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Виселення польського та німецького населення з прикордонних областей УСРР до Казахської РСР у 1935–1936 рр.

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Анотація. Метою статті є розкриття процесу примусового виселення польського і німецького населення з прикордонних регіонів Української СРР до Казахської Автономної Радянської Соціалістичної Республіки (з 1936 р. – Казахська РСР) у період 1935–1936 рр. на основі аналізу маловідомих документів, що зберігаються в архівах Служби безпеки України. *Методологія* дослідження ґрунтується на принципах історизму та науковості а також на використанні історико-генетичного, проблемно-хронологічного та порівняльного методів. *Висновки:* У 1935–1936 рр. радянська влада проводила політику примусового виселення мешканців з територій біля західного кордону Української СРР. Прикордонні райони перебували під наглядом військового командування республіки того часу. Кордон на початку 1930-х рр. почав активно зміцнюватися, а прикордонна територія на 7,5 км визначалася як еспланадна (тобто територія між військовими або укріпленими об'єктами і поселеннями). На думку радянського керівництва, необхідно було виселити місцеве населення з цієї території, у тому числі польське та німецьке. Під особливу увагу НКВС потрапили жителі західних регіонів УСРР, які в більшості своїй мали негативне

ставлення до радянського режиму і родичів за кордоном, а у разі майбутнього збройного конфлікту з сусідніми країнами могли б підтримати іноземні війська. Таких населених пунктів нараховувалося 178 одиниць. У них мешкало 4232 польські й 1357 німецьких сімей загальною чисельністю понад 27 тис. осіб. Але згодом загальна чисельність запланованих переселенців зросла до 15 тис. сімей що складало 70 тис. осіб. У зв'язку з тим, що всі вільні землі у південно-східних областях республіки були заселені ще у 1920-х рр., то названу кількість польських та німецьких сімей було заплановано переселити переважно у Казахстан. *Висновки.* У 1935–1936 роках співробітники органів НКВС виселили з прикордонних районів УСРР не тільки українське населення, але й жителів польських і німецьких національних районів. Станом на 1936 р. більше ніж 74 тис. осіб було виселено з Вінницької, Київської та Одеської областей в Казахську РСР. Таким чином, примусове виселення мешканців прикордонних територій стало продовженням репресивної політики радянського режиму як засобу подолання протестних рухів жителів Української СРР. *Практичне значення:* результати дослідження окреслюють коло малодосліджених проблем, які можуть бути досліджені у майбутньому з розсекреченням нових документів цього періоду; інформація, подана у статті, може використовуватися при розробці навчальних програм. *Оригінальність:* дослідження базується на маловідомих документах, що зберігаються в архівах Служби безпеки України. *Наукова новизна:* стаття доповнює масив історичних досліджень національної та репресивної політики радянської влади що робить його актуальним і заповнює прогалини в історичних даних щодо примусових виселень середини 1930-х років. *Тип статті:* емпірична.

Ключові слова: виселення; еспланадна зона; поляки; німці; Українська СРР; Казахська РСР.

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Выселение польского и немецкого населения из приграничных областей УССР в Казахскую ССР в 1935–1936 гг.

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Аннотация. Целью статьи является раскрытие процесса принудительного выселения польского и немецкого населения из приграничных регионов Украинской ССР в Казахскую Автономную Советскую Социалистическую Республику (с 1936 г. – Казахская ССР) в период 1935–1936 гг. на основе анализа малоизвестных документов, хранящихся в архивах Службы безопасности Украины. **Методология** исследования основывается на принципах историзма и научности, а также использовании историко-генетического, проблемно-хронологического и сравнительного методов. **Результаты:** В 1935–1936 гг. советская власть проводила политику принудительного выселения жителей из территорий у западной границы Украинской ССР. Пограничные районы находились под наблюдением военного командования республики того времени. Граница в начале 1930-х гг. начала активно укрепляться, а пограничная территория в 7,5 км определялась как эспланадная (то есть, территория между военными или укрепленными объектами и поселениями). По мнению советского руководства, необходимо было выселить местное население с этой территории, в том числе польское и немецкое. Под особое внимание НКВД попали жители западных регионов УССР, которые в большинстве своем имели негативное отношение

