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**SOME RESULTS OF SCIENTIFIC COMPREHENSION
OF THE REPRESSIVE SOVIET POLICY
«EXPROPRIATION OF BAISES AS A CLASS»**

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Abstract. This article is devoted to the analysis of political repressions in the USSR associated with the confiscation of property and the liquidation of the «baises» as social classes in the 1920-1930s. Special attention is paid to the political campaign to discredit the «baises», their portrayal as «enemies of the people» and mass repressions that led to the confiscation of property and the expulsion of the owners. The research is based on archival materials confirming numerous legal violations, false accusations, mistreatment of suspects and the use of physical violence. An important requirement of the times is the need for an honest and fair reflection on these historical events in order to avoid repetition of similar mistakes in the future.

Keywords: political repression, Soviet totalitarianism, Kazakhstan, class struggle, liquidation of the «baises»

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**«БАЙЛАРДЫ ТАП РЕТІНДЕ ЖОЮ» КЕҢЕСТІК
РЕПРЕССИЯЛЫҚ САЯСАТЫН ҒЫЛЫМИ ТҮРҒЫДАН
ТҮСІНУДІҢ КЕЙБІР НӘТИЖЕЛЕРІ**

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Аңдатпа. Бұл мақала 1920–1930 жылдардағы КСРО-дағы мүлікті тәркілеуге және «сатып алуды» әлеуметтік таптар ретінде жоюға байланысты саяси қуғын-сүргіндерді талдауға арналған. Байлардың беделін түсіруге бағытталған саяси науқанға, оларды «халық жауы» етіп көрсетуге, мүлкін тәркілеуге, қожайындарын айдауға әкелген жаппай қуғын-сүргінге ерекше назар аударылады. Зерттеу көптеген заң бұзушылықтарды, жалған айыптауларды, күдіктілерге қатысты жәбірлеуді және физикалық күш қолдануды растайтын мұрағат материалдарына негізделген. Болашақта осындай қателіктердің қайталанбауы үшін осы тарихи оқиғаларға шынайы да әділ ой жүгірту қажеттігі заманның маңызды талабы.

Түйін сөздер: саяси қуғын-сүргін, кеңестік тоталитаризм, Қазақстан, таптық күрес, байлардың жойылуы

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**НЕКОТОРЫЕ ИТОГИ НАУЧНОГО ОСМЫСЛЕНИЯ РЕПРЕССИВНОЙ
СОВЕТСКОЙ ПОЛИТИКИ
«ЛИКВИДАЦИИ БАЙСТВА КАК КЛАССА»**

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Аннотация. Данная статья посвящена анализу политических репрессий в СССР, связанных с конфискацией имущества и ликвидацией «баев» как социальных классов в 1920-1930-е годы. Специальное внимание уделено политической кампании по дискредитации баев, их изображению как «врагов народа», и массовым репрессиям, которые привели к конфискации имущества и высылке владельцев. Исследование опирается на архивные материалы, подтверждающие многочисленные нарушения правовых норм, ложные обвинения, жестокое обращение с подозреваемыми и применение физического насилия. Важным требованием времени является необходимость честного и справедливого осмысления этих исторических событий, чтобы избежать повторения подобных ошибок в будущем.

Ключевые слова: политические репрессии, советский тоталитаризм, Казахстан, классовая борьба, ликвидация байства

Relevance of the research problem. The relevance of studying the history of political repression in the USSR is confirmed not only by historical facts, but also by modern initiatives aimed at understanding and resolving the consequences of this period. Organization of the work of the State Commission for the complete rehabilitation of victims of political repression in 2020–2023 by decree of the President of Kazakhstan K.K. Tokayev is a striking example of such efforts. This is not just an academic exercise, but an attempt to restore justice and take an honest look at the past in order to avoid repeating mistakes in the future. The result of the commission's work is the declassification of more than 2.6 million documents and materials (The State Commission: 2023), which allows us to obtain a more objective understanding of the scale of political repression and its consequences. This process is of great importance for modern society, since it contributes to the formation of correct historical consciousness and the prevention of ideological distortions.

Moreover, the study of political repression has important ethical implications. It promotes recognition of the suffering and loss suffered by millions of people under totalitarian rule and encourages awareness that such human rights violations must not be repeated. Ultimately, this contributes to the development of a more just and humane society, based on respect for the rights and freedoms of every person.

