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DIASPORAS OF NORTH CAUCASIAN PEOPLE DEPORTED TO
KAZAKHSTAN AND KYRGYZSTAN

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Abstract

The present paper considers the process of forming the diasporas of the North Caucasian peoples in Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan. The adaptation process is one of the most demanded problems in the history of internally displaced persons. Undoubtedly, intergenerational continuity appearing in all areas of life: production, political and economic, as well as relating to legal, moral, aesthetic relations is a prerequisite for social progress. Successful socialization provided for the uptake of the required content that existed in the collective memory of a particular human community. Migration processes associated with deportations in the 30–40s of the 20th century exerted significant influence on the development of personality amid alienation and a shut-in society. The transfer of the diverse experience accumulated in society to new generations starting out in life, i.e. obligatory intergenerational transmission of ethnic culture being the essence of the younger generation socialization is a key factor for the sustainable and planned development of each society. It should be born in mind that these problems examination is prominent in creating patriotism, strengthening civil peace and interethnic harmony in the younger generation of the North Caucasus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan. These republics became the adoptive country for hundreds of thousands of different nationalities forcibly expelled in the 1930s-1940s to Central Asia and Kazakhstan. Diasporas of the deported North Caucasian peoples being demographically self-reproducing and independent communities of fellow tribesmen gradually became an organic part of Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan.

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1. Introduction

The North Caucasian diaspora began to form in the countries of Central Asia in the 30-40s of the 20th century when the families of the so-called “kulaks” were exiled to Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, etc. The Soviet people’s intimidation during political repression culminated in the second half of the 30s and was exacerbated by the war. It degenerated into intimidation and repression against entire peoples and was accompanied by the violation of existing laws and civil rights. To give a veneer of legality to the apparent Stalinist arbitrariness, the twelve peoples of the USSR were branded as traitors (Sabanchiev, 2004).

On November 2, 1943, the deportation of the Karachai people began. The Chechens were among many peoples who were forcibly resettled from the territory of the North Caucasus and there were about 400 thousand of them. More than 90 thousand Ingushes were deported as well (Bezugolny et al., 2012). In March 1944, over 37 thousand Balkars were deported to Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan. The national autonomies of the peoples subjected to forced eviction were abolished and the corresponding Decrees of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the SSR were issued. The political rights of the deported peoples were curtailed; their progressive development suffered significantly, and some areas were irreparably damaged. The most important and basic was their development within the framework of the national-territorial statehood, which was interrupted.

The activity on the reception and accommodation of the internally displaced persons from the North Caucasus started in mid-January, 1944. By February 16, it was necessary to prepare all uninhabited dwellings for accommodation. The special settlers were deprived of their property rights. Houses, livestock and other values were not fully compensated. The highlanders were resettled during the harsh winter, which complicated the creation of acceptable conditions in new places of residence. Due to the lack of vacant houses, the problem was solved by assigning the houses of collective farmers, workers, office workers to special settlers. The situation of the special settlers was complicated by humiliating registration procedures, re-registration in local commandant’s offices and NKVD bodies (Isakieva, 2017).

2. Problem Statement

In the first years of living in the special settlement, the number of those evicted from the North Caucasus decreased significantly. Unsettledness, a harsh, unfamiliar climate, disease and hunger were the main causes of the very high mortality rate. About 146,892 people died and only 28,120 people were born from the beginning of the settlement until October 1, 1948, i.e. the death rate was 5.2 times higher than the birth rate (Zemskov, 1991).

The archival materials state the suppression of the mortality rate from the official authorities. It is noted that the dead are not registered anywhere but buried furtively without the commandants’ awareness. The cause of death is mainly dystrophy and gastric diseases due to malnutrition and lack of medical care (Kazbekova, 2016, p. 48).

