

ISSN: 1814-6961 (print)
ISSN: 2788-9718 (online)

Отан тарихы
Отечественная история
History of the Homeland

Үш айда бір рет шығатын ғылыми журнал
2023. № 26 (3)

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Published in the Kazakhstan
Отан тарихы
Has been issued as a journal since 1998
ISSN: 1814-6961 (Print)
ISSN: 2788-9718 (Online)
Vol. 26. Is. 3, pp. 523-535, 2023
Journal homepage: <https://otan.history.iie.kz>


FTAXP / МРПТИ / IRSTI 03.20.
https://doi.org/10.51943/2788-9718_2023_26_3_523-535

ADAPTIVE FACTORS OF THE FORMATION OF THE POLICH DIASPORA IN KAZAKHSTAN IN THE XIX-XX CENTURIES

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Abstract. *Introduction.* The article highlights the stages of resettlement and adaptation of Poles to Kazakhstan in the pre-revolutionary era, during the period of deportation on the eve and during the Great Patriotic War. The relevance of the study is due to the fact that the Polish diaspora of Kazakhstan in the XIX - XX centuries. has become a stable component of the demographic, socio-economic, political and cultural life of the republic, reflecting the model of successful adaptation of the ethnic group in a different cultural and cultural environment. *The purpose and objectives of the study.* Along with the periods of resettlement and deportation, the number of exiles, peasant settlers and deported Poles, types of economic, social, cultural adaptation are described in detail. *Scientific and practical significance of the work.* The process of creating settlements is described as a necessary condition for collective adaptation to the natural and climatic conditions of Kazakhstan. Everyday adaptation is described in detail, which provides for the creation of an association on an ethnic basis for mutual assistance in new conditions, the preservation of the national code in a different ethnic environment. The trend of economic adaptation is shown, which is an attempt to adapt to local economic conditions, through the occupation of the economy, crafts, science, the contribution of the Poles to the culture of Kazakhstan is noted. Particularly noted is the socio-cultural interaction of immigrants with the local population, such as joint marriages, mutual influence of cultures, and others. *Methodology.* When writing the article, general scientific methods (analysis and synthesis, induction and deduction), comparative historical method were used. *Conclusions.* The Polish diaspora of Kazakhstan in the process of its development and formation in the twentieth century turned into a stable component of demographic, socio-economic, political and cultural life of the republic, showing an example of successful adaptation of the ethnos in a foreign cultural environment. Practical application of this experience by the government will undoubtedly become the basis for practical application in the sphere of creating an atmosphere of interethnic harmony.

Key words: Kazakhstan, Siberia, link, tsarism, resettlement, colonization, deportation, ethnos, settlers, catholicism, nobility, GULAG



For citation: Pedracki M, Khassenova Zh.O., Jiyenaliyev Y. K. Adaptive factors of the formation of the polich diaspora in Kazakhstan in the XIX-XX centuries // Otan tarihy. 2023. Vol.26 № 3. Pp. 523-535. (In Engl.) DOI: 10.51943/2788-9718_2023_26_3_523-535

XIX-XX ҒҒ. ҚАЗАҚАСТАНДАҒЫ ПОЛЯК ДИАСПОРАСЫНЫҢ ҚАЛЫПТАСУЫНЫҢ БЕЙІМДЕЛУ ФАКТОРЛАРЫ

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Андатпа. *Kіріспе.* Мақалада поляктардың революцияға дейінгі дәуірде, Ұлы Отан соғысы қарсаңында және барысында депортация кезеңінде Қазақстанға қоныс аудару және бейімделу кезеңдері баяндалады. Зерттеудің өзектілігі этностың өзге мәдениеттік мәдени ортада табысты бейімделуінің үлгісін көрсететін республиканың демографиялық, әлеуметтік - экономикалық, саяси және мәдени өмірінің тұрақты компонентіне айналған Қазақстанның поляк диаспорасының XIX-XX ғғ. дамуы мен қалыптасуымен айқындалады. *Зерттеудің мақсаттары мен міндеттері.* Қоныс аудару мен депортация кезеңдерімен қатар жер аударылғандардың, қоныс аударушылар мен жер аударылғандардың саны, шаруашылық, әлеуметтік, мәдени бейімделу түрлері егжей-тегжейлі сипаттау. *Зерттеудің ғылыми-практикалық маңызы.* Қазақстанның табиғи-климаттық жағдайларына ұжымдық бейімделудің қажетті шарты ретінде елді мекендерді құру үрдісі дәріптеледі. Жаңа жағдайларда өзара көмек көрсету, өзге этникалық ортада ұлттық кодты сақтау үшін этникалық принцип бойынша бірлестік құруды қарастырған тұрмыстың бейімделу егжей-тегжейлі сипатталған. Жергілікті экономикалық жағдайға бейімделу әрекетін білдіретін экономикалық бейімделу үрдісі көрсетілген. Қоныс аударушылардың жергілікті тұрғындармен әлеуметтік-мәдени қарым-қатынасы ерекше атап өтілді. *Әдістеме.* Мақаланы жазу кезінде жалпы ғылыми әдістер (талдау және синтез, индукция және дедукция), салыстырмалы тарихи әдіс қолданылды. *Қорытынды.* Қазақстанның поляк диаспорасы өзінің дамуы мен қалыптасу процесінде XX ғасырда республиканың демографиялық, әлеуметтік-экономикалық, саяси және мәдени өмірінің тұрақты құрамдас бөлігіне айналды, бұл этностың мәдени емес ортаға сәтті бейімделуінің үлгісін көрсетеді. Үкіметтің бұл тәжірибені іс жүзінде қолдануы этносаралық келісім атмосферасын құру саласында практикалық қолдану үшін негіз болатыны сөзсіз.

