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POLITICAL REPRESSIONS AND MARGINALIZED PEOPLE IN THE CITIES OF KAZAKHSTAN IN THE 1920S–1930S: LEGAL STATUS AND PROBLEMS OF ADAPTATION OF DISENFRANCHISED PEOPLE

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Abstract. *Introduction.* During the period of political repression in the social structure of the cities of Kazakhstan in the 1920s–1930s, a marginal part of society appeared – the disenfranchised. One of the methods of fighting the “class enemy” was the policy of deprivation of political and civil rights on class, social, national, spiritual and other grounds, expressed in restricting their rights and freedoms. This cruel idea, based on dividing the population of the Union into classes, appeared among the Soviet leadership shortly after the October Revolution of 1917, and in July 1918, deprivation of the right to vote for belonging to a certain class or social group was enshrined in a special article of the first Constitution of the RSFSR. This norm remained until the mid-1930s. *Goals and objectives.* To study the processes of deprivation of voting rights in certain regions and cities of Kazakhstan, to identify the legal status of disenfranchised people and the problems of their adaptation. *Results.* In 1923–1927, the categories of people included in the list of people deprived of voting rights in Kazakhstan were much wider and more diverse than in other territories of the Soviet Union. In Kazakhstan, first of all, bais, kulaks, participants in popular uprisings and protests, clergy, former traders, resellers, former volost managers and aul elders, and other tsarist officials who began their activities in pre-revolutionary times were deprived of their rights. Taking into account this circumstance, in the period from 1918 to 1936 in Kazakhstan hundreds of thousands of people were deprived of the right to vote for belonging to a certain class or social group, which was enshrined in a special article of the Constitution. Deprivation of voting rights entailed infringement of rights and freedoms, including the right to life. By depriving the Bolshevik-Stalinist government of voting rights, it was possible to limit on a legal basis politically active peasants who opposed the collective farm system or did not express their sympathy for it. *Conclusions.* In 1918–1936, the mechanism of extrajudicial deprivation of political electoral rights of citizens of the Soviet state, including the cities

of Kazakhstan, made it possible to remove them from the organizational and legal form. Deprivation of voting rights made it possible to neutralize a significant part of the population, made it possible to gradually introduce a policy of forceful resolution of governance issues in the region, and ultimately created the conditions for the use of repressive measures against the population of Kazakhstan.

Keywords: Political repression, deprivation of voting rights, disenfranchised, legal status, adaptation, cities of Kazakhstan

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1920–1930 ЖЫЛДАРДАҒЫ ҚАЗАҚСТАН ҚАЛАЛАРЫНДАҒЫ САЯСИ ҚУҒЫН-СҮРГІН ЖӘНЕ МАРГИНАЛДАР: САЙЛАУ ҚҰҚЫҒЫНАН АЙЫРЫЛҒАНДАРДЫҢ ҚҰҚЫҚТЫҚ МӘРТЕБЕСІ МЕН БЕЙІМДЕЛУ МӘСЕЛЕЛЕРІ

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Аңдатпа. *Kіріспе.* 1920–1930 жылдардағы Қазақстан қалаларының әлеуметтік құрылымындағы саяси қуғын-сүргін кезеңінде қоғамның маргиналды бөлігі – сайлау құқығынан айырылғандар пайда болды. «Тап жауларымен» күресу әдістерінің бірі олардың құқықтары мен бостандықтарын шектеуде көрсетілген таптық, әлеуметтік, ұлттық, рухани және басқа да белгілер бойынша саяси және азаматтық құқықтардан айыру саясаты болды. Одақ халқын таптарға бөлуге негізделген осы бір қатыгез идея 1917 жылғы Қазан төңкерісінен кейін-ақ пайда болды, ал 1918 жылы шілдеде РСФСР тұңғыш Конституциясының арнайы бабында белгілі бір тапқа немесе әлеуметтік топқа мүше болғаны дауыс беру құқығынан айыру бекітілді. Бұл норма 1930 жылдардың ортасына дейін сақталды. *Зерттеудің мақсаты мен міндеттері* – Қазақстанның жекелеген өңірлері мен қалаларындағы сайлау құқығынан айыру процестерін зерделеу, сайлау құқығынан айырылғандардың құқықтық мәртебесін және олардың бейімделу проблемаларын анықтау. *Нәтижелер.* 1923–1927 жылдары Қазақстанда сайлау құқығынан айырылғандардың тізіміне кірген адамдардың санаттары Кеңестер Одағының өзге территорияларына қарағанда әлдеқайда кең және алуан түрлі болды. Қазақстанда, ең алдымен, бай, кулактар, халық көтерілістері мен наразылықтарына қатысушылар, діни қызметкерлер, бұрынғы саудагерлер, алып-сатарлар, бұрынғы болыс

