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DEKULAKIZATION POLICY IN KYRGYZSTAN AND KAZAKHSTAN: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

Abstract. The paper examines the specifics of the implementation of the dekulakization policy in Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan in the context of Soviet collectivization in the 1920s and 1930s. The main focus is on a comparative analysis of the process of dekulakization, economic, social and cultural consequences of this policy in the two republics. The work also examines the key mechanisms of dekulakization, the scale of repression, the reaction of the local population, as well as the influence of national and regional characteristics on the course and consequences of the policy. Based on the analysis of archival documents, statistical data and scientific publications, it is revealed how dekulakization affected the transformation of the agricultural sector, migration processes and the demographic situation in the region. The results obtained demonstrate that the policy of dekulakization had a devastating effect on traditional economic structures, causing large-scale demographic, social and cultural changes.

Key words: dekulakization, kulak, demographic consequences, famine, resettlement, Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan.

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Қырғызстан мен Қазақстандағы байларды тап ретінде жою саясаты: салыстырмалы талдау

Аңдатпа. Мақалада 1920-1930 жылдардағы кеңестік ұжымдастыру жағдайында Қазақстан мен Қырғызстандағы байларды тап ретінде жою саясатының жүзеге асырылу ерекшеліктері қарастырылады. Басты назар екі республикадағы байларды тап ретінде жою үдерісін, бұл саясаттың экономикалық, әлеуметтік және мәдени салдарын салыстырмалы талдауға аударылады. Сондай-ақ, жұмыста байларды тап ретінде жоюдың негізгі тетіктері, қуғын-сүргін ауқымы, жергілікті халықтың қабылдауы, сонымен бірге ұлттық және аймақтық ерекшеліктердің саясаттың барысы мен салдарына әсері қарастырылған. Мұрағат құжаттарын, статистикалық мәліметтерді және ғылыми жарияланымдарды талдау негізінде байларды тап ретінде жоюдың ауыл шаруашылығы саласының өзгеруіне, көші-қон үдерістеріне және өңірдегі демографиялық жағдайға қалай әсер еткені анықталды. Алынған нәтижелер байларды тап ретінде жою саясатының дәстүрлі шаруашылық құрылымдарға кері әсерін тигізіп, ауқымды демографиялық, әлеуметтік және мәдени өзгерістерді тудырғанын көрсетеді.

Түйін сөздер: байларды тап ретінде жою, бай, демографиялық әсер, ашаршылық, қоныс аудару, Қырғызстан, Қазақстан.

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Introduction

At the beginning of the 20th century, Central Asia became the scene of significant political changes. The fall of the tsarist regime, the struggle of various political forces and the creation of the USSR in 1922 led to the transformation of the political structure of Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan. These republics became part of a new state with a centralized system of government, which led to the introduction of communist ideology. Simultaneously with the spread of communist ideas in the regions of the USSR, the construction of socialism began in accordance with the "Leninist plan", which included three key tasks: industrialization, collectivization and cultural revolution. The Soviet government was convinced that the ruling class in the state was the working class, and the former upper class of society was hindering the construction of socialism. Thus, the concept of "class struggle" arose and the idea of eliminating the upper social class of the old order in order to build socialism in the USSR spread.

Representatives of the former upper class were feudal lords, wealthy peasants, bais, manaps¹, etc. All of these representatives were gathered under the term "kulak". The liquidation of the kulaks was carried out from 1920 to 1930 by expropriation and deportation of kulaks to remote areas throughout the USSR, including in today's Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan.

Materials and methods

In this study, an interdisciplinary approach combining the methods of historical analysis, socio-economic modeling and comparative research was used to examine the process of dekulakization in Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan. The historical analysis included the study of archival documents such as decrees, local government reports, statistical data and minutes of party meetings, which allowed us to reconstruct the chronology of events and the mechanisms for implementing dekulakization. The comparative method made it possible to compare the course and features of the dekulakization policy in Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan, identify some similarities and differences, and take into account the influence of regional characteristics, including differences be-

tween a sedentary and nomadic way of life and the level of socio-economic development. The socio-economic analysis was aimed at studying changes in the structure of agriculture, the demographic situation and migration processes, as well as assessing the economic losses caused by dekulakization and their long-term impact on the agricultural sector.

