

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.34069/AI/2023.72.12.14>

How to Cite:

Naboka, O., Zyza, M., Bublyk, O., Babichev, O., & Drobysheva, O. (2023). Mass deportations of native nations to ratify Stalin's regime in 1940s. *Amazonia Investiga*, 12(72), 159-166. <https://doi.org/10.34069/AI/2023.72.12.14>

Mass deportations of native nations to ratify Stalin's regime in 1940s

Масові депортації корінних народів як засіб ратифікації сталінського режиму у 1940 х рр.

Received: November 1, 2023

Accepted: December 28, 2023

Written by:


Oleksandr Naboka¹ <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-1678-9475>**Mykola Zyza²** <https://orcid.org/0009-0001-9229-3116>**Olga Bublyk³** <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-2280-7385>**Oleksandr Babichev⁴** <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-4682-0971>**Olha Drobysheva⁵** <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-0289-5317>

Abstract

In the article highlighted the mass deportations of Oirato-Kalmyks, Karachay-Balkars, Chechens, Crimean Tatars, Ukrainians and other native nations had positive results for the totalitarian Soviet regime. Deportations undermined the will of the indigenous peoples to resist for several decades, although it was continued by a small number of passionaries who were ready to resist Soviet power even while in camps. In general, by relying on the social unconscious, the native nations were forced to demonstrate loyalty to the Soviet system, which was at the peak of its power. At the same time, the basis of national identity became an underlying distrust of Moscow, a potential hostility that manifested itself in conditions of its weakening. The development of the national movements of the native nations who were subjected to mass deportations in the conditions of the systemic crisis of the Soviet system in the 1960-s and 1980-s will be considered in the following articles. The originality of the research lies in the

Анотація


У статті висвітлені масові депортації ойрато-калмиків, карачаєвці-балкарців, чеченців, кримських татар, українців та інших корінних народів, які мали позитивні для тоталітарного радянського режиму результати. Депортації підірвали рух супротиву корінних народів на кілька десятиліть, хоча вона продовжена невеликим числом пасіонаріїв, які були готові простояти радянській владі навіть перебуваючи у таборах. У цілому же, корінні народи були змушені демонструвати лояльність радянському устрою, який знаходився на піку своєї могутності. Разом із тим, з цього періоду характерною рисою національної ідентичності стала підспудна недовіра до Москви, потенційна ворожість, яка проявлялася в умовах її послаблення. Розвиток національних рухів корінних народів, які зазнали масових депортацій у умовах системної кризи радянської системи у 60 – 80 рр. ХХ ст. буде розглянутий у наступних статтях. Оригінальність дослідження полягає у

¹ Doctor of historical sciences (Dr. Hab. in History), Professor, Department of History and Archeology, Luhansk Taras Shevchenko National University (Poltava, Ukraine).  WoS Researcher ID: B-7083-2019.

² PhD in Historical Sciences, Honored Teacher of Ukraine, Associate Professor, Department of History and Archeology, Luhansk Taras Shevchenko National University (Poltava, Ukraine).

³ PhD in Historical Sciences, Associate Professor, Department of Political Science and International Relations, Luhansk Taras Shevchenko National University (Poltava, Ukraine).

⁴ PhD in Historical Sciences, Associate Professor, Department of History and Archeology, Luhansk Taras Shevchenko National University (Poltava, Ukraine).

⁵ PhD in Historical Sciences, Associate Professor, Department of History and Archeology, Luhansk Taras Shevchenko National University (Poltava, Ukraine).  WoS Researcher ID: AAT-4662-2021.



fact that for the first time the mass deportations of the indigenous peoples of the USSR were comprehensively examined on the basis of the introduction into scientific circulation of interviews with their representatives.

Keywords: mass deportations, native nations, Oirat-Kalmyks, Karachay-Balkars, Chechens, Crimeans.