к советскому режиму и родственников за границей, а в случае будущего вооруженного конфликта с соседними странами могли бы поддержать иностранные войска. Таких населенных пунктов насчитывалось 178 единиц. В них проживало 4232 польские и 1357 немецких семей общей численностью более 27 тыс. человек. Но впоследствии общая численность запланированных переселенцев возросла до 15 тыс. семей, что составляло 70 тыс. человек. В связи с тем, что все свободные земли в юго-восточных областях республики были заселены еще в 1920-х гг., названное количество польских и немецких семей было запланировано переселить преимущественно в Казахстан. **Выводы.** В 1935–1936 годах сотрудники НКВД выселили не только украинское население, но и жителей польских и немецких национальных регионов. По состоянию на 1936 год, более 74 тыс. человек были переселены из Винницкой, Киевской и Одесской областей в Казахскую ССР. Таким образом, принудительное выселение населения из приграничных территорий стало продолжением репрессивной политики советского режима как средства преодоления протестных движений жителей Украинской ССР. **Практическое значение:** результаты исследования очерчивают круг малоисследованных проблем, которые могут быть исследованы в будущем с рассекречиванием новых документов этого периода; информация, представленная в статье, может использоваться при разработке учебных программ. **Оригинальность:** исследование базируется на малоизвестных документах, хранящихся в архивах Службы безопасности Украины. **Научная новизна:** статья дополняет массив исторических исследований национальной и репрессивной политики советской власти, что делает его актуальным и заполняет пробелы в исторических данных о принудительных выселениях середины 1930-х годов. **Тип статьи:** эмпирическая.

Ключевые слова: выселение; эспланадная зона; поляки; немцы; Украинская ССР; Казахская ССР.

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The eviction of Polish and German population from the border regions of the Ukrainian SSR to the Kazakh SSR in 1935 – 1936

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Abstract. *The aim* of the article is to reveal the process of forced eviction of the Polish and German population from the border regions of the Ukrainian SSR to the Kazakh Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic (since 1936 – the Kazakh SSR) in the period of 1935 – 1936 based on the analysis of little-known documents stored in the archives of the Security Service of Ukraine. The research *methodology* is based on historical and scientific principles, as well as the use of historical-genetic, problem-chronological and comparative methods. *Results:* In 1935 – 1936, the Soviet government pursued a policy of forced eviction of residents from the territories near the western border of the Ukrainian SSR. The border areas were under the supervision of the military command of the republic at that time. In the early 1930s the border began to be actively fortified, and the border area of 7.5 km was defined as esplanade (that is, a territory between military or fortified objects and settlements). According to the Soviet leadership, it was necessary to evict the local population from this territory, including Polish and German people. Residents of the western regions of the Ukrainian SSR came under special attention of the NKVD, who for the most part had a negative attitude towards the Soviet

regime. Besides, they had relatives abroad, and in the case of a future armed conflict with neighboring countries, they could support foreign troops. There were 178 such settlements. They were home to 4,232 Polish and 1,357 German families with a total number of more than 27,000 people. But subsequently, the total number of planned migrants increased to 15,000 families, which amounted to 70,000 people. Due to the fact that all vacant lands in the southeastern regions of the republic were settled in the 1920s, it was planned to move the named number of Polish and German families mainly to Kazakhstan. *Conclusions.* In 1935 – 1936, the NKVD officers evicted not only the Ukrainian population, but also residents of Polish and German national regions. In 1936, more than 74,000 people were resettled from Vinnitsa, Kiev and Odessa regions to the Kazakh SSR. Thus, forced eviction of population from the border areas became a continuation of the Soviet regime's repressive policy as a means of overcoming the protest movements of the inhabitants of the Ukrainian SSR. *Practical value:* the results of the study outline a range of little-studied problems that can be investigated in the future with declassification of new documents of this period; the information presented in the article can be used in the development of educational programs. *Originality:* the study is based on little-known documents stored in the archives of the Security Service of Ukraine. *Scientific novelty:* the article supplements historical research on the national and repressive policies of the Soviet regime, which makes it topical and fills in the gaps in historical data on forced evictions of the mid-1930s. *Article type:* empirical.

Keywords: eviction; esplanade zone; Poles; Germans; the Ukrainian SSR; the Kazakh SSR..

