

Sh.T. Bektassov^{ID*}, M.Z. Utegenov^{ID}, A.T. Bekseitova^{ID}

Sh. Ualikhanov Kokshetau University, Kokshetau, Kazakhstan
(E-mail: shagbanbektasov@gmail.com; utegenov@inbox.ru; ABekseitova@shokan.edu.kz.)

The Role of Local Authorities in Implementing the Confiscation of Bai Households in the Petropavl District in 1928

This article examines the role of local authorities in the implementation of the 1928 campaign to confiscate the property of wealthy Kazakh households (bais) in the Petropavl District. The campaign, initiated by the Soviet leadership, was formally aimed at dismantling the “remnants of feudalism” and promoting the Sovietization of the Kazakh aul (traditional rural community). However, as this study demonstrates, it served broader political purposes, acting as a foundational element in the expansion of state control and repression in rural Kazakhstan. Drawing on previously underutilized archival materials from national and regional archives, as well as documentation from the State Commission for the Full Rehabilitation of Victims of Political Repressions, the authors reconstruct the mechanics of this policy at the regional level. The research reveals that local authorities did not merely carry out central orders but adapted and expanded them. This included the artificial merging of extended family households, falsification of social statuses, and arbitrary reclassification of communities to meet confiscation quotas. The analysis also shows that the promised redistribution of confiscated livestock and property to poor peasants had limited effect. A significant share of the assets was absorbed by collective farms or used to settle state arrears. The findings challenge the notion that the campaign was a genuine tool of social justice. Instead, it is argued that the confiscation campaign was a politically motivated operation designed to eliminate traditional elites, consolidate ideological control, and prepare the groundwork for forced collectivization. The article contributes to the broader historiography of Soviet repression by offering a regionally grounded and source-rich case study of early Stalinist transformations in Kazakhstan.

Keywords: Petropavl District, North Kazakhstan, bai households; confiscation, collectivization, repression, Soviet policy, local authorities, agrarian campaign, deportation

Introduction

The large-scale socio-economic transformation of Kazakh society in the late 1920s began with the confiscation of bai (wealthy) households, carried out in accordance with the resolution of the Kazakh Central Executive Committee (KazTsIK) and the Council of People’s Commissars (SNK) dated August 27, 1928. This political campaign, initiated by the Communist Party and Soviet authorities in Kazakhstan, was described by F.I. Goloshchekin as an “exceptionally significant socio-economic measure in the aul” [1; 238]. The confiscation of bai households set the course for state policy in the ensuing years and became one of the cornerstones of the so-called policy of “Sovietization of the Kazakh aul” or the “Little October.” As the first major socio-political campaign of the Soviets in Kazakhstan targeting the traditional social structure, the elimination of bai households served as a precursor to the broader socio-economic and political repressions unleashed during mass collectivization.

In this context, scholarly interest arises in analyzing the role of authorities responsible for implementing this socio-political campaign, especially in terms of its regional characteristics. Studying the mechanisms of confiscation at the level of specific regions in Kazakhstan, and introducing regional archival and other sources into academic discourse, helps to better understand the logic of Soviet and party leadership, the specifics of repressive policies, and their consequences for the local population. Therefore, the purpose of this article is to review the historical events related to the confiscation of bai households in the Petropavl district and to analyze the activities of local authorities in implementing this campaign. The research sets out the following objectives: to provide an overview and analysis of the main measures taken during the campaign, considering their political and ideological justification; to examine the roles and functions of local authorities in enforcing the confiscation policy; to identify the mechanisms and peculiarities of their actions at the regional level; and to assess the impact of the campaign on the socio-economic conditions of the local population.

* Corresponding author’s e-mail: shagbanbektasov@gmail.com

The confiscation of bai households in the late 1920s has a broad historiography, as at the time it was a significant socio-political event and played an important role in the Soviet agrarian policy toward the traditional Kazakh society. In Soviet historiography, these events were interpreted tendentiously and assessed solely as a progressive development. During the implementation of the campaign and in subsequent years, participants themselves addressed the topic, including F.I. Goloshchekin [1], M. Kaipnazaruly [2], S. Safarbekuly [3], among others.

Later, Soviet historians such as A.P. Kuchkin [4], A.B. Tursunbaev [5], G.F. Dakhshleiger [6], and others examined the 1928 confiscation campaign primarily in generalized terms. Their studies typically focused on statistical data, such as the number of confiscated households and the volume of property and livestock redistributed to poor households and collective farms. However, a detailed analysis of the activities of regional and especially local authorities largely remained outside the scope of scientific inquiry. One notable strength of Soviet research was the extensive use of sources, although this was often subject to ideological bias.

Since Kazakhstan gained independence, domestic historians have actively studied key events of the past, such as collectivization, mass famine (asharshylyk), political repressions, and deportations. Significant contributions to the study of these topics have been made by scholars such as M. Kozybaev, Zh. Abylkhozhin, K. Aldazhumanov [7], M. Koigeldiev [8], T. Omarbekov [9], and others. Their works, based on a thorough analysis of archival materials and reliable sources, are distinguished by their scholarly depth and objectivity.

These studies do not only help to reconstruct the historical picture of complex events but also foster a critical understanding of the past. They play an important role in preserving historical memory, developing national consciousness, and cultivating civic responsibility. In this way, the academic work of Kazakhstani historians strengthens national historiography and contributes to the development of historical scholarship in the country.

The modern historiography of the 1928's bai household confiscation campaign constitutes a multifaceted scholarly discourse encompassing the socio-economic, political, and demographic consequences of the campaign. One notable contribution is the monograph by S.A. Zhakisheva, *The Elimination of Bai Households in Kazakhstan at the Turn of the 1920s–30s: New Approaches, Methods, and Technologies* (2021) [10]. In her study, the author employs interdisciplinary methods, including content analysis, mathematical-statistical approaches, and digital technologies for processing historical data.

Of particular interest are academic articles focused on the confiscation of bai households, often featuring regional material. For example, R.E. Orazov's article "Zhetysu: The Process and Consequences of Confiscating Kazakh Bais" analyzes the course of the campaign in Zhetysu and its effects on the local population [11]. Contemporary historiography of the 1928 bai confiscation campaign in Kazakhstan is characterized by an analysis of the socio-economic and political aspects of the process. One such study is the article by G.K. Kenzhebaeva, Z.E. Kabuldinov, and T.A. Ryskulova, "Preparatory Work of the Kazakh Regional Committee for the Confiscation of Large Bai Households in Kazakhstan from February to August 1928" [12]. In this work, the authors examine in detail the steps taken by the KazkraiKom of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) to prepare the campaign, beginning with the creation of a special commission in February 1928 and culminating with the approval of the confiscation decree in August of the same year.

Studies by foreign scholars should also be noted. Among them is the research of Isabelle Ogaion, *Sedentarization of the Kazakh USSR under Stalin: Collectivization and Social Changes (1928–1945)*, in which a chapter is dedicated to the confiscation of bai households [13]. Robert Kindler, in his work *Stalin's Nomads: Power and Famine in Kazakhstan*, analyzes Soviet modernization and its impact on Kazakh society, including the bai confiscation [14]. Sarah Cameron, in her publications, examines collectivization and repression in Kazakhstan, emphasizing their catastrophic consequences [15].