Introduction

The full-scale invasion of Ukraine in February 2022 intensified discussions about the colonial nature of the USSR and the Russian Federation and possibility of decolonization. One of the components of Russia's policy toward the conquered territories is the use of forced displacement of the local population to gain more control over them. Such cases can be found in the temporarily occupied territories of modern Ukraine, but examples of this policy also can be found and much earlier. The most striking example is the mass deportations of indigenous peoples in the 1940s, which were carried out by the Stalin's regime for the equal purpose. At the same time, this problem has received little coverage in historiography, which for a long time was in line with Soviet and Russian approaches. The purpose of this article is to examine the mass deportations of native nations in the USSR in the 1940s as a means of ratifying Stalin's regime from the perspective of modern approaches in the discourse of decolonization.

Literature review

Besides the strong interest to the current problem in historical science it can be stated that this topic has hardly been studied. In particular, there is a lack of comprehensive work that examines the causes, implementation and historical results of the Soviet deportation policy regarding of the native nations. It also seems important to show the Soviet campaign for the forced resettlement of part of the Ukrainian population during the period under study, in the context of Moscow's general policy against of the native nations under its imperial control.

Considering the absence of such scientific works, the source and historiographical basis of this article were interviews with national figures representing certain people who were subjected to deportations by the Soviet totalitarian regime (Prokhvesora 2022a, Prokhvesora, 2023a, Prokhvesora, 2022b, Prokhvesora, 2023b, Turbanova, 2017).

тому, що вперше комплексно розглянуто масові депортації корінних народів СРСР на основі введення у науковий обіг інтерв'ю з їх представниками.

Ключові слова: масові депортації, корінні народи, ойрато-калмики, карачаєвці-балкарці, чеченці, кримли.

Based on an analysis of interview with representatives of the native nations who survived deportations by the soviet regime in the 1940's to comprehensively cover the causes, course and consequences of the policy of forced resettlement by Moscow during the period being studied.

Separate issues of the research topic were considered in previous scientific articles (Naboka, 2020).

Methodology

The article is based on special historical and general scientific research methods, as well as the principles of consistency and objectivity. The authors chose a descriptive research design that allowed to establish the chronology, content and consequences of the deportations. At the same time, elements of qualitative design (interview) were used to collect data from representatives of displaced indigenous peoples to obtain specific examples and reveal the problem through the vision of individual participants in the events or their relatives.

Among the main historical research methods were used the typological, comparative and systematic. Based on the use of content analysis, a detailed analysis of recent studies by Ukrainian and foreign researchers was carried out. The historical-comparative method was used to revise some of the generally accepted views on the peculiarities of interpreting and studying past events in the Soviet Union and the countries of the Soviet bloc in the 1940s, where the Stalinist regime carried out mass deportations of native nations. All these stages allowed to draw up an objective picture of the course and consequences of mass deportations to guarantee the quality of study's results.

Results and discussion

According to the famous activist of the Oirat-Kalmyk people Batyr Boromangnaev in the

1940's about forty of the native nations were subjected to forced deportation (Prokhvesora, 2023a). Among them are: Kabardian, Kumyks, Avars, Dagestanis, Tavlins, Abazins, Ossetians, Nogais, Russians, Dargins, Ukrainians, Laks, Abkhazians, Lezgins, Azerbaijanis, Circassians, Iranians, Tatars, Georgians, Gemrans, Adygeis, Kyrgyz, Arabs, Svans, Turks, etc (Yakovlev, 2005).

Among these deportations four were total and meant the eviction of the entire people from their homeland. Among the are Karachay-Balkars, Oirat-Kalmyks, Checheno-Ingush and Crimeans (Prokhvesora, 2023a).

One of the first to experience mass deportation was the Karachay-Balkar people whose settlement territory was occupied by the Germans in 1942 but in October 1943 it returned again to the control of the Red Army. Due to the anti-Soviet uprising which actually unfolded here during the retreat of Stalin's army upon its return, Stalin gave the order to eliminate local autonomy. Thus, by decree of the President of the Supreme Council No. 115/13 of October 12th, 1943 the Karachay Autonomous Region was liquidated and its native nations should be resettled in other regions of the Soviet Union. The territory of the former autonomy was divided between neighbouring regions. It was to be populated with "verified categories of workers" (Yakovlev, 2005).

The implementation of this resolution was carried out on November 2-5th, 1943. The deportation was ensured by a military contingent of 53 thousand soldiers. In the first days 34 trains were forcibly sent to Kazakhstan, 2000 – 2100 people in each. All military personnel of Karachay nationality were also removed from the front and deported (Yakovlev, 2005).

