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NATIONAL POLICY AND NATIONAL RELATIONS IN THE USSR IN THE 20-30S OF THE XX CENTURY, ON THE EXAMPLE OF EAST KAZAKHSTAN

The article is determined by the growing interest in establishing the role and mission of the national intelligentsia in the criteria of socio-political transformation of society, which requires a deep understanding and modeling of national value orientations. The importance of the social and cultural phenomenon of the intelligentsia is determined by the specific nature of the activities and the results of the work of representatives of secular labor. In addition, the need to identify effective mechanisms of relations between the state and administrative apparatus with various groups of intellectuals and the need to address issues of the effectiveness of the functioning of regional branches of professional organizations at the present stage. In this way, the existing set of academic, political, social, and cultural-historical factors indicates the need to increase new scientific knowledge on the topic of research.

The problems that consider the participation of the Kazakh intelligentsia in the cultural construction of the 20-30s of the twentieth century, and the associated difficulties of education, the creation of a new type of intelligentsia, were the focus of attention of the political leadership of the Kazakh SSR T. Ryskulov, F. Goloshchekin, G. Togzhanov, L. Mirzoyan, etc.

Key words: cultural modernization, Kazakhstan, Kazakh intelligentsia, Soviet literature, enlightenment.

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XX ғасырдың 20-30 жылдарындағы КСРО-дағы ұлттық саясат және ұлттық қатынастар, Шығыс Қазақстан мысалында

Мақала жалпыұлттық құндылық бағдарларын терең түсіну мен модельдеуді қажет ететін қоғамның әлеуметтік-саяси трансформациясы өлшемдерінде ұлттық интеллигенцияның рөлі мен миссиясын белгілеуге деген қызығушылықтың артуымен анықталады. Зиялы қауымның әлеуметтік-мәдени құбылысының маңыздылығы қызметтің нақты сипатымен және зайырлы еңбек өкілдерінің жұмыстарының нәтижесімен анықталады. Сонымен қатар, мемлекеттік басқару аппаратының зиялы қауымның әртүрлі топтарымен өзара қарым-қатынасының тиімді тетіктерін анықтау қажеттілігі және қазіргі кезеңде кәсіби ұйымдардың аймақтық филиалдарының жұмыс істеу тиімділігінің мәселелерін шешу қажеттілігі айтылады. Осылайша, академиялық, саяси, әлеуметтік және мәдени-тарихи факторлардың қалыптасқан жиынтығы зерттеу тақырыбы бойынша жаңа ғылыми білімді арттыру қажеттілігін көрсетеді.

Саяси билікті басып алған азамат соғысының қызып тұрғанына қарамастан, жаңа және кемел дүниенің құрылысшылары деген лақап атқа ие большевиктер елді тарихи-мәдени жаңғыртудың ауқымды және теңдессіз жоспарын (алғаш рет Кеңестік Ресейде), содан кейін бүкіл Кеңес Одағы). Ол аталған қайта құру жоспарымен патшалық іргетастар мен өткеннің қалдықтарын түбегейлі талқандау арқылы маркстік-лениндік идеологияға негізделген жаңа типтегі қоғам құрудың берік негізін қалауды жоспарлады.

XX ғ. 20-30-шы жж. мәдени құрылысқа қазақ зиялыларының қатысуын қарастыратын проблемалар және білім берудің, жаңа типтегі интеллигенцияны құрудың осы қиындықтарымен ұштасатын проблемалар Қазақ КСР-інің саяси басшылығы Т. Рысқұловтың, Ф. Голощекиннің, Ф. Тоғжановтың, Л. Мирзоянның және т. б. назарында болды.

Түйін сөздер: мәдени жаңғыру, Қазақстан, қазақ зиялылары, кеңес әдебиеті, ағарту ісі.

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Национальная политика и национальные отношения в СССР в 20-30-е годы XX века на примере Восточного Казахстана

Статья определяется растущим интересом к установлению роли и миссии национальной интеллигенции в условиях социально-политической трансформации общества, что требует глубокого понимания и моделирования национальных ценностных ориентаций. Значимость социального и культурного явления интеллигенции определяется спецификой деятельности и результатами труда представителей светского труда. Кроме того, отмечена необходимость выявления эффективных механизмов взаимоотношений государственного и управленческого аппарата с различными группами интеллигенции и необходимость решения вопросов эффективности функционирования региональных отделений профессиональных организаций на современном этапе. Таким образом, существующий комплекс академических, политических, социальных и культурно-исторических факторов указывает на необходимость увеличения новых научных знаний по теме исследования.