New data have also been introduced into the historiography through the materials of the State Commission for the Full Rehabilitation of Victims of Political Repressions, particularly Volume 32 dedicated to the North Kazakhstan Region [16]. These materials contain valuable archival documents that shed light on the regional aspects of the confiscation campaign.

Thus, contemporary studies on the topic of bai household confiscation are based on an expanded source base, including archival documents, mathematical-statistical analysis, and interdisciplinary methods. This allows for a deeper understanding of the historical process and its long-term consequences for Kazakhstan.

Materials and Methods

The primary sources for this study include archival documents such as letters, reports, and explanatory notes stored in File No. 2068, Collection No. 141 of the Kazakh Regional Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) housed in the Archive of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan (hereinafter — APRK). Personal files of individuals subjected to confiscation are located in Collection No. 135 of the Central State Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan (hereinafter — CSARK). Unfortunately, the file related to the district commission for the confiscation of bai households in the Petropavl District, once stored in CSARK, is listed as lost according to the archive's inventory. The research also utilized minutes from the presidiums of district executive committees of the Petropavl District, preserved in the North Kazakhstan State Archive (NKSA). An additional source is a small publication authored by one of the direct leaders of the confiscation campaign in the studied sub-districts, Mustafa Kaipnazaruly, titled “Kanpeske nauqanynyn qorytyndysy” [2].

Methodologically, this study is based on retrospective and historical-genetic analysis, which allows the reconstruction of the sequence of events — from decision-making to their practical implementation. The application of a microhistorical approach enabled the examination of specific cases (such as the merging of related households, falsification of surnames, and arbitrary reclassification of household categories), revealing the mechanisms of expanded repression and administrative arbitrariness. Content analysis of propaganda materials, including resolutions from poor peasants' meetings, was used to trace the political rhetoric and legitimization strategies employed by the authorities.

Additionally, a historical-comparative method was applied to compare official decrees with their actual implementation. A synthesis of quantitative and qualitative analysis was used to assess the scale and consequences of the confiscation campaign. The regional approach in this research enabled the identification of specific features of how state policy was implemented within the context of a particular district, highlighting differences in administrative practices and the level of initiative demonstrated by local authorities.

The comprehensive application of these methods provided an in-depth exploration of the subject, revealing hidden mechanisms of repression and political mobilization, as well as evaluating the socio-economic impact of the confiscation campaign on the Kazakh aul.

Results

The first practical steps toward implementing the confiscation of bai households were taken at the 6th Conference of the Kazakh Regional Committee, held in November 1927. The conference resolutions stated that “in order to decisively eliminate the oppressive and semi-feudal dependence of the poor on the bais, to increase their socio-political weight and economic position, and to ensure better utilization of land redistributed to them, it is necessary to expropriate from large bais livestock and equipment. This will promote the emergence of middle peasants in the aul and the development of its productive forces, further strengthening the alliance of the proletariat with the working masses of the aul” [17; 31].

By the end of February 1928, a commission composed of Nurmakov, Isaev, and Safarbekov was tasked with “developing a draft decree on expropriation, to be subsequently approved by the bureau” [18; 344]. The framework for the decree was defined by the resolution of the Presidium of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee (VTsIK) “On the deprivation of land use rights and residence in permanent settlements for large bais and livestock breeders, along with their families, and the confiscation of their property,” which was attached to the minutes of the 23rd meeting of the Kazkraikom bureau of the VKP(b) on March 14, 1928 [18; 344–347]. A memorandum from the Kazkraikom of the VKP(b) to the Central Committee of the VKP(b) dated May 15, 1928, entitled “On the confiscation of the means and instruments of production from large bai households and persons of formerly privileged estates and tribal groups,” justified the significance of confiscating the property of large bais [18; 347–358].

The culmination of all preparatory work by the regional authorities was the decree of the Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars of the Kazakh ASSR “On the Confiscation of Bai Households,” dated August 27, 1928. This decree subjected wealthy household owners across the republic to confiscation, with the exception of the Aday District, the cotton-growing sub-districts of the former Zhetysu and Syr-Darya provinces, and the Karakalpak Autonomous Region [18; 389–394]. According to the decree, the confiscation targeted large Kazakh bais accused of maintaining semi-feudal, patriarchal, and tribal structures and of hindering the Sovietization of the aul. This included individuals with more than 400 head

of livestock in nomadic sub-districts or more than 300 in semi-nomadic sub-districts, as well as former representatives of privileged groups (sultans, khans, volost governors, etc.), regardless of their current wealth.

Central and district-level commissions were created to oversee the confiscation and resettlement efforts. On August 28, by resolution of the Bureau of the Petropavl District Committee of the VKP(b), a district commission was established, chaired by the Deputy Chairman of the District Executive Committee, O. Buraev [19; 21]. Commission members included Yu.Yu. Valiniek, head of the district OGPU department; Bekenov, representative of the district land department; Zheltaev, representative of the local branch of the “Koshchi” Union; Kadybaev, representative of the Union of Agricultural and Forestry Workers (Rabzemles); and district prosecutor Sattygulov, who had advisory status.

To monitor and coordinate confiscation and resettlement efforts, the Kazakh ASSR’s Central Executive Committee and Council of People’s Commissars sent plenipotentiaries to each district. In the Petropavl District, Hamza Yusupbekov, executive secretary of the Party Collegium of the Kazakh Regional Control Commission of the VKP(b), was appointed as the representative [18; 393].

Preparations for the campaign had begun even before the official publication of the decree. On August 14, 1928, the Bureau of the Petropavl District Committee of the VKP(b) adopted a resolution on preparatory measures for the confiscation and resettlement of large *bais* from the *aul*. This resolution included mobilizing party activists, poor and landless peasants, and Komsomol organizations, as well as developing propaganda and methodological materials. Particular attention was paid to OGPU activities, including verifying data on *bais* and identifying “socially harmful elements” [16; 40–42]. The OGPU maintained secret records of households potentially subject to confiscation. According to documents from OGPU district offices, a list of 96 *bai* households across seven sub-districts (Beynetkor, Kzylaasker, Kzyltu, Kokshetau, Oktyabr, Tonkerey, and Enbekshilder) was compiled for confiscation, of which 40 of the wealthiest were selected [16; 44].

On September 3, following the publication of the confiscation decree, the Bureau of the Petropavl District Committee of the VKP(b) adopted series of decisions instructing the plenipotentiary of the CEC and SNK of the Kazakh ASSR, Yusupbekov, along with district workers Isakov and Telelyaev, to develop a detailed plan of action for carrying out the confiscation in the district [16; 46].

The plan they developed envisioned a four-stage process [19; 54–55]:

Organizational stage — involved preparatory measures: dispatching plenipotentiaries to sub-districts and *auls*, forming sub-district commissions, approving lists of households for confiscation and resettlement, etc.

Agitation and explanatory campaign — included meetings with the poor and landless, sub-district-level conferences of the poor, discussions of confiscation at sub-district party meetings and village/countryside party cells.

Confiscation stage — the direct implementation of confiscation measures.

Final stage — consolidating the results through publicizing outcomes via sub-district party committees, sub-district executive committees, and the Koshchi Union at appropriate public meetings.

Sub-district party committees were also expected to develop practical measures for utilizing the confiscated livestock and agricultural tools redistributed to the poor, and for involving them in collectivization, cooperatives, and invigorating the work of village councils.

