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PUBLIC AND POLITICAL ACTIVITY OF THE KAZAKH INTELLIGENTSIA IN THE EARLY TWENTIETH-CENTURY

This article discusses the programs of the political parties opposing the tsarist government, as well as the objectives and activities of representatives of the national intelligentsia and the formation of ideas of national statehood in the activities of the Alash movement.

As well as the analysis of materials related to the national liberation movement of Turkestan and the activities of the intelligentsia in the way of preserving national independence and statehood. Also, the article examines the political activity of Mustafa Chokay in the unification of the Turkic peoples and the implementation of the idea of a United Turkestan. The analysis of their own works of M. Chokai on the issues of unification of the Turkic peoples and the revival of national ideology.

After the fall of the tsarist government in Kazakhstan along with the Alash party, the party appeared «Ush zhuz». In the Soviet period, the activities of the party «Ush zhuz» were evaluated differently, therefore, the article analyzes the research of our historians concerning the activities of the party.

The main aim of the study is a deep analysis of the activities of representatives of the national intelligentsia in formation of statehood and the revival of national ideology. The article also examines the role of national intellectuals in the revival of the national idea and national associations. And also by assessing the relationship between the consolidation of Turkic people and the prevailing political climate determines the movement direction and ideas aimed at the unity of the Turkic peoples. The main objective of this research is to analyze the activities of representatives of the national intelligentsia and the revival of national ideologies. The activities of the representatives of the national intelligentsia in the early twentieth century in the formation of the national idea is considered in the article.

Key words: National intelligentsia, Kazakh intelligentsia, independence of Kazakhstan, Kazakh nation, Alashorda

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XX ғасыр басындағы қазақ интеллигенциясының қоғамдық-саяси қызметі

Мақалада XX ғасырдың алғашқы ширегінде патша өкіметіне қарсы саяси партиялардың бағдарламалары, іс-әрекеттері, жолдары, өздерінің көздеген мүдделері, зиялы қауым өкілдеріне тән өркениеттік деңгейдегі мәдениеттері қарастырылып, Алаш қозғалысының қызметінде ұлттық мемлекеттік идеясының қалыптасуына шолу жасалады. Түркістан ұлт-азаттық қозғалысы және Түркістан мұхтариятындағы зиялылардың ұлттық тәуелсіздікті сақтау жолындағы күресіне қатысты материалдардың мазмұны да талданады.

Мұстафа Шоқайдың Ресей қоластындағы Түркістан түркі халықтарының басын қосуды ойлап тұтас Түркістан идеясын жүзеге асыруда саяси қызметі туралы айтылып, тәуелсіздік идеясы үшін күресінің келесі сатысы туралы біршама баяндалады. Түркістанның тәуелсіздігіне арналған іс-әрекеті туралы кейбір мәселелері өз еңбектерінен келтіріледі.

Патша үкіметі құлағаннан кейін бүкіл Ресейдегі секілді, Қазақстанда да қос үкімет орнап және сол кезеңде өлкеде орын алған ұлттық демократиялық Алаш партиясымен бір мезгілде өзіндік ұстанымы бар «Үш жүз» партиясы туралы қарастырылады. Кеңестік кезеңде Үш жүз партиясының ұстанымдарына басқаша тұрғыда пікір берсе, тәуелсіздік алғаннан кейін, партия

басшыларының ой-пікірлеріне берген Отандық тарихшылардың тұжырымдамаларына тоқталып өтеді. Сонымен қатар XX ғасыр басындағы саяси ахуалға баға беру арқылы, түбі бір түркі елдерінің басын қосуы тиіс болған бағыттар мен идеялар анықталады. Зерттеудің негізгі мақсаты ұлт зиялы қауымы өкілдерінің ұлттық мемлекеттілікті қалыптастыру мәселесіндегі қызметі және ұлттық идеологияны қайта жаңғыртудағы іс-әрекеттеріне талдау жүргізу. XX ғасырдың басында ұлт зиялылары қазақтың ұлттық идеясын қалыптастыру міндетін өз мойнына алып, ұлттық бірігу мүддесін ұсынуы мақалада жалпы қарастырылады.

Түйін сөздер: Ұлт зиялылары, қазақ зиялылары, Қазақстанның тәуелсіздігі, қазақ ұлты, Алашорда.

