

The Role of the Central Election Committee (CEC) of the USSR and the All-Union Migration Committee in Regulating Peasant Resettlement in Zhetysu (Semirechye) in the 20s of the XX Century

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Abstract--- *The present research aims to study the role of the CEC USSR (as the highest authority of the USSR), and the All-Union Migration Committee of the CEC USSR in peasant resettlement in Zhetysu in the 1920s. The scientific relevance is due to the fact the aforementioned issue remains insufficiently studied. The archive materials from Russia and Kazakhstan were studied and analyzed. The leading research method is source study and comparative analysis which allows revealing the activities of the highest state authorities in carrying out peasant resettlement to Kazakhstan. The article presents materials on peasant resettlement immediately after the October Revolution; the settlement was carried out by the USSR People's Commissariat of Agriculture using the pre-revolutionary experience of peasant colonization development. The Commissariat put forward the land management of immigrants as one of the main events. It is noted that major resettlement areas were the Kazakh SSR and the Kyrgyz Autonomous Region, in particular, Zhetysu, where land and water reform was one of the first measures in this direction. Reveals Reform in Zhetysu is revealed, the order of the population settlement is indicated, and political mistakes in the reform are discussed. The state significance of resettlements in the article is emphasized by the creation (with the direct support of the state) of resettlement bodies, in particular, the All-Union Settlement Committee, which were interested in the influx of labor force, as well as by the formation of a financial support system which was the material basis and an important stimulus for the resettlement movement. Since the mid 1920s, resettlement was carried out in accordance with the plans for the national economy development; it was voluntary, and took into account the interests of society. However, in the late 1920s it became clear that peasant resettlement exhausted its resources and did not justify the state expenses, so with time it began to decline. The materials of the present study are of practical value for disclosing the peasantry history and of new forms of management in the Soviet period.*

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I. INTRODUCTION

The collapse of the USSR entailed waves of spontaneous migrations. In this regard, the study of organized peasant resettlement in the USSR is highly relevant. The rich experience accumulated in this matter could be used by Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Russia, which at an accelerated pace are forced to form a legal framework capable of regulating the migration flows of the beginning of the XXI century. Migration processes within our society are far from being exhausted, and, consequently, their nature and structure need scientific understanding and study.

II. MATERIALS AND METHODS

The main sources used in the present research were:

- The materials of the Russian State Archives of Economics (Moscow, Russian Federation): Fund 46 'Supreme Soviet of the National Economy of the USSR. Secretariat of the Presidium' and Fund 5675 'All-Union Migration Committee of the CEC USSR';
- The materials of the Central State Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan (CSA RK): Fund R-74 'People's Commissariat of Agriculture of the Kazakh Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic (1920-1936)';
- The materials of the State Archive of the Almaty Region (SAAR): Fund 137 'Alma-Ata uyezd land department of the executive committee of the Soviets of workers, peasants, dehkans, Cossack and Red Army deputies (1921-1928)", which contain the protocols of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of the USSR on the establishment of the central colonization committee of the CEC USSR, and on the establishment of the All-Union Migration Committee of the CEC USSR;
- The materials related to land management surveys in Zhetysu in the 1920s;
- An overview of the rural economy of Kazakhstan in the post-October period;
- Reports and correspondence on the survey and study of the village;
- Documents on the history of agrarian reforms in the early years of Soviet rule in the territory of Zhetysu.

The resettlement historiography of Kazakhstan and Central Asia in the pre-Soviet period is very extensive, yet very few studies are devoted to the peasant resettlement to the Zhetysu region of Turkistan in the 20s of the XX century. The activities of the Presidium of the CEC USSR and the All-Union Migration Committee are practically not represented in Soviet and post-Soviet historiography, which indicates the novelty of the issue.

