



Seitkali Mendeshov»: collection of documents and materials] / Qurast.-avtor: S.K. Shildebaj; Qurast.: A.B. Ordahanova. Almaty: «Poligrafiya-servis i K°», 2021. 590 b. [In Kaz, Rus]

Shmidt, 2018 – *Shmidt V.* Tragediya Kazahstana 1921-1922 godov: golod i ego posledstviya [The tragedy of Kazakhstan in 1921-1922: famine and its consequences] // *Vostochnyj arhiv.* 2018. №1 (37). S. 40-50. [In Rus]

Smagulova, 2019 – *Smagulova S.* Asharshylyk kasireti [The scourge of famine]. 1-kitap. Almaty, 2019. 272 b. [In Kaz]

Usmanov, 2007 – *Usmanov N.V.* Orenburgskoe otdelenie ARA (1921- 1923gg.) [Orenburg branch of the ARA (1921-1923)] // *Voprosy istorii.* 2007. № 12. S. 111-116. [In Rus]

Karieva, 2010 – *Karieva T.A.* Semej guberniyasyndagy asharsylyk zhane onyng saldary (1921-1922 zhzh.): tarih gylmynyng kandidaty... dis. Avtoreferaty [Famine in Semey province and its consequences (1921-1922). Abstract of the dissertation of the candidate of historical sciences]. Almaty, 2010. 30 b. [In Kaz]

ТАРИХ / ИСТОРИЯ / HISTORY

Published in the Kazakhstan

Otan tarihy

Has been issued as a journal since 1998

ISSN: 1814-6961 (print)

ISSN: 2788-9718 (online)

Vol. 26. Is. 1, pp. 373-383, 2023

Journal homepage <https://otan.history.iie.kz/>

FTAXP / МРПТИ / IRSTI 03.20.

SOVIET POLITICS IN KAZAKH AUL: POSITIONS OF RESEARCHERS

*Adilkhair Myrzakhanov*¹

¹L.N. Gumilyov Eurasian National University (2, Satpaev Str, Astana, 010008, Republic of Kazakhstan) PhD student

<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-6430-7066>, 87080077500@mail.ru

©IHE named after Ch.Ch. Valichanov, 2023

© Myrzakhanov A.E., 2023

Abstract. *Introduction.* The article is dedicated to comparative assessment of the researchers' positions to the soviet politics in the Kazakh aul during 1920-1930s that covered wide range of issues from eradication of the real and potential enemies to the Bolshevik regime, deconstruction of the social-economic structure and creating new soviet identity. *Results.* Generations of historians have been addressing those issues, but their positions were to great extent determined by the objective factors – dominance of ideological requirements, access to archival data and theoretical tools. But the historians agree that many issues of the Bolshevik politics of the 1920-1930s have been controversial. It mainly refers to the peculiarities of the agrarian policy in the Kazakh aul, the cornerstone of the regime objective to transform the Kazakh society. *Goals.* The main focus of the article is to trace from comparative perspective the changes in the researchers' approach to the soviet agrarian politics during collectivization and industrialization periods. *Conclusions.* The analysis of historical literature has shown that agrarian history in the pre-revolutionary period was the focus of attention of many researchers. The increased interest in this topic was due to the specifics of the development of the region as a backward agricultural, colonial raw material appendage of the metropolis.

Key words: history of Kazakhstan, Kazakh aul, agrarian policy, collectivization, industrialization, alienation, village, peasants, class struggle.


For citation: Myrzakhanov A.E. Soviet politics in kazakh aul: positions of researchers // *Otan tarihy.* 2023. Vol. 26. No. 2. Pp. 373-383 (Engl). DOI: 10.51943/1814-6961_2023_26_2_373-383



ҒТАХР / МРНТИ / IRSTI 03.20.

ҚАЗАҚ АУЫЛЫНДАҒЫ КЕҢЕСТІК САЯСАТ: ЗЕРТТЕУШІЛЕРДІҢ ҰСТАНЫМДАРЫ*Адильхайр Ерзатович Мырзаханов¹*

¹Л.Н. Гумилев атындағы Еуразия ұлттық университеті (2-үй, Сатпаев көшесі, 010008 Астана, Қазақстан)
PhD докторант

 <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-6430-7066>, 87080077500@mail.ru

Түйіндеме. *Кіріспе.* Мақала 1920-1930 жылдардағы қазақ ауылындағы кеңестік саясат зерттеушілерінің ұстанымдарын салыстырмалы талдауға арналған, ол большевиктер режимінің нақты және әлеуетті жауларын жою, қазақ дәстүрлі қоғамының әлеуметтік-экономикалық негіздерін деконструкциялау, жаңа бірегейлікті қалыптастыру сынды көптеген мәселелерді қамтыды. *Нәтижелер.* Тарихшылар ұрпағы бұл тақырыптарды қозғағанымен, олардың ұстанымдары негізінен объективті факторлармен – идеологиялық талаптардың басымдығымен, мұрағаттарға қолжетімділікпен және теориялық құралдармен анықталады. Бірақ барлық тарихшылар 1920-1930 жылдардағы большевиктер саясатының көптеген мәселелері даулы болды деп келіседі. Бұл негізінен қазақ ауылы режимінің трансформация үдерістерінде бірінші орынға қойылған аграрлық саясаттың ерекшеліктеріне қатысты. *Зерттеудің мақсаты.* Мақалада ұжымдастыру және индустрияландыру жылдарында қазақ ауылындағы кеңестік режимнің аграрлық саясатын бағалауға қатысты зерттеушілердің ұстанымдарындағы өзгерістерді салыстырмалы перспективада қадағалау мақсаты қойылған. *Қорытынды.* Тарихи әдебиеттерді талдау революцияға дейінгі кезеңдегі аграрлық тарих көптеген зерттеушілердің назарында болғанын көрсетті. Бұл тақырыпқа деген қызығушылықтың артуы аймақтың артта қалған ауылшаруашылық, отарлық шикізат қосымшасы ретінде даму ерекшелігіне байланысты болды.


Кілт сөздер: Қазақстан тарихы, қазақ ауылы, аграрлық саясат, ұжымдастыру, индустрияландыру, тартып алу, шаруа, таптық күрес.

Дәйексөз үшін: Мырзаханов А.Е. Қазақ ауылындағы кеңестік саясат: зерттеушілердің ұстанымдары // Отан тарихы. 2023. Т. 26. № 2. 373-383 б. (Ағылш.) DOI: 10.51943/1814-6961_2023_26_2_373-383

ҒТАХР / МРНТИ / IRSTI 03.20.

