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THE ISSUE OF KAZAKH REFUGEES IN THE 1920S–1930S IN FOREIGN HISTORIOGRAPHY

This article presents a comprehensive analysis of the reflection of the Kazakh refugee crisis during the 1920s–1930s, caused by the Soviet collectivization policy, in foreign historiography. The Objective of the article is to analyze how this historical episode is represented in the works of American, European, Japanese, Chinese, and Russian scholars and to explore how these perspectives may enhance Kazakhstan's domestic historiography.

The author classifies the literature into four categories: Anglo-American scholars of the 1980s (Martha Brill Olcott, Robert Conquest, Andrew Cairns); post-Soviet archival-based researchers (Niccolò Pianciola, Sarah Cameron, Isabelle Ohayon, Robert Kindler); researchers using Chinese archives (Linda Benson, David Wang, Justin Jacobs); and post-Soviet Russian scholars (N.A. Tomilov, S. Maksudov, A.V. Grozin).

The Methodology is based on historiographical analysis, historical epistemology, comparative and narrative methods. Special attention is given to terminological differences (e.g., “refugees” vs. “migrants/otkochevniki”), migration geography, and the attitudes of local authorities toward Kazakh refugees.

The Novelty of the research lies in its structured synthesis of foreign historiographical materials that have not previously been analyzed as a coherent body. While the topic of Kazakh displacement appears as a secondary theme in broader studies of famine and Soviet policy, this article examines it as a stand-alone subject. It brings together critical insights from Sarah Cameron's demographic estimates, Robert Kindler's archival studies, and Pianciola's reconstruction of migration routes.

The Research Results demonstrate that although foreign historians have addressed the displacement in various contexts, it has not been treated as an independent subject in foreign scholarship. This article attempts to bridge that gap and encourages Kazakh historiography to treat refugeeism as a critical component of national historical memory.

Keywords: Kazakhs, refugees, historiography, foreign historiography, collectivization, famine

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XX ғасырдың 20–30 жылдарындағы қазақ босқындары мәселесінің шетелдік тарихнамада қарастырылуы

Бұл мақалада XX ғасырдың 20–30 жылдарында Кеңестік ұжымдастыру саясатының салдарынан орын алған ашаршылық кезіндегі қазақ халқының босқыншылыққа ұшырауы мәселесінің шетелдік тарихнамада бейнеленуіне кешенді талдау жасалады. Мақсаты – осы тарихи оқиғаның американдық, еуропалық, жапондық, қытайлық және ресейлік зерттеушілердің еңбектерінде қалай көрініс тапқанын көрсету, олардың әдіснамалық тәсілдерін салыстыру және отандық тарих ғылымы үшін жаңа ғылыми бағдар ұсыну.

Мақалада шетелдік зерттеушілердің еңбектері төрт топқа жіктеледі: 1980 жылдардағы ағылшын-америкалық ғалымдар (М. Олкотт, Р. Конквест, А. Кэрнс), посткеңестік архив материалдарын қолданған зерттеушілер (Никола Пьянчола, Сара Кэмерон, Изабель Оайон, Роберт Киндлер), қытай архивтеріне негізделген зерттеулер (Линда Бенсон, Дэвид Ванг, Джастин Джейкобс), және посткеңестік кеңістіктегі ресейлік ғалымдар (Н.А. Томилов, С. Максудов, А.В. Грозин).

Методологиясы тарихнама, тарихи-эпистемология, салыстырмалы және нарративтік талдау әдістеріне сүйенеді. Терминдік айырмашылықтарға (мысалы, «босқын» мен «откоचेvник»), миграциялық бағыттарға, жергілікті билік өкілдерінің көзқарастарына ерекше назар аударылған.

Жаңалығы – бұған дейін бөлек қарастырылмаған қазақ босқындары мәселесін дербес шетелдік тарихнамалық проблема ретінде алғаш рет жүйелі түрде қарастыруында. Мақалада Сара Кэмерон мен Роберт Киндлердің мұрағаттық зерттеулерінен бастап, Изабель Оайон мен Никола Пьянчоланың статистикалық бағаларына дейінгі мәліметтер қамтылған.

