The Famine in Kazakhstan in 1930–1933 and the Migration of Kazakhs to Western China

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ABSTRACT:

The main purpose of the work is to study the historical events of the mass famine of 1931-1933 through the memories of eyewitnesses, their descendants, and representatives of the Kazakh diaspora, as well as the introduction of new archival and oral data into the scientific turnover. Research methods - surveys and interviews, archival research, analysis of literary, critical, and historical sources, digitalization and creation of a database, comparative analysis, as well as the study of works in the Chinese language. Scientific novelty lies in the inclusion of interviews with descendants of Kazakhs who moved to China during the famine of 1931-1933 and archival data. The analysis of Chinese archival documents - administrative papers, border control, and migration reports - allows for the revealing of the peculiarities of refugees' migration and their living conditions. Clarification of regional historical connections contributes to a comprehensive understanding of historical-ethnic and border relations between Kazakhstan and China.

The use of Kazakh-language periodicals makes it possible to study public opinion and the information space of the 1930s-1950s. Trans-international historical experience examines the life, cultural, and religious preservation of Kazakhs who moved to China during the famine from the perspective of transnational historical processes. As a result of the study, new archival and oral data on the famine period are introduced into the scientific turnover; for the first time, memories of descendants of famine victims and historical evidence are used comprehensively; historical and ethnic ties between Kazakhstan and neighboring countries are supplemented with specific data.

Keywords: Kazakhs, collectivization, famine, refugees, China, Xinjiang, descendants of eyewitnesses to the famine.

Introduction

The famine of 1931–1933 is a particularly difficult and tragic period in the history of Kazakhstan, which arose as a result of Soviet political and social reforms after the October Revolution, especially the collectivization campaign. This tragedy was preserved in the national consciousness under the names "Great Swelling", "Famine", "Naubet", "Zobalan", "Zulmat", and was forever inscribed as one of the most tragic pages of the Soviet totalitarian system.

The history of the famine is one of the "white spots" of the history of the Motherland that still requires in-depth study and a true assessment. After gaining independence, an opportunity arose to re-examine Kazakh history from the perspective of national interests. In this direction, the question of studying the causes and consequences of the famine in the 20th century and assessing it from a new perspective was raised. Since 1991, new research has been conducted on the events of the Soviet period, especially political repression and the Famine, and eyewitness memoirs have begun to be published in periodicals.

Research methods and materials Survey and interview method: conducting surveys and in-depth interviews with representatives of the older generation in all regions and cities of republican significance of Kazakhstan; Collection of memories of direct witnesses of the famine period and their descendants; Registration of oral testimonies through interviews with descendants of forced refugees among representatives of the Kazakh diaspora. Archival research method: collection and analysis of official documents, statistical data, party instructions, reports, and sources related to the state, regional, and departmental famines; Systematization of memoirs, diaries, and other sources belonging to individuals. Method of analysis of literary-critical and historical sources: historical-critical analysis of domestic and foreign scientific literature and published data on the famine of 1931–1933; Making scientific conclusions by comparing the level of research on the problem, the methods used, and their interpretations. Method of digitization and database creation: Processing oral history materials (audio, video) and visual data (photos, documents) and transferring them to digital format; Formation and systematic replenishment of a digital information and analytical database containing information about the famine. This set of methods and materials allows for a comprehensive and objective study of the famine of 1931–1933.

Discussion

During this period, the people of Kazakhstan were subjected to mass starvation, forced displacement, violence, and political repression within the country due to the famine caused by the collectivization policy. The famine claimed the lives of millions of rural workers and urban residents, leaving a deep mark on the national memory.

Although the heavy consequences of the Soviet policy of repression are preserved in archival documents, its consequences are written as a black page in the generational memory of millions of Kazakhstani families. During the years of the Stalinist totalitarian system, false accusations of being an "enemy of the people," a "nationalist," and a "relative of a traitor to the Motherland" were made, and many people were able to achieve historical justice only after several decades.

The study of the history of the totalitarian policy of the Soviet state in the late 1920s and early 1930s based on the memories of the victims and the descendants of the Famine, and archival documents about the population subjected to repression during the period of confiscation of the property of the kulaks and the rich, which led to the tragedy that befell the people of the republic, is still one of the relevant directions in modern historical science in Kazakhstan.

