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## **POLITICAL WORKERS OF THE 316<sup>th</sup> RIFLE DIVISION IN 1941**

Based on the materials of the Central Archive of the Ministry of Defense of the Russian Federation and the Central State Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan, published and unpublished memoirs of surviving veterans of the division, materials of Internet bases search, lists of political workers of the 316<sup>th</sup> rifle division in 1941 were collected and prepared. In the article, as a result of studying the lists, a collective portrait of the political workers of the division was given, the average age of the political workers was calculated, their fates were shown, the author's answer to the question why they became the most famous division, causing the most fierce disputes in the modern period was given. Educational, political, propaganda work in the 316<sup>th</sup> rifle division was different from other military units of 1941, the times of retreats and defeats. How did they survive? Why, retreating, they won? All these difficult issues should be studied not only in military schools, but also in schools, colleges, universities.

Purpose: studying recently discovered materials of the Central archive of the Ministry of Defence of the Russian Federation and Central State archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan on the 316<sup>th</sup> rifle division of I.V. Panfilov in 1941.

The practical significance of the study is the use of its results in the field of culture, history, traditions, education, training, survival skills in the most difficult conditions, life skills. Knowledge of history, philosophy of victory, psychology in times of crisis is necessary for political scientists, journalists, experts, psychologists, the military, educators and teachers, students, undergraduates and doctoral students of universities.

The results of the study can be integrated into educational, ideological, pedagogical and educational processes. The experience of Kazakhstan can be presented as a practice for the new history of the post-Soviet countries and in the republic itself. Materials can be included in textbooks of the history of the twentieth century, journalism, psychology and other socio-humanitarian disciplines.

**Key words:** 316<sup>th</sup> Rifle Division named after I.V. Panfilov, political workers, Central Archive of the Ministry of Defense of Russia, Central State Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan, searchers.

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### **1941 жылғы 316-атқыштар дивизиясындағы саяси қызметкерлер**

1941 жылғы 316-атқыштар дивизиясының саяси қызметкерлерінің тізімдері дивизияның тірі қалған ардагерлерінің жарияланған және жарияланбаған естеліктері, Ресей Федерациясы Қорғаныс министрлігі Орталық архиві мен Қазақстан Республикасы Орталық мемлекеттік мұрағатының материалдары негізінде, интернеттегі іздеу порталдардағы деректер жинақталды. Мақалада тізімдерді зерделеу нәтижесінде дивизияның саяси қызметкерлерінің ұжымдық келбеттері келтіріліп, саяси қызметкерлердің орташа жасы есептеліп, олардың тағдырлары, ең танымал дивизияға және қазіргі кезеңдегі ең қатал дауларды тудыратын бөлімге не үшін айналғандығы туралы автордың сараптамасы келтірілген. 316-атқыштар дивизиясындағы ағарту, саяси, үгіт-насихат жұмыстары 1941 жылғы басқа әскери бөлімдерге қарағанда, шегіну мен жеңіліс кезеңдерінде өзгеше болды. Олар қалай төтеп берді? Неліктен шегініп, жеңіске жетті? Осы қиын сұрақтардың барлығы тек әскери мектептерде ғана емес, сонымен қатар жалпы білім беретін мектептерде, колледждерде және жоғары оқу орындарында ізденіс тақырыбы болуы керек. Мақсаты: Ресей Федерациясы Қорғаныс министрлігі Орталық архивінің және Қазақстан Республикасы Орталық мемлекеттік мұрағатының 1941 жылы И.В. Панфилов атындағы 316-атқыштар дивизиясы бойынша жақында ашылған материалдарын зерттеу.

Зерттеудің практикалық маңыздылығы оның нәтижелерін мәдениет, тарих, дәстүрлер, білім беру, оқыту, қиын жағдайларда өмір сүру қабілетін арттыру жолдарын табу. Тарих, жеңіс философиясы, дағдарыс кезеңіндегі психологияны білу саясаттанушылар, журналистер, сарапшылар, психологтар, әскери адамдар, оқытушылар мен тәрбиешілер, студенттер, магистранттар мен докторанттар үшін өте қажет.

Зерттеу нәтижелерін кең көлемде насихаттап, педагогикалық, тәрбие мен білім беру үдерістеріне пайдалануға болады. Қазақстанның тәжірибесі ТМД елдердің және республиканың өзінде жаңа тарихтың тәжірибесі ретінде қолдану мүмкін. Материалдарды XX ғасыр тарихы, журналистика, психология және басқа да әлеуметтік-гуманитарлық пәндер бойынша оқулықтарға енгізуге болады.

**Түйін сөздер:** И.В. Панфилов атындағы 316-атқыштар дивизиясы, саяси қызметкерлер, Ресей қорғаныс министрлігінің орталық архивтері, ҚР орталық мемлекеттік мұрағаттары, іздеу жүйелері.