Зерттеу нәтижесі – шетелдік ғалымдар қазақтардың босқыншылыққа ұшырауын ашаршылық пен ұжымдастыру саясаттарының салдары ретінде қарастырса да, бұл мәселе шетелдік тарихнамада жеке тақырып ретінде толық зерттелмеген. Автор бұл кемшіліктің орнын толтыруға талпынып, отандық тарихнамаға жаңа серпін беруді көздейді.

Түйін сөздер: қазақтар, босқыншылық, тарихнама, шетелдік тарихнама, ұжымдастыру, ашаршылық.

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Изучение казахских беженцев 20–30-х годов XX в. в зарубежной историографии

В статье проводится комплексный анализ отражения проблемы казахских беженцев 1920–1930-х годов, возникшей в результате политики коллективизации, в зарубежной историографии. Цель исследования – выявить, как данное историческое явление трактуется в трудах американских, европейских, японских, китайских и российских ученых, и каким образом их подходы могут быть полезны для развития отечественной историографии.

Работы зарубежных исследователей классифицированы автором на четыре группы: англо-американские учёные 1980-х годов (Марта Олкотт, Роберт Конквест, Эндрю Кэрнс); исследователи, использующие архивы постсоветских стран (Николо Пьянчола, Сара Кэмерон, Изабель Оайон, Роберт Киндлер); авторы, опирающиеся на китайские архивы (Линда Бенсон, Дэвид Ванг, Джастин Джейкобс); учёные постсоветского пространства, в том числе России (Н.А. Томилов, С. Максудов, А.В. Грозин).

Методология включает историографический анализ, историко-эпистемологический подход, сравнительный и нарративный методы. Особое внимание уделяется терминологическим различиям (например, «беженцы» и «откочевники»), маршрутам миграции и позициям местных властей по отношению к казахским переселенцам.

Научная новизна заключается в том, что тема казахской миграции впервые рассматривается как самостоятельная проблема в контексте зарубежной историографии. В статье объединены данные Сары Кэмерон о численности беженцев, архивные выводы Роберта Киндлера, а также статистические и концептуальные материалы Николо Пьянчолы и Изабель Оайон.

Результаты исследования показывают, что, несмотря на наличие упоминаний в контексте реформ, голода и оседлости, тема казахских беженцев до сих пор не изучалась как отдельный объект за рубежом. Автор предлагает восполнить этот пробел и внести вклад в развитие казахстанской исторической науки через изучение данной проблемы как элемента национальной памяти.

Ключевые слова: казахи, беженцы, историография, зарубежная историография, коллективизация, голод.

Introduction

The collapse of the Soviet Union undoubtedly brought about not only large-scale political and administrative transformations on the global political stage, but also profound ideological changes. The decline of communist ideology led to the emergence of new paradigms and a fundamental shift in societal consciousness. One of the notable changes took place within the historical scholarship of post-Soviet countries. This is largely due to the fact that, under the Soviet totalitarian regime, archival collections remained either restricted or entirely inaccessible to the academic community for many years. These archives have since become increasingly available, providing researchers with opportunities to re-examine many historical issues through newly accessible materials (Fitzpatrick, 2015).

As a result, scholars were able to reassess established events and either confirm or challenge previously accepted academic views and interpretations. In this regard, Western scholar Sheila Fitzpatrick noted that an “archival revolution” occurred in post-Soviet countries (Fitzpatrick, 2015:378).

Moreover, it is important to emphasize that foreign scholars also took advantage of this unprecedented access to archival documents in post-Soviet states. They began conducting studies related to the history of the Russian Empire and the Soviet Union. Scholars from various Western countries pursued different lines of inquiry and began presenting their own interpretations. In fact, many research centers dedicated to the study of problems related to the imperial and Soviet periods were established across the Western world. Not only historians, but also leading specialists from other social sciences began to carry

out significant research in the fields of imperial studies and Sovietology.

In their work, considerable attention was also paid to the history of Kazakhstan, which was part of first the Russian Empire and later the USSR. It is worth noting that the findings and interpretations of Western scholars regarding Kazakhstan's history hold particular significance. Of special relevance is the analysis of how the issue of Kazakh displacement during the 1920s–1930s is reflected in foreign historiography – a subject of great importance to contemporary Kazakh historical scholarship.