билеушілері мен ауыл старшиналары, революцияға дейін қызмет жасаған патша шенеуніктері құқығынан айырылды. Осы жағдайды ескере отырып, 1918–1936 жылдар аралығында Қазақстанда белгілі бір тапқа немесе әлеуметтік топқа жататындығы үшін жүздеген мың адам сайлау құқығынан айырылды, бұл мәселе Конституцияның ерекше бабымен бекітілді. Сайлау құқығынан айыру құқықтар мен бостандықтарға, соның ішінде өмір сүру құқығына нұқсан келтірді. Большевиктік-сталиндік билік сайлау құқығынан айыру арқылы колхоз жүйесіне қарсы шыққан немесе жанашырлық білдірмеген саяси белсенді шаруаларды құқықтық негізде шектеді. *Тұжырымдар*. 1918–1936 жылдары Кеңес мемлекеті, оның ішінде Қазақстан қалалары азаматтарын саяси сайлау құқықтарынан соттан тыс айыру тетігі оларды ұйымдық-құқықтық формадан шығаруға мүмкіндік берді. Сайлау құқығынан айыру халықтың едәуір бөлігін бейтараптандыруға, сонымен қатар өңірдегі басқару мәселелеріне қатысты күшпен шешу саясатын біртіндеп енгізуге мүмкіндік берді.

Түйін сөздері: Саяси қуғын-сүргін, сайлау құқығынан айыру, айырылғандар, құқықтық мәртебе, бейімделу, Қазақстан қалалары

Алғыс. Мақала Қазақстан Республикасы Ғылым және жоғары білім министрлігінің «XX ғасырдың 20–30 жылдарындағы Қазақстан қалалары әлеуметтік-мәдени құбылыс ретінде: этно-демографиялық және әлеуметтік-мәдени даму» тақырыбындағы гранттық қаржыландыру жобасын жүзеге асыру аясында орындалды (жеке тіркеу нөмірі: AP19678056).

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ПОЛИТИЧЕСКИЕ РЕПРЕССИИ И МАРГИНАЛЫ В ГОРОДАХ КАЗАХСТАНА В 1920–1930-Х ГГ.: ПРАВОВОЙ СТАТУС И ПРОБЛЕМЫ АДАПТАЦИИ ЛИШЕНЦЕВ

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Аннотация. *Введение.* В период политических репрессий в социальной структуре городов Казахстана в 1920–1930-х годах появляется маргинальная часть общества – лишенцы. Одним из методов борьбы с «классовым врагом» была политика лишения политических и гражданских прав по классовому, социальному, национальному, духовному и другим признакам, выражавшаяся в ограничении их прав и свобод. Эта жестокая идея, основанная на разделении населения Союза на классы, появилась у советского руководства вскоре после Октябрьской революции 1917 года, а в июле 1918 года – лишение права голоса за принадлежность к определенному классу или социальной группе было закреплено в специальной статье первой Конституции РСФСР. Эта норма сохранялась до середины 1930-х годов. *Цель и задачи исследования* – изучить процессы лишения избирательных прав в отдельных регионах и городах Казахстана, выявить правовой статус лишенцев и проблемы их

адаптации. *Результаты.* В 1923–1927 годы категорий включенных в список лишенных избирательных прав людей в Казахстане было гораздо шире и разнообразнее, чем на других территориях Советского Союза. В Казахстане, в первую очередь, лишались прав баи, кулаки, участники народных восстаний и протестов, священнослужители, бывшие торговцы, перекупщики, бывшие волостные управители и аульные старшины, другие царские чиновники, начавшие свою деятельность в дореволюционное время. С учетом этого обстоятельства, в период с 1918 до 1936 годов в Казахстане были лишены избирательного права сотни тысяч человек за принадлежность к определенному классу или социальной группе, что было закреплено в особой статье Конституции. Лишение избирательных прав влекло за собой ущемление прав и свобод, включая право на жизнь. Путем лишения избирательных прав большевистско-сталинской власти удавалось ограничить на правовой основе политически активных крестьян, выступавших против колхозного строя, либо не выражавших своё сочувствие к нему. *Выводы.* В 1918–1936 годы механизм внесудебного лишения политических избирательных прав граждан советского государства, в том числе и городах Казахстана, позволил вывести их из организационно-правовой формы. Лишение избирательных прав позволило нейтрализовать значительную часть населения, сделало возможным постепенное введение политики силового решения вопросов управления в регионе и в конечном итоге создало условия для применения репрессивных мер по отношению к населению Казахстана.