СОВЕТСКАЯ ПОЛИТИКА В КАЗАХСКОМ АУЛЕ: ПОЗИЦИИ ИССЛЕДОВАТЕЛЕЙ*Адильхайр Ерзатович Мырзаханов¹*

¹Евразийский национальный университет имени Л.Н. Гумилева (д. 2, ул. Сатпаева, 010008 Астана, Республика Казахстан) PhD докторант

 <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-6430-7066>, 87080077500@mail.ru

Аннотация. *Введение.* Статья посвящена сравнительному анализу позиций исследователей советской политики в казахском ауле в 1920-1930 годы, которая охватывала широкий круг проблем – уничтожение реальных и потенциальных врагов режима большевиков, деконструкция социально-экономических основ казахского традиционного социума, формирование новой идентичности. *Результаты.* Поколения историков обращаются к этим темам, но их позиции, в большей мере, определяются объективными факторами – доминирование идеологических требований, доступ к архивам и теоретические инструменты. Но все историки согласны в том, что многие проблемы политики большевиков в 1920-1930е годы были противоречивыми. Это в основном относится к особенностям аграрной политики, которая была поставлена во главу угла в процессах трансформации режимом казахского аула. *Цель исследования.* В статье ставится цель – проследить в сравнительной перспективе изменения в позициях исследователей в отношении оценки аграрной политики советского



режима в казахском ауле в годы коллективизации и индустриализации. *Заключение.* Анализ исторической литературы показал, что аграрная история в дореволюционный период была в центре внимания многих исследователей. Повышенный интерес к этой теме был обусловлен спецификой развития региона как отсталого сельскохозяйственного, колониально-сырьевого придатка метрополии.

Ключевые слова: история Казахстана, казахской аул, аграрная политика, коллективизация, индустриализация, очуждение, крестьянство, классовая борьба.

Для цитирования: Мырзаханов А.Е. Советская политика в казахском ауле: позиции исследователей // Отан тарихы. 2023. Т. 26. № 2. С. 373-383. (Англ.) DOI: 10.51943/1814-6961_2023_26_2_373-383

Introduction. Currently, the problem of the Bolshevik policy of the in the Kazakh aul in the 1920s-1930s, and its agrarian part, in particular have been in the focus of researchers. In the early soviet period the Kazakh society remained mainly traditional, that caused the decision of the soviet regime to accelerate its transformation, but it was carried out violently and forcefully as deconstruction of its basics economic basis and social structure. Collectivization policy was went hand in hand with sedentarization, cattle expropriation of the well-off Kazakhs, forced eviction and exiles, that caused large scale flight from the native lands.

The agrarian transformations issues in the Kazakh aul since mid-1920s, and their effects attracted the interests of different generations' researchers. The comparative analysis of the historiographical material reveals a very interesting dynamic in the assessment of these reforms. In the Soviet historiography, up to the mid-1980s, the transformations of the Bolshevik regime the Kazakh pre-kolkhoz aul were assessed positively. That mostly referred to the discussions on the nature of the socio-economic transformations.

It should be noted that the leading researchers - T. Eleuov, A.B. Tursynbaev, and B.A. Tolepbaev, G.F. Dachshleiger, K.N. Nurpeyisov (Eleuov, 1961: 527; Tolepbaev, 1985: 231; Dakhsheiger, 1965a: 78; Dakhsheiger, 1978b: 116; Tursynbaev, 1957: 112; Nurpeyisov, Dakhsheiger, 1985c: 188) - unanimously agreed that right after the revolution, well-off /bai and kulak elements in the rural areas violently responded to the Soviet regime policies as they found it an existential threat to the traditional system. Despite the ideological limitations of the Soviet researchers, their works rely of rich data.

Materials and methods. The methodological and theoretical basis of the research was the general scientific principles, first of all, the principle of historicism, consistency and historiographical tradition. In the article the concepts of the Kazakhstani academicians Zh.B. Abylhozhin and T. Omarbekov were used as a conceptual basis. General methods of scientific knowledge such as analysis and synthesis were also applied.

Discussion. The historiography of the topic is quite extensive – ranging from the first post-revolutionary period onwards. In the historical tradition, it is impossible to make clear conclusions without a complete and comprehensive study of the historiography of a certain event. And there are many contradictory issues at the level of this topic research. For example, Soviet and post-independence historiography is written in an incompatible, opposite way. From this point of view, using critical, analytical methods during research is significant.

However, regardless of political oppression, many scholarly works of Kazakh authors are dedicated to the history of agrarian policy in the 1930s. The agrarian reforms of the late 1920s and 1930s, in particular, the policy of sidentarization and collectivization that fundamentally changed the socio-economic relations in the Kazakh aul and affected the entire development of the country, are one of the most significant political events in Soviet history and have attracted the attention of many scientists.

Research results. Soviet period researchers I.S. Gorokhovodatsky, P.M. Pakhmurny, B.S. Suleimenov greatly contributed to the agrarian movement studies in the period from 1917 to 1956, publishing a two-volume collective work (issued in 1955) and a collection of documents and materials (in 1957). The collection «Labor and agrarian movement...» gives a picture of the labor and agrarian movement in Kazakhstan since beginning of the XX century. Of considerable interest are the documents published from the Omsk State Historical Archive fund of the Omsk Police and Gendarmerie Department, on the activities covering the Akmola and Semipalatinsk regions. The documents show that Kazakh peasants, as well as Russians, in their complaints and petitions to the



tsarist administration officials demanded to be liberated from arbitrariness and violence of baib, they also refused to pay excessive taxes and taxes, etc.

The collection based on archival sources showed the revolutionary struggle of working Kazakhs, Russians and other ethnic groups. The collection contains 74 documents coming directly from the working folk (complaints, petitions, demands). A significant part of the documents are memos, reports, reports, letters, orders, resolutions of regional governors, etc. 40 documents give a picture of the activities of the social democratic organization in Kazakhstan, circles and individual members of these organizations.

Research directions and positions of researchers in the Soviet period have their own cause-and-effect character. Despite the clear historical facts, under strict censorship pressure, falsifications took place anyway, and the possibility of comprehensive consideration of the causes and consequences of real problems was diminished.

In the first works prepared by state order, researchers wrote about the agrarian policy of the 1930s, including collectivization and other actions. The authors were mainly party and Soviet officials, journalists, and agricultural specialists (Azizyan, 1929: 25; Varenkis, 1930: 52; Yakovlev, 1931: 124). All the issues in the works of the 1930s closely related to the political activities. In this regard, all authors declared the urgency and timely character of collectivization and approved the state methods and measures during its implementation.

