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**FORMATION OF THE ROMANIAN DIASPORA IN KAZAKHSTAN
AS A RESULT OF THE RESETTLEMENT POLICY OF THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE
AND THE SOVIET TOTALITARIAN REGIME**

Abstract. In the XIXth and XXth centuries, the formation of the Romanian diaspora took place on the territory of Kazakhstan. It is an example of successful adaptation of a certain ethnic group

representatives in a foreign cultural environment. **The purpose** of the research is to study the peculiarities of the process of adaptation of the Romanians in Kazakhstan in the pre-revolutionary era, in the early years of the Soviet power, during the period of deportation during and after World War II. **The objective** was to study the climatic, economic, domestic, socio-cultural adaptation of the Romanians in Kazakhstan during the above-mentioned periods of history. The principles of historicism, scientific objectivity, systematicity and comprehensiveness are the theoretical and methodological foundations of the research. In the study there have been used general scientific (analysis, synthesis, generalization) and special historical methods (comparative historical and bibliometric). **The scientific novelty** consists in the study of the process of adaptation of the Romanians in Kazakhstan after forced resettlement. The process of adaptation includes the construction of housing adapted to the natural and climatic conditions of Kazakhstan. **Conclusions.** The Romanian settlers became the founders of settlements in the Steppe region. Their participation in the economic life of Kazakhstan has been analyzed. One of the subjects of the study is the relationship between the settlers and the Kazakh population. Despite the prevailing historical circumstances, the Romanians were able to adapt to local conditions and make a definite contribution to the socio-economic development of the region. It should be stated that the Romanian diaspora of Kazakhstan, having taken root, has shown an example of successful adaptation of an ethnic group in a foreign cultural environment.

Key words: Kazakhstan, Romanians, adaptation, migration, deportation, ethnos, diaspora.

ФОРМУВАННЯ РУМУНСЬКОЇ ДІАСПОРИ В КАЗАХСТАНІ В РЕЗУЛЬТАТІ ПЕРЕСЕЛЕНСЬКОЇ ПОЛІТИКИ РОСІЙСЬКОЇ ІМПЕРІЇ І РАДЯНСЬКОГО ТОТАЛІТАРНОГО РЕЖИМУ

Анотація. У XIX і XX ст.ст. на території Казахстану відбувалося формування румунської діаспори. Це приклад успішної адаптації представників певної етнічної групи в інокультурному середовищі. **Мета роботи** – вивчення особливостей процесу адаптації румунів в Казахстані в дореволюційну епоху, в перші роки Радянської влади, в період депортації під час і після Другої світової війни. Завдання полягало у вивченні кліматичної, економічної, побутової, соціокультурної адаптації румунів у Казахстані у названі періоди історії. **Теоретико-методологічними засадами** дослідження є принципи історизму, наукової об'єктивності, систематичності і всебічності. У статті використовувалися загальнонаукові (аналіз, синтез, узагальнення) і спеціальні історичні методи (порівняльно-історичний і бібліометричний). **Наукова новизна** полягає у вивченні процесу адаптації румунів у Казахстані після вимушеного переселення, що, зокрема, включає будівництво житла, адаптованого до природно-кліматичних умов Казахстану. **Висновки.** Румунські переселенці стали засновниками поселень у Степовому регіоні. Відзначається їхня участь в економічному житті Казахстану. Одним із предметів студіювання були взаємини між переселенцями і казахським населенням. Незважаючи на історичні обставини, що склалися, румуни змогли адаптуватися до місцевих умов і внести певний вклад у соціально-економічний розвиток регіону. Можна констатувати, що румунська діаспора Казахстану, прижившись, показала приклад успішної адаптації етнічної групи в інокультурному середовищі.

Ключові слова: Казахстан, румуни, адаптація, міграція, депортація, етнос, діаспора.