The special settlers were implied to be provided with property and food using the funds of the union in exchange for the buildings, cattle, grain, etc. they left at their former place of residence. The first years of special settlement became especially difficult for the exiled peoples. In the new places of the

settlement, there was an acute housing problem. Thus, in the Kyrgyz SSR, by the fall of 1944, only 5,000 houses were provided for 31,000 families of special settlers and only every sixth family lived “within the walls”, the rest were settled under sheds and open air. In Kazakhstan, about 64,000 families were assigned the locals’ houses to.

3. Research Questions

Scattered over a vast territory and limited in contacts with compatriots, the special settlers were in danger of ethno-cultural assimilation with the local population.

In the first half of the 1950s, there were 142,267 Chechens and 44,600 Ingushes in a special settlement in Kazakhstan. Special settlers were not equally settled in all regions of the Kazakh SSR as there were one or two families in all regions. In the Tajik SSR, there were 50 Chechens and 13 Ingushes in the special settlement. In the Kirghiz SSR there were 39,663 Chechens and 1,389 Ingushes. In Kyrgyzstan, special settlers from the North Caucasus were settled in 6 regions.

In the Uzbek SSR, 120 Chechens and 108 Ingushes were registered in the special settlement. Also, in some regions and autonomies of the RSFSR, several representatives of the deported North Caucasian peoples were in special settlement (Schneider, 2009).

4. Purpose of the Study

Kazakhstan and the republics of Central Asia, which received the deported peoples and the evacuated population during the war years, faced big problems in their economic and household structure. The whole burden of providing the special settlers with housing and work was imposed on local collective farms, enterprises and organizations. By 1946, the tension in solving the problems of accommodation and employment of special settlers from the North Caucasus in the places of special settlements had eased, although many of the problems remained. Many special settlers acquired social status through socially useful labor on collective farms and industrial enterprises. After the victory of the Great Patriotic War, the leadership of the country and the republican authorities of Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan took measures aimed to improve supply and create conditions favoring the consolidation of this category of persons in places of special settlements in collective farms, state farms and other enterprises.

The adaptation of the deportees from the North Caucasus to uninhabited places with severe climatic conditions was extremely difficult due to the fact that the special settlers were removed from their usual habitat, social and linguistic environment, were separated from relatives and friends and dispersedly settled over a huge territory without the right to free movement. One of the main factors of their adaptation and socialization in places of special settlements was their labor activity in close contact with the local population.

5. Research Methods

Abusive labor practices of the deported are one of the important components of the deportation process. The spheres of the repressed citizens' employment were different: mining, logging, construction of manufacturing facilities, transport communications, industrial enterprises, railways and dirt roads, and the fishing industry. Most of the deported citizens were employed in agriculture (Bugay, 2012).

In general, Balkars, Karachais, Chechens, Ingushes did not have the right to choose their place of residence and employment in terms of occupation structure and socially due to being rural residents having fallen into exile on false accusations by the Soviet leaders. Special settlers could work in agriculture, industry, construction sites, etc. The sequence of employment objects once again confirms that this provision was formulated by the practice of deportation policy. In fact, it reflected the real distribution of labor by industry (Akkieva, 2019). The majority of the deported worked in collective farms and coal basin, participated in the construction of housing and industrial enterprises, the improvement of cities and towns together with Kazakhs, Koreans, Poles, Germans, Crimean Tatars, Kalmyks, Greeks, Ukrainians, Russians, etc. in places of special settlement

6. Findings

The special settlers were employed by order of the authorities. Thus, out of 1,349 Chechens who arrived on March 4, 1944 in the East Kazakhstan region, 651 people were accepted and placed at the Chulak-Tau chemical plant in the following specialties: engineers – 4 people, doctors – 2 people, medical and veterinary paramedics – 2 people, laboratory assistants and chemists – 5 people, operators – 1 person, locksmiths – 32 people, carpenters – 7 people, drivers and tractor drivers – 38 people, blacksmiths – 1 person, agronomists – 3 people, railway workers – 3 people, drillers – 2 people, bricklayers – 3 people, accounting workers – 18 people, teachers – 23 people. The rest were assigned to work on 26 collective farms in the region. The reports of the mining administration of the Leninogorsk enterprises of the East Kazakhstan region indicated that among the special settlers there were 10 teachers, 3 accountants, 1 paramedic, 1 accountant, and it was not planned to use them by occupation (Ermekebaev, 2009).