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Formulation of the problem. The Soviet Union began to curtail its indigenous policies and began repression against so-called «enemy nations» during the first half of the 1930s. Soviet authorities discriminatory actions against socio-economic and religious life of Germans were sporadically observed in the 1920s. In the early 1930s, this nationality was also considered hostile. This situation of national minorities in the USSR was to some extent caused by the deterioration of relations between the state and the European countries. At this time, representatives of Polish and German nationalities began to be perceived by the Soviet authorities as «spies» acting against the USSR. One of the ways to solve this problem was to relocate the population from the border area, which is discussed below.

Historiography. The issue of repression and deportation in the USSR has long been left without proper coverage due to political circumstances. Historians gained access to previously secret archival documents only after Ukraine's independence. Among the historians studying the problems of forced resettlement of various social groups from the territory of the Ukrainian SSR, Oleg Kalakura can be singled out. In the monograph «Poles in ethnopolitical processes in Ukraine in the twentieth century» he shows the situation of the Polish national minority in the USSR. In particular, the researcher notes the decision of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and the Ukrainian Central Executive Committee to evict Poles to Kazakhstan, the formation of Soviet propaganda image of «hostile nations» (Kalakura, O.).

Bohdan Chirko's monograph deals with the persecution of the German minority and some facts of deportation to the Kazakh Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic (Chirko, B.).

In his monograph Volodymyr Adamovsky notes the reasons and course of deportations from the Ukrainian SSR during the first half of the 20th century, as well as the number of deportees from the border to Kazakhstan in 1936 (Adamovsky, V.).

Volodymyr Serhiychuk's monograph deals with forced eviction of Ukrainians since the era of the Russian Empire, including the 20th century. The author also presents materials on the deportation of Ukrainians collected not only from the territory of Ukraine, but also from other regions of the USSR (Sergiychuk, V.).

In modern Ukrainian historiography, the term «deportation» is often used by researchers in relation to this problem (Adamovsky, V.; Bazhan, O.), terms «deportation», «resettlement of nations» are less used (Kalakura, O.). Also, in many works, researchers use such concepts as «forced relocation», «deportation» and «eviction» (Chirko, B.). The term «deportation» is used for the process of eviction of non-residents in English-language scientific circulation. Based on a UN document (human rights, pp. 3 – 6), the author of this

article uses the term «forced eviction» to describe the process of eviction of citizens from the territory of the USSR, which took place in the mid-1930s.

The aim of the article is to analyze little-known documents stored in the archives of the Security Service of Ukraine, to reveal the process of eviction of Polish and German population from the border regions of the Ukrainian SSR to the Kazakh SSR during 1935 – 1936.

Presentation of the main materials and results. In 1920, the Soviet-Polish war took place, which ended with the Riga Peace Treaty (March 1921). The Treaty gave Poland Western Ukraine. Thus, the southwestern border of the republic bordered on Romania and Poland. The length of this border was about 1,200 km and the border area was inhabited by 500,000 Ukrainians and members of national minorities – Moldovans, Jews, Germans, Poles. In the early 1920s at the request of the Romanian and Polish governments the process of resettlement from the border zone into Ukraine of the inhabitants of those settlements that fell into the border zone during the demarcation line began. There were some cases when the border passed directly through a farm, village or near a settlement. In the early 1920s there were 48,000 such yards with 250,000 people. Another reason for the resettlement of residents of the border zone on free lands of Ukraine, especially farms from Volyn province, was their acute landlessness. Here one farm with a number of 5 – 7 people had 2.5 – 4 desyatin¹ of land¹. In addition, the soils in these regions were infertile and the vast majority of the population lived on the brink of poverty (Zemlezabezpechennya..., p. 23). Therefore, during 1922 – 1925, the population in the border area, according to the decision of the CPC of the USSR², was relocated mainly to free lands of southern Ukraine. They built 1920 villages and hamlets in the region. They were inhabited by 24,229 families of migrants from the border area. Another part of the families settled in different villages and towns of the south-eastern districts of the USSR. (Do kolehiyi..., pp. 8, 9).

The border area, which was defined as 7.5 km, totaled about 9,000 km². Resettlement process from these areas continued through the second half of the 1930s inclusive. It should be noted that with the formation of the collective farm-cooperative system of production in agriculture in the mid-1920s, the process of resettlement of population from the border zone stopped (Stan kooperatyvnoyi spravy..., p. 74). This was primarily due to economic reasons, as the beginning of

¹ 1 desiatyna – it was 1,09 hectares of land.

