

**ISSN: 1814 - 6961**  
**E-ISSN: 2788-9718**

# **ОТАН ТАРИХЫ**

## **ҒЫЛЫМИ ЖУРНАЛ**

**Үш айда бір рет шығатын ғылыми журнал**  
**2022, № 2 (98)**

**2 /2022**

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Қазақстан Республикасы Білім және ғылым министрлігі  
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«Отан тарихы» журналының редакциясы

Сайтқа сілтеме: <https://otan.history.iie.kz>

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Журнал Қазақстан Республикасының Ақпарат және қоғамдық келісім министрлігінде  
1998 ж. 9 наурызда тіркеліп, N 158-ж куәлігіне ие болды.

Мақалаларды қайта бастырып жариялағанда, микрофильмге және басқа да көшірмелерге  
түсіргенде міндетті түрде журналға сілтеме жасау қажет.

**Учредитель:**  
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Журнал в Министерстве информации и общественного согласия Республики Казахстан  
Зарегистрирована 9 марта 1998 г., имеет свидетельство N 158-Ж.

При перепечатке статей, съемке на микрофильмах и других копиях обязательно  
делается ссылка на журнал.

**Founder:**

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Link to the website: <https://otan.history.iie.kz>

Tel.: +7 (727) 272-46-54.

Email address: [otanhistory@gmail.com](mailto:otanhistory@gmail.com) .

Journal in the Ministry of Information and public consent of the Republic of Kazakhstan  
registered on March 9, 1998, has certificate No. 158-Zh.

When reprinting articles, shooting on microfilm and other copies,  
a link to the magazine is necessarily made.

IRSTI 03.20

DOI 10.51943/1814-6961\_2022\_2\_159

**PRO MEMORIA FOR THOSE WHO LEFT IRRETRIEVABLY: BIRMUKHAMED AIBASOV****S.A. Zhakisheva<sup>1\*ID</sup>**<sup>1</sup>al-Farabi Kazakh National University, Kazakhstan, Almaty

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**Abstract.** Among the greatest catastrophes of an anthropogenic character in the 20th century alongside with the world wars, a “worthy” place is occupied by large-scale repressive actions of the Soviet State against its people. Therefore, recollecting the names of those innocently shot or who died in the camps and special settlements of the GULAG according to the judgments of “specified conventions of the NKVD”, “triplets of the OGPU” and other extrajudicial bodies does not lose its relevance (actuality) at present. One of the true, faithful patriots of the Kazakh native land, whose name is undeservedly forgotten is Birmukhamed Aibasov. He belongs to the galaxy of talented, energetic individuals who had a deep inner desire for active transformative activities, high self-sacrifice for achieving the goal - improving the life of their people. Side by side with Magzhan Zhumabayev, Mirjakyp Dulatov, Saken Seyfullin and other distinguished representatives of Kazakh intelligentsia with whom for many years B. Aibasov was bound by ties of friendship and joint social activities; he had shared the fate of many “enemies of people”, whose only “fault” was high benevolence and courage, inability to stay scared and quiet watching lawlessness and arbitrariness going on around. Being a supporter of democratic reforms in Kazakhstan in the pre-revolutionary period, B. Aibasov was one of the most successful managers-agrarians in Soviet times. Tragic events of the early 1930s, connected with hunger and high mortality of the aul population in the Kazakh steppe, inspired the students of the Moscow Agrarian Institute of Red Professors, including B. Aibasov, to write a letter to I. Stalin in 1933 “On the Activity of the Kazakhstan Party Organization” known as “Letters of six”. It describes the scale of human catastrophe - mass deaths of Kazakhs, being a consequence of collectivization and subsidence of nomadic and semi-nomadic farms, expropriation and death of socialized livestock, inaction and indifference of local officials and the ignorance of terrible facts by the official authorities. This highly moral, civil act did not remain without consequences. In 1938, by the decision of the visiting session of the Military Collegiums of the Supreme Court of the USSR, B. Aibasov was shot.

**Key words:** Kazakh intelligentsia, youth organization “Birlik”, “Zhas Kazakh”, mass political repressions, Great terror, B. Aibasov, “Letter of six” to Stalin, KASSR, hunger in the Kazakh steppe.

*\*The article was carried out within the framework of the project No. OR11465470 "Mass political repressions in Kazakhstan in the 20-50s of the XX century and rehabilitation processes: creation of a unified database" with the financial support of the Ministry of Education and Science of the Republic of Kazakhstan.*

FTAMP 03.20

**PRO MEMORIA ҚАЙТЫМСЫЗ КЕТКЕНДЕР ТУРАЛЫ: БІРМҰХАМЕД АЙБАСОВ****S.A. Zhakisheva<sup>1\*ID</sup>**<sup>1</sup>Әл-Фараби атындағы Қазақ ұлттық университеті, Қазақстан, Алматы

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**Түйіндеме.** Әлемдік соғыстармен қатар XX ғ. антропогендік сипаттағы ірі апаттардың ішінде Кеңес Одағының өз халқына қарсы ауқымды репрессиялық әрекеттері «лайықты» орын алады. Сондықтан «НКВД-ның арнайы мәжілістерінің», «ОГПУ үштігінің» және басқа да бөгде органдардың шешімдері бойынша ГУЛАГ лагерьлері мен арнайы қоныстарында жазықсыз жауынгерлердің немесе қаза тапқандардың есімдерін қайтару өзінің өзектілігін жоғалтпайды. Қазақ жерінің есімі ұмытылған нағыз патриоттардың бірі – Бірмұхамед Айбасов. Ол, халқының өмірін жақсартуда – алға қойған мақсатына жету үшін өзін құрбан қылған талантты, жігерлі өмірін өзгертуде терең ішкі ұмтылысы бар тұлғалардың қатарына жатады. Ұзақ жылдар достық қарым-қатынаста, қоғамдық қызметте бірге болған Мағжан

