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The last years of life of Saken Seifullin

The article provides an overview of sources considering the last years of life of one of the founders of Kazakh Soviet literature, a public figure Saken Seifullin. During the study of archival materials and periodicals, the author shows the contribution of S.Seifullin to the study of the problems of literary criticism and the main directions of his activities in the Writers Union were analyzed. The negative effects of the Decree of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) of April 23, 1932 «On Fiction», the struggle against formalism and naturalism in literature on the development of national literature were studied. The author, diversifying social and literary activities of S. Seifullin, determined that S.Seifullin was not only a supporter of the Bolshevik ideology, but also its opponent and developed his own view to the policy of the «Small October» conducted by F. Goloshchekin in Kazakhstan. Introducing the documents of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs into the scientific circulation, the author comprehensively analyzed and studied the reasons for the accusation of S. Seifullin in nationalism and Trotskyism. Archival documents show that the accusations made against the Kazakh intelligentsia, and in particular against S. Seifullin, are baseless and demonstrate the deliberate Soviet policy of «Small October». The author formulates the conclusions about the socio-political life in Kazakhstan in the period of study.

Keywords: Union of writers of Kazakhstan, criticism, repression, trotskyism, nationalism, rehabilitation.

After the independence of Kazakhstan Seifullin has been criticized by various opinions. Among them there are activists in the new society and those who abandon the principles of the falling Soviet government. In accordance with the requirements of the communist ideology, Seifullin was a revolutionary, a supporter of the Soviet government. Saken Seifullin contributed to the establishment of the Soviet Union, supported the Bolshevik ideas, and became a classic, ideologically contradictory with the Alash leader.

However, S.Seifullin succeeded in the Stalinist repressions of the thirty years. This applies not only to Saken Seifullin, all Soviet-party nomenclature have suffered from repression, they were charged with.

Saken Seifullin did not always look at the Bolshevik authorities. To the leadership of Kazakhstan Goloschekin was opposed to economic reforms. He criticized it in his works and used it as a weapon in the fight against politics.

The last years of Saken Seifullin's life are full of controversy. The first Congress of Writers of Kazakhstan was held on June 12 and 18, 1934 in Almaty. On the eve of the congress, articles by S.Seifullin, I.Zhansugurov and A.Tazhibaev were published under the rubric «On the eve of the congress of writers». Authors have raised topical issues of Kazakh literature and put it in the center of public opinion [1; 2]. Writers' Congress Opened by Seifullin. Regarding the collection of ancient literary heritage in the literature development Seyfullin said that the high-ranking officials are indifferent to the Kazakh language. Studying new problems of national literature, he says: «before that, who perceived the word «criticism» as «beating» showed their low, incomplete knowledge» [2; 119].

Earlier in 1929, S.Seifullin published a collection of samples of Kazakh oral literature, heroic epics, and folklore works. Therefore, it is clear that the problem of collecting the rich heritage of the people is the result of the development of good works. In the 20s, when he headed the republican government, he fought for the expansion of the status and existing rights to the Kazakh language. It would not be superfluous to say that the study and the use of the Kazakh language was his life slogan. During a speech at the congress, I.Zhansugurov notes that because of the system of government the rights of writers were limited.

Saken Seifullin's work in the Writers' Union of Kazakhstan confirms that he has become an active organizer and participator in solving problems such as admission to young people, preparing for creative trips, dramatic, artistic circles, writing textbooks in Kazakh language.

On 21 June, 1934 in the composition of poets-writers aimed at the all-union the work of the following individuals: I.Zhansugurov, B.Maylin, S.Seifullin, S.Mukanov, M.Auevov, T.Zharokov, A.Tazhibayev. On 5 August of this year, signed by the Chairman of S.Seifullin and secerate A.Tazhibaeva in the Writers' union was adopted on 29 members and 29 candidates [3].

In connection with the 100th anniversary of the death of A. Pushkin in 1935, Seifullin contributed to the publication of the poet's works in the Kazakh language. In the mid-1930s, the works of Kazakh poets and writers began to be translated into Russian.