In Soviet times, scientists paid considerable attention to migration issues. A valuable work in this regard is the monograph of F.N. Bazanova 'Formation and development of the population structure of the Kazakh SSR (the ethnic aspect)', which analyzes the complex multifaceted historical process of the formation of the ethnic population structure of Kazakhstan during inter-republican migration of 1920-1979. The study notes that the formation of the ethnic population structure of the republic took place in the course of the Soviet migration policy; its development stages correspond to the main stages of the political, social and cultural development of the republic. M.Kh. Asylbekov, A.B. Galiyev, N.V. Alekseenko, and Yu.N. Guzhvenko examined the dynamics of the number of

population in Kazakhstan in 1917-1980 and noted that socio-demographic processes in Kazakhstan took place in a complex political and socio-economic environment under the influence of numerous factors, including historical, household, climatic, ethno-demographic, socio-professional, etc. [1].

The majority of studies on the agrarian history do not mention the ongoing resettlement activities in the 1920s. However, precisely in the 1920s the Soviet authorities through resettlement solved the problems of land shortage among peasants, studied new areas and systematically and rationally settled them. In view of the labor and orderly nature of migration, the state bodies and structures interested in the influx of labor were settling in migrants with the direct state support.

The methodological basis of the study is the principles of historicism, source study analysis and the objective approach to the studied processes. The principle of historicism (based on an analysis of a wide range of archival sources) makes it possible to uncover the essence of the phenomena studied and to study each phenomenon in development. To recreate the full reliability of the events studied, the source study method was used.

III. RESULTS

The complicated historical and military-political events in Russia in the first quarter of the XX century (The First World War, the February and October Revolutions of 1917, the civil war, the policy of 'war communism, devastation) made it necessary for the new Soviet power to solve the problem of colonization of Siberia and Central Asia, and of streamlining peasant resettlement beyond the Urals. The Provisional Government also set the task of using the pre-revolutionary experience in developing peasant colonization and eliminating mistakes in the organization of resettlement. In August-September 1917, to prepare materials for the Constituent Assembly, the Main Land Committee established the Commission for Resettlement and Colonization which recognized the need to continue the resettlement policy beyond the Urals. After the October Revolution of 1917, the Council of People's Commissars (CPC) gave the leadership of resettlement activities to the institutions that existed before the revolution. Control over their activities was carried out by the Migration Board which was transformed into one of the departments of the People's Commissariat for land affairs. Thus, land relations in Kazakhstan after the October Revolution took shape on the basis of agricultural colonization in the pre-October period. In fact, the Soviet government continued the migration policy of tsarist Russia.

At the beginning of 1918, the Colonization Bureau of the Commissariat of Agriculture was established in Petrograd with branches in Moscow, Samara and Verny to perform the following tasks:

- Informing farmers who wish to settle in Siberia about the conditions of moving, living, working, farming, and accommodating;
- Regulating the mass flow from the northern, central, Volga regions by directing it to certain areas;
- facilitating relocation;
- Identifying job opportunities and giving assistance to unemployed specialists, workers and laborers who migrated to Siberia;

- Identifying job opportunities and giving assistance to those who wished to work at the industrial enterprises of Siberia [2].

Thus, the Colonization Bureau was to monthly inform the Center on all the issues relating to immigrants and resettlement.

The civil war, which also took place on the Zhetysu territory, caused especially strong damage to the Lepsinsky and the northern part of Kopalsky uyezds where the troops of Annenkov, Shcherbakov, Dutov were held for a long time. Besides, in 1918, most of the Uyghurs and Kazakhs from the Vernensky and Dzharkentsky uyezds went to China. The number of farms in the Zhetysu region decreased from 173,900 (1916) to 135,000 (1920); the population decreased from 864,000 to 663,000 people [3]. Many peasants, frightened by the uprising of 1916 and then by the civil war, fled from these regions to Ukraine, the Kuban and the central governorates [4]. The famine in the fall of 1921 made the Kazakh and Russian population flee hundreds of farms and go to the west and the north (the Russians), and to the south-east (the Kazakhs).