² Rada narodnykh komisariv - The Council of People's Commissars. It was the central administrative and executive authority. It had the right to take some legislative acts.

continuous collectivization in Ukraine led to socialization of land, which in itself began to solve the problem of landlessness of the peasantry. If in the 1920s the resettlement process was caused by the foreign policy factor and the economic condition of the border population, in the early 1930s it was mainly due to political motivation. The Soviet government took the policy of citizen's mass migration in the late 1920s as a means for overcoming the protest movements. This was the notorious fight against kurkuls.³ Repressions against Poles and Germans began immediately after the establishment of the Bolshevik authorities in Ukraine. Since 1919 punitive functions had been performed by the All-Ukrainian Extraordinary Commission, and since 1922 by the State's United Political Administration. A campaign was launched against the Catholic and in general against all churches, as well as eviction of large Polish and German landowners from the western regions of Ukraine where they predominantly lived. In 1926, the People's Commissariats of Land Affairs and Justice sent instructions to local councils informing that former large landowners were not allowed to live in their estates and border regions in general. In 1928 the VUTSVK (Ukrainian Central Executive Committee) issued an order to all district executive committees to evict all wealthy Polish landowners and to dismiss all persons of Polish nationality from the border guards (Kalakura, O., pp. 233, 240).

As a result of population uprising against violent collectivization in May 1929, the CC KP(b)U (The Central Committee of the Bolsheviks Communist Party of Ukraine) and the RNK (The Council People's Commissars of the Ukrainian SSR) issued special decrees on strengthening of the western border and eviction of all peasants, which posed danger to the authorities. Though, it should be noted that in November 1929 a resolution was issued which provided for resettlement of the population living in the area of 22 km along the border, voluntarily (Adamovsky, V., p. 55). In the spring of 1930, the deportation of 15,000 Poles began in Ukraine, and the image of «enemy nations», Polish and German «fascist elements», was actively formed in the press (Kalakura, O., p. 240).

At the same time, the grain procurement (hlibozagotivlya⁴) crisis began. This was due to the fact

that the state bought bread from the peasants at very low prices, so that it became unprofitable for peasants to grow it. Also, at this time there was a period of drought. For non-fulfillment of the grain procurement plan, the peasants were fined, property was confiscated, and so on. The kulaks, «counter-revolutionaries», and church ministers were blamed for the grain crisis of 1931–1932. Therefore, in 1932, the expulsion of all «guilty» workers of collective farms, their directors, and wealthy owners outside the republic began to be carried out. At the same time, lawsuits against members of rebel organizations, often fictional, such as the «Polish Military Organization» and the «National Union of Germans in Ukraine» were implemented. Subsequently, since 1934, these lawsuits had been used to justify the deportations of national minorities, including from the borderline of the Ukrainian SSR.

In the later period, according to archival documents, grain procurement in the border areas in 1932 was slightly less plunderous than in the rest of the Ukrainian SSR territory. This was caused by the fact that the border population could protest the policy and flee massively to Romania and Poland. This would be a severe discredit of the Soviet government in the international arena, Stalin's policy of building socialism in the Soviet Union and so on. During the Holodomor (famine) of 1932–1934, residents from other regions of the USSR, the BSSR, and the RSFSR were relocated, although on a voluntary basis, to the regions most affected by the famine. They were mostly the members of collective farms who completely fulfill the grain provision plans and, of course, supported all socio-economic measures of the Soviet government. On the other hand, entire villages where movement against the Soviet rule was previously noted and which did not accept the policy of forced collectivization, were evicted by repressive authorities to the eastern regions of the USSR or to the Soviet Far East.

The leadership of the republic sought, through resettlement and often forced evictions, to suppress the protest movement that had matured among the rural population against accelerated collectivization, low wages on collective farms, and the artificially organized Holodomor. It should be noted here that in some regions of Ukraine such a phenomenon as famine lasted until the end of 1934 – early 1935, and the government of the republic did not take appropriate measures to avoid it.

What were the motives for the Soviet government to evict the population in the border area during 1935–1936?

In December 1929, the Presidium of the CEC of the USSR outlined the special status of the border zone of the USSR with its resolution on the eviction of people who arrived and settled there without spe-

³ Kurkuls – called rich peasants who used hired labor. During Stalin's collectivization of farms all peasants, even not rich, who opposed collectivization and policy of Soviet power, called kurkuls or kulaks (in Russian pronunciation).

