

ҚАЗАҚСТАН РЕСПУБЛИКАСЫ  
ҒЫЛЫМ ЖӘНЕ ЖОҒАРЫ БІЛІМ МИНИСТРАЛІГІ  
ҒЫЛЫМ КОМИТЕТІ  
Ш.Ш. УӘЛИХАНОВ АТЫНДАҒЫ ТАРИХ ЖӘНЕ ЭТНОЛОГИЯ ИНСТИТУТЫ



# «EDU.E-HISTORY.KZ» ЭЛЕКТРОНДЫҚ ҒЫЛЫМИ ЖУРНАЛЫ



2023. 10(1)  
ISSN 2710-3994



ISSN 2710-3994 (online)

*Құрылтайшысы және баспагері:* Қазақстан Республикасы Ғылым және жоғары білім министрлігі  
Ғылым комитеті Ш.Ш. Уәлиханов атындағы Тарих және этнология институты ШЖҚ РМК

Ғылыми журнал Қазақстан Республикасы Инвестициялар және даму министрлігінің Байланыс, ақпараттандыру және ақпарат комитетінде 2014 ж. 29 қазанында тіркелген. Тіркеу нөмірі № 14602-ИА. Жылына 4 рет жарияланады (электронды нұсқада).

Журналда тарих ғылымының *келесі бағыттары* бойынша ғылыми жұмыстар жарияланады: тарих (дүниежүзі және Қазақстан тарихы), деректану және тарихнама, археология, этнология, антропология.

*Жарияланым тілдері:* қазақ, орыс, ағылшын.

*Редакция мен баспаның мекен-жайы:*

050010 Қазақстан Республикасы, Алматы қ., Шевченко көш., 28-үй

ҚР ҒЖБМ ҒК Ш.Ш. Уәлиханов атындағы Тарих және этнология институты ШЖҚ РМК

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ISSN 2710-3994 (online)

*Учредитель и издатель:* РГП на ПХВ «Институт истории и этнологии им.Ч.Ч. Валиханова»  
Комитета науки Министерства науки и высшего образования Республики Казахстан

Научный журнал зарегистрирован в Комитете связи, информатизации и информации Министерства по инвестициям и развитию Республики Казахстан, свидетельство о регистрации: № 14602-ИА от 29.10.2014 г. Публикуется 4 раза в год (в электронном формате).

В журнале публикуются научные работы *по следующим направлениям* исторической науки: история (всемирная история и история Казахстана), источниковедение и историография, археология, этнология, антропология.

*Языки публикации:* казахский, русский, английский.

*Адрес редакции и издательства:*

050010 Республика Казахстан, г. Алматы, ул. Шевченко, д. 28

РГП на ПХВ Институт истории и этнологии им. Ч.Ч. Валиханова КН МНВО РК

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ISSN 2710-3994 (online)

*Founder and publisher:* RSE on REM “Ch.Ch. Valikhanov Institute of History and Ethnology” of the Committee of Science of the Ministry of Science and Higher Education of the Republic of Kazakhstan

The scientific journal is registered at the Committee for Communications, Informatization and Information of the Ministry for Investments and Development of the Republic of Kazakhstan, registration certificate: No. 14602-ИА dated October 29, 2014. The journal is published 4 times a year (in electronic format).

The journal publishes scientific works in the *following areas* of historical science: history (world history and history of Kazakhstan), source studies and historiography, archeology, ethnology, anthropology.

*Publication languages:* Kazakh, Russian, English.

*Editorial and publisher address:*

28 Shevchenko Str., 050010, Almaty, Republic of Kazakhstan

RSE on REM Ch.Ch. Valikhanov Institute of History and Ethnology CS MSHE of the Republic of Kazakhstan

Tel.: +7 (727) 261-67-19, +7 (727) 272-47-59

E-mail: edu.history@bk.ru.

Journal website: <https://edu.e-history.kz>

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Published in the Republic of Kazakhstan  
 Edu.e-history.kz  
 Has been issued as a journal since 2014  
 ISSN 2710-3994.  
 Vol. 10. Is. 1, pp. 111–123, 2023  
 Journal homepage: <https://edu.e-history.kz>


FTAXP / MPHTI / IRSTI 03.61.00  
[https://doi.org/10.51943/2710-3994\\_2023\\_33\\_1\\_111-123](https://doi.org/10.51943/2710-3994_2023_33_1_111-123)


## BIAS OF INVESTIGATION MATERIALS IN THE USSR IN THE CONTEXT OF "SADVOKASOVSHINA" (1928–1938)

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**Abstract.** *Introduction* In Kazakhstan are underway the processes of the rehabilitation of Alash movement members and their role in social-political development is reevaluated, as well critical assessment of their historical legacy due to the opening of archives. A special place among the Alash members is ranked by Smagul Sadvokassov whose role in the modernization processes of the soviet Kazakhstan has not yet been properly studied. The historical literature has not critically evaluated investigation materials and other sources as the access there was an unspoken ban on access to investigative materials in which Sadvokasov's name was mentioned. *Goals and objectives.* The article is aimed to reveal the mechanism of that policy, which allowed not only to create a politically false label ("sadvokasovschina"), but also to build accusations against many people who personally knew Smagul. *Results* The authors studied narratives – oral memoirs of CHSIR – family members of "traitors to the Motherland", materials of interrogations in different locations, in the North Kazakhstan region inclusive. *Conclusions* The sources are systematized chronologically, identified by affiliation and authorship by methods of induction-deduction, logic, analysis and synthesis. The value and practical significance of the conducted research lies in: rethinking the events of the past on the basis of a comparative analysis of sources of different genres; revealing the nefarious mechanism of the "invention" of labels like "sadvokasovschina", when the names of famous figures were used during the investigation as a means of pressure on the national intelligentsia, which led to a partial loss of identity and disorientation of the arrested, against the background of that the rights of citizens were violated in the USSR. The materials of interrogations of media workers in the "small" Homeland of



S. Sadvokasov were studied for the first time, which made it possible to compare them with sources in other locations. The results of the work will help in determining Sadvokasov's true place in the socio-political atmosphere of the region, restoring his honest name, as well as his colleagues, talented editors, writers, publicists of 1920–1930, in the context of the ideology of "Zhana (New) Kazakhstan".

**Keywords:** History; repression; USSR; Sadvokasov Smagul; bias

**Acknowledgment.** The article was written as part of the implementation of the IRN AR09261139 grant project "State, public, scientific and pedagogical activities of Smagul Saduakasuly" (based on new archival and written sources)."


**For citation:** Komilov N.B., Kassymova D.B., Baizhumanova Z.B. Bias of investigation materials in the USSR in the context of «Sadvokasovshina» (1928–1938) // Edu.e-history.kz. 2023. Vol. 10. No. 1. Pp. 111–123. DOI: 10.51943/2710-3994\_2023\_33\_1\_111-123.