Intellectuals did not manage to get a job by occupation due to the fact that in places of special settlement their skills, level of knowledge and specialty were practically not regarded. Alienation from the profession had a negative impact on the well-being of people and their perception of reality, generated pessimism, reduced immunity and provoked illness, increased the mortality rate among this category of persons. Thus, in the Osh region, teachers M. Osmanova and K. Chofanova were forced to work on a collective farm growing tobacco despite their high qualifications and work experience. It was only in the mid-1950s that they got the opportunity to work at school. Teachers, journalists, law enforcement, Soviet and party officials worked in agriculture, construction sites, etc. Thus, on June 1, 1946, famous people in the former Chechen-Ingush Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic were working in the mines: Galaev Bilal (a journalist), Dudayev Alba (a prosecutor of one of the regions of the Chechen-Ingush Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic), Ibragimov Aama (a Communist Party organizer), Nadyrov Akhmet (a former deputy of the District Department of Agriculture), Sultanov Abilkhan (the 2nd Secretary of the Republic of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan) (b) (Archive of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan).

Language was of key importance in adaptation in special settlement. It should be noted that the level of Russian language proficiency was low among the deported, and most of the local population of Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan did not speak Russian. And linguistically, the Turkic-speaking Karachais and Balkars were in an advantageous position because the host country population was also Turkic-speaking. The similarity of the language of the settlers with the language of the host country (Kyrgyz, Kazakhs and Uzbeks) was perceived as a marker of similarity and kinship by the local population and helped to quickly establish trusting relations between the settlers and the locals. Due to linguistic differences with the host community, Chechens and Ingush ran a longer and more difficult path of adaptation and building trusting relationships (Akkieva & Sampiev, 2013).

Joint work and cohabitation, interpersonal contacts in the labor and household spheres contributed to the adaptation of the newcomers to the local population. It should be noted that Islam, which characterized by humanity, compassion and empathy, also played an important role. Local Kazakhs, Kyrgyz, Uzbeks were compassionate and provided assistance to coreligionists being Karachais, Balkars, Ingushes and Chechens. The adaptation was also facilitated by the fact that the Soviet value system became stronger during the war. Help and support were indispensable for relations in the country, and joint work rallied and strengthened interpersonal relations. In the early years, the establishment of contacts with the local population was complicated by the fact that many Chechens and Ingushes did not speak Kazakh and Russian languages. However, the children of the special settlers soon mastered the Kazakh, Kyrgyz and Russian languages. Those representatives of the deported peoples, especially children who found themselves in the Russian-speaking environment (especially in the northern regions of Kazakhstan) and in villages near Frunze (Bishkek) and went to Russian-language schools easily and quickly mastered the Russian language, and for many of them Russian became, in fact, a mother tongue. The Russian language became one of the factors in establishing friendly relations in the local community and later became an important factor in increasing the starting capabilities of this category of deportees for obtaining specialties requiring higher qualifications and knowledge (doctors, teachers, engineers, etc.).

One of the many social problems in the process of deportation is the problem of divided or “scattered” families as they are regarded in documents. The problem of uniting scattered families was a topic of discussion for local authorities. It was repeatedly mentioned in the memoranda and certificates about the special settlers: From the telegraphic instruction of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Kazakh SSR on the reunification of families of workers mobilized to work in the system of the Karagandaugol plant dated August 6, 1946. According to the Karagandaugol plant in Akmola, Kustanai, Pavlodar, North Kazakhstan, Semipalatinsk regions, there are 4,350 Chechen and Ingush families whose heads are employed in the works of the plant. To unite these families, I suggest Lieutenant Colonel Kotyshev to get the lists of families at the plant, send them to the relevant regional departments of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and the latter to ensure the issuance of permits to families to leave for Karaganda. Families not provided with housing by the plant should be excluded from the lists (Isakieva, 2016).