It is known that in the 1920s and 1930s, there were national intellectuals and public figures who sought to show the absurdity of Bolshevik policy and its consequences. For example, Turar Ryskulov, referring to the OGPU data on the famine and the "red-footed scum" – the refugees who settled along the Blue Sea, wrote the following: "… In the Balkhash district (according

to the local OGPU data), there lived 60 thousand people, 12 thousand of whom emigrated, 36 thousand died, and only 12 thousand remained. In the Karatal district, half the population of three villages that were forcibly relocated last winter died of hunger. In the same district (according to the OGPU data), in December and the first 10 days of January (1933), 569 people died of hunger. To be more precise, the bodies of more than 300 people lie in the fields of Ushtobe station, Karatalskurylys, and the rice state farm..." (QR PA. 141-q. 1-t. 6403-is.).

For the first time, the idea of collecting memories to restore the past was expressed by Alan Nevins, a professor of history at Columbia University in the USA, in the introduction to the book "Grover Cleveland: A Study in Courage" in 1932 (Nevins, 1932: 832).
Unfortunately, during the Soviet period, the terrible famine of 1931–1933 was one of the "closed" topics. It should be noted that during the Soviet Union, the study of famine issues was practically not carried out by historians for ideological reasons. In Kazakhstan, only during the perestroika period did the republican scientists have the opportunity to begin studying the topic of famine and mass political repression during the Stalinist period. The scientists who began studying this topic were Zh.B. Abylkhozhin, M.K. Kozybayev, and M.B. Tatimov (Abylkhozhin, Kozybaev, Tatimov, 1989: 53-71).

In 1992, the work of the leading historians of the republic entitled "Collectivization in Kazakhstan: the tragedy of peasantry" was published (Kozybayev, Abylkhozhin, Aldazhumanov, 1992: 36). This work played an important role in developing the conclusion of the Commission of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Kazakhstan on the study of the tragedy of famine, collectivization, and mass political repression in the 1930s. These scientists determined the direction of research and revealed the causes of the famine. However, in the early period of Kazakhstan's independence, secret archives and unique documents were still largely closed to researchers.

The above-mentioned scientists determined the scientific direction of the research and revealed the causes of the famine in depth. The demographic aspects of the famine were specifically considered in the research works of academician M.B. Tatimov. He indicates the number of victims of the famine in 1932–1933 as 1750 thousand people (42% of all Kazakhs in the republic) (Tatimov, 1989: 128). Scientists such as H.K. Asylbekov and A.B. Galiev cite similar figures for deaths from the famine - 1745 thousand people (Asylbekov, Galiev, 1991: 192). After the collapse of the USSR, data on the number of people who died from hunger were discussed by domestic and foreign researchers. It should be noted that scientists considered the scale of this tragedy, the causes of the famine and its legal aspects.

Russian researcher G.E. In his article "Famine in the Kazakh ASSR in the 1930s: Historiographic Drift," published in 2023, Kornilov analyzes the main studies on the history of the famine and presents a large table containing statistical data provided by foreign, Kazakh, and Russian scientists (Kornilov, 2023: 99-121). In his article, G.E. Kornilov also notes the Kazakh position expressed in February 2021 at the National Academic Library, in which "Senate Speaker M. Ashimbayev expressed the view of the Kazakh authorities: "The famine is a terrible humanitarian disaster not only for the Kazakh people, but for all countries of the former Union," and therefore the issue of the famine should be approached, first of all, from a scientific perspective and not politicized" (Kornilov, 2023: 103).

The theme of the Kazakh famine of 1930-1932 is also reflected in the works of foreign scholars N. Pianciola, R. Conquest, M. Olcott, S. Cameron, and S. Wheatcroft (Pianciola, 2004: 137–192; Conquest, 1986: 306; Olcott, 1981: 122-142; Cameron, 2010; Wheatcroft, 2014: 178-190). One cannot disagree with the opinion of the American historian Sarah Cameron: "The Kazakh famine of 1930-1932 is important not only for understanding Soviet history, but also for studying mass violence and conducting comparative analysis with other examples of

famine. This crisis is too little known in the West: the main reviews of the Soviet period mention the Kazakh tragedy only marginally, and the Kazakh famine is rarely found in collections covering mass violence in the 20th century" (Cameron, 2020: 360). Sarah Cameron's conclusion has an objective basis, since it is still too early to say that all aspects of the famine have been fully revealed and comprehensively studied.

