

**ДЖИЕНАЛИЕВ ЕРЛАН КУРМАШЕВИЧ**

докторант, кафедра «Археологии и этнологии» исторического факультета Евразийского национального университета имени Л.Н.Гумилева
г.Астана, Республика Казахстан
e-mail: erlan.77@inbox.ru

**THE PROCESSES OF ADAPTATION OF POLES IN KAZAKHSTAN
IN THE XIX-XX CENTURIES**

Аңдатпа. 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. Мақалада поляктардың революцияға дейінгі дәуірде, Ұлы Отан соғысы қарсаңында және барысында депортация кезеңінде Қазақстанға қоныс аудару және бейімделу кезеңдері баяндалады. Қоныс аудару мен депортация кезеңдерімен қатар жер аударылғандардың, қоныс аударушылар мен жер аударылғандардың саны, шаруашылық, әлеуметтік, мәдени бейімделу түрлері егжей-тегжейлі сипатталады. 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. Қазақстан поляктары диаспораның мінсіз типі болды, олардың төменде аталған ерекше белгілері болды: өзінің бастапқы Отанынан күштеп ажыратылу, ұжымдық есте сақтау және жоғалған отанының мифологизациясы; әкелердің қиял мұрасын идеализациялау; қайта оралу қозғалысы; ұзақ уақыт сақталатын күшті топтық этникалық өзіндік сана; басқа елдердегі этникалық бауырластармен ынтымақтастық сезімі; этномәдени толеранттылықты көрсететін «иелері» бар қабылдаушы елдердегі жасампаздық және өмірді байыту мүмкіндігі; диаспораның біртектілігі, ішкі қайшылықтардың болуы; өзін-өзі ұйымдастырудың ішкі қабілеті, топтық ынтымақтастықтың болуы және т. б. Қорытындылай келе, қайғылы тарихи оқиғаларға қарамастан, қоныс аударушылар жасампаз еңбекке бейімделіп, Қазақстанның дамуына белсене араласа алды деген қорытынды жасалды. Материалдар практикалық құндылыққа ие, өйткені үкіметтің бұл тәжірибені қолдануы сөзсіз этносаралық келісім атмосферасын құру саласында практикалық қолдануға негіз болады.

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

Abstract. The study's relevance is caused by the fact that the Polish diaspora of Kazakhstan in the XIX-XX centuries has become a stable component of the republic's demographic, socio-economic, political, and cultural life, reflecting the model of successful adaptation of the ethnic group in a different cultural environment. 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 of and during the Great Patriotic War. Along with the periods of resettlement and deportation, the number of exiles, peasant settlers, and deported



Poles and types of economic, social, and cultural adaptation are described in detail. Creating settlements is described as a necessary condition for collective adaptation to Kazakhstan's natural and climatic conditions. Everyday adaptation is described in detail, which provides for the creation of an association on an ethnic basis for mutual assistance in new conditions and 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, and science; the Poles' contribution to Kazakhstan's culture 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. The Poles of Kazakhstan were an ideal type of diaspora, the distinguishing features of which were the following: forced alienation from their original homeland, collective memory and mythologization of the lost homeland; idealization of the imaginary heritage of the fathers; backward movement; a strong group ethnic identity that persists for a long time; a sense of solidarity with ethnic brethren in other countries; the presence of «masters» demonstrating ethnocultural tolerance, the ability to create and enrich life in the host countries; homogeneity of the diaspora, the presence of internal contradictions; the internal ability for self-organization, the presence of group cooperation, etc. Finally, it was concluded that, despite the tragic historical events, the settlers were able to adapt to the Kazakhstani realities through their creative work and actively participate in the development of Kazakhstan. The materials are of practical value since using this experience in current conditions will inevitably become the basis for practical application in creating an atmosphere of interethnic harmony in the Republic of Kazakhstan.

Key words: Kazakhstan, Siberia, exile, tsarism, resettlement, colonization, deportation, ethnos, settlers, catholicism, gentry, GULAG

Аннотация. 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 иной культурной среде. В статье освещаются этапы переселения поляков в Казахстан и их адаптации в дореволюционную эпоху, в период депортации накануне и в годы Великой Отечественной войны. Наряду с периодами переселения и депортации подробно описывается численность ссыльных, крестьян-переселенцев и депортированных поляков, виды хозяйственной, социальной, культурной адаптации. Описывается процесс создания населенных пунктов как необходимого условия коллективной адаптации к природно-климатическим условиям Казахстана. Подробно описана бытовая адаптация, предусматривающая создание объединений по этническому принципу для взаимопомощи в новых условиях, сохранения национального кода в иной этнической среде. Показана тенденция экономической адаптации, представляющая собой попытку адаптации к местным экономическим условиям, через занятие хозяйством, ремеслами, наукой, отмечен вклад поляков в культуру Казахстана. Особо отмечены социально-культурное взаимодействие переселенцев с местным населением, такие как совместные браки, взаимовлияние культур и другие. Поляки Казахстана были идеальным типом диаспоры, отличительными чертами которых были следующие: насильственное отчуждение от своей первоначальной Родины, коллективная память и мифологизация утраченной родины; идеализация вообразимого наследия отцов; движение назад; сильное групповое этническое самосознание, сохраняющееся длительное время; чувство солидарности с этническими собратьями в других странах; наличие «хозяев», демонстрирующих этнокультурную толерантность способность к созиданию и обогащению жизни в принимающих странах; однородность диаспоры, наличие внутренних противоречий; внутренняя способность к самоорганизации, наличие группового сотрудничества и др. В заключении был сделан вывод о том, что, несмотря на трагические исторические события, переселенцы смогли адаптироваться к казахстанским реалиям, своим созидательным трудом и активно участвовать в развитии Казахстана. Материалы имеют практическую ценность, так как использование этого опыта в современных условиях неизбежно станет основой для практического применения в области создания атмосферы межэтнического согласия в Республике Казахстан.

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



INTRODUCTION

The history of ethnic Poles of Kazakhstan dates back more than a century and a half, starting with the policy of tsarism on the forcible resettlement of Poles to the territory of Kazakhstan from the middle of the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, scientists began to seriously engage in the ethnographic study of the Polish population of Kazakhstan, including the processes of adaptation, only in the second half of the twentieth century. Before 1917, the issues of the ethnic history of Poles in Kazakhstan, the ethnographic study of Kazakhstan were not the subjects of special research, and during the Soviet period, for a long time, research on the problems of the Polish ethnic group living in the Republic of Kazakhstan was inaccessible or, at best, inaccessible to the general scientific community.

According to A.V. Remnev, the main content of the relations between the diaspora and the host society is adaptation. By adaptation, we mean the initial stage of integration, that is, «socio-cultural adaptation» and the entry of an immigrant group into the society of its host country. With this approach, even segregation can be an adaptation option, since the latter is not synonymous with acculturation or assimilation. In the process of adaptation, the diaspora acquires new qualities and skills: it determines its place in the system of division of labor, its economic niche in the host society, designates its social roles, develops special cultural and psychological characteristics into a specific mentality [1]

Poles of Kazakhstan are one example of the successful adaptation of an ethnic group to another ethno-cultural environment. Therefore, in the modern period, attempts are being made in the republic to renew research interest in this problem. Recently, the staff of the Institute of Philosophy and Political Science of the Ministry of Education and Science of the Republic of Kazakhstan conducted a comprehensive sociological study of adaptive practices of Poles in Kazakhstan, aimed at clarifying social, economic, and cultural problems and finding solutions to them. Over the past few years, several works have been published that examine the history and modern ethnosocial processes among Poles in Kazakhstan.

MATERIALS AND METHODS

In the course of studying the presented problem, we relied on works and documents, having studied which we could trace the processes of resettlement and adaptation of Poles in Kazakhstan. Essential sources for us were materials from the State Archive and archives of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan, the city of Nur-Sultan, as well as materials published in various collections of documents, the information provided by the Polish center of the Assembly of People of Kazakhstan, as well as Internet resources where there is a significant layer of information about this problem. In preparing this publication, the following methods of scientific research were used: a case study (method of specific situations), including analysis and synthesis of information, revealing the regularity, interrelation, and interdependence of processes; as well as the method of analogy, requiring the establishment of similarities in some aspects, properties, and relationships between non-identical objects of research, based on which we made the appropriate conclusions. Bibliometric quantitative methods were also used, with the help of the structure, dynamics, and interrelations of various phenomena in a library, information, and documentation activities. Content analysis is one of the bibliometric methods used by the author when writing this article. It was used to study significant arrays of documents: press works, normative-official, accounting, and other documentation. In the texts of the documents, some semantic units («observation units») were distinguished: the authors and titles of works, the type of publication, the date of issue, etc. A careful calculation of the identified units and the frequency of their use, taking into account the assessments that are given to them in the texts, made it possible to



identify trends in the development of various phenomena: the information interest of various groups of users to certain types and genres of documents, the level of information culture, the effectiveness of methods of working with consumers of documentary information, etc.

