

G.K. MukanovaAl-Farabi Kazakh National University, Kazakhstan, Almaty,
e-mail: Gulnar_mukanova@mail.ru

NON-CONFESSIONAL ASPECTS OF SELF-IDENTIFICATION LEADERS IN THE CONTEXT OF THE HISTORY OF KAZAKH AUTONOMY

The place of Tolstoyism at the beginning of the twentieth century in the Kazakh, identifying itself predominantly Muslim, environment is a page of history that is little studied today. The historiography of this topic reflects different methodological approaches in connection with the periods of interest of historians of different convictions to the issues of the influence of ethical teachings at critical stages in the development of societies. The publications of scientists, nevertheless, made it possible to compare the points of view on the spread of the ideas of Tolstoyism in the studied region with the adjacent regions of Russia and Central Asia. The goal is to find a logical connection between agrarian demands in the context of the socio-political realities of the land issue in the Russian Empire (A. Bukeikhanov), and the ethics of the Tolstoyans (S. Sadvokasov). The research methodology is since Russian historiography did not study the influence of Tolstoyism ideas on the worldview of the national intelligentsia of the Steppe Territory before the events of March-October 1917. The specified facet of the formation of the views of Kazakh youth, who later joined the leaders of Alash, and then moved on to work in the bodies of Soviet power, has not yet been considered in the context of spiritual alternative searches. It turned out that the ideological searches of the Kazakh intelligentsia, regardless of class, nationality, and confessional affiliation, at the beginning of the twentieth century were one of the types of passive social protest the regime. This manifested itself in the identity of the young S. Sadvokasov. The practical implementation of the conclusions of this study is to identify a paradox: the influence of non-Marxist teachings during the years of Soviet power coexisted with the ideology of communism and atheism in Kazakhstan.

Key words: Russia, Kazakh Republic, Tolstoyism, Islam, Kazakhs, Sadvokasov Smagul, autonomy, Bukeikhanov, commune, agriculture, confessions.

Г.К. Мұқанова

Әл-Фараби атындағы Қазақ ұлттық университеті, Қазақстан, Алматы қ.
e-mail: Gulnar_mukanova@mail.ru

Қазақ автономиясы тарихы тұрғысынан көшбасшылардың өзін-өзі сәйкестендіруінің конфессиялық емес аспектілер

Толстойшылықтың XX ғасырдың басындағы қазақтағы орны, өзін мұсылман деп санайтын қоршаған орта – бұл қазіргі кезде аз зерттелген тарих парағы. Бұл тақырыптың тарихнамасында қоғамның дамуының маңызды кезеңдеріндегі этикалық ілімдердің әсер ету мәселелеріне әртүрлі нанымдағы тарихшылардың қызығушылық кезеңдеріне байланысты әр түрлі әдіснамалық тәсілдер көрсетілген. Ғалымдардың жарияланымдары, дегенмен, зерттелген аймақта толстойшылық идеяларының таралуы туралы көзқарастарды Ресей мен Орта Азияның іргелес аймақтарымен салыстыруға мүмкіндік берді. Мақсат – аграрлық талаптардың Ресей империясындағы жер мәселесінің әлеуметтік-саяси шындықтары (Ә. Бөкейханов) пен толстойшылық этикасының (С. Садвокасов) контекстіндегі логикалық байланысын табу. Зерттеу әдістемесі орыс тарихнамасында 1917 жылғы наурыз-қазан оқиғаларына дейін Дала өлкесінің ұлттық интеллигенциясының дүниетанымына толстойшылық идеялардың әсерін зерттегендігі негізделген. Кейін Алаш көсемдеріне қосылып, кейін Кеңес өкіметі органдарында жұмыс істеуге көшкен қазақ жастарының көзқарастарын қалыптастырудың бұл қыры рухани балама ізденістер аясында әлі қарастырылған жоқ. XX ғасырдың басында қазақ зиялыларының таптық, ұлтына және конфессиялық түріне қарамай идеологиялық ізденістері режимге деген пассивті әлеуметтік наразылық түрлерінің бірі болып шықты. Бұл жас С. Садвокасовтың жеке басынан көрінді. Осы зерттеу қорытындыларын іс жүзінде жүзеге асыру парадоксты анықтау болып табылады: Кеңес өкіметі жылдарында марксистік емес ілімдердің әсері Қазақстандағы коммунизм мен атеизм идеологиясымен қатар өмір сүрді.

Түйін сөздер: Ресей, Қазақ Республикасы, толстойшылық, ислам, қазақтар, Садвокасов Смағұл, автономия, Бөкейханов, коммуна, ауыл шаруашылығы, конфессиялар.

Г.К. Муқанова

Казахский национальный университет им. аль-Фараби, Казахстан, г. Алматы,
e-mail: Gulnar_mukanova@mail.ru

Надконфессиональные аспекты самоидентификации лидеров в контексте истории Казахской автономии