The study was based on a wide range of sources, including archival documents such as materials from the Central State Archive of Political Documentation of the Kyrgyz Republic (CSA PD KR). Additional sources included publications and statistical collections, including official statistical reports on the course of collectivization and dekulakization. Academic research, such as monographs, articles and dissertations on the topic of collectivization and dekulakization, was also an important part of the work. For example, despite the fact that the works published during the Soviet totalitarian regime were largely written under ideological censorship, they are of great importance because they represent a large number of sources. In such studies, the main focus was on the history of agrarian relations, including the issue of dekulakization. Among them are the works G.F. Dakhshleyger [Dakhshleyger, 1965], A. B. Tursunbaev [Tursunbayev, 1957], B. A. Tulepbaev [Tulepbayev, 1984], J. Baktygulov [Baktygulov, 1971], S. Ilyasov [Ilyasov, 1959] and others. One of the leaders of the Kyrgyz people, Zh. Abdrakhmanov, who witnessed the dekulakization, wrote about this process in his diary. There he spoke about the socio-economic situation of the Kyrgyz, as well as about the Kazakhs who moved to the city of Frunze in the 1930s. [Abdrakhmanov, 1991].

According to the famous Kazakh scientist Zh.B. Abylkhozhin [Abylkhozhin, 1997], who made a great contribution to the study of this topic, one of the main reasons for the active introduction of the collective farm system and dekulakization in Kazakhstan was the grain problem. The need for a significant amount of grain arose not only from the need to provide the population with food, but also from solving the problems of the industrialization that had begun. At that time, for grain, which was one of the equivalents of currency, it was possible to purchase the equipment necessary for industry. Another Kazakh historian, T. Omarbekov [Omarbekov, 1997], who drew attention to the topic of the kulaks, was the first to introduce into scientific circulation many archival sources revealing the sad situation of the Kazakh people. He also tried to explain the reasons for the migration of the Kazakhs and the peasant uprising.

¹ *Manaps* are representatives of the Kyrgyz feudal-clan aristocracy, who were recognized by members of their clan as having the right to judge and lead in wartime. The institution of manaps was widespread among the northern Kyrgyz tribes. The largest of them owned huge herds and vast pastures.

During the era of independence, the issue of dekulakization was raised by historians Z.A. Altymyshova and S.A. Zhakisheva. S.A. Zhakisheva conducted extensive research work, with good statistical data on the kulaks of Kazakhstan [Zhakisheva, 2022]. Z.A. Altymyshova described in detail the course of dekulakization in Kyrgyzstan and provided new materials about the Kyrgyz resettled in Russia and Ukraine [Altymyshova, 2024]. Much more detailed information about Stalin's famine can be found in the works of Russian historians N.A. Ivnitsky [Ivnitsky, 2009], N.A. Aralovets [Aralovets, 2001], V.P. Danilov and I.E. Zelenin [Danilov, Zelenin, 2004], V.V. Kondrashin [Kondrashin, 2018]. Among foreign researchers on the issues of formation and mobilization of collective farms in Kazakhstan, one can note the works of N. Pianchiola (Italy) [Pianciola, 2001], R. Kindler (Germany) [Kindler, 2017], I. Ohayon (France) [Ohayon, 2006], S. Cameron [Cameron, 2020]. Each of the authors expressed their point of view on the political and socio-economic problems that led to the death of a huge number of people. The use of these methods and materials allowed us to comprehensively study the process of dekulakization in Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan, take into account its regional characteristics and assess the consequences for the socio-economic and cultural development of the republics.

Discussion

At the end of December 1929, Stalin spoke at a Marxist-agrarian conference and declared that the policy of eliminating the kulaks as a class was acquiring the status of official policy of the party and the state. On January 11, 1930, an editorial in the newspaper Pravda stated: "The question of eliminating the kulaks as a class has now moved from the realm of theoretical decisions to the plane of practical work of the party at the present stage!!" [Istoriya Kazakhstana s drevneyshikh vremen do nashikh dney, 2010: 276]. On January 15, by decision of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks), a special commission was formed consisting of 21 people (including F. Goloshchekin) headed by V. Molotov. It developed a number of specific measures for expropriation, which were formalized as a directive in the form of a Politburo resolution of January 30, 1930. According to this document, in regions where complete collectivization was carried out, the law on the lease of means of production was suspended, the

hiring of labor and lease relations were prohibited. Kulak households were subject to confiscation of land, livestock, farm and residential buildings, food, fodder and seed stock.