Кілт сөздер: Қазақстан, Сібір, жер аудару, патшалық, бейімделу, көші-қон, отарлау, депортация, этнос, осадниктер, католицизм, шляхта, ГУЛАГ

Дәйексөз үшін: Педрацки М., Хасенова Ж.О., Джиеналиев Е.К. XIX-XX ғғ. Қазақстандағы поляк диаспорасының қалыптасуының бейімделу факторлары // Отан тарихы. 2023. Т.26. №3. 523-535 б. (Ағылш.) DOI: 10.51943/2788-9718_2023_26_3_523-535


АДАПТАЦИОННЫЕ ФАКТОРЫ ФОРМИРОВАНИЯ ПОЛЬСКОЙ ДИАСПОРЫ В КАЗАХСТАНЕ В XIX-XX ВВ.

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Аннотация. *Введение.* В статье освещаются этапы переселения и адаптации поляков в Казахстан в дореволюционную эпоху, в период депортации накануне и в годы Великой Отечественной войны. Актуальность исследования обусловлена тем, что польская диаспора Казахстана XIX - XX вв. стала устойчивым компонентом демографической, социально-экономической, политической и культурной жизни республики, отражающим модель успешной адаптации этноса в инокультурной среде. *Цель и задачи исследования.* Наряду с периодами переселения, депортации и численностью ссыльных, крестьян-переселенцев и депортированных поляков, определить особенности хозяйственной, социальной, культурной адаптации. *Научно-практическая значимость работы.* Описывается процесс создания населенных пунктов как необходимое условие коллективной адаптации к природно-климатическим условиям Казахстана. Подробно описана бытовая адаптация, предусматривающая создание объединения по этническому принципу для взаимопомощи в новых условиях, сохранения национального кода в иной этнической среде. Показана тенденция хозяйственной адаптации к местным экономическим условиям, через занятие хозяйством, ремеслами, наукой, отмечен вклад поляков в культуру Казахстана. Особо отмечено социально-культурное взаимодействие переселенцев с местным населением, такие как совместные браки, взаимовлияние культур и другие. *Методология.* При написании статьи были использованы общенаучные методы (анализ и синтез, индукция и дедукция), сравнительно-исторический метод. *Выводы.* Польская диаспора Казахстана в процессе своего развития и становления в XX веке превратилась в стабильный компонент демографической, социально-экономической, политической и культурной жизни республики, показывающий пример успешной адаптации этноса в инокультурной среде. Практическое применение этого опыта правительством несомненно станет основой для практического применения в сфере создания атмосферы межэтнического согласия.

Ключевые слова: Казахстан, Сибирь, ссылка, царизм, переселение, колонизация, депортация, этнос, католицизм, шляхта, ГУЛАГ

Для цитирования: Педрачки М., Хасенова Ж.О., Джиеналиев Е.К. Адаптационные факторы формирования польской диаспоры в Казахстане в XIX-XX вв.// Отан тарихы. 2023. Т.26. № 3. С. 523-535. (Англ) DOI: 10.51943/2788-9718_2023_26_3_523-535

1. Introduction. The history of ethnic Poles in Kazakhstan dates back more than a century and a half, starting with the tsarist policy of forced resettlement of Poles to the territory of Kazakhstan from the middle of the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, the ethnographic study of the Polish population of Kazakhstan, including the processes of adaptation, scientists began to be seriously engaged only from the second half of the twentieth century, because before 1917 the issues of ethnic history of Poles in Kazakhstan, ethnographic study of Kazakhstan were not the subjects of special studies, and during the Soviet period for a long time studies on the problems of the Polish ethnic group living in the Republic of Kazakhstan were inaccessible or, at best, little available to the general scientific community.

The relevance of this topic for modern Kazakhstan is the strengthening of socio-cultural space, which includes various parameters: the preservation and strengthening of inter-ethnic and



interconfessional peace. Throughout the history of development of statehood our country absorbed various components of traditional foundations, religious views, world outlook, which harmoniously in the context of ongoing constant and close contacts adapted to local conditions.