Место толстовства в начале XX века в казахской, идентифицирующей себя преимущественно мусульманской, среде составляет малоизученную на сегодня страницу истории. Историография обозначенной темы отражает разные методологические подходы в связи с периодами интереса историков разных убеждений к вопросам влияния этических учений на переломных этапах развития обществ. Публикации ученых, тем не менее, позволили сопоставить точки зрения на распространение идей толстовства в изучаемом регионе со смежными областями России и Средней Азии. Цель – обнаружить логическую связь между аграрными запросами в контексте социально-политических реалий земельного вопроса в Российской империи (А. Букейханов) и этикой толстовцев (С. Садвокасов). Методология исследования базируется на том факте, что в отечественной историографии не исследовано влияние идей толстовства на мировоззрение национальной интеллигенции Степного края до событий марта-октября 1917 года. Указанную грань формирования взглядов казахской молодежи, впоследствии примкнувшей к лидерам Алаш, а затем перешедшей на работу в органы Советской власти, еще не рассматривали в контексте духовных альтернативных поисков. Оказалось, что идейные поиски казахской интеллигенции, вне зависимости от сословной, национальной и конфессиональной принадлежности, в начале XX столетия были одним из видов пассивного социального протеста против режима. Это проявилось в идентичности молодого С. Садвокасова. Практическая реализация выводов данного исследования заключается в выявлении парадокса: влияние немарксистских учений в годы Советской власти сосуществовало с идеологией коммунизма и атеизмом и в Казахстане.

Ключевые слова: Россия, Казахская республика, толстовство, ислам, казахи, Садвокасов Смагул, автономия, Букейханов, коммуна, земледелие, конфессии.

Introduction

The influence of ethical and moral teachings, such as Tolstoyism, which for a certain time coexisted with the ideology of communism in the region, indirectly influenced the forms of passive group social protest. Social protest phenomena in the region in the 1920s were primarily due to the land issue, or the violation of the size and rhythms of nomadic movements. Smagul Sadvokasov (1900-1933) was one of those leaders of the Kazakh autonomy who managed to «get used», as N. Berdyaev put it, into Tolstoyism, as well as perceived the message of Oswald Spengler's book «The Decline of Europe». The influence of Tolstoyism on the worldview of the national intelligentsia of the Steppe Territory and earlier, within the framework of the events of March-October 1917 in Russia, is undoubtedly. Leo Tolstoy's teachings influenced the formation of the views of progressive Kazakh youth who joined the leaders of the Alash national movement. The topic of multiculturalism and non-confessionalism in terms of the Kazakh elite's search for a stable methodological platform, alternative to the old foundations that have outlived themselves, is able to bring to interesting historical parallels. The article attempts to approach the evolution of the views of the progressive intelligentsia of Kazakhstan, in

the first third of the twentieth century, through the prism of ethnic and non-confessional ideology, Tolstoyism. The practice of Tolstoy's communes in the agrarian sector was perceived by S. Sadvokasov as a rational social tool, with the help of which the evolutionary change of the centuries-old way of life of an entire people seemed real. The stated topic relates to the scientific methods of dialectical logic, anthropology, and historical ethnology. The practical significance of the study is seen in the discovery of the facts of the purposeful spiritual struggle of the national intelligentsia. Most of the leaders of the national autonomy have become victims of illegal political repression, while their views on the reconstruction of the traditional economy, the land issue, zoning, and others are of interest.

Materials and methods

The study of the recent past on a new methodological basis returns social scientists to the knowledge of the spiritual component of the evolution of the views of the progressive intelligentsia of Kazakhstan, in the first third of the twentieth century. This approach is consistent with the methods of anthropology, natural science disciplines. Summing up the personal data of the era, looking at specific biographies, you can get closer to the truth. It is especially impor-

tant to be aware of this in matters of spiritual struggle, including ideological self-identification. Official questionnaires or affiliation with party formations in the USSR are not able to convey the real views of the communists. At the same time, in the national republics, the communist doctrine was superimposed on the traditional worldview, for example, Muslim education in the Steppe Territory, and other systemic teachings, to which ethnic Kazakhs could show interests before the Sovietization stage.

The topic is distinguished by an interdisciplinary approach at the intersection of several sciences: history and sociology, cultural studies and religious studies, psychology. The methodology of the topic of identity and ethnicity in multicultural communities is being developed by foreign researchers John Rex (1995), John Solomos (2014)

The well-known Russian philosopher N.A. Berdyaev expressed his attitude to the philosophical quest, which was heard in the first quarter of the twentieth century, in a peculiar way: orthodoxy, existential philosophy, but I could not merge with anything and remained myself. « (Berdyaev, 1991: 270) This quote captures the place of Tolstoyism in a number of other contemporary teachings. In this context, the concept of «getting used to» meant the acquired rather than innate character of the currents of spiritual thought listed by Berdyaev. If for the adherents of classical philosophy, they were not of great practical interest, then on the contrary, Tolstoyism was perceived differently by persons determined to restructure their own social role and self-identity, who also possessed leadership qualities.

The place of Tolstoyism at the beginning of the twentieth century among the Kazakh, self-identifying predominantly Muslim, progressive intelligentsia. Official questionnaires identifying the belonging of the Kazakh political elite to the Communist Party in the USSR are not able to convey the real situation. At the same time, it is no secret that in the national republics the teachings of Marx-Lenin were superimposed on the traditional worldview. The study of narrative and archival sources on the topic of the study was supported by the study of the content of the Soviet periodicals. The archives of the Republic of Kazakhstan, the Russian Federation store curious sources. Declassified sources representing the interrogation protocols of the 1930s of S. Sadvokasov's comrades-in-arms for work in the government of the KazASSR, rare photographs of the historical period, the regional press: «Soviet Siberia», «Enbekshil Kazak», «Bostandyk tuy», «Kyzyl Kazakstan» were used while studying the topic.