Ключевые слова: Политические репрессии, лишение избирательных прав, лишенцы, правовой статус, адаптация, города Казахстана

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Introduction

In the context of studying the social structure of the urban population of Kazakhstan during the period of mass political repression of the 1920s–1930s, the study of the legal status and methods of adaptation of disenfranchised people as a marginal part of the population is of great interest. Of course, the massive political repressions of 1920s–1930s became a great shock for society, the years of repression were deposited in people's memory as the years of destruction of family values and loss of contact with previous generations, accused in absentia of crimes against the Soviet regime. Sad events marked the era of repression for the urban population of Kazakhstan, which suffered great losses in the qualitative composition of the population. The political processes of the second half of the 1930s influenced the demographic processes in the cities of Kazakhstan, due to the movement of persons of various qualifications and the high turnover of party personnel during the period of party purges. During the same period, the flywheel of repression began to unwind, reaching its peak in 1937, when about 30% of the communists were expelled and repressed from the city party organizations, and almost all the first and second secretaries of the district party committees were replaced. Teachers, doctors, heads of educational institutions, and ministers of religious worship were not spared the repression. Political repression affected almost every family in the region.

One of the methods of combating the “class enemy” that the totalitarian regime established in the Soviet Union systematically used for many years as part of its repressive policy against its own people was the policy of depriving political and civil rights based on class, social, national, spiritual and other signs, expressed in the restriction of their rights and freedoms. This cruel idea, based on dividing the population of the Union into classes, appeared among the Soviet leadership shortly after the October Revolution of 1917, and in July 1918, deprivation of the right to vote for belonging to a

certain class or social group was enshrined in a special article of the first Constitution of the RSFSR. This norm remained until the mid-1930s.

A characteristic phenomenon of the socio-political life of Kazakhstan in the 1920s – the first half of the 1930s is the emergence of disenfranchised people – people deprived of voting and other civil rights due to their unreliable social origin. Such people were in a special position, since the “disenfranchised” were barred from entering trade unions and public service, which extended to their children and relatives. One of the forms of determining “one’s own” or “them” was, undoubtedly, the procedure for deprivation of voting rights. The archives contain samples of the Soviet questionnaire filled out when applying for a job, which invariably contained the question: “Were they deprived of voting rights, when and for what?”, and to designate these persons there was a certain term “disenfranchised” or “socially alien element” - unofficial title of a citizen of the USSR, in 1918–1936 deprived of voting rights under the Constitutions of 1918 and 1926. According to the 1936. Constitution, all citizens of the country, except the mentally ill and prisoners, had the same voting rights. Thus, the disenfranchisement lasted 18 years. This measure has become an effective means of changing the social structure of society and the state. Deprivation of the right to participate in elections automatically created a number of restrictions on a person’s political and social status. People disenfranchised (disenfranchised) became “second class” citizens. Often (though not always) deprivation of voting rights became the basis for further repressive actions against that person.

The legal basis for the repressive policy of deprivation of voting and other civil rights in Kazakhstan in the 1920s–1930s laid down about 40 legal acts. Analysis of the content of these documents showed that they systematically violated the natural rights and freedoms of man and citizen, which include the right to life, the right to freely express one’s views and positions, the right to freedom to vote and be elected, and therefore must be declared invalid (void) from the moment of their adoption. Unlawful deprivation of the right to vote was enshrined in the main normative acts – in The Constitution of the RSFSR of 1918, the Constitution of the RSFSR of 1925, the Constitution of the Kazakh Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic of 1926. All derivative acts only duplicated constitutional norms.

The measure of disenfranchisement has become an effective means of changing the social structure of society and the state. Deprivation of the right to participate in elections automatically created a number of restrictions on a person’s political and social status. People deprived of voting rights became “second class” citizens. Often, deprivation of voting rights became the basis for further repressive actions against a given person. It was social origin that formed the basis for the purge of party ranks and determined the “reliability” of a particular person. Thus, party members and the entire population were checked to ensure compliance with the requirements imposed on them.

Moreover, in the early 1920s, when the disenfranchisement policy was just beginning to be implemented, local executive authorities resorted to disenfranchisement as an additional measure. Gradually strengthening their power, the Bolsheviks feared the possible victory of political opponents in the elections and their further influence in society. The essence of depriving people of voting rights was expressed in ensuring social, economic, administrative and even psychological pressure on the most socially independent of the state and economically active segments of the population. Subsequently, the government expanded the list of additional restrictions accompanying disenfranchisement in various spheres of public life. Therefore, we can say with confidence that disenfranchised people also fall into the category of victims of political repression who need rehabilitation and detailed scientific study.

In Kazakhstan, the first to be deprived of their rights were clergy, former traders, government officials who began their activities in pre-revolutionary times, as well as a large group of representatives of the peasantry who used hired labor in their farming, who belonged to the category of bais, kulaks, semi-feudal lords (middle peasants), sharua. Identified “alien elements” without trial or investigation, most often, as a result of denunciations, were deprived of their rights and removed from proceedings. In turn, those dispossessed, in order to restore their violated rights, turned to the party with a request to review their cases, collecting all kinds of information about previous activities, suspecting that some kind of mistake had occurred. Thus began long processes of investigations,

complaints and new denunciations, rarely leading to a positive result. There is an opinion that this is a minor infringement of rights and freedoms, but this is not so. Deprivation of voting rights entailed infringement of rights and freedoms, including the right to life. By depriving them of voting rights, the Bolshevik-Stalinist government was able to limit on a legal basis politically active peasants who opposed the collective farm system or did not express their sympathy for it.