Жұмабаев, Міржақып Дулатов, Сәкен Сейфуллин және басқа да қазақ зиялыларының көрнекті өкілдерімен бірге ол, көптеген «халық жауларының» тағдырын бөлісті, олардың жалғыз күнәсі биік азаматтығы мен батылдығы, айналада болып жатқан заңсыздық пен озбырлықтан қорқып, үндемей отыра алмау еді. Төңкеріске дейінгі кезеңде Қазақстандағы демократиялық реформалардың жақтаушысы болған Б. Айбасов кеңестік кезеңде ең табысты аграрлық басқарушылардың біріне айналды. Қазақ даласындағы ашаршылық пен ауыл тұрғындарының көп қырылуына байланысты 1930 жылдары басталған қайғылы оқиғалар Мәскеудің қызыл профессорлық аграрлық институтының студенттерін, ішінде Б. Айбасов та бар бейжай қалдырмады, нәтижесінде 1933 жылы И. Сталинге «Қазақ партия ұйымдарының жұмысы туралы», белгілі «Алтылықтың хатын» жазылды. Онда, адамзат апатының ауқымы – көшпелі және жартылай көшпелі шаруашылықтарды ұжымдастыру мен отырықшыландыру, қоғамдастырылған малды тартып алу мен қыру, ресми органдардың қорқынышты фактілері жергілікті шенеуніктердің әрекетсіздігі мен немқұрайлылығы мен халықты басып-жаншудың нәтижесі болып табылатын қазақтардың жаппай қырылуы сипатталады. Бұл жоғары адамгершілік, азаматтық әрекет елеусіз қалмады. 1938 жылы КСРО Жоғарғы Сотының Әскери алқасының көшпелі отырысының шешімімен Б. Айбасов атылды.

**Кілт сөздер:** Қазақ зиялылары, «Бірлік» жастар ұйымы, «Жас қазақ», жаппай саяси қуғын-сүргін, Үлкен террор, Айбасов Б., «Алтылықтың Сталинге хаты», ҚАКСР, Қазақ даласындағы ашаршылық.

МРНТИ 03.20

## PRO MEMORIA OB УШЕДШИХ БЕЗВОЗВРАТНО: БИРМУХАМЕД АЙБАСОВ

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**Аннотация.** Среди крупнейших катастроф антропогенного характера в XX в., наряду с мировыми войнами, «достойное» место занимают крупномасштабные репрессивные акции советского государства против своего народа. Поэтому возвращение к именам безвинно расстрелянных или умерших в лагерях и спецпоселениях ГУЛАГа по решениям «особых совещаний НКВД», «троек ОГПУ» и других внесудебных органов не теряет своей актуальности и сегодня. Одним из истинных патриотов казахской земли, имя которого незаслуженно забыто, является Бирмухамед Айбасов. Он, относится к плеяде талантливых, энергичных личностей, обладавших глубоким внутренним стремлением к активной преобразующей деятельности, высоким самопожертвованием во имя достижения поставленной ими цели - улучшения жизни своего народа. Наряду с Магжаном Жумабаевым, Миржақыпом Дулатовым, Сакеном Сейфуллиным и другими яркими представителями казахской интеллигенции, с которыми его связывала многолетняя дружба и совместная общественная деятельность, он разделил судьбу многих «врагов народа», единственной «виной» которых была высокая гражданственность и мужество, неспособность бояться и молчать, когда вокруг творятся беззакония и произвол. Будучи сторонником демократических преобразований в Казахстане в дореволюционный период, в советское время Б. Айбасов является одним из успешных управленцев-аграриев. Трагические события начала 1930-х гг., связанные с голодом и высокой смертностью аульного населения в казахской степи, побудили слушателей московского аграрного Института красной профессуры, среди которых и Б. Айбасов, написать в 1933 г. письмо И. Сталину «О работе Казахстанской парторганизации», известное как «Письмо шести». В нем описаны масштабы человеческой катастрофы – массовой гибели казахов, являющейся следствием коллективизации и оседания кочевых и полукочевых хозяйств, экспроприацией и гибелью обобществленного скота, бездействия и равнодушия местных чиновников и замалчивания страшных фактов официальными властями. Этот высоконравственный, гражданский поступок не остался без последствий. В 1938 г. по решению выездной сессии Военной коллегии Верховного Суда СССР Б. Айбасов был расстрелян.

**Ключевые слова:** казахская интеллигенция, молодежная организация «Бирлік», «Жас казах», массовые политические репрессии, Большой террор, Айбасов Б., «Письмо шести» Сталину, КАССР, голод в казахской степи.

*One thing I request those who will subdue and continue to live: do not forget! Do not forget kindness and unkindness, gracious or evil things. Patiently collect conformation on those who have perished for themselves and for you. The day will come when the present turns to the past, when they will talk about a great time and nameless heroes who created history. I would like everyone to know: there were no nameless heroes. There were people,*

*each with his own name, his own appearance, hopes, expectations, there were people of the most inconspicuous sufferings of no less than the of sufferings those whose name will become famous in history. May these people be always close to you, as friends, as relatives, as you yourself!*  
Julius Fuchik (Fuchik, 1947)

**Introduction.** The so-called Bluma Zeigarnik's law is known in psychology, the essence of which boils down to a person's rapid forgetting of negative information about the past, while prolonged positive associations about this past prevails. This protective function of "personal memory" stipulates to the survival of the individual in conditions of tragic reality and prevents further moral and physical destruction. However, the knowledge cognition of the history of the human society, the reconstruction of "social memory", critical rethinking of the negative past enable the contemporary society to determine its social guidelines, spiritual values, norms of behavior, to obtain lessons of the past at present, so as not to make dramatic mistakes and delusions in the destruction of similar kind of persons.

The practice of using the destruction of millions of people in the 20th century, along with major natural and technogenic cataclysms, a significant role was played by catastrophes of anthropogenic character. Large-scale repressive actions of the Soviet state against its people during the period of the totalitarian regime took their "worthy" place in this row. Therefore, the reappearance to the names of those who were innocently shot or died in concentration camps and special settlements of the GULAG by decisions of quasi-judicial bodies does not lose its relevance.