Foreign historiography

The topic of Tolstoyism in Russia and the Soviet state has its own historiography. The publications of the post-Soviet period (Petrova, 2003) pay attention to the geography and social belonging of the Tolstoyans adherents, statistics of membership in communes. T. Petukhova's research (Petukhova, 2008) covers the first decade after October. The value of this publication lies in examining Tolstoyism against the backdrop of social transformation. In connection with the February events of 1917, a period of active social activity of the Tolstoyans began. In Moscow, in June 1917, the Society of True Freedom was created in memory of L. Tolstoy. (Petukhova, 2008: 4) The Tolstoyans' hopes for solving social problems and publishing activities without censorship were connected with the February Revolution. (Petukhova, 2008: 21)

The topic of Tolstoyism in the far abroad is presented by a number of publications, in particular by an American author (Green, 1983). The German edition (Birukoff, 1925) examines Leo Tolstoy's ideas about Eastern beliefs, world confessions, etc. The figure of the author Biryukov himself, in the bibliography of Tolstoyism, is very colorful: the fact when Biryukov boldly suggested that Stalin even publish the journal «Sectarian Communist» and «Leader» favored the communards who were engaged in agriculture.

The interest in the works of the Russian classic continues abroad. In 1988, the British publishing house Penguin Classics published the book Leo Tolstoy. Confessions and Other Religious Writings "translated by Jane Kentish. (Kentish, 1988) Italian editor, translator and foreword writer Jay Parini of the same Penguin Classics published a book in 2009 about Leo Tolstoy's late correspondence. (Parini, 2009) Jay Parini is known to teach in Middlebury and live in Vermont. Professor, Head of the Department of Russian Language at Oxford University Zorin Andrei, co-author of the publication *Periphery of Europe 1762-1825: Self-Publishing of the Russian Elite and research on Leo Tolstoy.* (Zorin, 2020) This work of authorship is distinguished by a critical position on the views of the classic regarding communes.

Among the latest by date, quite in the spirit of the times, is an e-book about Leo Tolstoy, published in London, it has three authors: Gilbert Chesterton, George Perris, Edward Garnett in 2013. (Gilbert Chesterton, George Perris, Edward Garnett, 2013)

The analysis of foreign publications showed that despite the confirmed fact of the existence of

agricultural communes under the auspices of the teachings of L. Tolstoy on the African continent, in India and Japan, there are no thematic works in the context of continents. In the books of foreign authors, there is no information about Tolstoyans in Western Siberia and Kazakhstan, which actualizes the importance of studying the socio-political history of the region, which agronomists attribute to the zone of risky farming. Regional aspects of the history of Tolstoy communes in Western Siberia, the social composition and number of communards in the period under study were considered by Russian scientists. (Petrov D.S., Dolzhikov V.A., 2013) In an interesting collection «Memoirs of Tolstoyans Peasants», consisting of archival and narrative sources, there is a record about the Alma-Ata Tolstoyan community of the Soviet period. (Memoirs, 1989: 147) However, this association does not coincide with the chronological framework of our search. In addition, Smagul Sadvokasov practically did not have time to work in this city, since he was forced to leave the republic at the beginning of 1928, when the capital of Kazakhstan was only planned to be relocated from Kyzylorda to Semirechye.

Results and Discussion

Main part

Actually, in Kazakhstani historiography about the followers of Tolstoy's teachings at the beginning of the twentieth century, there are no special works among the Kazakh elite, with the rare exception of theses in the materials of republican conferences. The study of Tolstoy communes in Turkestan, near Tashkent, seems promising. The period of repression is notable for a large number of interrogation materials, when one of those who were subjected to party proceedings at KazSU in 1931, teacher A. Baydildin, showed that the communist Smagul Sadvokasov was fond of Tolstoyism in his youth. Today, Kazakhstani archivists are doing a lot of work with declassified materials, including the early stage of the government of the Kazakh Republic (1920-1926), the decisions of the Council of People's Commissars of the republic and the KazCEC on religious holidays. (State archive of the North Kazakhstan region – GASCO. Fund 2. Inventory 1. Case 394. Sheet 150. Fund 69. Inv. 1. C.36. L. 1).

The minutes of the general meeting of the party cell of the People's Commissariat for Education and the employees of KazSU in 1931 recorded the rec-

tor of the university Sanzhar Asfendiyarov and two more communists in the presiding «troika». The fact of Baidildin's acquaintance with S. Sadvokasov, who was disgraced at that time and left Kazakhstan, was recorded. Baydildin pointed out that Sadvokasov did not immediately adopt the communist doctrine, but was in his student years, until 1917, a Tolstoyan. The mention that Sadvokasov was fond of Tolstoyism in 1931 could not seriously damage, at the same time it indicated that he did not immediately accept the position of the Bolsheviks. A new reading of the biography of the disgraced People's Commissar, his lifetime publications, through the prism of his rapprochement with Tolstoyism, led to interesting results. For convenience, the stages of S. Sadvokasov's stay in Omsk, Orenburg, Kyzylorda, Tashkent, and Moscow, coinciding with his political and career growth, are highlighted.

For ease of reading, we have highlighted the stages of Sadvokasov's political career: Omsk, Orenburg, and others.