In many studies of that period much attention was given to the problem of class struggle in the aul. In particular, the authors N. Lagovier, A. Rodnyansky, V. Tkachenko (Lagovier, Rodnyansky, 1930: 45; Tkachenko, 1930: 78) for successful formation of a new administrative system in the rural areas emphasized the need of rich peasants isolation and struggle against them. Focusing on the collectivization importance for peasants, the researchers considered it as main advantage in saving the village population from the kulaks in new conditions (Vlasov, 1932: 15).

From the second half of the 1930s, when collectivization in the country was almost complete, the works examining the changes in the aul in the first five years appeared. The authors paid attention to the results of collectivization, and its socio-cultural, economic and political consequences (Laptev, 1939: 17; Alfish, 1939: 38; Berdin, Arsenyev, 1939: 124).

However, at that time, the process of preparation and implementation of collectivization was not given scholarly assessment, in particular what power measures during agrarian reorganization were implemented. In 1938, with the direct participation of Stalin, «The History of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks): Concise Course» (Concise Course, 1997: 297) was published. The purpose of that book release was to provide society with an official understanding of history, and the regime's policies right character, including the collectivization issue. In the «Concise course», it was mentioned the timeliness and readiness of agrarian reforms, that «thanks to the great help of the party and the worker-peasant state, a powerful mechanized collective production was created in the village, and agriculture was on the rise» at the beginning of the second five-year period (Concise Course, 1997: 304). At the same time, there was information about the massive support of collectivization by the peasants, and the access of the villagers to the «rules of rich people» (Concise Course, 1997: 305), which is, obviously, not true.

In particular, A.B. Tursynbaev, B.A. Tolepbaev, G.F. Dakhshleiger studied the history of agrarian reconstruction in Kazakhstan. Even though these works had few opportunities to write the truth of Kazakh history under the dominance of communist ideology, they have not lost their relevance as studies with a wide range of sources (Dakhshleiger, 1965a: 78; Dakhshleiger, 1978b: 116; Tursynbaev, 1957: 112; Nurpeyisov, Dakhshleiger, 1985: 188).

G.F. Dakhshleiger's works «Socio-economic transformations in the countryside and village of Kazakhstan (1921-1929)», «Characteristics of social-economic relations in the Kazakh village (1921-1928)», «From the experience of Kazakh nomadic and semi-nomadic households sedentarization history», (Dakhshleiger, 1965a: 536; Dakhshleiger, 1961b: 56; Dakhshleiger, 1966b: 3-23) studied the active involvement of Kazakhstani peasants in the establishment and strengthening of the Bolshevik regime, the abolition of the colonial legacy in land relations, and the implementation of revolutionary socio-economic changes in agriculture. He writes about the radical changes in the social structure and lifestyle of the multinational Kazakhstani peasants achieved as the collectivization effects, the sedentarization of Kazakh nomadic and semi-nomadic households, and the victory of the collective farm system.



During these years, several works and candidate theses were written related to the agrarian history of the Soviet government. In particular, K. Atabayev's «Class struggle and liquidation of kulaks and bais as a class in Kazakhstan during collectivization (1929-1934)» (Atabaev, 1982: 201), N. Alimbaev has a candidate thesis titled «History of the Communist Party activities in the implementation of the Kazakhstan agricultural economy complete collectivization (the late 20s - early 80s)» (Alimbaev, 1984: 20). In their research, historians presented the leadership role historiography of the Communist Party in the construction of the collective farm in Kazakhstan. At the same time, they published articles on separate aspects of the collectivization problem.

In the late 1980s and early 1990s, due to the changes in the political situation in the country, the research impulse of many historians increased, and the interest to studies of history «white spots» gradually increased. A revision of many problems and concepts in the history of 1920-1930s was initiated. In particular, the interest of domestic historians increased to study the traditional structure transformation of Kazakhstan.

During the perestroika period the soviet historiography started moving away from the communist ideology. As a result, the historians found in archival and officials materials that collectivization was caused radical consequences. V.P. Danilov, M. Vyltsan, N.A. Ivnitisky assessed collectivization as the main cause and effect of current problems in agriculture (Danilov, Ivnitisky, Vyltsan, 1978:14-17). V.V. Kondrashin, D. Penner (Kondrashin, Penner, 2002: 77-80) emphasized that the famine is the tragic consequence of mass collectivization.

One of the first works to revise the soviet historiography in 1991 was the collection «History of Kazakhstan: White spots» edited by M.K. Kozybayev (Kozybayev, 1991: 348). It included articles on deportation of peoples, the tragedy of the peasantry that survived forced collectivization.

The commission set up in 1992 by the Republic of Kazakhstan's Supreme Council on history issues plays an important role in studying the changes in Kazakh during the 1920s and 1930s. Under that resolution the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Kazakh SSR, a commission was established to study the resolutions on strengthening the reconstruction of agriculture in a socialist way and on measures to fight against the kulaks and bais dated August 27, 1928 «On the confiscation of rich farms», September 13, 1928 «On criminal liability for actions against the confiscation and transfer of the large and semi-feudal bais», February 19, 1930 «In the areas of mass collectivization». The commission was assigned to study the consequences of the adoption of the above mentioned resolutions by the Central Executive Committee of the Kazakh SSR and the Kazakh ASSR and present its conclusions and recommendations to the Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Kazakh SSR. (Central State Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan, 2828: 18-19). The special commission included prominent scientists, public figures and heads of law enforcement agencies and the commission worked until November 1992. On the same day, the «Conclusion of the Commission of the Supreme Council Presidium of the Republic of Kazakhstan on the study of normative legal acts that led to hunger during unionization» was passed.

A group of historians participated in the work of the commission led by academician M.K. Kozybayev presented the main concept of the topic. (Kazakhstanskaya Pravda, 1992: 2). Historians, scientists, heads of law enforcement agencies, and state and public figures such as S.A. Kasymov, T. Omarbekov, M. Tatimov, Zh.A. Tuyakbaev, Zh.B. Abylhozhin, T.K. Aitmukhambetov, K. Aldazhumanov, B.A. Baekenov, M.T. Bersenev and S.A. Kaskabasov were part of the commission.

On December 7, 1992, the Commission of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Kazakhstan issued a resolution on conclusions and recommendations for the study of resolutions about August 27, 1928 «On the confiscation of bai farms», September 13, 1928 «On criminal responsibility for actions against the confiscation and transfer of the large and semi-feudal bais», February 19, 1930 «Measures to strengthen the reconstruction of agriculture in the socialist way in the areas of mass collectivization and to fight against the kulaks and the rich» (NA RK. F.2. S.1. F.97. L.17-18). Thus, the conclusion of the Supreme Council commissions' of the Republic of Kazakhstan in 1992 opened an opportunity to study the topic with new documents and a new concept.