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### **Политические работники 316 стрелковой дивизии в 1941 году**

На основе материалов Центрального архива Министерства обороны Российской Федерации и Центрального Государственного архива Республики Казахстан, опубликованных и неопубликованных воспоминаний оставшихся в живых ветеранов дивизии, материалов поисковых Интернет-баз собраны и подготовлены списки политработников 316 стрелковой дивизии в 1941 году. В статье, на основании результатов изучения списков, дан коллективный портрет политработников дивизии, вычислен средний возраст политработников, показаны их судьбы, дан авторский ответ, почему они стали самой прославленной дивизией и дивизией, вызывающей самые ожесточенные споры в современный период. Воспитательная, политическая, пропагандистская работа в 316 стрелковой дивизии была иной, чем в других военных подразделениях 1941 года, поры отступлений и поражений. Как выстояли бойцы этой дивизии? Почему, отступая, побеждали? Все эти непростые вопросы должны быть предметом изучения не только в военных училищах, но и в школах, колледжах, университетах.

Цель исследования: изучение недавно открытых материалов Центрального архива Министерства обороны Российской Федерации и Центрального Государственного архива Республики Казахстан по 316 стрелковой дивизии имени И.В. Панфилова в 1941 году.

Практическая значимость исследования заключается в использовании его результатов в области культуры, истории, традиций, воспитании, обучении навыкам выживания в сложнейших условиях. Знания истории, философии победы, психологии в кризисные времена обязательно нужны политологам, журналистам, экспертам, психологам, военным, воспитателям и педагогам, студентам, магистрантам и докторантам университетов.

Результаты исследования могут быть интегрированы в образовательный, идеологический, педагогический и воспитательный процессы. Опыт Казахстана может быть представлен в качестве практики для новой истории постсоветских стран и в самой республике. Материалы могут быть включены в учебные пособия и учебники истории XX века, журналистики, психологии и других социогуманитарных дисциплин.

**Ключевые слова:** 316 стрелковая дивизия имени И.В. Панфилова, политические работники, Центральный архив Министерства обороны России, Центральный Государственный архив Республики Казахстан, поисковики.

### **Introduction**

From 2017 to 2019, working in the Central Archive of the Ministry of Defense of the Russian Federation (CAMD of the Russian Federation), the Scientific Archive of the Institute of Russian History of the Russian Academy of Sciences (SA IRH RAS) and the Central State Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan (CCA RK), collected material to recreate the first composition of the 316<sup>th</sup> rifle division that went to the front with seven echelons 18<sup>th</sup> of August 1941 from Alma-Ata. The lists posted on the Internet, which cover 93.1% of the first composition

of the division. Having huge material on lists and data on fighters and commanders, this article sets the task of showing a collective portrait of the political workers of the division in 1941. Lists and data were studied not only of the first composition that arrived from Alma-Ata, but also of replenishment to the division in October - the first half of December 1941.

The division had 131 political employees, of which there were two vacancies at the beginning of fighting. Already at the entrance to Moscow in August 1941, during the bombing by German pilots of the echelons of the division, 597 separate sapper battalion lost two political workers killed and one

wounded, removed from the echelon and sent to the hospital. Therefore, the loss account was opened not only for political workers, but also for the entire division.

**The relevance** of the issues of studying new data of military history, in particular the Panfilov's division, recently discovered archives for scientists is important precisely for the publication of document materials in order to prevent falsification of the tragic days of 1941. To educate young people as patriots of the country and their knowledge of the history of the twentieth century is just as necessary and important now. At present, it is necessary to understand the problems of 80 years ago and show the current state of what they wrote and talked about in those distant years. Three information wars had to be experienced by the Panfilov's division: in the late 40s, in the late 80s of the last century and in the 10<sup>th</sup> years of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. In addition, these wars had ideological order, the issues of upbringing, patriotism, heroism and courage, the ordinary life of people who came to the defense of the Motherland were covered [V.K. Grigoriev, L.S. Akhmetova, 2013, p.214-233].

**The theoretical and practical significance of the topic** is also necessary, since the USSR fell apart and left a difficult legacy for all countries. Now the Union republics began to live as sovereign states, questions, unresolved problems began to arise, and they can be answered through knowledge of the history of the twentieth century when we were united, lived together, worked, fought and won together. We have a common story that all countries should be proud of. In addition, the new challenges of the time in the era of innovative technologies made possible to open the world to everyone and on their own. This imposes certain duties and at the same time gives the right to decide for themselves and determine the importance of certain events of the past. Nevertheless, it is necessary to know history, compare facts, study it on all sides, breaking dogmas and stereotypes, study the white spots of history, what they did not know and did not talk about, but all this was to have their own point of view.

Unfortunately, recently there has been a tendency to mythologize history, manipulate or silence certain facts. And it's seen all over the world.

**Research object** – political workers of 316<sup>th</sup> rifle – 8 Guards division of I.V. Panfilov in 1941.

**Purpose:** studying recently discovered materials of the Central archive of the Ministry of Defence of the Russian Federation and Central State archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan on the 316<sup>th</sup> rifle division of I.V. Panfilov in 1941.

**Tasks:**

1. Studying materials CAMD of Russian Federation, SA IRH RAS and CCA RK.
2. Drawing up collective portrait of political workers of 316<sup>th</sup> rd.
3. Analysis of commissar's and political leaders' data.
4. To show the political management of a division: why under their political management fighters and commanders fought and won?
5. To give new knowledge for historians, political scientists, journalists, psychologists, teachers, the military personnel, researchers and for Internet space.