Scientometric methods were also used for quantitative studies of the structure and dynamics of arrays and flows of scientific information.

CONSIDERATION \ DISCUSSION

Three groups of sources represent sources on the history of adaptation of Poles in Kazakhstan:

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

The peculiarity of studying issues of the formation of the multiethnic structure of the population of Kazakhstan in the pre-revolutionary period was their consideration mainly through the prism of studying the history of the participants' exile. In this regard, the researchers focused on the determining factors of migration flows, the socio-economic and political consequences of resettlement, and the prospects for the interaction of migrants with the local population.

Numerous statistical materials can be included here. Among this group, we can single out the materials of the First General Population Census of the Russian Empire in 1897, containing the first official information on the number of major ethnic groups living in Kazakhstan, including Poles.

Among the works of Polish researchers of the late XIX-early XX centuries, Sigmund Librovich and Mikhail Yanik provide reviews of the life of Poles of Kazakhstan in exile on the territory of Kazakhstan and Siberia, numerical data are provided, and their socio-economic situation is analyzed.

Z. Librovich concluded that the Poles in exile, with few exceptions, have not lost either their national traits or their civic-patriotic feeling. At the same time, the successful socio-economic integration of migrants did not act as a guarantee of assimilation for Librovich [2].

According to M. Yanika, Siberia and Kazakhstan were a «school of practical democracy» for Poles, teaching representatives of various social strata, nations, and religions to live and work together. Here Poles got acquainted with Russian revolutionaries and Kazakh enlighteners and, supplemented their ideas about the social revolution, expanded their knowledge in geography, geology, and other sciences, without which it would be impossible to survive in the region [3].

In Soviet historiography and the studies of Polish historians, the problems of adaptation of Poles and cultural interaction were practically not raised. The topic of revolutionary ties remained a priority. At the same time, the 1860s received the most attention. It was assumed that during this period, the revolutionary ties of Poles, Russians, and Kazakhs left the sphere of ideological disputes and revolutionary propaganda and acquired paramount practical significance, mainly determining the social content, tactics, and chances of success of the liberation movement of people. The slogan «For our and your freedom!» became an imperative in Polish and Soviet historiography of the following time. Soviet historiography gave rise to the image of a Polish revolutionary who worked closely with Russian and Kazakh figures of the liberation movement. Emphasizing the commonality of the ideals and aspirations of the people, the researchers avoided ethnocultural collisions. Socio-economic, political, legal, and cultural aspects became a kind of background on which the main action was played out -the creation of secret Polish organizations and the establishment of contacts between



Polish and Russian revolutionaries, figures of the Kazakh national liberation movement [4].

The book by G.S. Sapargaliev and V.A. Dyakov, «Socio-political activity of exiled Poles in pre-revolutionary Kazakhstan», highlights the issues of the political activity of Poles exiled to Kazakhstan in the XIX century based on materials from numerous sources [5].

After Kazakhstan gained independence, there was a surge of interest in the topic of the exile of Poles in the XIX century and their deportation in the XX century, which was due not only to political motives but also to the opening of archives and publications of new documentary sources. The accumulation of a large amount of factual material allowed researchers to describe the living conditions of exiles and their socio-legal situation and raise the question of the existence of specific behavioral strategies of Poles in Kazakhstan and Siberia.

In the works of Russian and Polish researchers V.Slivovskaya[6], E.Kachinskaya [7] and S.G. Pyatakova [8] A.V.Remnev [9], E.N.Tumanik [10], L.K.Ostrovsky [11], S.G.Filya [12], T.P.Mosunova [13], N.Galetkina [14], B.S.Shostakovich [15], A.A.Krikh [16] and other authors increasingly use the term «adaptation». Almost all the activities of Poles in Kazakhstan and Siberia are beginning to be viewed through the prism of this concept. However, the life troubles of the exiles turned into adaptation difficulties, and successes were presented as a consequence of high adaptive potential or favorable external conditions.

V. Slivovskaya identified three variants of adaptation strategies of Polish exiles: The first type - was the rebels who prepared escapes, made plans for an uprising, and were always ready to be punished for their actions. This type was formed, first of all, in the Russian troops, where Poles were massively exiled to the first half of the XIX century. The second type – contemplative-philosophical – grew out of recognizing Siberia as a school of character, giving unlimited opportunities for internal improvement. Finally, the third type, the most common, manifested itself in an attempt to create special rules of life in new conditions that would allow exiles to improve socio-economic conditions, satisfy spiritual needs, and help compatriots [17].

The study of the history of the deportation of Poles to the territory of Kazakhstan began in epy 1930-1940s. The Archive of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan has published a collection of documents called «From the history of Poles in Kazakhstan» (1936-1956), where mentioned tragic events are consecrated [18].

Mikhailova L.A. [19] and Volkov A.V. [20], in their studies, showed the processes of deportation of Poles to the territory of Kazakhstan during the period of forced resettlement and their mutual relations with the local population.

Despite the extensive source material about the Poles of Kazakhstan, they only superficially sanctified the processes of their adaptation to new conditions. The Polish population's economic, social, cultural, and household adaptation during the tsarist exile and forced deportation during the Great Patriotic War have not been sufficiently studied.

CONCLUSION

The first Pole recorded to visit territories of Kazakhstan was Benedict Pole, a Polish Franciscan, traveler, and researcher. He accompanied Giovanni Plano de Carpini on his journey as the ambassador of Pope Innocent IV across the Kazakh steppes to the Mongol Empire in 1245-1247 to the grandson of Genghis Khan, the Great Khan Guyuk. He walked along the Silk Road through the south of Kazakhstan, recording in his diaries the realities of life and everyday life of the distant ancestors of today's Kazakhs. As a result, Benedict became the author of a short chronicle, «On the journey of the lesser brothers to the Tatars», which contains information about the medieval tribes of Kazakhstan.



At the beginning of the XVII century, the first Poles-prisoners of war who were captured due to an unsuccessful intervention in Russia - came to Siberia and Northern Kazakhstan.

The first stage of the mass migration of Poles to the territory of Kazakhstan occurred at the end of the XVIII and the whole XIX centuries. It was associated with the sending to Siberia and Kazakhstan participants in the Polish uprisings of 1794, 1830-1831, and 1863-1864.

The first Poles in Northern Kazakhstan were officers of the Shirvan and Neteburg regiments who served in the tsarist troops and arrived to build fortresses of the Novoishimskaya line. At the end of the XVIII century, the number of settlers in Northern Kazakhstan was replenished by the rebels led by Tadeusz Kosciuszko and defeated by the tsarist troops.

After the suppression of the Polish uprising of 1830-1831, several thousand Poles were exiled to Siberia. Most were assigned to the Siberian Cossack Army and placed on fortified lines. The defeat of the Polish conspiratorial organizations of the 1920s and the national liberation uprising of 1830-1831 led to a rapid increase in the number of exiles. Bronislav Zalessky, who arrived in exile in the 40s, wrote that there were more than two thousand repressed Poles in the fortresses of the Orenburg Region at that time. According to official data preserved in the papers of the Orenburg Governor-General V.A. Obruchev, in 1850, there were 1,667 «fined lower ranks» in the Orenburg corps, mainly from Poles [21].

After the defeat of the Polish uprising of 1863-1864, 128 were executed, 972 were exiled to hard labor, 1427 were settled in Siberia and Kazakhstan, 325 were given to soldiers, 864 were exiled to prison companies, 1529 were exiled to the inner provinces, and 9631 people were resettled to state lands within the empire. The total number of Polish exiles was approaching 40 thousand [22].

On January 1, 1867, the following numbers of Polish had been exiled to the districts of the Tobolsk province: Omsk-1274, Tobolsk-430, Tarsky-540, Ishim-494, Turin-7, Yalutorovskiy-7, Kurgan-10.