After these measures, the works of the above-mentioned commission members and well-known historians were published. The interest in the works of scientist Zh.B. Abylhozhin has been growing



(Abylhozhin, 1991: 134). Zh.B. Abylhozhin, unlike Kazakh researchers of the previous period, believes that grain was one of the factors that accelerated the sedentarization policy, and he believes that its actualization was caused by accelerated industrial modernization processes. Indeed, it is known that currency is needed to buy technical equipment, and one of the main ways to obtain currency was to exchange it for bread. Therefore, according to Zh.B. Abylhozhin, civilizing the steppe inhabitants was only an accompanying element. Zh.B. Abylhozhin noted that these changes in the economic sphere were aimed to create a structure that could subjugate Kazakh auls to totalitarian control unlike the previous traditional private structures (Abylhozhin, 1997: 75).

The socio-economic changes of the late 1920s and early 1930s are analyzed from a new conceptual point of view in the works of T. Omarbekov (Omarbekov, 1997: 88). His studies examine in detail the history of requisition campaigns and their impact on the destruction of traditional livestock farming in Kazakhstan, the process of sedentarization and its consequences. It should be noted that the author included a wide range of material that had not entered scientific circulation, which allowed him to reveal the true nature of the emigrants, demonstrate the plight of displaced Kazakhs, and determine the reasons and nature of the armed peasants' protests. In addition, T. Omarbekov's opinions and views on that topical issue can be seen in the collection of articles entitled «People's Wrath» published in the «Zhuldyz» magazine in 1991-1993 (Omarbekov, 1994a: 112; Omarbekov, 1991c: 63.).

Historians and demographers have also made a great contribution to the study of the topic. Based on the statistical data of the population census for each period, they started writing works that comprehensively analyzed the impact of economic changes that occurred over the years on the population.

Historian A.N. Alekseenko was one of the first to in such researches. In his work, considering the general condition and demographic condition of Kazakh auls, he emphasizes that the processes of collectivization are the main factor influencing the change in population (Alekseenko, 1993: 105; Alekseenko, Alekseenko, 1999: 210).

A.I. Kudaibergenova's doctoral thesis titled «Migration processes in Kazakhstan during the Soviet era: historical and demographic aspect (1917-1991)» shows the progress and results, shortcomings, mistakes, consequences and practical significance of migration processes in connection with the policy of the state during the Soviet era are considered. In her scientific research work, she dwells on the migration processes in Kazakhstan during the Soviet era and its influence and results on the ethnic-demographic development of the Kazakhstan people (Kudaibergenova, 2010).

Besides doctoral and candidate theses of the researchers S.B. Atusheva, B.A. Musaev, A.M. Mamyrkhanova (Atusheva, 2000: 30; Musaev, 2005: 22; Mamyrkhanova, 1996: 25) and others were based on topics ranging from collectivization and famine in 1920s and 1930s.

In addition, collections of documents were also published on the problems on that period. Agrarian changes in the Soviet Union in the 1920s and 1930s, including data on Kazakhstan, were widely published in Russian document collections.

Since 1999, Russian archivists and historians have been working mainly in the political spheres of the highest bodies of the party-state administration – the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks), the Political Bureau, the Organizational Bureau and Secretariat, the Central Committee of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic-United State Political Administration-Council of People's Commissars, various nation's Commissariats, the Supreme Court and the Prosecutor's Office, the army and other organizations in cooperation with foreign scholars, and previously unavailable documents of the administrations were published on the history of the Soviet village. The main one is «The Tragedy of the Soviet Village. Collectivization and dispossession. 1927–1939» in 5 volumes. The documents on the topic of interest are presented in volumes I and II of that collection. The documents show for the first time the initial stage of Stalin's «revolution from above», that began with the destruction of the NEP (new economic policy) as a state policy and a system of socio-economic relations in society, primarily between the city and the countryside. State violence accompanied by «emergency grain preparation» and «attacks on the kulaks» caused resistance and discontent of the peasants, their documentary representation plays a large place in this collection» (Danilova, Manning, Violy, 1999: 880).

The main part of the documents and materials of the state structures about the famine of 1931-1933 is kept in Russian archives. Their main contribution is «Soviet village through the eyes



of the VChK-OGPU-NKVD (All-Russian Emergency Commission-United State Political Administration-People 's Commissariat of Internal Affairs)». 1918-1939 was published in four volumes, which is the main publication on the history of the Soviet village. According to the creator of the documentary, «the reports of the VChK-OGPU-NKVD are, in fact, is the only source demonstrating a daily record of important information from the vast country, its mood and movement, all the events are happening in the life of the people, first of all from the political and, to a lesser extent, from the economic and cultural life. Finally, the information material of the special service was designed to update the most complete picture of the situation in the country as a whole, both from a territorial and temporal point of view. Such a view is given only by mass media sources» (Berelovicha, Danilova. Moscow, 2000: 35). The publication is based, first of all, on the document complexes of the Central Archive of the Federal Security Service of the Russian Federation - one of the secret warehouses of the Soviet Union power structures. The documents of the Secret-Emergency Department and the Secret-Political Department of the OGPU and many other «top secret» documents are concentrated here.

The collection of documents and materials publishes materials on the history of the Soviet village 1927-1939 described in «The Tragedy of the Soviet Village. Collectivization and dispossession. 1927-1929» (Danilova, Manning, Viola, 2000a: 104-110; Danilova, Manning, Viola, 2001b: 178; Danilova, Manning, Viola, 2002v: 201-205). In the publication, materials describing the acute political situation in the village due to the forced collectivization and expropriation (confiscation of the kulaks) of the kulaks, which caused mass resistance of the peasants and often turned into a rebel movement, took a significant place. Most of the published documents are taken from previously classified, less accessible funds of the higher bodies of the party-state administration (All - Union Communist Party of the Bolsheviks, People 's Commissariat of Internal Affairs), Supreme Court, Prosecutor's Office, etc.). A lot of attention is paid to the documents of the peasants, their mood, behaviour, reaction to the happening situations, and struggle against tyranny and violence.