Захватив политическую власть, несмотря на разгар гражданской войны, большевики, прозванные строителями нового и совершенного мира, начали разрабатывать масштабный и беспрецедентный план историко-культурной модернизации страны (впервые в Советской России), тогда и во всем Советском Союзе). Указанным планом перестройки она планировала заложить прочные основы для создания общества нового типа, основанного на марксистско-ленинской идеологии, путем решительного разрушения царских устоев и пережитков прошлого.

Проблемы, рассматривающие участие казахской интеллигенции в культурном строительстве 20-30-х годов XX века, и связанные с этим трудности образования, создания интеллигенции нового типа, находились в центре внимания политического руководства Казахская ССР Т. Рыскулов, Ф. Голощекин, Г. Тогжанов, Л. Мирзоян и др.

Ключевые слова: культурная модернизация, Казахстан, казахская интеллигенция, советская литература, просвещение.

Introduction

The eastern region of Kazakhstan, to be more precise, the Semipalatinsk gubernia (Gubernia – The main administrative-territorial unit in Russia since the beginning of the XVIII century, and in the USSR before zoning), whose administrative borders in different years covered the Semipalatinsk, Pavlodar, East Kazakhstan and partly Karaganda regions, occupied a special historical and cultural role among other regions of Kazakhstan in the 1920s of the XX century. On the territory of the gubernia, which was 1/4 of the Kazakh SSR (Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic), lived 23% of the total population of the republic, represented by over 40 ethnic groups and nationalities (Ежегодник, 1927, pp. 414-415). The administrative and political center of the region was the city of Semipalatinsk, rich in cultural traditions and progressive ideas among other cities of the republic at the initial stage of socialist transformations.

After seizing political power, despite the height of the civil war, the Bolsheviks, dubbed the builders of a new and perfect world, began to design a large-scale and unprecedented plan for the historical and cultural modernization of the country (first in Soviet

Russia, then in all Soviet Union). By the specified realignment plan, it was planning to lay solid foundations for the creation of a new type of society based on Marxist-Leninist ideology by decisively breaking the tsarist foundations and remnants of the past. One of the most important and significant directions of this cultural policy, which went down in history under the collective name «cultural revolution», was the relationship of the State-party leadership of the USSR (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (Уяма, 2018:99-118).

The party in its aspirations wanted to establish total control over all spheres of society, cultural modernization of public consciousness and connections, ensuring the spread of a new ideology. A significant obstacle to the implementation of this large-scale project was the linguistic diversity and heterogeneity of the written languages of the peoples and ethnic groups who lived under the influence of the tsarist administration. A small stratum of local intelligentsia supported the interests of the feudal nobility and continued to serve the old regime.

Under the influence of the socialist movement that has penetrated into Kazakhstan in the democratic environment of the intelligentsia of the region, the craving for active political activity and

their participation in the national liberation and revolutionary movement, through self-government, is increasing. At the same time, the conservative Alash intelligentsia (The party «Alash» is a socio-political national liberation movement that united the Kazakh intelligentsia) also became politically active, striving to eradicate the backwardness and illiteracy of the masses, to awaken feelings of national identity, while preserving characteristic spiritual foundations. In this regard, the Kazakh creative environment is developing individual poetry and written literature aimed at introducing Kazakhstan to European civilization through Russia. Despite the fact that the ideas of democracy prevailed in pre-revolutionary Kazakh poetry and folk music, manifested in the works of Suyunbai, Makhambet, Madi, Birzhan, Akhan Sera, it should also be noted about the origins of cultural traditions associated with the names of prominent figures of the past – al-Farabi, Y. Balasaguni, H. Dulati, K. Zhalaieri, as well as subsequent generations of scientists and educators – Sh . Ualikhanov, Y. Altynsarina, K. Khalidi, Abaya, M. Kopeeva. As M. Auevov noted: «In Kazakh written literature, and in folk art, and in all other spheres of cultural life of Kazakhstan, under the rule of tyranny, stagnation, extremely unbearable socio-economic and cultural development, signs of degradation intensified. The Great October prevented this destructive process, helped the peoples of the Soviet East, in particular, in the field of literature and art, to a large extent circumvent «the path of reactionary mysticism, obscurantism, tendencies that caused considerable harm to the interests of the working people» (Auevov, 1961:43).

