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**DEATH BY STARVATION OF KAZAKHS
(30s OF XX CENTURY IN FOREIGN STUDIES)**

Despite the well-known autonomy of the Soviet economy, the global crisis of 1929-1933, has not bypassed and the us.

The sharp fall in the prices of agricultural products, for grain led to a reduction in the USSR of export revenues. It resulted in the necessity to increase the export of goods to the world markets. This further strengthened the pressure on the agricultural sector - and on farmers, and breeders.

In addition to internal circumstances, this external factor has become one of the causes of mass famine in several regions of the country.

A particularly devastating effect it has proved to the people of Kazakhstan. As a result of famine early 30-ies of the twentieth century have killed about half of the total Kazakh population.

The history of tragedy

In spite of the formal establishment of the Soviet authority in Kazakhstan, the local population continued to maintain their traditional economy. Therefore, it is not dependent on the Central authorities. Therefore, in order to subdue an extensive nomadic, the cattle-breeding region, the country's leadership decided to hold here the «the actual establishment of Soviet power». Sent at the end of 1925 party official called it «a Policy of «Small October». This «policy» assumed to lead the process of «settling» nomadic Kazakhs. Hence, the destruction of the local household way of life.

The first obstacle in the face of national intelligentsia and elite was removed freely in 1926, 1928-1930 years.

After this, was made the seizure of land and the cattle of the rich and wealthy owners in favor of the poor. 2 600 000 acres of land and more than 145 thousand head of cattle. At the same time everywhere in the country have already been collectivized agriculture. That is, the liquidation of private property, the synthesis and optimization in the name, as it seemed, the greatest economic efficiency and social justice.

But poor harvest bread 1927-1928, in the main grain sowing regions of the Ukraine, the Northern Caucasus, the Volga region and the unwillingness of the higher leadership of the country «spend» currency to buy grain abroad, had dramatic consequences for the peasants. It was decided to speed up the complete collectivization, and bread to solve the problem due to the expropriation of the possessions of the kulaks, largest owners of cattle, the rich peasants.

In Kazakhstan collectivization was to basically be completed by the end of 1932, however, the local authorities headed by goloshchokin speeding up this process. In 1928, was summarized by 2 % of all farms, by the spring of 1930 - 50%, and by the autumn of 1931 - about 65 %. At the same time in the framework of the subsidence were created cattle towns, in which forcibly resettled the inhabitants of villages from large territory. This led to the fact, that the cattle, collected in one place. Animals are poorly fed, and this led to the survival of the livestock. Socialization in many cases was not only the cattle and garden tools & supplies, but bird and even personal property.

In addition to withdrawal of animals, in the pastoral areas also imposed the obligation to pass the grain. And Kazakhs, for payment of the still and the grain tax, were forced to change their cattle on the bread.

On a large scale was a campaign for the preserving of meat and wool, which led to the mass slaughter of cattle or of his death from the cold.

As a result, even according to official data the number of cattle in the Republic declined by 20 million heads, i.e. half, and in 1931 - a further 10 million heads.

Confiscation and dispossession of kulaks were accompanied by brutal repressive measures. In 1930-1931, the Republic has been sent about 6 800 people. Severely punished resistance to the authorities and attempts to hide the grain and meat from billets.

The result of large-scale deliveries of meat in large industrial centers became an unprecedented famine, which affected all regions of Kazakhstan. Already in the spring of 1931, in Alma-ATA, became at that time the capital, began to receive information about the famine, but the authorities ignored them and only tightened administrative pressure.

The majority of the Kazakhs, who lived, traditionally, only at the expense of his cattle in the early 30-ies, deprived of the basic food, clothing and housing. Confiscated all the cattle, and then confiscated all. The crowd of the marginalized, impoverished people wandered in the wilderness, and died of starvation. According to eyewitnesses, in 1931, 1932 and early 1933 years all the steppe was covered with the corpses of the Kazakhs.

As a result, during 1931-1933, died of starvation, according to various estimates, from 1.7 to 2.4 million Kazakhs and 200-250 thousand Kazakhstan people of other ethnic groups. Several hundreds of thousands of Kazakhs moved to the border of the country of China, Mongolia, Iran and Afghanistan.