Discussion

This category of citizens who have been subjected to repression is little studied. The Law of the Republic of Kazakhstan dated April 14, 1993 “On the rehabilitation of victims of political repression” does not consider deprivation of voting rights as a form of political repression. Consequently, they need additional rehabilitation measures. Therefore, an important aspect of the activities of the State Commission for the complete rehabilitation of victims of political repression in 2020–2023, created in accordance with the Decree of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan K.K. Tokayev dated November 24, 2020, there was a rehabilitation of persons who suffered as a result of the deprivation of citizens of the right to vote and be elected in the 20–30s of the twentieth century. To rehabilitate this group of victims and victims, scientists and experts from research groups and working groups of regional commissions were collecting materials in this direction.

It should be noted that the deprivation of voting rights in the 20–30s of the XX century in Kazakhstan in domestic historiography was not the subject of a separate study, but was studied in the context of political repression, which has become one of the leading scientific directions in modern historical science. In the works of Kazakh scientists M.K. Kozybayev (Kozybayev, 2006), T.O. Omarbekov (Omarbekov, 1997), Zh.B. Abylkhozhin (Abylkhozhin 1991), M.K. Koigeldiev (Koigeldiev, 2004) raised various aspects of political repression as a mechanism of influence of Soviet power on the transformation of Kazakh society. The works of researchers A.N. Alekseenko (Alekseenko, 1993), M.Kh. Assylbekov, A.B. Galiyev (Assylbekov, Galiyev, 1991) and others are devoted to the study of the demographic consequences of repressive policies. The works of Sh. Nagimov (Nagimov, 2021), M.M. Kozybayeva (Kozybayeva, 2014) and S.K. Tulbasieva (Tulbasieva, 2023) are devoted to the regional aspects of the socio-political situation of disenfranchised people in the 1920–1930s. However, special scientific works by Kazakh authors devoted to a comprehensive study of deprivation of voting rights in Kazakhstan in the 20–30s of the 20th century. practically absent.

In Russian and European historiography, in most works, deprivation of voting rights is considered as an independent phenomenon, mainly as part of the discriminatory and social policy of the Soviet state. Works devoted to the study of the stratification of Soviet society are of great importance. Thus, a study by N.B. Lebina (Lebina, 1999) is devoted to the study of the everyday history of life in the Soviet city, namely the norms and anomalies in the 1920–1930s, which include the stratification of society into “us” and “strangers”. A great contribution to the study of Soviet society in all its diversity, including American researchers, including S. Fitzpatrick (Fitzpatrick, 2008), who first conducted a comprehensive analysis of the everyday life of Soviet people in the 1930s years, including the so-called disenfranchised.

The most studied processes of deprivation of voting rights are based on materials from individual regions. Thus, the works of L.N. Mazur (Mazur, 1997), made a great contribution to historiography, dedicated to the deprivation of voting rights of peasants in the 1920s – the first half of the 1930s in the Urals, as well as the collective work of V.I. Tikhonov, V.S. Tyazhelnikova, I.F. Yushin (Tikhonov et al., 1999), who studied the deprivation of voting rights in Moscow on the basis of new archival materials and methods of their processing. M.S. Salamatova (Salamatova, 2002) made a great contribution to the study of this topic, whose dissertation is devoted to the study of disenfranchisement as a form of socio-political discrimination in the mid-1920–1936 on materials from Western Siberia. In her work, she analyzes regulations and archival documents and shows that deprivation of voting rights was one of the key institutions of Soviet electoral law.

In the collective work “Marginalized in Society. Marginalized people as a society. Siberia (1920–1930s)” Novosibirsk authors Yu.I. Golikova, S.A. Krasilnikova, V.I. Pinkina,

M.S. Salamatova and others, for the first time in Russian historiography, undertook an analysis of the formation and evolution of the main marginal groups of Russian society that made up the “shadow” structure of the latter: “disenfranchised”, NEPmen, “bourgeois specialists”, exiles, special settlers (Marginaly v sociume, 2017). The work was written on the basis of a wide range of sources, which made it possible to reconstruct the basic characteristics that determined the social policy of the Stalinist regime in relation to these groups, the dynamics of numbers and composition, the transformation of behavior and group values of the marginalized in the conditions of Siberia in the 1920–1930s.

Thus, in historiography, disenfranchisement in the 20–30s of the 20th century using materials from the Soviet republics remains a poorly studied research issue that requires careful study. In general, from the above materials it is clear that political purges based on the deprivation of voting and other civil rights also took place in remote regions of the Soviet Union. However, the study of this policy in Kazakhstan in the 20–30s of the 20th century as a way of influencing social attitudes and behavior patterns of individuals and social groups has its own prospects and awaits its study as part of the study of the history of political repression in Kazakhstan.