From Petropavlovsk, the district executive committee sent plenipotentiaries to seven Kazakh-populated sub-districts to oversee the campaign. Archival documents indicate that the following assignments were made: Isakov to Kokshetau, Kaipnazaruly to Beynetkor, Kaspakbaev to Kzyltu, Bekenov to Enbekshilder, Jusupov to Oktyabr”, Kozhmukhametov to Tonkerey, and Danyarov to Kzylaasker sub-district [16; 48]. Soon after, the district plenipotentiary for Kokshetau, Isakov, was replaced by S. Chekparbaev [19; 143].

These plenipotentiaries were tasked with organizing sub-district commissions and were appointed as their chairmen. In addition to the district plenipotentiary, each sub-district commission was to include two representatives from the sub-district executive committee, the head of the sub-district land administration, a representative of the Koshchi union, and a representative of the Rabzemles trade union. The sub-district commissions under the RIK (Sub-district Executive Committee) were responsible for the practical implementation of the campaign, with support from the OGPU and the militia.

According to a report by M. Kaipnazaruly, to clarify the objectives of the confiscation of *bai* households in the Petropavl District, 399 meetings were held, with 58,440 participants, including 10,037 women, 3,595 laborers (*batraks*), 31,916 poor peasants (*kedey*s), and 11,889 middle peasants (*ortashas*) [2; 4]. The numerical indicators of such mass events always raise doubts, but the reports citing these figures were prepared to emphasize the significance of the work carried out by those who compiled them.

On September 21, the Petropavl District Executive Committee issued a Resolution “On the Confiscation of Large Bai Households and the Expulsion of Their Owners,” according to which 34 households were subject to “expulsion from the territory of the Petropavl District along with the confiscation of all agricultural property” [16; 49–50]. The resolution regulated the relocation of the named individuals and their families to the Aktobe district of the Kazakh ASSR. According to the document, the deportees were given a two-week deadline, no later than October 15, for voluntary relocation, after which forced expulsion was to be carried out with the assistance of the OGPU and the workers’ and peasants’ militia.

The resolution also stated that no confiscations or expulsions of households other than those listed above shall be carried out under the resolution of the KazCEC and the Council of People’s Commissars dated 27-VIII-28.” This meant that only the households listed in the given resolution were to be subject to confiscation and expulsion.

While analyzing archival documents, discrepancies were discovered between the list in the above-mentioned resolution and the list of those deported and who arrived in the Aktobe district, which indicates further additions and changes to the resolution’s list. For example, the Presidium of the Petropavl District Executive Committee, at a meeting on October 2, 1928, decided to remove Sadvokas Abdukarimov from the deportation list, replacing him with Mukhamedrakhim Shaimerdenov from the Kyzyl-Tuu sub-district [20; 46 ob.]. At the same meeting, the Presidium canceled the expulsion of Zainulla and Sadvokas Balguzhin and requested the Regional Commission to cancel the expulsion of their third brother, Abai Balguzhin, as well.

At a meeting on October 10, 1928, the Presidium requested “KazCEC to approve the confiscation of the property of Sadvokas Tokzhanov (Kyzyltu sub-district)” [20; 52]. Apparently, this individual was the father of Gabass Tokzhanov. Sabit Mukanov, in the third volume of his novel *School of Life*, writes: “It was rumored that he (author’s note: Gabass Sadvokasovich Togzhanov held the position of Press Department Head of the Kazakh Regional Committee of the VKP(b). At the same time, he was editor of the newspaper *Enbekshi Kazakh*) was the son of the well-known bai Sadvokas Tokzhanov. These rumors were confirmed during the 1928 confiscation: Sadvokas’s name was included in the list of the five hundred major bais” [21; 209].

In the same book, S. Mukanov has his character Shayakhmet Aitpayev state that “Tokzhanov’s father Sadvokas and his brother Nurke were indeed major bais who had gained a bad reputation in the auls. Gabass not only did not break ties with his father and brother but also warned them in time that the Soviet government would confiscate livestock from large bais, which is why they were in a hurry to sell off what they could” [21; 390].

From the minutes of the meeting of the Presidium of the Petropavl District Executive Committee dated October 23, 1928, it is known that Nurtaza Kemelev was added to the list in place of the removed Zhabai Satybayev [20; 64]. The removal from the list may have been influenced by the active efforts of Z. Satybayev himself, who sent “a telegraphic petition to the KazCEC, the Council of People’s Commissars, and the Kazkraikom of the VKP(b) requesting a review of the commission’s decision” [22; 269]. In this petition, Satybayev argued for his exclusion from the confiscation list by stating that “his father, bai Satybai Bagoshev, had been imprisoned during the Kolchak period for Bolshevik activity and was brutally murdered by bandits in 1921 for supporting Soviet power.”

The direct confiscation process began in late September 1928. For example, on September 26, inventory protocols were compiled for the property of Sadouakas and Seitakhmet Altiyev. In them, senior OGPU plenipotentiary Ivashchenko provided a detailed description of all material assets belonging to Seitakhmet Kokeneev [16; 52–55].

In the Petropavl District, of the livestock confiscated from bai households, a total of 4,686 head of cattle (converted to large cattle units) was distributed among 1,148 poor, landless peasant households and 108 collective farms [19; 80]. M. Kaipnazaruly’s report presents the same figures: “A total of 4,686 head of livestock (cattle) were confiscated from the wealthy. Of this amount, approximately 70 % was distributed among the poor and laborers, while the remaining 30 % was allocated to cooperatives and collective farms. Livestock was received by 1,142 poor peasants and laborers. The number of cooperatives and collective farms amounted to 103. On average, each poor household received 3–4 heads of cattle, and each cooperative or collective farm received about 12 heads” [2; 14]. It is likely that Kaipnazaruly cites the number of confiscated livestock net of obligations from the targeted households.

In addition to livestock, a significant amount of property and agricultural equipment was confiscated from 34 bai households. Specifically, 29 wooden houses, 17 winter dwellings (*kystaus*), and 27 *yurts* were

seized, indicating a mixed sedentary and nomadic lifestyle. Also confiscated were 27 hay mowers, 27 horse-drawn rakes, 5 reapers, 14 plows, 3 horse-powered threshers, and one automatic binder — all pointing to a relatively high level of agricultural mechanization. Furthermore, 71 buggies, 39 light carts and sledges, 8 winnowers, and 22 harrows were seized [19; 99]. Among the confiscated property were also household and luxury items, including 59 carpets.

Following the publication of the decree “On the Confiscation of Large Bai Households and the Expulsion of Their Owners” by the district executive committee, the sub-district-level executive committees were required to issue official documentation to those being expelled. One such document was a certificate signed by the chairman of the Petropavl District executive committee [16; 51]. These certificates recorded the legal basis for expulsion, the number of family members subject to expulsion, their names and degrees of kinship, and the deadline for departure. The certificate indicated that it had to be presented to the Aktobe District Executive Committee.