In Tomsk province, in July 1865, there were more than 5 thousand Polish exiles. In the cities and districts of the Tobolsk province (Omsk, Petropavlovsk, Ishim, Kurgan, etc.), by January 1, 1867, 656 people were exiled to residence with deprivation of certain rights under the supervision of the police, 833 people were exiled administratively, 827 and 347 people were exiled in the cities and districts of the Tomsk province, respectively. In the Semipalatinsk region, 38 Poles were under police supervision in 1866. The police report indicated that the persons named in it were exiled for political affairs and «unreliable way of thinking.» There were 480 Poles in the line battalions of Western Siberia who were sent to military service for «political crimes». Only 43 Polish soldiers served in the sixth battalion in the Kapala fortification and the seventh battalion in Sergiopol (Ayaguz)-22 Polish soldiers [23].

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

Petropavlovsk's letter of political exiles addressed to the governor of Akmola, dated February 14, 1889, is characteristic. It described the bullying of the guards, who did not give the exiles rest day or night, interfered in their personal lives, constantly harassed them, and forced the owners of the apartments to monitor their every step [24].

Mass repressions caused the need for the legal regulation of the conditions in which the exiled and resettled Poles had to be. On March 5, 1864, the tsar approved the rules for



the expulsion and placement and returned to police supervision of the uprising participants. The «political criminals» expelled from Poland by a court and administrative procedure were divided into categories. Those sentenced to detention in prison companies after the end of the term were appointed to settle in the Yakut and Turukhansky territories and the Arkhangelsk and Tobolsk provinces.

The financial situation of Poles in Kazakhstan was also complicated. Those with specialties could not find a job since there were almost no industrial enterprises in the places of exile. As a rule, the Minister and the Governor-General refused requests from political exiles to allow them to work for hire in State and public institutions.

Many of the exiles arrived without their families, hoping that exile was a temporary measure of punishment and that they would soon return to their homeland. However, the tsarist authorities decided differently. The Resettlement Commission began to find out from the exiles whether they would like to discharge their families. The exiles refused, stating they did not want to put their relatives at risk since they did not know what awaited them in the future. However, the resistance could not last long. The authorities broke him with the help of pressure and various tricks. The head of the Tobolsk province, Despot-Zenovich, wrote on June 10, 1865, that immigrants were being inspired to settle in Siberia for permanent residence and therefore, to strengthen and improve their way of life, they should try to create their economy faster [25].

For a long time, the Polish exiles being settled did not receive the allowance they had received from the treasury. And then it began to be issued in parts, so the exiles could not get a farm.

Driven to poverty and despair, the Poles organized hundreds of escapes, which almost always failed in the vast expanses of Siberia and Kazakhstan. Polish exiles hoped for the help of the Kazakhs and often received it. One of the fleeing Poles said that about 150 of them intended to reach the Kazakhs. A Pole and a Kazakh led this group. A group of Polish soldiers escaped from the Kapala fortification, trying to get to their homeland through China. A Tatar showed them the way. The Tsarist administration in 1864 decided that the return to the troops of «persons Polish origin, who committed escapes to evade military service, is dangerous for the dignity and morality of the army, which indicates ill will towards the government.» It was decided to put «deserters» of Polish origin on trial on a general basis to impose additional punishments in the form of exile to the most remote places of Siberia in addition to the sentence [26].

As an indicator of the adaptation process, historians are considering the Poles' solution to the dilemma: to stay in Siberia or to leave? However, upon closer examination, it turned out that the choice of exiles was not always the result of internal self-determination. Professor of the University of Gdansk F. Novinsky, considering the problems of the implementation of the amnesty of 1856, noted that the decision of the exile to stay in Siberia was influenced by many external factors: the inconsistency of the actions of local and central authorities, the lengthy procedure for obtaining an exit permit, bureaucratic delays. Some exiles could not leave due to the unwillingness of the local authorities of the Kingdom of Poland to accept the amnestied or the lack of money for the Poles to move. The adaptation of those who returned to the Polish or western provinces also did not go smoothly, confirmed by numerous examples when former exiles, finding themselves in their homeland without money and work, sought to return to the Trans-Urals [27].

The lack of hope for a return and the negative attitude towards the first Polish exiles convinced the Poles «that Siberia and Kazakhstan are a new homeland for them, that one way or the other should be strengthened 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 the Polish Diaspora in places of exile.

The Polish exile of the XIX century represented an almost ideal type of diaspora, consistent with most of the features identified: dispersion concerning their original homeland, often violent, collective memory and mythologization of the lost homeland; idealization of the imaginary heritage of the fathers; return movement; strong group ethnic identity, persisting for a long time; a sense of solidarity with ethnic brethren in other countries; the possibility of creative and enriching life in host countries with «hosts» showing ethnocultural tolerance; heterogeneity of the diaspora, the presence of internal contradictions; internal capacity for self-organization, the presence of group solidarity, etc.

Russian sociologist V.D. Popkov identified eight criteria by which it is possible to classify diasporas: common historical fate, legal status, circumstances of appearance, the nature of motivation for resettlement, the nature of stay in the territory of the settlement region, the presence of a «base» in the region of a new settlement, «cultural similarity» with the host population and the presence of state entities on the territory countries of origin [28].

According to I.V. Romanova, Poles in the XIX century created an «internal diaspora» on the principle of «homeland as a place of exile». The peculiarity of the existence of the Polish diaspora was that the Poles were subjects of the Russian Empire. This fact allows us to attribute the Polish diaspora to an «independent type» and consider their migration as a component of the «internal colonization of the Russian Empire» [29].

Two variants of the diaspora interpretation will be significant for our research. Firstly, the definition of the diaspora developed within the framework of the sociological school as a stable set of people of a single ethnic origin living in a non-ethnic environment outside their historical homeland and having social institutions for the development and functioning of this community [30].

Such a positivist interpretation of the diaspora will allow us to explore the external parameters of Polish exile. In this case, the functioning of the diaspora is analyzed through the activities of specific organizations, communities, ethnic communities, and national cultural organizations. The main component of its activities is the opposition to assimilation and the preservation of cultural identity.

In the study, we will first be interested in group forms of adaptation that allow us to distance ourselves from ethnopsychology and consider national relations as a kind of social interaction. The degree of integration of members of the diaspora in the host society is considered according to the following criteria: the presence of official work, the intensity of contact of members of the diaspora with the outside world, the correspondence of the behavior of members of the diaspora with the outside world, the correspondence of the behavior of members of the diaspora with the requirements of the host society, the presence of a diasporic identity.

E.L. Nitoburg identified several factors that determine the form and duration of the adaptation process: the qualitative characteristics of the diaspora (the orientation of the group, the socio-class composition of the method of settlement) and the external conditions of adaptation (the attitude of the ruling circles and authorities, various segments of the population, public opinion of the recipient country, socio-legal status).

Heterogeneity of the diaspora, which means different readiness of its components to adapt; heterogeneity of external factors (the territory of Kazakhstan differs in climatic, socio-cultural, economic conditions), nuances of the legal status of exiles -all this actualizes the study of Polish exile in individual administrative units [31].



The process of adaptation of Poles in Kazakhstan and the transformation of their identity accompanied the entire period of exile. Already in the memoirs of exiles, we find descriptions of Polish colonies or meetings with compatriots who had previously found themselves in Kazakhstan. In their person, the memoirists wanted to see those whose example and practical survival experience in Kazakh society could be relied on [32].

Kazakhstan's experience was assessed by contemporaries, as a rule, according to two components: the economic well-being of the Polish migrant and his national identification. The latter was determined by external factors-whether a compatriot spoke Polish, whether he retained the faith of his fathers, and whether he entered into a mixed marriage. Without these landmarks, Poles were identified based on the sound of surnames, clothing features, lifestyle, or «Polish type of person».

S.G. Pyatakova identified three periods of adaptation in Siberia of exiled Poles in the 60s of the XIX century.

1.1860s. -the structure of the life of Poles in Siberian exile

2.1870s-life and activity in Siberia, completion of initial socio-economic and socio-cultural adaptation

3.1880-1890s -return to the homeland after the amnesty of 1883 or continuation of life in Siberia [33].

By being under challenging conditions, Polish exiles sought to unite for mutual support. It is the first stage of adaptation and was caused by the natural need of people to be cut off from their homeland, from the familiar environment and valuable activities. Unification made it easier to adapt to the conditions of exile and not to lose their national ideals and political beliefs. In most cases, the exiles did not seek isolation from the environment into which fate had thrown them; many actively tried to engage in social and political life. At the same time, they tried to attract representatives of other peoples to their associations.