The significant contribution of the famous historian T. Omarbekov is in the three-volume collection of documents entitled "Holodomor in Kazakhstan: causes, consequences and results" (Omarbekov, 2011: 203) and "Famine. Famine. Documentary chronicle. 1928–1934" (Omarbekov, 2021: 920), despite the extensive coverage of documents related to the famine, archival sources revealing the history of the famine and the peasant tragedy in Kazakhstan are being supplemented, but there are still significant "blankets" on this topic. In particular, new archival documents related to the famine of 1930–1933, the memoirs of famine victims and their descendants have not been included in scientific circulation, as well as the consequences of the famine - the migration and resettlement of the population, the problem of abandoned children and orphans, regional features and aspects of collectivization, the republic's ways out of famine, the reflection of historical events in the memoirs of famine victims and their descendants, and many other issues.

The study of the history of collectivization, famine, migration, and repression in the 1930s allows us to introduce new sources into scientific circulation for the history of the Motherland, and to collect the memoirs of the descendants of those who suffered and were repressed. The importance of using the memoirs of witnesses and their relatives, articles published in the media, including Internet publications, in studying the issues of the famine, writes historian A.T. Abdulina in her article "Memories of Eyewitnesses to the Famine of the 1930s in Kazakhstan: Issues of Source Study and Reflection of Everyday Life" (Abdulina, 2021: 92-100.).

Research conducted as part of the project to prepare a series of memoirs of witnesses of the mass famine of 1931-1933 in Kazakhstan and their descendants allows domestic historians to delve deeper into various aspects of this difficult period. Through interviews collected within the framework of the project from witnesses of the famine and their descendants, the picture of the scale of collectivization, repression, and hunger is significantly supplemented. The scientific results of this project contribute to the discovery of features and new facts of the history of our republic in 1930-1933 in all regions of the country.

The initial results obtained to date have already begun to prove the validity of the scientific predictions of domestic scientists in this direction. During interviews, Kazakhs who fled to China during the famine of 1931–1933 say that they survived with the help of their tribesmen and relatives who had settled there earlier. They often recall the help of their brothers abroad. Similarly, residents of the Narynkol and Kegen districts in southeastern Kazakhstan particularly noted the help provided by neighboring Kyrgyz brothers (The Famine of 1930–1933, 2024: Vol. I, 2024; Vol. II, 2024). Residents of North Kazakhstan, Kokshetau, and Akmola regions recount how they moved to the neighboring Russian Federation during the famine, lived among their relatives there, and then returned to their homeland.

The policies of "collectivization" and "settlement" carried out in the 1920s and 1930s turned into a serious disaster for the Kazakh people. As a result of the 1926 census in the Soviet Union, it was found that 38.5 percent of Kazakhstanis were engaged in animal husbandry, and 33.2 percent were engaged in semi-animal husbandry as an additional occupation in addition to agriculture. Only 10 percent of the Kazakh population maintained their former nomadic lifestyle. According to these data, a quarter of the population of Kazakhstan at that time lived in settled agriculture, and two-thirds lived in semi-nomadic life.

In 1928, Stalin, giving priority to the development of heavy industry, began mass collectivization of agriculture. The Soviet

government decided to collectivize agriculture, aiming to quickly settle nomadic and semi-nomadic peoples with national cultural traditions. Accordingly, in 1929, collectivization began to be carried out intensively in Kazakhstan. In January 1930,

The Central Committee issued a decision on the mass implementation of settlerization and included it in the first five-year plan. As a result, in March 1930, 56.6 percent of the population engaged in agriculture and animal husbandry was collectivized, and in September 1931, this figure reached 60.8 percent. During the first five-year plan, 544 thousand of the 566 thousand nomadic and semi-nomadic farms in Kazakhstan were transferred to settled agriculture. This process, in addition to radically changing the socio-economic structure of the population, also caused enormous damage to their traditional way of life.