Objective

The objective of this article is to analyze the issue of Kazakh displacement during the 1920s–1930s from the perspective of foreign historiography, specifically considering Western interpretations. By achieving this goal, we aim to explore the following opportunities:

Materials and methods

First, analyzing the thoughts and opinions presented by Western scholars on the issue will help form an overall historiographical perspective on the topic. This approach will maintain a systematic principle to some extent.

Second, through examining foreign researchers' studies on the topic, we will be able to apply various global conceptual frameworks, methodological approaches, experiences, and categories used in the world scientific community. This, in turn, will undoubtedly enhance the value of the research.

Third, the relatively "neutral" position of foreign researchers, compared to domestic scholars, along with their lack of emotional bias, will certainly contribute to a more objective analysis of the issue. This factor will elevate the scholarly value of the study.

Fourth, it is evident that displacement is not a one-sided process. The process of physical displacement of Kazakhs to second, third, or subsequent destinations during their refugee status is reflected in the records of those countries or the works of scholars from those countries. This will help identify various positions in the research.

Thus, analyzing the reflections of Kazakh displacement during the 1920s–1930s in foreign historiography is undoubtedly a significant issue for domestic historical scholarship.

Moreover, the use of historical-narrative and historical-epistemological principles in the research

has led to a certain systematization. The historiographical sources related to the topic follow a chronological order, and the logical connections of the ideas are revealed. The comparative method used for their analysis allowed a comprehensive examination of the issue. Thanks to the systematic approach, the results were critically assessed, and at the end of the article, independent scientific judgments and conclusions were made.

Discussion

There are very few works that specifically address the issue of Kazakh displacement during the 1920s–1930s in foreign historiography. While this problem has not been studied as an independent research subject, it appears in the context of related issues with logical, chronological, and systematic connections to the event. To construct the overall historiographical image of the topic, we find the works of domestic scholars such as Zh.B. Abylkhozhin (1989), G.M. Mendikulova (1997), T. Omarbekov (1997), (Omarbekov, 2003), and B. Ayagan (2012) to be valuable. These scholars provide a comprehensive analysis of the displacement of Kazakhs and its unique characteristics. These foundational studies were written in the early years of our country's independence based on archival documents, from the standpoint of an independent historical perspective. Additionally, works by V.I. Sergiychuk (Sergiychuk, V (2014)), E.B. Sydykov (Sydykov, 2014), and Z.E. Kabuldinov (2014) are important in relation to the research on the directions Kazakhs took during their displacement in the 1930s. However, it can be said that these research works do not analyze the reflections of the problem in foreign historiography, as is done in this article.

The overview of foreign historiography on this topic is presented in a fragmentary manner in the works of G. Mukanova and S.N. Mamytova. Specifically, the former examines the migration of Kazakhs first to China and later to other places, considering these processes in the context of global geopolitical conditions. The work also presents trends in the description of Kazakh migration movements in English and American historiography. However, this work limits itself to general information about the refugee status of Kazakhs and does not conduct direct analyses of works closely related to the topic (Mukanova, 2014:84-85).

In the second author's work, while there is a good analysis of the research by domestic historians, the review of foreign authors is insufficient. The author

only analyzes works by Kyrgyz and Russian authors in the context of foreign historiography. Although the names of seven Western scholars are mentioned, only the work of American scholar Sarah Cameron is analyzed in detail (Mamytova, 2020:30).

Additionally, an overview of foreign historiography on this topic is also reflected to some extent in the research of Japanese scholar Jin Noda. His work is particularly important as it provides a historiographical review of the process of Kazakhs migrating to China as refugees (Noda, 2019:27-28).

Thus, the review of foreign historiography on the issue of Kazakh displacement during the 1920s–1930s is not found as an independent research subject in any work, and it remains one of the most relevant issues that should be explored.

Results

When reviewing foreign literature on the issue of Kazakh displacement in the 1920s–1930s, it would be useful to divide the works into four groups for the sake of systematization.

The first group consists of works by English-American scholars written in the 1980s. During this period, due to the established political and geopolitical situation in the world, the field of Sovietology, which thoroughly examined the Soviet Union, began to take shape and develop in Western countries. Within the framework of Sovietology, numerous works on the history and life of the Soviet government were written in Western countries, including discussions on the political and economic reforms of the 1920s–1930s. In these studies, one can also find references to the history of the Kazakhs during that period.