«Tragedy of the Kazakh village 1928-1934» in Kazakhstan (Isakhan, Karataeva, 2013: 744) in 2 volumes of the collection of documents were published. The work provides information related to the destruction of the bais in 1928-1929 and the confiscation of their property in 1930-1931. Although the collection of documents contains important documents, they make up only a small part of the large funds of the Presidential Archive and the Central State Archives of the Republic of Kazakhstan. As written by the authors themselves, this publication presents the documents of the central state archives of the Republic of Kazakhstan describing the initial stage of the tragedy of the Kazakh village. Documents such as NEP reduction, billets, taxation, etc. on Kazakhstan's situation during the increasing administrative pressure were presented.

That problem caught the attention of foreign researchers and became their special research object.

French historian I. Ogaion's «Sedentarization of the Kazakh USSR under Stalin. Collectivization and social changes (1928-1945)». (Ogaion, 2009: 64) can be specially mentioned. In her work, the Kazakh tragedy is defined as a disaster, as the disaster of the Jewish people during the Nazism period is similar to the «holocaust». Based on detailed analysis, I. Ogaion creates a coherent and holistic panorama of forced modernization experienced by the Kazakh people. The book pays special attention to the politically and socially active participants of the process and the reaction of the Kazakh society to foreign occupation. The large-scale armed uprisings of the Kazakhs which broke out in the spring of 1930, were analyzed as well.

In that work, she introduces the term «debaization» for the first time, to denote the process of «eliminating the «Tore» who held positions in the highest structures of power of Kazakh traditional socium. The Bolshevik policy aimed to eradicate the traditional nomadic elite, which was still able to compete with the new government at the level of its lowest administrative echelons «(district and village)».

German historian R. Kindler's book (Kindler, 2018: 382) is devoted to the history of Soviet Kazakhstan in the late 1920s and early 1930s. Drawing on a wide source basis, the author examines the policy of the Soviet government in Kazakhstan, the campaign to transfer nomads to settled collectivization, the terrible famine of 1931-1933, its causes and consequences.

Among foreign scholars, one of the most fundamental and modern monographs on this topic is of R. Davis and S. Wheatcroft's «Years of famine: USSR agriculture. 1931-1933». (Davis, Wheatcroft, 2011: 543). The authors make an important contribution to the studies of the tragic pages of Soviet



rural history - the mass famine of 1932-1933. Based on extensive documentary material, the economic and social prerequisites of the famine, the state of agriculture in the USSR during the specified period, the agricultural policy of the Soviet leadership, etc. were considered in detail.

Russian researcher F.L. Sinitsyn (Sinitsyn, 2019: 318) describes the situation at that time: «For centuries, Russia coexisted with the nomadic peoples of the Great Steppe and the North, and gradually added «nomadic» regions to its borders. The culmination of that process was the acceleration of «nomadic» territories sedentarization in the Soviet Union in the 1930s. Most nomads were «planted» almost overnight. Cities, villages and collective farms grew in the vast steppe. «Many of the free herdsmen of yesterday turned to agriculture, went to work in factories and mines», he describes. In addition, he seeks answers to the questions on the reasons for the immediate, forced «attachment» of nomadic peoples to the land and what were the historical results of this process.

Foreign scientist S.Cameron argues that the collectivization and famine of the early 1930s were one of the most serious plots in the national histories of the post-Soviet republics based on a wide range of archival and memoir sources in the Russian and Kazakh languages. And the price of the experiment to transform steppe nomads into an industrial and sedentary-agricultural country in Kazakhstan was loss of a quarter of the country's population (1.5 million people), the death of more than a million refugees and the complete destruction of the economy, as well as she critically analyzed the concepts of violence, modernization, and nation-building in the Stalinist USSR.

According to the Italian historian Nikola Pianchola, who is part of an international group of historians studying the Kazakh famine, there was no targeted extermination of the indigenous population in Kazakhstan. Therefore, it is impossible to talk about any genocide. Secondly, he refutes the opinion that developed in Kazakh society that the main culprit of the famine in Kazakhstan was the executive secretary of the Kazakhstan regional Committee of the CPSU (b) Philip Goloshchekin (Pianchola, 2018: 80-116).

Showing the interaction between Moscow and Almaty, he writes that the main responsibility for the Kazakh catastrophe lies with the Kremlin. It was there, when in June 1930 a political decision was made to turn Kazakhstan into a strategic reserve of meat supplies to overcome the food and production crisis caused by collectivization.

In his comments, Nicola Pianola gives references to the works of T. Omarbekov and expresses support for his concepts.

Conclusion. Summing up the development of historiography on the history of agrarian policy, it should be noted that the works of Soviet researchers totally depended on ideology. The writings of Soviet historians show that the rural people supported the activities of party and state bodies. The growing interest in the topics of agrarian policy, mass collectivization of agriculture, famine contributed to the intensification of research in the Union republics. In particular, it stimulated the emergence of similar works in Soviet Kazakh historical science and the expansion of the field of research.

However, from the works of some researchers, one can still see an exhaustive picture of Soviet ideology. In this regard, in order to completely get rid of Soviet ideology and change the views of these researchers, it is extremely important to declassify and introduce archival documents into scientific circulation.

The analysis of historical literature has shown that agrarian history in the pre-revolutionary period was the focus of attention of many researchers. The increased interest in this topic was due to the specifics of the development of the region as a backward agricultural, colonial raw material appendage of the metropolis. However, the researchers, touching upon certain aspects of the agrarian history of the region, did not create a special monographic work on the history of the agrarian movement in the region. All this presents historians with the task of a comprehensive, comprehensive study of the question of the liberation movement that engulfed the peasant masses.