## «САДУАҚАСОВШЫЛДЫҚ» МӘНМӘТІНІНДЕГІ КСРО-ДАҒЫ ТЕРГЕУ ІСІ МАТЕРИАЛДАРЫНЫҢ БҰРМАЛАУШЫЛЫҚТАРЫ (1928–1938)

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**Аңдатпа.** *Kіріспе.* Архивтерге қол жетімділіктің арқасында Қазақстанда Алаш қозғалысы қайраткерлерін ақтау, олардың әлеуметтік-саяси дамудағы рөлі және тарихи мұраларын сыни бағалау үдерістері жүріп жатыр. Кеңестік Қазақстанды жаңғыртуда Алаш қайраткерлерінің қатарындағы Смағұл Сәдуақасовтың рөлі әлі толық зерттелмеген. Тарихи әдебиеттерде С. Сәдуақасов туралы тергеу материалдары мен басқа да дереккөздерге баға берілмеген, өйткені ұзақ уақыт бойы Сәдуақасовтың аты аталған тергеу материалдарына қол жеткізу мүмкін болмады. *Зерттеудің мақсаты мен міндеттері* Мақалада Смағұлмен жекелей таныс көптеген адамдарға тағылған айыптардың негізінде саяси жалған айып ("сәдуақасовшылық") жасау механизмін ашу міндеті қойылған. *Нәтижелер.* Авторлар ЧСИР — отбасы мүшелерінің "Отан сатқындары" атты ауызша естеліктерін, негізінен Солтүстік Қазақстан облысы бойынша жауап алу материалдарын зерделеді. Дереккөздер хронологиялық түрде жүйеленіп, индукция-дедукция, логика, талдау және синтез әдістерімен тиесілігі мен авторлығы бойынша анықталды. Қорытындылар әртүрлі жанрлық дереккөздерді компаративті талдау негізінде өткен оқиғаларды қайта түсіндірді; "сәдуақасовшылық" сынды жапсырмаларды "ойлап табу" механизмі ашылды, онда белгілі қайраткерлердің тегі тергеу кезінде ұлттық зиялы қауымға қысым жасау құралы

ретінде пайдаланылды, бұл тұтқындалушының жеке басын ішінара жоғалтуға және бағдарсыздыққа әкелді, КСРО-да азаматтардың құқықтары бұзылды. *Қорытынды.* БАҚ қызметкерлерінен саяси қуғын-сүргін кезеңіндегі жауап алу материалдары алғаш рет зерттелді, бұл оларды басқа да дереккөздермен салыстыруға мүмкіндік берді. Жұмыстың қорытындысы Садвокасовтың өлкенің әлеуметтік-саяси ахуалындағы шынайы орнын анықтауға, оның адал есімін қалпына келтіруге, сонымен қатар 1920–1930 жж. оның әріптестерін, талантты редакторларды, жазушыларды, публицистерді ақтауға мүмкіндік береді.

**Түйін сөздер:** Тарих; қуғын-сүргін; КСРО; Сәдуақасов Смағұл; бұрмалаушылық.

**Алғыс айту.** Мақала Қазақстан Республикасы Ғылым және жоғары білім министрлігінің «Смағұл Сәдуақасұлының мемлекеттік, қоғамдық және ғылыми-педагогикалық қызметі» (жаңа мұрағаттық және жазбаша дереккөздер негізінде)» гранттық қаржыландыру жобасын іске асыру шеңберінде орындалды (жеке тіркеу нөмірі АР09261139).


**Дәйексөз үшін:** Комилов Н., Касымова Д.Б., Байжуманова З.Б. 1928–1938 жж. «Сәдуақасовшылық» мәнісіндегі КСРО-дағы тергеу ісі материалдарының бұрмалаушылықтары // Edu.e-history.kz. 2023. Т. 10. № 1. С. 111–123. (Ағылшын) DOI: 10.51943/2710-3994\_2023\_33\_1\_111-123.

## ПРЕДВЗЯТОСТЬ МАТЕРИАЛОВ СЛЕДСТВИЯ В СССР В КОНТЕКСТЕ «САДВОКАСОВЩИНЫ» (1928–1938)

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**Аннотация.** *Введение.* В Казахстане идут процессы реабилитации деятелей движения Алаш и их роли в социально-политическом развитии, критической оценки их исторического наследия в связи с открытием архивов. Особое место в ряду деятелей Алаш занимает Смагул Садвокасов, чья роль в процессах модернизации советского Казахстана еще не изучена полностью. В исторической литературе о С. Садвокасове не дана оценка следственным материалам и другим источникам, поскольку долгое время не было доступа к следственным материалам, в которых упоминалось имя Садвокасова. *Цель и задачи исследования* В статье ставится задача раскрыть механизм создания политически ложного ярлыка («садвокасовщина»), который был в основе

обвинений против многих лиц, лично знакомых со Смагулом. *Результаты* Авторами были изучены нарративы — устные мемуары ЧСИР — членов семей «изменников Родины», материалы допросов арестованных по разным локациям, главным образом, по Северо-Казахстанской области. Источники систематизированы хронологически, идентифицированы по принадлежности и авторству методами индукции-дедукции, логики, анализа и синтеза. *Выводы* Были переосмыслены события прошлого на основе компаративного анализа разножанровых источников; раскрыт механизм «изобретения» ярлыков по типу «сadvokassovschina», когда фамилии известных деятелей использовались во время следствия как средство давления на национальную интеллигенцию, что вело к частичной утере идентичности и дезориентации арестованного, на фоне того, что в СССР были нарушены права граждан. *Заключение* Изучены впервые материалы допросов работников СМИ на «малой» Родине Сadvokassov, что позволило сравнить их с источниками в других локациях. Итоги работы помогут в определении истинного места Сadvokassov в социально-политической атмосфере края, восстановлении его честного имени, его коллег, талантливых редакторов, писателей, публицистов 1920–1930 гг., в контексте идеологии «Жаңа Қазақстан».

**Ключевые слова:** История; репрессии; СССР; Сadvokassov Смагул; предвзятость

**Благодарность.** Статья подготовлена в рамках реализации проекта грантового финансирования Министерства высшего образования и науки Республики Казахстан «Государственная, общественная и научно-педагогическая деятельность Смагула Садуакасулы» (на основе новых архивных и письменных источников)» (регистрационный номер AP09261139 AP09261139).

**Для цитирования:** Комилов Н.Б., Касымова Д.Б., Байжуманова З.Б. Предвзятость материалов следствия в СССР в контексте «Сadvokassovschina» (1928–1938) // Edu.e-history.kz. 2023. Т. 10. № 1. С. 111–123. (На английском) DOI: 10.51943/2710-3994\_2023\_33\_1\_111-123

