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**RESISTANCE OF THE CHECHENS AND INGUSH DURING
THEIR FORCED STAY IN KAZAKHSTAN**

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Abstract

The most important direction of methodological innovations in historical science is the increase in interest in human personality, which is reflected in the problems of many studies, in particular, the appeal to historical memory and everyday life during the years of the totalitarian regime. One of the important topics in modern historical science is the deportation of indigenous peoples, which is an internal political act typical of the Stalinist regime. Many scientifically significant aspects of the eviction of Chechens and Ingush to the territory of Kazakhstan and their adaptation in new places of residence require specific historical study and historical and theoretical understanding. The cited facts show the forced nature of the special settlement system and the existence of significant administrative barriers to the socialization of special settlers from the North Caucasus. The right of ownership and safety of personal property of special settlers was not provided, although it was enshrined in official documents. The analysis of the state of registration of special settlers, their living conditions, political and moral state, as well as measures taken by the state in relation to special settlers indicated that the deportation of peoples was a political action of a totalitarian regime. Special settlers from the North Caucasus and other deported peoples being in inhuman living conditions in their settlements, constantly cherished the idea to return to their homeland and resisted the existing regime. Many Chechens and Ingush disagreed with the deprived position and expressed dissatisfaction in various forms of protest.

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1. Introduction

In the middle of March 1944, the first echelons with Chechen and Ingush special settlers arrived in Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan: 344 589 75 342 people respectively (88 513 families). The rest of the special settlers were sent to the Tajik and Uzbek SSR. These were Chechens and Ingush from Dagestan, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Krasnodar Territory, Rostov and Astrakhan regions (4,146 people). With the release in 1952 of the Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR “On the direction of family members of those who served their sentences in the special settlement to a special settlement”, the special contingent was increased.

The adaptation period for Chechens and Ingush in Kazakhstan and Central Asia was difficult. Many convicted and deported people on the basis of decisions of extrajudicial bodies, “triplets”, “twos”, “special meetings” (SM), not sanctioned by the current constitution of the country, were unlawfully alienated from the normal way of life, habitual management, professional activities, national language, entrenched cultural environment and traditions (Isakieva, 2019).

With all the success of the action to evict the people, the leading party and Soviet bodies organized agent-informative work in places of exile. In the archives of Kazakhstan and Central Asia, the reports and information materials of local bodies on agent-informative work among special settlers were deposited. These sources indicated that even at the initial stage of the eviction, the people were not silent. There were various forms of social protest, which were spontaneous and deliberate. These were escapes, refusals to obey the special settlement regime, numerous appeals to local and central authorities, prominent state and military leaders.

2. Problem Statement

In modern society, national identity is being revived through the knowledge of the historical experience accumulated by previous generations. One of the most popular issues in the history of the deportation period was the behavioral motives and moods of the population, manifested in various conditions and circumstances. The analysis of the special settlement regime is necessary in order to select the right decisions in modern Russian national and international policy in terms of the development of civil society and to prevent a return to a total system of government.

3. Research Questions

The deported Chechens and Ingush experienced a combination of repressions, which were mentioned in the Law of the Republic of Kazakhstan dated April 14, 1993 “On the rehabilitation of victims of mass political repressions”. In particular, these were various measures of compulsion applied by the state for political reasons in the form of imprisonment, eviction from places of residence, exile, expulsion to special settlement, attraction to forced labor in conditions of restriction of freedom, deprivation and restriction of rights and freedoms, determination of peoples by ethnicity as dangerous for the state. Although the actions of the Soviet state against the North Caucasian peoples did not have the character of open genocide, at the same time, the policy was aimed to eradicate the socio-cultural foundations of these peoples.

4. Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to examine the nature of the relationship between the Soviet government and the exiled North Caucasian peoples using the example of the Chechens and to identify the features of the formation of protest moods and their forms of manifestation in the special settlement regime.

5. Research Methods

The principles of historicism, system approach, objectivity, value approach applied during the research allowed considering the events and facts that took place in the places of settlement of Chechens and Ingush during the years of deportation. The historical-evolutionary approach made allowed taking into account the processes of transformation of the Chechen-Ingush society that took place in 1944-1957. The problematic approach to the study made it possible to reflect the specific historical situation in which the socialization of the special settlers took place, its multidimensionality and contradictions.