The next were the Oirat-Kalmyks. As a representative of people who experienced such a tragedy in the past for Batyr Boromangnaev the forced deportation of the Oirat-Kalmyks at the end of 1943 is clearly genocide and a crime against humanity the tragic legacy of which is not yet fully appreciated by the international community. "This is a real crime against humanity, the same as aggressive wars, such as the Second World War or the current war in Ukraine. This crime has no statute of limitations. I believe that the verdict regarding communism should be made including into account these crimes against entire nations" (Prokhvesora, 2023a), noted by Batyr Bromangmaev.

Modern activist Daavr Dordzhin called the forced deportation of the Oirat-Kalmyk people "a terrible point of collective memory for the Oirats" (Prokhvesora, 2022b). Operation "Ulus" (this is the name used in the NKVD documents for the action to evict the Oirat-Kalmyks from their homes) began on one of the winter days of December 1943. To implement it the leadership of the NKVD involved about 4,000 soldiers who were temporarily recalled from the front (Maximov, 2004).

People began to be taken en masse and forcibly from places they had inhabited for centuries and sent to Eastern Siberia (a small part of the deportees were also sent to Kazakhstan). The Oirat-Kalmyks were mainly settled in Omsk, Novosibirsk, Sverdlovsk, Tyumen and other regions. Compact living was not allowed; only a few families were accommodated in different settlements.

The most difficult and dramatic was the first year in a new place. Suffering from hunger, Kalmyk mothers were forced to make a terrible choice – which of their children should continue to feed and which should doom to death by starvation.

Possible death by starvation and general disorder were the result among other things of the initial lack of acceptance of the unwitting newcomers by the local population who considered the newcomers almost "cannibals". Only after some time when the Siberians were convinced that they were dealing with ordinary people contrary to the prohibitions they began to allow Kalmyk families to take dead cattle for food and began to share food and clothing.

It is noteworthy that the repressions also affected Kalmyk front-line soldiers who were at the front at the start of Operation Ulus. They were taken and sent to their new places of residence under the pretext that a special Kalmyk military unit was supposedly being formed in the rear. Some were told that this was happening in the Volga region, others that it was in the Urals (Prokhvesora, 2023a).

In total several thousand front-line soldiers were sent to the distant, harsh rear, some of whom were allowed to return to their families who at that time were already in the Altai and Krasnoyarsk territories, the Omsk region or in other regions of Siberia.

Some Kalmyk front-line soldiers most officers had the opportunity to reach their once native places through Stalingrad or Stavropol. But there

a long-gone cold hearth was already waiting for them and they were forced to continue looking for their families in Siberia (Prokhvesora, 2023a).

A significant part of the privates and sergeants were in the so-called. "Shiroktag" is one of the GULAG camps. "My grandfather, he fought in the Gorlovka motorized rifle division in eastern Ukraine. He was raised, demobilized and sent to Siberia where he died. He died in the Shirokovsky camp so you understand, on April 9th, 1945" (Prokhvesora, 2022b), - notes Daavr Dordzhin.

In total about 15 thousand Kalmyk military personnel were called from the front most of whom were sent to the aforementioned "Shiroktag". According to Batir Boromangnaev, Shiroktag was far from the only place where Kalmyks were kept. In his opinion, Kalmyk front-line soldiers were kept in at least 3 camps. They participated in the construction of various facilities, including the Shirokovskaya hydroelectric power station. "Front-line soldiers with medals and orders became prisoners of war overnight" (Prokhvesora, 2023a), our guest bitterly stated.

A lot of Kalmyks died at these Gulag "construction sites of communism". Many who reached an extreme degree of exhaustion were released to their relatives to die. Many did it simply on the way. Some were lucky; upon returning to their families, they were able to be cured and fed (Prokhvesora, 2023a).

The Kalmyks were only rehabilitated in March 1956. According to statistics presented by Daavr Dordzhin, approximately 20% of this indigenous people perished as a result of mass deportation, with some estimates reaching up to 50% (Prokhvesora, 2022b). More than 90 thousand Kalmyks were deported, and over 14 thousand died on the way (Biurchiev, 2016).