Results

Bolshevik-Stalinist power, based on an absolutized class approach, caused an even greater aggravation of ideological contradictions between various social classes and population groups. A feeling of mutual hostility arose between social groups, the mood of hostility towards each other intensified, which led to a decline in morality in society, a crisis of national and religious values. Faith in the ideas, slogans and theory of socialism was imposed. Using all available methods and means, the ideas of Marxism-Leninism were introduced into the consciousness of the broad masses. By limiting intellectual activity and freedom of creativity, the official communist ideology created an information vacuum. For the purpose of ideological pressure, images of a “fist”, “enemy of the people”, “pest” were artificially created in society (Dokumenty svidetelstvuyut, 1989).

Speaking about different categories of the population that have been subjected to discrimination and political repression, we must not forget about people deprived of civil rights for the “wrong” or “inappropriate” social origin. It must be assumed that work in district archives with funds of those deprived of voting rights will make it possible to identify, in addition to the main material – lists of the so-called disenfranchised by district, documents testifying to different aspects of the life and destinies of these people, about the consequences that deprivation had for them voting rights and “dekulakization”. It is these documents at the lower level – from village councils and district executive committees – that can clarify many issues. District disenfranchisement funds have been unfairly overlooked by historians. Meanwhile, the dispossession procedure itself, the “kitchen”, deserves attention, which just such documents will allow us to examine in detail.

In 1923–1927, the categories of people included in the list of people deprived of voting rights in Kazakhstan were much wider and more diverse than in other territories of the Soviet Union. In Kazakhstan, first of all, bais, kulaks, participants in popular uprisings and protests, clergy, former traders, resellers, former volost managers and aul elders, and other tsarist officials who began their activities in pre-revolutionary times were deprived of their rights. Taking into account this circumstance, in the period from 1918 to 1936 in Kazakhstan hundreds of thousands of people were deprived of the right to vote for belonging to a certain class or social group, which was enshrined in a special article of the Constitution. Speaking about this, it is important to understand and remember that the deprivation of civil rights of citizens is a prelude to great terror organized by the Soviet state against its people.

Consideration of the practice of deprivation of voting rights in 1920–1930 in its qualitative and quantitative content would be incomplete without taking into account the election campaigns in which they were held. As the data shows, every year during elections to local councils, lists of those deprived of voting rights and persecuted by the Soviet authorities were compiled. Until the mid-1920s, records of persons deprived of voting rights were consolidated lists indicating personal data and the reason for deprivation. Typically, such lists were kept in the form of tables by category of those deprived of

voting rights. Such lists were often accompanied by applications from those “dispossessed” to restore their rights, and correspondence regarding their restoration. Since 1926, the basis for personal registration of both voters and disenfranchised were poll cards, which were reviewed by election commissions to compile two groups of a list of voters and a list of “disenfranchised” (Tulbasieva, 2023: 7).

Individual bodies, including courts and administrative departments, compiled them within their competence. The final list for the province was approved by the presidium of the provincial executive committee after many edits and changes. Basically, the lists contained information about persons subject to deprivation of voting rights by law in an almost indisputable manner. Great controversy during the deprivation of rights was caused by the erroneous inclusion of traders and persons using hired labor, which is why there were the most appeals. Therefore, such lists were often accompanied by applications from “those deprived of their rights to restore their rights, and correspondence regarding their restoration. So, for example, in September 1924, a list of those deprived of voting rights in the Temir district, compiled in connection with the 1923 elections, was sent to the Aktobe provincial electoral commission, including 924 names, among whom were merchants, mullahs, kulaks, former officers, priests, preachers, etc. d. (SAAR. F. 3. In. 2. F. 40. L. 20–31). Now it is difficult to understand what kind of struggle and conflict of interests took place at the very bottom – in city, rural, aul, volost Councils and executive committees, where the primary lists were compiled, since there were many complaints, discussions, and changes to the lists themselves regarding these lists. The archives have preserved several applications from those deprived of voting rights in the Temir district of the Aktobe province for the restoration of rights and a number of other documents related to these documents. As can be seen from many similar documents, the facts set out in such statements were carefully verified, and many were restored to voting rights (SAAR. F. 3. I. 2. C. 40. Pp. 32–39 rev.).