**Methods:** Methodology of a comparative-historical research, methodology and technique of a social research, system and structurally functional approach in combination with a comparative-historical method and the analysis of statistical data, etc. Use of advantages of cross-disciplinary methodology, content analysis and qualitative analysis of documents.

**Approaches:**

- studying materials CAMD of Russian Federation, SA IRH RAS and CCA RK;
- analysis of biographic data of political workers of 316<sup>th</sup> rifle division in a comparative-historical research;
- studying lessons and new calls.

**Hypotheses:** the past still prevails over the present, and not only in the opinion of the senior generation, but also youth; history lessons aren't learned, opposite mythologized and presented in other more positive, and sometimes negative content.

**Value:**

Today in Kazakhstan the emphasis on studying history of the distant past of centuries is placed. While the XX century history, difficult, contradictory and poorly studied from modern positions, democratic approaches and different views. Therefore, it is necessary to place emphasis on studying history and media of Kazakhstan of the different periods of the XX century including the archives on military history, opened nowadays.

**Background**

316<sup>th</sup> rifle division, since November, 1941 - the 8<sup>th</sup> Guards rifle division named after major general Ivan Vasilyevich Panfilov, is the best-known division in the history of the XX century. In October-December, 1941, having sustained the most terrifying fights on Volokolamsk and Leningrad Highway, and, having stopped the enemy in 22 kilometers from Moscow,

it immortalized itself. A secret of the fact that they sustained defense and a battle of Moscow is in each fighter and the commander of the Panfilov's division. Moreover, we continue to study their feats, their retreats and encirclements by the numerous enemy, fights without rules, contempt for a military luster, violations of all strategy and tactics of the military fights described for years and centuries.

In October 1941 in a quantitative sense, there stood 1 to 6 people against a division, and in November 1941, 1 to 5. We do not write about the equipment and weapons, of course, at that time in a division were, generally rifles, grenades, Molotov cocktails, and the German troops, which were completed by the highest category at war against Panfilov's men. Nevertheless, despite everything, they sustained, stood, won [V.K. Grigoriev, L.S. Akhmetova, 2013, p. 10-24].

What is the reason? Why the enemy, confidently marched 10-12 kilometers a day since June 22, and suddenly "stumbled" on the 316<sup>th</sup> rifle division, which themselves called militia?

The answer is simple. Military skill of the commander of a division major general I.V. Panfilov, training, discipline and education of his commanders and fighters. We will pay attention to education. In the brutal fights of 1941, apparently, not the best time for educational work, however it always took place, first, on concrete examples. Political workers – commissars and political leaders of a division, carried out this educational work. Who are they?

Work subject – the analysis of life and the fate of commissars and political leaders, all political management in furious 1941.

The institute of military commissars was established (to be exact – it was restored) by the decree of Presidium of Supreme Council of USSR in July 16, 1941 on the basis of the decision of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks). On July 9 the Resolution of General Defense Committee "About members of the Councils of armies" was accepted. Even earlier, June 27, the Politburo of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) of the Central Committee adopted the resolution "About Selection of Communists for Strengthening of Party Political Impact in Regiments". According to this resolution, regional committees of party were obliged to select and send to field armies as a political fighters more than 18 thousand communists and the best Komsomol members. In three days of the Politburo obliged regional committees of 26 areas to select in the three-day term 23 thousand more communists and Komsomol members and to transfer them to People's Commis-

sariat of defense. For the first 6 months of war, 100 thousand political fighters were sent to field army. Their main objective consisted in "mobilization of the staff of army and the fleet on resolute and dedicated fight against fascist aggressors".

Commissar of 1073 rifle regiment Pyotr Logvinenko remembers [CAMD of Russian Federation, fund (f) 8 Guard Rifle Division (GRD), inventory (i.) 2, act (a.) 13, sheet (sh.) 14 - Logvinenko]:

– I knew Panfilov more than anyone in the division. I worked with him since 1936, visited his home apartment. When we met [in Alma-Ata – author], we talked for a while. The division was not formed yet. There were almost no officers, only several people approached. We talked very briefly. He knew me, but did not give special instructions.

– As you know commissar's work, you know tasks, so it is not necessary to speak in detail. The people will come now. It is necessary to select the best, the first installation – you select people who are capable to transfer any difficulties. Let they be untrained, but they shall be physically healthy, – so he spoke, - and we will train them.

With this installation, I left into the regiment. The regiment was formed in Talgar. Subsequently the regiment became history as the Talgar regiment. However, there was a lot of fight for this name, someone got hurt for this, but then after all it remained with this name.

When I arrived in Talgar, there were no more than 10 officers. And no one more. In 3-4 days the ordinary and non-commissioned officer's structure called through a military registration and enlistment office began to arrive.

It is necessary to tell at once that most of those merits which the division has - it is necessary to charge to the secretary of the Central Committee of Kazakhstan Skvortsov. I personally met him and, in general, he was here, in Kazakhstan, not for so long, but we always felt him as secretary. Two persons, whom we knew well and who played a large role are Skvortsov and Undasynov. Undasynov was the chief of my regiment, was present at the first organizational party meeting. From this point, I never lost contact with him. He, on the instructions of the Central Committee, participated in formation of a regiment. We also had representatives of the Central Committee in other regiments, so the Central Committee took the most active part in formation of a division.