Studying the history of political repression in the USSR, especially in the context of mass repressions of the 20-30s of the 20th century, remains an important task of our time. One of the aspects of this tragic era was the practice of confiscation of property from the «bais» (rich cattle owner in Kazakh society) and «kulaks» (Slavic peasants who owned over 8 acres (3.2 hectares) of land), which caused enormous damage not only to these segments of the population, but also to the agricultural economy as a whole. The repressions not only deprived people of their material wealth, but also threw them out of their usual cultural environment, depriving them of their «Small Motherland», transferring them to the category of special settlers. These families were marginalized, had difficulty integrating into the new society, and their descendants had difficulty recognizing their origins and fulfilling their filial duty to their ancestors. Today, decades after these events, they and their descendants continue to hope for justice. Studying this part of history not only allows us to understand the scale of the tragedy, but also helps society recognize the truth and accept the lessons of the past to prevent similar human rights violations in the future.

Materials and methods. The works of leading domestic scientists M. Kozybaev, K. Aldazhumanov, Zh. Abylkhozhin, T. Omarbekov, Z. Kabuldinov, S. Zhakisheva, as well as foreign researchers M. Olcott, R. Conquest, S. Cameron were used as a theoretical basis (Kozybaev M., Aldazhumanov K., Abylkhozhin Zh., 1991: 36; Omarbekov T., 1997: 320; Kabuldinov Z., 2021: 548; Zhakisheva S., 1996: 24; Olcott M., 1981: 122-142; Conquest R., 1990: 83-100; Cameron S., 2020: 360). The specific feature of the formation of historical ideas on the topic under study led to reliance on the problematic principle. In addition, the methodological basis was the principles of historicism and a systematic approach. Problem-chronological and historical-comparative methods were used.

Discussion. During the Soviet period, the issue of confiscation of kulaks and baies was considered as part of the study of agrarian socialist transformations. The prevailing class-party approach was expressed in the fact that the baies and kulaks were considered as a capitalist element that interfered with collective farm construction. At the same time, the works of Soviet scientists

contained rich empirical materials (Akisheva Z., 1947: 187; Dakhshleiger G., Nurpeisov K., 1985: 247; Dachsleiger G., 1965: 535; Atabaev K., 1981: 201).

Members of the first state commission for the rehabilitation of victims of repression under the leadership of Academician M. Kozybaev, created at the dawn of independence in 1993, made a great contribution to the modern historiography of the problem. Aldazhumanov K., Abylkhozhin Zh., Omarbekov T. analyzed the process of destruction of the traditional structure within the Soviet system, which brought enormous disasters for the Kazakh people.

New approaches to research are reflected in the research of S. A. Zhakisheva. For a deep historical and source study analysis of the problem of expropriation of the baises, she used computer resources, introduced many new archival documents into scientific circulation, initiated the creation of a scientific database on expropriated baises, and reproduced as fully as possible the social and property model of the baises economy, as well as the mechanism for confiscation of their property (Zhakisheva, 2021: 222).

The large-scale campaign to debaze wealthy cattle owners was analyzed by U.A. Kstaubaeva. Based on archival documents from the Central State Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan and the Archive of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan, it shows the harsh actions of the Central Commission on confiscation, eviction and forced confiscation of livestock and property, abuses of district commissioners, local «activists», who destroyed the most experienced and literate part of the nomadic and semi-nomadic population districts of Kazakhstan, undermined the economic and organizational function of the most educated, authoritative elite of the traditional village (Kstaubaeva, 2015: 174).

The leading Kazakh researcher on this topic, Auanasova A.M., systematically presented normative and legal documents (decrees, instructions), which «became the basis for the Bolsheviks' local policy of destroying the traditional type of nomadic economy of Kazakh society and the baystvo as a class». She draws attention to the fact that the bulk of the victims of repression are concentrated in archival materials: reports, reviews of the OGPU for the KASSR, memos of the chairman of the Kazakh branch of the Supreme Court of the RSFSR, in interrogation reports of persons under investigation accused under articles 60, 67, 107, etc. of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR, as well as in the periodicals of that time. The researcher, like many other modern researchers, believes that baises is «the main economic support of Kazakh society» (Auanasova, 2021).