In the first years of the special settlers living in Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan, most of the leading workers of the district party committees, district executive committees, institutions and enterprises treated them with hostility. Prominent Soviet and Kazakh scientist-historian M.K. Kozybayev, investigating the

subject of adaptation of Chechen special settlers during the Great Patriotic War, describes how Chechens and Ingushes got used to life in Kazakhstan. “Their fates were different. They did not think about their own grievances because war was a common grief. People joining in labor activity together with the whole country approached the Victory. In the spring of 1944, a young Chechen Kh. Estoyev became an apprentice to T.I. Kotomakov, a blacksmith of the Kustanai state farm “Moskovsky”. Timofey Ivanovich taught him blacksmith’s work. In 1944–1945, the shepherd M. Dossaev received gratitude from the board of the collective farm Kalinin, Uritsk district, Kustanai region. In 1945 he was awarded with a cow and a heifer for raising and keeping for the collective farm 115 lambs from every hundred ewes assigned to it and 22.5 kg of wool from each sheep. The entire Gekhanov family was famous for their good work on the collective farm named after the 3rd International of the Kustanai region. Father and son were shepherds, mother worked as a calf breeder, daughter as a milkmaid on the farm. There are many similar examples. The author comes to the conclusion that together with Kazakhs, Russians and other peoples, Chechens and Ingushes worked in industry, mastered production, acquired new professions. Thus, A. Magomadov, M. Salamov, Kh. Murdalov, G. Edilov, B. Musaev and many others worked at the Leninogorsk mine and polymetallic mill in 1944. Starting as ordinary workers, they gradually acquired the qualifications of mining foremen. In the same year, M. Salamov mastered the profession of a miner at the Bystrushinsky mine, and after a while, after completing courses, he became a mining foreman. More than 400 people among the Chechens and Ingushes had a considerable experience of work in oil fields and factories. Among them are the deputies of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR of the 1st convocation, drilling foreman M. Magomirzoev and oil production foreman A. Tsomaev, oil engineers I. Almazov, A. Matsiev, M. Vedzizhev, A. Askhabaliyev, A. Akhmatkhanov, A. Uzhakhov. M. Sharipov, H. Arsamirzoev, S. Sarakaev and others worked at the Belousovsky mine in East Kazakhstan, in the mines of Karaganda and Temirtau Z. Sultanbekov, A. Gaziev, H. Magomadov, R. Asukhanov, A. Akhmatkhanov, S. Engenoev and others (Kozybaev, 1997).

Facing the inhuman conditions of the special settlement, almost impossible for survival, the exiles used every opportunity to earn money and support their families. Practically all able-bodied special settlers worked, and sometimes even those who were considered disabled. This was especially noticeable in the first years of their residence. From archival sources it is known that in 1944 in the Dzhambul region 16,396 able-bodied people out of 16,927 people worked. Moreover, 583 old people and teenagers were involved in seasonal field work. In Akmola region, out of 17,667 people registered as able-bodied people actually 19,345 people including 2,746 old people and adolescents worked (Isakieva & Gairbekov, 2020). Special settlers from the North Caucasus, along with other categories of special settlers, were registered with the bodies of the People’s Committee of Internal Affairs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and were assigned to certain enterprises. For example, as of June 25, 1947, 124 Chechens worked in the Kazakhuglerazvedka trust (GAKO).

The adaptation was difficult as there were economic problems, difficulties in land allocation, development. Often, many funds allocated from the Center were stolen and never reached their destination. However, despite the bureaucratic delays, friendly relations were established between the special settlers from the North Caucasus and the local population. Mutual understanding was achieved in interethnic relations. Communication of different nationalities in the production process broke national

isolation, promoted the establishment of mutual contacts between workers, rallied them in the struggle for their rights, laid the foundations for international solidarity and cohesion (Isakieva, 2016).