Thus, in 1931-1933 years from 3 million 968 thousand people (according to the census of 1926) died and left the country of 48% of the Kazakhs¹.

When the census of 1937, revealed the sharp reduction Kazakhstan's population, Stalin ordered to census data, and all those who took part in it, to declare the enemies of the people. Among the first was executed by the head of the statistical service of the Republic of Mukhtar Samatov and his immediate boss, the head of the all-Union national economic accounting Caravali. In addition, in Kazakhstan were shot without exception, all regional and district heads of national economic accounting - supposedly they deliberately reducing the number of the population and thus played into the hands of the enemies of the Soviet Union.

The huge losses suffered livestock: livestock population has decreased in 10 times - from 4 million to 400 thousands of heads.

The victims of mass famine in many regions of the country, but the unprecedented loss of Kazakhs even by Ukrainian historians of the Holodomor. According to the Director of the Ukrainian branch of the International Institute of humanitarian-political studies Volodymyr Malinkovitch, «an estimate of the total number of died of famine in the USSR in 1932--1933 showed that more than all the deaths of the Kazakhs»².

Mass famine 30-ies, which became the cause of death of millions of Kazakhs, is a tragic page of the history of Kazakhstan, the study of which is held by many scientists.

The Anglo-American historiography of the history of famine

Collectivization in the USSR and its results, leading to a mass famine in the Kazakh steppe, is considered and in a number of works of the Western scientists and publicists.

The work of Martha Olcutt «the Process of collectivization in Kazakhstan», published in 1981, was the first major in the West the study of these events. (Olcutt, Martha Brill, The Collectivization Drive in Kazakhstan, the Russian Review 40, April 1981.). As was recognized as the author, it was one of the first who gained access to the materials on the facts of collectivization and famine 30-ies in the USSR and in the library of a name of Lenin and in the archives.

At the same time, she, speaking this year in Astana at the international conference, dedicated to the Great famine in Kazakhstan, calls for restraint and objectivity in the approach to this problem. With regard to the famine in Kazakhstan, Olcutt considers that this question should be viewed in the context of the policy in the

¹ *Татимов М.В.* Социальная обусловленность демографических процессов. Алма-Ата. 1989. С.124. http://demoscope.ru/weekly/ssp/ussr_nac_26.php (The social conditioning of demographic processes)

² <http://www.vremya.ru/2007/234/5/194575.html>

Soviet Union and in the whole territory. I.e., she draws attention to the fact that this is not an exceptional case. In addition, in her opinion, this was not an ethnic struggle, but, on the other hand, the Center, as noted Olcutt, did nothing to remedy the situation.

Thirdly, one should be careful with the search for the guilty, because it is a big risk. Because in these actions involved all - from the very top to the very bottom, including, and Kazakhs in the field. And we must understand that the people were facing a hard choice. But all the fault of the Soviet totalitarian system, set this pernicious system of relations.

Well-known in our country the Australian sociologist Steven Whitcroft exploring the famine 30-ies., compares the statistical data of the censuses of 1926, 1937, 1970-ies. He points out that the biggest decline of the population in 1932 took place in Karaganda and Pavlodar oblasts - 51 and 50 percent, respectively. But consider available information incomplete, because believes that not all people have been rewritten, for various reasons disappeared whole family. Also, it calls for the integration and indirect data: the physical state of the people, the children, born in hungry years - their height, weight, etc.

American researcher Sarah Cameron finds that the famine in Kazakhstan has been studied very little. Especially Western scientists. Due to objective circumstances - a significant remoteness, lack of materials about Kazakhstan, more explores similar events in Ukraine. For the most comprehensive study of the problem, it considers it necessary to attract and other written sources, such as Chinese. In addition, you need to take into account such factors as the history of the environmental - climate in those years, weather, etc.