Sources

NA RK - National Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan

Дереккөздер

ҚР ҰА – Қазақстан Республикасының Ұлттық архиві



References

- Abylhozhin Zh.B. Tradicionnaya struktura Kazahstana: Soc.-ekon. aspekty funkcionirovaniya i transformacii (1920-1930-e gg.). [The traditional structure of Kazakhstan: Socio-economic aspects of functioning and transformation (1920-1930)] - Alma-Ata: Gylym, 1991. - 240 p. (In Rus.)
- Abylhozhin Zh.B. Oчерki social'no-ekonomicheskoy istorii Kazahstana. XX vek. [Essays on the socio-economic history of Kazakhstan. XX century]. - Almaty: Turan, 1997. - 360 p. (In Rus.)
- Alimbaev N. Istoriografiya deyatel'nosti Kommunisticheskoy partii po osushchestvleniyu sploshnoj kollektivizacii sel'skogoho z'yajstva Kazahstana (konec 20-h - nachalo 80-h gg.). [Historiography of the Communist Party's activities to implement the continuous collectivization of agriculture in Kazakhstan (the late 20s - early 80s).] Avtoreferat dissertacii k.i.n. - Almaty, 1984. - 20 p. (In Rus.)
- Alekseenko A.N. Naselenie Kazahstana. 1920-1990 gg. [The population of Kazakhstan. 1920-1990] - Almaty: Gylym, 1993. - 125 p. (In Rus.)
- Alekseenko N.V., Alekseenko A.N. Naselenie Kazahstana za 100 let (1897-1997 gg.). [The population of Kazakhstan for 100 years (1897-1997).] - Ust'-Kamenogorsk: Gylym, 1999. - 157 p. (In Rus.)
- Atabaev K. Klassovaya bor'ba i likvidaciya kulachestvaibajstva kak klassa v Kazahstane v gody kollektivizacii (1929-1934 gg.). [The class struggle and the elimination of kulaks and baits as a class in Kazakhstan during the years of collectivization (1929-1934)] - Alma-Ata: Gylym, 1981. - 150 p. (In Rus.)
- Atusheva S.B. Dzhuty v Kazahstane v konce XIX — nachale XX vv. [Jutes in Kazakhstan in the late XIX- early XX centuries]: Avtoreferat dissertacii k.i.n. - Almaty, 2000.- 30 p. (In Rus.)
- Azizyan A.K. Dlya chego nuzhna krest'yaninu industrializaciya strany [Why the peasant needs the industrialization of the country]. - Moskva, 1929. - 57 p. (In Rus.)
- Berdin A.V., Arsen'ev N.D. Sel'skoe hozyajstvo Yaroslavskoj oblasti [Agriculture of the Yaroslavl region]. - Yaroslavl', 1939. - 65 p. (In Rus.)
- Cameron S. Golodnaya step': golod, nasilie i sozdanie Sovetskogo Kazahstana [The Hungry Steppe: Hunger, Violence and the Creation of Soviet Kazakhstan]. - Moskva: NLO, 2020. - 123 p. (In Rus.)
- Danilov V.P., Ivnickij N.A., Vylcan M.A. Oglyanut'sya v razdum'e [To look back in thought] // Sel'skayanov'. - 1987. - №12. - Pp. 14-17. (In Rus.)
- Danilov V.P. U kolhoznoho nachala [At the collective farm beginning] // Sovetskaya Rossiya. - 1987. - 11 oktyabrya. (In Rus.)
- Danilov V.P. Diskussiya v zapadnoj presse o golode 1932-1933 gg. i «demografiches kojkatastrofe» 30-40-h gg. v SSSR [Discussion in the Western press about the famine of 1932-1933 and the «demographic catastrophe» of the 30-40s in the USSR] // Voprosy istorii. - 1988. - №3. - Pp.116-121. (In Rus.)
- Dahshlejger G.F. Social'no-ekonomicheskie preobrazovaniya v aule i derevne Kazahstana (1921-1929 gg.) [Socio-economic transformations in the village and village of Kazakhstan (1921-1929)]. - Alma-Ata: Nauka. 1965. - 536 p. (In Rus.)
- Dahshlejger G.F. Marshrutom social'nogo progressa [The route of social progress.]. - Alma-Ata: Kazahstan, 1978. - 160 p. (In Rus.)
- Dahshlejger G.V. K harakteristike social'no-ekonomicheskikh otnoshenij v kazahskom aule (1921-1928 gg.) [On the characteristics of socio-economic relations in the Kazakh village (1921-1928)]. - Moskva: Izd-vo Akad. nauk SSSR, 1961. - 56 p. (In Rus.)
- Dahshlejger G.F. Iz opyta istorii osedaniya kazahskih kochevyh I polukochevyh hozyajstv [From the experience of the history of settling of Kazakh nomadic and semi-nomadic farms] // Sovetskaya etnografiya. - 1966. - №4. Pp.3-23. (In Rus.)
- Dahshlejger G.V., Nurpeyisov K. Istoriya krest'yanstva Sovetskogo Kazahstana [History of the peasantry of Soviet Kazakhstan]. - Alma-Ata: Nauka, 1985. - 247 p. (In Rus.)
- Devis R., Uitkroft S. Gody goloda: Sel'skoe hozyajstvo SSSR, 1931-1933 [The Years of Famine: Agriculture of the USSR, 1931-1933]. - Moskva: Rossijskaya politicheskaya enciklopediya, 2011. - 543 p. (In Rus.)
- Eleuov T.E. Ustanovlenie i upryadochenie Sovetskoj vlasti v Kazahstane: (mart 1917-iyun' 1918 g.) [Establishment and regulation of Soviet power in Kazakhstan: (March 1917-June 1918)]. - Alma-Ata: Izd-vo Akad. nauk KazSSR, 1961. - 527 p. (In Rus.)
- Gorohvodatskij I.S., Pahmurnyj P.M., Sulejmenov B.S. (ed.) Rabochee i agrarnoe dvizhenie v Kazahstane v 1907-1914 gg. [Labor and movement in Kazakhstan in 1907-1914]. Sbornik dokumentov i materialov. Alma-Ata: Kazgosizdat, 1957. 566 p. (In Rus.)
- Istoriya Vsesoyuznoj Kommunisticheskoy partii (bol'shevikov). Kratkij kurs [History of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks). Concise course]. - Moskva: OGIZ – Gospolitizdat, 1946. - 352 p. (In Rus.)
- Kindler P. Stalinskie kochevniki: Vlast' i golod v Kazahstane [Stalin's Nomads: Power and famine in Kazakhstan]. - Moskva: Politicheskaya enciklopediya, 2017. - 382 p. (In Rus.)
- Kozybayev M.K. Istoriya Kazahstana: belye pyatna [History of Kazakhstan: white spots]. - Alma-Ata: Kazahstan, 1991. - 348 p. (In Rus.)



Kondrashin V., Penner D. Golod: 1932-1933 gody v sovetskoj derevne [Famine: 1932-1933 in the Soviet countryside]. - Samara-Penza: Izd. SGU-PGPU im. V.G. Belinskogo, 2002. – 432 p. (In Rus.)

Kozybakova F.A. Likvidaciya «ekspluatatorskih klassov» i hozyajstv edinolichnikov v sel'skom hozyajstve Kazahstana: istoriya i posledstviya (1926-1933 gg.) [Liquidation of the «exploiting classes» and individual farms in agriculture of Kazakhstan: history and consequences (1926-1933)]. Avtoreferat dissertacii k.i.n. - Almaty, 1997.- 30 p. (In Rus.)

Қудайбергенова А.И. Кенес дауиріндегі Қазақстандағы көші-қон удерістері: тарихи-демографиялық аспект (1917-1991 жж.) [Migration processes in Kazakhstan in the Soviet era: historical and demographic aspect (1917-1991.)] Avtoreferat dissertacii d.i.n. - Almaty, 2010. - 30 p. (In Kaz.)