The second group includes research by Western scholars written from the 1990s to the present. These works are primarily based on archival materials from Russia and Kazakhstan. It is important to note that two main tendencies influenced these works. First, after the collapse of the Soviet regime, archival materials from the former Soviet republics became accessible to Western scholars, allowing them to conduct research based on concrete data. Second, at the same time, postcolonial studies were actively developing in global social sciences, prompting many foreign scholars to reevaluate events from the Tsarist and later Soviet periods. The issue of Kazakh displacement, as discussed in these works, is of great significance for our research.

The third group consists of works by Western scholars based on archival documents from China.

Given that the majority of Kazakh refugees in the 1920s–1930s initially moved to China and then to other regions, it is only logical that these events are reflected in Chinese sources. Therefore, examining and analyzing works in this category will undoubtedly provide new opportunities for addressing the research problem.

The fourth group includes works by scholars from post-Soviet countries. The shared history of being part of one state highlights the common aspects of many historical events. Consequently, examining works by Russian authors who are currently researching this topic remains scientifically valuable.

Thus, we first focus on the research by English-American scholars written in the 1980s, which form the first group. Among these works, we review those of Martha Brill Olcott and Robert Conquest. The former describes the collectivization policies of the Soviet government and names the resulting displacement of the Kazakhs as one of its consequences (Olcott, 1981). The latter dedicates a chapter of his work to the famine in the Kazakh steppe and discusses the displaced Kazakhs (Conquest, 1987). These works were written in the 1980s and are not based on archival documents. However, they undoubtedly contribute to forming the general image of foreign historiography on our research topic.

By the late 1980s, Western scholarly circles published the 1932 writings of Canadian agronomist Andrew Cairns. These writings became some of the first in Western historiography to address the problem of Kazakh displacement in the early 20th century. In the spring and summer of 1932, A. Cairns was in the Soviet Union's Siberian region on a business trip. He was there as part of a British Imperial marketing mission to address agricultural issues. During his travels along the northern border of Kazakhstan, Cairns saw hundreds of displaced Kazakhs at each station and described them as "emaciated, poorly dressed, starving, and many were begging for bread" (Cairns, 1989:5).

In addition, Cairns shares the views of a German scholar, Otto Schiller, whom he met during his trip. Schiller, an agricultural expert, had visited the Soviet Union twice, in 1925 and 1932, and was astonished by what he saw in Kazakhstan and Western Siberia. He explained to Cairns that, while there had once been a large number of livestock in the Kazakh steppe, by 1932, near Semey, there were no farms with livestock to be found. He warned that this situation would have dire consequences. Schiller also expressed his concern to Cairns that millions of

nomadic Kazakhs, who had once depended on livestock for their livelihood, might perish under such conditions (Cairns, 1989:6).

Second Group of Historiographical Works. The second group consists of the works of many foreign scholars who gained access to archival materials from all former Soviet republics after the collapse of the USSR. These scholars worked with the central and regional archives of Kazakhstan and Russia, directly or indirectly addressing the issue of the displacement of Kazakhs. Prominent foreign scholars in this group include Italian researcher Nicola Pianciola, French scholar Isabelle Ohayon, American scholar Sarah Cameron, German historian Robert Kindler, and Japanese researcher Jin Noda.

Among these foreign scholars, one of the first to conduct substantial research and present his conclusions to the global academic community in the early 21st century is the Italian scholar Nicola Pianciola, who is currently serving at Lingnan University in Hong Kong. Pianciola is known for his studies on the conditions of Kazakh villages within the context of Soviet agrarian policies. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, Pianciola was one of the prominent researchers who gained access to the archives of post-Soviet countries and conducted his studies. His research is based on materials from the current archival holdings of Russia and Kazakhstan. As a result, his works on the collectivization, industrialization, famine, and repression in Kazakh villages during the 1920s and 1930s are valuable. He also provides information on the displacement of the Kazakhs and presents his own conclusions on this issue.

According to Pianciola, the displacement of the Kazakhs began as early as the winter of 1927-1928, during the initial stage of forced requisitions (Pianciola, 2004:171). In this regard, the author references several sources and provides information about the number of Kazakhs who fled from the steppe to other regions. He draws attention to the growing dynamics of this number year by year. He also analyzes the migration routes of the displaced Kazakhs as refugees.