The issue of determining the number of intellectuals by the early 1920s in Kazakhstan is complicated: firstly, due to the lack of statistical data for 1917-1920, archival documents; secondly, the decrease in the number of the population and numerous uncontrolled migration flows that took place during the Civil War; thirdly, the very originality of the traditional Kazakh society, not singling out its creators in such a separate group as the intelligentsia (Асылбеков, 2013:82).

Methods and materials of the research

In the process of writing this article, a variety of methods were employed to ensure a comprehensive and accurate examination of the subject. The methods ranged from analytical techniques to comparative-historical approaches. Specifically, a comparative analysis of the literature on international relations in

the USSR and Kazakhstan in the 1920s and 1930s was conducted, focusing on the example of Eastern Kazakhstan.

To achieve this, a thorough historiographical review was performed, incorporating the memories and testimonies of prominent figures from that era. This provided a valuable first-hand perspective on the national policies and relations of the time. Additionally, a typological method was applied, which facilitated the identification of patterns and regularities in national policy and attitudes within the USSR, using Eastern Kazakhstan as a case study.

The article also draws on a wealth of factual materials from the period, including official documents, archival records, and contemporary accounts. These sources allowed for a more extensive and objective analysis of the issues at hand, ensuring that the discussion is grounded in authentic historical evidence. By integrating these diverse methodologies and materials, the article aims to present a nuanced and detailed exploration of national policy and relations in the USSR during the 1920s and 1930s.

Discussion and results

The end of the Civil War in the Steppe Region and the formation of the Kazakh ASSR (Kazakh Autonomous Socialist Soviet Republic) in August 1920 marked the Soviet government with a set of tasks of a restorative nature in the field of culture and education (Ашимбаев, Хлюпин, 2008:129).

The Kazakh intelligentsia treated the preservation of national culture with empathy. The formation and development of the national press was the first step towards the transformation of the idea of emancipation into national consciousness. In the future, even after the establishment of Soviet power, the activities of the national intelligentsia in the field of culture should be understood as a special form of struggle for liberation. The October Revolution in Russia did not bypass Kazakhstan either, as the Kazakh intelligentsia was close to democratic values, and the socialist mood prevailed in Russian society. In general, at the end of the XIX – beginning of the XX centuries, the national idea did not develop in the ideological and political psychology of the Russian intelligentsia. The Russian philosopher N.A. Berdyaev wrote about this: «In the traditional intellectual consciousness there were values such as charity, justice, caring for people, and the brotherhood of peoples, but there were no national values that occupy a special place in the world of values» (Бердяев, 1990:44).

The Kazakh intelligentsia did not fall under this description. As the intelligentsia of a country under colonial oppression, it was natural that the focus of its ideology were the ideas of sovereignty (Sovereignty is the independence of the state in external affairs and the supremacy of state power in internal affairs). In this regard, in an article by M. Dulatov from 1923, dedicated to the 50th anniversary of A. Baitursynov, there are such lines: «If an extraneous element turns out to be culturally stronger than the indigenous population, then over time the latter should be absorbed by the first. And vice versa, if both turn out to be equally cultured, then only they can develop independently, exist on the same rights and preserve their national image... Therefore, the question of the independent existence of the Kyrgyz people is growing before us in all its might. In order to preserve our independence, we need to strive with all our might and means for education and general culture; for this, we must first engage in the development of literature in our native language. We should never forget that only those people who speak their own language and have their own literature have the right to claim independent life» (Дулатов, 1923:5-6).