According to activists, another fundamental negative consequence is ethnocide – the effective Russification of the indigenous people in their new settlement. Daavr Dordzhin noted, "In addition to physical destruction, an entire generation of people grew up in Siberia without knowing our language in schools. On a practical level, the Russian language was imposed" (Prokhvesora, 2022b).

Among the main negative consequences of the forced deportation, activists point out, firstly, a decline in childbirth from about three children

per woman before 1943 to around 1.5 children after. Secondly, the deportation led to a low knowledge of the national language in modern Kalmykia, a situation further encouraged by current authorities. Daavr Dordzhin mentioned that, since 2017, learning the native language has been voluntary and optional (Prokhvesora, 2022b).

Batyr Boromangnaev considers the forced deportation of the Kalmyks as the apotheosis of the long-standing and systematic destruction of this indigenous people. He emphasizes that a significant portion of the Kalmyks perished in the 20s and 30s. Painful losses were also suffered during the Second World War, as part of Kalmykia was occupied, and Kalmyks were among the first people mobilized in the Soviet Union. "When they deported us, they didn't deport the entire population but what was left of it: women, the elderly, and children," noted the Oirat-Kalmyk activist.

Another people who underwent forced mass deportation were the Chechens. The Chechen writer, journalist, and human rights defender, Mayrbek Taramov, shared the tragedy of the Chechens, who were accused of collaboration with the Germans in 1944.

As is known, on February 23, the day when Imperial Russia honors its "defenders of the fatherland," the mass deportation of the Chechen people began in 1944, accused of collaboration with the Germans, although, according to Mayrbek Taramov, "the foot of the Germans did not set foot on Chechen soil" (Prokhvesora, 2023b). It was a massive punitive military operation against the half-million indigenous people, involving about 100 thousand soldiers demobilized from the front and another 19 thousand NKVD troops. The operation was given one week to be carried out.

The main reason Chechens were among the peoples completely evicted from their native lands, as noted by Mayrbek Taramov, was not collaborationism but a principled rejection of Soviet policy in the region in the 20s and 30s. Particularly resistant was the opposition to collectivization. The war with Germany became a convenient moment to finally deal with the disobedient people. "Why did the eviction happen without uprisings? Because the combat-ready part of the population was sent to the front. Who defended the Brest Fortress? About 400 Chechens and Ingush. This fact is also hushed up today," (Prokhvesora, 2023b), - noted Mayrbek Taramov.

Another factor that played into Stalin's hands was that during previous years, the intellectual elite had been destroyed through repression, especially the "alims" - Islamic spiritual leaders and educators. A total of 10 thousand alims were killed. They were replaced by Muslim clerics, often simultaneously agents of Soviet intelligence (Prokhvesora, 2023b). They persuaded the people to submit to deportation.

During the forced resettlement, the Chechens faced hunger, cold, disorganization, and humiliation. Mass deaths began on the way. According to Mayrbek Taramov's estimates, the deportation claimed the lives of about half of the Chechen people. During his years in exile in Kazakhstan at the age of six, he barely survived. He was saved by the recently invented drug at the time, penicillin (Prokhvesora, 2023b).

As a talented writer and the author of several books on the history and modernity of Chechnya, Mayrbek Taramov left poignant memories of his childhood in Kazakhstan (in the town of Mikhaylovka, Jambul region) in the book "Nothing is Forgotten, Nobody is Forgiven!" Among other things, the publication includes a story about how the hero's family's cow, Chernushka, was abducted – the only nurse for nine children. The search for the cow brought together all local Chechens led by elders. Gypsies living nearby also joined them. "The tragic news instantly spread throughout the village, and all Chechens from the same village began to gather in our yard, led by the elders. Gypsies from the camp in the valley also joined. The elders suggested creating three groups of people who should go in three directions. The southern side was bordered by a river that the cattle thief was unlikely to cross. Somewhere after noon, messengers started returning. One of the groups brought the stolen cow and the cattle thief" (Prokhvesora, 2023b), the author noted.