The policy of mass collectivization and settlement carried out in Kazakhstan was not based on any scientific and theoretical basis or real economic prerequisites. This campaign was mainly imposed from above and did not take into account the natural and social features. For the Kazakh people, who had been leading a nomadic and semi-nomadic lifestyle for thousands of years, these reforms were a surprise and a deep shock.

The people lost their traditional way of life - animal husbandry - and were deprived of their main source of livelihood. The rapid and forced transition to collectivization hindered their socio-economic adaptation. The livestock integrated into collective farms was not properly cared for and controlled, and due to a lack of fodder, inexperience in farm management, and organizational shortcomings, the number of livestock decreased sharply. This situation led to famine and misery for the people.

The consequences of the collectivization campaign in Kazakhstan in the 1930s were extremely serious. In 1930 alone, 2.3 million cattle and 10 million sheep were killed, which means that 35 percent of the total livestock population was destroyed. If in 1929 there were 40.5 million head of cattle in the republic, by January 1, 1933, this figure had decreased to only 4.5 million. The collapse of livestock farming was a direct blow to nomadic life and the economy. It was also impossible to solve technical problems in production in a timely manner. The campaign of "rapid settlement" exacerbated social crises and destroyed the traditional way of life of the people. Violent methods prevailed, ignoring the natural laws of social progress. As a result, millions of Kazakhs suffered from hunger, disease, and were dispossessed. This man-made disaster was the result of gross errors in the economic and political policies of the Soviet government. Thus, in the early 1930s, the Kazakh people suffered a terrible famine and mass emigration. There is every reason to rightly call this historical period the "Aktaban Chubyryn of the 20th century."

The number of people who became victims of the famine in the indicated years was 1798.4 thousand people, which was 46.8 percent of the Kazakh population at that time. According to relevant data, in 1929-1933, about a million people fled Kazakhstan and emigrated to China, Afghanistan, Iran, etc., and 600 thousand of them did not return to their historical homeland.

The issue of the scale and consequences of the famine in Kazakhstan in the 1930s is still a matter of debate among historians. Along with official figures based on archival data and statistics, some scientists argue that these figures are distorted and much lower than the real situation. The well-known historian Talas Omarbek notes on this issue: “In order to more fully reflect the number of refugees, we need to determine the exact number of Kazakhs who went abroad. It is also worth considering that this issue has been distorted until now.” According to him, some studies overstate the number of refugees who fled abroad due to the famine, and as a result, the number of those who died of hunger is deliberately underestimated. For example, Robert Conquest claims that 200 thousand Kazakhs fled to Western China, while Russian historians Y.A. Polyakov, V.B. Zhiromskaya, and I.N. Kiselev bring this figure to 1.3 million people. However, Talas Omarbekov warns that they exaggerate this

data without any real basis, and this approach allows them to reduce the number of real victims of the famine. Thus, the topic of the famine is not only a historical fact, but also a complex issue with ideological and political underpinnings. Therefore, it is necessary to be very careful when studying the data related to this event" (Omarbekov, 2015).

The famine of the 1930s is one of the most difficult and tragic historical periods experienced by the Kazakh people. During these dark years, part of the Kazakh people starved to death in their homeland, and the survivors were forced to flee in order to survive. This historical truth is today confirmed by both archival documents and oral historical memory.
To escape hunger and persecution, Kazakhs migrated to neighboring countries in droves. The population of Kostanay, North Kazakhstan, Kokshetau, Akmola, and Pavlodar regions mainly fled to Russia. And the people of East Kazakhstan, Semey, Zhetysu, and Almaty regions moved to China and Kyrgyzstan. The people who inhabited southern Kazakhstan reached Afghanistan and Iran through Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan. Those who left the Mangistau and Aktau regions migrated to Turkmenistan and then to northern Iran.
Today, the Kazakh diasporas living in these countries are the descendants of those refugees. Among them, there are many accurate genealogical data and oral stories that allow us to determine their clan composition and region of origin.