To obtain a complete picture of the causes, consequences, features in all the diverse manifestations of this tragedy, the research of the regional nature of Zh. Saurykova based on materials from the Almaty district (Zh. Saurykova, 2023), K. Zhubatkanov from the Aktobe region (Zhubatkanov, 2015: 85-88), A. Zhanbosinova from the East Kazakhstan region is of great value (Zhanbosinova, 2017: 162 - 168), A. Syzdykova, A. Amanova, A. Moldakimova in the Pavlodar Irtysh region (Syzdykova, Amanova, Moldakimova, 2022: 111-121), Rakhmetullin E.E., Mamyrbekov A.M., Tokishkadyrov B.B. (Rakhmetullin, Mamyrbekov, Tokishkadyrov, 2021: 33-39), Akhmetova R.D., Abenova G.A., Dautova A.F. according to the Semipalatinsk Irtysh region (Akhmetova, Abenova, Dautova, 2023: 59-67), Bekmagambetova M.Zh., Bekmagambetov R.K., Shakhman Z.B. in Kostanay region (Bekmagambetova, Bekmagambetov, Shakhman, 2017: 163-169) and others.

The features of the «liquidation of the kulaks and baises as a class» in Kazakhstan are considered by the Russian scientist A. Kozlov (Kozlov, 2014: 109-113). In his opinion, in Kazakhstan, as in the country, the main instrument of dispossession was judicial repression, and dispossession itself was determined primarily by economic reasons – the need to form the material base of collective farms. Another peculiarity of Kazakhstan was that, due to natural and climatic conditions, it became one of the main areas of settlement of dispossessed farms from the central regions of the country.

Research activity on this topic has increased significantly in recent years. Of course, the main detonator that gives a powerful impetus to researchers is the State Commission for the Rehabilitation of Victims of Political Repression and the Project Office created within the framework of this commission, headed by the famous state and public figure, scientist Sabyr Akhmetzhanovich Kasymov.

Research results. The liquidation of the kulaks and baiss as a class was part of broader socio-economic experiments carried out by the Bolsheviks in the 1920s and 1930s. These experiments included forced industrialization, forced collectivization, and voluntarist sedentarization, which

aimed to change the structure of society in accordance with communist principles. The theory of class struggle was used as an ideological justification for these measures. The Bolsheviks actively promoted the idea of liberation from «bai-feudal exploitation» and discredited the bais with the help of populist slogans. However, these ideas did not immediately become widespread among the Kazakh population, since centuries-old social traditions had deep roots. The bai ensured not only their own well-being, but also played an important role in society, providing for its various needs. Therefore, the first measures against bais in the form of regulations and restrictions did not bring the expected results. The Bolsheviks encountered resistance from the population of the auls (rural Kazakh settlement) and were unable to achieve the desired changes.

However, more drastic measures were taken in 1927, when the revolutionary government began to forcibly take away land from the bais. This led to the start of a real war against the bais, especially in nomadic and semi-nomadic auls, where large owners were forced to give up a significant part of their land holdings.

In December 1927, a Commission was created to develop a draft law on confiscation, which became one of the key points in agricultural policy of the time. However, the activities of this commission caused great concern among the rural population, which led to a massive sale of livestock on farms.

The position of the official bodies on this issue turned out to be ambivalent and contradictory. On the one hand, they accused «anti-Soviet elements», mainly Kazakhs («bai», «biy», «elders», «atkaminers», Alash-Orda intelligentsia), of spreading «perverted rumors about confiscation». However, on the other hand, their secret directives contained instructions not to interfere with the sale of cattle by the bais. These guidelines stated: «Efforts should be made to clearly and accurately identify the quantity of livestock and property being sold and held after the sale. At the same time, find out the purpose of the sale and where the proceeds will be sold. This information must be collected in illegal form and stored in volost and district executive committees» (RK SAPR, F. 8p. Inv. 1. C. 61: 33).

From subsequent orders of the district committees it is clear that the purpose of such a dual position was related to «identifying taxable objects in the auls» and compiling a list of the largest payers of agricultural tax. This process demonstrates the complexities and contradictions that accompanied agricultural policy during this period and shows what complex problems rural residents and authorities faced when introducing new laws and measures.