The Poles of Kazakhstan are one of the examples of successful adaptation of an ethnos to another ethno-cultural environment. Therefore, in the modern period in the republic there are attempts to renew research interest to this problem.

2. Materials and methods. General scientific methods were used when writing the article were used (analysis and synthesis, induction and deduction), comparative-historical method. The method of analysis and processing of documentary data will reveal the general and special on the problem under study. The comparative-historical approach will give an opportunity to determine objective regularities in the history of formation of the Polish diaspora of Kazakhstan. Problem-chronological method will make it possible to trace the dynamics of the problems under study. Consistent complex application of these methods in the study of the historical past will account for the analysis of the events and phenomena that occurred, taking into account the dynamics of their development in a specifically historical setting. Bibliometric quantitative methods were also applied, with the help of which the structure, dynamics and interrelationships of various phenomena in the sphere of library and information and documentation activities are studied.

3. Discussion. Sources on the history of adaptation of Poles in Kazakhstan are represented by three groups of sources:

1. Pre-revolutionary literature;
2. Sources of the Soviet period;
3. Studies during the period of independent Kazakhstan

The peculiarity of studying the issues of formation of the multi-ethnic structure of the population of Kazakhstan in the pre-revolutionary period was their consideration mainly through the lens of studying the history of exile of the participants. In this regard, the researchers focused on the determinants of migration flows, socio-economic and political consequences of resettlement, and the prospects of interaction between migrants and the local population. Numerous statistics can be included here. Among this group, we can single out the materials of the First General Census of the Russian Empire in 1897 containing the first official data on the number of major ethnic groups living in Kazakhstan, including the Poles.

These include numerous statistical materials. Among this group we can single out the materials of the First General Population Census of the Russian Empire in 1897, which contained the first official data on the number of the main ethnic groups living in the territory of Kazakhstan, including Poles.

The works of Polish researchers of the late XIX-early XX centuries Zygmund Librowicz and Michael Janik contain reviews of the life of the Poles of Kazakhstan in exile in Kazakhstan and Siberia, provide numerical data, analyze their socio-economic situation.

Z. Librowicz came to the conclusion that Poles in exile, with few exceptions, did not lose their national traits or their civic-patriotic feeling. At the same time, successful socio-economic integration of migrants was not a guarantee of assimilation (Librowicz, 1993: 360).

According to M. Janik, Siberia and Kazakhstan were for Poles "a school of practical democracy", having taught representatives of different social strata, nations and religions to live and work together. Here Poles got acquainted with Russian revolutionaries and Kazakh enlighteners and enriched their understanding of social revolution, expanded their knowledge of geography, geology and other sciences, without which it would have been impossible to survive in the region (Janik, 1991: 404).

In Soviet historiography, as well as in the studies of historians of People's Poland, the problems of adaptation of Poles and cultural mutual influence were practically not raised. The topic of revolutionary ties remained a priority. Soviet historiography gave rise to the image of a revolutionary Pole who worked closely with the Russian and Kazakh figures of the liberation movement. Emphasizing the commonality of ideals and aspirations of the peoples, researchers ignored ethno-cultural conflicts. Socio-economic, political-legal, cultural aspects became a kind of background on which the main action - the creation of secret Polish organizations and the establishment of contacts between Polish and Russian revolutionaries and Kazakh national liberation movement figures - was



played out. In the book by G.S. Sapargaliev and V.A. Dyakov "Social and political activity of exiled Poles in pre-revolutionary Kazakhstan", based on the materials of numerous sources, the issues of political activity of Poles exiled to Kazakhstan in the XIX century are covered (Sapargaliev, Dyakov, 1971: 7).

In the works of Polish and Russian researchers V. Sliwowska (Sliwowska, 2005:439), E. Kaczynska (Kaczynska, 1992: 166), S.G. Pyatakova (Pyatakova, 2004: 4), A.V. Remnev (Remnev, 2018: 200), E.N. Tumanik (Tumanik, 2006: 67), L.K. Ostrovsky (Ostrovsky, 2001: 122-124), S.G. Fil (Fil, 2002: 10), T.P.), B.S. Shostakovich (Shostakovich, 1974: 43), A. A. Krih (Krih, 2006: 144-163) and other authors, features of the adaptation of the Poles in Kazakhstan are considered. Almost all the activities of the Poles in Kazakhstan and Siberia begin to be viewed through the prism of this concept.

The article by M. Volniewich examines one of the dramatic pages in the history of Poland, the uprising of 1863-1864, and the subsequent exile of Poles to the territory of Siberia and Kazakhstan following its defeat. (Wolniewicz, 2013: 129-164).

Shaidurov V. in his article pays great attention to the study of the formation and development of the Polish diaspora in Siberia and Kazakhstan in the XIX century. (Shaidurov, 2014: 251).