After the civil war, during the so-called recovery period, the influx of immigrants to Zhetysu almost completely stopped. The same small groups of relocated peasants lived mainly in the old migrant villages and Cossack villages, without affecting the Kazakh and Kyrgyz land use. The land conflicts accumulated at the time of the October Revolution could not be resolved only by cessation of resettlement. The need for a radical revision of land relations put forward the land management of immigrants as one of the main activities.

The main task of the Soviet government in land management was using the revolutionary methods to eliminate outrageous injustices and conflicts created by tsarist immigration policy. In 1918-1919, the Russian peasantry was affected by the political processes taking place in the country, nevertheless, its proprietary interests were not seriously violated, and the resettled and the Cossack population kept their privileges.

The Turkistan Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (in its March 20, 1920 resolution) stated “extreme confusion of the land issue in the Zhetysu region, and extreme relationship aggravation between the alien and the indigenous population”. In this regard, in 1921-1922, land and water reform was carried out, returning about 150 thousand hectares of land to the indigenous population of Zhetysu [5]. During this period, the tasks of the People's Commissariat of Agriculture were:

- To eliminate national inequality and land seizures by the Russian population;
- To confiscate the property of wealthy peasants;
- To return land to the auls recently displaced and having thus experienced an acute economy crisis;
- To completely eradicate the exploitation of the agriculturally poor by the well-to-do Russian kulaks and Kirghiz bais;
- To rectify and regulate land and water use of the indigenous people and peasant migrants;
- To attract the population to collective forms of management and to streamline the existing farms.

All this meant the beginning of the genuine Soviet construction process which both the population and the economy suffered from [6].

The reform established the priority of the land-settled population: the entire population of Zhetysu, which arrived before February 19, 1918 and was engaged in agriculture, was included in the first stage of the land tenure eligible for actual land use. The population that arrived before October 30, 1922 was assigned to the second stage; it was settled on surplus lands after the land management of the first stage. The third stage included the entire population which arrived before December 1924 and land management of which became possible on a free land fund which was to be revealed during complete land management [7].

However, a number of reform provisions contained political errors. Thus, the authors of the reform failed to combine the national and class principles; they took the path of opposing the Kazakh aul to the resettlement village as a whole. Therefore, among those who received land and resettlement buildings were not only landless Kazakh laborers but also bais, and significant groups of poor and middle-income peasant farms were among the evicted. In the first half of 1921, a significant number of Russian and Mennonite farms were liquidated in Turkistan; in the second half of 1921, the elimination of resettlement farms continued. All these activities were carried out partly by direct decisions of republican organizations, and partly by the initiative of the Kazakh and Kyrgyz people or individual grassroots authorities. The reform, on the one hand, contributed to the development of Kazakh and Kyrgyz agriculture, and on the other, slowed down the restoration of resettlement agriculture.

At the beginning of 1922, orders No. 3 and No. 4 of the Talgarsky Executive Committee were issued on the expulsion of self-made peasants who resettled before 1916, to the former places of registration. Only during the period of work from May 16 to June 16, 1922, the Almaty uyezd land-use commission determined that 23 farms were to be evicted from the place of registration at the Aleksandrovskoe village, and 8 the Illiyskaya station. The Nizhne-Alekseevsky settlement was eliminated; it consisted of 46 households, of which 12 were evicted at the place of their registration and the remaining 34 moved into Aleksandrovskoe. From Aleksandrovskoe, 17 households were to be evicted, and from Illiyskaya, 22 households were to be evicted. The same commission settled 26 households temporarily evicted from the Kopalsky uyezd and 1 family from the Lepsinsky uyezd. They were distributed among the villages as follows: 16 families were sent to the Lepsinsky uyezd, 12 families to Dmitrievka, 6 families to Troitskaya, 1 family to Ostashkino, 3 families to Aleksandrovskoye, 4 families to Malovodnoe, 1 family to Issyk, 3 families to Bolshaya Stanitsa, and 7 families to Nikolaevka.