Before proceeding to assess the situation of cultural development in the region, it is necessary to consider the historical and political prerequisites for the study of issues on the scale of the former Russian Empire. So by 1920 Semipalatinsk, numbering more than 50,000 people, was considered the most densely populated among the cities of KazASSR (Kazakh Autonomous Socialist Soviet Republic) and distinguished itself as one of the three major scientific-cultural centers of the republic. The party's tasks in the sphere of nation – building were thoroughly approved in March 1921. At the X Congress of the RCP (b) (Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks)), special attention was paid to the 3rd areas of work:

1) to form and strengthen the Soviet statehood in accordance with the national image of the peoples;

2) to put the work of the administration, lawsuits, economic apparatus, authorities in their native language, while conducting office work by the local population who understand the way of life and psychology of the inhabitants of the region;

3) to improve the press, secondary educational institutions, club business, theater, and other cultural-educational institutions in their native language (Базанков, 1997:3).

By a similar method, the leading task of the Communists at the initial stage of socialist construction was to involve on their side the national

intelligentsia, different both in social origin and in the field of activity. As the party leadership of the country saw it, the success and stability of the young federation depended on the speedy and high-quality fulfillment of the established instructions in a significant manner. As for the attitude of Communists to the intelligentsia, we can note a specific universally recognized position of the entire union leadership – this is an understanding of the rejection of the revolution by the intelligentsia. Speaking at a meeting of scientists in 1923, G. Zinoviev stated: «The Russian intelligentsia and the October Revolution have been living on different halves for some time – this is the secret of the Polichinelle. The October Revolution met the greatest resistance at first from that group of the population, which is called the intelligentsia.» In the concept of the situation with the intelligentsia, the Communists had no illusions. There were differences in approaches (mechanisms) to the process of reorientation of the intelligentsia towards Bolshevism and its acceptance of new social activities.

On the other hand, there is a so-called distrustful approach towards the intelligentsia, supported by a group of Bolshevik intellectuals, among whom N. Bukharin, A. Lunacharsky, L. Trotsky belonged. L. Trotsky's writings contain his own views on the party's policy in the field of culture during the transition period and on «proletarian culture» in general (Троцкий, 1923:156).

In this regard, L. Trotsky was supported by the former People's Commissar of Education of the RSFSR (Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic) A. Lunacharsky, who paid great attention to the issues of art and public education. His works are a valuable source that gives a lot of important data and information on the history of culture and the Cultural Revolution (Беткенбаева, 1983:23).

Based on the peculiarities of education, A. Lunacharsky believed that it is necessary to be careful when evaluating works: «... We must prohibit hostile agitation. But here the greatest tact, the greatest caution is needed» (Базанков, 1997:3). In general, these party members sought recognition that in order to influence the educated intelligentsia, particularly «subtle» approaches were required, including through persuasion, attracting Communists to the side through agitation and propaganda, creating acceptable socio-economic conditions for them.

The inner motives of V. Lenin's rigid position towards creativity are well explained by the statement of one of the founders of the Socialist-Revolutionary Party V. Chernov, who wrote about

V. Lenin as follows: «As a man with truth in his pocket, he did not appreciate the creative search for truth, did not respect other people's beliefs, was not imbued with the pathos of freedom inherent in every individual spiritual creativity. On the contrary, here he was accessible to the purely Asian idea of making a seal, a word, a tribune, even a thought – a monopoly of one party elevated to the rank of a ruling caste... Here he resembled that ancient Muslim tyrant who pronounced a judgment on the treasures of the Library of Alexandria: if it says the same thing as in the Koran, then they are superfluous, and if something else, then they are harmful» (Сулейменов, 1977:197).

In the struggle between the two points of view, the country's top leadership regarding the intelligentsia initially prevailed neutrality. We emphasize that this relatively neutral position of the party on the issue was confirmed at the XIII Congress of the RCP (Russian Communist Party) in 1924, where it was said that no literary school or direction has the right to speak on behalf of the party (Сыдыков, 2010, p. 102). It is clear that in the first years after the revolution, the authorities could not fully master and control the creative process of the masses and therefore had to put up with the existing diversity of opinions in science, and in the ways of expression themselves.