Most of the Kazakhs who migrated to China were from the regions of East Kazakhstan, Semipalatinsk, Zhetysu, and Almaty. Among them were the Argyn, Naiman, Kerey, Uak, Alban, Suan, Kangly, and Zhalayr. The Naiman, Kerey, Uak, Alban, and Suan tribes living near the border were especially numerous.
Thus, the study of the issue of the Kazakhs who migrated to the Xinjiang region of China in 1930–1933 is a very extensive and complex topic. The historical roots of this issue must be considered in connection with the previous history of the Kazakhs, including the issue of the historical ethno-territory of the Kazakhs, the history of the destruction of Kazakh statehood and the division of the land and territory of the unified Kazakh Khanate between two giant empires, and the dependence of a unified people on the empires.

This region, which began to be called "Xinjiang" in recent centuries, was closely related to the Kazakh ethno-territory in past historical periods. In the 1850s, the conquest of the Dzungar Khanate by the Manchu Qing government in China and the successful completion of its destruction in one fell swoop brought the border of the Kazakh Khanate and the Qing Empire of China to the territory of the Dzungar Khanate. In the following century, due to complex historical reasons that occurred in the region, the entire Kazakh people and land were included in the Russian and Chinese Qing empires. In the 1960s, the fate of the divided Kazakh people and land was officially confirmed by documents signed by the two empires, and the border line was drawn. From then on, the names "Chinese Kazakhs" and "Russian Kazakhs" (Russian Kazakhs or "Russian country"), which were divided into one nation, began to appear in documents and became established among the people. However, the beginning of the history of the Kazakh people's dependence on two giant countries did not immediately sever the historical roots and ties between the Kazakhs dependent on the two countries. If we turn to the opinion of historians on this issue, the Kazakhs living in Xinjiang and Kazakhstan, which were dependent on China and Russia, despite being under the domination of two other countries, continued their traditional ties. They had been visiting each other since the very beginning of the border.

Since such historical ties were preserved between them, their mutual relations became stronger and stronger. Thus, the Kazakhs of the two countries crossed the border in search of work, working for months and years. Thus, the ties between the Kazakhs of the two countries developed, wrote N. Muqametkhanulı (Muqametkhanulı, 2024: 191).
Such ties were one of the reasons for the historical basis for the Kazakhs of Kazakhstan to flee to Xinjiang for the sake of their future and the future of their generation and nation, when

the situation was difficult during the Russian Empire and the Soviet Union.
Of course, we cannot say that the fate of the Kazakhs who migrated to Xinjiang after they went there was wonderful. A refugee is a refugee. They experienced various difficulties. The members of the family were torn apart. They lost each other alive and lived in disgrace for the rest of their lives. However, there is no information about the mass starvation of Kazakhs who arrived there.
How many Kazakhs fled to Xinjiang during the terrible famine that occurred in Kazakhstan in 1930-1933? If we look at previous studies, we see that in 1930, 15,302 Kazakhs crossed over to China (of whom 3,510 were rich, 5,039 were middle-class, 40,463 were poor, and 2,290 were collective farmers), and in 1931, 36,965 people crossed over to China (of whom 7,542 were rich, 3,606 were middle-class, 14,840 were poor, and 8,469 were collective farmers). That is, the total number of people who crossed over to China in two years was 49,759. If we add these and those who crossed the border in 1932 and those who died in armed conflicts along the border, we would put the number of Kazakhs who crossed into China at around 70 thousand, it is said (Omarbekov, 2015).

Nevertheless, this figure would require a deeper and more detailed study. Unfortunately, the Chinese side's accurate statistical data on the number of Kazakhs in Xinjiang during the mentioned period and the number of refugees who went there during the famine years are very scarce, and the reliability of the data is also questionable. What is even more regrettable is that this data itself is not available to the scientific community. And the research conducted by historians of the PRC on the history of Kazakhstan and the history of Kazakhs in China to date has not given much attention to the famine that occurred in Kazakhstan in these years, and the issue of refugees from the Soviet Union who went to China during the famine. It is noticeable that some of the more or less well-known studies are based on inaccurate statistical data. The most important thing in the work of our Chinese colleagues is that the changes in the population of Xinjiang that occurred in those years are considered to be related to the Kazakh refugees who went to Xinjiang.