The peasants evicted from the Kopalsky and Pishpeksky uyezds settled in temporary apartments and were given the right to harvest hay. They were not given land for planting due to lack of such, and they had no tools because of property confiscation. In the report, the members of the land management commission wrote: "Economic expediency requires that, firstly, neighboring uyezds act more prudently in the matter of eviction, recognizing that the time has been lost. Second, simultaneously with the end of the sowing campaign, it is necessary to provide the evicted with the right to gather and take with them at least some of their crops". The commission provided the peasants (both subject to eviction and registered) a postponement of eviction till harvesting, citing the fact that they would no longer be able to sow in new places, and it would not be advisable to artificially create famine. Work can be quickened by issuing loans [8].

According to land reform, the Land Management Committee prepared an accounting statement on the movement of evicted citizens for 1922. In total, 278 peasant families (1,424 or more people) were evicted from the Almaty uyezd; these data indicate the scale of peasant eviction according to the land reform. Thus, 76 families (419 people) were evicted for various reasons from the village of Kazan-Bogorodsky, 61 families (320 people) were evicted from Samsonovskoye, 71 families (368 people) from Kaskelen, and 39 families (210 people) from the Novo-Rossiyskaya village [9].

This state of affairs complicated the relations between the Russian peasants and the Kyrgyz population. Peasants sent walkers to Moscow with complaints of irregularities in the conduct of land reform. In this regard, at the request of the Turkistan Central Executive Committee, the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee represented by the Chairman of the Central Executive Committee M.I. Kalinin and the All-Russian Central Executive Committee Secretary, A. Yenukidze, adopted an Appeal "To the entire population of the Zhetysu region" dated August 1, 1922, which admitted that "when the land reform was carried out in a hurry, mistakes could have occurred". The Appeal noted that from now on there will be no eviction and confiscation of livestock, and in future only land management of unsettled Russians and Kyrgyz will be carried out. Moreover these people will be the ones who were evicted or settled during the land reform.

The appeal said: "Let the Russian peasant firmly know that the rumors about the eviction of all the Russians from Zhetysu are a White Guard fiction, let the Kyrgyz population know for sure that the Soviet authorities will not allow any unauthorized seizure of land and cattle, and those responsible of such actions will be punished severely". The All-Russian Central Executive Committee called on all the workers — Russians and Kyrgyz, Dungans and Taranchi (Uyghurs) to work in peace and fraternal cooperation in the economic field [10].

It should be noted that the constantly emerging need for resettlement to the territory of modern Kazakhstan and Central Asia in 1918-1921 required determining the position of the state in relation to relocating peasants. The current situation testified to the existence of flows of immigrants in European Russia, and on the other hand, the absence of the possibility to settle them anywhere [11].

On December 30, 1922, at the First Congress of Soviets, the Declaration on the Formation of the USSR and the Union Treaty were signed. The new Soviet state recognized one of the areas of agrarian and socio-economic policy to be resettlement beyond the Urals, and the decision was made to start preparing a resettlement fund. The need for resettlement was justified by the tasks of raising the country's economy, not only agriculture but also industry, transport, and increasing exports of products from areas rich in various natural resources. The Soviet state was in a grain crisis; to increase the supply of agricultural products, the Soviet government launched a policy of settling nomads and semi-nomads to farm them, to pay land tax to the state treasury, to strengthen interethnic relations and to be engaged in the state internal policy. The Russian peasantry who had migrated beyond the Urals was to become a buffer between the nomads and the state, which would help locally strengthen the position of the Soviet power.