In the martyrology of victims of political repression in our country, among whom there are thousands of famous names of public and state politicians; the information about them given in the Books of Memory / Sorrow or in electronic databases is often limited to a brief biography in a few scanty lines. The restoration of not only historical, but also human justice is the prerogative not only of the state as, but to a greater extent, of the descendants of innocently convicted persons. The basis for this statement can be the developed theory of Karl Young theory of the collective unconscious, according to which archetypes and images that are not connected with the personal experience of an individual, are transmitted at the genetic level and have a strong impact on one's behavior (Yung, 1960:6), and more over, on perception and imagination. Therefore, it is quite natural for descendants' desire to know their roots, restore the best images of their behavior and karmically "work out" undesirable actions. Each information found as a result about their ancestors allows us to maintain and enrich the historical and cultural memory of the nation as a whole. In this context, the activities of Erken Aibasov - the son of one of the brightest representatives of the Kazakh intelligentsia of the first third of the twentieth century Birmukhamed Aibasov, who bit by bit restored the memory of his father, deserves greatest respect (Aibasov, 2003).

#### **Birmukhamed (Birkei) Aibasov**

It is known that childhood and adolescence, family and environment are important factors in the formation of a personality. During these periods of life, such concepts as conscience, worth and evil, moral values and spiritual guidelines are laid, theoretical knowledge and applied skills are accumulated, love for the Motherland and own nation is formed. It was in such a family, that Birmukhamed Aibasov was brought up where education and competence, decency, feelings of duty and responsibility, compassion for someone else's pain were the dominant principles. He was born on September 12, 1895 (Kotyr tract near the Great Mountains - Ulytau).

His father, Aybas Baytabyinov, was one of the first Kazakh doctors in Akmola district. In 1884 he graduated from Omsk Central Medical Attendant School, a medical educational institution that was first opened on the Asian territory of the Russian Empire. According to the Provision of West Siberia developed by the Governor-General N.G. Kaznakov "The rules for defining pupils from the peasant class and from the Kirghiz (Kazakhs - S. Zh.) to Omsk Medical Attendant School" from January 1876 began to prepare Kazakh paramedics. At the same time, for the rapid development of the Russian language and the use of general teaching aids, it was recommended that Kazakh and Russian children would live together (Budgetary Professional Educational Institution of the Omsk, 2002). In 1880 the first 5 Kazakhs graduated from Omsk central paramedic school, in 1881 - 7, in 1882 - 1, in 1883 - 2, and in 1884 - 5 Kazakhs. They were assigned a salary of 180 to 240 rubles a year, so that "they made ordinary trips for medical practice on their horses" (From the history of training paramedics in pre-revolutionary Kazakhstan, 2012). The functions of the graduate included: the provision of medical care (including obstetric) care to the indigenous and newcomer population, smallpox vaccination, collection of medicinal plants and preparation of drugs from them.

In the context of the spread of various diseases, unsatisfactory sanitary and living conditions, high maternal and child mortality, the status of a doctor and paramedic in the Kazakh steppe was very high. Aibas Baytabinov was called "Orys doctor" by fellow villagers not only for the knowledge of the Russian language and professionalism, but also for the dedication to the work, which was shown by Russian volunteer doctors, closely communicating and making friends with Kazakh doctors.

Medical section № 12, supervised solely by a young specialist until the 1890s, included five volosts around the Ulytau mountains with a total area of more than 300 thousand square kilometers. Medical service of the Kazakh population and families of migrant peasants on a vast territory was associated with great physical stress, since they had to make frequent and long trips across the steppe. It was especially difficult to work during the epizootic period of brucellosis and periodically perform additional duties related to the provision of medical services in the district admission ward of the Atbasar hospital, located 400 km from the place of residence of Aybas Baytabinov.

Fanatical devotion to his medical duty, great philanthropy, education and intelligence, the owner of high authority among the local Kazakh population, of course, is an indelible stamp of his influence on his children.

In 1904 Aybas Baytabinov sent his youngest son to the city of Atbasar to a two-year Kazakh-Russian school. By 1910, young Birkei has finished pedagogical courses in Atbasar, and in 1912 he received the right to work as a mugalim in the aul of Bay Alshinbai (Amantai volost of Atbasar district).

In 1913, a new stage opens in the life of an eighteen-year-old boy. He enters Omsk secondary agricultural school. In May 1917, Birmukhamed had received a certificate of completion of the full course of school and the title of culture-technician, which was issued for the subject of higher educational institutions.

It is known that Omsk at the turn of the XIX-XX centuries has become one of the major industrial, social and cultural centers of Western Siberia - the "capital" of the Steppe Governor-General (1882-1918). Moreover, back in the 60s of the XVIII century Omsk was appointed on the Irtysh line as the main exile city for both criminal elements and political opponents of the current government. The period of Birmukhamed Aibasov's life during his apprenticeship was extremely eventful; In addition to visiting classes and the library hall, where he was interested in the economics of agro-industrial production and cooperation, geography, history and ethnography, Kazakh and Russian literature, a significant part of his free time was devoted to communicating with representatives of the Kazakh community of Omsk and the exiled Russian intelligentsia. This period of further development of Birmukhamed's identity, according to E. Erickson's theory of human life cycles, is associated with the impact of the environment, with the promotion of universal humanity, that is, the ability to be interested in the fate of other people outside the family circle, to think about the life of the future generation, the form and arrangement of the future world ... His life position is not focused only on his own "I", satisfaction of his own comfort, needs and well-being, but largely, thanks to the influence of his father, the same passionate friends, extends to the search of a solution of the problems of colonial oppression of his people, the elimination of inequality and the plight of Kazakhs on their own land.