During his government, Seifullin fought with the colonial communists to introduce the Kazakh language in offices. And in the last years of his life, he made efforts to develop the language and image of the Kazakh nation. This is evident from the words of Seifullin at the First Congress of Writers of the USSR, held in August 1934, on the large tribune of Moscow. For clarity, it would be better to make an example from his speech: «... Poets who write in Russian, do little or no work at all on topics from the life of non-Russian nationalities.... Without studying and not knowing the peoples of the USSR, they give what they invented as real, made-up, false types give out as real people of our time.... Such writers as V. Ivanov, Shklovsky, Afinogenov, and the author of the play «The ring of fire», showing particular types, heroes among the peoples of the USSR, write what they want. Shklovsky wrote essays about Turksib, in which he claimed that the Kazakhs call themselves Kyrgyz. Another writer, Afinogenov, in his play «Fear» displays a Kazakh student, draws him in a half-full, half-blown form. The author of the play «The Ring of Fire», describing the Kazakh Red Guards, presents him as a fool, half-idiot» [4; 114]. Despite the imperative of communist ideology, S. Seifullin's intentions completely contradicted international educational policy. He put the interests of the nation at the highest interest and criticized other national writers who, not knowing the Kazakh people, wrote inappropriate things.

In mid-1936, the Union «Pravda» newspaper issued a statement calling for the fight against formalism and naturalism in art and literature. On April 11, 1936 there was a three-day debate among writers on this subject [5; 1]. Several editions of the newspaper «Kazakh Literature» were dedicated to this scandal. Along with the development and improvement of literature, the artistic issues of the Kazakh literature were widely discussed.

In mid-1936, the domestic newspaper «Pravda» declared the struggle against formalism and naturalism in literature and art. On April 11, 1936, a debate among the old writers on this topic was held for three days [5; 1]. Several editions of the «Kazakh Literature» newspaper were dedicated to this aitys. Along with the development and improvement of literature, the artistic issues of the Kazakh literature were widely discussed. Concluding speech of Lekeruly B., Mailin's «Myrgymbai», I. Zhansugurov's poem «Zharyk», were not studied in detail, and the conditions of socialist realism were not used. Seifullin's «Socialistan» and «Albatross» criticized the claims that there is formalism in the face of social realities as a new type of introduction. In general, the struggle against formalism in this literature was widely spread among Russian writers at that time. The works, which were not necessarily reflected in the works of socialist realism, were infallible in the Soviet society. The strict requirements of the Soviet authorities on the ideology and culture front impeded the Kazakh writers to be able to subscribe to the national and literary works of the Kazakh literature. Many writers have denied the national color and the theme of their works as they appear to be at the level demanded by the party.

The next word is related to criticism in the literature. Kanysh Kuanyshev, a member of the party, an adviser, and then executive secretary of the Union of Writers of the USSR, said that writers were fractured. He was wrongly convinced that Seifullin's works had nothing to do with the problem of human existence [5; 4]. In this regard S. Seifullin said: «The shortcomings in the linguistic tradition suggest that our critics are badly written, but do not tell us how to write, use, or rely on. Here are our critics». He concludes with his own thoughts: «we need to help each other, we need a friendly discussion, we need to discuss the essay before it's printed» [6; 1]. At that, Saken Seifullin contradicted the literary criticism, which was based on a dry word, which did not grow up to the writer. In his opinion, he is justified in criticizing unfair criticism. Therefore, he called for a pre-qualification, a methodology to criticize, and did not look down on the criticism.

In May 1936, in Moscow, the Decade of Kazakh Literature and Art was held. The Writers' Union of Kazakhstan made great preparations for this decade. At the meeting on January 31, 1936 in Moscow, the issue of the Decade of Kazakh literature and art was discussed, preparation for it and drawing up an action plan were assigned to Seifullin and the chairman of the Writers Association Tugzhanova [7]. Kazakh folk artists performed in Moscow and presented to the Soviet Union the spiritual world of the Kazakh people. At the ceremony, Seifullin received the Order of the Red Banner of the Kazakh writers. On May 26, 1936, in a Resolution signed by the Chairman of the Central Executive Committee Kalinin, reads: «Writer Saken Seifullin for his outstanding contribution to the development of Soviet Kazakh folklore» [8; 3]. The republican newspapers «Socialist Kazakhstan», «Kazakh Literature» and the newspaper «News of the CEC and the All-Union CEC» of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and

the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union published this news and success in each issue of the newspaper.