Since 1922, the bodies of statistical administration carried out all the research work on the evolution and dynamics of agriculture. The Central Statistical Committee of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic responded to the commission's questions that the survey and study of the village are carried out by:

- a) Developing agricultural census materials, which since 1921 were 5 and 10% studies of peasant farms in order to take into account population, livestock (by type and age), and acreage;
- b) Developing survey materials. The survey included agricultural farms which were the main subject of state taxation. In 1922, the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic produced a 10% cluster agricultural census, the results of which were published in the collection 'KSSR Agriculture' (1924). In 1923, dynamic studies were carried out subjected to a primary report. In 1924, a 5% spring survey was conducted. The research materials on peasant farms were to be published for the management or state organs of the KSSR [12].

The People's Commissariat of Agriculture of the KSSR reported to the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR A.I. Rykov that in 1925, work in the countryside was planned in two directions: study of changes in the forms of the peasant economy, the mood of the peasantry, its achievements during the revolution, and the refraction of the land policy of the Soviet government among the Kyrgyz population, the ways new forms of management of the settling Kyrgyz population reflected on its life, psychology, etc. [13].

The chairman of the CEC of the Kazakh Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic reported to the Presidium of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee that after the land reform in the Zhetysu governorate, the expelled Russian farms were left on their own and settled wherever the land management process took them; this continued until 1926. Local governorate land administrations repeatedly considered questions of the fate of the victims. The Council of People's Commissars of the RSFSR on March 29, 1926, decided to release 400,000 rubles to provide loan assistance to the evicted farms. However, 212,017 rubles were transferred to help only 2359 farms out of a total number of the evicted farms – 4367. On July 22, 1925, Kazakh People's Commissariat of Agriculture was invited to take measures to settle immigrants during the summer of 1925, to reimburse the cost of the buildings taken from them, and also to provide an estimate for their economic arrangement at a new location [14].

During this period, the Soviet government paid great attention to the village development. In July 1924, a commission was established in Moscow (lead by A.I. Rykov) on regulating the issues of village. Its task was to find out how the modern village was being examined and studied, to outline the measures to improve its study and to direct it along the policies of the government and the party.

The Commission decided to oblige the Central Statistical Directorate, the State Planning Committee, the Agricultural Cooperation, the department for work in the village of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the People's Commissariat of Agriculture of the RSFSR, the Commissariats of Agriculture of other republics, and the Turkistan Council of People's Commissars to present a certificate to the commission highlighting the methods used to survey and study the village; highlighting those aspects of peasant life and agriculture which were subject to primary examination; highlighting the surveys conducted since January 1, 1922 and the fact how the results of these surveys were used by the party organs and the Soviet institutions [15].

In 1924, single union citizenship was established in the USSR. At the same time, the development of a new system of state measures for organizing resettlement and cultural and economic revival of the outskirts of the USSR began, the ideology of the state regarding peasant migration changed, and the rhetoric of Soviet power changed accordingly. Thus, at a meeting of the Presidium of the CEC USSR on April 10, 1925, a draft resolution of the

USSR Central Executive Committee “On the establishment of the Central Colonization Committee under the CEC USSR and a draft regulation on this committee” was considered. The CEC Presidium members decided to adopt the title of the project as follows: “On the establishment of the All-Union Migration Committee of the CEC USSR” [16], that is, instead of the concept of ‘colonization’, implying the seizure of new territories and contrary to the official doctrine, a completely peaceful concept in the spirit of Marxist ideology is used – ‘relocation’.

The tasks of the All-Union Migration Committee included the general management of the migration policy in the USSR. The All-Union Migration Committee consisted of the representatives of all the union republics and of a number of all-union bodies, including the Central Statistical Bureau of the USSR.

On September 14, 1925, a draft Resolution of the Presidium of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee on the regulation of land relations in the KSSR and the Kyrgyz Autonomous Region was adopted. To regulate land relations in the KSSR and KAO, in addition to the published Regulations on Land Management of the nomadic and semi-nomadic people of the KSSR and the former Turkistan SSR, the All-Russian Central Executive Committee decided: “1. The closure of the Kazakh Republic and KAO for the resettlement of peasant farmers to its borders (unless by a special order of the central government) is to be confirmed.