Poetry occupies a special place in the life of Birmukhamed Aibasov. He begins to publish his first poems in the socio-political and literary magazine "Aikap", among such prominent representatives of the Kazakh intelligentsia as Akhmet Baitursynov, Miryakub Dulatov, Sultanmakmud Toraigyrov, Magzhan Zhumabaev, Koshke Kemengerov and many others. Birmukhamed's poems "Kim edim" ("Who I was"), "Otken kun" ("The past days") and "Sonda" ("Then") had an acute social orientation and aimed at reviving the national identity of the Kazakhs, its centuries-old culture and traditions (Subkhanberdina, Dauyrov, 1995:150-153).

The period of his studies was inseparable from the cultural and educational activities of the Kazakh youth circle "Birlik", where Birmukhamed Aibasov was the executive secretary for several years. Shaimerden Alzhanov was appointed a chairman of "Birlik", later he was substituted by Saken Seifullin. Members of this student community were Magzhan Zhumabaev, Nigmat Nurmakov, Abulkhair Dosov, Koshke Kemengerov, Sabit Mukanov and others.

The program of the youth circle "Birlik" proclaimed: "To insert the Kazakh people into a number of peoples with a developed culture and literature, to revive a sense of national dignity among nations. To achieve this goal, it is necessary to create love for their nation among young people, arrange the collection of folklore works, publish them in the form of brochures and books, write plays for theaters, publish newspapers and magazines, textbooks for primary and secondary schools, set up preparatory courses for shakirts, those who want to study, provide help for indigent persons, create a Kazakh theater, show performances, concerts and other representative acts" (Aibasov, 2003). This work was carried out quite actively, during holidays the members of the circle had enrolled in to ethnographic expeditions, collected Kazakh folklore and demonstrated the results of work through the magazine "Birlik" published by their own efforts, which was edited by Magzhan Zhumabaev.

Despite the ongoing educational work, Birmukhamed Aibasov devotes most of his time to studies. In May 1917 he graduated from the cultural and technical department of Omsk secondary agricultural school. The Temporary Testimony preserved in the personal archive of the Aibasovs family notes:

"Having excellent behavior, he (Aibasov) showed the following achievements:

1. General educational subjects (Religion, the Russian Language, Algebra, Geometry, the Beginning of Higher Analysis, Drawing and Law Drafting) - good, 4.

2. Natural science and agriculture (Botany, Chemistry, Geology, Physics, Meteorology, Soil Science, Plant Growing, Forestry, Agricultural Economy and Taxation, Book-Keeping) - good, 4.



3. Mechanics and mechanical engineering (Theoretical Mechanics, Resistance of the Material, Applied Mechanics, Engineering Science, Technical Drawing) - good, 4.

4. Road construction business (Construction Art, Road Business, Construction of Bridges, Civil Construction) - very good, 4.

5. Agricultural hydraulic engineering (land surveying as applied to Engineering, Topography, Drafting, Hydraulics as applied to Agriculture, Hydrometry, Drilling and Water Exploration, Watering, Irrigation of Lands, Regulation of Water Drains) - good, 4.

This temporary certificate is given as an application for admission to a higher educational institution” (Personal archive of the Aibasov’s family).

After February Revolution and graduation his studies from Omsk, Birmukhamed Aibasov had moved to the Akmola region becoming a member of the hydraulic engineering party. However, very soon he, together with Saken Seifullin, participates in the creation of the Akmola district administrative committee, which has become for the local population “the court, the police and the supreme power” (Seifullin, 1975: 90-114), as well as the youth organization “Zhas Kazakh”. Abdulla Asylbekov, Baiseit Adilev, Baken Serikpayev, Zhumabay Nurkin and others were their comrades-in-arms in the committee and in the edition of the magazine “Aina” and the newspaper “Tirshilik”.

In July 1917, the First All-Kazakh Congress was held in Orenburg, in which 6 regions took part, including the Akmola region. One of the main issues of the congress was the state structure, the creation of autonomy for the Kazakh lands and a new national party.

On the eve of the congress, telegrams were sent to all the district committees where it was proposed to discuss these issues. Despite the fact that none of the members of the Akmola district committee was elected as a delegate, nevertheless, after discussing pressing issues, a telegram was sent to Orenburg with a resolution to support the federal arrangement of the state. After the re-election of the Akmola district committee, which did not include its former members, Birmukhamed Aibasov returned to Atbasar, where the local Kazakh committee suggested him to be the head of the food administration, and in fact, the cooperative development of local consumer societies. He was in charge of food department, until its liquidation, that is, before the establishment of the Soviet power in Atbasar.

At the county congress of Kazakh consumer society representatives, Birmukhamed was elected a member of the board of the Birlik cooperative, and later as its manager. As Aibasov's son writes: “Under the conditions of revolutionary transformations and the impending civil war, consumer cooperation was placed in to difficult circumstances, market and financial ties get collapsed, and manager B.Aibasov and members of the board of the Atbasar Birlik union required great efforts to stay afloat. But Birkei copes to create a number of partnerships, to preserve the material and technical base of the cooperation - shops, warehouses, procurement and reception centers, workshops, and the most important thing – he has acquired great organizational and managerial experience. And if in Akmola, having passed through the crucible revolutionary storms, he appeared as a politically mature person, in Atbasar, using up-to-date terms, he became a manager of agricultural cooperation”.

In 1920, Birmukhamed Aibasov was admitted to the ranks of the CPSU (b) and was appointed as an instructor of the representative office of the Kirpartsection at the Siberian Revolutionary Committee in Omsk.