⁴ Hlibozagotivla (preparation of the grain reserves) – it was the harvesting of grain that was planned and purchased by public authorities at the prices established by the government.

cial permission of local authorities and the OGPU.⁵ In December 1931, the USSR SNK aimed to «intensify the struggle for the elimination in the near future the influence of kulak-anti-Soviet elements ... to clean the border areas, in particular the Soviet, cooperative and collective farm apparatus from hostile and foreign elements, while replacing neutral and unreliable elements with tested and loyal workers ...» OGPU circular from the August 13, 1933 provided for the application of «extrajudicial repression» to people who did not want to leave voluntarily the area where they were forbidden to live (Postanova CPC SRSR №282/ss., p. 62; Postanova RNK SRSR vid 16/I-1932, p. 63). CK VKP(b)⁶ and the RNK of the USSR issued a decree on October 31, 1934 to evict from the border zone of the Ukrainian SSR «up to 1000 families of individual farmers». Moreover, the NKVS⁷ pledged to complete this operation within 12 days from the date of the decision. In December 1934 the NKVS leadership decided to «clean» the border and national areas in Vinnytsia region of the Ukrainian SSR and the AMSRR (Autonomous Moldavian Socialist Soviet Republic). It was recommended to prepare carefully the eviction of residents from Marhlevskiyi and Tsilynskiy national areas. In the same month the Ukrainian SSR government approved the decision on the relocation of minorities from the border zone into the eastern regions of the republic and Union colonization fund (Protokol narady pry Narodnomu Komisari..., p. 37; Protokol narady u Narodnoho Komisara..., p. 58 – 59). This was facilitated by the fact that the border line began to be actively strengthened in the early 1930s. The border area of 7.5 km. was defined as an esplanade (ie, it is the area between military or fortified facilities and settlements). Accordingly, there was a need to evict the local population from this area. Moreover, the majority of the inhabitants of the western regions of the republic had a negative attitude towards the Soviet authorities and had relatives abroad, and in the case of a future armed conflict with neighboring countries, they could support foreign troops. This opinion was expressed by the residents of the national districts of the USSR.

Later, in November of 1934, the NKVS and the Soviet government developed the instruction which

specified who was to be evicted from the border zone. These were members of individual farms, families who did not fulfill the grain procurement plan (hlibozagotivlya), those who hid grain, those who protested against the seizure of bread in various ways, clergymen, and all those who were not loyal to the Soviet government, including representatives of national minorities. Resolutions on the eviction of such families were to be made by village councils, and evictions were to be approved and organized by district executive committees and regional executive committees (Postanova RNK USSR vid 14/IKH-1934 r...., p. 65; Plan provedennya..., p. 76). Special commissions, headed by members of the Communist Party, compiled lists of persons to be expelled to the northern regions of the Soviet Union. Following the government's decision, local authorities with representatives of the NKVS of the Ukrainian SSR selected the border villages from which Polish families had to be evicted into the eastern regions of Ukraine and the Soviet Union. There were 178 such settlements. They were inhabited by 4232 Polish and 1357 German families with total number of more than 27,000 people.

On 23 January 1935, a new decree of the Central Committee «On the relocation of the border zone of 8300 farms in connection with defensive considerations and the re-settlement in the border areas of 4 thousand of the best collective farms of the Kyiv and Chernihiv regions» came out. During February-March 1935, 8329 families were expelled from Kyiv and Vinnytsia regions to the eastern regions of the Ukrainian SSR, and 2,000 families from the border regions. Among them there were 615 Germans, 681 Poles, and 589 Ukrainians and 115 families of other nationalities. Most of them were directed to hard and dangerous work. The planned total number of immigrants was increased to 15,000 of families which was equal to 70,000 people. The above mentioned number of Polish and German families were scheduled to move mainly to the Kazakh SSR due to the fact that all the vacant lands in south-eastern regions of the republic were already inhabited in the 1920s (Tov. Kosioru, tov. Postyshevu. 11.06.36..., pp. 83 – 84; Tov. Kosioru. 1.09.36 ..., p. 96; Tov. Kosioru, tov. Postyshevu. 29.09.36..., p. 143). In early 1936, the leadership of the republic developed a plan to evict 15,000 families from the border regions to Kazakhstan. Among them 3,000 were moved to existing labour settlements in Karaganda region, 2,000 – to school and club premises, 14,000 farms were settled on new sites in Akmolinsky and Stalinsky areas of Karaganda region (Adamovskiy, V., p. 78).