It was one of the most memorable events in Almaty on July 13, 1936, when the 20th anniversary of Saken Seifullin's work was celebrated in the country. The writer, the witness who took part in this anniversary of Mukanov in his novel «The School of Life» tells about this event under the heading «The celebration of Kazakh literature». On this holiday held at the republican level, Respect for Seifullin and his work, congratulations were published one after another on the pages of the publication.

The ceremonial publication of the Kazakh Literature newspaper on July 21, 1936 is fully devoted to Seifullin's work. Cultural figures and writers G.Serebryakova K.Zhandarbekov K.Baiseitov, Tarlovsky, T.Ryskulov devoted congratulatory words. And composer R.Elebaev dedicated the work «Bulbul» in honor of the poet. The poets K.Amanzholov, I.Zhansugurov, A.Tazhibaeva praise him in their works. Auezov published his article «Truthful, haughty poet». A group of officials led by Kulumbetov and Nurpeysov published a congratulatory letter to S.Seifullin in the magazine «Adebiat Maidany» in 6 issue, 1936. The first secretary of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan Mirzoyan rated him «S.Seifullin is a veteran of Kazakh literature». S.Seifullin thanked for the completion of the holiday and highly appreciated the achievements of Kazakhstan in the Union.

Here we would like to say that the Soviet power was created without the will and desire of hundreds of nationalities. That's why it is declared that the paper is still being made possible to develop national culture and art by conducting «national politics», «localization». In other words, if nationalist politics and localization were really conducted, why the Alash intellectuals were dismissed from the civil service, and literature and culture became an instrument of ideology, hiding in a narrow circle, and why it was restricted to national prosperity.

The Soviet government, by uniting different nations under the false slogan «friendship of nations», «internationalism», in fact, tried to deprive them of their national attributes and led a policy of russification. There was a propaganda that the Russian people were the leaders of culture and civilization, and the representatives of other nations did not have a culture before, and only with the help of the «fraternal care» of the Russian people did they develop. Speaking about the cultural development of Kazakhstan in the 20–30s, he proudly speaks about decades of Kazakh art and literature in Moscow in 1936. However, Kazakhstan was not the only country to play in the capital of the Soviet Union, but before us, such as Ukraine, Georgia and then Uzbekistan. Republics have made their decades. The newspaper «News of the CEC and the All-Union CEC», without any hesitation, published a report on the creation of a «Leninist nationalist policy» in the Soviet Union. At first glance, the unity and solidarity of nations and nationalities living in harmony with one another is a good idea. But after a year, the «artificial policy of the nation» revealed its true face. All the party-Soviet workers and intelligents of the Republics of the former Soviet Union were the victims of the Stalinist repressions.

By the middle of 1936, trials against the Trotskyites began in Moscow. In the first plenum of the Writers' Union of the USSR, which was held in Minsk in early 1936, a friend of Seifullin, a Russian writer F.Berezovsky talked about the state of the Kazakh literature and wrote: «Seifullin's poems «Red horse» and some of the political errors related to Trotskyism in his works. Now, Seifullin has got rid of this mistake» [9; 341]. Following this, actions to eliminate the Trotskyism began in Kazakhstan and Seifullin was targeted.

With the advent of 1937, the political situation became more complicated and the search for «population rains» began. The aggravation of repression took place in February and March at the plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the all-union communist (Bolshevik) Party after Stalin's report on the theme «Measures to destroy the Trotskyites and hypocrisy and shortcomings of the party» [10; 1–26]. The decision of the plenum of all party organizations was strictly enforced. Material on the pages of the same period will give us a clear picture of the situation.