In the 20s of the XIX century, Poles exiled to Orenburg were united in a community. Having experience in conspiratorial work, they tried to include reliable people in it. One of the organizers of the fraternity was Jan Vitkevich. The main tasks of the community, or the circle of Polish exiles, are mutual support (moral, material), exchange of views 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, etc. According to the testimony of F. Lazarevsky, the Orenburg circle was the center of activity of exiles in the Orenburg region. According to B. Zalesky, «in every battalion, in every fortification, there was someone who ruled over 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. Visitors could relax or read some book, and the books the exiles had in their various homes kept up the spirit and helped expand their knowledge.» The Orsk circle of 1847-1850 can serve as an example of the association of exiles in a remote garrison.»

The political exiles of the 60s showed a fervent desire for liberation and unshakable confidence that they could achieve it. Already on the way to exile, attempts were made in some parties to start organizations and establish committees to unite exiles.

From archival materials, it can be seen that in almost all places in Siberia where Polish exiles were, during 1846-1866, committees, mutual aid funds, and libraries were created. In the mid-60s, numerous organizations of exiled Poles, divided into hundreds and dozens, covered almost the whole of Siberia and maintained contact with Moscow and St. Petersburg [34].

In the XIX century, centers of Polish culture appeared in Siberia and Kazakhstan, where Poles, exiles, and voluntary migrants were concentrated. First of all, these large



family homes have become a center of cultural and psychological support, «a real haven for fellow countrymen.» Meetings in «Polish houses», the celebration of name days, national and religious holidays, living together, and farming—all these numerous examples reflected in the memoir literature allowed Polish researchers V. Slivovskaya and Ya. Trynkovsky assumes that the exiled Poles showed a particular inclination (or even need) to focus and self-organization [35].

The diaspora members faced a choice: to accept the norms and values of the new society, abandon the values that define identity, or remain marginalized by traditional views. The correspondence between the fundamental attributes of the values and norms of the individual and the host social groups can be considered an indicator of adaptation. The one who has learned to behave under the norms established by the members of the new society has adapted well. Culture is the primary mechanism by which human collectives adapt to the environment, and its most apparent manifestation is behavioral models. The most striking variant of this phenomenon is represented by the charters of mutual existence societies that existed in many Siberian and Kazakh cities.

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

One of the crucial points of the charter of Polish organizations was the requirement not to have relations with dissolute women and not to marry. In Polish literature, «involuntary celibacy», the facts of restraint of love for women of other faiths were considered a positive factor, and examples of mixed marriages were justified by vital necessity, devoid of feelings and romanticism.

Maintaining the high moral character of the exiles, the Polish community tried to increase the group authority of representatives of the Polish people in Siberian and Kazakh societies.

An essential factor in the ethnocultural adaptation of Poles was religion. According to researchers, the construction of a church in a particular locality testified to the formation of a Polish colony or was the culmination of its consolidation [36].

Of all the social institutions within the Polish colonies, T.P. Mosunova believes that the Catholic community should be recognized as the first to preserve national identity. It represented a universal structure that allowed it to cover all spheres of society. Erasing social and other differences, the Catholic community included the entire diaspora, offered ready-made mechanisms of governance and self-government, and carefully preserved traditions, language, and everyday life [37].

At the turn of the century, the development of ethnic-confessional communities passes into the next stage - the stage of «tradition». Enclave villages and keepers of ethnocultural traditions appeared on the territory of Northern Kazakhstan. The well-known isolation of Polish society and the productive missionary activity of the Catholic clergy led to the fact that even before entering into a steady process of modernization, the Polish diaspora managed to find the stage of «tradition» [38].

In the process of adaptation, there is not only a transformation of the ethnic and religious components of the identity of migrants but also the emergence of a religious identity, which gradually replaces the one conditioned by the position of the migrant.

According to L.V. Kalmina, during the XIX- early XX centuries. Poles have the next stage of adaptation - «building bridges» across the gap separating the «newcomers» and the «indigenous», the convergence of the characteristics of the mentality of both to the extent that it turns out to be necessary and acceptable for them. It manifested itself in the



«cautious» integration of Poles with a constant look at their national and religious worldview [39].

This adaptation stage led to the Russification of most exiles, often through mixed marriages.

The famous Russian ethnographer S.V. Maksimov considered mixed marriages the main enemy of Polish identity: «Children born of a Polish father and a Siberian mother, using the mother's language, only in facial features or character manage to retain traces of Polish origin. However, it is worth this half-breed to marry a Siberian woman so that the most biased and enthusiastic Pole will not find the slightest signs of Polish blood in his grandchildren.»

Most Poles who found themselves in Kazakhstan and Siberia quickly merged in language and ethnic identity, primarily with the Russian population, and apart from surnames, they had nothing Polish. «Russification of exiled Poles seems to be a tangible and indisputable phenomenon in Siberia,» wrote S.V. Maksimov [41].

But it is worth this half-breed to marry a Siberian woman so that the most biased and enthusiastic Pole will not find the slightest signs of Polish blood in his grandchildren.

Most Poles who found themselves in Kazakhstan and Siberia quickly merged both in language and ethnic identity, primarily with the Russian population, and apart from surnames they had nothing Polish. «Russification of exiled Poles seems to be a tangible and indisputable phenomenon in Siberia,» wrote S.V. Maksimov [41].

The process of Russification 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 join the economic niche of the region through their profession. This led to the third stage of adaptation-economic.

The exiled Poles were divided into two categories: the peasant class and the privileged. The government tried to settle representatives of the first category of the government on state-owned lands for the Poles to become engaged in agriculture. They were given a state subsidy to set up a farm for cultivating the land.

According to Polish historians Sigmund Librovich and Mikhail Yanik, Poles, with few exceptions, have not lost their national traits or civic-patriotic feeling in Siberia. At the same time, the successful socio-economic integration of migrants did not act as a guarantee of assimilation for them. On the contrary, the Polish element did not disappear into the Siberian space but found a niche for its economic realization.

In their opinion, Siberia and Kazakhstan were a «school of practical democracy» for Poles, having taught representatives of various social strata, nations, and religions to live and work together. In Kazakhstan, Poles got acquainted with representatives of the pre-medieval Kazakh intelligentsia and with Russian revolutionaries. An example of this is the friendship between Adolf Yanushkevich and Kunanbai, Severin Gross, and the great Abai. Polish exiles were imbued with a sense of support and compassion for the Kazakh people, who, like them, lived in conditions of tsarist colonial oppression.

Exiled Poles could not always engage in the pedagogical activity. At the beginning of 1855, the Ministry of Education adopted a special resolution, which stated that certificates issued in the Kingdom of Poland for the right to engage in home education are not binding in the empire. This resolution was adopted by the administration of Western Siberia and the Orenburg Region [42].

Most of the exiled Poles had a good education. Therefore, the settlers were involved in the scientific, cultural, and economic spheres of occupation. Usually, during exile, the Poles managed to try out several types of activities.



Many exiled Poles in Kazakhstan for many decades approached and cooperated 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 the friendship of peoples, on which interethnic harmony and stability in independent Kazakhstan are now based.

Among the natives of Polish exiles were doctors who treated the Kazakh population. Among them should be mentioned Arkady Vengzhinovsky and Gilyary Gonsovsky, Alexander Przystansky, and Adam Przegodsky. Not only teachers and doctors, but also many other exiled Poles, most often not on duty, but as a personal initiative, were engaged in the establishment of local history museums, the organization of public libraries, and other cultural and educational institutions. Here you can name Tomas Zan, Mikhail Zelenka, and Severin Gross. All of these and many other exiled Poles have made a certain contribution to the cultural development of the Kazakh people, to the formation of the views of such outstanding sons as Shokan Ualikhanov and Abai Kunanbayev.

Perhaps the most important thing was that the exiled Poles had a beneficial effect on the public life of Kazakhstan.

Exiled Poles, who for various reasons found themselves on the distant outskirts of the then Russian Empire, sometimes occupied quite significant posts in the tsarist administration or turned out to be officials in border commissions or other bodies in charge of the Kazakh population. As an example, let's name Karol Gutkovsky, who held the position of chairman of the regional board of Siberian Kazakhs.

Polish exiles made a significant contribution to the geological, geographical, botanical, and zoological research of Kazakhstan, to the study of the ethnography and history of the Kazakh people, their poetic creativity, and music. Among them are Jan Vitkevich, who crossed the Kazakh steppes between Orenburg and Bukhara several times and left a description of his travels; Adolf Yanushkevich, who carefully studied and described the northeastern part of Kazakhstan; a group of Polish geologists led by Tomas Werner and Ludwik Turno, who searched for coal off the shores of the Aral Sea and on Mangyshlak; Adam Byalovsky, who was engaged in geological research in the Ust-Kamenogorsk area and made a serious contribution to the study of the problem of glaciation of the Altai Mountains, etc.