In turn, the homes abandoned by the warm previous owners were often resettled by other unfortunate people – forcibly deported ones. It is worth noting that Stalin mixed the indigenous peoples of the Caucasus as he pleased. The Kумыks – a Turkic indigenous people who lived in separate areas of Chechnya, Ossetia, and Ingushetia – were settled massively in place of the Chechens. In April 1944, the Kумыks began to be resettled in the villages from which the Chechens had been expelled (Prokhvesora, 2023b).

April 1944 became tragic for another freedom-loving indigenous people of Crimea – the

Crimean Tatars, also broadly accused by the Stalinist regime of collaboration with German Nazism. In the 1930s, Crimean Tatars were one of the nations most systematically subjected to repression, but the worst was yet to come. On May 11, 1944, Stalin signed a special decree of the State Defense Committee of the USSR No. 5859 titled "On the Crimean Tatars," which envisaged the eviction of the indigenous Crimeans under the pretext of their "betrayal of the homeland" (Hrabovskiy, 2008).

The next day, Red Army units occupied the entire territory of the peninsula, and on May 18, the so-called "special operation" began, during which 191 thousand Crimean Tatars were deported from Crimea in just two days. Their new, unwelcome destinations were Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, the Mari Autonomous Republic, and six other regions of Russia. The elderly, women, and children were transported in freight cars, and once again, the relocation was accompanied by mass deaths (Hrabovskiy, 2008).

The deportation of Crimean Tatars followed the patterns of scenarios tested a few months earlier in Kalmykia and the Caucasus. Upon arrival at their destinations, the evacuees were given the status of "special resettlers" and were placed in special "ghettos" or "special settlements," where leaving the territory was prohibited without a special pass. The indigenous Crimean Tatars were forced to work in logging, construction, mines, and local collective farms. Demobilized soldiers and officers returning from the Red Army front also obtained the aforementioned status. The incredibly harsh living conditions of the deported people led to the death of approximately half of those forcibly removed from Crimea. The tragedy of the Crimean Tatars, in which about 46% of the indigenous people perished, received the name "Sürgün" (from the Crimean Tatar "Sürgün" – "exile") (Hrabovskiy, 2008).

Simultaneously, the diabolical "Stalinist mixer" was at work. In the fall of 1944, 64 thousand collective farmers from Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus were hastily settled in place of the deported Crimean Tatars (Hrabovskiy, 2008).

As noted by the well-known Crimean activist Ayder Muzhdabaev, the forced deportation of his people in 1944 became a reliable "vaccination" against any "charm" and longing for Soviet times. It was the Crimean Tatars, allowed to return to Crimea in the late 80s and early 90s, who became staunch supporters of independence, voting massively for Vyacheslav

Chernovil in the first presidential elections in Ukraine in 1991. It was the indigenous Crimean Tatars who first opposed Putin's intentions to annex the peninsula in 2014 (Prokhvesora, 2022a).

Next were the Ukrainian people, who, according to a fairly reliable historical legend, Stalin was ready to deport entirely but refrained due to the sheer number of Ukrainians. They had already experienced partial forced relocations in the early 1930s, during the height of forced collectivization. In the late 1929 to spring 1930 period, about 200 thousand peasant farms were dekulakized in the republic, with most owners being resettled to remote areas of the USSR.

In the early post-war years, residents of the recently annexed western regions, where the support for the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) was strong, were subjected to deportations. In these regions, the entire arsenal of methods against the national movement, previously tested in Chechnya, Kalmykia, or Crimea, was employed. NKVD employees who had previously participated in the deportation of the aforementioned indigenous peoples were involved in "solving" this issue (Ofitsinsky, 2021).

At the same time, the Stalinist national mixer was actively at work, saturating rebellious territories with loyal newcomers from the eastern regions of Ukraine. These newcomers were attracted to party work, the fight against nationalist partisans, law enforcement, teaching, leadership roles in rural areas, and industry. In eastern Ukraine, existing and newly established educational institutions and training centers worked to meet the staffing needs.

In particular, the authors of these lines had the opportunity to work for some time in a small town in modern Luhansk region called Starobilsk, known for operating a concentration camp for Polish prisoners of war in 1939-1940, captured during the "liberation campaign" of the Red Army in the western Ukrainian lands. Simultaneously, in 1940s, a teacher training institute was opened in the historic building of the former women's gymnasium, which trained teachers primarily for the conquered territories until 1954.