## Introduction

The historiography of political reprisals in Kazakhstan is being renewed, we should note the contribution of such researchers as B. Darimbet, K. Nurpeissov, D. Kamzabek uly, Z. Kabuldinov, etc. Kamzabekuly that laid the foundation of Smagul Sadvokassov life course studies. But researchers did not assess the investigation data and other sources on S. Sadvokassov as they were banned. The article is aimed to reveal mechanism of politically false label construction (“sadvokassovschina”) employed to charge many of those connected with S. Sadvokassov. Results The authors studied the narratives — oral memories of the family members of “enemies of people”, the arrested persons’ interrogation data in various places, but the North-Kazakhstani oblast mainly. The sources were systematized and identified by origin and author by methods of induction-deduction, logic, analysis and synthesis. Results Were reevaluated the events of the past through comparative analysis of diverse genre sources; revealed mechanism of “labels” by “sadvokassovschina” type when names of famous persons were employed during the investigation process to pressurize national intelligentsia that eventually led to partial loss of identity and disorientation of those arrested, while across the USSR human and civil rights were violated. Were studied for the first time the protocols of mass media interrogations in the “minor homeland” of S. Sadvokassov and compared with the sources obtained in other areas. The results would allow to define the real place of Sadvokassov in the social-political atmosphere of the kray, rehabilitate his and names of his colleagues – talented editors, writers, journalists of 1920–1930 s in the context of “Zhana Kazakhstan” ideology. The objective of the article is to elucidate the case of the inhumane policy of the Soviet leadership in relation to the leading personnel in the national republics (Kazakhstan) in the interwar period. The subject of the study is the practice of the Soviet authorities of management and investigation, in the period of 1928–1938, in relation to suspects and detainees, in terms of compiling an indictment, as well as the use of the press to form a negative opinion of the public towards the



so-called "anti-Soviet elements". One of the victims of terror was the outstanding Kazakh leader Smagul Sadvokasov (1900–1933), who was slandered during his lifetime (since 1928, the label "sadvokasovshina" appeared in the press). In our opinion, the name of S. Sadvokasov has been used as a means of pressure on his entourage since 1929 (the first arrests among the Alash intelligentsia). The localization of arrests at the same time was extensive: Tashkent, Almaty, Kyzylorda, Petropavlovsk, Semipalatinsk, which indirectly testifies to the authority of Sadvokasov, whose position on fundamental issues of the development of the republic impressed the Communists. The objectives of the study included the study of interrogation protocols by People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (PCIA) of Kazakh leaders, communists: Baydildin, Mustambayev, Mendeshev, Aisarin and many others, including mass arrests of 1937–1938. The analysis of the content of the press of the specified period also complements the hypothesis that these texts were printed "under carbon copy". If the sources are characterized by similarity of content: the arrested were asked "standard" questions in order to "incriminate", make them nervous and admit non-existent "mistakes", then the investigation was clearly conducted according to the "pendulum principle", that is, the interrogated person was returned to the main question again and again. The investigator called the names of acquaintances (in this context, Smagul Sadvokasov) of the interrogated, thereby forcing him to recall new details of meetings, conversations. The general statement of the fact of mass illegal political repressions of 1937–1938 in Kazakhstan, as well as throughout the Union, does not exclude the study of biographies and creative heritage of those, advanced thinking, personalities who headed newspapers and magazines, were the authors of short stories and plays, novels and other printed works. The Kazakh elite, who had been educated even before the revolution, found themselves in the flow of Bolshevik influence, remained the center of enlightenment, explaining new regulations to the people, directing and certainly bearing responsibility for the situation in the province. The reservations to which the arrested condemned themselves – under the threat of physical violence against their loved ones, the reservations of colleagues, acquaintances – are an understandable forced step. Many of the entries were compiled according to the "question-answer" standard and were clearly the work of the "investigators", perhaps they were not even read out to the condemned person. According to the investigation documents, the "line" is traced to an unambiguous accusation, through the "proof" of acquaintance with S. Sadvokasov, for example.

### **Materials and methods**

The materials of this study were archival written sources from the funds of domestic archives (AP RK, CSA RK, CSA of National Security Committee RK, SA NKR) and foreign (SA RF, CSA RUzb) archives. The sources are divided into at least two categories: "investigative materials" and materials of "party purges", in which an unspoken "inquiry" was also conducted by interviewing communists for their connections with Sadvokasov. Also, on the topic of repression in Kazakhstan and the Central Asian republics of 1920–1930, narratives were studied — oral memoirs of family members of "traitors to the Motherland", recorded earlier by their relatives. For the first time, the materials of the interrogations of Abdrakhman Aisarin in the walls of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs of the North Kazakhstan region are introduced into scientific circulation. These materials date from 1937–1938. The sources are systematized chronologically, identified by affiliation and authorship. The methods of scientific dialectics are used: induction-deduction, logic, analysis and synthesis. Additionally, published biographical information from encyclopedic and reference publications and Internet portals was involved.

### **Discussion**

Literature review. Fundamental works on the history of repression are now being created in an interdisciplinary way, at the intersection of history and jurisprudence, ethnopsychology and

anthropology. Foreign authors (B. McLoughlin, A. Douglas, W. Goldman, Y. Gorlizki, M. Whittock) give a general assessment of Stalinist terror and mass repression in the USSR, in particular, Barry McLoughlin writes in his monograph about the "targeted victims" of PCIA in the person of the Soviet elite and the activists of the Comintern, (McLoughlin, 2003: 209), however, he cites the facts of repression against Poles, without naming the peoples of Central Asia. Another foreign author A. Douglas also illustrates the situation of the "Great Terror" in the Union, but without mentioning the victims among the Kazakh leaders (Douglas, 2002: 33). In the writings of W. Goldman devoted to social history, attention is correctly drawn to the fact that Stalin's repressions were accompanied by mass slogans in which ordinary people believed (Goldman, 2007: 103). Another researcher, Yoram Gorlizki, a professor at the University of Manchester, has published an interesting study on the "methods" of regional leaders in the Stalin era. In particular, he writes that local leader used political isolation and total control over information (Gorlizki, 2020: 340), and this applies to Goloshchekin's "methods" against Sadvokasov and his supporters. The initial stage of studying the activities of S.S. Sadvokasov in Kazakhstan after Independence was devoted to the publication of his lifetime articles and works, the restoration of individual stages of biography. It should be noted the contribution to this important work of B. Darimbet (1993), K. Nurpeis (1995), D. Kamzabekuly (2011), Z. Kabuldinov (2022). Kazakh researchers laid the foundation for studying the legacy of Smagul Sadvokasov, the basis of his biography. Also, today, it is important to comprehend the collected sources in terms of determining Sadvokasov's place in the socio-political atmosphere of the 1930s. Unfortunately, until now, the available historical literature on Smagul Sadvokasov has not been evaluated by investigative materials and other sources. The reason for this situation was an unspoken ban on access to investigative materials in which Sadvokasov's name was mentioned. The official obituary in December 1933 did not contain a negative assessment of his state activities, which veiled the reasons for the persecution of the prominent Kazakh leader in general. It should be recognized that so far, the attention of social scientists has been paid to senior personnel in the government, People's commissariats (Sidorov, 2017), while such a significant category for society as publicists-journalists, media editors, have not yet been fully studied, in terms of their views and creations. Many years of silence and fear are receding today, and there is a chance to revive the truth about the last days of the life of those opinion leaders. Identification of archival materials, reinterpretation of interrogation protocols, as a rule, hastily drawn up, in favor of orders from above, contradictory and "sewn with white threads", is a matter of honor for historians.