Problem Statement. The historical events of the late twentieth century, which put an end to the existence of the Soviet political system, revealed the need to rethink many events in the history of individual nations. The collapse of the USSR led to the emergence of new studies, which were characterized by an objective nature. Under the new conditions, historians were faced with the task of not only identifying little-studied historical events, but also objectively studying them and truthfully evaluating them. One of these problems is the adaptation of ethnic groups within certain territorial boundaries. These ethnic groups include the Romanians, some of whom ended up in the teries, who find themselves here not of ritory of Bessarabia occupied by the Soviet Union. The totalitarian communist regime

on the territory of the former USSR set a course for the elimination of eastern Romanians as an ethnic group, not only transferring them to the “Cyrillic” alphabet, but also changing the name of the people to “Moldovans”, and the occupied territory to the Moldavian SSR. The gaining of independence of the post-Soviet republics led to the revival of national self-awareness and ideological identity. And this led to a rethinking of many historical events of the past. After the collapse of the socialist bloc, the Romanian people had hope for the reunification and revival of the unity of the nation, whose representatives also live on the territory of Kazakhstan.

The object of the study is the Romanian diaspora in Kazakhstan.

The subject of the study is the adaptation of immigrants and deported Romanians in Kazakhstan in different historical periods.

The purpose of the study is to study the process of adaptation of the Romanian population to new geographical, socio-economic, political conditions, as well as to study the characteristics of relationships with the indigenous population.

The Kazakhs, who experienced all the hardships of the colonial regime, treated the peoples who moved there with their characteristic kindness and traditional hospitality. And they found a new homeland on the Kazakh soil, preserving their identity.

No less important is the problem of forming citizenship, Kazakhstani patriotism, which is based on the unity of all ethnic groups of Kazakhstan.

The Romanians are an example of successful adaptation of ethnic groups in a foreign cultural environment. Finding themselves, for the most part, against their will and under the name Moldovans on the territory of Kazakhstan, they were able to become part of a multinational society and contribute to the development of the Republic of Kazakhstan.

A number of scientific research methods have been used in the preparation of this publication. The historical method is among them, which is based on the study of written sources characterizing the events of the forced deportation of the Romanians to Kazakhstan.

The analogy method allowed us to determine similarities in some aspects, relationships and properties between non-identical objects of study. The process of forming relations between the Romanians and other ethnic groups who ended up in Kazakhstan as a result of forced deportation is of great importance. The bibliometric method made it possible, based on quantitative data, to conduct a comparative analysis of the deportation of the Romanian population, to consider resettlement policy and forced deportation in dynamics, as well as the interaction and interdependence of political events during the period under study.

The use of comparative historical and comparative methods contributes to the reconstruction of the main stages of the process of ethnic resettlement and deportation of the Romanians to Kazakhstan and Central Asia.

Review of Sources and Recent Research. When researching this topic, the basis was the available literature and archival documents, which made it possible to identify the chronology, features of the processes of resettlement and deportation of the Romanians to the territory of Kazakhstan and Central Asia, and their adaptation in a foreign ethnic environment. Archival and statistical materials are also of great importance, which provided information on the quantitative and qualitative composition of the Romanians.

This issue is reflected in the studies by Moldovan and Russian researchers: N. F. Bugai (Bugai, 1989, pp. 135–144), V. N. Zemskov (Zemskov, 1991, pp. 151–165), V. P. Zinoviev (Zinoviev, 2019, pp. 36–48), V. I. Tsaranov (Tsaranov, 1998, pp. 71–73), A. A. Shtyrbul (Shtyrbul, 2021, pp. 3–12).

The three-volume publication “History of Moldova” focuses on the topic of deportation of the Romanians during the Great Patriotic War and the post-war period (Istoria Moldovei, 2016, p. 472).

The problem of interethnic relations between settlers and the indigenous population was also reflected in the works of Kazakh historians M.K. Koigeldiev (Koigeldiev, 2009, p. 448), Zh.U. Kydyralina (Kydyralina, 2009, p. 304), Kaziev (Kaziev, 2016, p. 121).

The studies by K. S. Aldazhumanov and E. K. Aldazhumanov (Aldazhumanov, & Aldazhumanov, 1997), M. K. Kozybaev (Kozybaev, 1998), A. N. Alekseenko (Alekseenko, 1993) analyze the repressions of the 20–40s of the twentieth century. The authors mentioned, among other things, the process of deportation of the Romanian population.