Of great interest are the lists of those deprived of voting rights in 1924–1925, prepared by the Aktobe provincial court and the provincial administrative department. In 1925, the Aktobe provincial court compiled lists of those convicted and denied voting rights separately for the Kazakh and Russian branches of the criminal board of the provincial court for 1924–1925 for 80 people (SAAR. F. 3. I. 2. C. 60. Pp. 53–67). The list of persons subject to deprivation of voting rights, as of November 1925, compiled by the Aktobe Gubadmotel, included 78 names (SAAR. F. 3. I. 2. C. 60. Pp. 84–85). The list overwhelmingly included administrative exiles, as well as a few former white officers and convicts. List of persons deprived of voting rights on the basis of Art. 65 of the Constitution for Kazakh settlements in 1925 included 630 names, of which 494 people were imams, mullahs, khazret mullahs, muadzins (muedzins), muhtasibs, etc. (SAAR. F. 3. I. 2. C. 60. Pp. 85 rev.–94 rev.). In addition, the list included former police officers, gendarmes and officials of a number of categories (managers, foremen, etc.). List of persons deprived of voting rights on the basis of Art. 65 of the Constitution on Russian settlements, drawn up on November 20, 1925, included 212 names (SAAR. F. 3. I. 2. C. 60. Pp. 95–98). There are also many clergymen on this list, but mostly fists, i.e. persons using hired labor. Priests of various kinds were subject to deprivation of rights only if this activity was the source of their existence, i.e. lived on these funds. Over time, the number of people disenfranchised increases dramatically.

According to researcher U. Ismagulov, in 1926 in Aktobe district alone the number of people deprived of voting rights was already 1029 people, in 1927–4788 people (Bespravnyaya zhizn, 2023). Moreover, 40% of this number were members of families deprived of voting rights. In 1926, in the Chelkar district and the city of Chelkar alone, there were 619 people deprived of voting rights, which amounted to 0.75% of the total population (SAAR. F. 3. I. 2. C. 101. Pp. 7–22). At the beginning of 1927, the Aktobe province department of the USPA forwarded to the Aktobe City Council a list of persons deprived of the right to vote during the re-election campaign of 1927 as of January 15, 1927, which included 99 priests, deacons, psalm-readers, former gendarmes, administrative exiles, as well as 372 mullahs and ishanov (SAAR. F. 4. I. 1. C. 12. Pp. 307–313). The procedure for deprivation of voting rights continued with redoubled force in the Aktobe province in 1928–1929, when 10,845 people were deprived of their voting rights, of which 1,391 in the city of Aktobe, 436 in the city of

Chelkar, 270 in the city of Temir, 8,748 in rural areas. Human. At the same time, in Kazakh regions, for example, in Temir and Chelkar, mainly ministers of mosques were deprived of voting rights, in Karabutak – Sufis and other clergy. Against this action in some places, in particular in Akbulaksky, Eleksky, Novorossiysk and Akkemersky districts, there were open protests by people deprived of voting rights (Bespravnyaya zhizn, 2023).

Similar practices took place in other regions of Kazakhstan. In 1923, in the Kustanay district alone, 1,023 people were included in the lists of persons who do not have the right to elect and be elected; in the Fedorovsky district, 527 people were included, including so-called speculators, traders, former officers, agitators against Soviet power, religious ministers cults, defendants, etc. (SAKR. F. R-72. I. 1. C. 156, 161, 164, 165, 166, 188, 248, 362).

In the Akmola province based on the results of the election campaign in 1925–1926. While the number of people deprived of voting rights in rural areas was 3,240 people, or 0.6% of the number of people over 18 years of age, then in 1926–1927 the number of people deprived of voting rights was 21,633 people, or 3.3% of the adult population. By category, if in 1925–1926 in rural areas ministers of religious cults were mainly deprived of their rights – 817 people or 25% of the total number of deprived people, then in 1926–1927 persons resorting to hired labor, which included all strata, were deprived of their rights peasantry – bais, kulaks, bais – semi-feudal lords – 10999 people or 51.8 % (CSA RK. F. 5. I. 8. C. 93. Pp. 63–65, 88).

In cities, compared to rural areas, the number of people deprived of voting rights in the Akmola province following the election campaign in 1925–1926 was only 1,371 people, and in 1926–1927 – 3,523 people. At the same time, if in 1925–1926 in the cities ministers of religious cults were mainly deprived of their rights – 1246 people or 90.9%, then in 1926–1927 a large number of those deprived along with ministers of religious cults – 1591 people or 45.1% accounted for the category of family members over the age of 18 living as dependents of persons deprived of their rights – 1445 people or 41.0% (CSA RK. F. 5. I. 8. C. 93. Pp. 63–65, 88)

Particularly indicative is the growth of deprived people within one locality during the period of strengthening of the repressive policy of local authorities, which freely interpreted the instructions on the elections of city and village Councils, expanded and supplemented the categories of deprived people, and thereby strengthened the repressive policy, significantly increasing the circle of citizens whose rights were violated. If in December 1926 the list of persons deprived of voting rights in the city of Akmolinsk in 9 village councils amounted to 117 people (SAA. F. 244. I. 2. C. 15. Pp. 3–7 rev.), then in 1931 the list of such persons already included 1546 people in 8 categories (New Steppe, 1930). Among the main categories were persons resorting to hired labor; persons living on unearned income; traders; intermediaries; clergy; agents of the former police and gendarmerie; insane; wards; family members dependent on persons deprived of voting rights, etc.