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Общественно-политическая деятельность казахской интеллигенции в начале XX века

В данной статье рассматриваются программы политических партий, выступавших против царского правительства, а также деятельность и цели представителей национальной интеллигенции и формирование идеи национальной государственности в деятельности движения Алаш.

А также проводится анализ материалов, связанных с национально-освободительным движением «Туркестан» и деятельностью интеллигенции на пути сохранения национальной независимости и государственности. Также в данной статье рассматривается политическая деятельность Мустафы Чокая в объединении тюркских народов и осуществлении идеи единого Туркестана. Приводится анализ собственных трудов М. Чокая по вопросам объединения тюркских народов и возрождения национальной идеологии.

После падения царской власти в Казахстане, наряду с партией Алаш, появилась партия «Үш жүз». В советский период деятельность партии «Үш жүз» оценивалась по-другому, поэтому в статье анализируются исследования Отечественных историков относительно деятельности этой партии.

Основной целью исследования является глубокий анализ деятельности представителей национальной интеллигенции в формировании государственности и возрождения национальной идеологии. Также в статье рассматривается роль представителей национальной интеллигенции в возрождении национальной идеи и национального объединения. А также путем оценки связи между тюркской консолидацией и сложившейся политической ситуацией определяются движения направления и идеи, направленные на объединение тюркских народов. Основная цель данного исследования: провести анализ деятельности представителей национальной интеллигенции и возрождение национальной идеологии, роли представителей национальной интеллигенции в начале XX века в формировании национальной идеи.

Ключевые слова: национальная интеллигенция, казахская интеллигенция, независимость Казахстана, казахская нация, Алашорда.

Introduction

Suerly the purpose of Kazakh intelligence of XXth century was independence of nation. The rise of Kazakh intelligence ideas was affected by the ideas of Russian revolution I in 1905 and Islamic views. Above mentioned Russian revolution I held in 1905-1907 years enforced the national movement in Kazakh steppe. The article of Bokeikhanov «The modern types of national movements in the republic» published in 1910 indicates that movements accelerated since 1905 there were formed two political directions: the first direction followed the western type of social development, and the second followed the Islamic and national unity of Muslims.

In XX-th Century the Muslim movement Turk and Muslim peoples against the colonialist yoke of imperial power had democratic character based on the national, cultural and political demands. It was the ideology of the movement of Turk and Islamic Defenders parties. The formation of the Muslim movement was caused by intolerable and colonizing burdens, poor socio-political situation of Turk and other Muslim nations under Russian colony. The colonial policy the imperial power aimed at Russification of all spheres of social life led to the crisis and stalemate life of Muslim nations under the empire. This angered the Muslims and encouraged them to fight for freedom. It is clear that at the beginning of XX-th century in the history of

Turkic nations with the awoken national awareness was led a struggle against colonial policy of tsarist regime based on the national, cultural and political requirements.

National struggle for independence led by other Turkic nations and especially struggle of Kazakh nation left a different mark in the political history of Russian empire. Kazakh intelligence took an active intelligence of XX-th century was, independence of nation. The rise of Kazakh intelligence ideas was affected by the ideas of Russian revolution Islamic views and I in 1905. Above-mentioned Russian revolution I held in 1905-1907 years enforced the national movement in Kazakh steppe. The article of Bokeikhanov «The modern types of national movements in the republic» published in 1910 indicates that movements accelerated since 1905 there were formed two political directions: the first direction followed the western type of social development, and the second followed the Islamic and national unity of Muslims (Kara, 2004, pp.21-22).

The Main Part

The Independence was not given easily to the Kazakh people, our brave ancestors fought years for it. We all know that we were a colony of Tsarist Russia and the Soviet Empire. Also, it is known, that starting VI century up to 1758, 360 years they fought for their homeland with whitish Kalmyks. Therefore, for the sake of freedom in a new era for the national state and for our independence to be stable we will sacrifice not only our property, but also our lives. Only people like that having such concepts can protect their independence. How descendants can forget works and deeds of their ancestors for the freedom of their people (Kumganbayev, 2012, p. 61).