In one of these studies, on March 15, 1930, the Kazakh Central Executive Committee and the People's Committee adopted a resolution "On measures to strengthen the successful socialist reconstruction of agriculture in all collectivized areas and combat rich peasants and landlords" and began to purge rich peasants and landlords. Many so-called landlords (rich people) were sentenced to death or convicted, and rich peasants were deported. The forced implementation of collectivization once brought serious disasters to the Kazakhs in Kazakhstan. Since the traditional social economy was artificially transformed, livestock farming, which was the main source of livelihood for the people, was eliminated. In 1928, there were a total of 6.5 million cattle, 18.6 million sheep, 3.5 million horses, and 1 million camels in Kazakhstan. After the forced collectivization, by 1932, only 965 thousand cattle, 1.3 million sheep, 300 thousand horses, and 60 thousand camels remained (Hao Wenming, 2000: 121).
Another Chinese historian wrote that "in those years, Kazakhstan experienced a terrible famine, 1.7 million of the 6 million people died of hunger, and 1 million people emigrated from Kazakhstan to other countries, of which 600 thousand people fled to China, Iran, and Afghanistan" (Wang Xilong, Wang Zhiguo, 2004: 124).

If we turn to many historical facts, it becomes clear that most of the "600 thousand people" mentioned here fled to Xinjiang.
If we turn to many historical facts, it becomes clear that most of the "600 thousand people" mentioned here went to Xinjiang.

A scholar named Fan Zhuoyi, in his study published in 2005, stated: "According to the statistics of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the National Government, the number of representatives of various nationalities living in Ili, Tarbagatai and Altai increased sharply from 276 thousand to 620 thousand people in the four years from 1928 to 1932, showing that the net growth in four years reached 1.25 times, and the

main reason for the change in such growth rate was directly related to the international migration of the Kazakh people in the 1930s" (Fang Ruoyü, 2005: 77).

In one of the monographic studies written by Chinese historians on Kazakh history, when discussing the population of Kazakhs living in the Altai region of Xinjiang, he stated: Altai is a place where Kazakhs are most densely populated. According to statistics, during the Qing Dynasty (until 1912), there were more than 13,000 families in this region, and in the 33rd year of Emperor Guangxu's reign (1907), there were more than 50,000 people. By 1919, only more than 7,200 families and more than 36,000 people remained. By 1943, the population of the region had increased to 63,040 people. Of these, 53,352 were Kazakhs (Wang Xilong, Wang Zhiguo, 2004: 76). We know that in these years, due to the turbulent times in the region, the Altai Kazakhs in Xinjiang left in large numbers to Mongolia, the eastern regions of Xinjiang, Gansu and Qinghai provinces, Tibet, and then to Kashmir and India. Given this historical situation, we can say that the 1943 figure on the number of Kazakhs in the Altai region of Xinjiang was increased by Kazakhstani refugees in the 1930s.

PRC scholars, who studied the history and number of Xinjiang Kazakhs during this period, wrote: "During the period when Xinjiang was ruled by Yang Zhenxing, Jin Shuzhen, Sheng Shicai, and the Kuomintang government, the Kazakh people were subjected to unbearable oppression and were scattered and scattered to foreign lands. In addition to migrating within Xinjiang, they also migrated to Gansu, Qinghai, Tibet, India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Turkey, Federal Germany, and other countries. During this migration, the number of Kazakhs decreased sharply. In the 15th year of the Republic of China (1926), the number of Kazakhs was 40,000 families, that is, about 200,000 people" (Wang Xilong, Wang Zhiguo, 2004: 75).

The author noted that this figure increased in the 1940s, and that "by 1944, the Kazakhs in Xinjiang had reached more than 430,000 people, becoming one of the most important transnational ethnic groups in modern China. They were also the second largest ethnic group in Xinjiang after the Uyghurs" (Wang Xilong, Wang Zhiguo, 2004: 61).

This change in the number of Kazakhs in Xinjiang can be seen as related to the Kazakh refugees in 1930-1933.