The victims of the planned social-class genocide were divided into three categories. The first category (the so-called counter-revolutionary activists, organizers of uprisings and terrorist attacks) meant imprisonment in concentration camps or execution. The second category (the richest kulaks) were exiled to remote areas of the USSR. The third category (the remaining kulak farms) envisaged resettlement within the territory of residence, but outside the boundaries of the collective farm plots. Sentences for persons in the first category were passed at extra-judicial sessions of "troikas", which included the first leaders of party organs, the OGPU and the prosecutor's office. The work of persons included in the second group was reviewed at meetings of collective farms with the participation of the poor and workers of the collective farms, but all lists were approved by local authorities. It was planned that dekulakization would take place from February to May 1930. The OGPU provided operational support for dekulakization. In connection with this, at the beginning of February, the OGPU sent a directive to its organs demanding that they immediately begin operations to capture and eliminate "counterrevolutionary agents" and "active kulak elements of the first category."

The number of farms subject to expropriation was determined to be 3-5% of their total number. At the same time, according to data from the Central Statistical Office of the USSR for 1929, the share of kulaks was slightly more than two percent. Therefore, a 3-percent gap was assumed, which had to be filled by 600-700 thousand working families (i.e. approximately 3.5-5 million people) [Istoriya Kazakhstana s drevneyshikh vremen do nashikh dney, 2010:277]. The liquidation measures were so carefully planned that a specific number of peasant families that were to fall into one category or another was even determined in advance. According to the highest directive of the party, this was called division into "restrictive contingents". As can be seen from the above material, the dekulakization of the kulaks was carefully planned in advance, carried out on a large scale and cruelly.

Dekulakization in Kyrgyzstan

Many studies say that dekulakization in Kyrgyzstan began in 1927. But in fact, attempts at ex-

propriation began as early as the beginning of 1920. This is evidenced by archival documents. For example, an archival document states that in 1921, the Soviet authorities attempted to evict the bai-manaps, but before this measure was completed, they were released and returned to their villages. The next attempt to resettle the kulaks was made in 1924. Then, representatives of the Executive Bureau of the Pishpek District Committee appealed to Tashkent to obtain permission to exile 6 manaps outside the district [Central State Archive of Political Documentation of the Kyrgyz Republic. f.10, op.1, d.205].

In June 1926, the III Plenum of the Kirghiz Regional Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) instructed the regional party committee to resolve the issue of resettling the bai-manaps and to widely launch propaganda against wealthy peasants [Malabayev, 1969:177-178]. In the same year, by the resolution of the Executive Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks), a commission was created to fighting manaps. At the first meeting of the Commission on July 20, 1926, issues of developing resettlement methods and the main issues of resettlement were considered. At the same time, the commission emphasized the need to choose such resettlement methods that would morally demoralize not only the high-ranking officials being expelled, but also other influential people. According to the Central Asian People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs of the OGPU, at the beginning of 1927, 319 people were recorded in the personal list of high-ranking officials who had a harmful influence on the socio-political life of Kyrgyzstan [Altymyshova, 2024:105].

The first group resettlement of kulaks was carried out in 1927. On January 27, 1927, the Central Asian Bureau of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) adopted a resolution "On Manaps". A special commission was created to confiscate the property of the rich and organize their administrative resettlement. On March 12, 1927, the First Constituent Congress of Soviets of the Kirghiz ASSR adopted a resolution on the fight against wealth and kulaks. On March 27, 1927, at a meeting of the Executive Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) of the Kirghiz Regional Committee, the issue of the fight against manaps was considered and a decision was made to relocate 21 manaps from the territory of the Kirghiz ASSR. Large farms with a livestock of 400 or more heads of cattle in nomadic areas and 300 or more heads of cattle in semi-nomadic areas were sentenced to expulsion. Also subject to deportation were noble manaps who belonged to previously privileged groups (manaps who enjoyed the rights of tribal leaders, former nobles who received awards from the tsarist government, and wealthy people). In 1927, 21 manaps from the Chui, Naryn, and Issyk-Kul regions were expelled from the republic, and their property was confiscated in March-April of the same year. In 1929, the number of expelled manaps reached 44 people. Many of them were exiled to Orenburg. As a result of the deportation in 1929, 2,491 horses, 858 heads of cattle, 193 camels, 28,618 sheep, 427 hectares of land, 142 yurts, and buildings were confiscated from the Kirghiz ASSR. On the basis of the confiscated farms, 48 collective farms were organized, which were allocated 15,950 heads of cattle and 353 hectares of land. Thus, as a result of the dekulakization measures, the percentage of kulak households sharply decreased: from 12.7% in 1927 to 3.5% in 1930 [Altymyshova, 2024:135].