It is possible to call the whole group of local workers, party and Soviet, sent to us. As the commissar, I can tell that in my regiment I had, in any case, 80% of professional party and Soviet work-

ers sent to political work. Such as Perepelkin, who worked in a district committee of the party. His family was there. He was killed in the first battle. Zhangozin, Nikulin whose party membership card until the end of my stay in a division passed from hand to hand and now remained in albums. He is the first hero, died with glory, and a bullet punched his party membership card. He was a political leader of a machine-gun company, and some other companions, such as Pavel Kuznetsov, the former translator of Jambul, Snegin, Makeev, Kurgan to which the rank of the Hero of the Soviet Union is given, - all this local party workers.

It is about completing officer and, mainly, political structure.

In connection with the decision on introduction of commissars there was especially attentive approach from the Central Committee of party, and gave good people.

Then the ordinary and non-commissioned officer's structure began to arrive. In the majority physically healthy people aged from 23 up to 28 years, what was also necessary for us, and in the majority the people who served active service in the Far East. It mattered too. At last, we selected them ourselves. The task was set to us by Panfilov, and all of us tried for him as possible to select the best. In any case, we had very few people who did not know Russian. We were given people with surplus, and we therefore, had an opportunity to choose. We sent back 600 people from the regiment because there was an opportunity to select the best [SA IRH RAS scientific archive, p. 1, f. 2, i. 28, a. 26, sh. 1-3].

Many books are written about the Panfilov's division, however we will call only several, about political workers and memoirs of the survived veterans [Gabdulin, 1947, Kuznetsov, 1963, Malkin V.M., 1983, Momyshev, 1978, Nishchuk, 1988; Selivanov, 1959, Snegin, 1948]. The fights of 316<sup>th</sup> rifle division fights are mentioned by the German and foreign sources [Von Bock, 2011, Halder F. Voenni dnevnik (Military Diary). 1941-1942, 2012, Nelles, 1969, p.204, Froh, 2010, p.140, Reynhard, 1980, Tippelskirch, 1999; Hart, 2000; Haupt, 2010].

Studying documents of regular structure and financial statements of a division, political workers revealed. However, being in fights where losses were huge, political workers were not always considered, however, this question concerns all structure of a division. For example, in regular and official books (there are only 2 of them during 1941) there is no political leader of 1073 shooting regiment Andrey Georgiev, and meanwhile he is mentioned in many books of memoirs and later in the Consolidated Data

Bank Memorial. With the group of fighters he made a feat in October and was presented posthumously to the Rank of the Hero of the Soviet Union.

According to the state of 1941, there should be 131 political workers in the rifle division. During a three-year search work in the archives of Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, 159 political workers of the division were identified in 1941 and another 27 political workers killed before June 1942 (according to the lists of those killed), on which there is no data from where, when he arrived in the Panfilov's division. 27 political workers could arrive during October-December 1941 as replenishment and participate in the Moscow battle, and could arrive as replenishment in the second half of December 1941 or in the first half of January 1942, when the division rested for a month and the pre-formation process was underway. Therefore, they were allocated to a separate list, and this list was not analyzed.

159 people is the most complete list of political workers of the division, which was first named in connection with the opening of archives in Russia and Kazakhstan in 2017. Of course, there may also be unnamed people, such as the above list of 27 political workers of the division killed in the first half of 1942 [CAMD of Russian Federation, f. 8 GRD, i. 2, c. 5, sh. 1-8; c. 14, sh. 1-126].

Studying the documents of the archives and memoirs of the surviving soldiers after the war, brief characteristics for each political instructor were compiled. As a result, we made a number of tables, which, showing a collective portrait of political workers of the Panfilov's division, give an answer to many questions.

Studying the years of birth of political workers, it can be concluded that their average age was 31 years. The oldest political workers were:

Gulyaev Pavel – major political instructor, born in 1892, from the Sverdlovsk region, Y-Olinsky district military enlistment office, who arrived from the replenishment of 1075 rifle regiment. Killed by 31.10.41. Nikolskoye village, Moscow region. He was 49 years old [<https://obd-memorial.ru/html/info.htm?id=2954506>].

2 people born in 1897, that is, in 1941 they were 44 years old. They are Belyakov Alexander [CAMD of Russian Federation, f. 8 GRD, i.2, c. 5, sh. 2-3], deputy head of the political department for the political part of the division and Butylin Semyon [CAMD of Russian Federation, f. 8 GRD, i.2, c. 14, sh. 117-118] - military commissar of 445 separate field bakery. Both are from Alma-Ata.

The youngest were three people born in 1919, who turned 22 years old. These are Nikiforov Niko-

lai - political instructor of a machine gun company of 3<sup>rd</sup> battery of 1075 rifle regiment [CAMD of Russian Federation, f. 8 GRD, i.2, c. 5, sh. 44-45], Kazatskiy Fedor - political instructor of 8<sup>th</sup> rifle company of 1077 rifle regiment [CAMD of Russian Federation, f. 8 GRD, i.2, c. 5, sh. 63-64], Chernyavsky Andrey - political instructor of 589<sup>th</sup> separate anti-aircraft division [CAMD of Russian Federation, f. 8 GRD, i.2, c. 5, sh. 84-85]. All of them are former cadets of the Tashkent Infantry School.