Omsk period

Years of study of Smagul in the specialty «Agronomist», the choice of profession took place not without the influence of the teachings of Leo Tolstoy. Subsequently, the knowledge gained will be useful to Smagul while working in the State Planning Committee, planning a territorial demarcation with the Central Asian republics and zoning of the KazASSR. Historical parallel: the specialty «Agronomy» in the agricultural college was chosen by the Japanese Arishima Takeo – a native of an aristocratic family, a Christian by religion. The spiritual search for the meaning of life led the young inhabitant of the Land of the Rising Sun to the ideas of L. Tolstoy about the importance of physical labor and agriculture. Although Takeo had the opportunity to attend a prestigious university, he made his choice by following the commandments of Tolstoyism.

In the Omsk period, S. Sadvokasov joined Tolstoyism. The geographical proximity of Sadvokasov's small homeland – the aul of Zharkyn (now the territory of the Akzhar district of the North Kazakhstan region) to Omsk, where he continued his education, graduating from an agricultural school and cooperative courses at the Polytechnic Institute, had a significant impact on the choice of profession. It should be noted that gravitation towards another administrative and cultural center of Western Siberia, and Semipalatinsk, the regional center of the region, where Abai, Shakarim, Mukhtar Auevov, Russian political exiles lived, caused Smagul's early

acquaintance with classical Russian literature, the works of Leo Tolstoy. Akmola and Semipalatinsk regions of the Russian Empire were distinguished by the multi-ethnic composition of the population, in which agricultural farms were profitable.

In the Omsk period, Sadvokasov's agronomic essays «The needs of the aul (Essays on Kyrgyz life)» were published in the newspaper «Trudovaya Sibir» on June 9, 1919. (South Kazakhstan Regional Archive – YUKRA. KP No. 336/4)

Orenburg period

The capital of the Kazakh Republic was initially located in the city of Orenburg (1920 – April 1925). Sadvokasov was a member of the commission under the People's Commissariat for Education of the Republic for publishing. In January 1921, he was instructed by a commission under the People's Commissariat of Education, among other persons, to translate from Russian into Kazakh, works explaining in an accessible form the attitude of Marxists to religion and beliefs. Thus, the book «On the Origin of the Gods» by Yaroslavsky S. Sadvokasov translated and prepared for publication in the early 1920s. (AP RK. Fund.139. Inv.1. 730. L.1-3) Anyone involved in translations, one way or another, reads into the ideas of the author of the original text and mentally agrees or argues with him. It is impossible to reconstruct Sadvokasov's attitude to the content of Yaroslavsky's book, however, given its integral character, it can be argued that the content of Yaroslavsky's book was interesting to him. As noted above, Smagul Sadvokasovich was a member of the commission for the control (monitoring) of printed materials in Kazakhstan. In other words, the selection of books for translation into the Kazakh language was largely in his charge. It is known that such lists were recommended to the national republics from the Central Committee of the party. The very fact that the publication of Yaroslavsky became the object of translation tilts the balance in favor of the interest of Kazakh leaders in educating the population about the nature of superstitions and religions, from a scientific standpoint.

In Orenburg, in the journal «Kyzyl Kazakstan» in 1924 (No. 7) Sadvokasov publishes a programmatic article «New era in Central Asia», in which he outlined the directions of work. The epoch demanded full dedication, an energetic and businesslike approach, considering national specifics, asserted auto articles.

Kyzylorda stage

With the transfer of the capital of the Kazakh Republic from Orenburg to the city of Kyzylorda once again (in the spring of 1925, a few people's commissariats and services moved to the south), it was also full of large-scale events. The date of the fifth anniversary of the formation of the Kazakh Republic was approaching, in connection with which documentaries were shot, a collection of achievements with statistical information was being prepared, and so on. The composition of the government of Kazakhstan is captured in one of the surviving photographs, which dates to 1925. Sadvokasov works as the People's Commissar of Education (Archive of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan – AP RK.F.719. Inv.1. Case 944. L.9). This rare photograph of S. Sadvokasov was found in the funds of the Kyzylorda regional archive. (State archive of the Kyzylorda region – GAKO. F. 885. Inv.3. Case 2. L.23) That was the period of moving to Ak-Mechet, a small town on the banks of the Syrdarya, which, in the tradition of the new era, was renamed Kyzylorda (Kyzyl – «red», horde – «center», «capital»).

Indeed, an analysis of the texts of official decrees, publications in the press and departmental correspondence in the system of the People's Commissariat for Education and the provincial trade unions of educational workers in the 1920s, and even in the second half of the 1920s, clearly showed the tolerant attitude of the KazASSR authorities in matters of religious feelings of citizens. Archival findings allow us to reconstruct the nature of government orders, instructions of party and Soviet bodies. Rather, they have a restrained and imperative tone in matters that directly concern the spiritual needs of citizens. Example: from Kyzylorda, instructions were received in the province on which days are Nauryz (the onset of spring among the peoples of the East), Oraza-ayt (the main Muslim holiday following the annual monthly fast; tends to shift the date due to the dependence on the lunar calendar) or Easter and others religious holidays, workers and employees may rest and not go to work. Quote: «It is prohibited to carry out work on the following special days of rest: a) April 3 and 4 – Ramazan Ait; b) June 10, 11 and 12 – Kurban-Ait; c) August 15 – Dormition». (GASCO. F. 2. Op.1. D. 394.L.150). The document is from the category of directives of the Provincial Department of the Trade Union of Education Workers, dated March 6, 1927.