The purpose of the research is to study the resettlement process and the features of the economic, social and cultural adaptation of the Romanians in Kazakhstan.

Results of the Research.

The formation of the Romanian diaspora in Kazakhstan began in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

One of the difficult problems in historical science is the issue of national policy. These include the forced resettlement of a number of peoples of the Soviet Union during the Stalin era. Despite the extensive historiographical base of this issue, there are some circumstances regarding the study of individual peoples. The process and circumstances of the deportation of the Germans, the Poles, the Koreans, the Kalmyks, and peoples of the Caucasus, who found themselves unwillingly on the territory of Kazakhstan, have been sufficiently and deeply studied. To a lesser extent, the history of the deportation of the Romanians, who were forcibly called the Moldovans, was reflected in domestic and foreign historiography (Cherepnin, 1965, p. 448).

This study attempts to study the process of resettlement and deportation of the Romanian population to Kazakhstan in historical retrospect.

The abolition of serfdom and agrarian resettlement reforms led to an influx of the Romanians from the territory of Bessarabia and Ukraine to the eastern outskirts of the Russian Empire, including Kazakhstan. The superior number of peasants, the lack of an adequate amount of free land resources, and the miserable situation of the population led to the resettlement of some Romanians to the east (Cherepnin, 1965, p. 575).

The boom in the mass migration of peasants to Siberia and Kazakhstan occurred during the period of the agrarian reform of P.A. Stolypin. In 1907 – 1914, the first villages of Romanian settlers began to form in these regions. In 1896 – 1914, 34,140 people moved from Bessarabia to the eastern outskirts of the Russian Empire (Istoria Moldovei, 2016, pp. 472).

In 1913, 202 residents of the Bessarabian province of Akkerman Uyezd petitioned the government to allocate land plots on the Romanov lands located in Turkestan (Central State Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan – CSARK, f. 391, d. 5, c. 1107, pp. 35–39).

Thus, immigrants from Bessarabia arrived in the Akmola region in 1871 – 1907: 691 men, 567 women. In Semipalatinsk region in 1905 – 1907 there were 193 men and 181 women, respectively. Thus, a total of 1,632 Romanians settled in these two regions (Troinitsky, 1905, pp. 2–91).

Archival materials reflecting the first migrations of Romanian peasants and the reasons for their migration can be traced in the documents of the National Archive of Moldova. The first movements of the Romanians date back to the 40s of the 19th century, which was caused by oppression from the landowners. In the 40–60s of the same century, the place of resettlement of immigrants from

Bessarabia was the Black Sea region and the Caucasus, but in the 80–90s the situation changed. The flow of immigrants was sent to Siberia, Central Asia and the Far East. In Kazakhstan, the places of settlement of the Romanian population were Akmola, Orenburg, Semipalatinsk and Semirechensk regions (National Archive of Moldova (NAM), f. 2, d. 1, c. 3330).

According to census information in 1897, 295 people who moved from the territory of Bessarabia lived on the territory of Kazakhstan and nearby lands (Dyadichenko, & Chermak, 1906, p. 27).

The bulk were the Romanians, who chose Semirechye and the Steppe Region to live. In fact, about 60 thousand people from Bessarabia went to the east of the Russian Empire. The resettlement was massive. However, not everyone was able to adapt to the new conditions. This was due to both natural circumstances and social problems. The result was the return of forty percent of the Romanians to their native places (Shtyrbul, 2021, pp. 3–12).

The Romanians who remained in Kazakhstan managed to settle down so well that they established several settlements where the Moldovan population predominated. These include 22 villages founded in Akmola, Aktobe, Semirechensk regions.