Firstly, the researcher focuses on the migration of Kazakhs as refugees to China. According to the author, approximately 200,000 Kazakhs migrated to China. The researcher attributes this migration to the existence of tribal and community ties between the Kazakhs on both sides of the border, as well as the earlier experiences of Kazakhs migrating to the area. Additionally, N. Pianciola mentions that in late 1931 and early 1932, Kazakhs also migrated to

the Siberian and Ural regions. He hints that some of the refugees reached as far as the interior regions of Russia. Moreover, the author notes that by the fall of 1932, the number of Kazakh refugees who had reached the city of Orenburg had reached 40,000. As a result, local leaders in Orenburg and its surrounding settlements began raising alarms, suggesting that the central authorities impose restrictions on the influx of refugees from the Kazakh steppe. Another significant route of migration for the Kazakh refugees was towards Kyrgyzstan. In this regard, the foreign scholar provides some intriguing data. According to him, the Kazakhs gathered mainly near the city of Pishpek (now Bishkek) in Kyrgyzstan. During the fall of 1933, 6-7 Kazakh refugees died from hunger in a single day in that area (Pianciola, 2004:172).

Furthermore, N. Pianciola highlights the emergence of a new term in Soviet bureaucratic terminology to describe the refugees' situation. He notes that the Soviet government did not refer to these displaced former herders as "refugees," but instead began calling them "migrants" ("otkochevniki") (Pianciola, 2004:172).

Another significant scholar in the field is French researcher Isabelle Ohayon. Like other Western scholars, Ohayon also did not consider the issue of Kazakh refugees as a standalone research topic. Instead, she examined it as part of an analysis of the political and economic reforms the Soviet regime carried out in the Kazakh steppe during the 1920s and 1930s. Like her peers, the French researcher views the migration of Kazakhs during this period as a "result" of the policies of the Soviet government. The forced collectivization and the destruction of the wealthy class led to famine, resulting in the deaths of over a million Kazakh citizens, and approximately 600,000 Kazakhs were forced to leave their homeland. In addition, the author, referencing the work of Kazakh demographer Makash Tatimov, confirms the statistical data on the number of Kazakhs who died of famine and those who became refugees, which is supported by the archival documents of her own and Italian scholar Nicola Pianciola's research (2009:463-466).

Additionally, according to the conclusions of Isabelle Ohayon, the official archival documents regarding the migration of Kazakhs as refugees in the 1930s contain more information from the local Soviet authorities in the neighboring areas rather than from the Kazakhs themselves. As evidence of this, the author cites various official documents written by the authorities in the Orenburg region, Siberia,

and Kyrgyzstan, describing the situation in the Kazakh steppe (Ohayon, 2013).

The issue of Kazakh refugees during the 1920s and 1930s is also addressed in the works of American historian Sara Cameron. Primarily focused on the famine in the Kazakh steppe, for which she even defended a dissertation, S. Cameron's (2010) research also discusses the migration of Kazakhs to Chinese territory. Specifically, the American scholar points out that by the late 1920s, as a result of Soviet policies, famine spread among the Kazakh population, and as a consequence, 1.1 million Kazakhs migrated to the adjacent region of China, specifically to the Xinjiang (Sinkiang) area. The author refers to published materials from the President's Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan to cite the number of refugees (Cameron, 2016:119).

Furthermore, in her subsequent works, Sara Cameron continues to explore the migration of Kazakhs as refugees. In her later studies, the American scholar from the University of Maryland discusses the scope and number of Kazakh refugees, as well as the attitudes of the local authorities toward the refugees. Notably, the author states that over a million Kazakhs became refugees during the 1920s and 1930s. She also identifies the migration routes of Kazakh refugees, pointing to neighboring Soviet republics such as Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, and China (Cameron, 2018:2). Additionally, the American scholar highlights that local Soviet officials under F. Goloshchekin's administration avoided using the term "refugees" and instead referred to them as "migrants" ("otkochevniki"). In their view, this was considered a normal situation, and they believed that it signified Kazakhs moving toward a new level of societal development, transitioning to a sedentary way of life (Cameron, 2018).