During the preparation for the announcement of the Decree on the confiscation of the farms of semi-feudal bais, the Soviet authorities took a number of preventive measures, including collecting information about the political status of each bai. This collection included detailed inquiries on several key issues:

1. Ancestral origins and ties to the Tsarist government. This question was aimed at determining the historical roots of the Bai's influence and his possible links to the previous regime.
2. Role to the Alash-Orda government. This question is about Bai's relations with national movements and their possible support of conservative structures.
3. Historically patrimonial influence on the surrounding population. This question aimed to understand the influence the Bai have on society from a historical perspective.
4. Forms and methods of enslaving the surrounding poor. Determined how the Bai dispose of their property and how this affects the local population, including the distribution of livestock and other resources.
5. Total assets and number of livestock. Information is collected on the wealth and resources of the bai, including the number of livestock and other valuables.
6. The number of labourers in his household. Information on how many people are exploited in the Bai's household is examined here.
7. Ownership of arable and hay land. It is investigated which pieces of land are owned by the Bai and how they are used for agriculture.
8. Kinship ties with influential families and individuals. The social connection of the bai with other influential individuals in the region is assessed.
9. Kinship ties with influential Soviet, party workers. It is investigated what ties the bai has with representatives of Soviet and party structures, which can influence his position in society (RK SAPR, F. 8p. Inv. 1. C. 61: 34).

It is important to note that all information was collected in strict secrecy, and even members of the party bureau and direct participants in the compilation of personal data were not aware of the purposes of this collection.

On May 3, 1928, the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) suggested that «Kraikom» (Regional Committee) shift the center of gravity to the fight against the influence of the bais in the auls. In the republic, party and Soviet authorities began a political campaign to discredit the Kazakh bais, portraying them as «enemies» of the Kazakh people. The bais were accused of continuing to «deeply and cruelly exploit» the aul population, keeping them in «poverty and centuries-old darkness». These accusations were published in the appeal of the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee of Kazakhstan «To all workers of Kazakhstan» on August 8 and September 5, 1928. At the same time, in the press and circular letters sent by provincial executive committees to the chairmen of district organizational bureaus and aul Councils, the idea was actively promoted that this measure of the Soviet government was being carried out exclusively in the interests of the poorest strata of the aul. The authorities sought to create a general hatred of the bai among the population, pushing the poorest strata to fight against them.

On August 15, 1928, Kraikom created a commission to directly manage the campaign. On August 27, 1928, at a meeting of the Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars of the republic, a resolution was adopted «On the confiscation of bai's farms». Commissioners were appointed to carry out confiscation in the districts of the republic, and more than a thousand representatives were sent directly to the auls. Three days later, on August 30, the «Instructions for the application of the resolution of the Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars of the KASSR on the confiscation of bai's farms» was approved. It contained 38 points defining the procedure for confiscating property from persons subject to confiscation. Each point of the instruction clearly defined the grounds for confiscation. For example, the first paragraph stated that upon eviction, all property related to agriculture is confiscated from individuals and their families, with the exception of the necessary resources for running a labor farm, minimal livestock and household items not related to agricultural activities (such as clothing, linen, dishes and food), were not subject to confiscation. The Instruction also established standards for the property of farms subject to confiscation, taking into account the economic characteristics of various regions. The Instructions established criteria for grouping bais farms in nomadic areas, who had over 400 heads of livestock translated into cattle, in semi-nomadic - over 300 heads and in sedentary - over 150 heads of livestock. The directives stated that the share of liquidated kulak households should not exceed an average of 3–5 percent of peasant farms, and in national regions – 2–3 percent wealthy households. All property was confiscated, and the owners were expelled from the district.

Requisitions were sent to the districts - the number of bais to be liquidated, but in practice the indicated number of kulaks and bais was not collected. Therefore, in order to carry out the plans, they began to draw up additional lists of persons subject to expropriation.

In the Pavlodar Okrug, the allocation for 39 people was determined, and only 23 people met the instructional requirements. In order to fulfill the plan, those who did not have as many livestock as were required by the directive were included in the list of large bais. There were often cases when the economy of nomadic regions was assessed by the standards of sedentary ones. For example, Beysenev Abrar Battanovich from the Seitenovsky district, who had 180 heads of livestock, was classified as a settled farm and a decision was made to confiscate the livestock and deport him (RK SAPR, F. 12. Inv. 1. C. 157: 187–189).