The deportation of the repressed bais began in mid-October and was scheduled for completion by November 5, 1928. The local authorities, represented by the district executive committee, insisted on the departure of all family members listed in the certificate. One striking example involves the case of Rahima Zhumabaeva, the 70-year-old mother of Akhmet Nurmukhamedov [23; 38]. When A. Nurmukhamedov was being deported to the Aktobe district, his mother was undergoing treatment in a hospital. Despite this, as he later wrote in his complaint to the Kazakh Central Executive Committee (KazTsIK), Deputy Chairman of the District Executive Committee Orazghali Buraev demanded “that she be sent to the place of exile no matter what, saying she could die on the way”.

The families of deported bais began arriving in the Aktobe District in the second half of October and November. This is evidenced by a list preserved in the holdings of the Aktobe State Archive. According to this document, 35 families arrived in the Aktobe District (Table 1).

Table 1

List of Individuals Deported from the Petropavl District to the Aktobe District under the Confiscation Campaign in Accordance with the Decree of the CEC and SNK of the Kazakh ASSR “On the Confiscation of Bai Households” of August 27, 1928

| No. | Name of Deported Individual | Sub-district | Total Family Members | Remaining in Former Place | Arrival Date in Aktobe District |
|-----|-----------------------------|---------------|----------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1 | Tashenov Muklay | Kokshetau | 11 | – | October 21 |
| 2 | Baytikov Abbas | Kokshetau | 9 | 2 | October 22 |
| 3 | Aznabayev Abzhan | Kokshetau | 13 | – | October 24 |
| 4 | Kenzhegarin Shokum | Kokshetau | 14 | – | October 24 |
| 5 | Khasenov Zholdaskozha | Kokshetau | 7 | 1 | October 24 |
| 6 | Zakrinov Kuramankhozha | Kokshetau | 3 | 9 | October 25 |
| 7 | Zhumabayev Akhmetzhan | Beynetkor | 2 | 5 | October 22 |
| 8 | Kaimullin E. | Beynetkor | 6 | 4 | October 27 |
| 9 | Tokmambetov Isamberdy | Beynetkor | 13 | 2 | October 27 |
| 10 | Idrisov Malik | Beynetkor | 11 | – | October 27 |
| 11 | Abdrakhmanov Sultan | Kzyltu | 1 | 5 | October 24 |
| 12 | Zhantalin Muklay | Kzyltu | 5 | – | October 30 |
| 13 | Shektybayev Rakhimzhan | Kzyltu | 3 | 10 | October 31 |
| 14 | Zhantalin Salim | Kzyltu | 7 | – | October 31 |
| 15 | Zhantalin Kasym | Kzyltu | 7 | – | October 31 |
| 16 | Isin Suleiman | Kzyltu | 9 | – | October 31 |
| 17 | Tokzhanov Sadvokas | Kzyltu | 9 | – | November 1 |
| 18 | Shaimerdenov Rakhim | Kzyltu | 7 | – | November 4 |
| 19 | Tashenov Shamil | Kzyltu | 5 | – | November 13 |
| 20 | Maikutov Baumakh | Petropavlovsk | 5 | – | October 25 |
| 21 | Maikutov Khasantai | Petropavlovsk | 3 | – | October 25 |
| 22 | Sabarlin Zhylykibay | Kzylasker | 12 | – | October 25 |
| 23 | Nurpisov Mukhamad | Kzylasker | 3 | 7 | October 31 |
| 24 | Zhumanov Alzhan | Enbekshilder | 5 | 1 | October 27 |
| 25 | Umarkulov Sharip | Enbekshilder | 1 | 9 | October 27 |
| 26 | Khasenov Bekkhozha | Enbekshilder | 4 | – | October 28 |

| | | | | | |
|----|----------------------|-----------|----|----|-------------|
| 27 | Ramazanov Ablay | Tonkerey | 4 | – | October 31 |
| 28 | Altiyev Sadvokas | Tonkerey | 2 | 10 | October 31 |
| 29 | Kushkenov Zhakiy | Tonkerey | 8 | – | November 10 |
| 30 | Arbabayev Abdir | Tonkerey | 13 | 2 | November 10 |
| 31 | Makenov Mukhamedzhan | Oktyabr | 5 | – | October 31 |
| 32 | Muzhikov Nuraly | Oktyabr | 13 | 7 | November 11 |
| 33 | Kemelov Nurtaza | Oktyabr | 21 | 4 | November 19 |
| 34 | Kuyukov Tasan | Kzylasker | 5 | 4 | December 23 |

Source: State Archive of the Aktobe Region. Fund 9, Inventory 1, File 2, pp. 21–22.

According to archival materials, some of the deported families, with the permission of local authorities, were allowed to spend the winter in the city of Aktobe. This is evidenced by their petitions addressed to the Aktobe District Commission, in which they requested temporary residence in the district center during the winter period. These documents bear corresponding resolutions confirming official approval. It is also known that by the spring of 1929, the deported families began relocating to rural areas. For example, the Altiyev family moved after the winter to the village of Abyz near the Karatogay station [24; 78]. They later continued farming in the Zhaisan area.

Discussion

The confiscation campaign organized by the regional leadership involved the Kazakh population in a process of class cleansing, effectively depriving them of the ability to distance themselves from repressive actions carried out on behalf of the state. Particular importance was placed on propaganda and agitation among the population, reflecting the authorities' intention to ideologically justify and legitimize their actions. Under the pretext of fighting "bailhood" the government sought to provoke internal social division, imposing upon Kazakh auls the role of an instrument of repression. In reality, the confiscation campaign served as a cover for a deeper goal — the Sovietization of Kazakh society, the destruction of its traditional social structure, and the imposition of state ideology.

The activities of local authorities in the district, aimed at implementing the decisions of the regional center, were expressed through the organization of propaganda events in Kazakh auls. These included meetings of the poor, conferences of laborers, and the active involvement of political organizations such as the "Koshchi" Union, Communist and Komsomol cells, and trade unions. According to archival documents, conferences of the poor took place on September 23 in the Kokshetau and Enbekshilder sub-districts.

The resolution of the Kokchetav Sub-district Conference of the Poor is a vivid example of the legitimization of repressive measures through collective declarations "from the people" [19; 59]. The document employs language typical of the political rhetoric of the time, including phrases such as "we send our fiery greetings," "historical oppression," "Soviet power," and "Sovietization of the aul." These slogans functioned as tools of emotional mobilization, portraying the poor as unified and determined to act in the name of revolutionary transformation.

The establishment of "assistance commissions" in auls during the bai property confiscation period became a crucial mechanism for mobilizing the poor and tightening control over the expropriation process. These commissions, typically consisting of 15 to 25 members, were formed at meetings of the poor and carried out various duties — from guarding and inventorying confiscated property to participating in its redistribution and suppressing local resistance. In the Petropavl District, according to M. Kaipnazaruly, 35 such commissions were established, involving around 700 people [2; 4].

Initially, the republican authorities planned the confiscation and expulsion of 19 households classified in the first category and 5 in the second category in the Petropavl District [19; 70]. On September 7, 1928, the Bureau of the District Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) adopted a resolution petitioning for the expansion of the list of households subject to confiscation by adding nine additional names, which were specified in the text of the resolution.