One of the questionnaires indicated Smagul's education as an «Agronomist». (AP RK.F.139. Inv. 1. C.919. L. 194) Agronomic knowledge was

useful to S. Sadvokasov in apology of evolutionary forms of transition to settled life and collectivization of nomadic farms. In March 1926, members of the agricultural commune «Ulfeld» arrived in Kyzylorda from Austria, who were given land plots in the area of Bolshoi Sabalak for a 20-year lease, they were able to purchase a seed fund and draft animals. The fact of the imminent arrival of the Communards was reported by TASS, and the article «Austrian emigrants in Kazakhstan» was reprinted in the regional press. So, in number 54 (1892) of the newspaper «Soviet Siberia» on March 6, 1926, there was a short message about this. In 1925-30 this newspaper was the organ of the Sibkraykom of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks, the Siberian Regional Executive Committee, the Novosibirsk Regional Committee of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks and the Okrug Executive Committee (Soviet Siberia, 1926 No. 54) Austrian citizens arrived with children, the Austrian government issued them lifting equipment and promised to provide equipment. The commune prioritized self-sufficiency in food, field cultivation, and gardening, which puts it on a par with similar associations in Western Siberia. (State Archives of the Novosibirsk Region – SANO. F. 47.Op.5. D.118) This little-known fact confirms the vast geography of Tolstoyism, whose followers found shelter in Soviet Kazakhstan during the NEP years.

In Kyzylorda in 1926, Smagul was instructed to prepare a report for a closed meeting of the Bureau of the Kazakh Regional Committee of the CPSU (b) on anti-religious propaganda. In the Minutes of the closed meeting of the BKKK No. 12 dated October 13, 1926, Sadvokasov's speech with the said report is recorded. (AP RK. F. 141.Inv.18. C.57. L. 53) The October meeting “was attended by members of the Bureau: Dzhandosov, Kiselev, Isaev, Sadvokasov, Kashirin, Tatimov, Kuramisov, Kaipnazarov. According to claim 1. The Bureau decided: 1. On the basis of an exchange of views on the report, instruct comrades Sadvokasov, Dzhandosov and Kashirin to develop a draft resolution and submit it to the next meeting of the Bureau”. (AP RK. F. 141. Inv.18. C.57)

The topic of the report of the People's Commissar of Education S. Sadvokasov was in the spirit of atheistic education. Sadvokasov dwelled on the fact that there are Muslim educational institutions (madrasahs) in the region, while pointing out that their role in society is minimal. The content of the theses shows that in Kazakhstan the presence and activity of Muslim educational institutions in the mid-1920s, which remained a legacy of the previous

system, have not yet received a strict ban. People's Commissar Sadvokasov provides statistics on the growth of teachers' salaries. These arguments certainly should have influenced the minds of the parents of the students, who were more likely to choose secular schools in which teachers worked with greater dedication. Whereas for the study of children in madrassas at mosques, parents had to pay from the family budget. So intelligibly, with numbers in hand, S.Sadvokasov explained the advantages of the Soviet system of public education. (AP RK.F.140. Inv.1. C.80. P.19)

In the history of Japanese culture, there are examples of adherents to the teachings of Tolstoy. So, Tokutomi Roka (Kenjiro), a famous Japanese writer and translator (1868–1927), personally met with L. Tolstoy in Yasnaya Polyana in 1906. It is known about Tokutomi that he was baptized, attended a missionary school, and in the second half of his life, together with his wife, engaged in agriculture on his own farm. (Akutagawa, 2009:252)

The Tashkent-Petropavlovsk period (1927) of S. Sadvokasov's activity is too short-lived to record his interest and visit to the Tolstoy communes operating within Turkestan, near Tashkent, which were known before the revolution. (CSA RUzb. F. 461. Inv. 1. C. 351. L. 75.) Rector of Kazpedvuz, Sadvokasov in this period completely concentrates on the specifics of national-state building and the practice of industrialization.

Finally, the final, **Moscow period** of the life and work of S. Sadvokasov (1928 – 1933) was filled with the development of a new profession for him communications engineer, studies at the Institute of Transport Engineers. At the same time he works as a researcher at the Institute of Oriental Studies and publishes works on regional studies of local lore. The last stage of his short life came to work in the area of construction of a large steel highway Donbass-Moscow, and it is paradoxical, but true: it was then in 1932-1933 that he witnessed peasant riots in the construction area, as a consequence of the erroneous practice of tax in kind to poor farms, which in conditions of poor harvest led to a social crisis. That is, throughout his active socially useful activities, S. Sadvokasov, from a state position, has been pursuing a line of increased attention to agricultural practice, clearly understanding the role of agriculture in the national economy of Kazakhstan. Early social and literary activity, acquaintance with the works of L. Tolstoy and the model of Tolstoy communes certainly helped the young member of the government of the KazASSR to find the necessary arguments in his journalistic

work and communications with members of the communes that he managed to visit.

Moscow occupies a separate place in the biography and scientific and journalistic activities of Smagul Sadvokasov. He often went to Moscow on business trips, met with Stalin, and later studied at the Moscow Institute of Transport Engineers (1928–1932). At the same time, he published literary and scientific works. His article «Local History in National Districts» was published in the sixth issue of the Moscow magazine «Izvestia of the Central Bureau of Local History» in 1928. The Smagul family, wife Elizabeth and her son, also lived in Moscow, and her father, A.N. Bukeikhanov, a prominent representative of the Kazakh elite, worked at the Publishing House of the Peoples of the USSR. This became the basis for highlighting the Moscow stage of S. Sadvokasov's activities, as having significance in terms of crystallizing his views on Tolstoyism and the agrarian issue, during his communication with Bukeikhanov, who had experience in land management in Western Siberia.