The inability to fulfill established plans for the liquidation of «kulak-bai farms» forced the authorities to make some adjustments to the criteria for their evaluation. New signs of «Kulak-Bai elements» were introduced. Now the emphasis began to be placed not on economic status, but on the role in public life, tribal status, as well as «opposition to the Sovietization of the auls».

«Kulaks and Baises», accused of organizing counter-revolutionary protests against the Soviets, as well as supporting any actions aimed at disrupting the collective farm movement («obstructing the redistribution of hay lands», «harboring objects of taxation»), were called «groupers». Punishments ranged from eviction to imprisonment in forced labor colonies, depending on the degree of their «hostility» to Soviet power. A well-known entrepreneur in the Pavlodar Irtysh region, Bizhan

Shokybasov, was included in this category. He was engaged in the carriage trade and also traded livestock. The mosque he built still operates successfully in Pavlodar.

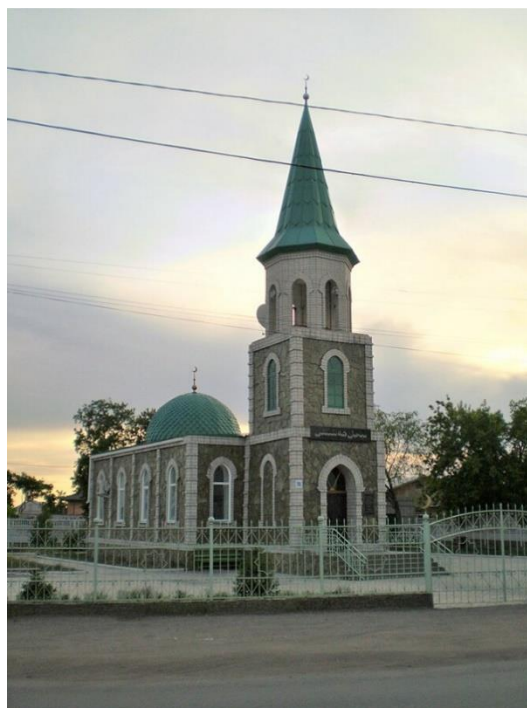


Photo. Bizhan Mosque, Pavlodar <https://lifepvl.kz/2022/08/12/4219/>

People call it the Bizhan Mosque. From the materials of the Pavlodar Okrug commission on dispossession it is known that he had «in terms of cattle, over 150 heads of cattle, 12 sleighs, 2 chaises, 3 carts, a cart, a loboheater, a plow, 7 acres of crops». He was accused of active participation in the religious movement and opposition to the campaign of redistribution of haylands (RK SAPR, F. 12. Inv. 1. C. 157: 190).

Less socially dangerous was the category of «kulaks and bais» who did not fulfill state grain and meat procurement plans. They were settled within the districts, but outside the boundaries of collective and state farm lands.

In order to expand the list of confiscated farms at any cost, the authorities compiled lists of stock bais. For this purpose, resolutions were adopted on the collection of information of a compromising nature on a potential victim. Among them gradually included the middle peasants and even the poor. A sad and curious incident occurred in the Seitenovsky district, when property and livestock were described for confiscation from Mugalim (Teacher), who actively participated in this campaign and conducted explanatory work among the population about the decree (RK SAPR, F. 12. Inv. 1. C. 157: 183).

This situation was caused not only by the desire to fulfill and exceed the plan, but also by the extremely accelerated pace of the Soviet political campaign to destroy the «class enemy» in the person of kulaks and bais. By the beginning of the spring of 1929, all district prosecutors were required to provide a full information report on the results of the expulsion and attachment of bais in Kazakhstan.

Within ten days, Okrug «troikas» consisting of the chairman of the district committee of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks, the chairman of the Okrug executive committee, and the head of the Okrug department of the OGPU- JSPD (Joint State Political Directorate) were supposed to carry out a census of the entire contingent of kulak households, including dispossessed ones (RK SAPR, F. 8 p. Inv. 1. C. 281: 2).