According to the Instructions for the Implementation of the Decree of the CEC and SNK of the Kazakh ASSR dated August 27, 1928, on the confiscation and deportation of bai households, the determination of who qualified for confiscation was based on the number of livestock present in a household as of January 1, 1928 [18; 397]. One of the challenges faced by local authorities in the Petropavl District was the lack of accurate data on property holdings as of that date. The plenipotentiary of the KazCEC and SNK for confiscation in the Petropavl District, Kh. Yusupbekov, wrote in a letter to the Regional Committee, KazCEC, and

SNK that “neither the local authorities nor the District Executive Committee could obtain information as of January 1, 1928. This was partly due to the fact that the aul councils and district executive committees did not keep detailed property records, except for tax purposes.” He added, “when the data was actually verified, it turned out that among the 19 households categorized in the first group, the required livestock numbers were insufficient” [19; 131].

The district commission petitioned the Council of People’s Commissars (SNK) for the confiscation and deportation of these 19 bai households based on Note 2 of Paragraph 1 of the Decree on the Confiscation of Bai Households [25; 9]. On October 22, 1928, the Regional Commission for the Confiscation and Deportation of Bai Households under the KazCEC held a meeting in which it resolved to submit for approval to the SNK the decision to confiscate and deport these 19 households [26; 54].

To implement repressive measures under the Decree against households included in preliminary lists, authorities relied on Paragraph 1 of the Resolution of the Central Executive Committee (CEC) and the Council of People’s Commissars (SNK) of the Kazakh ASSR dated August 27, 1928, “On the Confiscation of Bai Households.” In practice, it was common for multiple households belonging to relatives to be merged under the name of a single owner listed by the authorities. This allowed for the confiscation of property and the deportation of several families at once, thereby broadening the scope of repression. In their appeals to cancel the confiscation measures against them, repressed families from the Petropavl District, including Nurgali and Temirgali Zhilkybayev (sons of Zhilkybay Saberdin), the Maikutovs, Aitzhanov (a nephew of Rakhimzhan Shektybayev), and relatives of Nuraly Muzhikov, Suleiman Isin, and Shokum Kenzhegarin, all pointed to such violations as the primary cause for the repressions they experienced.

A telling example of this practice is the case involving the confiscation and deportation of Nuraly Sholtykov [26; 33]. According to case materials, in a complaint submitted to the All-Russian Central Executive Committee (VTsIK), Sholtykov stated that local authorities — the aul council, district executive committee (raispolkom), and district-level executive committee (okrispolkom) — arbitrarily changed his surname from “Sholtykov” to “Muzhikov.” Similar changes were made to the surnames of other descendants of their common ancestor named Muzhik, including Sholtykov’s third cousin Zhanaydar Amrin and his fourth cousin Zhangazy Koshanov, who originally had different surnames. This allowed the authorities to formally merge several related households into one and appoint Nuraly Sholtykov as its head, thereby including him on the list of those subject to repression.

Moreover, changing the surname to “Muzhikov” enabled the authorities to argue a familial connection between Nuraly Sholtykov and Trzhan Muzhikov, who had served as a volost governor before the revolution. This created an artificial sense of continuity and grounds for repression based on alleged ties to a formerly wealthy or powerful social class.

A similar case occurred with Ahmet Aytazhanov, a nephew of Rakhimzhan Shektybayev [27; 313]. By formally merging their households, local authorities raised the number of livestock in Shektybayev’s household to the threshold required for repression, although it still fell short of the amount mandated by the “Decree on Confiscation” The district commission then petitioned for confiscation and deportation under Note 2 of Paragraph 1 of the Resolution.

One method used to apply repressive measures under the Decree involved forcibly reclassifying households from semi-nomadic to sedentary agricultural. This reclassification meant that the acceptable livestock threshold dropped from 300 to 150 head of cattle — or even to 100, as determined by local authorities. This punitive measure was applied by the district commission to the households of Baimagambet and Khasanbay Maikutov, Sadvokas Tokzhanov, Mukhamedzhan Makenov, and Tasan Kuyukov [25; 10]. On October 27, 1928, the Central Confiscation Commission approved the Petropavl District commission’s petition and included these households in the list for confiscation under Note 1 to Paragraph 1 of the Decree, forwarding the decision to the VTsIK for final approval.

Those subjected to confiscation and deportation, being among the socially and economically active members of society, attempted to defend themselves through every available legal channel, including appeals to higher government bodies. According to the “summary of complaints reviewed by the Party Confiscation Commission,” as of late November 1928, the Central Confiscation Commission under KazCEC had received 243 letters and telegrams complaining about the improper application of the KazCEC’s confiscation decree and the artificial merging of households. Of these, 22 complaints came from the Petropavl District [27; 269]. Archival records show that only two of these complaints were upheld: Husina Abdrahimova, the wife of Sultan Abdrahimov, was permitted to reside in Omsk for four months during medical treatment, and the aforementioned case involving the release of Zhabai Satybaev from confiscation was granted [27; 283].

Deported individuals to the Aktobe district continued to submit complaints to the All-Russian Central Executive Committee (VTsIK) even after their expulsion. Archival records contain appeals from A. Nurmukhamedov, Zainulla (son of Nurtaza Kemelov), Idrisov Malik, Tokzhanov Sadvokas, and Negmetzhan's son, Bekmagambetov, among others. All of these appeals were forwarded from the VTsIK to the Kazakh Central Executive Committee (KazTsIK), where resolutions were issued with the standard stamp "Denied" and filed into personal case folders.

The distribution of confiscated livestock among laborers, the poor, and collective farms began in the second decade of October 1928. According to a letter from Kh. Yusupbekov to the Regional Committee of the VKP(b), "as of October 10, distribution began in two sub-districts — Kokshetau and Enbekshilder. For October 14, distribution is planned in the Kzyltu sub-district, and for the remaining sub-districts it will begin no later than October 16" [19; 131]. During the redistribution process, Yusupbekov noted that "the number of poorest households (owning fewer than eight heads of livestock) in each sub-district was extremely high — from 400 to over 1,000," which meant the available stock was insufficient to meet the needs of all recipients.

Additionally, it was established that members of newly created collective farms — who, according to the Decree of the CEC and SNK of the Kazakh ASSR dated August 27, 1928, were entitled to 30 % of the confiscated property — were often destitute individuals, primarily landless laborers. Therefore, it was decided to prioritize livestock allocation to poor households for whom it was truly necessary and sufficient to maintain agricultural activity. Concerning distribution within collective farms, the district commission resolved:

"Collective farms with impoverished members shall be provided for from the 30 % collective fund to a greater extent than others, with the understanding that the collective farm statutes would regulate the redistribution of this property in order to improve the material conditions of the most disadvantaged members."

In the resolution of the First Petropavl District Party Conference, held from October 26 to November 3, 1928, it was stated that "Confiscation facilitated the release of the productive forces of the aul, contributing to the economic uplift of the laborer and poor strata, transforming them from consumer-based into productive households" [28; 32]. However, in practice, these claims appear questionable. In the seven Kazakh sub-districts of the Petropavlovsk region, the total number of households numbered in the tens of thousands. Against this backdrop, the 1,048 poor households that received confiscated livestock represented only a small fraction. Furthermore, the 9,000 heads of livestock redistributed among the needy accounted for merely 1.29 % of the total livestock population in these sub-districts, which, according to data from the district planning department of the executive committee, stood at 736.7 thousand heads in 1928 [29; 11].

Thus, despite ideological claims of significant economic transformation, the actual impact of the confiscation campaign on the socio-economic structure of rural agriculture in the region was limited. Nevertheless, this did not stop local officials and plenipotentiaries from reporting exaggerated claims about the confiscation's supposed success and positive influence on the socio-economic life of the aul.