At the same time, local authorities, heads of collective and state farms close to the border, inhabited by many Polish and German people, were forced to

⁵ The Union State's Political Directorate under the government. In 1934 the OGPU became a member of the NKVD of the USSR (formed from the NKVD of the RSFSR) as the Main Directorate of State Security (GUGB).

⁶ Central Committee of All-Union Communist Party Bolsheviks.

⁷ The People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs – the central authority of the punitive and repressive system of the USSR.

agitate these families to move to the eastern regions of the republic on a voluntary basis.

The first wave of such forcibly evicted people to Kazakhstan appeared during the NKVD operation in February 1935. The evictions were carried out from the following areas: Vinnytsia – 535; AMSRR – 265; Kyivska – 100; Odessa – 100 families. Border and military forces were involved and monitoring was enhanced throughout the border zone of 7.5 km so that the relocated people could not cross the border line. The eviction of the population was reported 10 days before the action, however, there were cases when even less time was given to prepare for departure. Of course, this led to the rejection of this policy of the Soviet power, which was manifested in attempts to cross the border, various protests, information about this is stated further (Sekretaryu TSK KP(b)U tov. Kosioru..., p. 6 – 9).

While considering the resettlement of German and Polish population to Kazakhstan, it should be noted that this process was intensive in 1936 and lasted until 1938. The relocation of these families in 1936 took place in two «waves» – April – June and September. Thus, during the first wave of resettlement, 4232 Polish and 1357 German families were evicted (27,023 people in total) from 6 border areas of Vinnytsia and Kyiv

regions to Karaganda oblast of the Kazakh ASSR. The NKVS classified these families as «unreliable» by the following indicators: linked with foreign countries – 970; related with consulates – 404; former smugglers – 690; suspicious of espionage – 512; families of persons convicted for counterrevolutionary activities – 417; religious activists – 481; former soldiers of the Polish and Ukrainian armies – 346; set against the Soviet authorities – 1747. These families were divided by the social composition as follows: 483 families – rich, 987 – owners of individual households and 4097 families were members of collective farms (Tov. Kosioru, tov. Postyshevu. 11.06.36..., p. 84; Dovidka pro natsional'nyy..., p. 86).

A new expulsion began in September 1936 (4200 families from Kyiv and 5233 from Vinnytsia regions – 42,954 people in total). There were 6725 Polish and 2708 German families among them. They were socially classified as follows: 1073 families of rich peasants, 3060 – individual farmers and 5300 – members of collective farms (Tov. Kosioru, tov. Postyshevu. 9.08.36..., p. 173 – 174; Tov. Kosioru, tov. Postyshevu. 29.07.36..., p. 90). In total, 15,000 families were evicted from Kyiv and Vinnytsia regions (69,977 people) during 1936. Among them there were 11494 Polish families and 3506 German families (see Table 1).

Table 1.

National and social composition of immigrants from the cross-border areas of Kyiv and Vinnytsia regions to Kazakh SSR, 1936

District name	Relocated				National family composition		Social family composition		
	Families	People			Poles	Germans	Kurkuls	Individual farmers	Collective farmers
		Adult	Children	Total					
Vinnytsia region									
Lyahovetskyi	500	1320	808	2128	500	–	53	68	379
Polonskyi	450	1107	826	1933	401	49	41	30	379
Antonynskyi	250	679	448	1127	249	1	3	62	185
Satanovskiyi	500	1254	772	2026	500	–	30	145	325
Vazaliyskyi	300	793	464	1257	300	–	23	35	242
Orynenskyi	270	699	290	1089	270	–	16	36	218
St.Konstantynivskyi	300	774	591	1365	300	–	44	58	198
Teofipolskyi	499	1282	822	2104	499	–	9	41	449
Izyaslavskyi	299	796	604	1400	299	–	–	31	268
Kam'yanets-Podilskyi	500	1296	781	2077	500	–	16	91	393
Chemerovetskyi	363	931	572	1503	363	–	10	39	314
Smotrytskyi	300	833	447	1280	300	–	4	157	139
Yarmolynetskyi	250	656	397	1053	250	–	–	110	140
Horodokskyi	448	1235	653	1888	448	–	40	183	225
Vinnytsia region in total	5229	13665	8575	22230	5179	50	289	1086	3854
Kyiv region									
Emilchynskyi	1004	2501	2418	4919	542	462	1	253	750
Novograd-Volyn	550	1568	1138	2706	222	328	–	46	504