According to S.K. Tulbasieva, in 1928, more than 3,000 people were included in the list of those deprived of the right to vote in the districts of the city of Alma-Ata. The list included such categories of people as persons who resorted to hired labor for the purpose of making a profit; traders and intermediaries; religious officials and monks; agents of the former police and gendarmerie; persons under 18 years of age who were dependent, persons deprived of voting rights (Tulbasieva, 2023: 6). A total number of personal files was identified for 2,378 people – persons deprived of voting rights in the city of Almaty and its 23 districts. The overwhelming majority of them had nothing to do with class enemies or political opponents of the Soviet regime. Therefore, the practical application of deprivation of rights shows that it was aimed at the most prosperous layers of society, such as traders, clergy, entrepreneurs, former military men, and their descendants were also persecuted and deprived of their rights (Tulbasieva, 2023: 8).

According to the Atyrau Regional Regional Commission, local authorities went much further than the center in defining citizens with the aim of depriving them of civil and political rights. Because of the arrogance of local officials in 1927, tens of thousands of people in 30 categories lost their right to vote (SAAtr. F. 2. I. 4. C. 6. P. 23). In 1928, deprivation of voting rights affected 5,400 people, in such categories as kulaks, atkaminers, exploiters, cattle breeders, people living on labor income, former officers, former foremen, shamans, whisperers, mullahs, people who do not inspire trust,

priests, Alash Orda and others (SAAtr. F. 2. I. 4. C. 6. P. 32). According to researcher Sh. Nagimov, in 1927, 2,307 people were included in the lists of deprived people in the Guryev district, among them 284 mullahs, 329 kulaks-exploiters, 16 priests, 25 volost administrators, 3 mill owners, 22 merchants, 23 bucks, 103 monks, 7 sorcerers, etc. Not only the deprived people themselves, but also innocent members of their families suffered humiliation and deprivation. In total, 1,801 dependents in the region lost their voting rights, which was 50.2%. In the categories of those deprived of voting rights, clergy made up 20.4%, exploiter bais – 3.6%, and kulaks-atkaminers – 9.5% (Nagimov, 2021).

The situation was similar in cities in southern Kazakhstan. In 1928, the Kzyl-Orda City Council provided a list of persons deprived of the right to elect and be elected to 205 people, including former white officers, administrative exiles, ministers of religious cults, family members dependent on deprived people, the mentally ill and the insane. In 1928, in the city of Kazalinsk, 666 people were deprived of voting rights, including 487 traders and intermediaries; convicted by court and administratively deported – 76; family members under the age of 18 who are dependent on persons deprived of voting rights – 49; persons resorting to hired labor – 11 people, etc. (KRSA. F. 2. I. 2. C. 15. P. 257). In the villages of the Kzyl-Orda region in 1930–1931. 484 people were deprived of their voting rights (KRSA. F. 24. I. 2. C. 125).

It should be noted that deprivation of the right to vote was by no means a mere formality, since along with it a person lost other civil and political rights, as well as the opportunity to enjoy social benefits. “Disenfranchised” people were not hired to work on collective farms, they could not become members of cooperatives and artels, and during taxation they were “taken off” more interest or were given a “firm assignment”. Moreover, apart from collective farms, there were no other associations where one could find work in those difficult 1930s, so most of the former collective farmers went to the cities, where they became a marginal part of society. If before 1928 it was mainly “former” people who were deprived of voting rights, now the main reason for deprivation was “unearned income” which was interpreted very broadly. Even if the disenfranchised was not subject to an individual tax, in the city disenfranchisement was, in essence, a “wolf ticket”. It was difficult for such a person to get a job, and during any cuts and purges, he was one of the first candidates. In addition, former “kulaks” were often found among the city’s dispossessed people. Forced to move to the cities, they tried to somehow survive by engaging in handicrafts and petty trade, which the Soviet government equated to a crime – “speculation” and for this they were deprived of voting rights, and therefore their last chances for existence. After the introduction of the card system, the “disenfranchised” received food cards of the lowest category or lost them altogether and were forced to buy food at commercial prices. They were also deprived of pensions and unemployment benefits and evicted from communal apartments. Left without shelter and food, she died from cold and hunger (Krinko, 2011).

Deprivation of voting rights entailed tangible practical consequences. In fact, restrictions on rights concerned not only the right to vote and be elected. Disenfranchised people could not obtain a higher education, did not have the opportunity to occupy responsible positions, as well as to be an assessor in a people's court, a defense attorney in court, a guarantor, a guardian, and did not have the right to receive a pension or unemployment benefits. They were not allowed to join trade unions, while at the same time, non-union members were not allowed into the management of industrial enterprises and organizations. Disenfranchised people were not given food cards, or they were issued in the lowest category, so they were forced to buy food at high prices.