Conclusions

– The study of the 1928 confiscation of bai households in the Petropavl District has revealed key aspects of this large-scale socio-economic campaign initiated by the Soviet authorities. The confiscation served as a crucial instrument in the policy of "Sovietizing the Kazakh aul," aimed at dismantling the traditional social structure and imposing state ideology on the population.

– The main conclusions of the study are as follows:

– The organization and implementation of the campaign were carried out through a highly centralized system, involving the mobilization of local authorities, the formation of district and sub-district commissions, intensive propaganda, and the mobilization of impoverished rural residents. This structure enabled the authorities to legitimize repressive measures by presenting them as the "will of the people."

– The repressive nature of the campaign was evident in the use of inflated confiscation criteria, forced amalgamation of related households, manipulation of surnames, and other tactics designed to expand the pool of targeted individuals. Complaints submitted by deported individuals to higher authorities were routinely dismissed, underscoring the political partiality of the process.

– The socio-economic outcomes were ambivalent. Despite official claims of supporting the poor and fostering collective farms, the actual economic impact was marginal: livestock redistribution reached only a limited portion of the population, and the quantities involved were insufficient to meaningfully improve the aul's overall well-being.

– The confiscation of bai households anticipated more extensive repressive campaigns, such as collectivization and the mass famine (asharshylyq), which profoundly reshaped the trajectory of Kazakh society. Analyzing the regional dynamics of this campaign, as demonstrated in the case of the Petropavl District, provides deeper insight into the mechanisms of Soviet modernization and its devastating consequences for traditional life.

References

- 1 Голощекин Ф.И. Партийное строительство в Казахстане: сборник речей и статей (1925–1930 гг.) / Ф.И. Голощекин; под общ. ред. П.М. Рыскова. — Москва; Алма-Ата: Гос. изд-во РСФСР, 1930. — 344 с.
- 2 Қайыпназарұлы М. Кәмпеске науқанының қорытындысы / М. Қайыпназарұлы. — Қызылжар, 1928. — 19 б.
- 3 Сапарбекұлы С. Кәмпеске қорытындысы / С. Сапарбекұлы. — Қызылорда: Қазақстан баспасы, 1929. — 36 б.
- 4 Кучкин А.П. Советизация казахского аула 1926–1929 / А.П. Кучкин; АН СССР, Институт истории. — Москва: Академия наук СССР, 1962. — 430 с.
- 5 Турсунбаев А.Б. Победа колхозного строя в Казахстане / А.Б. Турсунбаев. — Алма-Ата: Казгосиздат, 1957. — 325 с.
- 6 Дахшлейгер Г.Ф. Социально-экономические преобразования в ауле и деревне Казахстана (1921–1929 гг.) / Г.Ф. Дахшлейгер. — Алма-Ата: Наука, 1965. — 280 с.
- 7 Козыбаев М.К. Коллективизация в Казахстане: трагедия крестьянства / М.К. Козыбаев, Ж.Б. Абылхожин, К.С. Алдажуманов. — Алма-Ата: Казахстан, 1992. — 256 с.
- 8 Койгелдиев М.К. Сталинизм и репрессии в Казахстане 1920–1940-х годов / М.К. Койгелдиев. — Алматы: Дайк-Пресс, 2009. — 448 с.
- 9 Омарбеков Т. 20–30 жылдардағы Қазақстан қасіреті: көмекші оқу құралы / Т. Омарбеков. — Алматы: Санат, 1997. — 160 б.
- 10 Жакишева С.А. Элиминация байских хозяйств в Казахстане на рубеже 20–30-х гг. XX в.: новые подходы, методы и технологии / С.А. Жакишева. — Алматы: Қазақ университеті, 2021. — 222 с.
- 11 Оразов Р.Е. Жетісу: қазақ байларын тәркілеудің барысы мен салдары / Р.Е. Оразов // Отан тарихы. — 2015. — № 1. — Б. 100–117.
- 12 Кенжебаева Г.К. Подготовительная работа Казкрайкома по проведению конфискации крупных байских хозяйств Казахстана в период февраля–августа 1928 г. / Г.К. Кенжебаева, З.Е. Кабылдинов, Т.А. Рыскулова // Вестник КазНПУ имени Абая. Серия «Исторические и социально-политические науки». — 2024. — Т. 4, № 83. — С. 7–18.
- 13 Огайон И. Седентаризация казахов СССР при Сталине: коллективизация и социальные изменения (1928–1945) / И. Огайон; пер. с фр. А.Т. Ракишева; сост. Б.М. Сужиков. — Алматы: Санат, 2009. — 416 с.
- 14 Киндлер Р. Сталинские кочевники: власть и голод в Казахстане / Р. Киндлер. — Москва: РОССПЭН, 2017. — 381 с. — (Исследования по истории насилия в XX веке).
- 15 Кэмерон С. Голодная степь: голод, насилие и формирование Советского Казахстана / С. Кэмерон; пер. с англ. — М.: Новое литературное обозрение, 2020. — 320 с.
- 16 Саяси қуғын-сүргін құрбандарын толық ақтау жөніндегі Мемлекеттік комиссияның материалдары (XX ғасырдың 20–50 жылдары) = Материалы Государственной комиссии по полной реабилитации жертв политических репрессий (20–50 годы XX века). Т. 32. Политические репрессии в Северо-Казахстанской области (1920–1950-е гг.): сборник документов и материалов / Сост. тома: С.З. Маликова, А.Г. Ибраева, Л.А. Гривенная, Н.А. Абуов, З.К. Картова, А.Н. Садаев; под общ. ред. Е.Т. Карина. — Астана: ТОО «Литера-М», 2022. — 384 с.
- 17 Резолюции VI Всеказахской краевой партконференции. — Кзыл-Орда: [б. и.], 1928. — 42 с.
- 18 Трагедия казахского аула. 1928–1934: Сборник документов / сост.: А.С. Зулкашева (отв. ред.), Г.Т. Исахан, Г.М. Каратаева; редкол.: Х.М. Абжанов и др. — Алматы: Раритет, 2013. — Т. 1: 1928 — апрель 1929. — 743 с.
- 19 Архив Президента Республики Казахстан (далее — АП РК). — Ф. 141. — Оп. 1. — Д. 2068.
- 20 Государственный архив Северо-Казахстанской области (далее — СКГА). — Ф. 195. — Оп. 1. — Д. 14.
- 21 Муқанов С. Школа жизни: роман / С. Муқанов; пер. с каз. А. Брагина. — Астана: Аударма, 2011. — Кн. 3. — 471 с.
- 22 Материалы Государственной комиссии по полной реабилитации жертв политических репрессий (20–30 годы XX века) / под общ. ред. Е.Т. Карина. — Нур-Султан: Дәуір, 2022. — Т. 2. — 548 с.
- 23 Центральный государственный архив Республики Казахстан (далее — ЦГА РК). — Ф. 135. — Оп. 1. — Д. 648.
- 24 Мұқанов Қ. Бір әулеттің тарихы / Қ. Мұқанов, С. Жұмабаев. — Петропавл: Солтүстік Қазақстан облыстық өлкетану мұражайы, «Асыл мұра» орталығы, 2003. — 262 б.
- 25 АП РК. — Ф. 141. — Оп. 1. — Д. 2326.
- 26 ЦГА РК. — Ф. 135. — Оп. 1. — Д. 904.
- 27 Ашаршылық. Голод. 1928–1934. Документальная хроника. Сб. док. Т. 8: 1928–1929 / отв. редактор Е. Сыдыков. — Алматы: Керемет медиа, 2023. — 600 с.