The study of the history of the deportation of Poles to the territory of Kazakhstan began in the 30-40s of the 20th century. The Archive of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan published a collection of documents: From the history of the Poles in Kazakhstan (1936-1956), where the mentioned tragic events are highlighted (From the history of the Poles in Kazakhstan (1936-1956), 2000: 344).

Mikhailova L.A. (Mikhailova, 2006: 234) and Volkov A.V. (Volkov, 2007: 57) in their studies showed the processes of deportation of Poles to the territory of Kazakhstan during the period of forced resettlement, their relationship with the local population.

The periodical press of the Republic of Kazakhstan also publishes materials about the Poles of Kazakhstan. In particular, the magazine "Otan tarikhy" published an article by M.Ch. Kalybekova and B.N. Zhunusova devoted to the deportation of the Polish population. (Kalybekova, Zhunusova, 2020: 141-155).

Despite the large source material on the Poles of Kazakhstan, they only superficially describe the processes of their adaptation to new conditions. The economic, social, cultural and domestic adaptation of the Polish population both during the period of tsarist exile and resettlement policy, and during the forced deportation in the years of the Great Patriotic War is insufficiently studied.

4. The results of the study. The first stage of mass resettlement of Poles to the territory of Kazakhstan occurred in the 19th century and was associated with the exile of participants of the Polish uprisings of 1830-1831 and 1863-1864 to Siberia and Kazakhstan.

After the suppression of the Polish uprising of 1830-1831 several thousand Poles were exiled to Siberia. Most of them were assigned to the Siberian Cossack army and stationed on fortified lines. The defeat of Polish conspiratorial organizations in the 20s and the national liberation uprising of 1830-1831 led to a rapid increase in the number of exiles. Bronislaw Zaleski, who was exiled in the 40s, wrote that in the fortresses of the Orenburg region at that time there were more than two thousand repressed Poles. According to official data preserved in the papers of the Orenburg governor-general V.A. Obruchev, in 1850 the Orenburg Corps numbered 1667 "fined lower ranks", mostly Poles (Sapargaliev, Dyakov, 1971:6).

After the defeat of the Polish uprising of 1863-1864, 128 people were executed, 972 exiled to hard labor, 1427 sent to Siberia and Kazakhstan, 325 taken into the army, 864 taken into penal units, 1529 deported to internal provinces and 9631 resettled on state lands inside the empire. The total number of Polish exiles approached 40 thousand (Poles of Eastern Kazakhstan: Past and Present, 2009: 26).

The situation of the exiles in Kazakhstan and Siberia was initially very difficult. The bitterness of defeat, forced separation from their homeland, exile to an uncharted and hostile land with a harsh climate and a foreign cultural environment were very hard for them. Not everyone could withstand such severe trials.



Characteristic is the letter of the political exiles of the city of Petropavlovsk addressed to the governor of Akmola dated February 14, 1889. It described the abuse of the warders who did not give the exiles peace day or night, interfered in their private life, constantly poisoned them, forced the owners of apartments to watch their every move (Sapargaliev, Dyakov: 1971: 21).

The material situation of Poles in Kazakhstan was also very difficult. Those who had specialties could not find work, as there were almost no industrial enterprises in the places of exile. Requests by political exiles to be allowed to work for hire in state and public institutions were usually refused by the minister and the governor-general.

Driven to poverty and despair, Poles organized escapes by the hundreds, which almost always failed in the vast expanses of Siberia and Kazakhstan. Polish exiles hoped for and often received help from Kazakhs. One of the escaped Poles said that there were about 150 of them and they intended to reach the Kazakhs. This group was led by a Pole and a Kazakh. A group of Polish soldiers escaped from the Kapal fortification, trying to reach their homeland through China. They were shown the way by a Tatar. The Tsarist administration in 1864 decided that the return to the troops of "persons of Polish origin, who had made escapes to evade military service, was dangerous to the dignity and morality of the army, which indicates ill-will towards the government". It was decided that "deserters" of Polish origin should be tried on a general basis with the aim of imposing additional punishments in the form of exile to the most remote places in Siberia (Sapargaliev, Dyakov, 1971: 6).

The lack of hope for return and the negative attitude towards the first Polish exiles convinced the Poles "that Siberia and Kazakhstan are a new homeland for them, that in one way or another they should strengthen themselves in it in the only hopes for it alone.". Therefore, the forcibly resettled had no other choice but to adapt to the new harsh realities. The main prerequisite for successful adaptation was the emergence of a Polish diaspora in the places of exile.