The position of the Communists in relation to the national intelligentsia was presented in the article Joseph Stalin in October 1920, published in the newspaper "Pravda": «Communists on the outskirts cannot be independent of the center, they must take measures for universal education if they want to destroy the people's darkness, if they want to spiritually bring the center and the outskirts of Russia closer. But for this it is necessary to develop a local, national theater, national educational institutions, a national school ...» (Из сообщения, 1965:33). Stalin also noted obstacles to successful autonomization: "One of the serious obstacles to the implementation of Soviet autonomy is the great lack of intelligent forces of local origin on the outskirts. State political instruments have become the main mechanisms for regulating relations the authorities with the intelligentsia. First of all, the process of disclosure and accounting of all the intellectual forces of the gubernia (Gubernia – The main administrative-territorial unit in Russia since the beginning of the XVIII century. and in the USSR before zoning) unfolded. The control procedure was required to pass the most extensive spheres of the intelligentsia, regardless of age and nationality – writers, scientific figures, etc.".

The supervisory authorities in this case were the Voenrevkom (Military Revolutionary Committees) of and the Department of Public Education. The next step of the Kirkray (Kyrgyz Region) Communists' activity in the field of educational policy was the labor mobilization of intelligent forces, announced by the chairman of the Military Revolutionary Committee of Kirkray (Kyrgyz Region) S. Pestkovsky on January 27, 1920. The attraction of labor resources, considered one of the most important tools of military capitalism, was included in the goals for the speedy eradication of illiteracy among the population, in addition, with the aim of strengthening Soviet power and introducing its advantages into the consciousness of the masses.

All those inspired were distributed according to the main and district institutions. The forced nature of the campaign was not rejected, for inaccurate indication or concealment of «registered persons, both responsible persons and the committee under the law of wartime were responsible» (Сыдыков, Мальшева 2010:116). More well-known local intellectuals were allowed to be attracted to work even before the lists were formed.

Of particular importance is the work of E. Sydykov «Russian-Kazakh relations at the stage of formation of a totalitarian superethnic power» (Декрет, 1972:33). The study attracts attention, first of all, by the fact that on the basis of rich factual and archival material, the problems of improving the traditional Kazakh society are posed in the context of the most characteristic trends of strengthening and describing the development of the Soviet system. E. Sydykov managed to objectively assess the nature of the totalitarian Soviet system and its negative impact on the development of social processes that eventually led to decay of the system.

The involvement and accounting of the intelligentsia of the region took place in the conditions of the true formation of the Kazakh Autonomy within the borders of the RSFSR (Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic). On August 26, 1920, V. Lenin and M. Kalinin signed the decree of the VTsIK and the SNK (All-Russian Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars) «On the formation of a Free Kazakh Socialist Soviet Republic» as part of the RSFSR (the Administrative-territorial structure of East Kazakhstan) with the subordination of the gubernia to the Siberian Executive Committee. In the same year, the Semipalatinsk region was transformed into a gubernia, with the addition of the territory of the sixth district – Bukhtarma. The final subordination

of the Semipalatinsk gubernia to the leadership of the Kazakh Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic took place only in April 1921 (Тимофеев, Ахинжанов, Бураханов, Губа, 1941:63). Following the creation of autonomy in 1921, a transition to the restoration stage was outlined in the republic (Дахшлейгер, 1960:35). It is also worth noting articles, monographs, dissertations, the authors of which analyze and summarize the factual material and highlight the effectiveness of some forms and methods of cultural-educational work. However, for all their significance, they did not reflect the activities of local political-educational institutions in raising the cultural level and raising the political consciousness of the working masses.

Some information about the achievement of culture in the east of Kazakhstan is given in books (Курицына, Кузнецова, 1961:98), brochures (Алексеенко, Андреев, 1958) and in articles devoted to the successes of socialist construction in the region. The information in them is mainly descriptive, but not scientific in nature, and the issues of the studied period are almost not considered. Thus, a brief review of the historical literature on the problem of culture indicates that the initial stage of the construction of a new socialist culture and the peculiar features of this process in some large regions of Kazakhstan still remain almost unexplored. The issues of the formation of public education, cultural and political education of teaching, the formation of the Soviet intelligentsia, versatile cultural and educational work, and the development of artistic life in the field are poorly studied. There is also no special study that gives a complete picture of the history of the formation of culture in East Kazakhstan and reflects the fullness of the creative activity of workers and party organizations in the struggle for a new socialist culture (Из письма, 2016:324).