Before discussing this subject, it is useful to give information about Kazakh intelligence; surely there were not plenty of them because there were no specific institutions except the courses and colleges for preparation of teachers at that time. Kazakh specialists studied in Russia but for tsarist authority it was convenient to keep Kazakhs in ignorance. The end of XIX century and the beginning of XX century for Kazakh youth Kazan, Moscow, St. Petersburg, Orenburg, Omsk and Warsaw were the biggest centers of science. In these cities were divided scholarships for 3-4 Kazakh students per year. For instance, between 1877-1917 years 37 Kazakh students studied at Kazan University, 20 of them graduated from this university. According to the list suggested by G.Akhmedov which based on

archives and reliable facts before Kazan Revolution period approximately 120 students graduated from the universities. Among them were Alikhan Bokeikhanov, Mukhamedzhan Tinishbayev, Bakhitzhan Karatayev, Baktigherey Kulmanov, Barlybek Syrtanov, Zhahansha Dosmukhamedov, Mustafa Shokhai, Zhakhip Akbayev, Sanzhar Asfandiyarov, Saduakas Shalimbekov, Khalel Dosmukhamedov and others. These students not only finished their studies but also formed a group of intelligence which followed the idea of nation and independence from Russia.

While there were intestine wars in Russia, the national elite was not just sitting idly to have an independent state. Based on it, there was alashorda government formed, headed by Alikhan Bukeyhanov, but unfortunately in 1917 with the Bolsheviks coming to power alashorda was declined. At that time, due to the Moscow policy Kazakh intelligent siya split into two groups. If at one side there were Alikhan Bukeyhanov, Ahmet Baitursynov, Mustafa Chokai (Koigeldiev, 2008, pp. 146-147), than at the other there were Turar Ryskulov, Saken Seifullin, Seytkali Mendeshov (Konyratbayev, 2011, pp. 83-85). The second side was the servants of the Soviet regime, but both directions honestly served their ideas and plans for the sake of foundation of the Kazakh government. Therefore, we have great respect for the intelligent of both sides. A member of the second side Turar Ryskulov intended to achieve goals through Communist Party (Ryskulov, 2007, pp. 276-285), (Maimakov, 2005, pp. 22-23).

Despite the fact that on their way, there are many obstacles, they achieved great success. Following this system, they have contributed a lot to the development of Kazakh autonomy in 1920, created and based on the Bolshevik system and worked on renaming it to the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic in 1936. At first glance, the goals of the alashorda and Turar and Saken were different, but they were not. Information from the work of Sabit Mukanov «School of Life» can state that. In consideration of these events, the reader may question where to attribute ideas of freedom of Mustafa Chokai, or did they belong to the third side. Of course, as we know, Mustafa Chokai, when fighting for freedom created Turkestan autonomy, so ideas of Chokai were not under the Soviet system, and he fought for the creation of a single state for Turkestan people. It says here that the struggle for the independence of the head of alashorda Alikhan Bukeyhanov and Mustafa Chokai were not conducted with the Bolsheviks, however, the direction of Chokai was attributed to the first side. In addition, the Soviet

regime prevailed, Turkestan autonomy created by Chokai failed, then Alikhan and Mustafa began to forward the ideas about independence together, and further on Chokai continued to work in Europe. On the way of execution of his ideas, he began his fight peacefully through publication of his own articles in foreign journals, in the Turkish magazine «New Turkistan» (Yeni Turkistan, 2005) and in the French magazine «Yash Turkistan» (Yas Turkistan, 2006), (Yach Turkestan). The struggle for independence of Mustafa Chokai lasted until 1939. After alashorda heads saw the international situation, with regard to geostrategic situation, the idea of Turkestan Union of Mustafa Chokai prevailed. In the future, making it a respected idea, Chokai never stopped fighting for independence against the Soviet power. So, Mustafa Chokai is the last of alashorda fought for the freedom of his people. The history of Kazakhstan's independence will become even deeper with Mustafa Chokai.

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Historian M. Koigeldiyev notes like the following: «Therefore after Russian revolution I period, after researching the situation Kazakh educated youths' first conclusion is «for Kazakh people the way out of backwardness is the western model of development through Russia, in other

words, open the doors to bourgeois relations» (Koigeldiyev, 1994, p. 384).