In turn, the training of agronomists to implement Stalin's collective farm policy in the western Ukrainian lands was the focus of the Voroshilovgrad (Luhansk) Agricultural Institute.

Simultaneously, in the 1940s, a massive wheel of mass deportations was set in motion, conducted both directly by Soviet punitive organs and by the corresponding structures of Soviet satellite countries. The first to implement such methods of combating the UPA was the pro-Soviet Polish regime. In April 1947, Warsaw began the implementation of Operation "Vistula," which envisaged the mass deportation of Ukrainians to the Greater Poland regions. These regions, due to diplomatic border manipulations between the USSR and the Polish People's Republic, found themselves detached from the main array of western Ukrainian lands. We are talking about such regions as Lemkivshchyna, Nadsianina, Pidliashshia, and Khomshchyna. Since the Soviet-Polish border was transparent for a long time, these territories were used by the UPA as a support base. The local population actively supported the insurgents, who dealt sensitive blows to both Soviet and Polish authorities. In March 1947, the Polish government decided on deportation.

On April 28, 1947, at four in the morning, Polish punitive forces, consisting of about six divisions and units of the Public Security Corps, surrounded the areas where Ukrainian border settlements were located. At the same time, acting synchronously, units of the NKVD and the Czechoslovak army closed their sections of the border with Poland (Ryabenko (s.f)).

The eviction scenario was standard and likely shaped based on the deportation experience of colleagues from the Soviet NKVD. Polish forces surrounded villages, informing the population of immediate relocation. Gathering time ranged from half an hour to four hours. After that, Ukrainians, under armed escort, were sent to assembly points where filtering took place. "Unreliable" elements, primarily sympathizers of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), were identified and immediately arrested. Registries of the property of the deported were also compiled (Ryabenko (s.f)).

Then, Ukrainians faced the journey to the deep regions of Poland, at least a hundred kilometers from the border. They were resettled in groups that should not exceed 10% of the local Polish population. The majority of the deported were resettled in the northern or western regions of Poland, which had previously belonged to Germany and from which Germans were expelled after the end of World War II.

Movements of the deported were monitored. In case of unauthorized attempts to return to their

homes, violators were placed in a "transit camp" in Yavozhny. In total, about 140 thousand people were deported during Operation "Vistula." In Yavozhny, 3,936 people were held, including 823 women and 27 priests. As a result of torture in the camp, 665 people were killed. Thirteen Ukrainian villages were completely destroyed, and one partially (Ryabenko (s.f)).

Operation "Vistula," which lasted until August 12, 1947, significantly undermined the capabilities of the UPA to continue the struggle. During its implementation, 2,800 insurgents were arrested, and another 1,509 were killed. A total of 1,178 bunkers and "krivoks" were destroyed.

In the fall of 1947, Soviet punitive organs decided to crush the insurgents by conducting their own partial deportation of the Ukrainian population from the western Ukrainian lands.

At the end of May 1947, Deputy Minister of State Security of the USSR, Lieutenant General Ogoltsov, and Minister of State Security of the Ukrainian SSR Savchenko prepared a joint appeal to the Minister of State Security Abakumov, justifying the need for mass deportations in western Ukrainian lands. The initiative, aimed at striking a blow to the "nationalist underground," was supported by the Politburo on August 13, 1947. On August 22, 1947, Abakumov signed Order No. 00430 "On the eviction of families of convicts, killed, and those in an illegal position of active nationalists and bandits from the territory of the western regions of Ukraine" (Bazhan, 2013).

Preparation for this punitive action, named "Zapad" (West), took two months and was carried out in October 1947. In Lviv, the operation began at 2 am on October 21, and in the following two hours, Chekists interrupted the sleep of thousands of peaceful people in villages and towns in Galicia and Volhynia.

In general, the deportation was carried out in 2-3 days. In total, 26,682 families of "nationalists" or 76,192 people were resettled to Siberia, the majority of whom were women (35,152) and children (22,174) (Bazhan, 2013).