Alikhan Bukeikhanov was one of the first in Kazakhstan to start translating stories and stories of the classic Leo Tolstoy. It was interesting to find out the position of the leader of the party and government of Alash, hereditary Chingizid A. Bukeikhanov, regarding Tolstoyism, there is no exact information about this. It is known that Alikhan Nurmukhamedovich was one of the first to publish translations of Leo Tolstoy's stories, in particular «Surat coffee house» (the translation was published in the newspaper «Stepnaya» in 1900, No. 10-11). For many years, information, and translation activities of Bukeikhanov were not introduced into scientific circulation. Kazakh statesman, publicist, politician, and ideologist A.N. Bukeikhanov fell victim to repression. Only with the collapse of the USSR and the declassification of the archives, it became possible to return to historiography A. Bukeikhanov's contribution to the retransmission of the classic's works in the Kazakh interpretation. After the establishment of the power of the Soviets, A.N. Bukeikhanov, being in Moscow, in September 1923 finished the translation of Tolstoy's «Hadji Murad» and published it the following year. The book «Kazhy Murat» in the Kazakh language, the 1924 edition in Arabic graphics is kept in Almaty, the funds of the National Library of the Republic of Kazakhstan. The imprint of the book informs readers that the circulation of the book, published in the printing house «Krasny Vostok», amounted to 4,000 copies. The author of the translation indicated the pseudonym «Kyr balasy», or «Son of the Steppes». With this pseudonym Bukeikhanov

signed his other articles (1911–1915). Fragments of the translation Bukeikhanov managed to publish in the newspaper «Ak Zhol» («Light Path»), published in Tashkent, in 1923. The use of a pseudonym is due to censorship in the publishing process; Bukeikhanov feared that otherwise the book would not be published.

Bukeikhanov translated the story «Hadji Murad», published after the death of Tolstoy. The story is full of ethnographic observations, the Russian writer managed to convey the peculiarities of the moral foundations of the Chechen people and Muslim ethics. The plot of the story conveys the intensity of Hadji Murad's inner struggle, the writer sympathizes with the hero and the main conclusion in the story is about rejection of violence. Tolstoy is sympathetic to a different denomination and traditions of the Caucasus. Bukeikhanov studied the work of Leo Tolstoy from the point of view of the expediency of using moral and ethical norms of social behavior for their popularization in Kazakh society. It is worth noting that, having known the leader Alash since 1917, Sadvokasov learned a lot from Bukeikhanov. The coincidence of the views of both: Bukeikhanov and Sadvokasov – on the path of enlightening society and the rise of the economy of Kazakhstan was honed through discussions. Unlike the younger ones, Sadvokasov and Auezov, Alikhan Nurmukhamedovich himself did not officially position himself as a Tolstoyan. It is believed that Bukeikhanov for some time adhered to Freemasonry (Samara period). However, Leo Tolstoy wrote about Freemasonry in his famous novel «War and Peace» as a trend widespread among the Russian aristocracy.

Conclusions

There is a complex way of searching. Smagul Sadvokasov, influenced by the events of the civil war and the compromise of the leaders of the national movement Alash, joined the ranks of the Communist Party in 1920. Having studied the works of Marx and Lenin on the revolution, Sadvokasov perceived the positive aspects of the Marxist doctrine. The coming to power in Russia and Kazakhstan of the Bolsheviks, who first announced the separation of the church from the state, and later switched to total atheism and the persecution of any dissent, turned the youth into the ranks of the Leninist Communist Union (Komsomol). Since 1920, Sadvokasov has used the slogans of the Komsomol and the Communist Party to urge Kazakh youth to learn and actively participate in social reforms. He formally

joined the party in 1920. The undoubted influence of Leo Tolstoy's views on the choice of S. Sadvokasov's specialty «Agronomy» at the Omsk School is derived through comparative research. A questionnaire filled out by Smagul himself with an indication of education, we found in the funds of one of the regional archives of Kazakhstan. (YUKRA)

Smagul Sadvokasov will subsequently change the type of activity to public and administrative. However, while still living in Omsk, he collaborated with the editorial board of the *Trudovaya Sibir* magazine, in which he published several of his articles. One of them, in the June issue of 1919, was called "The needs of the aul (sketches of Kyrgyz life)". «A copy of the publication is kept in the funds of the South Kazakhstan regional state archive / former party archive /, storage unit (YUKRA, KP No. 336/4). In the early 1920s, S. Sadvokasov took an active part in the publication of the newspaper «Kedey Sozi» («The Voice of the Poor Man»), which was originally published in Omsk and then in Petropavlovsk under the name «Bostandyk Tuy» («Banner of Freedom»). The topic of his educational and propaganda articles related to the topic of cooperation, since the local Kazakh population needed an explanation of the essence of the NEP. That is, he is more and more concerned with the issues of the peasant / sharua / economy and the tasks of how to achieve its effectiveness. The quintessence of his position will be the sensational article «On Nationalities and Nationalities» in No. 1 of the «Bolshevik» magazine for 1928. With the creation of the new government of the Kazakh Republic, Smagul will become the secretary of the KazCEC, will act as an editor of a few media outlets, will be implemented as the chairman of the State Planning Committee, the People's Commissar of Education, in Moscow he will be retrained as an engineer of transport communications. However, knowledge of agronomy and the basics of agriculture was useful to him when systematizing information about the territories and resources of the annexed regions of Turkestan. In his publications on the topic of national-territorial delimitation in Central Asia, characteristics of the degree of aridity of the Syrdarya and Semirechye regions are given. This fact reflects the real influence of Tolstoyism on the minds of Kazakh youth, in terms of respectful attitude to the land and the people who work on it.