28 Резолюции Первой Петропавловской окружной партийной конференции (26 октября — 3 ноября 1928 г.). — Петропавловск: 1-я гостип., 1929. — 58 с.

29 Конъюнктурный обзор народного хозяйства Петропавловского округа Казахстана за 1928-29 год. — Петропавловск: Изд. Окрплана, 1930. — 48 с.

Ш.Т. Бектасов, М.З. Утегенов, А.Т. Бексеитова

1928 жылы Петропавл округіндегі бай шаруашылықтарын тәркілеуді жүзеге асырудағы жергілікті биліктің рөлі

Мақалада 1928 жылы Петропавл округінде қазақ байларының мүлкін тәркілеу науқанын жүзеге асыруда жергілікті биліктің рөлі қарастырылған. Кеңес билігі бастаған бұл науқан ресми түрде «феодализмнің қалдықтарын жою» мен қазақ ауылын кеңестендіруді көздеді. Алайда, бұл зерттеуде дәлелденгендей, науқан бұдан әлдеқайда ауқымды саяси мақсаттарға қызмет етті. Ол Қазақстанның ауылдық жерлерінде мемлекеттік бақылау мен қуғын-сүргінді кеңейту үшін негіз бола отырып, неғұрлым кең саяси функцияларды атқарды. Авторлар ұлттық және аймақтық жинақтардан аз зерттелген мұрағаттық материалдарды, сондай-ақ Саяси қуғын-сүргін құрбандарын толық ақтау жөніндегі мемлекеттік комиссияның құжаттарын пайдалана отырып, бұл саясаттың аймақтық деңгейдегі механизмін қайта қарастырған. Зерттеу барысында жергілікті билік тек орталық бұйрықтарын орындап қана қоймай, олардың репрессия ауқымын кеңейткені анықталды. Бұл туыстық негізде шаруашылықтарды жасанды түрде біріктіру, әлеуметтік мәртебелерді бұрмалау және белгіленген квоталарды орындау мақсатында ауылдарды еріксіз қайта жіктеу арқылы жүзеге асырылды. Сонымен қатар тәркіленген мал мен мүлікті кедейлерге қайта бөлу тиімсіз болды: ресурстардың едәуір бөлігі колхоздарға немесе мемлекеттік қарыздарды өтеуге жіберілді. Осылайша, зерттеу нәтижелері тәркілеу идеясы әлеуметтік әділеттілік құралы ретінде дегенге күмән келтіреді. Мақала қорытындысында тәркілеу науқаны әлеуметтік әділеттіліктің құралы емес, дәстүрлі элитаны жоюға, идеологиялық бақылауды күшейтуге және мәжбүрлі ұжымдастыруға дайындыққа бағытталған саяси операция ретінде тұжырымдалған. Бұл зерттеу сталиндік дәуірдегі Қазақстандағы өзгерістерді аймақтық және дереккөздерге сүйенген нақты мысалмен сипаттау арқылы кеңестік репрессиялар тарихына маңызды үлес қосады.

Кілт сөздер: Петропавл округі, Солтүстік Қазақстан, бай шаруашылықтары, тәркілеу, ұжымдастыру, қуғын-сүргін, кеңестік саясат, жергілікті билік органдары, аграрлық науқан, жер аудару.

Ш. Т. Бектасов, М. З. Утегенов, А.Т. Бексеитова

Роль местных властей в конфискации байских хозяйств в Петропавловском округе в 1928 г.

В статье рассматривается роль местных властей в реализации кампании 1928 года по конфискации имущества зажиточных казахских хозяйств (баев) в Петропавловском округе. Кампания, инициированная советским руководством, формально была направлена на «ликвидацию остатков феодализма» и содействие советизации казахского аула. Однако, как показывает данное исследование, она выполняла более широкие политические функции, став основой для расширения государственного контроля и репрессий в сельских районах Казахстана. Используя малоизученные архивные материалы из национальных и региональных фондов, а также документы Государственной комиссии по полной реабилитации жертв политических репрессий, авторы реконструируют механику данной политики на региональном уровне. Анализ показывает, что местные власти не просто исполняли приказы центра, но и адаптировали их, расширяя масштабы репрессий. Это выразилось в искусственном объединении хозяйств родственных семей, фальсификации социальных статусов и произвольной переклассификации аулов для выполнения установленных квот. Кроме того, перераспределение конфискованного скота и имущества бедноте оказалось малоэффективным: значительная часть ресурсов направлялась в колхозы или на погашение государственных задолженностей. Таким образом, выводы исследования ставят под сомнение представление о конфискации как инструменте социальной справедливости. Кампания рассматривается как политически мотивированная операция, направленная на устранение традиционной элиты, идеологическое подчинение населения и подготовку к коллективизации. Статья вносит вклад в историографию советских репрессий, предлагая регионально ориентированный и источниковедчески насыщенный анализ сталинских преобразований в Казахстане.

Ключевые слова: Петропавловский округ, Северный Казахстан, байские хозяйства, конфискации, коллективизация, репрессии, советская политика, местные органы власти, аграрная кампания, выселение.

