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## Modern view on the tragic fate of the Kazakh people during the political repressions in Mongolia

**Abstract.** *Based on historical materials, the paper explores the most terrible tragedy of the 20th century for the Kazakh people — the Stalinist repression, when many of our citizens were shot. The history of Kazakhstan in the Soviet era has many tragic pages. One of them is the problem of persecution in the former Soviet Union. This historical event did not bypass the Kazakhs of Mongolia. The internal political struggle, the influence of the Comintern, and political repressions in Mongolia in 1930–1940 had a significant impact on the political development of Mongolia. The research is devoted to one of the most important areas of Kazakh history abroad – the analysis of how the Kazakhs of Mongolia, its individual representatives, were persecuted and punished; the difficult situation of the people during the years of repression, its consequences and the fate of individual Kazakhs are described. Political repression became a tool in the internal political struggle against the opposition, strengthening the personal power of Kh. Choibalsan, as well as settling personal scores in the struggle for power. Particular attention is paid to the political processes in Mongolia, which received an ambiguous assessment in historiography. The author identified political ideological sources, and the causes of mass repressions and determined the tragic fate of individuals, such as intellectual elites, the rich, the national bourgeoisie, lamas, and mullahs.*

**Keywords:** *causes of political repressions; history of Mongolian Kazakhs; communist international; Stalin; Choibalsan.*

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### Introduction

The study is devoted to mass repressions in Mongolia, which began in 1922. This is one of the most important areas of Kazakh history abroad. The relevance is due to the fact that enlightening the Kazakh people about political repressions and rehabilitation of victims is a state-important task, which is proved by the Decree of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan on the establishment of the State Commission on the full legal and political political-ideological aims of political repressions.

The basis of the research idea is to identify the political-ideological sources, and the causes of mass repressions and determine the tragic fate of individuals.

In writing this paper, the author used such methods as comparative analysis and historical methods.

During the repression in Mongolia about 800 temples and 7 mosques were destroyed during the repression. In 1937–1938, however, repression peaked, declining slightly from 1939 onwards, but lasted for many years in various forms, covering all segments of Mongolian society at the time.

The Stalinist-Choibalsan repression in Mongolia was directed against social intellectuals, religious people and other ethnic groups. People were often persecuted as Japanese spies. It is estimated that 45,000-55,000 people, or even 100,000 people, were killed during the repression. 8–13% of Mongolia's population was shot, and Kazakhs were persecuted and executed. Under the leadership of Kh. Choibalsan the leader of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, and under direct pressure from Stalin, tens of thousands of innocent Mongols and Kazakhs were massacred [1, 85].

### **Discussion**

The works of Mongolian writers and scholars who defended Mongolia's national interests and independence were banned and burned. During this repression, Mongolian intellectuals were arrested and punished, many of whom were sentenced to death. Thus, decades of genocide and oppression continued for decades.

The causes and methods of the large-scale repression in Mongolia can be divided into three major stages, depending on the consequences.

The first period, 1922–1939, saw the repression of Mongolian political leaders in an effort to bring the Mongolian revolution into the Soviet model. One by one, Bodoо, Danzan, and others were expelled from the political arena, and the property of the rich, the national bourgeoisie, and the intellectual lamas and mullahs (worth 10 million MNT) was confiscated on the orders of the Comintern. On behalf of the Eastern Section, the Kazakh activist Turar Ryskulov served in Mongolia from October 1924 to July 1925, wrote and adopted a new Constitution of Mongolia, and renamed the capital Ulan Bator. Turar Ryskulov was a great refuge for the Kazakh brothers. During this period, in 1929, Kazakh intellectuals and rich people, such as Dalelkhаn Sugirbayev, moved to East Turkestan. After the uprising of 1932 and the ouster, repression subsided, but preparations were made for the next horrific massacre. In the late 1930s, in the Mongolia People's Republic was established the Stalinist-Choibalsan socialism,

dominated by party-state bureaucracy, mass repression and intimidation, and prisons. The Kazakh ethnic group was subjected to cruelty and went through difficult times.