The end of the winter of 1921 was the time to develop concrete steps to introduce economic incentives into the national economy. The previous practice of “military communism”, the policy of momentary measures in the economy exacerbated the economic situation of the country to the extreme and led to the social degradation of the society. Thus, “in comparison with the pre-war period, the volume of products for sale decreased by 92%. The splitting up of large estates, the leveling imposed by the rural authorities, the destruction of communications, the rupture of economic ties between the city (where there were neither jobs nor food) and the countryside, food appropriation - all this led to the isolation of the peasantry and a return to a subsistence farming” (Collection of laws and regulations of the RSFSR, 1921:147). The X-th Congress of the Party submitted one of the most surplus-important appropriation system issues to the agenda, related to the replacement of food appropriation by a food taxation criterion, with the introduction of which the New Economic Policy reading has officially started. The direct tax, levied as a percentage of the harvest, was progressive. At first, 13 types of taxes were imposed on the rural population, however, due to the inconvenience of calculations, a unified tax was introduced in 1922, first as a tax in kind, and in 1924 in money system. Besides, all peasants received large tax benefits for those who expanded the sown area or increased the yield in their fields as a whole. At the same time, the responsibility of each farmer for the tax payment imposed on him increased. The state fund served to provide consumer goods and agricultural equipment not to the “poorest part of the population”, but only in exchange for surplus products, voluntarily supplied in addition to the tax payment. The freedom to sell surplus “within the local economic turnover” became more specific by adding the words “both through cooperative organizations and in bazars and markets”. The decree of the Council of People's Commissars canceled all possible restrictions implied by the words “local circulation”, allowing “free exchange, sale and purchase” and lifting restrictions on the supply of food by animal-drawn, railroad and water transport (Collection of laws and regulations of the RSFSR, 1921:149).

The NEP led to changes not only in the economic, but also in the socio-political life of the country. And the first important moment of a positive change in the situation of the country in the absence of financial resources from the state was an increase of peasants' interests in expanding production, replacing the instruments of coercion with a system of encouraging the personal initiative of workers, primarily the peasantry. Agrarians were interested in freedom of land use, the choice of the type of management, and the hiring of labor. As a matter of fact, the Bolsheviks agreed to compromise with the private property psychology of the peasantry, retreating from the dogmas of the class struggle.

The Soviet government, by a special decree of April 7, 1921, began to develop a system of cooperation, which should carry out a business "link" between a village and a city. To curb the elements of private market turnover and maintain control of the state, it was envisaged that "all citizens of the RSFSR are united in to consumer societies" and "every citizen is assigned to one of the distribution points of the consumer society" (Arguments and Facts Kazakhstan, 2009:3).

Under these conditions, Birmukhamed Aibasov, who previously acquired a certain experience in cooperative construction, receives unique opportunities for the implementation of his knowledge. Being in Akmola he manages to get a brochure by N.P. Makarov "How American Farmers Arrange their Farms". From that moment on, Birmukhamed became a fan of this type of economic activity, studying the works of A.V. Chayanov (a founder of interdisciplinary peasant studies; the theory of vertical cooperation that is still applied today in the third world countries) of the work N.D. Kondratyev (a founder of the world-famous theory of economic cycles), other prominent Russian economists, many of whom were repressed and shot in 1937-1938.

Birmukhamed Aibasov, working in Northern Kazakhstan and realizing the importance of assimilation of more than ten millions of arable lands, turns to F.A. Shcherbina's work "Materials on Kyrgyz land tenure, collected and developed by a research expedition having inspected the steppe regions", then to the results of a biological and soil survey of Khasen Nurmukhamedov, Alikhan Bukeikhanov.

If the problem of grain farms development on the territory of Kazakhstan seemed to Birmukhamed more or less clear, the specifics of the Kazakhs conducting nomadic and semi-nomadic pasture stock-breeding husbandry, herd horse breeding imposed significant difficulties on the creation of cooperative farms.

At the end of March 1921, after the X-th Congress of the Party, Birmukhamed Aibasov requested for "live" work related to the cooperative movement, and, his request having been satisfied by the Resolution of the Bureau of the Provincial Party Committee, he was first appointed as the head of the county land administration in Akmolinsk, and from 1923 to 1925 was the Head of the provincial land administration of the North Kazakhstan region in Semipalatinsk, where he supervised issues on the creation of production and marketing cooperative farms and land cultivation partnerships (LCP). In 1925 he executes functions of a manager of the provincial agricultural bank, which provides loans to agricultural cooperatives and individual farms.

After the curtailment of the NEP, Birmukhamed Aibasov has been working for one year as a chairman of the provincial committee of the "Kosshi" union, another year in the position of the head of the provincial land administration, but for his speech at one of the republican meetings noting "exaggerated data on deaths from hunger and the amount of cattle ruin" he had received a reprimand recorded in his personal dossier (Personal archive of the Aibasov's family).

Almost immediately, Birmukhamed Aibasov was recalled by Kazkraykom to the city of Kyzyl-Orda. From 1928 to 1929 supervised the livestock department of the Kazakh Union of Aul Cooperatives, and in 1929 he was appointed as a director of the regional cooperative technical school. During this period, Aibasov did not reject the dream of creating strong cooperative farms in Kazakhstan, taking into account the experience of advanced countries of the world. But in order to realize the dream, one should acquire renewed knowledge.

In 1931, in accordance with his application B. Aibasov was sent to Moscow to study at the Agrarian Institute of Red Professors. Created in 1921, the Institute of Red Professors under the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) started to train party ideological workers and teachers of social sciences, and by 1930, eight independent institutes in economics, world economy and world politics, history, technology and natural science and etc., including the agrarian institute were opened. After completing his studies, the graduate was provided with broad prospects for obtaining a prestigious job in the apparatus of central and republican land bodies, in research institutions, educational institutions, etc. But neither the possibility of a future successful party career and obtaining corresponding nomenclature privileges, nor an elementary instinct of self-preservation did not prevail over the sense of Aibasov's civic duty and personal courage, human conscience before defenseless and helpless people destroyed by violent collectivization.

The fact is that large-scale campaigns for the sedentarization of the nomadic people, the destruction of the aul elite, the expropriation of livestock and property only from wealthy, but also middle class peasant farms, a view, to destroy the Kazakh traditional society brought to starvation of the indigenous population, whose number has almost halved. Socialization and death of livestock, dispatching large volumes to Russian regions had reduced the livestock by 85%. Such traditions of the livestock industry as horse breeding and camel breeding were lost. Hunger and disease mowed down entire auls, in search of elementary food, the starving people migrated to

Uzbekistan, Western Siberia and other adjacent regions of Russia; catastrophic, destructive processes have become permanent.