Thousands of Stakhanovites represented by the deported peoples worked in the national economy of Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan. Thus, in the Voroshilovsky district of the Frunzensk region in 1946, 51 Stakhanovites and 70 shock workers represented by the Balkars were noted. In 1947, in the Issyk-Kul region, 122 Balkars received a medal for their valorous labor in the Great Patriotic War of 1941–1945. In the Leninogorsk region of Kazakhstan, 18 Chechens and Ingushes were awarded with medals for valorous labor during the Great Patriotic War of 1941–1945. Thus, despite the extremely difficult economic and living conditions and all the hardships, the deported North Caucasian peoples worked on an equal basis with local people and made a significant contribution to the development of the country's national economy.

Conscientious work has become the only way for the special settlers to get used to the host environment. The incentive to shock work was competition, the desire to confirm that a Karachai, Balkarian, Ingush or Chechen is the best. Exemplary work for the deported was a ritual and a means of presenting ethnicity, a way to be asserted as a person. During the period of special settlements, on the one hand, ethnic identity strengthened, on the other hand, a common Caucasian identity of the peoples deported from the North Caucasus began to take shape. This happened because initially the host community perceived a deported Chechen, Ingush, Balkar or Karachai as an immigrant from the North Caucasus and, without distinguishing which is which, called everyone Caucasians (kapkazly). According to the stories of people who survived the deportation, every spring the old people were preparing to leave for their homeland being the Caucasus. Returning to desperate land was a dream and an obsession. And like any mania, it was fueled by all sorts of rumors about the decision already made that the deported peoples could return to the Caucasus, rumors were overgrown with details and people believed in them so much that they often entered into deals on the sale of housing, wearable things, and livestock. After returning to the Caucasus and restoring national statehood, the common Caucasian identity began to be gradually replaced by ethnic identity (Akkieva & Sampiev, 2013).

The first national and cultural centers of various diasporas in Kazakhstan began to form in the late 1980s, during the period of glasnost, perestroika and the growth of ethnic identity in the USSR. In modern Kazakhstan, almost all the peoples of the Caucasus are represented. However, the Chechens and Ingushes remain the most numerous peoples. Their number is 31,799 and 16,893, respectively. The deportation of all representatives of the Chechen and Ingush nationalities of the Chechen-Ingush Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic was carried out within the framework of Campaign "Lentil" from February 23 to March 7, 1944, by the decision of the top Soviet leadership. About 85 % of the total number of Chechens and Ingushes were evicted to Kazakhstan, the rest to other eastern regions (Bondartsova & Gumenchuk, 2009).

The formation of the diasporas of Karachais and Balkars in the countries of Central Asia is associated with their deportation in the first half of the 40s of the 20th century. In the late 1950s, unfounded charges against the deported peoples were acquitted. On January 9, 1957, the Statehood of the Balkar, Karachai, Kalmyk, Chechen and Ingush peoples was restored by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. For various reasons, about 12 % of the Balkars and Karachais remained to live in the

countries of Central Asia. Thus, according to the results of the All-Union census of 1989, 5,098 Balkars (6 % of the total number), 4,743 Karachais (3.1 %) lived outside the RSFSR, mainly in Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan on the eve of the breakup of the USSR (National structure of the population of the RSFSR, 1990).

Favorable conditions to satisfy the national and cultural interests of national minorities have been created in modern Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan. On October 20, 2008 the Law of the Republic of Kazakhstan “On the Assembly of Nations of Kazakhstan” was adopted. According to this law, one of the main directions of its activity is assistance in the development and implementation of state national policy. The composition of the assembly and assemblies of regions (cities of republican significance, the capital) is formed from among the citizens of the Republic of Kazakhstan being the representatives of ethnocultural and other public associations, representatives of state bodies and other persons with regards to their authority in society.