References

- 1 Goloshchekin, F.I. (1930). *Partiinoe stroitelstvo v Kazakhstane: Sbornik rechei i statei (1925–1930 gg.)* [Party Building in Kazakhstan: Collection of Speeches and Articles (1925–1930)]. Moscow: Alma-Ata: Gosudarstvennoe izdatelstvo RSFSR [in Russian].
- 2 Kaipnazaruly, M. (1928). *Kanpeske nauqanynyn qorytyndysy* [Results of the Confiscation Campaign]. Kyzylzhar [in Kazakh].
- 3 Saparbekuly, S. (1929). *Kanpeske qorytyndysy* [The Result of the Confiscation]. Kyzylorda: Qazaqstan baspasy [in Kazakh].
- 4 Kuchkin, A.P. (1962). *Sovetizatsiia kazakhskogo aula 1926–1929* [Sovietization of the Kazakh Aul 1926–1929]. Moscow: Akademiia nauk SSSR [in Russian].
- 5 Tursunbaev, A.B. (1957). *Pobeda kolkhoznogo stroia v Kazakhstane* [The Victory of the Collective Farm System in Kazakhstan]. Alma-Ata: Kazgosizdat [in Russian].
- 6 Dakhsheiger, G.F. (1965). *Sotsialno-ekonomicheskie preobrazovaniia v aule i derevne Kazakhstana (1921–1929 gg.)* [Socio-economic transformations in the aul and village of Kazakhstan (1921–1929)]. Alma-Ata: Nauka [in Russian].
- 7 Kozybaev, M.K., Abylkhozhin, Zh.B., & Aldazhumanov, K.S. (1992). *Kollektivizatsiia v Kazakhstane: Tragediia krestianstva* [Collectivization in Kazakhstan: The Tragedy of the Peasantry]. Alma-Ata: Kazakhstan [in Russian].
- 8 Koigeldiev, M.K. (2009). *Stalinizm i repressii v Kazakhstane 1920–1940-kh godov* [Stalinism and Repression in Kazakhstan 1920s–1940s]. Almaty: Daik-Press [in Russian].
- 9 Omarbekov, T. (1997). *20–30 zhylyrdagy Qazaqstan qasireti: komekshi oku quraly* [The Tragedy of Kazakhstan in the 1920s–1930s: A Teaching Aid]. Almaty: Sanat [in Kazakh].
- 10 Zhakisheva, S.A. (2021). *Eliminatsiia baiskikh khoziaistv v Kazakhstane na rubezhe 20–30-kh gg. XX v.: Noveye podkhody, metody i tekhnologii* [Elimination of Bai Households in Kazakhstan at the Turn of the 1920s–1930s: New Approaches, Methods, and Technologies]. Almaty: Qazaq universiteti [in Russian].
- 11 Orazov, R.E. (2015). Zhetisu: Qazaq bailaryn tarkileudin barysy men saldary [Zhetysu: The Process and Consequences of the Confiscation of Kazakh Bais]. *Otan tarihy — History of the Fatherland*, 1, 100–117 [in Kazakh].
- 12 Kenzhebaeva, G.K., Kabyldinov, Z.E., & Ryskulova, T.A. (2024). Podgotovitelnaia rabota Kazkraikoma po provedeniui konfiskatsii krupnykh baiskikh khoziaistv Kazakhstana v fevrale–avguste 1928 g. [Preparatory work of Kazkraikom for the confiscation of large bai households in Kazakhstan, February–August 1928]. *Vestnik Kazakhskogo Nacionalnogo Pedagogicheskogo Universiteta imeni Abaia. Serii «Istoricheskie i sotsialno-politicheskie nauki» — Bulletin of the Kazakh National Pedagogical University named after Abay. Series “Historical and socio-political sciences”*, 4(83), 7–18 [in Russian].
- 13 Ogaion, I. (2009). *Sedentarizatsiia kazakhov SSSR pri Staline: Kollektivizatsiia i sotsialnye izmeneniia (1928–1945)* [Sedentarization of the Kazakh USSR under Stalin: Collectivization and Social Changes (1928–1945)]. (Trans). Almaty: Sanat [in Russian].
- 14 Kindler, R. (2017). *Stalinskie kochevniki: vlast i golod v Kazakhstane* [Stalin’s Nomads: Power and Famine in Kazakhstan]. Moscow: ROSSPEN [in Russian].
- 15 Cameron, S. (2020). *Golodnaia step: golod, nasilie i formirovanie Sovetskogo Kazakhstana* [The Hungry Steppe: Famine, Violence and the Making of Soviet Kazakhstan]. (Trans). Moscow: Novoe literaturnoe obozrenie [in Russian].
- 16 Malikova, S.Z., Ibraeva, A.G., Grivennaia, L.A., Abuov, N.A., Kartova, Z.K., & Sadaev, A.N. (Comp.) (2022). Saiasi qugyn-surgin qurbandaryn tolyq aqtau zhonindegi Memlekettik komissiiianyn materialdary (XX ghasyrdyn 20-50 zhyldary) = Materialy Gosudarstvennoi komissii po polnoi reabilitatsii zhertv politicheskikh repressii (20–50 gody XX veka). T. 32. Politicheskii repressii v Severo-Kazakhstanskoi oblasti (1920–1950-e gg.): sbornik dokumentov i materialov [Materials of the State Commission for the Full Rehabilitation of Victims of Political Repression (1920s–1950s). Collection of documents and materials. Vol. 32: Political Repressions in the North Kazakhstan Region]. Astana: TOO «LITERA-M». [in Kazakh, in Russian].
- 17 (1928). *Rezoliutsii VI Vsekazakskoi kraevoi partkonferentsii* [Resolutions of the VI All-Kazakh Regional Party Conference]. Kyzyl-Orda [in Russian].
- 18 Zulkasheva, A.S., Isakhan, G.T., & Karataeva, G.M. (Eds.) (2013). *Tragediia kazakhskogo aula. 1928–1934: Sbornik dokumentov. T. 1: 1928–aprel 1929* [The Tragedy of the Kazakh Aul. 1928–1934: Document Collection. Vol. 1]. Almaty: Raritet [in Russian].
- 19 AP RK [Archive of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan]. — F. 141. — Op.1. — D. 2068 [in Russian].
- 20 SK GA [State Archive of North Kazakhstan Region]. — F. 195. — Op.1. — D. 14 [in Russian].
- 21 Mukanov, S. (2011). *Shkola zhizni: roman* [School of Life: A Novel]. (A. Bragin, Trans.). Book 3. Astana: Audarma [in Russian].
- 22 (2022). *Materialy Gosudarstvennoi komissii po polnoi reabilitatsii zhertv politicheskikh repressii (20–30 gody XX veka)*. [Materials of the State Commission for the Full Rehabilitation of Victims of Political Repression (1920s–1950s)]. Vol. 2. Nur-Sultan: Daur [in Russian].
- 23 TsGA RK [Central State Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan (hereinafter — TsGA RK)]. — F. 135. — Op. 1. — D. 648 [in Russian].
- 24 Mukanov, K., & Zhumabaev, S. (2003). *Bir aulettin tarihy* [The History of One Family]. Petropavl: Soltustik Qazaqstan oblystyq muzei, Asyl mura ortalogy [in Kazakh].

- 25 AP RK [Archive of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan]. — F. 141. — Op. 1. — D. 2326 [in Russian].
- 26 TsGA RK [Central State Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan]. — F. 135. — Op. 1. — D. 904 [in Russian].
- 27 (2023). *Asharshylyq. Golod. 1928–1934. Dokumental'naiia khronika. Sb. dok. T. 8: 1928-1929* [Famine. Hunger. 1928–1934. Documentary Chronicle. Collection of Documents. Vol. 8.: 1928-1929] (E. Sydykov, Ed.). Almaty: Keremet Media [in Russian].
- 28 (1929). *Rezoliutsii Pervoi Petropavlovskoi okruzhnoi partiinoi konferentsii (26 oktiabria — 3 noiabria 1928 g.)* [Resolutions of the First Petropavl District Party Conference (October 26 — November 3, 1928)]. Petropavlovsk: 1-ia gosudarstvennaia tipografiia [in Russian].
- 29 (1930). *Konyunkturnyi obzor narodnogo khoziaistva Petropavlovskogo okruga Kazakhstana za 1928-29 god* [Conjunctural Review of the National Economy of the Petropavl District of Kazakhstan for 1928-29]. Petropavlovsk: Izdanie Okrplana [in Russian].

Information about the authors

Bektassov Shagban — PhD Student, Researcher, Sh. Ualikhanov Kokshetau University, Kokshetau, Kazakhstan; <https://orcid.org/0009-0008-9109-2794>

Utegenov Marat — Candidate of Historical Sciences, Associate Professor, Sh. Ualikhanov Kokshetau University, Kokshetau, Kazakhstan; <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-7748-0925>

Bekseitova Akbota — Candidate of Historical Sciences, Associate Professor, Sh. Ualikhanov Kokshetau University, Kokshetau, Kazakhstan; <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-0987-7234>