In these conditions, when the repressive policy in the country was gaining turnover and against the backdrop of the bravura reports of the party leadership about the successful destruction of the exploiting classes - bayism and kulaks and the practical completion of the collectivization of agriculture, the creation of new collective and state farms, it was dangerous to give a voice about a global catastrophe in the steppe.

Undoubtedly, the information about the current situation in the central and republican party bodies was reported either by persons vested with power "on duty", or representatives of the creative intelligentsia and the second third hierarchy of the power link "at the call of the heart".

It is known that there was an official government notes (May 1932) to Moscow about the more or less true situation with the Holodomor (Famine) submitted by U. Isaev, the chairman of the SNK, reports on mass migrations of nations presented by U. Akhunbabaev, the chairman CEC of Uzbekistan, R. Eikhe, secretary of the West Siberian Regional Committee of the CPSU (b).

The "Letter of Five" was sent on July 4, 1932 to F. Goloshchekin, secretary of the Kazkraykom of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks. Information on terrible conditions of agriculture in the Republic, high rate of death on account of hunger among Kazakhs was written by: G. Musrepov, head of the Kazakh State Publishing House, M. Gataulin, Vice-Rector for Academic Affairs and Deputy Vice-Rector of Alma-Ata Communist University (future Higher Party School) E. Altynbekov and M. Davletgaliev, head of the sector of the State Planning Committee of the KASSR K. Kuanyshev. In fact, among the authors of the letter there was one more person – the deputy chairman of the State Planning Committee of the KASSR A. Lekerov, in whose office this letter was drawn up. But he did not put his signature, since he had had a party reprimand, and was known as a person "opposing the party line".

This letter informed about the appalling state of agriculture in Kazakhstan and the high death rate among the Kazakh population due to hunger. The authors complained about the wrong policy of the Kazakraikom of the CPSU (b), which led to this situation. In a postscript to the letter, they added that their goal was to support in socialist construction in the republic (Arguments and Facts Kazakhstan, 2009:3). The reaction to this letter was quite anticipated. The authors were summoned for criticism more over they were accused of nationalism, sympathy for the bais; were threatened to be deprived of all posts and be expelled from the party, even to bring to court trial. The signatories were practically intimidated so that after a few days they repented in written statements and retracted their words<sup>4</sup>.

Letters of September 29, 1932 and March 9, 1933 (*History of Kazakhstan from ancient times up to present days, 2010:287-289*) to I. Stalin were forwarded by the Deputy Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the RSFSR T.R. Ryskulov. They provided quantitative data on the number of migrated farms from the republic and neighboring regions (Middle Volga, Kalmykia, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, Western Siberia and Western China. He (Ryskulov) stressed:

"this not only wandering... considerably this is flight of hungry people in search of food". T. Ryskulov continued: "But the negative result of migrations and loosening of Kazakh farms are famine and epidemics among the Kazakh population, which began in early 1932, which weakened in the summer, now again lead to new dimensions ..."<sup>5</sup> (*History of Kazakhstan from ancient times up to present days, 2010:289*)<sup>5</sup>.

On January 7, 1933, I.V. Stalin makes a speech on "Results of the first five-year plan" at the joint plenum of the Central Committee and Central Control Commission of the CPSU(b) (Stalin,1933a:10), where he announced the stunning successes in the industrialization of the country. On January 11, 1933, in his speech "On countryside work" (Stalin,1933b:1), the party leader talks about the state of party work in the countryside, shortcomings and successes, about the separation of party workers from the collective farms of life, about the intrigues of new enemies with new sabotage tactics, but not a word is said about hunger, about retirement, large-scale human tragedy in such regions as Ukraine, the Volga region, Kazakhstan.

In this regard, at the end of February 1933, six Kazakh students from Moscow are preparing a letter to the highest party leadership of the USSR and Kazakhstan to I.V. Stalin and a copy of the letter to L. Mirzoyan. These are the students of the Institute of Red Professors Garibulla Iskakov, Ilyas Kabulov, Zhusupbek Arystanov and Birmukhamed Aibasov, a student of the Moscow Geological Exploratory Institute Urazali Dzhandosov and a member of the Kazkraykom CPSU(b), editor-in-chief of the newspaper "Enbekshi Kazakhs" Gabbas Tokzhanov. This letter became known in Kazakhstani historiography as the "Letter of Six" (AP RK, 5734:1-8).

Here is a letter in abbreviated form:

<sup>4</sup>Gataulin M.T. and Lekerov A. were sentenced to capital punishment and shot in November 1937 and February 1938. K. Kuanyshev died in the camp, M. Davletgaliev served six years, and E. Altynbekov died of illness after liberation. Only G. Musrepov was not accused.

<sup>5</sup>Turar Ryskulov was shot as an "enemy of nation" on February 10, 1938 and buried on a special objective (shooting polygon) NKVD named "Kommunarka" in Moscow. His wife served prison in Akmola camp for wives parricide (ALGIR).

“We consider it necessary to draw your attention to two facts from the practice of the Kazakhstan Party organization.

Fact one. Five months have passed since the adoption of the decree of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks dated September 17, 1932, “On the development of agriculture, in particular, animal husbandry in Kazakhstan”. It would seem that the period is sufficient for not only to popularize this decision of the Central Committee to the Kazakh masses, but also specifically to begin the practical implementation of the latter ...

According to the Kazsovnarkom, out of 800 000 Kazakh farms by the spring of 1932, only 450 000 farms remained. Since spring, the migration and mortality in the Kazakh regions did not stop, but on the contrary, in many regions they had intensified even more. According to rough estimates, it must be assumed that the number of Kazakh farms today has decreased by 45-50% ...”. Further, the signatories note that the leadership of the party organization of Kazakhstan, instead of serious work to eradicate shortcomings, has embarked on the path of glossing over, fraud and deception. They write that we, they say, “have” a number of achievements in the “socialist reorganization”, and those who write about the shortcomings are enemies, “nationalists”, counter-revolutionaries, *alash-orða*, pursuing their own class, anti-government goals.