Already in the 1820s, Poles exiled to Orenburg united into a community. Having experience in conspiratorial work, they tried to include reliable people. One of the organizers of the community was Jan Vitkevich. The main tasks of the community, or circle of Polish exiles, were mutual support (moral, material), exchange of opinions on various socio-political issues, etc. At the turn of the 40s and 50s, the Orenburg circle of exiled Poles included B. Zaleski, Z. Serakovsky, B. Kolesinsky, L. Lipsky and others. According to B. Zaleski, "in each battalion, in each fortification there was someone who was in charge of the others. It was like the head of the group, the guardian of the poorest and weakest. They had secret huts not far from the barracks. There one could rest or read a book..., and the books that were in the hands of the exiles in their various dwellings kept their spirits up and helped them to expand their knowledge. The Orsk circle of 1847-1850 can serve as an example of the association of exiles in a deaf garrison." (Sapargaliev, Dyakov, 1971: 21)

Archival materials show that in almost all places in Siberia where there were Polish exiles, during 1846-1866, oguls, committees, mutual aid funds, and libraries were established. In the mid-1860s, numerous organizations of exiled Poles, divided into hundreds and tens, covered almost the whole of Siberia, and kept in touch with Moscow and St. Petersburg (Sapargaliev, Dyakov, 1971: 22).

In the 19th century, pockets of Polish culture appeared in Siberia and Kazakhstan, around which Poles, both exiles and voluntary migrants, concentrated. First of all, these were large family houses, which became the center of cultural and psychological support, "a real wharf for fellow countrymen". Meetings in "Polish houses", celebrating birthdays, national and religious holidays, living together and running a household—all these numerous examples reflected in the memoir literature allowed Polish researchers V. Sliwowska and J. Trynkowski to suggest that exiled Poles showed a certain propensity (or even need) for concentration and self-organization (Remnev, 2018: 23).

These organizations played the role of a diaspora community. The purpose of these organizations was to improve the living conditions of the exiles in psychological, social and material terms.

The majority of Poles who found themselves in Kazakhstan and Siberia quickly merged with the Russian population in terms of language and ethnic consciousness and had nothing Polish except



their surnames. "The russianization of exiled Poles in Siberia is a tangible and indisputable phenomenon", wrote S.V. Maksimov (Maksimov, 1990 :337).

The process of Russianization was facilitated by the fairly rapid integration of Polish migrants into the economic structure of the host society. Since most of the exiles were educated people: scientists, teachers, writers and poets, most of them tried to enter the economic niche of the region through their profession. This led to the third stage of adaptation - economic.

Exiled Poles were not always able to engage in pedagogical activities. At the beginning of 1855, the Ministry of Education adopted a special decree, which stated that the certificates issued in the Kingdom of Poland for the right to engage in home education were not binding in the Empire. This resolution was adopted by the administration of Western Siberia and the Orenburg region (CSA RK. F.345. Inv.1, C.100. Sh. 3-8, 11, 32-75). Many exiled Poles in Kazakhstan for many decades approached and collaborated with the leading representatives of the Kazakh people, sympathized with and helped the autochthonous population, which itself suffered from the colonial policy of the tsarist autocracy. This practical, vital school of very fruitful interethnic communication and cooperation could not pass without a trace, it contributed to the creation and strengthening of the traditions of friendship between peoples, on which interethnic harmony and stability are now based in independent Kazakhstan.

The skills of crafts allowed the first Polish settlers to quickly join the economic life of the region and provide themselves with everything they needed.

The most common activity of the exiles was craftsmanship: 25% of Poles were engaged in it. 19.5% of the exiles earned their bread by service, 16.4% by writing, and 15.7% by agricultural work. 7.5% of the exiles used their labor in "free", "miscellaneous", "day laborer", "simple" and "black" jobs. These jobs did not require high qualifications and, as a rule, were low paid (Remnev, 2018: 13).

Poles opened craft workshops: shoe shops, metalworks, sewing shops. They built hotels, restaurants, stores, trading stores. They founded small businesses: breweries, soap factories, and creameries. They worked as teachers and doctors. The exiled Poles were people of different ages and professions: poets, artists, doctors, architects, lawyers and many others. Some of them served their sentences at the penal colony, after which they were consigned to military service and distributed among various linear Siberian battalions, while others were deported to the Semipalatinsk region for settlement. Sometimes Poles were sent to Semipalatinsk region from neighboring Siberian provinces, where they served their sentences in batches. Thus, in 1864, a party of 26 political criminals of Polish origin was sent from the city of Barnaul to the city of Ust-Kamenogorsk under police supervision (Poles of ..., 2009: 64). The second stage of resettlement of Poles to the territory of Kazakhstan belongs to the end of 19th - beginning of 20th century and is connected with the resettlement policy of tsarism. According to the data of the first general population census conducted by the tsarist Russian authorities in 1897, there were already 11,597 Poles living in Central Asia. Poles settled mainly in cities (about 90%). It is also known that the economic emigration of landless Polish peasantry from the territory of the Kingdom of Poland controlled by the Russian Empire in the late 19th - early 20th centuries was directed to Siberia and Kazakhstan, although the colonization flow was clearly dominated by Russians and Ukrainians. But a small number of Polish peasants from Kelecka and Lublin provinces in 1906-1910 moved deep into the Russian Empire: Orenburg province, Omsk province, Ishim region, and in general Western Siberia. The Stolypin reform played a significant role in this (Volkov, 2007: 59).