Additionally, S. Cameron pays attention to the dynamic change in Soviet authorities' stance towards Kazakh refugees. Interestingly, the researcher examines the migration of Kazakhs to China within the context of the geopolitical issues of the time. Initially, the migration of Kazakhs to China was viewed as a normal process; however, later, the authorities began to perceive this trend as a potential threat. The Soviet government feared that the migrating Kazakhs could join anti-Soviet forces in China, which might pose a danger in border regions. According to the author, during this time, due to China's political weakness, there were ideas among powerful nations like Japan and the British Empire to establish their own influence in the Xinjiang region. The large-scale migration of Kazakhs to that

region could later threaten the Soviet borders, and behind these actions might stand Western imperial powers and Japan, aiming to exploit China's vulnerability. This fear led Soviet border guards to take extreme measures, including using firearms to prevent people from crossing the Soviet-Chinese border between 1931 and 1933 (Cameron, 2018:138-140).

Furthermore, among the foreign scholars on this issue, the German researcher Robert Kindler should also be mentioned. The scholar's monograph on the consequences of Stalinist policies in Kazakhstan during the 1920s and 1930s was written using materials from various central and regional archives in Kazakhstan and Russia. This book was later translated into Russian multiple times. In this work, the author also presents facts related to the migration of Kazakhs as refugees and offers his own conclusions.

In his book, Robert Kindler dedicates a separate chapter to Kazakh refugees. He argues that Kazakhs were forced to migrate due to the famine and analyzes the various directions of their migration. He specifically mentions that Kazakhs migrated to neighboring Soviet republics such as Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan, and Western Siberia. Not only did they migrate to these regions, but there is also archival evidence supporting that they did so in large groups.

Robert Kindler's work stands out in two main ways compared to previous Western scholars on this topic. First, the German scholar provides a deeper analysis of the migration routes of Kazakhs. He examines, in more detail than other scholars, the initial interactions between Kazakhs and local populations, the local people's reactions to the refugees, and the relationships between them. Notably, the conflicts and tensions between the local populations and the migrating Kazakhs are described in detail, supported by archival data. These tensions are highlighted across all the migration routes taken by Kazakhs. Second, Kindler addresses the issue of whether Kazakhs returned to their homeland after the famine's intensity began to decrease or whether they chose not to return. This dilemma is examined in depth, with a focus on the advantages and disadvantages of various positions. The solution to this dilemma is shown to be diverse, depending on each individual case (Kindler, 2017:213-225).

Moreover, Robert Kindler, like American scholar Sarah Cameron, pays attention to the positions taken by local authorities regarding Kazakh refugees. In his work, the German scholar expresses both surprise and strong criticism towards F. Goloshchekin's view that the migration of Kazakhs and

their mass movement to union republics should be accepted as a normal situation. Golochkin regarded it as a stage of development where Kazakhs would adapt to sedentary life and blend with other Soviet peoples (Kindler, 2017:214).

Additionally, it is worth mentioning the works of Professor Matthew Payne from the University of Chicago. The American scholar's main research topic covers the political and economic policies of the Soviet government during the 1920s and 1930s, with a focus on their particularities in the Kazakh steppe. Among the issues addressed is the migration of Kazakhs as refugees in the 1930s (Payne, 2011:59-86).

The third group of foreign historiographical works in our study pertains to those written by researchers using Chinese archival materials. Notably, American scholar Linda Benson (1990) and Chinese-American researcher David Wang (1999) belong to this category. Both describe the historical processes in regions close to the Soviet-Chinese border, writing about how Kazakhs migrated to these regions as refugees. Both works are based on various Chinese archival materials and documents. Therefore, it is important to note that their perspectives are shaped by China's position.

Another important work based on Chinese archival documents is that of Justin Jacobs, a scholar from Washington University. His research analyzes the governance practices of the leaders of the Xinjiang region. Specifically, he sheds light on the Chinese authorities' approach to governing an area that included newly arrived Kazakh refugees and other Muslim peoples. He also discusses the role of these refugee groups amid China's internal political struggles (Jacobs, 2016). Another valuable aspect of Jacobs' work is his extensive use of historical archives from Taiwan (Goshiguan), including materials found in these archives related to Kazakh refugees' experiences (Noda, 2019:26-27).