Among the Polish exiles were poets, writers, and artists. Some of them became famous for their works dedicated to the Kazakh people, whom they treated with great sympathy and love.

A large concentration of Poles in the XIX century in was the city of Semipalatinsk. A Polish doctor I. Domashevich worked there.

In 1883, Ts.I. Teraevich, a graduate of the medical faculty of Moscow University, being a participant in the Polish uprising of 1863-1864, came to Ust-Kamenogorsk. In Ust-Kamenogorsk, he worked as a city and county doctor, and in 1900 he held the position of doctor of the 1st district of Ust-Kamenogorsk County. When the cholera epidemic began in Ust-Kamenogorsk in 1892, Ts.I. Teraevich took an active part in the fight against it [43].

There is information about the activities of Adam Belovezhsky and Yevgeny Michaelis among Polish exiles in Ust-Kamenogorsk. They completed a geological map of the city, then A. Belovezhsky dealt with the problems of glaciation of the Altai Mountains, and his discoveries are still recognized by scientists around the world. Research in the Semipalatinsk area was conducted by Joseph Shishkovsky and Edward Ostrovsky [44].



Adolf Yanushkevich collected Kazakh folklore for 18 years and then published the material in Paris. A. Yanushkevich, as you know, met Kunanbai more than once, and he could likely have known his brilliant son, Abai.

Tomash Zan was nothing but a «stone seeker» for the Kazakhs. Having come here to Kazakhstan, after a high-profile trial of members of a patriotic student society, he engaged in geological research.

Adam Suzip studied the customs of the residents. Before returning to his homeland, he wrote the poem «Rider», thereby inspiring another exile-Gustav Zelinsky -to create the poems «Kirghiz» and «Steppe».

«The life of the Kyrgyz (Kazakh) steppes» is the name of his album of etchings made during the expedition to Mangyshlak by Bronislav Zalesky, who wrote a lot about Kazakhstan. A member of a secret political society, he was sentenced to soldiering on Mangyshlak, and in 1865, after serving his exile, Zalesky published this unique publication in Paris, provided with his detailed commentary.

S. Gross was exiled to Semipalatinsk in 1883. Here he owned a large library, the books of which he allowed everyone interested to use. He was one of the organizers of the construction of the Local history museum of Semipalatinsk in 1883.

While in exile, S. Gross became closely acquainted with Abai Kunanbayev, a Kazakh poet and educator. There in the steppe, the great akyn informed the exiled Pole about the legal traditions of the Kazakhs.

The exiled Jan Vitort, who lived in Semipalatinsk in the, also wrote about his meeting with A. Kunanbayev. He was also interested in the laws of the Kazakhs, which he wrote about in an article «From the steppes of Central Asia» published in the Lviv magazine «People».

The poet Gustav Zelinsky wrote a wonderful poem «Kazakh», translated from Polish into many foreign languages, and the artist Bronislav Zaleski, an album with Kazakh sketches which was published in Paris and was widely distributed not only in France but also in other countries. Exiled Poles took an honorable place among those who opened the Kazakh people to Western Europe and the whole world a hundred and fifty years ago.

Pole Alexander Zatayevich (1868-1936), People's Artist of the Kazakh SSR, collected 2500 folklore works of the Kazakh people and is one of the founders of Kazakh piano music.

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

The most common activity of exiles was mastery: 25% of Poles were engaged in it. 19.5% of exiles earned their bread by service, 16.4% by writing, and 15.7% by agricultural work. The labor of 7.5% of exiles was used in «free», «miscellaneous», «day labor», «simple» and «black» jobs. These jobs did not require high qualifications and, as a rule, were poorly paid [45].

Poles opened handicraft workshops: shoemaking, locksmithing, and sewing. They built hotels, restaurants, shops, and retail shops. They founded small enterprises: breweries, soap factories, and creameries. They worked as teachers and doctors. The exiled Poles were people of different ages and different professions: poets, artists, doctors, architects, lawyers, and many others. Some of them served their sentences in hard labor, after which they surrendered for military service and were distributed to different linear Siberian battalions, others were expelled to the Semipalatinsk region for settlement. Sometimes Poles were sent to the Semipalatinsk region from neighboring Siberian provinces, where they served their sentences in whole batches. So, in 1864, a party of political criminals of Polish origin consisting of 26 people was sent from the city of Barnaul to the city of Ust-Kamenogorsk under the supervision of the police [46].



Some of the Polish immigrants were able to settle in the village, adapting to a new way of life and way of farming. Some Poles seriously took up the arrangement, marrying Orthodox peasant women and achieving considerable prosperity.

Adam Valichek came from the gentry of the Kyiv province. For his participation in the uprising of 1831, he was exiled to Siberia as a soldier. After completing his service, he settled in the city of Ust-Kamenogorsk and married the daughter of a retired private Matryona Sitnikova, from whom his son Vasily was born. By profession, Valichek was a tailor. He knew Polish and Russian letters. He died in Ust-Kamenogorsk in 1890 [47].

Anton Voitsekhov Yaskovyak was sent to military service for his participation in the uprising of 1831, from which he resigned in 1848. After the end of the service, he remained permanently in Ust-Kamenogorsk, converted to Orthodoxy, and married a Cossack daughter, Fekla Zlobina, by whom he had a son, Nazar, and a daughter, Anna. He was a stonemason and an excellent stove maker, also engaged in fishing [48].

Vikenty Semyonovich Artsishevsky was exiled to Siberia in 1863 and assigned to military service with the deprivation of the right of nobility. Since 1869, being under the supervision of the police, he lived in the city of Ust-Kamenogorsk. He married a soldier's widow, Alexandra Konstantinovna Muchkina, with whom he had three children. After the removal of police supervision from him, in 1870 he became a clerk and gave private writing lessons. From 1875 he worked as an accountant in the city council until his death. In his spare time, he is engaged in beekeeping [49].

Adolf Vikentievich Zemlevsky came from the nobility of the Vilna province. In 1864, he was exiled to Ust-Kamenogorsk, where he married a philistine widow, Fedosya Filatova, with whom he had a son, Semyon. He was engaged in farming and beekeeping.

S. Yavorovsky was exiled to Ust-Kamenogorsk in the 70s of the XIX century. In 1881, he married a philistine, Kodintseva Evdokia Osipovna. Stanislav Yavorovsky was engaged in trade and beekeeping in Ust-Kamenogorsk and was also one of the founders of the Ust-Kamenogorsk Brewery [50].

The second stage of the resettlement of Poles to the territory of Kazakhstan dates back to the late XIX-early XX centuries and is associated with the resettlement policy of tsarism. According to the first general population census conducted by the tsarist Russian authorities in 1897, 11,597 Poles already lived 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 XIX – early XX centuries was directed to Siberia and Kazakhstan, although the colonization flow was dominated by Russians and Ukrainians. But a few Polish peasants from the Kielce and Lublin provinces in 1906-1910 moved deep into the Russian Empire: Orenburg province, Omsk province, Ishim Region, and Western Siberia in general. The Stolypin reform played a significant role in this [51].

During this stage, Polish displaced peasants underwent economic, social, and cultural adaptation in the new region. Household adaptation provided for the emergence of settlements based on ethnicity and the construction of dwellings adapted to the natural and climatic conditions of Kazakhstan. The harsh climatic conditions of Kazakhstan have become a test for the migrants. The lack of timber in the counties created additional difficulties. The displaced peasants could not deliver timber for 10-20 versts, because they did not have horses. «They could not buy horses because the allowance was «released to them «in a limited amount and in parts» [52].

The Russian population established in the studied region in the construction of winter dwellings first adapted to the local natural conditions and proceeded from the availability of



local, building material. Therefore, in the steppe treeless areas of the region, wild stone and turf were used as building materials, as with the Kazakhs.

Economic adaptation provided for the adaptation of farming to local climatic conditions and the gradual dominance of cattle breeding, which for centuries has been the guarantor of the survival of the local Kazakh population.

The largest influx of forced migrants to Northern Kazakhstan occurred in the second third of the XX century and it was associated with the forcible deportation of Poles by the Soviet government.

The pre-war years opened the «black pages» of history for many peoples of the USSR. Stalin's repressive policy, gaining momentum, increased the scale of deportations of peoples, turning the republic into a testing ground for punishing these peoples.