During this stage, Polish peasant settlers underwent economic, social and cultural adaptation in the new region. Domestic adaptation involved the establishment of ethnic settlements and the construction of dwellings adapted to the natural and climatic conditions of Kazakhstan. The harsh climatic conditions of Kazakhstan became a test for the settlers. Lack of timber in the counties created additional difficulties. Peasant settlers could not deliver timber 10-20 miles away, because they had no horses. "They could not buy horses because the allowance" was given to them "in a limited amount and in parts" (SCA RK, F.369, Inv.1, C.4614, Sh.3-8, 52-86.).

In the construction of winter dwellings, the Polish population, which had settled in the region under study, first of all adapted to the local natural conditions and proceeded from the availability



of local building materials. Therefore, in the forestless steppe areas of the region, wild stone and sod were used as building materials, just as in the case of the Kazakhs.

The third stage of the resettlement of Poles to Kazakhstan occurred in the second third of the 20th century and it was connected with the forced deportation of Poles by the Soviet government.

The causes and historical conditions of the resettlement of Poles to Kazakhstan from 1936 to 1956 were related both to the internal policy of the USSR and to global events of world history: the repressions of the mid-30s in the Soviet state and the beginning of World War II. In total, between 118,000 and 123,000 Poles were arrested in the USSR during this period. This category had the status of "special resettlers" and was under strict control of the NKVD bodies. The Soviet authorities settled Poles in many parts of the country, where they were forced to work in collective farms, mines and factories in harsh conditions. (Kalybekova, Kudaibergenova, 2019: 152-168).

The legal basis for the lawless action of eviction of an entire people-Poles, was the Decree of the USSR SNK No. 776-120 ss. of April 28, 1936 "On the resettlement of persons of Polish nationality from the Ukrainian SSR" (From the history, 2013: 18). In 1936, about one hundred thousand Poles from the Ukrainian regions bordering with Poland were arrested and transported to Kazakhstan under the control of the NKVD. (From the history, 2013:19). Two contingents were sent to Kazakhstan - special resettlers - settlers and administrative expellees. According to Kazakhstani scholars, 1206 families were deported to Kazakhstan in 1940, 5394 people of the contingent-special resettlers-osadniki (From the history, 2013:104).

One of the first problems of the special settlers from the Ukrainian SSR was their heavy food supply. Finding themselves in Kazakhstan in the fall, the settlers were forced to wait for the new agricultural season, having neither money nor even food for the near future. Lack of housing, the first autumn frosts, catastrophic shortage of food for many exiled Poles ended in death. They lived hard, beet was poked out of the ground and eaten, reeds were reaped in cold water. Women gave birth right in the field, child mortality was very high (From the history, 2013:56).

The central leadership of the country did not bother to solve the problems of the settlers, leaving them to survive in deserted, poorly adapted places. The economic, social and cultural problems of the deported peoples remained acute in the following years, as the economic opportunities of local authorities to assist the special settlers were limited, and the totalitarian regime persisted. Only the help, courage and human compassion of the majority of Kazakhstan's residents helped the special resettlers to survive the difficult years (From the history, 2013:178).

As in the 19th century, the first form of adaptation of deported Poles was attempts to establish a common life in the new place.

At the end of 1944, according to the materials of GASCO, there were more than 100 settlements in North-Kazakhstan region, where Poles-special resettlers lived. After the end of the war, the situation of special resettlers remained the same, with the only difference being that since 1946, surviving labor soldiers began to return to their families (Regional Polish Center «Kopernik», 2017: 12).

The second stage of adaptation was the establishment of relations with the local population of Kazakhstan. It should be noted that in many cases the life of Poles who arrived in Kazakhstan depended on the locals who received them. With their high level of culture, literacy, respect and diligence, they managed to build bridges with the indigenous population. Despite the cruel attitude of the authorities, ordinary Kazakhs treated the expelled Poles with compassion, warmth and care, and shared the last of their money with them. Thus, the deputy head of the agricultural department of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks (b) Itskov anxiously reported to the secretary of the Central Committee Andreev that in one of the collective farms of the Kustanai region "the exiles were given such a cordial welcome that they gave them a day's milk yield from the farm, so that even the collective farmers' children in the children's playground were left without milk" (From the history, 2013:50).

Good relations with the local population, industriousness and endurance, and as a consequence, economic adaptation, helped most of the deportees to escape starvation. The life of Poles depended on the locals, the authorities humiliated them, while ordinary Kazakhs treated the deported Poles



with care and warmth, sharing the very last of their belongings. Kazakh children ran to little Poles, holding out their mugs with milk to them (From the history, 2013:50).