6. Findings

The forced resettlement of entire peoples with the elimination of state system and the forcible change of their borders were not provided either by the constitutions or by any laws and by-laws of these state formations. In order to deport the Chechens and Ingush, up to 120,000 combat-ready soldiers and officers of the internal troops were involved, more than in other front-line operations, 15,000 railroad cars and hundreds of steam locomotives, 6,000 trucks. In total, on March 21, 1944, 180 echelons or 494456 people arrived in the Kazakh and Kyrgyz SSR, 147 echelons of which were in the Kazakh SSR, which amounted to 405,941 people and 33 echelons and 88515 people in the Kyrgyz SSR, respectively (Sabanchiev, 2004).

Inhuman living conditions in the first years of the eviction led to a high mortality rate among the special settlers. Hunger, poverty and disease, especially in the first years of the exile of the Chechens, took the lives of not only old people and children, but also very young people. Some people lived in more or less close to normal conditions, but the majority found shelter in barracks and slums, having neither food nor clothing. The special settlers in the places of their resettlement were under general control. Upon reaching the age of 16, each special settler was given a personal card, a personal file and family records were kept. Local authorities by the decree of higher authorities adopted circular orders fixing the daily life of the deported people (Isakieva, 2020). During the period of stay of the deported in the places of resettlement, a whole network of informers was formed with an impressive staff of the deported themselves.

In the archives of Kazakhstan and Central Asia, the reports and information materials of local bodies on agent-informative work among special settlers were deposited (Bugai, 2012). The members of many families were separated, a part of the family could be resettled to Kazakhstan or to Kyrgyzstan, and the relatives did not know about each other's fate. The process of finding relatives and reuniting families was difficult and time-consuming as people ended up in the regime of special commandant's offices,

prohibiting the representatives of the deported peoples from leaving the place of special settlement without permission and a corresponding document (Akkieva, 2019).

The deported peoples, including the Chechens, could not be nominated and elected even to the most primary bodies of power and public organizations. The special settlers were discriminated in a professional context. The bans were established for this category of people to study in universities and special educational institutions.

Being in a different ethnic environment, the Chechens and Ingush felt hostile attitude towards themselves from both some heads of divisions, law enforcement, party and Soviet bodies, and the local population from including those who arrived under organizational supervision, former prisoners released under an amnesty and transferred to a free settlement, as well as the workers of virgin lands who came to this region from different parts of the USSR. The reasons for such relations between the special settlers and individuals were as follows: the imperfection of the legislative and regulatory framework governing the daily life of the deported and other categories of population, the negligent attitude of officials to the needs of special contingent, imperfect leisure of citizens, widespread drunkenness in everyday life among certain segments of population, the lack of housing and goods of everyday demand, ignorance of the national mentality of the special settlers and ignorance of religious feelings, the costs of ideological work that aroused antipathy on the part of the population, as well as other facts that took place in Soviet society (Ermekbaev, 2009).

The most widespread form of resistance to the authorities among the deported Chechens and Ingush was the escape from the places of exile. The reports of the commandants, summary information certificates for each area of their residence contained the data on the escapes of the special settlers. Thus, as of April 1, 1944, anti-escape work was characterized by the following data: 1079 Chechens and Ingush escaped from their places of residence, 758 people were detained and 290 escapes were prevented (Sabanchiev, 2001).

In addition to the ongoing arrests, general meetings of the special settlers, at which the order of the established regime was explained to each resettler in order to finally eliminate the facts of escapes and the unauthorized abandonment of resettlement places by the special settlers the authorities made announcements against signed acknowledgement stating that the deported people will be criminally liable.

The post-war years in the life of special settlers were characterized by a strengthening of the special settlement regime. Thus, on February 14, 1947, the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, the USSR General Prosecutor's Office issued a circular order "On the procedure for criminal prosecution of special settlers for escaping from their places of settlement". The order provided severe penalties up to 10-15 years in prison. The investigative cases of the escapes of the special settlers were drawn up at the place of detention of the fugitives and, at the end of the investigation, were sent for consideration to a Special Meeting (SM) under the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs. The resolutions of the Special Meeting on the special settlers convicted for the escapes were sent to the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the region or region from which the escape was made. Dependent special settlers (minors, multi-family) were not brought to justice for their escape at the place of detention. They were to be sent to the disposal of the Ministry of Internal Affairs at the place of their permanent settlement, from where they escaped. Thus, on

October 1, 1948, 15,992 people escaped and 2,637 people were on the run out of 451,724 special settlers from the North Caucasus who were in the special settlement. Separate data on the Chechens and Ingush were not given in this certificate.