In our opinion, according to the newly discovered sources, on the basis of the updated scientific methodology of history, it was possible to reconstruct the pages of the past. It is important to reveal the mechanism of the policy that allowed not only to create a politically false label "sadvokasovism", but also to build accusations against many people who personally knew Sadvokasov. Comparative analysis allows us to compare the methods of persecution in the twentieth century of intellectuals in the republics of Central Asia and Kazakhstan. For example, the well-known Uzbek figure Abidjan Makhmudov (died in 1936) was arrested several times. His active role in the Kokand autonomy and in the Soviet period today, during the period of independence, has received well-deserved assessments (Uzbekiston, 2000: 109). Accusations of the Kazakh intelligentsia in communication with S. Sadvakasov became habitual during the years of repression, and this did not pass by A. Aisarin (1898–1938). The creative heritage of Aisarin is a cycle of published short stories and novellas. (Abdirakhman, 2019) They are both natives of Akmola province, both worked in Orenburg in 1920: Smagul in KazTSIk, while Aisarin was a member of the editorial board of the new Kazakh newspaper "Ushkyn" and "Enbek Tuy". During the Orenburg period, the secret leadership of the Kazakh periodical press was carried out by Baitursynov. In other words, Baitursynov appreciated both Aisarin and Sadvokasov as a growing breed of patriots, it was no accident that both joined the editorial boards of the newspapers for young people "Ushkyn", "Zhas Kazak". Then both find

themselves in Semipalatinsk, where Smagul showed integrity in the formation of the revkom (summer 1921). Both solved difficult tasks, being called to responsible positions, obviously influencing the views of the public. Of course, the general atmosphere of the arrangement of national statehood, common thoughts could not but have an impact on the formation of friendly relations. But Aisarin left Orenburg from 1921 to 1922 and, as secretary of A. Dzhangildin, he was sent with him as part of the "Red Caravan" project to the Kazakh regions – Akmol, Semipalatinsk (Abdrakhman, 2019: 1). The episode with participation in the activities of the "Red Caravan" is not listed in the biography of Aisarin in the Encyclopedia of the North Kazakhstan region (Severo-Kazakhstanskaya: 2004: 125). In the above edition, the name "Akkuska" parish is incorrectly indicated as the place of birth, it should be correct – Akkusakskaya (Mukanov, 2004: 125). Then Abdrakhman works in Petropavlovsk, and Smagul heads the State Planning Committee of the Republic, then, with the transfer of the capital to Kyzylorda, he is redirected to the People's Commissariat of Education. Concurrently, Sadvokasov headed the editorial offices of the newspaper "Enbekshi Kazak" and the magazine "Kyzyl Kazakhstan". For example, the issue "on the unification of the technical apparatus and the economic part of the newspapers "Enbekshi Kazak" (editor Sadvokasov) and "Soviet Steppe" was considered on March 28, 1924, at a meeting of the Kazobkom (AP RK, F. 140. L.1. C.12). In the media sphere, Smagul's position on fundamental issues was actively discussed and was known to the editor of "Bostandyk tuy" A. Aisarin, who manages to work in the Petropavlovsk District People's Court, worked in the newspapers "Bostandyk Tuy" in 1926–1932, and published in "Kenes auily" and "Enbekshi Kazak".

Then Aisarin in 1932–1937 headed the Peter and Paul branch of the Union of Writers of Kazakhstan. It should be noted that there is an inaccuracy in the dating of Aisarin's work in the editorial office of Bostandyk Tuy in the publication "Kazakhstan Encyclopedia" – the copies of the newspaper we found in January 1924 allow us to clarify that Abdrakhman prints his materials here two years earlier, i.e., already in 1924. Errors and inaccuracies in the references on the biography of Aisarin, unfortunately, have crept into foreign publications. The reason for this is the long years of lack of information about the life of the repressed Kazakh figure. So, in the Orenburg Encyclopedia the surname is distorted, and from the following text the compilers of the certificate considered that Aysaryn is a name, and Abdrakhman is a surname, which is not true. The date of death is incorrectly indicated, apparently the local historians of Orenburg region approximately established 1928, because then the novels and stories of Aisarin ceased to be published. (Orenburgskaya, 2000)

Investigative materials on the "case" of Aisarin are full of "suggestive" questions about the links with Smagul Sadvokasov. This "emphasis" of the investigation raises questions, what relation did A. Aisarin, editor of a regional periodical, to the famous statesman, head of a number of People's Commissariats S. Sadvokasov? Sadvokasov died in 1933 in Moscow. Who needed 4 years later, in 1937, to stir up his past "deviations" from the party course and accuse people who knew him on this shaky basis?!

The name of Sadvokasov in the above context was used by party bodies and in the PCIA, to many Communists, in 1937–1938, as a kind of reference point, in order to present Kozhanov, Mendeshev, Mustambayev and others with far-fetched accusations of anti-Soviet activity. One can't help but get the impression that Smagul was just as dangerous to Soviet reality as Trotsky, with whose name any criticism of the party line was associated in the USSR. After all, Sadvokasov was credited with being like-minded with the oppositional Zinoviev and Kamenev, which indirectly emphasizes the weight of his authoritative opinion among communists, the ability to express a critical opinion. Smagul himself mentioned Mendeshev's surname in his speech in Moscow in December 1921. A copy of the transcript of his report is kept in the Archive of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan. They cited the facts of oppression of the local population by the Cossacks and communists of the Sibrevkom (AP RK, F.140. L.1. C.12). At the conclusion of his report in Moscow, Sadvokasov expressed a forward-looking opinion about the pseudo-understanding of nationalism, which will be



confirmed by further developments (AP RK, F.140. L.1. C.12). Even then, Sadvokasov, in December 1921, clearly expressed his opinion about the need to change the capital of the Kazakh Republic, since Orenburg was less suitable for this role. On duty, S. Sadvokasov often criticized S. Mendeshev verbally and in the press, for slowness and political short-sightedness. It is known that they were not on friendly terms, and despite this, Mendeshev later, during the period of party "purges", was presented with the same reproaches that Goloshchekin once blamed the communist Sadvokasov.

In the funds of the AP RK are the materials of the Bureau of the Alma-Ata City Party Committee, the Protocol of the Bureau dated June 11, 1936 (AP RK, F.140. L.1. C.12. P.239). It considered the issue of "The exchange of party documents of Mendeshev Seit-Galiy." The protocol dryly records the attacks on Mendeshev, who was deliberately persuaded to recognize the leadership of a certain "Mendeshev" group. The Protocol quotes Mendeshev's expression that the name "Mendeshevskaya" was introduced by S. Sadvokasov in 1925. (AP RK, F.140. L.1. C.12. L.239). These and other materials from the archives of the RK, the RF, and the RU concerning S. Sadvokasov indicate bias towards him and his views on the part of the party elite of the republic, which influenced his decision to leave Kazakhstan. That is, we have systematized the facts of deliberate persecution of the Kazakh leader for his views that contradicted the generally accepted dogma. The hypothesis was confirmed that the judgments openly expressed by him in the press became the basis for fabricating pseudo-accusations against Sadvokasov personally and everyone who knew him and could communicate at work.

## Results

The introduction of the harsh label "sadvokasovshina" into the information field of the republics of Central Asia and Kazakhstan had a specific purpose: during Smagul's lifetime, the term appeared in 1928, after his famous article in the Moscow magazine "Bolshevik". And it was this information occasion that caused an avalanche of "revealing" materials in the regional and central media that even after the untimely death of Sadvokasov, PCIA workers continued to use the concept of "sadvokasovchina" during interrogations of previously doomed persons. We come to such a categorical conclusion after studying the investigative materials on A. Aisarin, who remained in the shadows until recently. These materials also confirm our hypothesis, especially about the intelligentsia of the northern region of Kazkrai, the "small Homeland" of Sadvokasov. In addition to this main conclusion, it was possible to clarify several related points that allow us to reproduce the atmosphere of the era under study and identify certain common and special features during the repression against the intelligentsia in the region and in the adjacent republics of Central Asia. There were persuasions, confrontations, clashing opinions, pressure on relatives, and so on. Since little was known about A. Aisarin, let us allow ourselves to describe his social circle more broadly here, in which there were a lot of Alash intellectuals.