Some have been falsely accused of organizing a series of Japanese counter-revolutionary assassinations. Between 1937 and 1939, 26,000 people were persecuted and 25,000 were sentenced to death. On September 10, 1937, a special commission was set up, and until April 22, 1939, at 51 meetings, 25,824 cases were considered and 20,474 people were sentenced to death. In addition, 5,103 people were sentenced to 10 years in prison, and 240 people were sentenced to less than 10 years in prison. Akims of districts were one of the first to be arrested from Kazakhs, with total amount of 15 people. In 1937–1938, 3,270 Kazakhs were falsely shot. This is 7.6% of the 23,299 Kazakhs in Mongolia at that time. The book «Victims of Destiny», published in the Kazakh language in Ulan Bator, lists the names of about 1,250 Mongolian Kazakhs who were shot or falsely accused between 1938 and 1950. The circumstances that led to the persecution of the people: first, it was organized with false information: «planned to flee to Altai, a large feudal lord, a funeral mullah». Between August 1937 and January 1938, 10,728 people were arrested, including 7,814 lamas, 322 former feudal lords, 300 civil servants, 180 military leaders, 3,270 Kazakhs, 1,555 Buryats, and 408 Chinese. 7171 of them were investigated and 6311 were shot [2, 28].

The establishment of a special commission in 1940–1955 marked the beginning of the second phase of political repression. The main task of this commission was to eliminate witnesses to crimes and to avoid the historical truth directed against the bloodthirsty. Under the guise of the Port Arthur affair, 78 people were executed in 1939, 42 in 1940 and 86 in 1941, most of them in the Soviet Union [3, 51].

The constant companion of the illegal repressions of 1922–1939 was the mass violation of fundamental human rights by the state, its officials and bodies. These violations took on a mass character in the implementation of the

policy of repression, and the norms of Soviet law, which gave it a legal basis and a form of publicity, were obscured by instructions. This period is characterized by the severity of the criminal penalties applied. For example, the maximum penalty specified in Chapter I of the Special Part of the Criminal Code of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic of 1926 - the death penalty - was applied to 12 out of 17 counter-revolutionary crimes. Punishments such as deprivation of civil rights, expulsion from the state, confiscation of property, and imprisonment through strict isolation were also widely used, declaring citizens «enemies of the nation.»

The 1940s and 1950s were a period of repression against individuals. The establishment of a special commission marked the beginning of the second phase of political repression. The main task of this commission was to eliminate witnesses to crimes and to avoid historical facts directed against horrific bloodthirsty people. Under the guise of the Port Arthur affair, 78 people were executed in 1939, 42 in 1940 and 86 in 1941, and their fate was decided in the Soviet Union. The second period was the culmination of repressions against Kazakhs in Mongolia. Several factors played a key role, including the East Turkestan Kazakh national liberation struggle, Ospan Batyr's rise to the political stage, Mongolia's multifaceted relations, the complicated geopolitical situation in the west, and the policy of deporting Kazakhs [4, 28].

People who were in contact with Ospan Batyr and Akyt Haji suffered a lot. In particular, Kazakhs living in the Khujirt region of the Bayan-Ulgii region on the China-Mongolian border have suffered immeasurably. More than 60 families were evacuated and 81 families were forcibly deported to the Bayannuur region. Many people were shot and imprisoned for many years on false charges. In 1946, a group of villages were deported to Deluun as a result of a deliberate policy in Bulgyn called the Karabala Crime. On July 2, 1949, at the age of 49, S. Karabala was sentenced to death. "S. Karabala was born in 1917 in Urjar district of Semey city in Kazakhstan. He spent most of his life in East Turkestan. On

February 27, 1944, he was captured by Mongolian border guards and spent eight months in Kobda. In October he was sent to Ulan-Batyr and taken under strict control. He was arrested on April 7, 1951, and on June 29 was sentenced to death by order № 2 of a special commission. On December 6, 1991, he was acquitted by the Supreme Court's Recommendation No. 184". This proves that repression against Kazakhs continued in the 1950s [1, 115].