Sources confirming this list, as well as some historical details of the founding of these villages, are given below in the text. The dates of formation of some villages may differ from other sources by 1–2 years due to the fact that in some cases the date is considered to be the allocation of a plot for the village and the appearance of the first inhabitants there, while in others it is the official recording of the date in administrative documents. In addition, there were small groups of the Romanian settlers in a number of villages in which a different ethnic composition predominated: the Ukrainians, the Russians, the Bulgarians and the others. The Romanian villages of Kutuzovka (1908) and Larga (1909), which arose in the Borisov volost of Omsk district of Akmola (Omsk) region (now Sherbakul district, Omsk region), are located approximately 100 and 120 km southwest of Omsk, in a picturesque flat forest-steppe zone, almost on the border of the birch forest-steppe with the steppe proper. The main place of resettlement from Bessarabia for Kutuzovites was the village of Cherlena Mare (Cherlenovka) in Khotyn district of Bessarabia province (now in Novoselitsky district of Chernivtsi region of Ukraine) (Kolesnikov, 1993, p. 60)

History has preserved the names of the walkers who arrived in 1908 “for reconnaissance”: Alangulit (Alangulai), Bezhenar, Kondra (Kondrya), Lungu (Lungan), Onisko (Dyadichenko, & Chermak, 1906, p. 27).

Based on the amount of land allocated, it was planned to accommodate 305 men in Kutuzovka, 252 in Larga. Five years later, according to Omsk diocese, 370 men and 360 women lived in Kutuzovka (Kolesnikov, 1993, p. 60).

Immediately upon arrival at the settlement site, the allotted land was distributed by lot: the headman took the caps of the settlers out of the bag and threw them onto a cut-out plot, and places for homesteads were distributed in the same way (exhausted by the scarcity of land and overcrowding in their homeland, the Kutuzovites planned quite large areas for homesteads and, in addition, wide streets). Grigory Lungan was elected the first headman of Kutuzovka, and then, from 1913 to 1918, this troublesome position was occupied by Panteley Shtyrbul (Goloshubin, 1914, p. 55).

The inhabitants who formed Larga in 1909 came from the village of Morishneu (Morishneu) in the Bessarabian province. There were slightly fewer displaced people there than in Kutuzovka. The first families to arrive at the designated Kashimkul resettlement area were Bulesu, Vitan, Dulyak, Skrindets and the others (Evseev, 2009, p. 13).

The Romanian settlers were initially extremely poor. It was noted that the income from the trading store in Kutuzovka was minimal, since residents, lacking funds, rarely visit it (Nazartseva, 2000, p. 186).

In the surrounding Kutuzovka and Larga, Russian and Ukrainian rural Romanian settlers were received kindly. They noted approvingly: “They don’t talk like us, but they pray and cross themselves the same way as we do”. There the settlers were delighted by the open spaces and high-quality, although not very deep, black soil, but were alarmed by the sharply continental climate (winters are cold, and the relatively hot summer lasts exactly three months, rains fall unevenly, and drought occurs every few years). There are no rivers, including tributaries of the Irtysh, in these places, and the Irtysh itself is located quite far away (about 120 km to the east). Small lakes, artificial pits and wells in these places are fresh, but more often with an admixture of salt: from light to quite noticeable. Almost simultaneously, in Omsk district, approximately 140 km south of Omsk, but at a noticeable distance from Kutuzovka and Larga, the village of Bessarabka appeared in 1909. Its first settlement families are known: Ursul, Sivoplias, Burlak, Vshivenko, Tkach, Dolgovy (Kolesnikov, 1993, p. 60).

It is interesting that the Romanians in Kazakhstan influenced the fairly wide spread of gardening among other residents of the area: the settlers brought seedlings with them and tried to grow everything they could here, even grapes, but in the new conditions the grapes did not take root, but with proper care, apples, pears, plums, cherries.

According to the results of the 1897 census, 75 Romanians lived in Akmola region: 44 males and 31 females (Troinitsky, 1905, pp. 2–91).

In his telegram to the Committee on Land Management, the Governor of Bessarabia Haruzin, asked for benefits for the resettlement of Romanian peasants from Bessarabia to the territory of Kazakhstan (Russian State Historical Archive (RSHA), f. 391, d. 3, c. 946, p. 536).

In 1908, the Governor of Bessarabia put before the Committee on Land Management the issue of providing special state assistance to 140 families of tithe farmers in Akkerman district who were moving to the Ural region to land assigned to them. He asked the Resettlement Department to place at the disposal of the Governor of Bessarabia one hundred and forty certificates for free travel by rail for families of displaced people (RSHA, f. 391, d. 3, c. 946, p. 537).