From the materials found in the funds of the archive of the National Security Committee for the North Kazakhstan Region, it follows that Aisarin was arrested in Petropavlovsk on August 7, 1937. The questionnaire of the arrested person states that at that time he worked as an "authorized representative in the regional executive committee" (Zhertvy, 2000). The certificate contains clarifying information: "Excluded from the ranks of the CPSU (b) for hiding participation in the "Alash-Horde". At the time of his arrest, he was unemployed. Before his arrest, Aisarin was the Deputy Commissioner for Art Affairs of the Regional Executive Committee" (ADKGB NKR, F.6. L.0971. C.728.) This is a fragment of the Protocol of the interrogation of Aisarin. Petropavlovsk. On August 23, 1937, the "Aisarin Case" contains typewritten interrogation protocols – three weeks after his arrest, he did not deny the charges, despite their absurdity. Allegedly, he was a member of an "anti-Soviet nationalist" organization, which Sabit Mukanov advised him. In the same place, the protocol allegedly states from the words of the arrested person that "from 1920 to 1925, he, Aisarin, was in the anti-party group of

Sadvokasov Smagul, where he was personally involved by Sadvokasov himself." On behalf of Sadvokasov, Asarin allegedly put together a group of Komsomol members: Osipov Hasan, Dzhanchurin Karim, Uzakbayev Zhakia, Sahabin Hasenbai, so that they would pursue a nationalist line (ADKGB NKR, 1937: 64) Since 1925, he allegedly moved away from the "Sadvokasov group", but "moved in circles of nationalist-minded individuals (Mukanov Sabit, Bekenev Ilyas)." (ADKGB NKR, 1937: 64). (The protocol is not signed, interrupted. There is no signature of Aisarin on it! – Auth.). The investigators obviously overdid it, having drawn up a protocol in advance with a list of the most famous public figures of the republic, because Aisarin did not sign the papers, slander his colleagues.

The madrasah "Uzifa" became the alma mater for the Kazakh youth, in Troitsk he developed natural inclinations to prose and journalism. The editorial article of Abdrakhman Aisarin during his editorship in the newspaper "Bostandyk tuy" ("Banner of Freedom") — the body of the Akmolgubispolkom and Gubkom of the RCP(b) was found in the newspaper fund of the Republic of Kazakhstan in 1920. (CSA STD). Thus, in issue 48 (165) for 1924 of this newspaper, published in the Kazakh language, on the first page there is an article "England oz basyna bale izdep Zhur", under it there is a brief signature "Abdrakhman". Articles devoted to international political reviews were published in the 1920 s on behalf of the editor, they briefly retold information materials from the allied publications Izvestia, Pravda, etc. The editor of Bostandyk Tuy gives a critical analysis of the situation in which the British government was becoming less popular with its voters, since military spending the actions in the former colonies have reached their peak. It is no coincidence that in the article Abdrakhman Aisarin subtly remarks: "Saktykta korlyk zhok!", quoting Kazakh folk wisdom. "England zhymyskerleri sogys tilemeidi," he writes, correctly pointing out that the war is not profitable for ordinary workers, unlike the rich stratum. The editorial material reflects the outlook of the editor Aisarin, who was well-versed in the information flow and managed to convey the atmosphere of tension in England for readers, emphasizing once again the importance of peace in the relations of the powers (Bostandyk tuy, 1924: 1). Indeed, the forecast turned out to be correct. In the UK itself, economic problems caused a change in the establishment. During the pre-election period, the Labor Party relied on the slogan of recognition of the USSR and a pacifist foreign policy, which played a role - as a result of the parliamentary elections in January 1924. The first Labour government in the history of England was formed. However, it stayed at the helm of power for a short time, until December of the same year. The establishment of diplomatic relations between Great Britain and the USSR was an achievement of diplomatic missions. (Velikobritaniya...) 1924 was a year of trials for the republics of the Union: the death of leader V.I. Lenin was accompanied not only by general sadness, but a propaganda slogan was launched, through which thousands of young Communist people joined the RCP (b).

The main backbone of the editorial board of "Bostandyk tuy" at the beginning of 1924 were Abdrakhman's colleagues, many of them graduated from educational institutions of Troitsk, Ufa, as Baybatyr Yerzhanov, well-versed in the word, literate, prone to writing analytical materials. For example, in the issue 48 of "Bostandyk tuy" there is an essay by Yerzhanov Baybatyr "Fronttyñ tenelui parasyz" (Bostandyk tuy, 1924: 2). In 1924 Aisarin collaborated with the newspaper "Bostandyk Tuy" in Petropavlovsk. The indications in his biographical certificates for work in the county court give reason to think that he was acquainted with an employee of the city court, also a graduate of the Trinity College, Galiulla Galimzhanov. The latter was well acquainted with the editorial office of the newspaper "Kazak" and was the author of the one published in Kazan. A copy is stored in the Almaty archive (CSA RK. The personal fund of Galimzhanov's daughter). The Galimzhanovs Fayzulla and Galiolla were familiar with the leaders of Alash. All of them did not recognize the communist ideology in their political preferences, but they were forced to compromise. In 1932, Aisarin was entrusted to lead the Petropavlovsk branch of the Writers' Union of Kazakhstan, hence it follows that he was familiar with the writers Mukanov and Musrepov. After all, in the mid-1920 s Sabit worked as

the executive secretary of the newspaper "Bostandyk Tuy", in the mid-1930s, after graduating from Moscow, he became chairman of the Board of the Writers' Union of the Republic, that is, Abdrakhman and Sabit communicated closely. This fact was played out quite often during Abdrakhman's interrogations: Aisarin was asked provocative questions about the role of S. Mukanov in the "organization of a counter-revolutionary organization" in Moscow among Kazakh writers. A well-known researcher of the creativity of Kazakh writers, Professor T. Kakishev wrote: «...In July first Gabbas Tugzhanov, then Ilyas Zhansugurov, and Abdrakhman Aisarin were detained and imprisoned» (Kakishev, 2010). Then Kakishev quotes the archival materials he studied, what charges were brought against the chairman of the Union of Writers of Kazakhstan: "Mukanov is accused of carrying out counter-revolutionary nationalist views in his literary works, such as "Son of Bai", "Mirzabek", "Temirtas", "Literature of the XX century". Mukanov was closely associated with Seifullin, Dosmukhamedov, Asylbekov, Aisarin, Valiakhmetov and Dzhumabaev, now exposed enemies of the people. By the decision of the bureau of the Frunze City Committee KP(b) Sabit Mukanov of Kazakhstan "as an active member of a counter-revolutionary nationalist group, as an accomplice of enemies of the people and as an unarmed bourgeois nationalist "was excluded from the ranks of the party." (Kakishev). Sabit, who felt the threat of arrest, decided to leave Almaty; in the summer of 1937 he worked in Peredelkino near Moscow on completing the novel "The Mysterious Banner", and since 1936 he got a job at the Semipalatinsk Teachers' Institute, then named after Saken Seifullin.