2. In order to stop further unauthorized relocation to Kazakhstan and KAO, an all-union order is to be published. It will ban relocation to the KSSR and KAO territory with an issued warning to those who intend to relocate that land allotment to unauthorized immigrants is prohibited, and benefits for such travel to Kazakhstan and KAO and back are not granted.

3. In the areas people use as resettlement points and routes, information (in an accessible form to the peasants) is to be widely distributed (by the volost and village councils) on the impossibility of settling in Kazakhstan and KAO, indicating and explaining the devastating effects of unauthorized resettlement.

4. Settlers who arrived in Kazakhstan and the KAO before November 1, 1925, are to be recognized as eligible for allotment and are to be settled equal to the indigenous population, both in the villages recognized by the established procedure as multi-land, and on the state fund lands obtained due to the settlement of indigenous and long-time population.

Refugees of the imperialist and civil war returning from China are settled on their old places of residence where possible” [17].

This ban on any unauthorized resettlement of peasants within the Turkistan republic was associated primarily with difficulties in carrying out land reform and in order to prevent confusion in allotting land. However, soon, by a Resolution of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of September 19, 1925, a commission was set up to consider land management and land use issues within Kazakhstan and the Kyrgyz Autonomous Region, which noted that the All-Union Resettlement Committee realized the need to protect the Kazakhstan and the Kyrgyz Autonomous Region population from unauthorized immigrants (who were obstructing the planned land management) but was forced to reckon with the results of the spontaneous migration process. Therefore, a draft Resolution of the Presidium of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee was proposed on settling land relations in the KSSR and

KAO, in which the following considerations were expressed: first, granting the right to the local bodies of the KSSR and KAO to administratively evict all the newly arrived unauthorized migrants cannot be possible because according to Article 7 of the USSR Constitution, citizens of the Union republics have a common Union citizenship which conditions complete freedom of movement within the Union. According to Article 22 of the Constitution, any oppression of national minorities or restriction of their equal rights is contrary to the Basic Law of the Republic.

Article 222 of the Land Code of the RSFSR, with amendments relating to autonomous republics, considered the resettlement in the autonomous republics free and voluntary. Forced relocation, (and, consequently, eviction) could be allowed only in exceptional cases by the CEC with the relevant Autonomous Republic on the decisions of the Commissariat of this republic approved by the Federal Land Affairs Committee. At the same time, the costs of resettlement and land management of migrants in new places were to be reimbursed at the expense of state or local funds. Articles 223, 224, 225 provided only for the opening or closing of the planned resettlement. Thus, not a single citizen could be evicted from the republic or a region, and the only thing that could be done with regard to such citizen was to refuse them allotment if they could not find a society that accepts them (according to Article 46 of the Land Code) or if the land authorities did not have spare lands for labor use; second, the commission recognized that all the immigrants who arrived before 1918, were settled equal to the indigenous population [18].

In 1925-1927, the land acquisition was replaced by continuous land management, conducted on the basis of the adopted setting of the V regional party conference on the priority of land management of the Kazakh population. This setting was subsequently canceled; however, it was the most convenient cover for all the perversions and excesses of the land organs of that period.

At the meeting of the Presidium of the USSR Central Executive Committee on March 16, 1927, a decision was made to create collective and Soviet farms in the countryside [19]. The report of Kazakhstan District Executive Committee of the VI Party Conference explicitly stated that "in view of complete land management, collective farms were not managed, since such land management was considered as a violation of continuous land management" [20]. At the same time, there was a fierce struggle around the issue of land norms. A wide discussion unfolded between the so-called 'nationalists' and 'chauvinists' about the fate of agriculture in Kazakhstan in general. The 'nationalists' put forward a program that boiled down to the need for conservation and 'protection' of the nomadic cattle-breeding economy, i.e. the possibility of creating independent Kazakh agriculture as a branch of the economy was discredited. The 'chauvinists' did not take into account the great importance of animal husbandry in Kazakhstan and did not agree with the need to pre-eliminate the consequences of the tsarist colonization and the organization of the entire local population. They demanded the immediate opening of Kazakhstan for the resettlement of individual farms, demanded the immediate restriction of the Kazakh land use to the norms of a purely agricultural economy and the transfer for resettlement of all the 'surplus' land thus obtained.