Lagovier N., Rodnyanskij A. Socialisticheskoe nastuplenie I kulackij terror [The Socialist Offensive and the Kulak terror]. – Moskva, 1930. – 50 p. (In Rus.)

Laptev I. Sovetskoe krest'yanstvo [The Soviet Peasantry]. M., 1939; Al'fish S.D. Pobeda kolhoznogostroya [Victory of the collective farm system]. - Saratov, 1939. - 56 p. (In Rus.)

Mamyranova A.M. Kazahskoe naselenie mezhdru perepisyami 1897-1926 gg. [Kazakh population between the censuses of 1897 – 1926]: Avtoreferat dissertacii k.i.n. – Almaty, 1996. – 25 p. (In Rus.)

Musaev B.A. Golod v pervoj polovine 20-h godov XX veka v Kazahstane: istoricheskij, social'no-politicheskij analiz [Famine in the first half of the 20th century in Kazakhstan: historical, socio-political analysis]. Avtoreferat dissertacii k.i.n. – Ural'sk, 2005. – 22 p. (In Rus.)

Nurpeyisov K.N., Dahshlejger G.F. Istoriya krest'yanstva Sovetskogo Kazahstana [The history of the peasantry of Soviet Kazakhstan.]. - Almaty: Nauka, 1985. - 247 p. (In Rus.)

Omarbekov T. 20-30 zhyldardagy Kazakstan kasireti [The tragedy of Kazakhstan in the 20-30s]. - Almaty: Sanat, 1997. - 320 p. (In Kaz.)

Omarbekov T. Zobalan: Kushtep uzhymdastyrugа karsylyk. 1929-1931 zhyldary bolgan halyk narazylygy [Zobalan: resistance to forced collectivization. Popular protests in 1929-1931]. – Almaty: Sanat, 1994 – 272 p. (In Kaz.)

Omarbekov T. Halyk kahary [The wrath of the people] // Zhuldyz. – 1991. - №9, 10, 12; 1992. - №1, 7; 1993. - №3, 4, 5. (In Kaz.)

Ogajon I. Sedentarizaciya kazahov SSSR pri Staline. Kollektivizaciya i social'nye izmeneniya (1928-1945 gg.) [Sedentarization of Kazakhs of the USSR under Stalin. Collectivization and social change (1928-1945)]. - Almaty: Sanat, 2009. - 368 p. (In Rus.)

Politbyuro i krest'yanstvo: vysylka, specposelenie. 1930-1940 [The Politburo and the Peasantry: expulsion, special sidentarization. 1930—1940]. - Moskva: Rossijskaya politicheskaya enciklopediya, 2005. - 912 p. (In Rus.)

Pianchola N. Stalinskaya «ierarhiya potrebleniya» i velikij golod 1931–1933 gg. v Kazahstane [The Stalinist «Hierarchy of Consumption» and the Great Famine in Kazakhstan, 1931-33] // Ab Imperio. - 2018. Pp. 80-116. (In Rus.)

Santaeva K.T. Razrushenie kazahskogo tradicionnogo skotovodcheskogo hozyajstva i ego tyazhelye posledstviya (na osnove materialov Yuzhnogo Kazahstana. 1925-1935 gg.) [The destruction of the Kazakh traditional cattle breeding economy and its severe consequences (based on materials from Southern Kazakhstan. 1925-1935.)]. Avtoreferat dissertacii k.i.n. – Almaty, 2001. - 172 p. (In Rus.)

Sinicyn F.L. Sovetskoe gosudarstvo i kochevniki. Istoriya, politika, naselenie. 1917-1991 [The Soviet state and the nomads. History, politics, population. 1917-1991]. - Moskva: Centrpoligraf, 2019. - 318 p. (In Rus.)

Sovetskaya derevnya glazami VCHK-OGPU-NKVD. 1918-1939. Dokumenty i materialy [The Soviet village through the eyes of the CHEKA-OGPU-NKVD. 1918-1939. Documents and materials]. T.2. - Moskva: Rossijskaya politicheskaya enciklopediya, 2000. 1168 p. (In Rus.)

Tkachenko E. Kulak otstupaet s boem [The fist retreats with a fight]. – Moskva, 1930. - 55 p. (In Rus.)

Tragediya sovetskoj derevni. Kollektivizaciya i raskulachivanie. 1927-1939. Dokumentyi materialy [The tragedy of the Soviet village. Collectivization and dispossession. 1927-1939. Documents and materials]. T.2. - Moskva: Rossijskaya politicheskaya enciklopediya, 2000. – 927 p. (In Rus.)

Tragediya sovetskoj derevni. Kollektivizaciya i raskulachivanie. 1927-1939. Dokumenty i materialy [The tragedy of the Soviet village. Collectivization and dispossession. 1927-1939. Documents and materials]. T.3. - Moskva: Rossijskaya politicheskaya enciklopediya, 2001. – 1008 p. (In Rus.)

Tragediya sovetskoj derevni. Kollektivizaciya i raskulachivanie. 1927-1939. Dokumenty I materialy [The tragedy of the Soviet village. Collectivization and dispossession. 1927-1939. Documents and materials]. T.4. - Moskva: Rossijskaya politicheskaya enciklopediya, 2002. - 1056 p. (In Rus.)

Tragediya kazahskogo aula. 1928-1934: Sbornik dokumentov [The tragedy of the Kazakh village" 1928-1934: Collection of documents] / Sost. A.S. Zulkasheva, G.T. Isahan, G.M. Karataeva. T.1.- Almaty: Raritet, 2013. - 744 p. (In Rus.)

Tursynbaev A.B. Pobeda kolhoznogo stroya v Kazahstane [The victory of the collective farm system in Kazakhstan]. - Alma-Ata: Kazgosizdat, 1957. - 326 p. (In Rus.)



Tulepbaev B.A. *Socialisticheskie agrarnyepre obrazovaniya v Srednej Azii i Kazahstane* [Socialist agrarian Transformations in Central Asia and Kazakhstan]: [Perevod] / B. Tulepbaev. - Moskva: Nauka, 1985. – 231 p. (In Rus.)

Varenkis I. *O sploshnoj kollektivizacii i likvidacii kulachestva kak klassa*. [On the continuous collectivization and liquidation of the Kulaks as a class]. Voronezh, 1930. 118 s. (In Rus.)

Yakovlev YA.A. *O kolhoznom i sovhoznom stroitel'stve*. [About collective farm and state farm construction]. - Moskva, 1931. - 118 p. (In Rus.)