Further in the letter it is noted that “... the regional press ... did not match its position. It considered its work to be completed by printing two or three clearly tendentious reports of Goloshchekin, Kuramysov and others, resolutions of the Regional Committee and the Council of People's Commissars. ... no specifications, - no systematic clarification on the course of the implementation of the Central Committee resolution, absence of arrangement organization of responses among the aul Kazakh masses, disclosure of specific facts of distortion in the localities ...”. Further, they continue that instead of a broad, active explanation of the party's policy in the countryside, it (print - S. Zh.) has largely taken the path of assenting to the republican leadership, distorting facts or hushing up shortcomings. When inspecting, it turned out that most of the regional party committees were inactive. “As a result, the situation in many Kazakh regions has become even more complicated. 11 Kazakh nomadic and semi-nomadic regions were actually liquidated - only 200-300 farms remained. In 37 Kazakh districts, mass migrations, mortality of the population, etc. continued (in Kazakhstan there are only 58 purely Kazakh districts)”, concluded the authors of the letter.

Then they continue: “The Second fact. Recently - the chairman of the Kazsovnarkom U. Isaev made a report at the joint plenum of the Alma-Ata regional committee of the CPSU(b) ... and the city committee of the CPSU(b) ... with the participation of local and regional activists “On the results of the January Plenum of the Central Committee and the Central Executive Committee”. In the same report, he reported on the Central Committee's resolution on the Kazakhstani party leadership. Oddly enough, but according to Isaev's report there was no a single speech and no discussion. How to understand this? ... under the current difficult conditions in the Kazakh regions, under the conditions of grain procurements failure, poor preparation for the spring sowing campaign, etc. We think this is also not accidental. ... The point is that these comrades continue to hide the mistakes and perversions made by the regional leadership in the Kazakh regions ...”.

Concluding the letter, the authors write with despair that “the size of the disaster in the Kazakh regions at this time has assumed such a character and such a scale that without special help and intervention of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) it is hardly possible to liquidate them. In many Kazakh districts, today we are talking about saving the lives of Kazakh workers from starvation and the simultaneous adoption of a number of radical urgent measures to organize them economically. More than 300 000 Kazakh farms dispersed along the railway stations of Siberia and Central Asia, central cities, neighboring (Kazakhstan) regions, many of them get along the most miserable existence. According to the information from Kyrgyzstan, Western Siberia, and the Middle Volga in recent months, the influx of Kazakhs has increased even more, in connection with this; the epidemic (typhus, etc.) and mortality among them have increased. ... It seems to us that government assistance to Kazakh workers should be provided right now, in the most urgent manner, otherwise, by the spring, mortality among them will increase further...

Paying attention to all this, we ask for your interference with this matter. For a more detailed acquaintance with the situation in Kazakhstan, we, for our part, would consider it expedient to give the new leadership a specific directive for the speedy elimination of all abnormalities and to notify c.Mirzoyan presenting materials and clearing up the real situation of nomads, starving Kazakhs, etc. creation of appropriate conditions for the development of agriculture, in particular animal husbandry...

With communist greetings! IKP students: G. Iskakov, I. Kabulov, Zh. Arystanov, B. Aibasov,  
G. Tokzhanov

Member of the Kazkraykom CPSU (b) U. Dzhandosov,  
member of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks and a student of M.G.R.I.” (AP RK, 5734:1-8)

As noted by the well-known researcher of the Hunger Plaque in Kazakhstan T. Omarbekov:

“... the authors of the “letter of six” possessed civil and personal courage also because, before their very eyes, the first batch of the Kazakh national intelligentsia was arrested, convicted to court and deported outside the republic. Many of them, from the so-called “Alash” party, were personal friends of Birmukhamed Aybas. This is Magzhan Zhumabaev - a wonderful poet, Mirzhakup Dulatov - one of the leaders of “Alash” ... He also knew other arrested persons well and could not help drawing conclusions for himself. He understood that they were not guilty of anything, but in the conditions of the growing red terror he became defenseless” (Omarbekov, 1997:3).

Birmukhamed Aibasov, like all the authors of the letter to I. Stalin, for his open speech and dissatisfaction with the course of collectivization in the Republic in 1933 by the decision of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks was recalled from the Agrarian Institute of the Red Professors and sent to the Alma-Ata region as the head of the political department of the Turgen Sheep Breeder. This state farm actually existed on paper, since it was only in 1932 that it was separated from the Iliysky state farm. Seeing the plight of the state farm, Birmukhamed Aibasov appeals to the Kazkraykom for help. After the work of the relevant commission, in February 1934, the Resolution of the Kazkraykom of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks (Bolsheviks) “On the situation in the Turgen state “Ovtsevod” (sheep breeder) farm” was issued, which reflected the catastrophic state of the sheep population. Out of 30 890 head of cattle, 6 000 were extremely depleted, more than 2 000 were on the verge of death, and this number also included pedigree rams. At the same time, the reasons lay not in the absence of a forage base and diseases of the livestock, but in the elementary mismanagement and negligence of the leadership of the Enbekshi-Kazakh region. In the operative part of the decision of the Regional Committee Bureau it was noted:

“1. Suggest that the People's Commissariat of Justice immediately organize a detailed investigation, identify the perpetrators and bring them to justice, prejudging the issue of arranging a show trial over those responsible for the collapse of the state farm.

2. To oblige the sheep trust, board of directors and political department of the farm immediately organize work to save the depleted livestock. For this: ...

e) to oblige the director of the state farm Bovkun and the head of the political department Aibasov to place all the leading personnel of the state farm on farms for the period of creating a decisive change in the state of the livestock...

5. Warn comrades Bovkun and Aibasov that the assistance maintained by the Regional Committee provides the state farm with the opportunity to preserve all the remaining livestock and that they will be personally responsible for the further downfall of the livestock. The political department should work up this decision at general meetings in all farms and flocks” (AP RK, 853:5).