In the state farm "Proletarian" of Kliuchevskiy district, on the farm "Takmysai", 12 families were accommodated in a barn and 8 families in unfinished premises, which had no doors, ceilings and stoves. In the Vishnyakovskiy state farm, an old cattle barn was adapted for housing as apartments for the special settlers, in which partitions were made. The rooms accommodated 5-10 families each, and the stoves intended for cooking the food of the special settlers had one burner each, which resulted in queues at the stove. In addition, the stove had to be heated all day long, while the resettlers had absolutely no fuel reserves. In the state farm named after Lenin in Novoshulbinsky district. In the state farm named after Lenin of Novoshulbinsky district 23 families were accommodated in a small one-storey house: 5 families lived in one room of 16 square meters and 11 families lived in another room of 25 square meters. meters. As a result of such dense accommodation, the beds of the special settlers were infested with a large number of different insects: bedbugs, fleas, etc. Being in unsanitary conditions, the settlers often fell ill, medical care was not provided to them (From the history, 2019: 128).

Despite all the harsh conditions, the deported Poles successfully underwent economic adaptation. They established and developed relations of goodwill and respect with the Kazakh population. Poles raised to a high level the culture of agriculture in their places of residence: in grain, livestock, and vegetables. Practically all collective farms populated by Poles soon became millionaires. They proved to be reliable workers in industry and transportation.

Special settlers also had many problems in organizing school education for their children. There were not enough schools, textbooks and teachers. The difficulty of solving these problems was due to the fact that the republic itself was completing the process of eradicating illiteracy and still had a weak educational system. Ensuring that school subjects were taught in the national languages of the migrants was a matter of little prospect. Soviet education accelerated the loss of the language and culture of Poles and other deported peoples. Together with this process, the mechanism of forming a new Soviet nation with a hypertrophied ideology of internationalism was launched, which was essentially replaced by the Russification of all ethnic groups.

But despite all these obstacles, the social and cultural adaptation of Poles was also successful. They even managed to solve the problems of organizing pre-school and school education for their children. In the village of Pervomayskiy, Astrakhan district, Akmola region, Poles built a small school by their own efforts. Due to the lack of fuel, the school was always cold in winter. There were no notebooks, children wrote on the pages of old books, using beet juice instead of ink (From the history, 2013: 97).

Below are the minutes of the decision of the Balkhash City Executive Committee and the Kzyl-Orda Oblast Executive Committee to open a school and kindergarten for Polish children.

Decision of the Balkhash City Executive Committee "On opening a Polish school in Balkhash city" Balkhash city, August 7, 1944.

The Executive Committee decided: To satisfy the petition of the Polish citizens living on the territory of Balkhash on the opening of the Polish school in Balkhash and to oblige the head of the town council Mrs. Shvaikina to start the preparation for the organization of the Polish school with the expectation that the school would start its work from September 1 of this year (Balkhash City GA. F.3. Op.1. D.40. L.174. Original).

Decision of the Kzyl-Orda Oblast Executive Committee "On opening a kindergarten for Polish children" Kzyl-Orda city September 6, 1944.

In pursuance of the resolution of the Soviet of People's Commissars of the KazSSR No. 160 of March 29, 1944 "On expanding the network and improving the work of kindergartens", the executive committee of the regional council of deputies of workers decided:

1. To open in Kzyl-Orda not later than October 12, 1944 1 kindergarten for Polish children with a contingent of 60 people. 2.



2. To oblige the chairman of the executive committee of the Kzyl-Orda City Council of Workers' Deputies t. Khodakov to prepare appropriate premises for the kindergarten and to provide the necessary equipment and utensils.

3. To oblige the head of the city council T. Nigai to staff the kindergarten with the head and teachers not later than September 6 of this year.

4. Oblige the head of the Oblfo t. Kusainov to finance the kindergarten at the expense of budgetary allocations, according to the estimate.

5. To oblige the head of the Obltorgotdelom t. Zhaimagambetov to include a kindergarten for Polish children with a contingent of 60 people in the supply plan and provide food from October 12, 1944 (SAKR. F.4. Inv.1. C.40. Sh.174).

With the beginning of the war, the situation of Polish special settlers somewhat changed. The fact is that the German attack on the USSR and the failures of the first days of the war forced the Soviet leadership (not without pressure from the Western allies) to reconsider relations with Poland. On July 30, 1941, an agreement was signed on the restoration of diplomatic ties between the two states, which provided for measures to create a Polish army on the territory of the USSR. The USSR and Poland pledged to assist each other in the fight against Nazi Germany. The agreement was accompanied by a protocol on the situation of Polish citizens in the USSR, in accordance with which the Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR of August 12, 1941 on the amnesty of Polish citizens was adopted. The decree of the USSR SNK and the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks (b) of the same date contained regulations on the residence of Polish citizens in the USSR (Kamaljanova, 2019: 184-200).