In the following years, the situation only worsened. After the adoption of the decree on total collectivization, the methods of dekulakization became even more brutal. If the number of kulak farms in the region was only 2.5-3%, then in fact 10-15% of farms were dispossessed. That is, not only the rich were involved in dekulakization, but also the middle peasants, and in some cases the poor too.

From January 2 to February 15, 1930, it was ordered to cleanse collective farms of "bai-manaps and kulak elements" throughout the territory of the Kyrgyz ASSR. As a result, 2.5 thousand people were expelled from Kyrgyz collective farms in 1933 [Malabayev, 1962:194].

On June 29, 1931, the Central Asian Bureau of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) adopted a directive "On the resettlement of kulak households." As a result, from August to September, 6 thousand kulak households were resettled from Central Asia to Ukraine and the North Caucasus, including more than 700 from Kyrgyzstan [Botonoyev, 2015]. The order of the Kyrobkom of December 3, 1932 "Cleansing of collective farms from bai-manaps and kulaks" was of great importance in cleaning the collective farms from baimanap and kulak farms. Unrest, mass demonstrations and uprisings took place everywhere against the unfair power policy of the state aimed at baimanaps and kulaks. For example, in the Osh district of the Kyrgyz SSR there were three demonstrations with the participation of 520 people [Shamsutdinov, 2006:82].

In August 1931, a group of people accused of kulaks were deported from Kyrgyzstan to Ukraine.

It is noteworthy that among them were not only Kyrgyz, but also people of Slavic origin living in Kyrgyzstan, namely Russians and Ukrainians. According to information provided in the research of Altymyshova Z., the deported Kyrgyz were usually resettled in various villages in Ukraine, including Khlebodarivka, Morozovka, Karl Marx and Stara Khokhlovka, located in the Khartovsky district of the Odessa region [Altymyshova, 2024:166].

To avoid the fate of a migrant, some families considered kulaks were forced to flee to neighboring states with all their property. For example, after dekulakization in the early 1930s, 300 nomadic households from the Alai Valley and some Kyrgyz from the Tuyuk and Bogachty avils of the At-Bashinsky district moved abroad. They took with them 30 thousand of sheep and 15 thousand cows [Baktygulov, 1971:37]. Such cases were widespread in Kyrgyzstan, which may serve as one of the explanations for the significant reduction in the Kyrgyz population and the decline of livestock farming. Thus, if in 1928 the total livestock population was 7,715 heads, then by the beginning of 1934 it had decreased to 2,100, which indicates a decrease of 73% [Baktygulov, 1990:56]. Based on tax service data, in 1928–1929 there were 3,406 kulak farms in Kyrgyzstan, which constituted 1.8% of the total number of peasant farms. According to the directives, 3 to 5% of peasant farms were to be subject to dekulakization. In order to fulfill and exceed the established plans, local government officials often distorted the data, artificially increasing the number of "kulak farms". As a result, the main impact was on mid-level farms, which testifies to the unfair and servile policies of the authorities of that time.

Additionally, in 1930–1931, 6,944 families (33,278 people in total) were deported from Central Asia to the territory of Ukraine and the North Cauc sus, and in July 1933, 500 families (more than 2,000 people) were exiled to the North Caucasus alone. Since the autumn of 1929, repressive measures have become systematic, covering the territory of Kyrgyzstan as well. In a number of regions, about 10% of nomadic and semi-nomadic households were liquidated under the pretext of their belonging to the "bai-manap" group. In 1933, 2,113 people classified as "kulak elements" were repressed in the republic [Baktygulov, 1990:88].