Being in Russia Kazakh intelligence supporting cadet party's idea took aim to be independent national autonomy through parliamentary and constitutional government possessing republican status in the future. However, this problem remained just like an idea. Because, since 1905 year leaders of cadet party suggested to be a single equality and cultural autonomy so that to maintain the integrity of Russia. Outlying districts' supporters of cadet party didn't support this suggestion. Followers of Kazakh branch party were against the idea of cultural autonomy once and for all. A. Bokeikhanov appealed against cadet party's program and idea about autonomy, land and quit the party. In his article called «Why I quit the Cadet Party?» he explains like this: «Cadet Party supports the idea property in land» (Galikhan, 1918). If our Kazakh people become owners of land, they'll sell the land like Bashkir people and after several years will have nothing. Cadet Party is against of national autonomy. But we all, Alash people tried to be national autonomy state. Kazakh intelligence was against of the policy of Bolshevik Party, which came up with the idea to have power and establish socialism through revolution. Therefore, their idea about building the national democratic state would come true; they established the party «Alash». It is clear that the idea to build autonomy was the result of long years' political struggle and persistent seeking of ideas of Kazakh intelligence. Kazakh intelligence's struggle for national freedom had a new juridical meaning. Russian bureaucrats of colonization mechanism also understood the situation. For example, the data on this document would be a fact for this situation: «Zh. Akbayev in his letter to one earl wrote: «...is that true that you are president of Karakalinsk republic?... (KP OMM, p. 27). » it means that Zh. Akbayev advocates the idea to build a democratic republic. Regarding to this, in September 1917 there were assigned two tendencies in societal development of Turkistan. Parliamentary control system as being the main idea of Cadet Party's program attracted the attention of Kazakh intellectuals. Kazakh literate people pined their hope on Parliamentary control and established its future with Kazakh statehood idea. In 1905 December regarding to this mission in Ural was founded cadet party's branch for Kazakh society leading by A. Bokeikhanov.

First one is the beginning of preparation of national powers to declare the Federation of Turkistan. The latter the effort of Bolsheviks to seize power by ignoring the local nation's diligence to

the autonomy. In 1917, 25 October armed revolt in Petrograd struck the hope of national independence of February revolution democratic reforms.

Turkic nation didn't accept the October revolution, because national autonomy under soviet base meant the masked type of keeping the Russian colonization. To express it with the words of M. Shokai, «Political unfitness of Russian democracy» formed the tight situation in Turkistan. M. Chokai pointed out that he and M. Tinishbayev have been in a Turkistan government as representatives of Kazakh nation with the purpose of persuading participants of assembly to accept Turkistan as general autonomy of Kazakh and Uzbek nations.

Between the 30th of August and 7th September of 1918 in Orenburg and Samara M. Chokai, the head of Bashkir state Z. velidi and A. Bokeikhanov, A. Baitursynov, M. Dulatov and M. Tinishbayev from the alash side hold meetings in order to determine the direction after the pressure of the Bolsheviks. Thereby all executives of Alashorda, Bashkir and Turkistan governments come together in these meetings. Consequently, in the course of these meetings, heads of aforementioned three governments made a decision to establish «South-west Autonomic Muslim Regions Union». The comprehensive works toward building of Union of alashorda and Turkistan autonomies which began in the Assembly of Sirdariya Kazakhs widely continued by addition of Bashkir government executives. The direction which was determined during meetings of Alashorda, Turkistan and Bashkir Government executives formed the basis for ideological struggle against the Bolsheviks which M. Chokai waged in Europe.

In March of 1917 Ukraine was formed as: Ukraine Public Republic, in 22 April Republic of Transcaucasia Federation, 20 November Northern Caucasian Interim Administration, 23 November in Ufa as «Idele – Ural» Muslims Autonomy, 26 December Crimea – Turkish Republic. However, they couldn't help Turkistan ward. Common Kazakh Congress held in Orenburg on 5-13 December, forming of National Soviet and M. Shokai's being a member of this soviet was big assistance for Turkistan autonomy.