Another countryman of Aisarin, Gabit Makhmudovich Musrepov, has been working in the media sphere at the republican level since 1928: editor-in-chief of Kazgosizdat (1928–1933), head of the arts sector of the People's Commissariat (1933–1934), editor-in-chief of the newspapers "Kazakh Adebieti" and "Enbekshi Kazak" (1934–1935), deputy head of the press department of Kazkraikom (1936), head of the department Political enlightenment of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan (1937) (North Kazakhstan: 399). Gabit Musrepov was expelled from the ranks of the party in 1938 for his statements in defense of the victims of mass famine (signed the "Letter of Five") and repressed writers, in particular, Beimbet Mailin (restored only in 1956).

The family of Aisarin, accused of involvement in Sadvokasov's group, suffered during the years of repression: his wife Madina, who had young children in her arms, was arrested a year later, by that time she was living with relatives in the Baluan collective farm of Tonkerei district (now Shal Akyn district). (Archive of the DKGB, F.6. C.0971. P.728.) In the cover letter, she was described as "the wife of an enemy of the people, the daughter of a "confiscated bai". On June 8, 1938, from Alma-Ata, her "Case No. 728" was redirected to the decision of a Special meeting of the PCIA of the USSR. By that time, the decision of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the CPSU (b) was made on July 5, 1937, at the suggestion of the PCIA, to imprison in camps for 5-8 years all the wives of convicted traitors to the motherland, members of the right-Trotskyist espionage and sabotage organization. (AP RF, F.3. L. 58. C.175.) Accordingly, according to the "Yezhov laws" (Operational: 277–281), on July 21, 1938, M. Aisarina was sentenced as a CSIR to 5 years of correctional labor in the camp under Article 58, paragraphs 2, 7.8 and 11 "through Article 17". (ADKGB. F.6. C.0971. P.12). In the case of Madina Aisarina (married since 1928), there is a "Certificate for the family of A. Aisarin", compiled by the head of the North Kazakhstan Department of the PCIA, Captain Panov. It states that Aisarin allegedly "was a member of the counter-revolutionary group of the famous Kazakh nationalist Sadvokasov Smagul. He dragged nationalist views through the pages of the press. Popularized nationalist ideas." He was charged with Article 58, paragraph 1a, 6, 7, 8, 10 and 11 of the Criminal Code (ADKGB NKR, F. 6. C.0971. P.728.). The composition of the family living in Petropavlovsk at the address: Sacco and Vanzetti Street, 24. Wife Madina 27 years and children: daughter Aina 8 years, son Ayman is 4 years old and daughter Asia is 1 year old. There is another record in the protocol that Aisarin worked as the executive secretary of the regional newspaper from 1927 to 1929 (obviously, "Enbekshi Kazakh" in Kyzylorda). Smagul Sadvokasov worked closely in



the editorial office of the newspaper "Kedei Sozi" in Omsk – his articles explaining the food cooperation were printed in the first issues, as well as Bekmukhamed Serkebayev and Mukhtar Auezov. Accordingly, through Magzhan, Abdrakhman also learned new plans for the creation of national media. The children remained under the care of relatives. A. Aisarin's wife served her sentence initially in Algeria, a year later she was transferred to the Solikamsk camp, worked at a logging site. She was rehabilitated only after Stalin's death, in 1959. According to her memoirs recorded by her children, she had no right to visit the city of Petropavlovsk for many years, was deprived of the right to work (Literaturnye, 2009: 7–8). Her son Zeynolla from his second marriage wrote an article about the tragic fate of his mother Madina (Akimzhanov, 2008). In this publication, Zeynolla Akimzhanov writes that the Asarins were friends with the poet-countryman Magzhan Zhumabayev, and when her mother was arrested, a photo of Magzhan was found at her house (Mukanov, 2004). M. Zhumabaev was at the origins of the newspaper "Bostandyk Tuy", was the editor of "Kedei Sozi" in Omsk, his poems and articles were published in Petropavlovsk. In 1927–1929, before his first arrest, Magzhan worked in Petropavlovsk in educational institutions. After returning from exile to Petropavlovsk in 1935–1937, he taught at school. Since A. Aisarin was a man who knew many Kazakh writers, publicists well, and a fellow countryman of S. Sadvokasov, it was no accident that he was interrogated: his opinion was needed by the investigation to confirm the pseudo-version of the presence of "sadvokasovshina" among media industry workers, ideological workers, especially among Smagul's countrymen. When comparing the above investigative materials with others created in Kyzylorda, Alma-Ata, Semipalatinsk, a single scheme of "exposing" enemies, built on the reservations of prominent figures of that time, is revealed. Artificially, using torture, blackmail, hypocrisy, "testimony" was extracted by PCIA employees, who often trampled on the rights of citizens with impunity. The regional authorities widely used the "stuffing" of "exposing" information about "enemies of the people" into the press, aiming to intimidate and denigrate.

### Conclusion

Thus, the comprehensive study and the materials studied allow us to conclude that the investigation in 1928–1938 in the USSR was conducted biased, and this fully applied to the leaders of the national republics. In particular, the outstanding Kazakh leader S. Sadvokasov was defamed during his lifetime (since 1928, the label "sadvokasovshina" appeared in the media). Also, the name of S. Sadvokasov has been used as a means of pressure on his entourage since 1929 (the first arrests among the Alash). The localization of arrests was extensive: Tashkent, Almaty, Kyzylorda, Petropavlovsk, Semipalatinsk. This indirectly testifies in favor of the authority of Sadvokasov, whose position on the fundamental issues of the development of the republic impressed the Communists. When reading the protocols of interrogations by PCIA bodies of Kazakh leaders, communists, since 1929: A. Aisarin and others, including mass arrests of 1937–1938, the opinion is formed that these texts were printed "under carbon copy". The sources are characterized by similarity of content: those arrested or undergoing a "party purge" were asked "standard" questions in order to "incriminate", make them nervous and admit non-existent "mistakes". Despite the fact that the investigation was conducted according to the "pendulum principle", that is, the interrogator returned to the main question again and again. The investigator called the names of acquaintances (in this context, Smagul Sadvokasov) of the interrogated, thereby forcing him to recall new details of meetings, conversations. The final stage of the interrogations was a "confession" of a person in a "crime" in the standard wording. Such a "technique" of the investigating authorities led to a partial loss of identity and even disorientation of the arrested person. Even the fact that Smagul Sadvokasov himself died at the time of interrogations of his entourage (1937–1938) (in Moscow in 1933) did not bother Soviet Themis! In other words, according to the logic of the "investigation", his name was supposed to symbolize "anti-party activity", "nationalism" and "propensity for groupings". Accordingly, everyone who was familiar with him

and collaborated within the framework of common activities (mass media, public education, etc.) was automatically enrolled in the "enemies of the people". Such a disappointing conclusion can be reached as a result of studying dozens of "protocols". Sadvokasov's surname was also used after Smagul's death (for example, during the interrogations of Aisarin and Mendeshev, Mustambayev), in 1937–1938. By way of comparative analysis, we definitely come to the conclusion that representatives of the intelligentsia in other Central Asian republics experienced similar pressure. Thus, Abidjan Makhmudov (1871–1936) was a well-known Uzbek figure, head of the press department in the Turkestan department of the People's Commissariat for Nationalities in Moscow. Yakut activist M. Ammosov, who worked in Kazkray, also became a victim of repression. Such was the situation when the rights of citizens were undoubtedly violated in the Union, up to the right of elementary protection (presumption of innocence), the right of correspondence and others. Victims of repression, which they are unequivocally, should be fully politically rehabilitated, their works returned to scientific circulation, archives declassified. Uncovering the crimes of Stalinism and restoring the honest name of S. Sadvokasov, his fellow countrymen and colleagues, talented editors, writers, publicists, lecturers from among the national elite who could benefit their people is the duty of historians and social scientists, in the context of building the community "Zhana (New) Kazakhstan".

