migrants who worked in the industry — Chechens, 826 people systematically exceeded the production rates from 200 to 300% — 354 people, 150 to 200% — 472 people. The authorities of the region noted the presence of Stakhanovists and "the best" workers at non-ferrous metallurgy enterprises, where in the mines of Leninogorsk, 3.332 Chechens worked in the underground work out of 1.044 people. In 1946, there were 150 Stakhanovists from among Chechens at Leninogorsk's enterprises, a significant part of whom worked as drillers and timber-men. They fulfilled a plan by 200%, for example, drillers Osmayev I., Makhmudova D. fulfilled the plan at 215 and 200% 204 and 202%. Ten years later, in 1956, at industrial enterprises in Ust-Kamenogorsk,

approximately 80% of working Chechens systematically fulfilled and exceeded the norms (Yermekbayev, 2009).

Certainly, the factual material of the regional archives of Kazakhstan testifies to the creative work of special settlers from among the Chechens. In many enterprises, teenagers worked with adults, most often even 12 years old and 16 year old children. In March 1947, there were more than 8.5 thousand Chechen teenagers in the mines of the Karaganda coal basin. The statistics we cited above are incomplete, because there are no exact figures for the special settlers living in the cities and rural areas of Kazakhstan in the period under review. Although the existing data are fragmentary, the available materials give us the right to conclude that forced migration accounted for a considerable share in the total migration flow of the population of Kazakhstan in the post-war years. According to Professor Sakaganova Z. G., the state in society imposed the "syndrome of sacrifice" in the name of the Motherland and in peacetime, i.e. "In the period of difficult post-war years, the ideological machine strenuously introduced the masses to the next round of labor asceticism, patriotic enthusiasm, aimed at strengthening mobilization capabilities, as in extreme war years" (Saktaganova, 2004).

7. Conclusion

Thus, the Soviet forced form of industrialization and modernization was implemented mainly by methods of violence. The repressive policies of the Stalinist regime contributed to the formation of a significant sector of forced labor, not only in the country's economy, but also at the regional level. Where the economic development of the region was carried out under extreme conditions and required enormous expenditures for the creation of the appropriate infrastructure, was widely used forced labor of special settlers, which could be relocated and could work not requiring special living conditions. A significant part of the special settlers, including Chechens and Ingushes, worked conscientiously, as they wanted to be released; they made their contribution to the implementation of the enterprises' production programs. The special contingent not only made a certain contribution to build up the economic potential of Kazakhstan, but also after changing its civil status it became one of the sources for replenishing the enterprises with skilled workers.

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