The above examples prove that the communists were not a uniform mass without their own quest. Among them were outstanding personalities who were looking for answers to global questions about the fate of the people and the state. Tolstoyism had a non-national and non-confessional character,

it influenced the views of the Kazakh progressive intelligentsia as well. Tolstoy's commandments turned out to be useful in terms of settling for the autochthonous population of the Steppe, as an example of nonviolent voluntary experience. The literary genius of the Russian classic found admirers and translators in Kazakhstan, especially his works with oriental themes. Among the Kazakhs, members of the RCP (b) of the 1920s, who worked in Orenburg, Omsk, Smagul Sadvokasov stands out for his spiritual quest. He was interested in absorbing the meaning of L. Tolstoy's articles, books by O. Spengler, not limiting himself to traditional Muslim education in the aul mekteb. The commune as a model of a collective agricultural economy turned out to be the object of his interest during his work in Kazakhstan. During the Omsk period of Sadvokasov's activity, it was not possible to unequivocally establish his personal participation in the communes. His adherence to the ideas of Leo Tolstoy during his studies in Omsk in 1915-1916, then, during the civil war, switched to the priorities of the Alash ideology (late 1917– March 1919). The city of Omsk was at the epicenter of civil confrontation, and this factor seriously influenced the worldview of Kazakh youth, who actively switched to work in the editorial office of the Kazakh newspaper "Kedey sozi" (1920) created in Omsk in order to clarify the positions of various political forces for the indigenous population. It is not by chance that Smagul Sadvokasov writes a number of articles about the benefits of cooperation during this period. After the final victory of Soviet power in the region, together with the amnestied Alashs, Sadvokasov officially switched to the Bolshevik platform. In the Orenburg period (1920-1924), becoming a member of the Central Executive Committee (CEC) and the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, Sadvokasov departs from Tolstoyism and is actively involved as an instructor in the Semipalatinsk and Turgai regions, in organizing the republican Komsomol, showed himself at work in the People's Commissariat of Education, in the State Planning Committee of the republic and as a literary worker, editor of «Orten» newspapers, etc. The next, Kyzylorda period (1925 – March 1927) unexpectedly returns S. Sadvokasov to Tolstoyism, more precisely, with the arrival of Austrian settlers in the capital region and the formation of the Ulfeld commune. As the People's Commissar of Education, Smagul visits the commune within the chronological period of May – June 1926, as the editor of the republican editions «Enbekshil Kazak» and the magazine «Kyzyl Kazakstan», also on the

school education of communard children, and as an interested agronomist with a diploma from the Omsk educational institution. During this period, in the articles, he again returns to the goals and objectives of cooperation, aiming at the popularization of this form of collective farms among the local population.

Social equality, non-violence, self-improvement, non-resistance to evil, enlightenment through conversations and sermons, vegetarianism – these and other postulates of Tolstoyism were popular at the turn of the era and the crisis of monarchies. Some implemented them in practice, based on agricultural communes, others – in terms of ideological imitation and creative projects in literary activity, others – imbued with the meaning of Tolstoy's norms of community life. Undoubtedly, the influence of Leo Tolstoy's ideas spread during the period under study throughout Eurasia, especially with the outbreak of the First World War. The Kazakh reality of the early twentieth century, in this context, led to the search for a reasoned doctrine. It would be incorrect to argue that Sadvokasov, being an adherent of Tolstoyism in his youth, abandoned Muslim self-identification. It is impossible to agree with a statement of this kind for several reasons. First. Tolstoyism in the studied historical period – at the beginning of the twentieth century – was an extra- or over-confessional teaching. Accordingly, a person who joined Tolstoyism was not obliged to part with the religious identification given to him at birth. Sadvokasov assimilated the basic postulates and carried reverence to the ideas of the classic, regardless of his party membership card. Second. «Living», according to N. Berdyaev's expression in the text of the article, into Tolstoyism and other trends and systemic teachings, in the Western Siberia – Kazakhstan region, a priori did not imply a categorical

rejection of traditional beliefs. The Sunni Muslim Kazakhs supplemented their ideas about the world through Tolstoyism, which is interesting, and came to a practical knowledge of agriculture, the organization of agricultural communes. In the activities of Sadvokasov S.S. theoretical knowledge was later embodied in journalism. A few his articles on the benefits of cooperation, published in Kazakh newspapers, are known.

Recommendations

The study of sources and a comparative analysis of information about Tolstoyism in the region of Western Siberia and Kazakhstan, shows that the doctrine was spread and followers at the turn of the twentieth century. It is no secret that the works of the Russian classic were impressed by the rebellious spirit of Alikhan Bukeikhanov, who published their translations into Kazakh under a pseudonym in the early 1920s. With the coming to power of the Bolsheviks, at the initial stage, the authorities did not classify the Tolstoyans as «class enemies» and, moreover, used their attraction to agricultural labor and the commune as a model for imitation. One of the experiments with the participation of Austrian settlers was organized in the Kazakh Autonomous Republic, with the hope that the local population would sooner become involved in agriculture. At the start of industrialization, the administration of Kazkrai still had the right to dispose of land and lease it for long periods to foreign citizens, of course, with the knowledge of the central government. The paradox is that the teachings and spiritual practices that existed at that time had the opportunity to coexist but were gradually leveled out in the crucible of the «mainstream» Marxist-Leninist ideology.