The Romanian villages appeared on the territory of Western Kazakhstan as a result of the Stolypin agrarian resettlement. “Many have gone on a long journey. The migrants reached Kazakhstan within six months. When they saw that the land was barren, some Romanians returned, while others, unable to, stayed. There are two villages in Aktobe region founded by the Romanians: Bessarabka and Moldavanka”. Every man, a breadwinner of a family, had the right to 16.5 acres of land. In the same Aktobe region there is the village of Bolgarka (about 100 km southwest of Aktobe), which was founded in 1905 by migrants from Bessarabia – Gagauz, Bulgarians and Romanians. The State Archive of the Aktobe region provides a list of the Romanian farms in the county (The State Archive of the Aktobe region – SAAR, f. 69, d. 2, c. 31, pp. 25–30).

In addition, two Bulgarian villages: Razumovka and Andrianovka, in which there could be a number of Romanians, were formed in 1908 – 1910 in Pavlodar district, Semipalatinsk region.

Small resettlement groups of the Romanians in the south and east of Kazakhstan were also found in some villages where other nationalities predominated: the above-mentioned Bolgarka, Razumovka and Andrianovka, in which the majority were Bulgarians and Gagauzes; Romanian village (Russian Old Believers); a number of Ukrainian villages.

The Russian State Historical Archive preserved a petition from Romanian settlers to be allocated land in the south of Kazakhstan.

Another channel for the appearance of the Romanians in the Steppe Region under tsarism was political exile and hard labour. One of the main regions from where political exiles and political prisoners were sent to Kazakhstan was the South-West of Tsarist Russia, which included Bessarabian province. At the beginning of the twentieth century and until the beginning of 1917, underground revolutionaries (Socialist Revolutionaries, Bolsheviks, anarchists, non-party participants in agrarian unrest, various kinds of expropriators) arrived in the east of the Russian Empire from Bessarabia and neighboring areas – the Romanians, the Russians, the Ukrainians, the Jews, etc. Among the Kazakh political exiles from Chisinau and Tiraspol meet as “the mainland” (Zemskov, 1991, pp. 151–165).

The harsh climatic conditions of Kazakhstan became a test for the displaced. The lack of timber in the counties created additional difficulties. The migrant peasants were unable to deliver timber 10–20 miles away, because they did not have horses. “They could not buy horses because the allowance” was given to them “in a limited amount and in parts” (Dyadichenko, & Chermak, 1906, p. 27).

The Romanian population that settled in the region under study, in the construction of winter dwellings, first adapted to local natural conditions and proceeded from the availability of local building materials. Therefore, in the steppe treeless areas of the region, like the Kazakhs, wild stone and turf were used as building materials. Houses were built with a flat earthen roof, which replaced both the roof and the ceiling. Even in forested areas, where the main type of building material was pine wood, many poor and middle-income owners built log houses with a flat earthen roof. Since a small amount of precipitation did not really bother the owners of such dwellings, they considered gable plank roofs a luxury and did without them (Khaziakhmetov, 1978, pp. 101, 102).

In 1915 – 1917, a number of Romanians arrived in Siberia as part of the general mass of refugees of World War I. In addition, with the beginning of this war, many Moldovans, being mobilized into the Russian Imperial Army from the Bessarabia province and places of the diaspora, ended up in the garrisons of cities in the eastern regions of Russia in 1914 – 1917, and some of them took an active part in the military political events of 1917 – 1920.

Deportation of Romanians to the territory of Kazakhstan

The process of forming the Romanian diaspora in Kazakhstan continued during the Soviet period. According to the All-Union Census of 1926, 5,611 Romanians lived in Siberia, Kazakhstan and Central Asia (including 345 in cities) (Shtyrbul, 2021, pp. 3–12).

It is easy to see that the vast majority of the Romanians in Kazakhstan at that time lived in rural areas. It is interesting that even in the 30s, in some Romanian villages in the east of the USSR, in particular Kutuzovka, education at primary schools was conducted in their native language. The Russian language was used in official settings and for interethnic communication.

In 1940, the Stalinist government again occupied Bessarabia and incorporated it into the USSR under the name Moldavian SSR, and the eastern Romanians began to be called the Moldovans and under this name their representatives live in the former Soviet republics, including Kazakhstan.