The reasons and historical conditions for the resettlement of Poles to Kazakhstan from 1936 to 1956 were connected both with the internal policy of the USSR and with global events in world history: the repressions of the mid-30s in the Soviet state and the outbreak of World War II. In total, 118 to 123 thousand Poles were arrested in the USSR during this period. This category had the status of «special settlers» and was under the strict control of the NKVD. The Soviet authorities resettled Poles in many areas of the country, where in difficult conditions they were forced to work on collective farms, mines, and factories.

The legal basis for the illegal action of evicting an entire ethnic group of Poles was the Resolution of the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR No. 776-120 ss. dated April 28, 1936 «On the resettlement of persons of Polish nationality from the Ukrainian SSR» [53].

In 1936, about one hundred thousand Poles were arrested from the regions bordering Poland in Ukraine and transported to Kazakhstan under the control of the NKVD.

The first wave of Poles arrived in 1936, then in 1937-1938 and 1944. According to the recommendation of the land survey commission, it was decided to organize 13 points (settlements) near the farms of Zharkul, Alabota, Kara-Koga, Saule, Kara-Agash, etc. for the resettlement of deported Poles [54].

In 1936, 14048 farms of immigrants, consisting of 63976 people, were deported from Ukraine to the northern and central regions of Kazakhstan. The imported migrants were settled in the North Kazakhstan region -12008 farms, including 9150 farms in new settlements and 2858 farms in collective farms. 2,040 farms were settled in the Karaganda region, including 1,769 farms in new settlements and 271 in collective farms. 37 settlements were organized on the allocated funds, of which: 31 in the territory of the North Kazakhstan region and 6 in the Karaganda region [55].

In the new place, the life of Poles largely depended on their legal status and local executive bodies that provided for their material and household needs [56].

In 1936, Poles expelled from the Ukrainian SSR arrived in Kazakhstan in two stages. The settlers of the first stage were supposed to be temporarily settled in clubs, schools, and barracks and involved in the construction of housing for the settlers of the second stage.

Two contingents were sent to Kazakhstan - special settlers-osadniks and administrative exiles. According to Kazakh scientists, 1206 families were deported to Kazakhstan in 1940, and 5394 people of the contingent were special settlers-osadniks [57].

All arriving special settlers were required to register with the district commandant's office of the NKVD. Along with this, a commandant was appointed to carry out administrative supervision in each village, at which all the adult population of the village had to be registered daily at certain hours.

Identity documents were withdrawn from all arrivals. According to the rules of the internal regulations of the settlement, it was strictly forbidden to leave the village without the



sanction of the commandant, up to criminal prosecution. In exceptional cases, immigrants were issued certificates that replaced their identity cards.

One of the first problems of special settlers from the Ukrainian SSR was their food supply. Once in Kazakhstan in the autumn, the migrants were forced to wait for the new agricultural season, having neither money nor even food for the near future.

The lack of housing, the first autumn frosts, and a catastrophic shortage of food resulted in the death of many exiled Poles. As of January 1, 1938, the number of Polish immigrants in the resettlement areas of the North Kazakhstan region amounted to 26,834 people.

According to the resolution of the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR dated April 10, 1940, No. 497-178, 60667 Poles were evicted from the western regions of Ukraine and Belarus to Kazakhstan. They were settled in Aktobe, Akmola, Kostanay, Pavlodar, North Kazakhstan, and Semipalatinsk regions: 36729 people - in collective farms, 17923 - in state farms, and 8000 - in workers' settlements of various industrial enterprises. The central leadership of the country did not bother to solve the problems of the displaced, leaving them to survive in deserted, poorly adapted places. The economic and socio-cultural problems of the deported peoples remained acute in subsequent years, as the economic opportunities of local authorities assisting special settlers were limited, and the totalitarian regime persisted. Only the help, courage, and human compassion of the majority of residents of Kazakhstan helped the special settlers to survive in difficult years [58].

The arrival of large groups of migrants increased the already heavy burden on medical institutions and caused a shortage of medicines. Emergency measures to combat diseases taken by medical institutions, such as vaccinations, sanitation, and disinfection, could only extinguish the bad epidemic situation in individual foci. The main reason for the ineffectiveness of the fight against diseases was not only the gaps in the work of the medical service but also the preservation of conditions for the spread of these diseases.

As in the XIX century, as the first form of adaptation, deported Poles attempted to establish a life together in a new place. They tried to settle compactly to survive together.

At the end of 1944, according to GASCO materials, there were more than 100 settlements in the North Kazakhstan region where Poles-special settlers lived. After the end of the war, the situation of the special settlers remained the same, with the only difference being that since 1946, embroidered labor soldiers began to return to their families [59].

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 hard work, they managed to establish bridges with the indigenous population. Despite the cruel attitude of the authorities, ordinary Kazakhs treated the exiled Poles with compassion, warmth, and care, and shared the latter with them. Thus, the deputy head of the agricultural department of the Central Committee of the CPSU (b) Itskov anxiously informed the secretary of the Central Committee Andreyev that in one of the collective farms of the Kostanay region «the exiles were given such a cordial welcome that they were given a daily milk yield from the farm so that even the children of collective farmers in the playground were left without milk» [60].

Good relations with the local population, hard work and endurance, and as a result, economic adaptation, helped most of the deportees to escape from starvation. Kazakh children ran to the little Poles, handing them their mugs with milk [61].

They lived hard, hollowed out beets from the ground and ate them, reeds were reaped in cold water. Women gave birth right in the field, so infant mortality was very high [62].



One of the forms of economic adaptation was the construction of dwellings made of local materials, and adaptation to harsh living conditions. Houses for migrants were built in a hurry from adobe, which did not differ in quality and heat resistance. Dugouts were also built. Due to the lack of housing stock, the remaining homeless part of settlers were moved into houses with local collective farmers, which led to new problems. No special premises were built to accommodate special settlers. Therefore, regional and district organizations were entrusted with the task of placing them on the existing premises of collective farms and state farms.

Most of them were placed in non-residential premises (slaughterhouses, sheds, baths, etc.) without windows, doors, and even stoves. So, on the central estate of the Kostanay grain farm of the Karabalyk district, 120 people of the expelled Poles were placed in a bathhouse and other non-residential premises that are not adapted for housing. Due to the large crowding, epidemic diseases took place, from which 7 people died. 700 displaced persons worked at Mikainzoloto, some of them were not provided with apartments at all.

In the state farm «Proletarian» of the Klyuchevsky district, on the farm «Takmysai» 12 families were housed in a barn and 8 families -in unfinished rooms, in which there were absolutely no doors, ceilings, and stoves. In the Vishnyakov state farm, an old cattle base was adapted for housing as apartments for special settlers, in which partitions were made. 5-10 families were placed in the rooms, and the stoves intended for cooking food for special settlers have one burner each, as a result of which queues were created at the stove. In addition, the stove had to be heated for days, while the settlers had no fuel reserves. In the state farm named after Lenin Novoshulbinsky district in a small one-story house housed 23 families: 5 families lived in one room with a size of 16 sq.m., 11 families lived in another room with a size of 25 sq. m. Due to such a dense placement in the beds of special settlers, a large number of different insects bred: bedbugs, fleas, etc. Being in unsanitary conditions, the settlers often got sick, medical care was not provided to them [63].

Despite all the difficult conditions, the deported Poles successfully underwent economic adaptation. They established and developed relations of goodwill and respect with the Kazakh population, and with people of other nationalities, such as Germans, Koreans, Russians, Ukrainians, Belarusians, etc. Poles raised the culture of agriculture to a high level in their places of residence: in the grain, livestock, and vegetable sector. Almost all collective farms inhabited by Poles soon became millionaires. They have proven themselves to be reliable workers in industry and transport.

The special settlers also had many problems in organizing school education for their children. There were not enough schools, textbooks, and teachers. Solving these problems was difficult since the republic itself was completing the process of eliminating illiteracy and still had a weak educational system. Ensuring the teaching of school subjects in the national languages of the settlers was a matter of little prospect. Soviet education accelerated the process of losing the language and culture of Poles and Germans. Along with this process, a mechanism was launched to form a new Soviet people with an exaggerated ideology of internationalism, which then resulted in the Russification of all ethnic groups.

But despite all these obstacles, the socio-cultural adaptation of Poles was also successful. They even managed to solve the problems of organizing preschool and school education for their children.

Poles built a small school on their own in the Pervomaisky settlement of the Astrakhan district of the Akmola region. Due to the lack of fuel in winter, the school was always cold. There were no notebooks, the children wrote on the pages of old books, with beet juice instead of ink [64].



Below are the minutes of the decision of the Balkhash City Executive Committee and the Kyzyl-Orda regional executive Committee on the opening of a school and kindergarten for Polish children.