The policy of dekulakization, carried out as part of large-scale collectivization in the USSR in the 1920s and 1930s, had a profound impact on the socio-economic and cultural life of Kyrgyzstan. The main goal of this policy was the elimination

of wealthy peasant strata ("kulaks") and the forced involvement of the population in collective farms. However, its implementation was accompanied by significant losses and the destruction of the traditional way of life. Particularly severe consequences were observed in 1932-1933 in a number of regions, including the Frunze region and the Issyk-Kul region, where famine led to a catastrophic decline in population.

The population of the grain-producing regions of the Talas and Chui valleys (Frunze region), as well as the Issyk-Kul region, bore the main burden of fulfilling the plans for the procurement of grain and bread, due to their proximity to the main transport routes of Central Asia. These territories did not enjoy the benefits provided for regions specializing in livestock farming and cotton growing. The situation was aggravated by the influx of starving people from Siberia and Kazakhstan. According to estimates, in the absence of dekulakization, the number of Kyrgyz by 1939 could have been 790,099 people instead of the recorded 754,323 [Sheyshekeyeva, 2009].

The process of dekulakization in Kazakhstan and its consequences

The process of dekulakization in Kazakhstan began almost simultaneously with similar events in Kyrgyzstan. The issue of confiscating livestock from the wealthy strata of the population was first raised at the First Regional Party Conference of Kazakhstan in March 1923. However, the implementation of this initiative was constrained by the NEP policy aimed at overcoming the economic and political crisis of the early 1920s. The government faced a dilemma: to maintain economic stability or follow ideological principles. In the context of unfinished recovery from the crisis, a choice was made in favor of the first option. However, in November 1927, the VI Party Conference of Kazakhstan again turned to the idea of expropriating the rich, believing that local party "theorists believe that it is possible to allow the confiscation of part of their livestock and inventory [Istoriya Kazakhstana s drevneyshikh vremen do nashikh dney, 2003-304]." In December 1927, a commission was created in the highest echelons of power in the republic to draft a law on the confiscation of the farms of rich peasants. In February 1928, a commission was created to draft a decree on the expropriation of rich farms [Zhakisheva, 2022:27].

In March 1928, the Kazraikom bureau reviewed the draft law several times, revised it and submitted

it for consideration to the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) and the All-Russian Central Executive Committee [Istoriya Kazakhstana s drevneyshikh vremen do nashikh dney, 2003-304]. On March 14, 1928, the Presidium of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee issued a secret decree "On the deprivation of the right to use land and live in permanent places of residence of large peasants and cattle breeders with their families, as well as the confiscation of their property." On the same day, the text of the resolution was attached to the minutes of meeting No. 23 of the Bureau of the Kazakh Regional Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks). This document is interesting for some of its provisions and reservations to them, which were repeatedly revised during the confiscation campaign "in accordance with the needs of the day." They consist of deprivation of the right to use land, confiscation of all property and resettlement: (1st paragraph) "large wealthy people who have more than 100 heads of cattle, and their families ...", (2nd paragraph) "sultans, khans and peasants, irreplaceable" volost governors and religious representatives". Notes 1-3 of these points provided for an increase or decrease in livestock quotas depending on local circumstances, leaving in their permanent place of residence persons who did not oppress the population and did not pose a public danger, and, conversely, repressing socially dangerous villagers who did not fall under the law in accordance with points 1 and 2. On May 3, 1928, having heard the report of the Kazakh Regional Party Committee on the state and work of the republican party organization, the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) gave clear instructions to take strict measures against the propertied people in the villages. As emphasized in the "Special Resolution", "in order to combat the economic and political influence of large cattle breeders, as well as persons from the former privileged classes, it was deemed necessary to confiscate and evict the property of the largest cattle breeders and persons belonging to the above-mentioned groups... The Kazakh Regional Committee will conduct a full examination of this issue "is obliged to submit proposals to the Central Committee within one month" [Zhakisheva, 2022:27].