Head of Propaganda Department of the Regional Party Committee I.Kabilov called for the fight against the Alash people in his article «The task of the Kazakh Bolsheviks is to combat the Kazakh nationalism» [11; 2]. L.Zalin wrote about the Trotsky-based right-wing agents in Kazakhstan [12; 4], in the «Kazakh Literature» newspaper on August 13th, published articles titled «We Will not Live For Nationalist Fascists», «The Nationalist-Fascist Pests in the Literature Must Be Destroyed» [13; 1]. In the beginning, T. Ryskulov, S.Kozhanov, N.Nurmakov, U.Kulyabetov were accused as nationalist fascists and Japanese-German spies, in the next article of S.Seifullin, I.Zhansugurov, S.Mukanov G.Tugzhanov were accused of «propaganda» of the Trotsky-Bukharin counter-revolutionary theory. Instead of fighting the people, Seifullin demonstrated a

great deal of genius, and in recent years it has been said that he has not given a prominent work depicting modern life. In the article titled «Let's Create a Pestileneous Effect of the Nationalist Fascist Enemies in the Writers' Organization» S.Mukanov was slandered by praising S.Seifullin and propagating his nationalist ideology [14; 2]. Articles published in newspapers and magazines in 1937, «Kazakh nationalism — the main threat to the nation», «it is necessary to punish and destroy the right-trotskyist spies» were aimed at fighting against «enemies of the people» among the party employees and writers of the Kazakhs [15; 1]. In all the state bodies, institutions and industries the tendency to search for enemies of the people has grown. The Union of Writers in Kazakhstan has been stuck in the campaign of «exposing enemies».

On April 5–7, 1937 the Almaty City General Assembly of Writers' Organization was held [16; 2]. In his speech at the meeting, Zharokov says: «Sabit, Saken and Ilyas do not criticize each other and are worried that «friendship will collapse» and thereby accused S.Seifullin, S.Mukanov, I.Dzhansugirov. The main article published in the newspaper «Kazakh Literature» showed that the deficiencies in the Writers' Union were due to the educational work and weakness of mutual criticism. Speaking at the reporters' meeting of April 11, S.Seifullin was assessed as «unable to fully demonstrate his disadvantages».

On April 26, 1937, the first plenary session of the Kazakh Writers was held. One month later, on May 16–17, at the Almaty General Assembly of Writers, M.Karataev made a report entitled «The negligence and arrogance in the Writers' Organization» and underlined that the plenum did not fulfill the resolutions of the writers [17].

On July 11–13, 1937 the regular party meeting of the Union of Writers of Kazakhstan was held [18; 76–78]. There S.Seifullin made a speech: «I have many shortcomings. Although I tried to be far-sighted, there were moments when I did not finish it». H.Zhusupbekov called on S.Mukanov to reconsider his honesty before the party, made a warning to S.Seifullin and I.Zhansugurov, to make a hard reprimand to B.Mailin and called «to destroy the enemies of the people». According to H.Zhusupbekov's report, the main task of the leaders of the Union of Writers Mukhanov, Seifullin, Zhansugurov, Tugzhanov in the current period was the fact that they did not make the corresponding conclusion from the February-March Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party without fighting against the Trotsky-nationalist counter-revolutionary smuggling in the literature. In connection with Seifullin, it was noted that until now there were not enough shortcomings in the collections and publications, he showed a negligent attitude to the original criticism, currently at work, in the collective farms there is no connection with the population, political and creative backwardness. When we examine the content of the meetings held in the Writers' Organization in the field of «raiding the enemy of the people», we see that almost everybody is criticized by Seifullin's «disadvantage».

L.I Mirzoyan, secretary of the Kazakh regional party committee, said in his speech at the First Congress of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan in June 1937 that the party of Kazakhstan would mobilize to fight against all the powerful people and fascist elements, armed with decisions of the February and March plenary session of the Central Committee [19; 5]. And the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs of Kazakhstan has been reporting to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan about the successes in the disclosure of malefactors and spies.

Thus, the slander of «national enemies», and «nationalists» was directed mainly to writers such as S.Seifullin, I.Zhansugurov, B.Mailin, S.Mukanov. Seifullin has been accused of acts of hostility against the Soviet government. In his novel «Tar zhol, taigak keshu», «Enemies of the people» T.Ryskulov, N.Nurmakov, Zh. Saduakasova, A.Asylbekova show as fighters, write about Trotsky and Zinoviev, write a laudable article about A.Baitursynov, adhere to the Pan-Turkic idea, create a group of «seifullinism» in opposition to the national party.