On November 24, 1948, the Council of Ministers of the USSR issued a decree "On the evicted", which stated the facts of continued escapes from the places of compulsory settlement and the return to the places of their former residence of persons deported to the remote eastern regions of the USSR. There were cases of issuance of permits to evicted persons to return to their places of former residence by the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs. At the same time, unauthorized departure (escape) resulted in 20-40 years of hard labor. In addition, the circle of persons was determined who were subject to punishment for harboring the evicted persons who contributed to their escape, as well as who issued them permission to return to their places of residence. The decree determined the term of imprisonment of 5 years for the violators of the special settlement regime. By this decree, migrants who evaded socially useful work were prosecuted and sentenced to 8 years in prison. On the part of the Ministry of State Security, the measures were intensified to identify, detain and arrest the evicted people who escaped from the places of compulsory settlement.

On November 26, 1948, a new decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR was issued "On criminal liability for escapes from places of compulsory and special settlement of persons deported to certain regions of the Soviet Union during the Patriotic War", establishing the permanent residence of special settlers in remote areas of the Soviet Union without the right to return to their former places of residence. For unauthorized departure from places of compulsory settlement, the guilty persons were brought to criminal responsibility - 20 years of hard labor. The persons guilty of harboring those who escaped or facilitating their escape were imprisoned for up to 5 years. All this was done to impose a regime of intimidation in order to force the deported peoples, including the Chechen and Ingush peoples. Moreover it was done make them obediently submit to the authorities and come to terms with the idea that they were expelled forever.

However, despite the adopted legislative acts, the escapes of the special settlers continued. In a special certificate on the escapes and detentions of evicts, it was reported that in 1948, 15,424 people escaped, including 13,761 people who previously escaped. 5403 people were detained and brought to criminal responsibility. Speaking about the general data on the entire national contingent of the deported people, there were 2208 of the fugitives of the special settlers from the North Caucasus (Patiev, 2004).

Another way to strengthen punishments for the escape of special settlers was the order of the USSR Minister of Internal Affairs and the USSR General Prosecutor's Office of December 22, 1948 "On the procedure for bringing to criminal responsibility the evicted persons for escape from the place of settlement and evasion of community service". By this order, persons who were evicted to remote areas of the Soviet Union during the Great Patriotic War were fixed on permanent resettlement. Moreover, a 20-year punishment for unauthorized departure and escape from places of compulsory settlement remained.

In a letter addressed to the Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR dated January 7, 1949, it was reported that "the bodies of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Grozny region over the past time (from the moment of eviction until January 1949) detained 47 people who escaped, 22

people of which were arrested and brought to criminal responsibility and 9 elderly people and minors were deported to the places of resettlement.... ”. At the beginning of 1949, the list of those who escaped and were on the wanted list included Aziyat Mukayeva, Ziva Shahgirieva, Hamid Arsanukaev, Zargan Berdaeva from the Dzhambul region; Akhmed Eldiev, Sasa Kholukhaeva, Khusein Kholukhaev, Ulorvali Makhmudov from the Karaganda region; Rubi Kagermanov, Magomed Dosiev from the Kustanai region (Tsutsulaeva, 2011).

The resistance of the deported North Caucasian peoples to the severe administrative regime manifested itself in other forms. Many Chechens and Ingush, who disagreed with the illegal action of deporting people, considering it outrageous injustice, wrote letters to I. Stalin, L. Beria and other statesmen in Moscow. Thus, on February 20, 1954, Chechen schoolchildren of deported parents sent a letter personally to K. Voroshilov, the Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. In particular, they wrote about that: ... prisoners of war soldiers and officers of Japan and Nazi Germany were returned to their homes. The Soviet press and radio are spreading words all over the world more and more loudly - calls for the protection of the rights and freedoms of the oppressed peoples of the colonial countries. However, at the same time, we have to admit that for some reason we forget that more than three million people of the Chechen, Ingush, Karachai, Balkarian, Crimean Tatar, Volga-German and other nationalities live in our socialist conditions, without any civil rights ... (Bugai, 1994).

Some special settlers from the North Caucasus applied to government agencies with anti-Soviet letters. For example, the Chechen Shamilev, born in 1918, a lawyer who lived in the Alma-Ata region wrote: “If the Soviet Union does not need the Chechen people, then evict us abroad, because not all over the world they will mock us like that, how the Soviet Union treats”. In another letter, he demanded permission to leave the Soviet Union to any foreign state: “I am convinced that the Soviet state does not intend to give a normal life for Chechens and recognize them as people, therefore, if it does not intend to give me a free life inside the Soviet Union, then I ask permission to leave the USSR” (Kozlov et al., 2011, p. 65).