### SOURCES

AP RK — *Archive of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan*. Almaty. F. 140. C.12. From the documents of S. Mendeshev.  
 AP RF — *Archive of the President of the Russian Federation*. F. 3. Op. 58. D. 175.  
 AUKGB SCO — *ADKGB on NCR*. F. 6. C.0971. P.728. Aisarina Madina. 1938.  
 SSA KNB — *Special State Archive of the KNB of the Republic of Kazakhstan*, Almaty.  
 CSA STD RK — *Central State Archive of Scientific and Technical Documentation of the Republic of Kazakhstan*, Almaty.  
 The fund of newspapers of the 1920s.

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## МАЗМҰНЫ

### ТЕОРИЯ ЖӘНЕ ӘДІСНАМА

**Бенхүр Ч., Жолдасұлы Т.**

ҚАЗАҚСТАН ТӘУЕЛСІЗДІГІ ЖӘНЕ ТҮРІК МЕДИАСЫ.....7

**Ван Каппел Г., Томас А.**

ҚАЗІРГІ ЗАМАН ЖӘНЕ ТОТАЛЬДЫ СОҒЫС: ТАБЫСТЫ АЛЬЯНС? (СЫНИ ТАЛДАУ).....16

**Қуанбай О.Қ.**

ЖАПОНИЯНЫҢ ПОСТБИПОЛЯРЛЫ ЖҮЙЕ ДӘУІРІНДЕГІ СЫРТҚЫ САЯСАТЫ.....26

**Нұрмұхамбетов А.А.**

XX ҒАСЫР БАСЫНДА ҰЛТ ЗИЯЛЫЛАРЫНЫҢ ҚАЗАҚ ТІЛІНДЕГІ

ОҚУЛЫҚТАР ДАЙЫНДАУДАҒЫ РӨЛІ.....41

**Ошан Ж., Бөтөнөев Ж.С.**

ҚАЗАҚСТАН ШЫҒЫСТАНУШЫЛАРЫ ЗЕРТТЕУІНДЕГІ ҚЫТАЙ АРХИВІ

ҚҰЖАТТАРЫНДАҒЫ БҰРЫТТАР (ҚЫРҒЫЗДАР) ТУРАЛЫ МАҒЛҰМАТТАР.....53

**Ужкенов Е.М., Шотанова Ғ.А., Морякова М.Т.**

ҚАЗАҚ ДАЛАСЫ ТАРИХЫНДАҒЫ КӨШПЕЛІ ЭЛИТА:

ЕЖЕЛГІ МЕМЛЕКЕТТЕН КӨШПЕЛІ ИМПЕРИЯҒА ДЕЙІН.....68

### ТАРИХ

**Бижигитова Қ.С. Джампеисова Ж.М.**

XIX ҒАСЫРДЫҢ СОҢЫ – XX ҒАСЫРДЫҢ БАСЫНДАҒЫ ЖЕТІСУ КАЗАКТАРЫ:

СӘЙКЕСТЕНДІРУ ЖӘНЕ ӨЗІН-ӨЗІ СӘЙКЕСТЕНДІРУ МӘСЕЛЕЛЕРІ.....84

**Дүйсенова Н.К., Смағұлов Б.Қ.**

МЕМЛЕКЕТТІК ОРТАЛЫҚ МУЗЕЙДІҢ 1940–1950 ЖЫЛДАРДЫҢ

БАСЫНДАҒЫ ҚЫЗМЕТІНІҢ НЕГІЗГІ БАҒЫТТАРЫ.....97

**Комилов Н., Қасымова, Д.Б., Байжұманова З.Б.**

«САДУАҚАСОВШЫЛДЫҚ» МӘНМӘТІНІНДЕГІ КСРО-ДАҒЫ

ТЕРГЕУ ІСІ МАТЕРИАЛДАРЫНЫҢ БҰРМАЛАУШЫЛЫҚТАРЫ (1928–1938).....111

**Конырова А.М.**

1860–1890 ЖЫЛДАРДАҒЫ ПАТШАЛЫҚ РЕСЕЙДІҢ ҚАЗАҚСТАНДАҒЫ

ҚОНЫСТАНДЫРУ САЯСАТЫ: ТАРИХИ-ДЕМОГРАФИЯЛЫҚ ТАЛДАУ.....124

**Мұхатова О.Х.**

ВЕРНЫЙ ЕРЛЕР ГИМНАЗИЯСЫ ЖӘНЕ ЖЕТІСУ АЛАШ ҚАЙРАТКЕРЛЕРІ.....138

**Ташағыл А., Мұқанова Г.Қ.**

КЕҢЕСТІК ҚАЗАҚСТАННЫҢ ТҰҢҒЫШ АСТАНАСЫНЫҢ ТАҒДЫРЫ.....154

**Шукеева А.Т., Буканова, Р.Г. Утегенов М.З.**

СОЛТҮСТІК ҚАЗАҚСТАННЫҢ ТЫҢ ИГЕРУ

АУДАНДАРЫНЫҢ КҮНДЕЛІКТІ ӨМІР ТАРИХЫ.....166

### АНТРОПОЛОГИЯ

**Картаева Т., Даубаев Е., Алтынбекова Э.**

«ХАН ОРДАСЫ» ҚОРЫҚ-МУЗЕЙІНДЕГІ

ҚҰДЫҚТЫ ҚАЙТА ҚАЛПЫНА КЕЛТІРУ ТӘЖІРИБЕСІ.....179

**Сакенов С., Бороффка Н.**

ҚОЛА ОРАҚ-ШАЛҒЫ – БУРАБАЙ МАҢЫНАН ТАБЫЛҒАН ЗАТ.....194

## СОДЕРЖАНИЕ

### ТЕОРИЯ МЕТОДОЛОГИИ

<b>Бенхур Ч., Жолдасулы Т.</b> НЕЗАВИСИМОСТЬ КАЗАХСТАНА И ТУРЕЦКАЯ ПРЕССА.....	7
<b>Ван Капель Г., Томас А.</b> СОВРЕМЕННОСТЬ И ТОТАЛЬНАЯ ВОЙНА: УДАЧНЫЙ АЛЬЯНС? (КРИТИЧЕСКИЙ АНАЛИЗ) .....	16
<b>Куанбай О.К.</b> ВНЕШНЯЯ ПОЛИТИКА ЯПОНИИ В ЭПОХУ ПОСТБИПОЛЯРНОЙ СИСТЕМЫ.....	26
<b>Нурмухамбетов А.А.</b> РОЛЬ НАЦИОНАЛЬНОЙ ИНТЕЛЛИГЕНЦИИ В ПОДГОТОВКЕ УЧЕБНИКОВ НА КАЗАХСКОМ ЯЗЫКЕ В НАЧАЛЕ XX ВЕКА.....	41
<b>Ошан Ж., Ботоноев Ж.С.</b> СВЕДЕНИЯ О БУРЫТАХ (КЫРГЫЗАХ) В КИТАЙСКИХ АРХИВНЫХ ДОКУМЕНТАХ, ИЗУЧЕННЫХ КАЗАХСКИМИ ВОСТОКОВЕДАМИ.....	53
<b>Ужкенов Е.М., Шотанова Г.А., Морякова М.Т.</b> КОЧЕВАЯ ЭЛИТА В ИСТОРИИ КАЗАХСКОЙ СТЕПИ: ОТ РАННЕГО ГОСУДАРСТВА ДО КОЧЕВОЙ ИМПЕРИИ.....	68