The years 1941 and 1948 – 1951 are tragic in the history of the Romanian people. This issue in the history of the Romanian diaspora has been studied most productively today, so we will dwell only on some numbers and facts. During the deportation of 1941, carried out

literally on the eve of the Great Patriotic War, about 3.7 thousand immigrants from Bessarabia as a result of the deportation of 1941 ended up in a special settlement in Kazakhstan (CSARK, f. 369, d. 1, c. 4614, pp. 3–8).

According to the decision of the Union Government and the Government of the Moldavian SSR in 1941, it was proposed to evict 11,280 households with a total number of family members – 40,800 people (NAM, f. 44, d. 1, c. 288, pp. 52–86).

In fact, 11,293 households with a total number of family members of 35,050 people were evicted.

In preparation for the operation, the Ministry of State Security of the Moldavian SSR registered 12,860 families for eviction.

Of the total number of special contingent subject to eviction, according to the approved cases, 1567 families were not raised for the following reasons¹:

- a) on the day of the operation, documents were identified and presented (members of collective farms, employees of the Soviet Army, etc.) – 688 families;
- б) sick, crippled and disabled for other reasons – 143 families;
- в) by the time of the operation, 631 families had left their permanent place of residence;
- г) by the time of eviction, 105 families had fled.

Currently, we have raised a question with the Ministry of State Security of the USSR about allowing the eviction of the remaining unevicted special contingent established to live in the Moldavian SSR in the amount of 3,633 people. This number includes 736 families with a total number of family members – 2,433 people and singles – 1,200 people (Pasat, 1994, pp. 485–486).

V.P. Zinoviev, in a polemic with some historians, quite correctly asserts that it is not entirely correct to classify deportations like the Romanian ones as ethnic, “they were most likely class-political...” (Zinoviev, 2019, pp. 36–48).

This opinion is confirmed, firstly, as a rule, by the social and political categories of deportees clearly defined in the declassified summary materials of the NKVD-MVD (in relation to Moldova, these are kulaks, bourgeois elements, accomplices of Romania and Germany, etc.) and, secondly, a comparison of the general territorial composition of the deportees with the actual national composition: not all those deported from Moldova were Romanians by nationality (among them there could be, and were, Ukrainians, Gagauzians, Bulgarians and even individual Russians), which is confirmed by the data of the NKVD-MVD on the actual national composition resettled. Thus, according to data as of January 1, 1953, the number of special Romanian settlers in the places of their settlement (which is mainly the eastern regions of the country, including in this case the Urals) amounted to 25,873 people (Zemskov, 1991, pp. 151–165).

On July 6, 1949, mass deportation of residents of the Moldavian SSR to Siberia and Kazakhstan began. The forced eviction from the republic of people of different nationalities: the Romanians, the Ukrainians, the Gagauz, the Bulgarians, the Jews, etc., was called Operation “South”. This was the second and most massive wave of deportations. It took place under the banner of the fight against the “kulaks”, the wealthy peasants. In total, 35,796 people were evicted, of which 9,864 were men, 14,033 women and 11,889 children (NAM, f. 2, d. 1, c. 3330, p. 31).

According to the Resolution signed on April 6, 1949, more than 11 thousand kulak families or 40,850 people were supposed to be sent outside the MSSR – to Kazakhstan, Altai Territory, Kurgan, Tyumen and Tomsk regions of the RSFSR. Along with the kulaks, the lists included

traders, former White Guards who collaborated with the Romanian administration, and priests who miraculously survived during previous purges. The main reason for deportations was hectares of land, cows and chickens: peasants had been paying increased taxes on their farms since 1944, and therefore automatically ended up on the “black” lists. Those who tried to evade this fate were sometimes reported by local residents (Krasilnikov, & Sarnova, 2009, pp. 478–485).

Operation South began at two o’clock in the morning on July 6 and ended at 20.00 on July 7, 1949. According to the order of the authorities, deportees had the right to take with them up to 1.5 tons of things per family. In fact, the majority barely had time to take the most necessary things or what they could carry away: a sewing machine or, for example, a barrel of honey. Many went to Kazakhstan and Siberia without warm clothing or tools for work. The soldiers were not given time to prepare thoroughly. All remaining property, including houses and land, was confiscated in favour of the state and collective farms.