According to the registration of immigrants from 1922 to 1925, 3,733 families or 20,368 people passed through Kazakhstan, of which about 17,450 in 1925 [21]. Chairman of the All-Union Migration Committee M.I. Latsis noted that the land management of such number of immigrants (who constituted only 0.32% in relation to the long-time population), could not be an unbearable burden on the land fund of the Republic, and therefore the All-Union

Migration Committee believed that the right to receive plots can be granted to all who arrived in Kazakhstan until November 1, 1925, i.e. up to the period in which migrants could receive the news of the Decree of September 14, 1925. It was noted that no queues should be established, since the population will follow the order of assigning occupied or vacant land to immigrants (if this does not violate the interests of the local population), as well as the order of land management of the indigenous and long-time population, especially since according to the Regulations on Land Management in the nomadic and semi-nomadic regions of the Turkistan and Kyrgyz Republics (Article 3 and 4), in the order of land management, all the available types of labor households are subject to allotment by the time the land management project is compiled [22].

By the mid-1920s, the negative consequences of land reform were manifested – there was an inflection in favor of the national ways (against the migrants), and ignoring the interests of the Russian peasants led to the return movement of the peasants to the European part of the USSR. The report of the Kyrgyz Economic Conference in 1923-1924, land disputes and “misunderstandings between the Russian and Kyrgyz population, turning into unwanted clashes” [23] are called as reasons for the flight of migrants from Kazakhstan. Even in 1929, the consequences of this were “insufficiency and uncertainty in land use”, and hence the “annual under-utilization of a significant amount of land,” as noted by the Zhetysu Planning Commission. The report of the Zhetysu Governorate Committee of the RCP for 1925 pointed out the slow pace of land management as the main brake on the expansion of acreage and the intensification of agriculture [24].

At the meeting of the Presidium of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of Soviets of Workers, Peasants and Red Army Deputies of September 14, 1925, the issue of land management and land use in Kazakhstan and the Kyrgyz Autonomous Region was considered, as a result of which it was decided: “2. To prevent any resettlement to Kazakhstan and KAO from other republics, regions and governorates until the new order of the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee. 3. To propose to the CEC of Kazakhstan to repeal its Resolution of April 11, 1925 on the prohibition of resettlement in the KSSR, on unauthorized resettlement inside it and on measures regarding land management of the already resettled persons. 4. To instruct the CEC of Kazakhstan to coordinate the Regulation on land management in the nomadic and semi-nomadic regions of the Turkistan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic of May 10, 1923 with the Regulation on land management of the nomadic, semi-nomadic and transitional population of the Kazakh SSR from April 17, 1924, and to develop, as soon as possible, the agreement on the specified Provisions and to submit them through the Federal Committee for Land Management for approval by the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee” [25].

Thus, the main measures taken by the Soviet government during the recovery period in relation to the migrant peasants, first, did not contribute to the separation of agriculture as an independent branch of the national economy; second, they created inter-ethnic friction; third, they were the stage of preparation for the transition of collective and state farms to land management.