**Table 1** – The year of birth of political workers of 316<sup>th</sup> rifle division in 1941

<b>№</b>	<b>Year of birth</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Age</b>
1	1892	1	49
2	1897	2	44
3	1899	1	42
4	1900	2	41
5	1901	1	40
6	1902	6	39
7	1903	5	38
8	1904	3	37
9	1905	9	36
10	1906	11	35
11	1907	11	34
12	1908	4	33
13	1909	7	32
14	1910	10	31
15	1911	9	30
16	1912	14	29
17	1913	8	28
18	1914	11	27
19	1915	13	26
20	1916	14	25
21	1917	5	24
22	1918	2	23
23	1919	3	22
24	<b>Total</b>	<b>152</b>	<b>30, 934 = 31 years</b>
	Unknown	7	
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>159</b>	

Many manipulations are currently being carried out regarding how many and which nationalities fought in the division. Having at present 93.1% of the first composition of the division and partially

replenishment in 1941, we can answer these questions on the first composition and on 1941 [L.S. Akhmetova, 2020, p. 743]. Now our answer is on the political workers of 1941.

Political Workers of the 316<sup>th</sup> Rifle Division in 1941

**Table 2** – Nationality of political workers

<b>№</b>	<b>Nationality</b>	<b>Number</b>
1.	Russians	107
2	Kazakhs	19
3	Ukrainians	14
4	Jews	4
5	Tatars	3
6	Belarusians	2
7	Armenians	1
8	Bashkirs	1
9	Dungane	1
10	Latvian	1
11	Ossetians	1
12	Not specified	5
	<b>Total</b>	<b>159</b>

The division was international in its national composition. And political workers, of course, were also people of different nationalities. Communists

were appointed to this position, who seemed to themselves as literate, able to talk and work with people, write letters about heroes and funeral letters.

**Table 3** – Birthplace of political workers

<b>№</b>	<b>Place of birth</b>	<b>Number</b>
1.	Russia	60
2	Kazakhstan	49
3	Ukraine	12
4	Kirgizstan	4
5	Armenia	1
6	Belorussia	1
7	Moldavia	1
8	Unknown	31
	<b>Total</b>	<b>159</b>

37.7% of political workers were born in Russia, and for various reasons they moved to Kazakhstan or Central Asia before the war, from where they were called up to the front.

30.8% are from Kazakhstan, one third of whom were born in Alma-Ata. 19.5% have no data on the place of birth. For the most part, these

are cadets or students of military schools, and the staff-official books of the personnel military for the most part did not indicate a number of data, including the place of birth and that part of the political workers who arrived in October-December as replenishment and participated in the Moscow battle of 1941.

**Table 4** – Place of residence of political workers (before the war)

<b>№</b>	<b>Place of residence</b>	<b>Number</b>
<b>Kazakhstan</b>		
1.	Alma-ata	91
2	Alma-Ata region	4
3	Akmolinsk	1
<b>Uzbekistan</b>		
4	Tashkent	33
5	Tashkent region	6
6	Samarkand	1
7	Termez	1
<b>Russia</b>		
8	Moscow region	2
9	Sverdlovsk region	2
10	Archangelsk region	1
11	Omsk region	1
12	Orel region	1
13	Samara	1
<b>Kirgizstan</b>		
14	Frunze	1
15	Frunze region	2
<b>Armenia</b>		
16	Shamshadinsk area	1
<b>Unknown</b>		
17	Unknown	10
<b>Total</b>		<b>159</b>

From Kazakhstan – 60.4%, including from Alma-Ata – 57.2%.

From Uzbekistan, military personnel are mainly 25.8%, including 20.6% from Tashkent.

**Table 5** – Civic education of political workers

<b>№</b>	<b>Education</b>	<b>Number</b>
1	Higher	15
2	Incomplete higher	9
3	Medium and technical	36
4	Incomplete medium	8
5	9-grade education	1



Political Workers of the 316<sup>th</sup> Rifle Division in 1941

6	8-grade education	1
7	7-grade education	11
8	6-grade education	4
9	5-grade education	5
10	4-grade education	1
11	Lower education	6
	<b>Total</b>	<b>97</b>
13	Not specified	62
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>159</b>

As it well known, at the beginning of the twentieth century, the population was mainly illiterate or low literate. The cultural revolution in the Soviet Union was able to eliminate illiteracy among the population before the war.

24 out of 97 people's data known to us had higher or incomplete higher education, which is 24.7%. Secondary and incomplete secondary education had 45.4%. Of course, competent and knowledgeable

people were needed for propaganda and political work. Here was the main selection according to other parameters: necessarily a candidate or member of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks, necessarily to be workers or peasants, first-generation employees were allowed, that is, they themselves could be employees. Political workers had to be brave, faithful and responsible, lead soldiers into battle.