The activity of the Assembly of Nations of Kazakhstan being the unique institution contributes to cultural and ethnic interaction of all peoples of Kazakhstan. The establishment of the Karachay-Balkarian National Cultural Center “Mingi-Tau”, which has branches in a number of cities of the country on April 13, 1996 was of great importance for ensuring comfortable living conditions for the Karachay-Balkarian diaspora. For more than 10 years (1996–2007) L.Kh. Khochieva, who made a great contribution to the establishment and development of the center, was the chairman of the Karachay-Balkarian center. From 2008 to the present, the center has been headed by M.M. Babaev. The folklore and ethnographic ensemble “Mingi-Tau”, a multiple winner of the competitions “Ainalayin”, “Fomget” (Turkey), “Holiday of children”, the festival “Friendship of peoples”, has been created and is successfully operating at the center. Since 1996, the Public Association of Balkars and Kabardians “Mingi-Tau” and the International Association of Karachais “Ata-Jurt” (headed by B.Kh. Gogaev) have been functioning in the Kyrgyz Republic. The public association “Mingi-Tau” functions in various directions to satisfy the national and cultural interests of the Balkars and Kabardians. Specifically, it organizes courses on learning their native language, participates in the events of the Assembly of the People of Kyrgyzstan, revives the art of dancing (Tetuev, 2013). According to the Committee on Statistics of the Ministry of National Economy of Kazakhstan, the number of Chechen diaspora in 2017 amounted to 32,894 people, and according to the website joshuaproject.net – 38,000 people (Chechens_in_Kazakhstan, 2017).

Public association of Chechens and Ingushes in Kazakhstan was established in 1989 in Almaty. In 1995 it was re-registered with the Ministry of Justice of the Republic of Kazakhstan as the Association for the Development of the Culture of the Chechen and Ingush Peoples with separate boards (Chechen and Ingush) and co-chairs. It includes national-cultural associations of Chechens and Ingushes from all regional centers of Kazakhstan. Doctor of Philosophy, Professor Andarbek Dudayevich Yandarov and Doctor of Geological and Mineralogical Sciences, Professor, Academician of the National Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Kazakhstan Sultan Mazhitovich Ozdoev were elected the first leaders or co-chairmen of the Vainakh National Cultural Center in Almaty. In 1997 A.S. Muradov and S.M. Ozdoev were elected co-chairmen of the Chechen and Ingush national-cultural centers. From 1997 to the present, A. Muradov has been a co-chairman of the Vainakh Association of the Republic of Kazakhstan, a member of the Council of the Assembly of Nations of Kazakhstan.

The Chechen and Ingush diaspora of Kazakhstan is trying to preserve national community cohesion and strengthen national identity. At present, Chechens and Ingushes stand out among other diasporas by their stable national and group self-awareness due to the maximum degree of adaptability in Kazakhstan, which was the result of adaptation to life as part of the local population even in the harsh conditions of deportation. Another help is religion. Islam helps to unite the diaspora as well as to preserve and strengthen ethnic culture originality. It can be argued that the Ingush and Chechens are stable ethno-confessional groups in the multi-ethnic society of Kazakhstan.

7. Conclusion

In general, they integrated into the socio-cultural space of Kazakhstan as ethnocultural peoples with their own subculture. One of the differences between Chechen and Ingush diaspora and other diasporas in Kazakhstan is that they minimized all the contacts with the surrounding society. Under the conditions of the top-down government system, its cultural isolation was to a large extent forced and imposed by the deportation, when ethnic values were formed as the protest against the Soviet regime. The process of adaptation and incorporation of Chechens and Ingushes into Kazakh society was far from cultural assimilation with the surrounding population. Chechens and Ingushes of Kazakhstan being demographically the most reproductive and self-sufficient community of tribesmen is gradually becoming an organic part of Kazakhstan and in general shares the idea of a common homeland with the indigenous population, living according to its laws and rules.

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