The third phase of political repression in 1956–1990 was aimed at weakening the nationalism of the new generation of Mongolian intellectuals in order to restore the national interest. This period of political repression in Mongolia was initially carried out through terrorism, but in the following years it gradually took the form of party rule, punishment, slander, ideological persecution, pseudonyms, and deportations. Since the 1960s, the Kazakhs of the Bayan-Ulgii region have been living in Tuv, Khentii, Selenge, Dornod and other cities. Deportation to remote areas has taken a toll on their lives, and they have lost their language and mentality. This time it was carried out with the participation of law enforcement, judicial and prosecutorial authorities. This period of repression was aimed directly at the Kazakhs, aimed at destroying their language, spiritual and material culture, genocide, and, together in the socialist system, an attempt to undermine relations between the Kazakhs in Kazakhstan and Mongolia. This is evidenced by the resolution of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Republican Party of 1976 «On the effectiveness of international education» № 149 and The actions of L. Khurle, a chauvinist and exaggerator sent from the center. As a result, Kazakhs suffered spiritually and dozens of intellectuals were persecuted. This policy was not fully implemented due to the opposition of the Kazakhs and the intervention of D. Kunayev [3, 81].

Political repression in this country was directly related to certain external and internal factors. From the early 1930s, the policy of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union towards Mongolia became more active. At that time, the

Mongolian Commission was established under the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. They regularly discussed the issue of Mongolia and issued resolutions. For example, in 1930–1939, the issue of Mongolia was discussed 168 times. They assured the Mongolian leadership that Japanese troops were threatening to invade, with false information that Japanese spies were infiltrating Mongolia, especially the temples. Stalin called on the Mongolian leadership to persecute a large number of Mongol lamas and destroy their temples. In the fall of 1937, Frinovsky, the USSR's deputy interior minister, and Smirnov, the USSR's deputy defense minister, arrived in Mongolia with a list of so-called counterrevolutionary and Japanese spies. Thousands of people were affected by the party, culture, society, the military, the llamas, and the common people. At the time of the arrests, dozens of Soviet advisers and investigators worked for the Mongolian Ministry of the Interior and, in fact, organized the investigation of the detainees.

## **Results**

By analyzing the history we can see that there were many internal factors that contributed to political repression. At that time, excessive centralization of power in the Mongolian Ministry of the Interior led to the voluntary use of torture in investigations and inquiries. To legitimize this, a special commission issued a decision authorizing the torture of the suspect without causing serious harm to his life. As a result, Interior Ministry officials were legally entitled to use torture. At the same time, the findings and investigations of the Ministry of Internal Affairs were completely beyond the control of the prosecutor. At that time, there were 50,000 internal intelligence agents. Another factor was the decision of a non-judicial commission called the Special Commission. The special commission did not consider the cases of the accused and sentenced them according to the list. In addition, the accused had no right to appeal the decision of the special commission. It was a time when the country's external situation was becoming increasingly tense and internal

strife was intensifying. Japan's provocations at the border since February 1935 were a good reason to say that Japanese intelligence existed in Mongolia at the time [5, 62].

In the early 1990s, a state commission was established to rehabilitate victims of repression, and on January 2, 1998, victims of fraudulent political cases were officially acquitted [1, 167].

Millions of people of other ethnic and religious backgrounds were oppressed by the totalitarian system, falsely convicted, forcibly deported from their homes, and shot and killed innocently in prisons. It is our sacred duty to remember our citizens who have suffered so much.

The constant companion of the brutal repressions of 1922–1990 was the gross violation of the basic human rights of the state and its officials and bodies. These violations took on a mass character in the implementation of the policy of repression, and the norms of Soviet law, which gave it a legal basis and publicity, were obscured by instructions. This period is characterized by the severity of the criminal penalties applied.