**Table 6** – Military education of political workers

<b>№</b>	<b>Education</b>	<b>Number</b>
1.	Military Academy	1
2	Military School	29
3	Incomplete military school, cadet	4
4	Junior Political Instructors Courses	3
5	Junior Lieutenant Courses	1
6	Regimental school	8
7	6-month military courses	4
8	Military retraining	4
9	No military education	52
	<b>Total</b>	<b>106</b>
10	Not specified	53
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>159</b>

49.1% of people called up for service did not have military education, from among those who indicated data on this item; 32.1% were military personnel; 18.9% served in the army and graduated

from various schools and retraining courses; a third of political workers (33.3%) from the full membership of political workers (159 people we found) do not have data on military education.

**Table 7** – Place of work of political workers (before the war)

<b>№</b>	<b>Place of work (Job)</b>	<b>Number</b>
1.	Military personnel	18
2	Students of military-political schools	12
3	Kazakh military registration and enlistment office and NKVD	3
4	Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks and Council of People's Commissars	10
5	Party workers of regional and district significance	14
6	Komsomol and trade union workers of Kazakhstan	2
7	In the field of culture, art and media	7
8	In the field of production	20
9	Teachers and students	7
10	Unknown	66
	<b>Total</b>	<b>159</b>

As noted, there were 129 political workers and there were 2 vacancies in the state. Thus, 30 arrived already in October-the first half of December 1941 as replenishment, on which there is no data. In addition, 36 more people in staff-official books do not indicate places of work before the war. Thus, 66 people's place of work is unknown. It should be noted that the

Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks of Kazakhstan was engaged in the composition of political workers during the formation of the division in Alma-Ata, hence the best representatives of the communists of Alma-Ata were called up to the 316<sup>th</sup> rifle division. Moreover, as we see, such a selection justified itself in the future.

**Table 8** – The fate of political workers in 1941

<b>№</b>	<b>The fate</b>	<b>Number</b>
1.	Killed	54
2	Missing	7
3	Died of wounds	4
4	Wounded	15
	<b>Total</b>	<b>80</b>
5	Fate is unknown after the Battle of Moscow	22, but were alive up to 1942
6	Survived after the war	57
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>159</b>

65 political workers were killed, missing or died of wounds. However, this is far from a complete list of political workers of the Panfilov's division who did not come back from the war. One political instructor was demoted and transferred to another

regiment as a private [CAMD of Russian Federation, f. 8 GRD, i.2, c. 14, sh. 20-21]. One executed at the beginning of 1942 [CAMD of Russian Federation, f. 8 GRD, i.2, c. 14, sh. 17-18]. This execution was unfair – according to many. In addition, even

those who remained after the war spoke about this and wrote to each other, condemning the superior commissar who shot him. Records about this also remained in the archives. Moreover, even in the memoirs of fellow soldiers when describing the events of October-December 1941, this political instructor behaves with dignity, just like everyone else, fulfilling orders and stubbornly holding his defense line, his surname is always present.

There are memories of the execution of a lieutenant and a deputy of political work because they threw an injured comrade on the battlefield, but their names were not called [CAMD SA IRH RA, 1, f. 2, i. 28, c. 26, sh. 26-28].

Two political workers were captured in other military units, since although there was a rule

that after the hospital, the guard soldier could be sent to his division at will, but in the conditions of war, this was often impossible. The political instructor of 346 artillery regiment of the 102 rifle division Yaunrodzin Jan was captured; in 1941 he was an instructor in the editorial office of a divisional newspaper and a political instructor in position; he survived after the war [CAMD of Russian Federation, f. 8 GRD, i. 2, c. 14, sh. 5-6]. Lobanov Grigory, political instructor of the transport company of 1073<sup>rd</sup> rifle regiment was captured twice: in February 7, 1942 and released, wounded on March 22, 1942, was again captured after the hospital and released in September 24, 1945 [CAMD of Russian Federation, f. 8 GRD, i. 2, c. 14, sh. 26-27].

**Table 9** – Political workers of 1941 1<sup>st</sup> composition and replenishment for October-December 1941

№	Political workers	Number
1.	1 <sup>st</sup> squad since August 1941	129
2	<b>Replenishment for October-December 1941</b>	30
	<b>Total</b>	<b>159</b>
3.	It is unknown when the replenishment arrived, but only the killed political officers in the division (not on the 1941 state lists) from January to June 1, 1942.	27
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>186</b>

[CAMD of Russian Federation, f. 8 GRD, i. 2, c. 14, sh. 1-9; f.8 GRD, i. 2, c. 5, sh. 1-8].

Looking at Table 9, we see two digits. They can give information about the available political workers of the division. However, none of them is accurate and true. According to the first number 159, we can say for sure that fates has been traced and there are documents in the archives for the first composition of the division in staff books and other documents, memoirs of surviving veterans after the war and

in the generalized electronic data bank Memorial. Nevertheless, this figure does not mean that this is complete data. Perhaps even with the advent of new data in the Internet databases. In addition, the number 27 is calculated correctly as of August 1, 2020 according to the documents of the generalized electronic data bank Memorial. New data can be posted every day and numbers can increase.