Let's consider this phenomenon using the example of the city of Akmolinsk. In the city archives of the city of Astana there is a file of citizen A., deprived of the right to vote, who in October 1928 worked as an accountant-economist at the Akmola district department of local economy. He collected a whole list of various certificates and materials indicating the illegal deprivation of his voting rights. In his statement, he drew attention to his illegal exclusion from the ranks of trade union members, providing information about his work experience as an accountant in various institutions, noting that he was always an employee (SAA. F. 32. I. 2. C. 18. P. 2). Despite the above facts, the petition was rejected based on the decision of the trade union (SAA. F. 32. I. 2. C. 18. P. 1). Thus, the disenfranchised person found himself in a vicious circle: he was expelled from the trade union and fired from his job, since he was deprived of voting rights, and could not be restored to his rights

due to exclusion from trade union.

In 1929–1930, government institutions were “cleansed” of disenfranchised people and other “social strangers”. Dispossessed people did not have the opportunity to occupy responsible positions, as well as to be assessors, guarantors, and trustees in the people's court. They were deprived of the right to receive pensions and unemployment benefits. Those deprived of the right to vote were not allowed to join trade unions and at the same time they were not allowed to manage enterprises, institutions and organizations. Disenfranchised people were not given food cards, and if they were issued, it was for the lowest category. On the contrary, taxes and other payments for the poor were significantly higher than for other citizens. In turn, the dispossessed turned to the party with a request to review their affairs, collecting all kinds of information about previous activities, suspecting that some kind of mistake had occurred. Thus began long processes of investigations, complaints and new denunciations, rarely leading to a positive result.

Of great interest are the personal files of the disenfranchised, which were identified in the central and regional archives of the country. They contain complaints from citizens about unlawful seizure of property and deprivation of voting rights, minutes of meetings of the city election commission about persons deprived of voting rights, as well as historical data characterizing the main types of activities of social categories associated with deprivation of political rights. As an analysis of the personal files of those disenfranchised showed, not only ministers of religious cults themselves were deprived of their voting rights, but also ordinary hired employees at religious institutions. Thus, the petition of citizen A.G. the restoration of voting rights to the Akmola City Council was rejected “as a minister of religious worship”, despite the fact that he worked at the mosque from 1917 to May 1, 1931 as a watchman and performed exclusively technical work for hire (SAA. F. 32. I. 2. C. 23. P. 2).

Deprivation of voting rights had a devastating impact on the family, since not only the head of the family was deprived of voting rights, but also all its members who had reached the age of majority. The children of the dispossessed had problems entering educational institutions (especially higher ones) and finding work. In fact, dispossessed people in cities became a “toxic” population group that people were afraid to deal with. The son of a deprived person, having reached adulthood, automatically became a deprived person himself. Therefore, children of deprived people, in order to have the opportunity to study and make a career, abandoned their parents, often publicly, through the newspaper. Deprivation of voting rights is associated with processes to cleanse schools and the entire education system of alien elements. In response to the party's call for mass purges of both teachers and students, local leadership began compiling lists of those subject to expulsion based on work history checks. In turn, school organizations received letters from students who were desperately trying to save their reputation and the good name of their parents, and therefore began studying the biography of their parents. This was especially paradoxical after the party's calls to eliminate illiteracy. Now the students were not given the opportunity to complete this training due to the unfavorable background of their parents. Teachers were also checked according to the general attitude. In September 1928, a special commission was created in the city of Akmolinsk to check the composition of the teaching staff to identify their social origin and their relationship to Soviet power (SAA. F. 32. I. 2. C. 23. P. 110). At the same time, the main installations for cleaning in the region were as follows: “At this time, you need to carry out preparatory work for cleaning the device, which should consist of identifying an alien element that needs to be cleaned, and preparing workers who can replace these workers” (SAA. F. 32. I. 2. C. 23. P. 33).

Thus, in 1918–1936, the mechanism of extrajudicial deprivation of political electoral rights of citizens of the Soviet state, including the cities of Kazakhstan, made it possible to remove them from the organizational and legal form. The deprivation of voting rights made it possible to neutralize a significant part of the population of the Kazakh steppe, made it possible to gradually introduce a policy of forceful solutions to governance issues in the region, and ultimately created the conditions for the use of repressive measures against the population of Kazakhstan. In general, from the above materials it is clear that political purges also took place in remote regions of the Soviet Union. The study of this policy as a way of influencing social attitudes and behavior patterns of individuals

and social groups has its own prospects and awaits its study as part of the study of the history of political repression in Kazakhstan.

Sources

CSA RK — Central State Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan
 KRSA — Kzylorda Regional State Archives
 SACA — State Archive of the city of Astana
 SAAR — State Archives of the Aktobe Region
 SAATR — State Archive of the Atyrau Region
 SAKR — State Archives of Kostanay Region

Источники

ГАОО — Государственный архив Актюбинской области
 ГАОТО — Государственный архив Атырауской области
 ГАГА — Государственный архив города Астаны
 ГАКО — Государственный архив Костанайской области
 КОГА — Кызылординский областной государственный архив
 ЦГА РК — Центральный государственный архив Республики Казахстан

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