Table 1. (Continue)

District name	Relocated				National family composition		Social family composition		
	Families	People			Poles	Germans	Kurkuls	Individual farmers	Collective farmers
		Adult	Children	Total					
Zhytomyr	300	777	599	1376	239	61	–	12	288
Baranowskyi	500	1401	1114	2515	404	96	115	115	270
Korosten	380	1098	801	1899	243	137	21	88	271
Chervono-armiyskyi	900	2455	1962	4417	203	697	35	63	802
Barashivskyi	570	1410	1482	2892	230	340	82	62	426
Kyiv region in total	4204	11210	9514	20724	2083	2121	254	639	3311
Relocated in September	9433	24865	18089	42954	7262	2171	543	1725	7165
Relocated in May – June	5567	15381	11642	27023	4232	1335	483	987	4097
Relocated in total during 1936	15000	40246	29731	69977	11494	3506	1026	2712	11262

Source: Dovidka pro natsional'nyy i sotsial'nyy sklad pereselentsiv..., pp. 145 – 146.

However, this process was not peaceful everywhere because most families were resettled forcibly. People arranged several kinds of protests. Firstly, there were attempts to cross the border in groups, secondly, spread of protests near village councils, open expression of opinions against the resettlement policy of the Soviet government, and finally, the most radical types of protest – burning their own houses and the threat of suicide. For example, in the village of Yarun (Yarunskyi district in Vinnytsia region) one of resettlers tried to burn the buildings of a rural activist who participated in the organization of the resettlement process. In Sloboda village one of the resettlers began to cut out his orchard, in order not to be used by the new owners of his house. In Yurkovschyna village of the same district a German resettler set his house on fire, the same actions were committed by a resettler from Aneta (Yarunsky district). There was a case of corn arson by a resettler at the railway station in Gorodnitskyi district. In Novograd-Volyn region local people spoke against relocation and noted that such actions of the authorities was open persecution on ethnic grounds. In Yarun and a number of other districts, there were cases of local people fleeing abroad to avoid resettlement, as well as mass protests against the government's violence.

In the process of resettlement, the NKVS arrested 123 people who carried out similar protests. The rest of the people who tried to avoid resettlement and cross the border with Poland were detained and returned to the railway stations for further transportation. (Tov. Popovu. Spetssvodka № 3..., pp. 20 – 28; Tov. Kosioru, tov. Postyshevu. 11.06.36 ..., p. 84;

Tov. Kosioru, tov. Postyshevu. Spetssvodka № 8 ..., p. 115; Tov. Kosioru, tov. Postyshevu. Spetssvodka № 9-10..., pp. 115 – 117).

Departures of the population from those areas from which planned resettlement was not provided were also noted. In Yemelchanskyi, Chervonoarmiyskyi, Novograd-Volynskyi districts local population went to other parts of Ukraine remoted from the border regions, motivating it by the approaching of the war. In December 1936, 15 German and Polish families working at one of the factories left Gorodnytsia and Novohrad-Volynskyi districts on their own, according to official data. There were also cases when families themselves applied to the District Executive Committees for a desire to move to Kazakhstan, as their relatives lived there and in order not to remain alone among the Ukrainian population. Such facts were recorded in Olevsk and Horodnytsia districts (Tov. Kosioru, tov. Postyshevu. 22.05.36..., p. 19; Tov. Kosioru, tov. Postyshevu. 23.05.36..., p. 22; Tov. Popovu. 31.05.36..., p. 25; Tov. Popovu. Spetssvodka № 3..., p. 27; Spetssvodka № 7..., p. 44; Tov. Postyshevu P.P...., p. 150).

Polish and German population did not want to leave their inhabited places, because they lived in one or another settlement sometimes for several generations. The territory where Poles and Germans were relocated was almost unprepared for people to settle there. This was determined by such factors as the lack of material for housing, there were no roads, transport, communications, social and domestic spheres, and the land was virgin or fallow.