The tragic events in Soviet history, including the mass political repressions of 1922–1990 in the history of the Kazakhs of Mongolia, have a special place. The state repressive machine, established in the 1920s, became a non-stop and active mechanism during this period.

## **Conclusion**

In conclusion, the measures, and consequences of the mass repressions of 1922–1990, despite the fact that such democratic freedoms and rights are recognized in law, have been distorted in practice, and lawlessness is on the rise. Today, there is an attempt to restore the truth, to show it without color, and to present it with new data and new information. In any case, isn't it a criticism of our country to be indifferent to this tragedy in Kazakh history? Not knowing our bitter history is tantamount to not understanding the value of independence. Therefore, let us consider it our civic duty to the nation to revive the history of the past in the minds of future generations, not to forget the intellectuals of the people.

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**Моңғолиядағы саяси қуғын-сүргін кезіндегі қазақ халқының қайғылы тағдырына заманауи көзқарас**

**Аңдатпа.** Тарихи материалдарға сүйене отырып, мақалада ХХ ғасырдағы қазақ халқының басына түскен ең қорқынышты трагедия – көптеген азаматтарымыз құрбан болып, атылған сталиндік репрессия зерттеледі. Кеңес дәуіріндегі Қазақстан тарихының қасіретті беттері көп. Соның бірі – бұрынғы Кеңес Одағы кезіндегі қудалау мәселесі. Бұл тарихи оқиға Моңғолия қазақтарын да айналып өтпеді. Моңғолияның саяси дамуына ішкі саяси күрес, Коминтерннің ықпалы, 1930–1940 жылдардағы Моңғолиядағы саяси қуғын-сүргіндер айтарлықтай әсер етті. Зерттеу шетелдегі қазақ тарихының маңызды саласының бірі – Моңғолия қазақтарының, оның жекелеген өкілдерінің қалай қуғын-сүргінге ұшырап, қалай жазаланғанын талдауға арналған; қуғын-сүргін жылдарындағы халықтың ауыр жағдайы, оның зардаптары мен жекелеген қазақтың тағдыры суреттеледі. Саяси қуғын-сүргін оппозицияға қарсы ішкі саяси күрестің құралына айналды, сондай-ақ, билік үшін күресте жеке өш алу мен Х.Чойбалсанның күшін нығайтудың құралы болды. Тарихнамада түрліше бағаланған Моңғолиядағы саяси процестерге ерекше назар аударылады.

Автор саяси идеологиялық қайнар көздерді, жаппай қуғын-сүргіннің себептерін анықтап, зиялы қауым, байлар, ұлттық буржуазия, ламалар мен молдалар сияқты жеке тұлғалардың қайғылы тағдырын сипаттады.

**Түйін сөздер:** саяси қуғын-сүргін себептері; моңғол қазақтарының тарихы; коммунистік интернационал; Сталин; Чойбалсан

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**Современный взгляд на трагическую судьбу казахского народа в период политических репрессий в Монголии**

**Аннотация.** На основе исторических материалов в статье исследуется самая страшная трагедия ХХ века для казахского народа — сталинские репрессии, когда многие наши граждане были расстреляны. В истории Казахстана в советское время немало трагических страниц. Одна из них – проблема преследований на постсоветском пространстве. Это историческое событие не обошло стороной и казахов Монголии. Внутриполитическая борьба, влияние Коминтерна, политические репрессии в Монголии в 1930–1940 гг. оказали значительное влияние на политическое развитие Монголии. Исследование посвящено одному из важнейших направлений казахской истории за рубежом - анализу того, как подвергались гонениям и наказаниям казахи Монголии, отдельные ее представители; описывается тяжелое положение народа в годы репрессий, его последствия и судьбы отдельных казахов. Политические репрессии стали инструментом внутриполитической борьбы с оппозицией, укрепив личную власть Х. Чойбалсана,