The Fourth Group of Foreign Historiography on the Issue of Kazakh Refugees in the 1920s-1930s: Post-Soviet Scholars, Including Russian Researchers

In the fourth group of foreign historiographies on the issue of Kazakh refugees in the 1920s and 1930s, we consider the works of scholars from post-Soviet countries, particularly Russian researchers. These scholars largely rely on the documents of regional archives in the Russian Federation and highlight the specifics of the migration routes of Kazakh refugees. Among these works, those focusing on Kazakhs who migrated to the West Siberian region as refugees are widely recognized. Notable scholars in this area include N.A. Tomilov (1992), (Tomilov

& Akhmetova, 2013) and I.V. Oktyabrskaya (2004). The works of S. Maksudov (1999) and A.V. Grozin (2014) are significant as they link the Kazakh refugee crisis to the events of the famine. Each of these works contributes to forming a general understanding of the process of Kazakh refugees' migration.

Conclusion

After considering the information presented above, we conclude that this topic is of great relevance to domestic scholarship. Therefore, the results are summarized in the following conclusions:

1. The Issue of Kazakh Refugees in the 1920s-1930s in Domestic and Foreign Historiography

The issue of Kazakh refugees in the 1920s-1930s has been addressed not only in our national historiography but also in foreign historiography to a certain extent. The geographical scope of these studies is wide. Scholars from the United States, Great Britain, France, Germany, Japan, and Russia have authored numerous fundamental research works on this subject.

2. Contextual Analysis in Foreign Research

It should be noted that foreign scholars did not study the issue of Kazakh refugees in isolation. Instead, this topic is typically discussed in the context of various other research subjects, such as the consequences of different reforms in the 1930s or the analysis of famine events. Thus, the issue of Kazakh refugees is often addressed directly or indirectly in these contexts.

3. The Role of Archive Documents in Foreign Research

The main source of research on the issue of Kazakh refugees is archive documents. These archives are also the primary reference in the works of foreign scholars. Western scholars like Nicola Pyanchola, Isabelle Ohayon, Sarah Cameron, and Robert Kindler have widely used materials from central and regional archives in Russia and Kazakhstan in their research. After the dissolution of the Soviet Union, foreign scholars made effective use of the access granted to post-Soviet archives.

4. The Role of Neighboring Countries' Archives

The history of the mass migration of Kazakh refugees is not only contained in the archives of domestic or post-Soviet countries but also in the archives of neighboring countries. This fact has been demonstrated by a group of foreign scholars, including those who relied on Chinese archival materials, such as Linda Benson and David Wang. The work of Justin Jacobs, in particular, which uses Chinese archives containing documents of the Kazakhs them-

selves, significantly increases the historiographical value of the studies in this category.

In conclusion, the analysis of foreign historiography on the issue of Kazakh displacement during the 1920s–1930s reveals a multifaceted and under-explored scholarly field. While the mass migration of Kazakhs resulting from collectivization and famine is not new to historical research, its focused examination within foreign academic literature as an independent subject remains limited.

This article has demonstrated that scholars such as Sarah Cameron, Niccolò Pianciola, Isabelle Ohayon, Robert Kindler, and others have provided valuable insights into the causes, consequences, and geographic scope of the Kazakh refugee crisis. However, their discussions often appear as sub-themes within broader studies of Soviet reforms, sedentarization, or imperial politics. Moreover, significant differences exist in the terminology used, the archival sources consulted, and the analytical frameworks applied across national historiographies.

The findings indicate that Western and Eastern scholars have relied heavily on post-Soviet, Chinese,

and regional archives to reconstruct the migration trajectories and official attitudes toward Kazakh refugees. Notably, these works shed light on not only the demographic scale of displacement but also the Soviet government's attempts to reframe refugees as "migrants" in line with ideological narratives.

Therefore, a key outcome of this study is the recognition of Kazakh displacement as a distinct and critical subject of historical inquiry. The systematic classification and comparative analysis of foreign scholarship presented here highlight the need for further research that synthesizes global perspectives and expands Kazakhstan's historiographical dialogue.

Ultimately, this article argues that integrating foreign historiographical interpretations into national academic discourse can enrich the collective understanding of one of the most tragic and transformative chapters in Kazakh history. It calls for greater attention to transnational archival collaboration, interdisciplinary analysis, and historiographical integration to deepen the study of forced migration, famine, and identity in 20th-century Kazakhstan.

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