Regarding the organization of resettlement, it should be noted that all settlers were paid for working days on the collective farm, for crops that were to be given to them. Displaced people who did not have their own food were allocated certain amounts of money. The wagons in which the migrants were staying had security guards, medical staff, isolation wagons and marching kitchens. Cattle, necessary fodder and agricultural implements were sent along with the settlers. Thus, in 1936, the settlers carried with them 3,700 horses, 7,636 cattle and 5,006 small cattle, as well as more than 71,000 birds. Special wagons, service personnel and fodder were provided for their transportation and maintenance (Tov. Kosioru, tov. Postyshevu. 30.11.36..., pp. 281 – 282; Tov. Kosioru, tov. Postyshevu. 11.06.36..., p. 85; Dovidka pro kil'kist' ..., pp. 148 – 149).

The NKVS leadership hoped that no more than 45,000 people would come to Kazakhstan, but in fact at the end of 1936 69,977 people were relocated, and the local government was not ready to accept so many people (Tov. Kosioru. 1.09.36..., p. 96; Dovidka pro kil'kist'..., p. 146). This led to cases of poorly planned relocation of settlers and the lack of normal living conditions in the places of arrival.

Resettlers from Kyiv and Vinnytsia regions described settlement conditions in the letters to their relatives in Karaganda region of Kazakhstan: «... They unloaded us in the open desert, where there is just ground and sky. We are living in tents. It has been raining for three day. The tents are leaking, so it is very cold and we all are sleeping in clothes. Nothing is sown here. Typhus appeared and many children died, sometimes we have 2–3 deaths per day». Other resettlers told about absence of any socio-cultural conditions, and a large number of various unaffordable products: «... We have been travelling for 4 days. On Taincha station they unloaded us in the open field, and we stayed there for 4 days, then we were brought 60 kilometers far away. There are a lot of products, you can get everything, but only if you have money. Earnings are poor and you work more than at home. Generally, it is very bad ...» (Tov. Kosioru, tov. Postyshevu. 9.08.36..., p. 175; Spetssvodka № 7 ..., p. 42 – 44).

In 1936 to accommodate the resettlers, 37 new settlements were built and 468,500 hectares of land were allocated to farms. For one farm there were 26 to 68 hectares of land, from which 20 to 55 hectares were conditionally suitable (Adamovskiy, V., pp. 78, 81). The farms received much more land than they had

in Ukraine. However, these lands were often virgin or barren. Also, people were not sufficiently provided with tools to process the land. The climate of Kazakhstan was different from Ukraine's. These conditions did not facilitate the adaptation of resettlers to a new life.

Due to the reasons mentioned above, the first settlers who arrived in such areas sought to leave their settlements and the lands allotted to them immediately. Some of them returned to the villages from where they were relocated, and others – to the cities and villages of Ukraine, Belarus, the European part of the RSFSR. However, according to a resolution of the OGPU of April 22, 1931, persons expelled from the border area were deprived of the right to return, even when their eviction expired. A special passport regime was created in all areas adjacent to the border. And from August 1933, special commissions were organized at the local branches of the OGPU, which controlled the entire population that arrived in the regime zone. In the absence of a residence permit, such people were sent back to previous settlements (Postanova RNK SRSR № 282/ss..., p. 62; Postanova RNK SRSR vid 16/I-1932..., p. 63).

Conclusions. In the late 1920s, the Soviet government developed a series of regulations on the special status of the border area, which was due to a number of reasons. 7.5 km area along the border and plus 20 kilometers of adjacent territory became esplanade. The government feared that in the case of a future military conflict, the local population, which had always been negative about the government's socio-economic policies, would help the armies of other states. In 1929, it was finally decided to evict from the border all those disloyal to the government and replace this population with collective farmers and members of the CP(b)U from other regions of the USSR. Between 1935 and 1936, the NKVD expelled 15,900 German and Polish families from Vinnytsia, Kyiv, and Odesa regions, amounting to more than 74,000 people. Most of them were deported to Karaganda region of the Kazakh SSR. Due to poor living conditions, some families, especially during the first wave of resettlement, tried to relocate to other regions of the USSR or return to their places of residence. Thus, the eviction of the Polish and German populations from the border regions was a continuation of repressive policy of the Soviet government as a means of overcoming protest movements of the people of the USSR.

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