In a short time, Aibasov managed to put things in order in the farm entrusted to him. In less than four years, the Turgen Sheep State Farm came to the fore, first in the district and region, and then in the Republic (CSA RK, 929:1).

In 1935, taking into account great experience of organizational and propaganda work, his corresponding education, Kazkraikom directs Birmukhamed to be the editor of the Kazakh party publishing house.

After the February-March Plenum of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks (1937), heads of the party and Soviet apparatus, members of the bureau of regional committees, city committees and district committees of the party started to be subjected to massive arrests by punitive organs. In this flywheel of repression, Birmukhamed Aibasov gets into the lists of socially dangerous elements for the truth about the death of cattle during the jute period and for a party reprimand in 1928, for the “Letter of Six” in 1933, in which he and his fellow students reported about the mass famine, epidemics and high mortality among the Kazakh aul population, a catastrophic loss of livestock and the migration of peasant farms outside the republic. One more factor should be pointed out, which undoubtedly “aggravated the counter-revolutionary past” of Birmukhamed Aibasov. He was married to the daughter of a “class enemy” - a well-known wealthy Uzbek merchant in Akmola, Shatursun Abdrasulov, whose property was confiscated back in 1923. As you can see, in all respects, according to the OGPU, Birmukhamed Aibasov fitted the image of an “enemy of the people”. His wife, Nazakat, died of illness and anxiety in 1941, and his eldest son, Nazym, died from illness in Karlag in 1943.

Aibasov Birmukhamed was rehabilitated on February 28, 1958 by the decision of the Military Collegiums of the Supreme Court of the USSR, and in 1993 he was recognized as a victim of political repressions in accordance with the Law of the Republic of Kazakhstan “On the rehabilitation of victims of mass political repressions” (Azaly Kitap – Book of sorrow, 1996:31).

Birmukhamed Aibasov passed away at 42, at the age of “not a youth, not an old man, but a statesman”. His name, like the names of many glorious sons and daughters of the Kazakh people, should be given a place in the people's Pantheon. “Let these people be close to you, friends, as relatives, as you yourself!”

**Conclusion.** November 24, 2020 by the Decree of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan K.-J. Tokayev created the State Commission for the Complete Rehabilitation of Victims of Political Repression, the main task of which is the final work (after the previous dates of rehabilitation - 1958, 1993 and 1998) on the legal and political rehabilitation of all victims of political repression during the Soviet period. At the same time, one of

the functions and powers of the commission includes the development and submission of proposals for the adoption of the State Program to perpetuate the memory of victims of political repression, including those who showed heroism in the struggle for freedom, independence and territorial integrity of Kazakhstan.

There is no family in Kazakhstan that has not been ridden by the skating rink of repression. On the vast territory of the former USSR, many millions of people perished in the Gulag camps, at the construction sites of socialism, in exile from their places of permanent residence, in prisons and so-called correctional houses, were shot without trial. These were well-known statesmen and public figures, representatives of the creative intelligentsia, scientists, generals, and soldiers, ordinary people: ordinary peasants, village residents, workers, employees, etc. Moreover, among the repressed were “red” and “white”, liberals and socialists, bolsheviks and cadets, bourgeois nationalists and social democrats. This list of opposing sides can be continued. As experts in the field of psychology say: “in situations of rivalry between two polar positions, as a rule, both are true, but each in its own “range of meanings” (Yurevich, 2006:119). Therefore, the process of rehabilitation of victims of political repression is extremely important for modern Kazakhstan, a kind of catharsis – an internal purification aimed at achieving harmony in the souls of both individuals, and harmony in relationships and social balance of the entire Kazakh society. Today, it is important for our country to preserve peace and well-being of Kazakhstanis, independence and sovereignty, the inviolability of our borders, and the growth of human capital.

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FTAMP 03.20.00

DOI 10.51943/1814-6961\_2022\_2\_169

## ҚАЗАҚСТАНДАҒЫ САУАТСЫЗДЫҚТЫ ЖОЮ НАУҚАНЫНЫҢ ЖҮЗЕГЕ АСЫРЫЛУЫ

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**Түйіндеме.** Мақалада 1920-1930 жылдардағы елдегі сауатсыздықты жою науқаны қарастырылады. XIX ғасырдың аяғынан бастап қазақ қоғамының сауатсыздық мәселесі аса маңызы бар өткір мәселе ретінде қойыла бастайды. Большевиктердің сауатсыздықты жою жөніндегі жарлыққа қол қою арқылы ересек халықты сауаттандыруды ұйымдастыру кеңестік билік органдарының жұмысындағы маңызды бағыттардың біріне айналады. Науқан барысында туындаған экономикалық қиындықтар азамат соғысының ауыр зардаптарына – күйреушілікке, аштыққа, материалдық және қаржылық ресурстардың жетіспеушілігіне байланысты болды. Сауатсыздықты жою процесіндегі әлеуметтік-психологиялық қиындықтар негізгі білім алушы тобының жасына байланысты консерватизмімен және адамдардың қалыптасқан жағдайда оқуға уақыт жұмсағысы келмеуімен байланысты болды. Ұйымдастырушылық-кадрлық және әдістемелік қиындықтар сауатсыз халықтың әлеуметтік біркелкі еместігінен, мұғалім кадрларының тапшылығына, ересек тұрғындарға бейімделген оқу-әдістемелік құралдарды қысқа мерзімде әзірлеу қажеттілігіне байланысты болды. Сонымен қатар, әлеуметтік-экономикалық, әлеуметтік-саяси қиындықтар негізінде бірнеше қабат орын алған аштық пен жазу реформаларының жатқандығы көрсетіледі.

**Кілт сөздер:** сауатсыздықты жою, мәдени жорық, әліпби, бастауыш мектеп, саужай.

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**Басуға 29.06. 2022 қол қойылды**  
Шартты баспа табағы – 12,5  
Офсеттік басылым  
Таралымы 150 дана.

Ш.Ш. Уәлиханов атындағы Тарих және этнология институты,  
«Отан тарихы» журналының редакциясында басылды