Following the instructions of the center, on May 15, 1928, F. I. Goloshchekin transferred to the center the tasks of confiscating the property of wealthy households and former privileged classes. The socio-political situation of the Kazakh aul, sovietiza-

tion and the development of the revolution in Kazakhstan are considered.

Rumours of confiscation prompted the Kazakh population, both wealthy and middle peasants, to sell and slaughter their livestock. Rich farmers moved their livestock to remote areas or to neighbouring countries such as China and Uzbekistan to hide their valuables. Reports of unrest came from all over Kazakhstan. The government's appeal, published in the newspapers "Enbekshi Kazak" and "Sovetskaya Step", declared that those responsible for spreading false information and slaughtering livestock would be held accountable. The authorities noted that the main sources of information were wealthy classes connected with the intelligentsia and civil servants. who informed the population of the impending danger. On August 27, 1928, at a meeting of the Central Executive Committee of the Republic and the Council of People's Commissars, a draft law on confiscation was adopted and approved as a directive resolution. Authorised representatives were appointed in the regions of the republic to carry out the confiscation. More than a thousand authorized representatives were sent to the villages, and 4,700 people worked on the aid commissions [Istoriya Kazakhstana s drevneyshikh vremen do nashikh dney, 2003-304]. The preamble to the resolution also states that the measures taken to date in the Kazakh ASSR, which includes culturally backward peoples, have not yet changed the old pre-revolutionary relations to the required extent. Wealthy peasants and representatives of the former privileged classes obstructed the implementation of the main measures of Soviet power in the village, conducted "malicious" agitation, exploited tribal relations and the economic dependence of the poor, incited interethnic and tribal hostility, and slowed down the pace of economic and cultural development of the republic.

Based on the secret work of informants, the "Instruction on the application of the resolution of the Central Executive Committee of the KASSR and the Council of People's Commissars on the confiscation of wealthy farms" was approved and published on August 30, 1928. According to it, throughout the republic, it was planned to confiscate 700 farms with a livestock population of more than 400 heads in nomadic areas (transfer to a large herd), more than 300 in semi-nomadic areas and more than 150 in sedentary areas [Kuzembajuly, Abil, 1999:324]. The campaign was planned to be completed by November 1, 1928 (later the deadline was extended by 10 days) [Istoriya Kazakhstana s drevneyshikh vremen do nashikh dney, 2003-304].

After the confiscation norms were defined, expropriation began, and the wealthy people rebelled. Resistance of the wealthy classes to confiscation and eviction initially took the form of complaints to higher authorities and passive resistance to village councils. Livestock was distributed to relatives, residents of the village and nearby Russian settlements, and then taken out of the republic. However, such protests were harshly suppressed by the police and the OGPU, and protesters were arrested and sent to correctional facilities.

On September 20–21, 1928, lists of wealthy people of groups 1–2 to be evicted were published in urgent issues of republican and district newspapers. Owners of farms deprived of property rights and their family members appealed to the prosecutor's office, the Central Electoral Commission, the Central Electoral Commission of the republic and the union with a statement about the illegal actions of the commissions, about the fact that with the increase in the number of cattle there was not enough, several farms of relatives were united (in order to reach the number that could be arrested), hostility to the Soviet power. Complaints were received about false information that they were allegedly connected, although in fact they were not. However, despite the fact that the consideration of the applications was completed only in December 1928 - January 1929, confiscation and eviction were carried out by November 11 [Zhakisheva, 2022:31-32].

According to the documents, the action resulted in the actual confiscation of 696 households, of which 619 were evicted from their places of residence. About 145,000 head of cattle were confiscated, most of which were given to poor farms [Kozybaev, Kozybaev, 1997:129]. But in reality, this figure was much higher. Thus, in the Akmola region alone, more than 200 farms are involved in the project instead of the planned 46, and in the Petropavlovsk region, 102 farms are involved instead of 34 [Kuzembajuly, Abil, 1999:325]. According to researcher S. Zhakisheva, as a result of a large-scale campaign to seize and resettle "semi-feudal lords" in 1928-1929, more than 1,000 farms were expropriated in the republic. It is worth noting that not only large cattle owners were subject to confiscation, but also middle-class farmers who were found disloyal to the authorities. In addition, since the state needed funds for industrialization, farmers were forced to pay huge taxes and the so-called process of "selftaxation" was underway.