Colonel, journalist Amantay Kaken, who worked for long years at the National Security Administration investigating S.Seifullin's 04519 criminal case, wrote a documentary story «The truth about Saken or what the documents of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs speak about». After that, the work «Kazaktyn Sakeni», as a specialist in human rights activities of the author, deeply analyzed, comparatively researched and will help us to understand that in the life of Seifullin there are the last moments of life, to become an innocent «enemy of the people».

September 24, 1937 Seifullin was arrested. September 25, S. in Seifullin's appeal to the internal Affairs bodies of the Kazakh SSR «Under the influence of Nurmakov in 1935 he joined the Soviet nationalist organization. I give in the investigation reliable arguments about the actions of their and other members of the organization against the Council», — said in a statement [20; 17]. But all these data show that this document is genuine. The first of them, on October 6, 1937, an employee of the 4th Department of the state security Department Baymurzin noted that «Prisoner S.Seifullin expressed obscene words against the body

of The people's Commissariat of internal Affairs. I tried to grab a chair to hit me, but I pulled it away». The second document is a report by investigator Serembaev to junior lieutenant Ivanov, the head of the 4th division of the Ministry of Internal Affairs for the Kazakh SSR. It says about 13 days of silence of Seifullin, about insulting the employees of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs and about the fact that he hit his head against the wall [20; 19, 20]. We understand that Seifullin resisted without acknowledging the unacceptable slander and accusations. The legal officer of the party said that the Central Committee of the party, saying that Stalin officially allowed the torture of the culprit to establish the crime committed the attempt on the Fatherland, proves that this document can not be written on September 25, and subsequently lead to violent writing, investigators changed the date of the document, false. And we add that due to the fact that the people involved are not guilty, innocent, the need to detect a crime has become a habit of the investigation. The investigators, who decided, by whatever way, only to accept, to assume criminal and accumulated the inevitable false information. Day and night, due to the fact that he saw physical and mental suffering, he was forced to «admit» to a crime not committed those who did not survive.

In 1937, in the Soviet Union, including in Kazakhstan, as directed by Stalin, all the enemies of the nation were destroyed. That is why the falsified information was drawn up and consolidated, and the Kazakh intelligentsia associated with the opposition group in the center of the Soviet «anti-Soviet government».

«In Kazakhstan, Ryzkulov, Nurmukov, Kozhanov and Kulumbetov were the leaders of the well-organized, Trotskyite, bourgeois nationalist, terrorist counter-revolutionary organization. As a result of the unification of «nationalist» groups since 1928, on the proposal of Kozhanov, S.Seifullin, as the leader of the nationalist group, joined the anti-Soviet organization, which involved new people, joined the members of the organization. He took part in the preparation of terrorist acts that tried to kill the heads of the all-Union Communist party and the Soviet government. This organization intends to allocate Kazakhstan from the Soviet Union and create a bourgeois Kazakh state under the leadership of Japan. Japanese-German spies abroad contacted with M.Shokai and R.Marsekov. Since 1922, he was in the counter-revolutionary direction against the Soviet government, carried out activities in the literature on the Trotskyite direction, devoted his work to Trotsky, promoted Trotskyism among nationalists. In 1936, the enemy of the people is associated with the Trotskyites through Sokolnikov» [20; 36, 37].

In our opinion, the internal Affairs bodies in making decisions with special care proceeded from the fact that S.Seifullin was an opponent of the people. It is true that S.Seifullin devoted L.Trotsky a collection of poems «Domyra». This was proof that in 1923 at the III regional party conference he called the «Trotsky «gang»».

In February 1937, in connection with the convicted G.Sokolnikov in the case called «relatively anti-Soviet Trotskyite center», the reason for this was the creative connection between the wife of G.Sokolnikov and S.Seifullin, Russian writer G.Serebryakova. According to the scientist T.Kakishev, who interviewed G.Serebryakova during the conversation and wrote memories of S.Seifullin, they had met twice in their life. The acquaintance of two writers began in 1936 during the decade of Kazakh art and culture in Moscow. The first meeting took place in the office of writer Fadeyev, and the second proceeded in her park. He gave her the Kazakh version of G.Serebryakova's book «Marx's youth», edited by her. At this time, G.Serebryakova's husband G.Sokolnikov was not in her home while on a business trip. Therefore, the investigators misrepresented the meeting of two creative writers made about the facts of the accusations of «Trotskyism» [9; 312–315].