Vlasov M.E. *K voprosu o socialisticheskoy rekonstrukcii sel'skogo hozyajstva* [On the question of the socialist reconstruction of agriculture]. - Moskva, 1932. – 68 p. (In Rus.)

Zhakisheva S.A. *Bai «polufeodaly» v Kazahstane na rubezhe 20-30-h godov XX v.: istoriko-istochnikovedcheskij analiz problemy*. [Bai «semi-feudal» in Kazakhstan at the turn of the 20-30s of the XX century: historical and source analysis of the problem]: Avtoreferat dissertacii k.i.n. - Almaty, 1996. - 194 p. (In Rus.)

Zaklyucheniya komissii Prezidiuma Verhovnogo Soveta Respubliki Kazahstan po izucheniyu normativnyh pravovyh aktov, privedshih k golodu vo vremya kollektivizacii [Conclusions of the Commission of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Kazakhstan on the study of normative legal acts that led to famine during collectivization] // *Kazahstanskaya pravda*. - 1992. - 22 dekabrya. (In Rus.)



Мазмұны / Content / Содержание 2023 № 26 (2)

ТАРИХ / HISTORY / ИСТОРИЯ

<i>Margulan A.S., Zhuzbayeva U.D.</i> THE SHAGATAI FRONTIER IN ABU AL-FIDA'S WORK «ТАКВИМ AL-BULDAN».....	206
<i>Отенова Г.Е.</i> НОВЫЕ СВЕДЕНИЯ О КИРГИЗ-КАЙСАКАХ ИЗ КАЗАНИ: АНАЛИЗ РУКОПИСИ 1796 ГОДА.....	217
<i>Мәлікова С.З., Ибраева А.Ф., Мұхамеджанова Г.Т.</i> СОЛТҮСТІК ҚАЗАҚСТАН ӨңІРІНДЕГІ АЛАШ ҚҰРЫЛТАЙЫ: АҚҚҰСАҚ ЖИНАЛЫСЫ.....	229
<i>Мұхатова О.Х.</i> ЖЕТІСУ АЛАШ ҚАЙРАТКЕРІ - БАЗАРБАЙ МӘМЕТОВ.....	242
<i>Жұмағұлов Б.С.</i> ТОБАНИЯЗ ӘЛНИЯЗҰЛЫ – ХАЛЫҚ АЗАТТЫҒЫ ЖОЛЫНДАҒЫ КҮРЕСКЕР.....	258
<i>Мұқанова Г.Қ., Жұматай С., Ташағыл А.</i> «КАЗАХСКИЙ КАЛЕНДАРЬ НА 1923 ГОД» В КОНТЕКСТЕ ИДЕНТИЧНОСТИ.....	272
<i>Шашаев Ә.Қ., Тілеубаев Ш.Б., Құрманалина Н.Н.</i> XX ғ. 20-ЖЫЛДАРЫНДАҒЫ ҚАЗАҚСТАНДАҒЫ АКАДЕМИЯЛЫҚ ОРТАЛЫҚТЫҢ ҚҰРЫЛУЫ МЕН ҚЫЗМЕТІ.....	287
<i>Гиззатов С.М.</i> 1921-1922 ЖЫЛДАРДАҒЫ ОРАЛ ЖӘНЕ БӨКЕЙ ГУБЕРНИЯЛАРЫНДАҒЫ АШАРШЫЛЫҚ ЖӘНЕ ОНЫҢ ЗАРДАПТАРЫ.....	298
<i>Мамбетова Г.А., Муминов А.К.</i> ПОЛИТИКА СОВЕТСКОГО ГОСУДАРСТВА В ОТНОШЕНИИ РЕЛИГИОЗНЫХ ДЕЯТЕЛЕЙ В КАЗАХСТАНЕ (АКТЮБИНСКАЯ ОБЛАСТЬ).....	310
<i>Базарбаев К, Гумуш Н., Акдениз Э.</i> ТҮРКІСТАН ҰЛТ-АЗАТТЫҚ ҚОЗҒАЛЫСЫНДАҒЫ ЭНВЕР ПАШАНЫҢ САЯСИ ҚЫЗМЕТІ.....	326
<i>Ахметова Л.С., Ахметов С.С.</i> БОЛЬШАЯ ОРДА КАЗАХОВ В РОССИЙСКО-КОКАНДСКОМ ПРОТИВОСТОЯНИИ В СРЕДНЕЙ АЗИИ. СУРАНШЫ-БАТЫР И УЗЫН-АГАШСКОЕ СРАЖЕНИЕ 1860 ГОДА.....	335
<i>Ауаған В., Аканов К., Курманов З.</i> REFLECTION OF THE SHIVANIDS (SHEIBANIDS) DYNASTY'S ROLE IN THE HISTORY OF THE JUCHI ULUS AND THE KAZAKH KHANATE IN THE 13-16 th CENTURIES.....	350
<i>Козыбаева М.М., Мурзаходжаев К.М., Малабаев С.К.</i> ДЕМОГРАФИЧЕСКИЕ ПОСЛЕДСТВИЯ ГОЛОДА 1921-1922 ГГ. В КАЗАХСТАНЕ.....	361
<i>Мурзақханов А.</i> SOVIET POLITICS IN KAZAKH AUL: POSITIONS OF RESEARCHERS.....	373

АРХЕОЛОГИЯ / ARCHAEOLOGY

<i>Оутрам А., Курманиязов Ы.</i> РОЛЬ БОТАЙСКОЙ КУЛЬТУРЫ И СПЕЦИАЛИЗИРОВАННОГО СКОТОВОДСТВА В ДВУХЭТАПНОМ ПРОЦЕССЕ ОДОМАШНИВАНИЯ ЛОШАДИ	384
<i>Қожа М.Б., Жетібаев К.М., Муминова З.П.</i> ОРТАҒАСЫРЛЫҚ СЫҒАНАҚ ҚАЛАСЫНДАҒЫ ӘЛЕУМЕТТІК-ЭКОНОМИКАЛЫҚ ҚАТЫНАСТАРДЫҢ КЕЙБІР АСПЕКТІЛЕРІ.....	407
<i>Женіс Ж., Нарымбет Н.</i> АЛТЫН ОРДАДАҒЫ МҰНАРАЛЫ (ШАТЫРЛЫ) МАЗАРЛАР: ТАРИХИ-МӘДЕНИ ЖӘНЕ ДҮНИЕТАНЫМДЫҚ САБАҚТАСТЫҚ (X-XIV ғғ.).....	422