**Table 10** – The number of political personnel in 316 rifle division in 1941

№	Date	In the state	In the list
1	20.09.41.	131	130
2	10.10.41.	131	131
3	20.10.41.	131	124
4	5.11.41.	161	155
5	10.11.41.	132	134
6	10.12.41.	132	104
7	16.12.41. The entire report was divided only into commanders, junior commanders and privates	In total, the division should be 11 316 people	Survived after battle 5 318

[CAMD of Russian Federation, f. 8 GRD, i. 8, c. 84, sh. 12, 19, 23, 33, 34, 42, 42a].

Table 10 shows that twice a month reports were prepared on the number of staff of the division. And now, not only from the memories of veterans, but also from the data of the division headquarters, we see that in the division, despite the fierce battles in October - the first half of December 1941, there were constant replenishments from the militias of Moscow and the Moscow region and the retreating troops.

Of the 159 political workers over the years of World War II, 5 became Heroes of the Soviet Union.

1. Klochkov Vasily - political instructor of 4<sup>th</sup> company of 2<sup>nd</sup> battery of 1075 rifle regiment; political instructor, 1911, Russian, All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks, employee, civilian education – higher, military – graduated regimental school, Alma-Ata Lenin district military registration and enlistment office. Deputy Head of the Dining and Restaurant Trust. Killed 16.11.41 in the area of the village of Dubosekovo. Hero of the Soviet Union – 21.07.42. [CAMD of Russian Federation, f. 8 GRD, i.2, c. 14, sh. 40-41].

2. Vikhrev Pyotr – political instructor of 6<sup>th</sup> company of 1075 rifle regiment; political instructor, 1909, Russian, All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks, employee, civilian/secondary education, military education – no, Alma-Ata, Stalin district military registration and enlistment office. Deputy Director of the shoe factory. Killed by 16.11.41. Zhdanovo village Volokolamsk district. Hero of the Soviet Union – 31.03.43. [CAMD of Russian Federation, f. 8 GRD, i. 2, c. 14, sh. 41-42].

3. Gabdulin Malik – political instructor of 15<sup>th</sup> battery of 45 m/m guns 3 battalion, 1075 rifle regiment, has no rank, 1915, Kazakh, All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks, employee, military education – no, civilian education - higher, Akmola region. Alma-Ata, Frunze district military registration and enlistment office. Pedagogical Institute, senior teacher. Recorded in the book of 1942, p. 114, seconded to the Higher Political School 14.1.43. Hero of the Soviet Union - 30.01.43. [CAMD of Russian Federation, f. 8 GRD, i. 2, c. 14, sh. 45-46].

4. Semikov Alexander – political instructor of 1<sup>st</sup> company of 1073 rifle regiment, junior political instructor, 1916, Russian, All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks since 1940, Lavrentievo village, Mordovia Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, Tashkent Military District, Andijan district military registration and enlistment office, railway Tashkent, seriously wounded 2 (17) 11. (28.10.) 41. in the battles for Matrenino, he was evacuated to the hospital (he showed loyal courage,

also fought fearlessly in subsequent years, in 1945 - commander of 227 Guards regiment, 79 Guards division, major guard, February-April bridgehead in the district of Reintven and Dogelin (Germany) - the title Hero of the Soviet Union – 31.05.45 [CAMD of Russian Federation, f. 8 GRD, i. 2, c. 14, sh. 17-18; [http://warheroes.ru/hero/hero.asp?Hero\\_id=14989](http://warheroes.ru/hero/hero.asp?Hero_id=14989)].

5. Shapshaev Ivan – political instructor of the communications company 1077 rifle regiment, junior political instructor, 1910, Russian, All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks member since 1938, employee, civilian education – 5-grades., telephone operator. Alma-Ata, Stalin district military registration and enlistment office, called 17.7.41. Turksib, Dorprofsozh, head of cultural department, Alma-Ata, International street, 108. Moved to the new book on page 213. Hero of the Soviet Union – 15.05.46. [CAMD of Russian Federation, f. 8 GRD, i. 2, c. 14, sh. 55-56].

Political workers added 4 of their Golden Stars of the Hero to the piggy bank of the division. Political instructor Semikov A.I. received his Star in 1945 as the commander of 227 Guards regiment of 79 Guards division, but he was also a pupil of our division, and began his combat journey from Panfilov's men.

It should be noted, that 36 people were awarded the high rank of Hero of the Soviet Union in the division.

The following political workers were presented to the rank of Heroes of the Soviet Union and were not awarded them, but awarded other orders:

1. Georgiev Andrei – Jr. Political instructor, commissar of the detachment 1073 rifle regiment, 1916, Russian, in the Red Army since 1938, All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks, killed in the village of Mykanino 17.11.41., has no awards, arrived from the reserve of 16 army. (17 brave tank fighters covered the withdrawal of 1073 rifle regiment and 690 rifle regiment per day, 13 killed, including Georgiev) [A.S. Trefilov, 1983, p. 136].