But the history of the famine in Kazakhstan, as such, opened the other, already well-known British author - Robert Conquest, who wrote the famous «the Great terror». His new book «Harvest of sorrow» (Overseas Publications Interchange Ltd; London, England; 1988) was devoted to one of the least known and the most terrible stages of Stalin's terror - dispossessed, collectivization and famine of 1932-1933. And the ninth Chapter of this book is entirely devoted to our tragedy, it is called the «Central Asia and the tragedy of the Kazakhs». He calls this policy of terror by famine.

The reason of these awful events of the conquest considers Soviet ideology of the company. The famine 30-ies, he compares with the Nazi crimes as grave crimes of the twentieth century.

This Chapter he begins with a dramatic process of eliminating the kulaks in Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, concludes that in General, the Central Asia dispossession of kulaks affected about half a million people³.

³ Robert Conquest. *The harvest of sorrow* (London, 1988), p. 180.

But, as the author writes, all these facts, sad enough in themselves, pale before the enormous human tragedy of the Kazakhs.

Where to 1939, population decline due to hunger and repression was about one and a half million. The number of farms in Kazakhstan decreased from 1 233 000 in 1929 to 565 000 in 1936⁴.

These terrible figures were accompanied by the catastrophic reduction of the livestock of cattle. In 1929, the number of cattle исчисляюсь in 7 442 000, and in 1933, fell to 1 600 000; the number of sheep decreased, respectively, from 2 194 3000 to 1 727 000⁵.

Because of the economic characteristics of the Kazakhstan Bolsheviks encountered here, as writes R. Conquest, with specific difficulties. In 1926, only less than a quarter of the population of Kazakhstan has made exclusively by agriculture; 38.5 per cent were engaged in only cattle-breeding, 33.2 per cent - animal husbandry and agriculture together. Less than 10 per cent of the population of the Republic of led fully nomadic way of life, but two-thirds of it was « half-nomads » - wandered only in the summer, together with their flocks⁶.

And then for the «eradication of the economic and cultural backwardness» of nomadic peoples, for the solution of all tasks it had been agreed: «the Transition to a settled way of life means the elimination of semi-feudalism steppe of the rich, the destruction of tribal relations.»⁷.

Kazakhstan was considered as a source of food reserves for the entire Soviet Siberia and the Far East, and the translation of nomadic to settled way of life was conceived with the purpose of obtaining a huge number of bread from the lands of South Kazakhstan. The author calls this folly and writes, this territory was not fit for the production of grain.

After a well-known article Stalin's excesses, the governing party workers of Kazakhstan decided that forcibly carry out collectivization was wrong, but forcibly convert the population to a settled way of life is correct⁸.

The author points to the widespread resistance of the Kazakhs of collectivization. But many Kazakhs fled in the other Republic or in China. 44 000 families took in

⁴ Martha Olcutt. The process of collectivization in Kazakhstan, *Russian review*, 40 (April 1981), p.136.

⁵ Martha Olcutt, *ibid.*, p. 123.

⁶ *Collectivization of agriculture of Kazakhstan*. Vol. 2 (Alma-ATA, 1967), p. 222.

⁷ Robert Conquest. *Op.cit.* P. 182.

⁸ Martha Olcutt, *ibid.*, p.133.

Turkmenistan, where many joined the «basmatches»⁹. The blame for the difficulties of collectivization in Kazakhstan dumped on local national party Alash-Orda. Resisting collectivization, the Kazakhs slaughtered cattle, as did the peasants in the other republics of the USSR. Already in the first weeks of collectivization in many regions of Kazakhstan was exterminated 50 per cent of livestock

According to Conquest, if not the human, the economic side of this catastrophe was met in Moscow with anger. However, by February 1932, about 87 per cent of all collective farms of Kazakhstan and 51.5 per cent of individual farms (the last almost completely consisted of nomadic shepherds) were left without livestock.

The roots of such a catastrophe, the author seen in the lack of understanding of human cultures in the broadest sense of the word. In Kazakhstan with the utmost clarity revealed striking mechanicalness and superficiality of the party's thinking. (Not surprisingly, the author writes that, according to the official sources, Islam strengthened in these years in the South of Kazakhstan, as ever)¹⁰.