IV. DISCUSSION

The union and autonomous republics faced a task to develop a plan for resettlement activities. At the meeting of the Presidium of the All-Union Migration Committee, held on January 26, 1926, with the participation of

representatives of the State Plan of the RSFSR, People's Commissariat of Finance, the Agriculture Committee, in order to link resettlement activities in the autonomous republics of the RSFSR with the general plan of activities in the USSR, 2 million rubles were allocated under the USSR budget for resettlement and land management in 10 autonomous republics, of which 1,250 thousand rubles were allotted to the Kazakh Republic. It was supposed to issue loans for the purchase of agricultural implements, working livestock, timber products for 32799 farms settled in 1922-1925, for 12900 farms settled in 1925-26, and to 8,000 farms evicted during land reform. At the expense of the emergency fund the following loans were issued: loans to 50% of farms from the 12900 farms settled in 1925-26 (100 rubles each, 650,000 rubles in total), and to 75% of farms from the 8000 farms evicted during the land reform (100 rubles each, 600,000 rubles in total) [26].

The acuteness that the resettlement took in most republics required the All-Union Migration Committee to urgently work out an all-union resettlement plan, linking the various interests and needs of the republics to the general political and economic tasks of the USSR. To this end, it was imperative to create a unified form of all of the following (existing in individual republics):

- a) Long-term plans for resettlement activities, as well as operational plans for 1925-26 with estimates for them;
- b) Data on the state of the land fund, indicating its distribution between different categories of land users;
- c) Data on the surpluses or deficiencies of the land fund in individual regions and in the republic as a whole in comparison with the need for it;
- d) Data on the number of population that could be accepted as absolutely redundant without harming the republics [27].

Besides, the governments of the Union republics were to create long-term plans for intra- and inter-republican relocations.

On January 18, 1928, the CEC, jointly with the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR, adopted the Decree "On the tasks of resettlement, its organization, the basics of creating resettlement plans and on how to finance resettlement measures", which stated that when creating an all-union resettlement plan and implementing it, it was necessary to proceed from the need for a solid economic development of low-inhabited areas of economic and political importance, and the use of their natural wealth in order to increase agricultural and industrial products, to unload overpopulated areas in order to improve the remaining farms and to regulate unauthorized resettlement.

When creating an all-Union resettlement plan, the All-Union Migration Committee of the CEC USSR was instructed to ensure rational use of newly irrigated areas of Central Asia by means of settlement, based on cotton development plan, and the use of rainfed and irrigated land in areas of the Turkistan-Siberian railway under construction. It was recommended to take into account the local economic interests and to ensure the land needs of the local population, for which the resettlement measures had to be fully consistent with land management measures.

The decree officially defined the role of the All-Union Migration Committee as the main body for organizing and managing resettlement. Its functions included opening resettlement directions; distributing immigrants by districts according to resettlement plans; aligning resettlement plans with industry deployment plans and determining the size of the labor force required for this; developing and submitting for approval by the USSR

legislative bodies a draft decree on benefits encouraging resettlement in certain districts; planning the transportation of immigrants by rail and waterways; and controlling the proper spending of funds allocated by the state for resettlement activities.

All the resettlement related expenses were allocated to the All-Union budget: expenditures on survey, research and identification of resettlement funds and the associated inter-settlement and intra-settlement (in case of withdrawal of land from the population) land management; dividing resettlement funds into sections; road construction; clearing forest areas; watering and other types of melioration necessary to bring funds into a state suitable for immediate use; maintenance of additional personnel of the central resettlement apparatus; granting loans to immigrants who are placed on immigration funds of all-union importance; expenses for medical, agronomic, veterinary, cultural, educational and other types of services for displaced people in poorly inhabited and uninhabited areas for at least one year of settlement; and all the costs associated with travelling and travel expenses of immigrants. The governments of the Union republics were proposed to make changes (arising from this decree) to the legislation of these republics within a month's time limit [28].

The attempts of the republics to "tightly close their borders against the invasion of unplanned immigrants" were not supported by the All-Union Migration Committee of the USSR. The process of resettlement of the peasantry from the European part of the USSR led to a change in the socio-demographic characteristics of the Kazakhstan population. Yet in the late 1920s, it became clear that the peasant resettlement to which the government paid great attention was quite costly and did not correspond to the country's social and political tasks; therefore, it declined and, in the end, was canceled.

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