### ИСТОРИЯ

<b>Бижигитова К.С., Джампенсова Ж.М.</b> ПРОБЛЕМЫ ИДЕНТИФИКАЦИИ И САМОИДЕНТИФИКАЦИИ СЕМИРЕЧЕНСКИХ КАЗАКОВ В КОНЦЕ XIX–НАЧАЛЕ XX ВВ. ....	84
<b>Дуйсенова Н.К., Смагулов Б.К.</b> ОСНОВНЫЕ НАПРАВЛЕНИЯ ДЕЯТЕЛЬНОСТИ ЦЕНТРАЛЬНОГО ГОСУДАРСТВЕННОГО МУЗЕЯ В ПЕРИОД 1940 – НАЧАЛА 1950-Х ГОДОВ.....	97
<b>Комилов Н., Касымова Д.Б., Байжуманов З.Б.</b> ПРЕДВЗЯТОСТЬ МАТЕРИАЛОВ СЛЕДСТВИЯ В СССР В КОНТЕКСТЕ «САДВОКАСОВЩИНЫ» (1928–1938) .....	111
<b>Коньрова А.М.</b> ПЕРЕСЕЛЕНЧЕСКАЯ ПОЛИТИКА ЦАРСКОЙ РОССИИ В КАЗАХСТАНЕ В 1860–1890-Е ГОДЫ: ИСТОРИКО–ДЕМОГРАФИЧЕСКИЙ АНАЛИЗ.....	124
<b>Мухатова О.Х.</b> ВЕРНЕНСКАЯ МУЖСКАЯ ГИМНАЗИЯ И ЖЕТЫСУСКИЕ ДЕЯТЕЛИ ДВИЖЕНИЯ АЛАШ.....	138
<b>Ташагыл А., Муканова Г.К.</b> СУДЬБА ПЕРВОЙ СТОЛИЦЫ СОВЕТСКОГО КАЗАХСТАНА.....	154
<b>Шукеева А.Т., Буканова Р.Г., Утегенов М.З.</b> ИСТОРИЯ ПОВСЕДНЕВНОЙ ЖИЗНИ В ЦЕЛИННЫХ РАЙОНАХ СЕВЕРНОГО КАЗАХСТАНА.....	166

### АНТРОПОЛОГИЯ

<b>Картаева Т., Даубаев Е., Алтынбекова Э.</b> ПРАКТИКА РЕКОНСТРУКЦИИ КОЛОДЦА В МУЗЕЕ-ЗАПОВЕДНИКЕ «ХАН ОРДАСЫ» .....	179
<b>Сакенов С., Бороффка Н.</b> БРОНЗОВЫЙ СЕРП-КОСА – НАХОДКА ИЗ ОКРЕСТНОСТИ БУРАБАЯ.....	194

## CONTENTS

## THEORY OF METHODOLOGY

<b>Benhür Ç., Zholdassuly T.</b> INDEPENDENCE OF KAZAKHSTAN AND THE TURKISH PRESS.....	7
<b>Van Cappel G., Thomas A.</b> MODERNITY AND TOTAL WAR: A SUCCESSFUL MARRIAGE? (A CRITICAL ANALYSIS) .....	16
<b>Kuanbay O.K.</b> JAPAN'S FOREIGN POLICY IN THE POST-BIPOLAR SYSTEM ERA.....	26
<b>Nurmukhambetov A.A.</b> THE ROLE OF THE NATIONAL INTELLIGENTSIA IN THE PREPARATION OF TEXTBOOKS IN KAZAKH LANGUAGE IN THE EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY .....	41
<b>Oshan ZH., Botonoev ZH.</b> INFORMATION ABOUT THE BURYTS (KYRGYZ) IN CHINESE ARCHIVE DOCUMENTS STUDIED BY KAZAKH ORIENTALISTS.....	53
<b>Uzhkenov E.M., Shotanova G.A., Moryakova M.T.</b> NOMADIC ELITE IN THE HISTORY OF THE KAZAKH STEPPE: FROM THE EARLY STATE TO THE NOMADIC EMPIRE.....	68

## HISTORY

<b>Bizhigitova K., Jampeissova ZH.</b> THE PROBLEMS OF IDENTIFICATION AND SELF-IDENTIFICATION OF THE SEMIRECHYE COSSACKS IN THE LATE XIX <sup>th</sup> – EARLY XX <sup>th</sup> CENTURIES.....	84
<b>Duisenova N., Smagulov B.</b> THE MAIN ACTIVITIES OF THE CENTRAL STATE MUSEUM IN THE PERIOD BETWEEN 1940S AND EARLY 1950S.....	97
<b>Komilov N., Kassymova D., Baizhumanova Z.</b> BIAS OF INVESTIGATION MATERIALS IN THE USSR IN THE CONTEXT OF "SADVOKASOVSHINA" (1928–1938) .....	111
<b>Konyrova A.</b> RESETTLEMENT POLICY OF TSARIST RUSSIA IN KAZAKHSTAN IN THE 1860S–1890S: HISTORICAL AND DEMOGRAPHIC ANALYSIS.....	124
<b>Mukhatova O.</b> VERNY MEN'S GYMNASIUM AND ZHETYSU FIGURES OF THE ALASH MOVEMENT.....	138
<b>Tashagyl A., G. Mukanova G.</b> THE FATE OF THE FIRST CAPITAL OF SOVIET KAZAKHSTAN.....	154
<b>Shukeyeva A.T., Bukanova R.G., Utegenov M.Z.</b> EVERYDAY LIFE HISTORY IN VIRGIN LANDS OF THE NORTH KAZAKHSTAN.....	166

## ANTHROPOLOGY

<b>Kartaeva T., Daubaev Y., Altynbekova E.</b> THE PRACTICE OF WELL RECONSTRUCTION IN THE «KHAN ORDASY» MUSEUM- RESERVE.....	179
<b>Sakenov S., Boroffka N.</b> THE BRONZE SICKLE-SCYTHE – A FIND FROM THE VICINITY OF BURABAY.....	194

**EDU.E-HISTORY.KZ**

электрондық ғылыми журналы

2023. 10(1)

*Бас редактор:*  
*Қабылдинов З.Е.*

*Компьютерде беттеген:*  
*Зикирбаева В.С.*

Жарияланған күні: 28.03.2023.  
Пішімі 70x100/16. Баспа табағы 26,6.

*Құрылтайшысы және баспагері:*

Қазақстан Республикасы Ғылым және жоғары білім министрлігі Ғылым комитеті  
Ш.Ш. Уәлиханов атындағы Тарих және этнология институты ШЖҚ РМК

*Редакция мен баспаның мекен-жайы:*

050010, Қазақстан Республикасы, Алматы қ., Шевченко көш., 28-үй  
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050010 Қазақстан Республикасы, Алматы қ., Шевченко көш., 28-үй