After the death of the Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin L.Trotsky to fight for power with I.Stalin and finally with his 30 accomplices, he was deported to Almaty in January 1928. According to the scientist T.Omarbekov in recognition of Almaty as an isolated region L.Trotsky did not believe that the local opposition will be able to repel Stalin. He had no hope for the Kazakh Communists. In Kazakhstan, no attempts were made to organize opposition against I.Stalin and F.Goloschekin. «Kazakhstan's political leaders are not that Trotskyism has not fully mastered the ideological foundations of Marxism-Leninism yet. As for the Kazakh intelligentsia, they were not ready to accept the new Trinity doctrine, mainly because of the national and international laserscope-Leninist» [21; 180].

We also agree with the scientist's reflections. In General, S. Seifullin was not involved in the policy of confiscation and collectivization of wealth in Kazakhstan in 1927–1929. At this time he worked as the rector of the University in Tashkent. Upon arrival in Almaty in 1929, he taught at the Kazakh pedagogical University until 1934, engaged in the study of the ancient heritage of Kazakh literature. At the same time, search Trotskyites, the prosecution in this S.Seifullin, another Kazakh intelligentsia was not terminated.

As mentioned above, the charge of «seifullinism», «Trotskyism» was fictional, in connection with literary works, has no criminal basis.

The second reason for the accusation is S.Seifullin's struggle for the Kazakh language, a decisive statement of his view on national problems, expressing A.Baitursynov, who is involved in the Kazakh nation, in 1923 he is able to accuse him of «nationalism». Later, the opponents found and aggravated scenes of «nationalism» in the works of the National folk character. The fact that he published a photo of members of Alash in his book «Tar Zhol, Taygak Keshu» clearly shows that he was a «nationalist». Third, in this novel he shows the «enemies of the people» N.Nurmakov, A.Asylbekov and K.Sarymoldayev as fighters in the way of Soviet power.

It is well known that the nationalist, state and public figure N.Nurmakanov was the head of the government of Kazakhstan in 1924–1929 after S.Seifullin. Unity of views on the path of national interests that started S.Seifullin continued during the time of N.Nurmakanov. In March 1923, Seifullin and Nurmakov were among 14 people who addressed a letter to the Central Committee of the all-union Communist Party, which pointed to the danger of colonialism and the accusation of Kazakh communists of nationalism. N.Nurmakov's attempt during the years of the government of Kazakhstan does not agree with the proposed program of Soviet policy, required the consideration of national interests and peculiarities, fought for the implementation of this direction, faced the protest of F.Goloshchekin. Three days after S.Seifullin's arrest on September 27, 1937, the Supreme Court of the USSR decided to shoot N.Nurmakov. So it was easier to associate S.Seifullin and N.Nurmakova to the charge. Fourth, the moral, civic qualities of S.Seifullin, forgiveness sound in the memories of those who saw him. One of them is assistance to Magzhan Zhumabayev in employment and financial support. But this attempt was in «vigilance» of internal affairs.

February 25, 1938 the Supreme Court of the USSR in Almaty sentenced the visiting military Board: «Seifullin since 1922 divided the Trotskyite views and pursued a Trotskyite activities in the literature. Since 1928, he joined the counter-revolutionary-nationalist groups, and later became part of the counter-revolutionary, bourgeois-nationalist, insurgent-terrorist and sabotage organization operating in the Kazakh SSR in the block with the right-Trotsky terrorist organization and aimed at the armed overthrow of the Soviet power, the rejection of Kazakhstan from the Soviet Union and the creation of a bourgeois Kazakh state under the leadership of Japan, he participated in the preparation of terrorist acts against the leaders of the all-union Communist Party and the Soviet government and in the preparation of an armed uprising against the Soviet government, recruited new members in the organization, engaged in sabotage in the literary field». After this decision he was sentenced to death [20; 38].