The famine in Kazakhstan in the years was caused artificially, in the same way, as in 1921, he has appeared as a result of the reckless policies, dictated by purely ideological reasons.

Common was, as written in the reports, «vagrancy».

This migration was caused by despair, the destruction of the social and economic bases of life.. 15-20 per cent of the Kazakh population has left the Republic: 300 000 was spent in Uzbekistan, and the rest in other republics of Soviet Central Asia or in China.

Conquest agrees that the fate of the Asian population of the USSR in the period of collectivization and dispossession of the kulaks partially coincides with the fate of the peasants of the European part of. However, as he believes, there are a number of specific features caused by the geographical and cultural differences.

European study on cedentary of Kazakhs

In the sphere of economy application of the theoretical constructs of the party to Kazakh people, to a lesser extent to other nomadic peoples, led to the imposition of normal functioning of the social organism of new, alien stereotypes, and with disastrous the consequences.

From a purely human point of view it has brought death and enormous suffering in proportion to the greater part of the people, than in Ukraine.

⁹ Robert Conquest. Op.cit. P. 184.

¹⁰ Ibid. P.186.

Famous German journalist Peter the Assault to the 75-th anniversary of the Great terror writes that since the Bolsheviks came to power, the persecution of political opponents were constantly¹¹.

The Swiss historian Christian Gerlach (the author of the book «Extremely cruel society. Mass violence in the 20th century». 576 with. DVA, Munich, 2011), the student, according to his definition, an extremely violent society of XX century, reflects on the sources and nature of genocide and mass violence in different countries. He believes that in a condition of terror and genocide in the twentieth century to blame not only the authority. The state he viewed not as a criminal, but as one of the actors: «I'm trying to move away from the notion of «criminal» and «wine» and get closer to the responsibility and the possibility of action». His conclusion: the civilian population may also be the cause of mass violence. This is known as the coalition of violence.

Interesting his conclusion is that mass violence is a consequence of, inter alia, of colonialism. And you cannot blame the blame for the state. Gerlach trying to ignore the dilemma of «criminal " wine». So as, in his opinion, the monster doesn't solve anything, they just kill them, he has to understand the responsibility. It is not enough just to overthrow the government. And here it is useless to the interference of other countries. He writes that the prevention of violence - especially domestic task of the company. As for the violence may be responsible entire social groups.

The French historian Isabel Ohayonne in their study «Cedentary of the Kazakhs of the USSR under Stalin. Collectivization and social changes (1928-1945)» considers the mass famine as a consequence of the influence of two factors. 1. was banned nomadic life, all forced to lead a settled way of life - was the project of modernization of life and way of life of nomadic populations, for his cedentary lifestyle, that is, subsidence¹². And this experience was carried out in 1928, when the residents of the Western regions of Kazakhstan have been created so-called points of subsidence, which, however, proved unsuccessful. 2. famine - as a tool of cedentary, when in 1931, was established and started to operate, the Committee on «settling». As the scientist believes, this cruel policy has led to a functional change, « liquidation of the cultural identity of the Kazakhs » steppes and was the worst tragedy of the Kazakh people.

Thus, the few studies of Western scholars and publicists on the history of the famine 30-ies in Kazakhstan consider the problem in aggregate with the history of Stalin's repressions in the country as a whole, the reasons they see in the criminal Soviet ideology and errors of economic policy.

¹¹ *FAZ*, № 186 (11 August 2012), p. 10.

¹² Isabelle Ohayonne. Седентаризация казахов СССР при Сталине. Коллективизация и социальные изменения (1928-1945.//История Казахстана. Т.11. История Казахстана в западных источниках.- Алматы, 2009.- 368 с. (Cedentary of the Kazakhs of the USSR under Stalin. Collectivization and social changes (1928-1945).

Scientists has the opinion that these actions of the government of the country, resulting in mass starvation and extinction of almost half of ethnic Kazakhs, " it's the terror-famine. Despite considerable foreign scientific interest to the problem, it still remains a «white spot» in the history of Kazakhstan.

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