M. Shokai in his work written abroad «In Turkistan» wrote about formation of Alashorda autonomy and he also supported the union of Alashorda and Turkistan. Another view of this ideology; being member of Turkistan autonomic government M. Shokai was elected a member of Alashorda government as well. It seems, M. Shokai has become a member of first program preparation

committee for Alash Party because of this point of view. But because of stressful period of time he was quitted from the stuff of the committee

Alash action was the biggest step for National Independence Revolution. It took his high level at XX century and helped not only recognize the nation themselves but also raised this problem up to state extent and problems like; independence, democratic state, nation's peace, relation between religion and state has become a daily routine of XX century. In this way we took our independence.

In the early XX century near February Revolution and period of Soviet government Kazakh intelligence raised the problem of independence and struggled for this. Activated problem of National Autonomy by Kazakh intellectuals was the demand of that time. Action of Kazakh intelligence for national state and their try for reconstruction of national independence built the road nowadays' independence through reviewing the history of our national ideology.

M. Shokai arrived to Orenburg on business trip to meet with Kazakh intellectuals to discuss the problems regarding to October revolution. Kazakh intelligence during the meeting with M. Shokai, connected the struggle for independence not only with Turkistan, but also with Kazakh regions, Bashkir, Tatar nations uprising and it was taken common decision to refuse Bolsheviks and keep faithfulness to constituent assembly (Esmagambetov, 2008, p. 124). In 1917, 27 November by the resolution of the general meeting Turkistan autonomy was declared.

In this resolution was written: «Long live, Turkistan! Turkistan Muslims' extraordinary meeting, regarding to the local nations' demand and according to the rules of Russian revolution and remaining in Russian federation, declares Turkistan territorial autonomy» (Kara, 2004, p.23). Assembly also declared the protection of minority nations' rights in Turkistan (Turkestan v nachale XX veka: k istorii istokov natsionalnoi nezavisimosti, 2000, p. 83).

So, the state formed in 28 November called «Turkistan autonomy». Two government bodies were determined in assembly; constitution and executive bodies of autonomy and bodies leading the nation until Turkistan Constituent

Assembly gets together. They are: Turkistan interim committee and Turkistan public assembly.

Soviet historian D.L. Golinikov wrote that: «Kokand autonomic revolution spread all over and neighbour regions of Turkistan. Bukhara's ruler Seid Alimkhan supported this counterrevolution and

quitted the Soviet Russia. Rulers of Khiva Empire did the same» (Golinkov, 1917-1925, p. 51). The author, because of his ideological position, distorts the truth sides of history. In fact Bukhara ruler was enemy to Zhadits (Kazakh alphabet comprised by Arabic letters) and didn't help Turkistan ward and refused to receive Turkistan interim committee's emissaries when they asked them for help. In March of 1917 Ukraine was formed as: Ukraine Public Republic, in 22 April Republic of Transcaucasia Federation, 20 November Northern Caucasian Interim Administration, 23 November in Ufa as «Idele – Ural» Muslims Autonomy, 26 December Crimea – Turkish Republic. However, they couldn't help Turkistan ward.

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Conclusion

It is clear that Kazakhstan built its road to independence in the end of XX century. It is very important to know work and point of view of Kazakh intelligence about solving the important problems according to necessary state structures like: territory, national language, national state ideology, mentality, forming of national ideology and democracy. In conclusion, it is significant that Kazakh intelligence, especially work of Alash figures impacted the structure and future of Kazakhstan Republic in the early of XX century. Alash leaders' invaluable work is reconstruction of ways to independence of nation not through bloodshed and breaking everything but on the contrary by democratic, civilization ideological tactics.

In the early twentieth century Kazakh intelligentsia society raised the question about the resume of the state. At the same time, during the February Revolution, fight for Kazakh intelligentsia state and raising issues of national autonomy were the problems of the Soviet time. Having analyzed the history, it can be concluded that the efforts of the Kazakh intelligentsia aimed at creation of an independent state and rebuilding the national independence was the path to the current state of our sovereign country. Those who sacrificed their lives for the freedom of their people will live forever in the hearts and memories of the descendants. For the freedom of the people they sacrificed not only their lives. Brutal totalitarian regime did not leave alive any family members or relatives or descendants of those great men, calling them enemies of the state. The remaining descendants were subjected to unbearable torture, up until they were acquit. After so many years of struggle for independence, we are reaping the fruits of being an independent democratic republic.

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