Conclusions

Mass deportations of indigenous peoples of the USSR became an important mechanism for overcoming their national consciousness and identity. This repressive method of the imperial totalitarian regime involved those peoples who

resisted Moscow the most in pre-war times: Karachay-Balkars, Oirat-Kalmyks, Checheno-Ingush, Crimeans and Ukrainians. The weakening of Stalin's regime during his war with Hitler's Germany was the cause of a new wave of national liberation movements, which were directed against collectivization, Soviet repression, and the anti-religious company.

The described punitive operations had positive results for the totalitarian Soviet regime. Deportations undermined the will of the indigenous peoples to resist for several decades, although it was continued by a small number of pensioners who were ready to resist Soviet power even while in camps. In general, by relying on the social unconscious, the indigenous peoples were forced to demonstrate loyalty to the Soviet system, which was at the peak of its power. At the same time, the basis of national identity became an underlying distrust of Moscow, a potential hostility that manifested itself in conditions of its weakening. These aspects will be discussed in our next scientific articles.

Bibliographic references

- Bazhan, O. (2013). Operation "West": commemorating the 75th anniversary of the deportation of the population of Western Ukraine to remote regions of the USSR. *Ukraine XX st.: culture, ideology, politics*, (18), 338-349. Recovered from http://history.org.ua/JournALL/xxx/xxx_2013_18/29.pdf
- Biurchiev, B. (2016). *Consequences of the deportation of Kalmyks: contours of I and It*. OpenDemocracy. Recovered from <https://acortar.link/pdoGLX> [in Russian].
- Bugay, N. F. (1991). *Operation "Uluses"*. Elista: Sanan [in Russian]. ISBN 978-586-770-001-0.
- Hrabovskiy, S. (2008). *Crimea: two centuries of imperial genocide*. Radio Svoboda. Recovered from <https://www.radiosvoboda.org/a/1114323.html> [in Russian].
- Matviychuk, M. (2023). *Deportation of the Crimean Tatar people*. History of genocide. Public Crimea. Recovered from <https://crimea.suspilne.media/en/articles/71>
- Maximov, K. N. (2004). *People's tragedy: Repression in Kalmykia*. 1918-1940s. Moscow: Science. [in Russian].
- Naboka, A. (2020). W. Wilson's administration and the beginning of the polish-ukrainian conflict in Eastern Galicia (November 1918 – February 1919). *East European Historical Bulletin*, 14, 100-107.

- <https://doi.org/10.24919/2519-058x.14.197182>
- Ofitsinsky, R. (2021). *History of the UPA*. Harkiv: Folio. Recovered from https://folio.com.ua/system/books/samples/000/002/869/original/ОФІЦІНСЬКИЙ_ІСТОРІЯ_УПА_сайт.pdf [in Ukrainian].
- Prokhvesora, K. (2022a). *Whose is Crimea? Historical textbook of Ayder Muzhdabaev*. [Video] Youtube. Recovered from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qO3WIGW7WUw&t=1562s> [in Ukrainian].
- Prokhvesora, K. (2022b). *Oirats on the way to independence*. [Video] Youtube. Recovered from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yF_uGClnUq8&t=1685s [in Russian].
- Prokhvesora, K. (2023a). *Kalmykia. There is no other way but freedom*. [Video] Youtube. Recovered from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CpnBRd-VgYA&t=1s> [in Russian].
- Prokhvesora, K. (2023b). *Ukraine and Chechnya: blood-related free peoples*. [Video] Youtube. Recovered from <https://youtu.be/9xbwqBFutP4> [in Russian].
- Ryabenko S. (s.f). *Operation "Vistula": genocide, war crime or ethnic cleansing?*. Zbruc. Recovered from <https://zbruc.eu/node/65310> [in Ukrainian].
- Turbanova. (2017). *Kumyks will remember the victims of deportation on april 12*. National Accent. Recovered from <https://acortar.link/SEeGxe> [in Russian].
- Ubushayev, V. B., & Ubushaev, K. V. (2007). *Kalmyks: eviction, return, revival*. Elista: Publishing House of Kalmyk University. [in Russian].
- Yakovlev, A. N. (2005). *Stalin's deportations. 1928–1953*. Archive of Alexander N. Yakovlev. Recovered from <http://www.alexanderyakovlev.org/fond/issues-doc/1022594> [in Russian].