They were transported to the railway stations by trucks. The deportees were then loaded into freight cars. 30 trains (1,573 wagons) were sent to Kazakhstan and Siberia in one day. The journey to the special settlements took from two to four weeks. The promised nurses and doctors, according to the official order, were not with the deportees. It is almost impossible to establish exact numbers today, but it is known that many died before reaching the place of exile (Pobol, & Polyan, 2005, p. 904).

Upon arrival, the deportees were resettled in local residents or barracks – some of them were built specifically for Operation South, the others remained from previous waves of repressions on the territory of the USSR.

In the 1940s, about 3,000 Romanians were forcibly resettled: 481 people to Aktobe region, 1,295 people to the former Guryev region (nowadays – Atyrau region), 684 people to the West Kazakhstan region (CSARK, f. 1490, d. 1, c. 8, p. 36).

The settlers found themselves in difficult climatic conditions. Everything that was allowed to be taken with you then had to fit into the knapsack. Many could not stand the hunger and cold. The Kazakhs, who were originally engaged in nomadic farming, despite the hard times, whenever possible, watered, fed and warmed the settlers in yurts (Bugai, 2013, pp. 43–76).

The results of the deportations exceeded all the authorities’ expectations. From July to November of 1949, the percentage of peasant farms included in collective farms increased from 32% to 80%. By January of 1950, the share of collective farmers was 97%. Fearing new waves of evictions, peasants abandoned their lands and other property in favour of the state (NAM, f. 329, d. 3, c. 3574, p. 45).

In October of 1951, 35 thousand kulaks were re-deported from the Baltic states, Moldova (9.7 thousand), Western Ukraine, Western Belarus to the Krasnoyarsk Territory, the Yakut Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, Tiumen Region, Kazakhstan (CSARK, f. 369, d. 1, c. 4614, pp. 3–8).

According to Zemskov’s data, as of January 1, 1953, 3,681 Romanians were exiled to the territory of the Kazakh SSR in 1941, and 5 Romanians in 1949. (Zemskov, 1991, pp. 151–165).

The process of adaptation of representatives of deported ethnic groups in Kazakhstan was difficult. Scattered over a vast territory and limited in contact with their compatriots, the special settlers were in danger of ethnocultural assimilation with the local population. In the new settlement areas the housing problem was very acute. It is worth noting that during the period under review, not only special settlers, but also the local population experienced an acute need for food and goods. Due to a weak financial situation, an extreme lack of food

supplies, warm clothes, and shoes, the process of adaptation to living conditions in a special settlement and to work was difficult.

It was only after Stalin's death in 1953 that the process of rehabilitation of forcibly displaced peoples began. Some Romanians were given the opportunity to return to their homeland, but most of them remained in Kazakhstan and became part of the multinational people of the republic.

Conclusion. The experience of the Romanians in Kazakhstan shows that an important condition for the adaptation and integration of ethnic groups into the Kazakh environment is their understanding of the historical path they traveled and the ethnocultural situation that developed in the country. And the processes that took place and are taking place in the post-Soviet space show the significance and awareness of this understanding.

The processes of integration and globalization impose new clichés on the development of ethnic groups, social groups, and diasporas. New formations are being created, new approaches to the study of these processes are being applied. Thus, when studying the history of the formation and development of the Romanians of Kazakhstan in the historical period we have declared, the features of its cultural and social formation, it is necessary to take into account the basis of the mentality that developed in a certain chronological period and dispersed place of residence. It is also necessary to pay attention to the importance of those ideological values that were formed in tsarist and the Soviet times. The Romanian diaspora of Kazakhstan, in the process of its development and formation at the end of the 19th – 20th centuries, turned into a stable component of the demographic, socio-economic, political and cultural life of the republic, setting an example of the successful adaptation of an ethnic group in a foreign cultural environment. Understanding and studying this experience by researchers will undoubtedly become the basis for its practical application in the field of social and interethnic harmony.

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