The situation was aggravated by Stalin's order to eliminate the kulaks as a class. This decree also

imposed directive obligations on Kazakhstan. The first category included 5-6 thousand families, the second - 10-15 thousand families. Almost immediately, 3,113 people were arrested in Kazakhstan. Then mass deportations began. By the beginning of May 1930, 1,341 families, or 7,535 people, had been exiled to resettlement within the province. In the second half of March 1931, Goloshchekin sent a telegram to the center asking for permission to deport 1,500 families from border and cotton regions outside of Kazakhstan. And since the territory of the republic itself served as a place of "kulak exile", the regional committee and the authorized OGPU were recommended to find "an opportunity for resettlement within the region [Istoriva Kazakhstana s drevneyshikh vremen do nashikh dney. V pyati tomakh. T. 4., 2010:278]."

The ideology of the kulaks led to mass repressions against the peasants. On August 7, 1932, the Law "On the Protection of Socialist Property" was adopted, which provided for execution by firing squad or 10 years of imprisonment with confiscation of property. In the first year of its operation, 33,345 people were convicted in Kazakhstan without trial, decisions were made by the OGPU troika. Over the five years from 1929 to 1933, the OGPU troika in the Kazakh ASSR reviewed 9,805 cases based on incomplete data and made decisions regarding 22,933 people. Of these, 3,386 people were sentenced to death, and 13,151 were sentenced to imprisonment for a term of 3 to 10 years [Istoriya Kazakhstana s drevneyshikh vremen do nashikh dney, 2003:308]. By social composition: rich people and kulaks – 4832, middle peasants – 1509, poor peasants – 505, representatives of religious confessions - 181, socially harmful elements (intelligentsia) – 242. In 1933, the organs of the PP OGPU of Kazakhstan arrested more than 21 thousand people. The protocols of the troika were considered at a closed meeting of the Kazkrai Committee, and the secretaries were: F. Goloshchekin, I. Kuramysov, and from March 9, 1930, the chairman of the Kazkrai Committee G. Roshal participated region [Istoriya Kazakhstana s drevneyshikh vremen do nashikh dney. V pyati tomakh. T. 4., 2010:288].

It is not yet possible to accurately assess the scale of the kulak campaign in Kazakhstan, but in 1930–1931, the number of peasants sent into "kulak exile" outside of Kazakhstan is said to have reached 6,765 people. This information covers families of the first and second categories, i.e., it includes only those sent to special settlements [Istoriya Kazakhstana s drevneyshikh vremen do nashikh dney,

2003:308]. There is still no consensus among Kazakh historians and demographers on the number of Kazakhs who suffered from the famine. According to R. Conquest, 1 million people died between 1931 and 1933 [Conquest, 1988:456]. In 1989, Kozybaev and Tatimov calculated that 1 million 750 thousand people died, then about 2 million 20 thousand people died and about 616 thousand people became permanent migrants, then about 2.5 million people died and about 616 thousand people became permanent migrants (a total of 3 million 116 thousand people) [Tatimov, 1989:124].

Conclusion

The policy of dekulakization in Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan, although carried out within the framework of a single Soviet program, had its own characteristics associated with differences in the economic structure, demographic situation and national traditions. A comparative analysis of the policy of dekulakization in Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan demonstrates its destructive impact on traditional economic structures, social structures and ethnocultural

characteristics of the two republics. Kazakhstan suffered the most severe consequences associated with the forced sedentarization of nomads, the destruction of cattle breeding, mass famine and mortality. At the same time, the territory of Kazakhstan was defined as a "kulak exile" for tens of thousands of peasants from other regions of the country (more than 180 thousand people). It should be noted that Kyrgyzstan also experienced famine in some areas of the republic.

Dekulakization also had a devastating impact on the cultural traditions of the Kyrgyz and Kazakh people. The violent destruction of tribal ties, the confiscation of property and resettlement undermined established social institutions. Collectivization and sedentarization were accompanied by the destruction of many elements of traditional culture, including farming customs and inter-community interactions. Thus, both regions experienced profound demographic changes and cultural transformations that led to severe consequences. Further research in this area can contribute to a better understanding of the mechanisms of society's adaptation to large-scale social upheavals.

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