The decision of the Balkhash City Executive Committee «On the opening of a Polish school in Balkhash»

(Balkhash city) August 7, 1944

The Executive Committee decided: Satisfy the petition of Polish citizens living on the territory of Balkhash to open a Polish school in Balkhash and oblige the head of the city to begin preparations for the organization of a Polish school so it will begin its work on September 1 this year.

Chairman of the Executive Committee

Balkhash city

Council of Workers' Deputies

Piribin

Secretary

Balkhash city

Council of Workers' Deputies

Kolmakov [65].

The decision of the Kyzyl-Orda Regional Executive Committee

«On the opening of a kindergarten for Polish children»

in Kyzyl-Orda on September 6, 1944

Under the resolution of the SNK of the Kazakh SSR No. 160 dated March 29, 1944 «On expanding the network and improving the work of kindergartens», the executive committee of the Regional Council of Workers' Deputies decided:

1. To open in the city of Kyzyl-Orda no later than October 12, 1944, 1 kindergarten for Polish children with a contingent of 60 people.

2. Oblige the chairman of the Executive Committee of the Kyzyl-Orda City Council of Workers' Deputies T. Khodakova to prepare an appropriate room for a kindergarten and provide the necessary household equipment and utensils.

3. Oblige the head of the city department of Public Education T. Nigai no later than September 6 of the current year to staff the kindergarten with a head and tutors.

4. Oblige the head of the regional financial department T. Kusainova to finance the kindergarten at the expense of budget allocations, according to the estimates.

5. Oblige the head. The Regional Trade Department of T. Zhaymagambetov included a kindergarten for Polish children with a contingent of 60 people in the supply plan and provided food from October 12, 1944. [66].

Many Poles have become figures of science and culture and have made a huge contribution to the development of Kazakhstan.

At the end of the 50s, large-scale migration of rural residents to cities began in Kazakhstan, including outside the republic, among which there were also citizens of Polish nationality. Leaving the village, many Poles were forced 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 persecuted them. Special supervision of them was abolished in 1956. At the same time, they were not rehabilitated and continued to be under the supervision of administrative authorities. Even though they were considered full-fledged Soviet citizens, until 1989 the overwhelming majority of Poles did not have passports. In some regions,



passports were provided to them only in the 70s. Thus, initially, many Poles were registered as Ukrainians or Russians, to save their lives, as they became victims of repression because of their nationality. Later, they did it voluntarily or at the direction of officials, according to the place of birth to increase their social status. Voluntary Russification was another form of adaptation.

Thanks to the successful adaptation, the number of the Polish population in the era of the «Khrushchev thaw» and «Brezhnev stagnation», according to the 1970 census, increased to 61445 people. This was a significant increase, especially since the second wave of repatriation of Polish citizens was taking place at that time. During these years, numerous groups of Poles from Belarus turned out to be in Kazakhstan voluntarily. According to the population censuses of 1979 and 1989, the increase in the number of Poles in Kazakhstan is no longer observed, and the trend of a constant decline in the Polish population is developing: 1979 - 61106 people, 1989 – 59321 people. The absolute number of Poles and their share in the ethnic structure of the Republic of Kazakhstan is decreasing. So, if in 1999 there were 47,302 Poles, then, according to the 2009 population census, 34057 Poles lived here in the Republic of Kazakhstan. In the ethnic structure of Kazakhstan, this ethnic group is 0.2%. The Polish population according to the results of the last census is about 50 thousand people. The majority live in villages and cities of northern Kazakhstan [67].

During the period of «Perestroika» in the USSR (1985-1991) and in the first years of independence of the Republic, many Poles returned to their historical homeland. Those who remained in independent Kazakhstan had the opportunity to study their native language and Polish history, turn to their Roman Catholic faith, and revive national traditions and customs. Over the past 12-15 years, dozens of churches have been built in cities and villages of the country, where Sunday schools work, giving children meaningful knowledge of faith, culture, and kindness. According to a special agreement between the Ministries of Education of Kazakhstan and Poland, 16 secondary schools in cities and villages of the republic have classes where teachers from Poland teach, and 22 Sunday schools for children and adults [68].

The Union of Poles of Kazakhstan represents the interests of the Polish population in the Assembly of Peoples of Kazakhstan and other government institutions of the country. In regions and cities, Polish national associations are part of city assemblies and regional assemblies (so-called small assemblies). They are the initiators and organizers of all educational and cultural events.

The Polish folk ensemble «Stepove Kvyaty» from the city of Kokshetau, headed by T. Balakhovich, the children's dance ensemble at the Polish cultural center in Almaty, the Shchuchinsky song and dance ensemble «Skovronki» (headed by V. Verzhbitsky) and others are known for their high artistic level throughout Kazakhstan and Poland. Almaty poet Inessa Dombrovskaya was awarded a personal award by Pope John Paul II for a cycle of poems dedicated to Poland and Kazakhstan during his visit to Astana in 2002.

Poland provides great assistance in the national revival of the Poles of Kazakhstan: scientific, educational, artistic, historical, and religious literature, videotapes, CDs, and computer programs are supplied to the Union of Poles of Kazakhstan.

Every year, up to 90-100 students from Kazakh Poles are accepted for free education in Polish universities, including 20% of Kazakhs, Russians, Koreans, Ukrainians, and other nationalities. Two universities in the country - Kokshetau University and Almaty University of Foreign Languages - have opened departments in the specialty «Polish language and literature». Classrooms in these universities are equipped with computers and other equipment.



In general, when studying the history of the formation and development of Polish groups in Kazakhstan in the XX century, and the peculiarities of its cultural and social development, it is necessary to take into account the basic layer of mentality that developed in the historical conditions of the former places of residence, as well as ideological traits acquired in Soviet conditions. The Polish Diaspora of Kazakhstan in the process of its development and formation in the twentieth century has become a stable component of the demographic, socio-economic, political, and cultural life of the republic, showing an example of the successful adaptation of an ethnic group in a foreign cultural environment. The practical application of this experience by the Government will undoubtedly become the basis for practical application in the field of creating an atmosphere of interethnic harmony.

REFERENCES

1. Remnev A.V. Migranty ponevole. Adaptatsiya ssyl'nykh uchastnikov pol'skogo vosstaniya 1863 goda v Zapadnoy Sibiri Sankt-Peterburg izd. Aleteyya 2018, S.13 sovremennost', Ust'-Kamenogorsk 2009 g.s.72.
2. Librowicz Z. Polacy w Syberii. Wroclaw, 1993, 360 S.
3. Janik M. Dzieje polakow na Syberii. Warszawa-Wroclaw,1991, 404 S.
4. Sapargaliyev G.S., D'yakov V.A. Obshchestvenno-politicheskaya deyatel'nost' ssyl'nykh polyakov v dorevolutsionnom Kazakhstane. Alma-Ata, 1971, s.7
5. Sapargaliyev G.S., D'yakov V.A. Obshchestvenno-politicheskaya deyatel'nost' ssyl'nykh polyakov v dorevolutsionnom Kazakhstane, Alma-Ata, 1971, 252 s.
6. Sliwowska W. Ucieczki z Syberu. Warszawa. 2005
7. Kaczynska E. Wstep// Zeslanie I katorga na Syberii w dziejach Polakow 1815-1914. Warszawa, 1992. S. 5-166.
8. Pyatakova S.G. Pol'skaya politicheskaya ssylka v Zapadnuyu Sibir' v poreformenny period. Dissertatsiya na soiskaniye uchenoy stepeni kandidata istoricheskikh nauk. Surgut. 2004. S.4
9. Migranty ponevole. Adaptatsiya ssyl'nykh uchastnikov pol'skogo vosstaniya 1863 goda v Zapadnoy Sibiri, pod redaksiyey doktora istoricheskikh nauk, professora A.V.Remneva Sankt-Peterburg, Aleteyya, 2012
10. Tumanik E.N. Adaptatsiya v Zapadnoy Sibiri ssyl'nykh polyakov (pervaya tret' XIX v.)// Adaptatsionnyye mekhanizmy i praktiki v traditsionnykh i transformiruyushchikhsya obshchestvakh. Novosibirsk, 2006. S.67
11. Ostrovskiy L.K. Pol'skiye krest'yane v Sibiri 1890-ye-1930-ye gg. // Sibirsko-pol'skaya istoriya i sovremennost': aktual'nyye voprosy. Irkutsk. 2001 g.
12. Fil' S.G. Polyaki v ishimskoy ssylke: pervaya polovina XIX veka//Korkina sloboda. Krayevedcheskiy al'manakh. Ishim, 2002. S.10
13. Mosunova T.P. Katolicheskaya obshchina kak konserviruyushchiy element etnicheskogo samosoznaniya pol'skikh diaspor Sibiri//Sibirskaya derevnya: istoriya, sovremennoye sostoyaniye, perspektivy razvitiya. CH.2.Omsk 2010. S.417
14. Galetkina N. Ot migranta k sibiryaku. Transformatsiya gruppovoy identichnosti pri pereselenii// Diaspory. 2002. № 2. S.62
15. Shostakovich B.S. Polyaki Sibiri v 1870-1890-ye gg.(iz istorii russko-pol'skikh otnosheniy v XIX veke). Avtoreferat dis. na soiskaniye uchenoy stepeni kand. ist. nauk. Irkutsk, 1974.-S.
16. Krikh A.A. Ssyl'nyye polyaki v Sibiri: strategii vyzhivaniya. Krakov, 2006.- S.144-163
17. Remnev A.V. Migranty ponevole. Adaptatsiya ssyl'nykh uchastnikov pol'skogo vosstaniya 1863 goda v Zapadnoy Sibiri Sankt-Peterburg izd. Aleteyya 2018.- S.19
18. Iz istorii polyakov v Kazakhstane (1936-1956gg.). Sbornik dokumentov: Arkhiv Prezidenta Respubliki Kazakhstan // Otv. redaktor L.D. Degitayeva. – Almaty: «Izdatel'skiy dom «Kazakhstan», 2000. – 344 s.
19. Mikhaylova L.A. V stepi dalekoy. Polyaki v Kazakhstane. Almaty, 2006. –S.
20. Volkov A.V. Polyaki Kazakhstana - Almaty, 2007.-S. 57
21. Sapargaliyev G.S., D'yakov V.A. Obshchestvenno-politicheskaya deyatel'nost' ssyl'nykh polyakov v dorevolutsionnom Kazakhstane / AN KazSSR. - Alma-Ata : Nauka, 1971. - S.6
22. Polyaki vostochnogo Kazakhstana: proshloye i sovremennost', Ust'-Kamenogorsk 2009.-S.26
23. TSGA Kaz SSR, f.416.op.1, d.10, l. 436.
24. Sapargaliyev G.S., D'yakov V.A. Ukaz.soch. s. 21.
25. TSGA Kaz SSR, f.416.op.1, d.10, l.386.