If you refer to the research of the scientist-demographer M.Tatymov on the day of S.Seifullin's death, on February 25, 33 more people were shot [22; 132]. Among them are representatives of the Kazakh intelligentsia who collaborated with Seyfullin, such as S.Mendesheev, S.Asfendiyarov, S.Eskarayev, T.Zhurgenov, U.Kulumbetov, I.Moldazhanov, Zh. Saduakasov. History proves that they were the owners of high intellectual and business qualities of their time. Writer from Karaganda Zh. Bekturov in an interview with the figure of Alash A.Ermekov says: «if not to say that Saken was on the side of the Reds, and we were on the side of the horde, Saken was a nationalist more than we. Here he described the «nationalist» not in the meaningless sense, but in the sense that Saken served his people honestly, contributing to the promotion of the Kazakh language and culture» [23; 444].

Twenty years later, in 1957, Seifullin was completely justified.

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С.С. Қасымова

Сәкен Сейфуллин өмірінің соңғы кезеңі

Мақалада қазақ кеңес әдебиетінің негізін салушылардың бірі, қоғам қайраткері Сәкен Сейфуллиннің өмірінің соңғы жылдарын қарастыратын деректер сараланған. Автор мұрағат құжаттары мен мерзімді баспасөз материалдарын зерттеу барысында С. Сейфуллиннің әдеби сын мәселелерін зерттеуге қосқан үлесін көрсеткен және оның Жазушылар одағындағы қызметінің негізгі бағыттарына талдау жасаған. БКП (б) Орталық Комитетінің 1932 жылғы 23 сәуірдегі «Көркем әдебиет туралы» Қаулысының, әдебиеттегі формализм мен натурализмге қарсы күрестің ұлттық әдебиеттің дамуына жағымсыз әсері зерттелген. Автор қоғамдық, әдеби қызметін жан-жақты зерттеу арқылы С. Сейфуллиннің тек большевиктік идеологияның жақтаушысы ғана емес, сонымен қатар Ф. Голощекиннің Қазақстанда жүргізген «Кіші Қазан» саясатына қарсылығы мен өзіндік көзқарасы болғанын анықтаған. Ішкі Істер Халық Комиссариатының құжаттарын ғылыми айналымға енгізу арқылы С. Сейфуллиннің «халық жауы» атанып, «ұлтшылдыққа», «троцкизмге» айыпталуының себептері талданып, кеңінен ашылған. Мұрағат құжаттары қазақ зиялыларына, оның ішінде С. Сейфуллинге қарсы жасалған айыптаулардың негізсіз болып табылатынын және кеңестік «Кіші Қазан» саясатының мақсатты бағыттылығын көрсетеді. Автор қарастырылған кезеңдегі Қазақстандағы қоғамдық-саяси өмір туралы қорытынды жасаған.

Кілт сөздер: Қазақстан Жазушылар одағы, сын, қуғын-сүргін, «троцкизм», «ұлтшылдық», ақтау.

С.С. Касимова

Последние годы жизни Сакена Сейфуллина

В статье дан обзор источников, рассматривающих последние годы жизни одного из зачинателей казахской советской литературы, общественного деятеля Сакена Сейфуллина. В ходе изучения архивных материалов и периодической печати автором показан вклад С. Сейфуллина в изучение проблем литературной критики и проанализированы основные направления его деятельности в Союзе писателей. Изучены негативные влияния Постановления Центрального Комитета ВКП(б) от 23 апреля 1932 г. «О художественной литературе», борьбы против формализма и натурализма в литературе на развитие национальной литературы. Автор, разносторонне изучая общественную и литературную деятельность С. Сейфуллина, определил, что С. Сейфуллин был не только сторонником большевистской идеологии, но и её противником и выработал собственный взгляд на политику «Малого Октября», проводимую Ф. Голощекиным в Казахстане. Вводя в научный оборот документы Народного Комиссариата Внутренних Дел, автор всесторонне проанализировал и изучил причины обвинения С. Сейфуллина в национализме и троцкизме. Архивные документы показывают, что

обвинения, выдвинутые против казахской интеллигенции, и, в частности, против С. Сейфуллина, являются беспочвенными и демонстрируют целенаправленную советскую политику «Малого Октября». Автор формулирует выводы об общественно-политической жизни в Казахстане в изучаемый период.

Ключевые слова: Союз писателей Казахстана, критика, репрессия, «троцкизм», «национализм», реабилитация.

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