References

- Berdiaev N.A. (1991) *Samopoznanie (Opyt filosofskoi avtobiografii)*. [Self-knowledge (Experience of a philosophical autobiography)]. Moskva: Kniga. 446 p.
- Vospominaniia... (1989) *Vospominaniia krest'ian-tolstovtsev / sost. A.B.Roginskii*. [Memoirs of Tolstoyans peasants / comp. A.B. Roginsky]. Moskva: Kniga, 479 s..
- Petrov D.S., Dolzhikov V.A. (2013) *Kommuny tolstovtsev Zapadnoi Sibiri: sotsial'nyi sostav i khoziaistvenno-ekonomicheskaia deiatel'nost'* [Communes of Tolstoyans in Western Siberia: social composition and economic activity]. // *Izvestiia Altaiskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta*. 2013. № 4 (80). S.193-197
- Petukhova T.V. (2008) *Kommuny i arteli tolstovtsev v Sovetskoi Rossii (1917–1929 gg.)*. [Communes and artels of Tolstovites in Soviet Russia (1917–1929)]. Ul'ianovsk. Sovetskaia Sibir'. (1926) *Novosibirsk*. № 54. 1926 March 6. P.2. <https://www.prlib.ru/item/447870> (Date: 01.04.2021).
- Romashkina S. (2019) *Krasnaia stolitsa [Red capital]* // *Internet-zhurnal Vlast'*. noiabr' 2019 g. <https://vlast.kz/istorija/30638-krasnaa-stolica-kak-perenosili-centr-iz-orenburga-v-kzyl-ordu.html> (Date: 01.04.2021).
- Akutagawa Ryunosuke. (2009) *Story Selection*. Vol.2. Activado.
- Birukoff P. (1925) *Tolstoy und der Orient. Brief und sonstige Zeugnisse uber Tolstois Beziehungen zuden Vertretern orientalischen Religionen*. Zurich, Leipzig. 265 p.

- Chesterton G., Perris G., Garnett E. (2013) Leo Tolstoy. Petrocast eBooks. 5027 KB
Green M. (1983) Tolstoy and Gandhi. Man of Peace. N.Y. 319 p.
John Rex (1995) Ethnic identity and the nation state: The political sociology of multi-cultural societies, *Social Identities*, 1:1, 21-34, DOI: 10.1080/13504630.1995.9959424
John Solomos (2014) Stuart Hall: articulations of race, class, and identity, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 37:10, 1667-1675, DOI: 10.1080/01419870.2014.931997
Kentish Jane. (1988) Leo Tolstoy. A Confession and Other Religious Writings. Penguin Classics. 240 p.
Parini Jay. (2009) Last Steps: The Late Writings of Leo Tolstoy. Penguin Classics. 336 p.
Zorin Andrei. (2020) Leo Tolstoy (Critical Lives). Reaktion Books.

Литература

- Бердяев Н.А. (1991). Самопознание (Опыт философской автобиографии). Москва: Книга. 446 с.
Воспоминания (1989). Воспоминания крестьян-толстовцев / сост. А.Б. Рогинский. Москва: Книга, 479 с.
Петров Д.С., Должиков В.А. (2013). Коммуны толстовцев Западной Сибири: социальный состав и хозяйственно-экономическая деятельность // Известия Алтайского государственного университета. №4 (80). С.193-197.
Петрова Е.Е. (2003). Российско-индийские исторические связи в документах и материалах архивов Л.Н.Толстого и музея-усадьбы «Ясная Поляна»: Автореферат дисс.к.и.н.
Петухова Т.В. (2008). Коммуны и артели толстовцев в Советской России (1917–1929 гг.). Ульяновск.
Советская Сибирь. (1926). Новосибирск. № 54. 1926 марта 6. С.2. <https://www.prlib.ru/item/447870> (01.04.2021).
Ромашкина С. (2019). Красная столица // Интернет-журнал Власть. ноябрь 2019 г. <https://vlast.kz/istorija/30638-krasnaa-stolica-kak-perenosili-centr-iz-orenburga-v-kzyl-ordu.html> (01.04.2021).
Akutagawa, Ryunosuke. (2009). Story Selection. Vol.2. Activado.
Birukoff P. (1925). Tolstoy und der Orient. Brief und sonstige Zeugnisse uber Tolstois Beziehungen zuden Vertretern orientalischen Religionen. Zurich, Leipzig. 265 p.
Chesterton G., Perris G., Garnett E. (2013). Leo Tolstoy. Petrocast eBooks. 5027 KB.
Green M. (1983). Tolstoy and Gandhi. Man of Peace. N.Y. 319 p.
John Rex (1995). Ethnic identity and the nation state: The political sociology of multi-cultural societies, *Social Identities*, 1:1, 21-34, DOI: 10.1080/13504630.1995.9959424
John Solomos (2014). Stuart Hall: articulations of race, class, and identity, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 37:10, 1667-1675, DOI: 10.1080/01419870.2014.931997
Kentish Jane. (1988). Leo Tolstoy. A Confession and Other Religious Writings. Penguin Classics. 240 p.
Parini Jay. (2009). Last Steps: The Late Writings of Leo Tolstoy. Penguin Classics. 336 p.
Zorin Andrei. (2020). Leo Tolstoy (Critical Lives). Reaktion Books.