2. Pavlov Alexey - political instructor of a sapper company, Jr. political instructor 1077 rifle regiment, 1916, Kachalovka village, West Siberian Territory, Russian, All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks member since 1940, employee, courses of junior political instructors, civilian education – incomplete secondary. Alma-Ata district military registration and enlistment office, 1940, Alma-Ata, Stalin repair office, ten-man. Alma-Ata, Issykul str., 98, apt. 1. Killed by 18.11.41. Avdotyino village [CAMD of Russian Federation, f. 8 GRD, i.2, c. 14, sh. 56-57; i. 1, c. 4, sh. 33-33].

3. Dzhetypsbaev Baltabek – executive secretary of the Komsomol organization, political instructor, 1907, Kazakh, All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks, employee, Tashkent, civilian education – 7-grades. Semipalatinsk region, Alma-Ata. Rewritten in the new book page 117. He was sent to 29.05.1943 in the political department of 8 guards division [CAMD of Russian Federation, f. 8 GRD, i. 2, c. 14, sh. 31-32; i. 1, c. 4, sh. 22-23].

Two political officers who died with their units in 1941 and one who survived in 1942.

Commissar of 1073 rifle regiment Pyotr Logvinenko says:

– I had party tickets of Panfilov, Georgiev, Nikulin. These three party documents were always on the table when I handed over party documents. In addition, there was a medal, the old guards. We found it underground, two meters in the ground, when the trench was dug, the first Russian guards medal issued to the guards unit on the centenary day of the formation of the first guards Russian unit.

These four relics of the division were always with me. I showed them to fighters, held conversations around them [SA IRH RAS, 1, f. 2, i. 28, c. 26, sh. 38-39].

#### **What have we achieved?**

A new layer of knowledge was obtained on the political workers of the 316 rifle division, which now allows us to arguably prove the events of those days, to understand that some documents have not survived, and it is necessary to know that it is impossible to mythologize, manipulate and invent what was not in the documents in relation to history.

#### **Results:**

1. For the first time, material was collected about political workers of the first composition and battles of 1941 thanks to open archives in 2017 and search databases of memory. Of course, not all material has been collected. At the time of August 1, 2020, accurate data are available for 159 people. Recall that the generalized electronic data bank Memorial is updated almost daily according to various parameters, so it is necessary to study it constantly.

2. The documents of the archives for political officers and commissars of the 316 rifle division of 1941 were analyzed.

3. Political workers had to work constantly on the moral and political climate in units at their own level. And always show samples of courage and heroism on their own experience, so their mortality was high, every second of them was killed, missing, died of wounds or wounded.

4. In the conditions of the fighting of 1941, when the troops retreated, models of courage were needed

using the examples of their division, and political workers did a lot to show examples of the heroism of their fighters: the first awarded orders and medals (and in 1941 few were awarded), scouts, descriptions of the first battles of platoons and battalions. The fighters composed poems and songs about their heroes, in the minutes of rest the order bearers visited other units and talked about their feat.

5. Political instructors skillfully used the experience of warring commanders and soldiers in participating in hostilities on Lake Hassan, the Halkin-Gol River, campaigns in Western Ukraine and Belarus, the Finnish War and other military episodes before World War II.

6. Naturally, the main emphasis was placed on the political system of the state, on the party and the Komsomol. Party and Komsomol organizations were always ahead and showed examples of courage. Work was constantly carried out among the non-party.

7. It should be noted that the average age in the division was 30 years, and this explains that the words of General I.V. Panfilov that you don't need only to die for your homeland, but you need to be able to survive and fight to win, when the slogan was propagated everywhere in the army: "We will die, but the enemy will not pass", were understood by the adult composition of the division. Most fighters and commanders had families, children, and although they were far away and in the rear, that is, they could survive, the division perceived these words-orders as law.

8. And also the words of I.V. Panfilov that you can retreat and win. The whole division understood this. In the conditions of the defeats of 1941, no one even dared to think about retreating, but retreated, and our general explained his vision of war with the Nazis. And the political instructors explained to the fighters the issues of retreat in order to win. It is no coincidence that in 1944 B. Momyshev began to write memories of his general from the exact position why the division won and became the most famous, what was the secret of success? B. Momyshev writes:

– The merit of the 8th Guards Division is: to lead to the collapse of the offensive of large enemy forces by small forces, i.e. to accurately perform the task in its defense zone:

– BIND, DESCOAT AND CRUSH [CSA RK, B. Momyshev's fund, f. 1432, i. 1, c. 5, sh. 7-8].

#### **Conclusion:**

The goal set at the beginning of the article has been solved. The affairs of staff books, the political composition of the Panfilov's division in 1941 were

studied. The feat, courage, firmness and heroism of fighters and commanders in the fierce 1941 is shown.

The above methods of comparative historical research were used.

New challenges of time pose other challenges, but without knowledge of history, changing stereotypes, using different sources and studying facts, it is impossible to move forward and qualitatively improve knowledge.

The new data given in the article will be needed not only for the young generation studying history, but

also for military personnel, teachers, psychologists, journalists, lawyers and representatives of other professions.

### Recommendations

The results of the study can be integrated into educational processes. The experience of Kazakhstan can be presented as a practice for the new history of the post-Soviet countries and in the republic itself. Materials can be included in textbooks of the history of the twentieth century, journalism and other social and humanitarian disciplines.

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