The set goals and deadlines led to the emergence of many violations. It is known that according to the decision of the Regional Committee, kulaks and bais were to be subject to confiscation of property and eviction «only in areas of complete collectivization». In the Pavlodar region these

were Maximo-Gorkovsky, Tsurupinsky, Seitenovsky, Koryakovsky and Terengulsky districts (RK SAPR, F. 8 p. Inv. 1. Case 281: 58). But in reality, this campaign affected all areas. An archival document preserves a list of Kazakhs of the Pavlodar district whose property was subject to confiscation, and they themselves were subject to eviction. Despite their flight, local authorities organized a search for them and identified their possible locations. These are Zhusip Kulmyrza uly, Nurymzhan Toktamys uly, Abdirahman Zhumabai uly, Myrzatai Baubek uly, Makan Kulmyrza uly, Bastemi Mati uly, Ermyrza Kazangap uly, Kulmyrza Kazangap uly, Tastybai Bukarbai uly, Mukan Dogal uly, Temirzhan Malys uly, Kusain Bayandy uly, Konyrtas Bayandy uly, Abilkas Dogal uly (RK SAPR, F.5. Inv. 1. C. 20: 271).

Due to violation of the deadlines for eviction of the second category bais of the Terengul and Maximo-Gorkovsky districts, they were transferred to the third category and resettled within their districts and the Pavlodar Okrug (RK SAPR, F.106. Inv. 1. C. 27: 27).

Archival materials indicate numerous violations in the work to identify and bring to trial «bais and kulaks». These include false accusations, ill-treatment of suspects, including physical torture, and violation of legal standards in handling cases.

Despite the chaotic nature of the process of settling the dispossessed and the lack of proper material resources, the Soviet leadership tried to introduce organizational elements into this process. This is confirmed by a number of documents, among which the Resolution of the Council of People's Commissars of the Kazakh Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic dated April 10, 1930 stands out. This resolution proposed organizing a special commission, which included representatives of various government bodies, including the prosecutor's office, the OGPU, the Regional Land Administration and others. The purpose of the commission was to streamline the temporary and permanent resettlement of dispossessed families. It was also proposed to create a special fund for organizing anti-epidemic measures and health care in resettlement points. This fund was supposed to be formed from funds allocated by the Central Executive Committee of the RSFSR. One of the main tasks of the commission was to complete the employment of category III bais, providing them with minimal but real opportunities to feed their families and create conditions for a settled existence (RK SAPR, F.11. Inv. 2. C. 12: 2).

This document demonstrates the attempts of the Soviet authorities to organize the process of resettlement of dispossessed families more systematically and to provide the necessary assistance and support to these people.

Modern research, based on materials from central and regional archives, makes it possible to create a database on the category «bai, kulaks, middle peasants, peasants (sharua)». In the Pavlodar region, the names of 582 people evicted from their homes were identified. Among them were 473 peasants, 25 middle peasants and 84 victims of grain procurements. In the North Kazakhstan region, the working group substantiated the cases of 199 bais who have not yet been rehabilitated. In the Kostanay region, a list of 118 bais was compiled that were subject to confiscation and eviction from the Kostanay district. Among them are 11 former volost governors, 10 fined and 14 deprived of voting rights.

Places of grief and memory are mass graves and executions. In the Pavlodar region they are located on the territory of the city leisure center and several areas. In the North Kazakhstan region there were special camps for kulaks and bais, such as «Baikal» and village «Alexandrovka». 7 mass grave sites have been identified in Kostanay region.

Conclusion. Research work continues. Along with studying a large array of archival documents, oral materials are being collected from the memories of descendants of victims of repression. Due to the fact that many documents were destroyed for ideological reasons, information from the local population is of great value. Literally, bit by bit, oral material is being collected, since descendants have almost no memory of their ancestors.

For a complete and objective rethinking of the consequences of the policy of «Liquidation of the kulaks and baisses as a class», it is necessary to be based on consideration of the entire period from the creation of a theoretical basis for the elimination of exploiting classes to the manifestation of the immediate results of its implementation.

Due to the fact that there is no information about the rehabilitation of many citizens, it may be worthwhile to carry out rehabilitation for these categories not personally, but on the basis of the adoption of a general regulatory act recognizing as inhumane the legal acts and instructions of the

political leadership of the country that served as the basis for the repression of this categories of persons. With the exception of those convicted under articles of the Criminal Code (67, 101, etc.), for which the decision must be made individually.

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