26. Sapargaliyev G.S., D'yakov V.A. Ukaz.soch. S. 12.
27. Remnev A.V. Migranty ponevole. Adaptatsiya ssyl'nykh uchastnikov pol'skogo vosstaniya 1863 goda v Zapadnoy Sibiri Sankt-Peterburg izd. Aleteyya 2018, s.22.
28. Popkov V.D. Nekotoryye osnovaniya dlya tipologii diaspor// II Vserossiyskiy sotsiologicheskii kongress (Moskva, 30 sentyabrya-2 oktyabrya 2003 g. Elektronnyaya biblioteka Sotsiologicheskogo fakul'teta MGU im. M.V.Lomonosova <http://lib.socio.msu.ru>.
29. Tsifirovanova I.V. Pol'skiye pereselentsy na Severnom Kavkaze v XIX veke: osobennosti protsessa adaptatsii. Stavropol'. 2007. -S.111-112
30. Toshchenko Zh.T., Chapykova T.I. Diaspora kak ob»yekt sotsiologicheskogo issledovaniya// Sotsis.1996.№ 12.-s.37
31. Remnev A.V. Migranty ponevole. Adaptatsiya ssyl'nykh uchastnikov pol'skogo vosstaniya 1863 goda v Zapadnoy Sibiri Sankt-Peterburg izd. Aleteyya 2018. - S.13.c
32. Tumanik Ye.N. Adaptatsiya v Zapadnoy Sibiri ssyl'nykh polyakov (pervaya tret' XIX veka)// Adaptatsionnyye mekhanizmy i praktiki v traditsionnykh i trasformiruyushchikhsya obshchestvakh. Novosibirsk, 2018.- S.67.
33. Pyatakova S.G. Pol'skaya politicheskaya ssylka v Zapadnuyu Sibir' v poreformenny period. Dissertatsiya na soiskaniye uchenoy stepeni kandidata istoricheskikh nauk. Surgut. 2004. -S.4
34. Sapargaliyev G.S., D'yakov V.A. Ukaz.soch. S. 21-22.
35. Remnev A.V. Ukaz.soch. s.23.
36. Ostrovskiy L.K. Pol'skiye krest'yane v Sibiri 1890-ye -1930 gg.)// Sibirsko-pol'skaya istoriya i sovremennost' aktual'nyye istorii. Irkutsk.2017.-S.25.
37. Mosunova T.P. Katolicheskaya obshchina kak konserviruyushchiy element etnicheskogo samosoznaniya pol'skikh diaspor Sibiri//Sibirskaya derevnya: istoriya, sovremennoye sostoyaniye, perspektivy razvitiya. CH.2 Omsk, 2010. -S. 417.
38. Kal'mina L.V. Zabaykal'skiye diaspory v XIX-XX v.: «svoi sredi chuzhikh» ili «chuzhiye sredi svoikh»?// Yevropeyskiye obshchiny v rossiyskoy provintsii vo vtoroy polovine XIX-nachale XX v. Barnaul, 2020. -S.5-20.
39. Ib. s. 5-20
40. Maksimov S.V. Sibir' i katorga. CH.III.SPb.,1990. -S.337.
41. Ib. C.337.
42. TSGA KazSSR, f.345.op.1, d.100, l.1.
43. Polyaki vostochnogo Kazakhstana: proshloye i sovremennost', Ust'-Kamenogorsk 2009 g.-S.69
44. Ib. c.72.
45. Remnev A.V. Ukaz soch. S.148.
46. Polyaki vostochnogo Kazakhstana: proshloye i sovremennost', Ust'-Kamenogorsk 2009 g.-S.64.
47. Ib. c.66.
48. Ib. c.67
49. Ib. c.67
50. Ib. c.68
51. Volkov A.V. Polyaki Kazakhstana- Almaty, 2007.-S. 59.
52. TSGA Kaz SSR, f.369, op.1, d. 4614, ll. 3-8, 31.- 52-86.
53. Iz istorii deportatsii polyakov v Kazakhstan v period II Mirovoy voyny. Sbornik statey raznykh avtorov.- Bishkek: 2013., -S. 18.
54. Oblastnoy pol'skiy tsentr «Kopernik» Izdatel'stvo «Severnnyy Kazakhstan», 2017 g. -S.10.
55. Polyaki na ulicah Karkaraly. Zapiski kraevedy o lyudyah pol'skoj nacional'nosti, zanesennyh sud'boj v Central'nyj Kazahstan [Tekst]: nauchnoe izdanie / YU. Popov. - Karaganda : Izd-vo «G», 2020. - S. 179
56. Iz istorii deportatsii polyakov v Kazakhstan v period II Mirovoy voyny. Sbornik statey raznykh avtorov.- Bishkek: 2013.,- S. 19.
57. Ib. c.104
58. Ib. c.178
59. Oblastnoy pol'skiy tsentr «Kopernik» Izdatel'stvo «Severnnyy Kazakhstan», 2017 .,- S.12.
60. Iz istorii deportatsii polyakov v Kazakhstan v period II Mirovoy voyny. Sbornik statey raznykh avtorov.- Bishkek: 2013., -S. 50.
61. Ib. c.55
62. Ib. c.56
63. Iz istorii deportatsiy Kazakhstan 1939-1945 gg. Sbornik dokumentov Tom 3, Almaty 2019.,S.128
64. Iz istorii deportatsii polyakov v Kazakhstan v period II Mirovoy voyny. Sbornik statey raznykh avtorov.



-Bishkek: 2013., S. 97.

65. GA of Balkhash. F.3. Op.1. D.40. L.174. Signature. People deported to Kazakhstan-Almaty. Arys.

-Kazakhstan, 1998.-P.170.

66. GA of the city of Kyzyl Orda. F.4. Op.1. D.40. L.174. Script. Peoples deported to Kazakhstan - Almaty.

Arys. -Kazakhstan, 1998.-S.171.

67. Iz istorii deportatsii polyakov v Kazakhstan v period II Mirovoy voyny. Sbornik statey raznykh avtorov.

-Bishkek: 2013., -S. 13.

68. Polyaki vostochnogo Kazakhstana: proshloye i sovremennost', Ust'-Kamenogorsk 2009 g.s.72.