Some of the studies on the Kazakhs who fled to Xinjiang during the unfortunate events that took place in Kazakhstan in the first half of the last century, and on the number of Kazakh refugees, are related to the Kazakh migration before the 1930s. In one of these works, in 1916, after the national struggle against the colonialism of Tsarist Russia in Central Asia, more than 200,000 people from various ethnic groups in the former Russian Central Asia fled to Xinjiang. The majority of them were Kazakhs. A large group of them settled in the peaceful and socially stable Ili region (Hür Tangritagh, 2016: 109-110).

Research results

A scientific review of the works of foreign and domestic scientists on the famine was conducted, and a comparative analysis was presented; New oral and written data were introduced into scientific circulation, materials were collected that contribute to the formation of historical memory and national consciousness. New views on the political, economic, demographic, and social consequences of the famine in Kazakhstan were formed; The need to clarify the previous figures on the number of famine victims was noted, given the preservation of various data on the number of famine victims; Memories and testimonies of Kazakhs who fled to China and neighboring countries were studied for the first time in a comprehensive manner; Some of the features of the formation and life of the Kazakh diaspora were identified through Chinese archives, periodicals, and statistical data; Surveys and in-depth interviews with representatives of the older generation in all regions and cities of Kazakhstan, collecting memories of direct witnesses of the famine period and their descendants, along with enriching the historical database of this period of Kazakhstan's history,

provided the opportunity to form new scientific opinions on the basis of these data; The use of data from the descendants of forced refugees among representatives of the Kazakh diaspora has been shown to be important in determining the exact historical situation of the formation of the diaspora abroad, including in China.

Conclusion

The socio-economic and political pressures exerted by the Russian Empire and the Soviet authorities on the Kazakh people were one of the main reasons for the mass migration of Kazakhs to neighboring countries at the beginning of the 20th century. During the migration that took place during this historical period, Kazakh Kazakhs joined their blood relatives in Xinjiang, where they went, and received their help. Therefore, their situation was much more favorable than that of their fellow citizens who fled to foreign countries where ethnic Kazakhs were not present. The number of Kazakh refugees who migrated to Xinjiang was large. However, the lack of accurate statistical data on the number of Kazakhs in China does not allow us to determine the number of refugees there during the famine of 1930-1933. We will consider this aspect in light of changes such as the sharp increase in the number of Kazakhs in Xinjiang in recent years. The exodus of Kazakhs from their homeland due to the atrocities that took place in Kazakhstan in the first half of the last century is considered one of the tragedies in Kazakh history. The fact that they managed to escape to Xinjiang and survive the famine is a matter of great concern. The Kazakh people believe that "if a country joins a country, it is a blessing." From this perspective, the Kazakh refugees who went to Xinjiang were a blessing to the ethnic Kazakhs there. First of all, the mass resettlement of Kazakhs from Kazakhstan significantly increased the number of Kazakhs in Xinjiang, and this process also contributed to the improvement of their quality. Kazakhs from Kazakhstan brought with them the knowledge and experience they had gained during their time in the Russian Empire and the Soviet Union. In particular, there were many highly educated and open-minded citizens among the refugees. As a result of their activity, rural schools were opened in Xinjiang, and education was revived. This situation gave impetus to the formation of the first generation of Kazakh intellectuals in Xinjiang.

This share of Kazakhs from Kazakhstan laid the foundation for the cultural and intellectual advancement of the Kazakhs of Xinjiang compared to other ethnic groups. As a result, the Kazakhs were far ahead of other peoples in terms of literacy and social activity. In addition, the Kazakhs who came from Kazakhstan mastered agricultural machinery and equipment developed in the Soviet Union and began to introduce them to Xinjiang. The introduction of these tools into the lives of local Kazakhs had an impact on the quality of their economic and social life. Trade and new types of professions developed among the Kazakh villages in Xinjiang. A significant part of the refugees were engaged in land cultivation, and thanks to the phenomenon of national vitality, the Kazakh people quickly adapted to a different socio-cultural environment and survived.

The gradual exodus of Kazakhs to Xinjiang, one after another, due to the brutal policies of the Russian Empire and the Soviet regime towards the Kazakh people, was a historical lesson for the local Kazakhs there to understand more deeply the true nature of Tsarist Russia and its successor, the Soviet totalitarian system.

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