After release (from prisons, camps, special settlements, places of exile) and receiving temporary certificates, they had to register at the Polish Embassy and receive passports, and then - residence permits for foreigners. In total, 51164 Poles were amnestied in Kazakhstan (according to incomplete data) out of 61092 people (SAEKR F.345 Inv.1 C.40 Sh.21:44). Many Poles became figures of science and culture and made a huge contribution to the development of Kazakhstan. At the end of the 1950s, large-scale migration of people from rural areas to cities, including out of the country, including citizens of Polish nationality, began in Kazakhstan. Leaving the countryside, many Poles had to change their nationality, which allowed them to get rid of the shameful stigma of «enemy of the people» and "traitor to the motherland" that haunted them. Special supervision over them was abolished in 1956. However, they were not rehabilitated and continued to be supervised by administrative bodies. Despite the fact that they were considered full-fledged Soviet citizens, until 1989 the overwhelming majority of Poles did not have passports. In some regions, passports were not granted to them until the 1970s. Thus, initially, many Poles signed up as Ukrainians or Russians in order to preserve their lives, because they were victims of repression because of their nationality. Later, they did it voluntarily or at the behest of officials, according to their place of birth in order to increase their social status. Voluntary russification was another form of adaptation.

The Polish scientific literature identifies three main stages of repatriation from the USSR to Poland: the first, occurring in 1944-1948; the second, covering both Polish and Jewish populations (1955-1959); the third, which began along with the processes of political transformation and democratization in Poland in 1989 and the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991. (Kalybekova, Zhunusova, 2020: 141-155).

During this period, many Poles returned to their historical homeland. Those who remained in independent Kazakhstan were given the opportunity to study their native language and Polish history, to convert to their Roman Catholic faith, and to revive national traditions and customs. Over the past 12-15 years, dozens of churches have been built in the cities and villages of the country, with Sunday schools, which give children meaningful knowledge of faith, culture and kindness. Under a special agreement between the Ministries of Education of Kazakhstan and Poland, 16 secondary schools in towns and villages of the republic have Polish-language classes taught by Polish teachers and 22 Sunday schools for children and adults (Poles of ..., 2009: 72).

The Union of Poles of Kazakhstan represents the interests of the Polish population in the Assembly of Peoples of Kazakhstan and in other governmental institutions of the country. In oblasts and cities, Polish national associations are members of city and oblast assemblies (so-called small



assemblies). They are the initiators and organizers of all educational, cultural and awareness-raising activities.

The Polish diaspora of Kazakhstan, together with representatives of other ethnic groups, makes a great contribution to the development of the Republic.

5. Conclusion. Thus, the process of formation of the Polish diaspora in Kazakhstan can be divided into 3 stages:

1. The exile of the participants of the national liberation movement in the 30-60s. of the 19th century;
2. Resettlement of Polish peasants from the European part of the Russian Empire in the 2nd half of 19th - beginning of 20th century;
3. Deportation of Poles from the territory of Western Ukraine and Western Belorussia in the 30-40s. 20th century.

Poles of Kazakhstan were able to undergo economic, climatic, social and cultural adaptation in a non-ethnic environment. The Polish diaspora of Kazakhstan in the process of its development and formation in the twentieth century turned into a stable component of demographic, socio-economic, political and cultural life of the republic, showing an example of successful adaptation of the ethnos in a foreign cultural environment. Practical application of this experience by the government will undoubtedly become the basis for practical application in the sphere of creating an atmosphere of interethnic harmony.

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 SAEKR – State archive of East Kazakhstan region
 SABC – State archive of Balkhash city
 SAKR – State archive of Kyzylorda region

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 ШҚОМА – Шығыс Қазақстан облысының мемлекеттік архиві
 БҚМА – Балқаш қаласының мемлекеттік *архиві*
 ҚОМА – Қызылорда облысының мемлекеттік архиві

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Редакцияның мекен-жайы:

050100, Қазақстан Республикасы, Алматы қ., Шевченко көшесі, 28
Ш.Ш. Уәлиханов атындағы Тарих және этнология институты
«Отан тарихы» журналының редакциясы

Сайтқа сілтеме: <https://otan.history.iie.kz>

Тел.: +7 (727) 272-46-54.

E-mail: otanhistory@gmail.com.

Журнал Қазақстан Республикасының Ақпарат және қоғамдық келісім министрлігінде
1998 ж. 9 наурызда тіркеліп, N 158-ж куәлігіне ие болды.

Мақалаларды қайта бастырып жариялағанда, микрофильмге және басқа да көшірмелерге
түсіргенде міндетті түрде журналға сілтеме жасау қажет.