In places of special settlements, the authorities continued to identify, arrest and convict the Chechens and Ingush as the so-called “enemies of the people and the party”, the representatives of the Muslim clergy, or, as they wrote in the documents, “offended by the Soviet regime”, “dissatisfied with the Soviet regime”, people with an anti-Soviet attitude etc. According to fake agent information, migrants from the North Caucasus were persecuted even for the fact that in their thoughts they could express resentment against the Soviet government (expressed somewhere out loud), which was considered as an anti-Soviet speech.

Thus, it was reported that before the eviction of the Chechens, A. Taramov, the former secretary of the Russian All-Union Communist Party (b) and M. Bakriev, the chairman of the district executive committee spread rumors among the special settlers that there was supposedly a decision of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (b) to create the commission on the return of special settlers from Kazakhstan to the North Caucasus. Former district prosecutor A. Sultanov, who lived in the Konyukhovskiy district of the North Kazakhstan region, expressing sharply hostile ideas, said: “Never mind, soon we will return back to the Caucasus”. The result of the activity on this occasion of the special

commandant's offices of the People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs of the Kazakh SSR in 1944 was the arrest of 2,196 special settlers for the so-called "anti-Soviet" activities.

The activity of the so-called "anti-Soviet groups" was also a form of protest against the existing regime of special settlement. One of them, operating in the Kazakh SSR, included M. Gairbekov, the allegedly former secretary of the Chechen-Ingush regional committee of the All-Union Communist Party (b) for propaganda and S. Mollaev, the former chairman of the Committee of People's Commissars of the Chechen-Ingush ASSR and others. In the Tallas region of the Kirghiz SSR, an "anti-Soviet" group was found, which, according to the People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs, was spreading rumors about the return of special settlers to the North Caucasus and urging people to prepare for their departure.

In the Kazakh SSR, a so called "cultic group" "Kunta Khadzi" was created, which included D. Saydayev, who had a secondary spiritual education and A. Vakhobov. Both special settlers were drivers. They were charged with "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda". Mullahs and religious authorities opposed the so-called "economic arrangement of special settlers", settling in places of deportation, tried to establish contacts with the Kazakh Muslim clergy.

In the Office of the People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs of the Osh region of the Kirghiz SSR, even an agent case "Fugitives" was opened, in which 8 Chechens and Ingush, led by Gavleev and Azerbaev, were involved. The group members were charged with an attempt to create bandit groups to escape to the North Caucasus and organize an "armed struggle against Soviet power".

In April 1950, the Department of the Ministry of State Security of the Pavlodar region of the Kazakh SSR arrested and prosecuted D. Mezhidov, S. Ismailov, A. Eltsabekov and A. Eltaev. In the village of Maykain, Bayan-Aul district of Pavlodar region, the above mentioned individuals allegedly systematically carried out anti-Soviet, nationalist agitation, creating a youth group "Committee of Socialist Labor" (Kozlov, 2002). They were accused to have "conversations" about the situation of the Chechen people in which they found themselves.

7. Conclusion

Thus, the leadership of the USSR not only evicted the Chechens and Ingush and other peoples from their historical homeland, but also took additional measures to strengthen the regime of their residence in the places of their settlement. In exile, the Chechens and Ingush were under the open and secret supervision of the internal affairs bodies, which had special commandant's offices and a classified branched network of agents. However, being in inhuman living conditions in the places of settlement, they did not break down and constantly cherished the idea to return to their historical homeland, resisting the existing regime. The Chechens and Ingush exiled to Kazakhstan and Central Asia could not accept their unfair position in Soviet society. They were persistent in their aspirations to return to the Caucasus and thus achieved the restoration of their autonomy.

The analysis of the issues of deportation of the North Caucasian peoples and various forms of resistance of the Chechens and Ingush to the totalitarian regime allows more specific and accurate choice of the right directions in terms of the development of civil society and prevention of a return to a total system of government. However, national policy should not be limited to endless examination. It is necessary to move forward to improve and achieve greater efficiency in new environment. The repressed

peoples need to assess the situation in a new direction taking into account the existing realities. They also need to answer the question of how to build a more comfortable life and what should be the relationship between ethnic communities in a united and integrated Russia.

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