Other theoretical reasons influencing the rejection of the October Revolution by the local intelligentsia include:

– acute and tangible deterioration of the financial situation of almost all groups of intellectuals that accompanied the population of East Kazakhstan during all the years of the revolution and the Civil War. This fact was also recognized by historians of the Soviet period: «The slightest failures, difficulties, interruptions in providing them with food products, delayed wages served as a reason for anti-Soviet protests.» At the same time, cautious tactics began to be stick to, and many ordinary followers of the intelligentsia «not being confident in the stability of the new system» – a change in the usual worldview and way of life of the intelligentsia, as a result, the

need for a new embed into a new system of social relationships, frightened the old intelligentsia (Сыдыков, 210:84).

The study of biographies of scientists of the region shows several options for the development of their relations with the communist leadership. Bourgeois nationalists used various methods to win over Shakarim Kudaiberdiyev in the halo of the «holy aksakal». They gave him all sorts of honors. Then they forced the poet, who lived in the steppe, to go to Semipalatinsk to participate in their gatherings and meetings. But soon Sh . Kudaiberdiyev understood the communist policy of conformists from among the former figures of the Alash government, convinced of its bourgeois-nationalist and anti-people essence, broke with them and began to expose their deeds in his poems.

The Russian literary intelligentsia, especially the talented writer, a native of East Kazakhstan, G. Grebenshchikov (1883-1964), had followers in a severe confrontation with the Bolshevik Party. In 1920, he emigrated from Crimea to Turkey, then to France and the USA. In the 1960s of the twentieth century, Soviet critics, explaining the fact of Grebenshchikov's departure abroad, noted that he: «... perceived the victory of the Soviet government painfully as a personal insult» (Морозова, 2005:199).

In a similar way, the divergence of the intelligentsia with the victory of the Communists in the Civil War confirmed various forms – from concrete rejection, expressed in emigration, to milder forms, manifested in self-exclusion from current socio-political events or in the transition to other spheres of activity, politically safer. There were no precedents for direct non-fulfillment and undermining of the measures of the Soviet government from the intelligentsia of the region.

Following the results of the First Kazakhstan regional Party Conference held in Orenburg on June 11-18, 1921, a resolution was adopted on the establishment of a Republican Soviet Party school with a preparatory department at each provincial committee, and in villages – Soviet party schools of a higher type. In line with the implementation of this Resolution, courses were organized for 80 people in Semipalatinsk, which included library and club workers, organizers of cultural and mass works. Russian and Kazakh party schools began to work in the provincial city, which graduated 112 cadets in 1921. But the almost absolute lack of material resources, a sharp reduction in the budget led to a decrease in the total number of party schools, already in 1922 one party school worked in Semipalatinsk

instead of the two original ones. Specific difficulties were also observed in the relationship between the authorities and the mobilized intellectuals, as the members of the Semipalatinsk Revolutionary Committee did not trust them. Thus, in the report to the Sibrevkom (Siberian Revolutionary Committee) dated March 9, 1920, we find the following judgment: «The mobilization of the Kyrgyz intelligentsia will give everything that is needed, but not Soviet workers.» The expression of S. Saduakasov, given by him about the young Kazakh intelligentsia, at a meeting of responsible workers of Semipalatinsk in May 1921 is as follows: «As for the Kazakh intelligentsia directly, KyrCEC (Kyrgyz Central Election Commission) approaches it very cautiously, since it is very few, driven and belittled by the tsarist government and it is somewhat risky to interest her in work» (Из информационного, 2005:321-322).

Thus, every experienced Kazakh intellectual had to be accepted into the Soviet service with great caution. Nevertheless, certain followers of the Alash Horde became part of the Soviet party organs. The Semipalatinsk Gubernia Bureau of the RCP (b) (Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks)) employed former Alashordins, representatives of the intelligentsia – Zh. Aimauytov, M. Turganbayev, S. Shikybayev. According to the documents, the young party member M. Auezov had certain problems in the leadership position. On December 24, 1919, a young Soviet worker was appointed to the post of head of the anti-state sub-department of the Semipalatinsk Gubrevcom (gubernia revolutionary committee). However, in 1920, charges were brought against him in August, followed by a five-day arrest for rejecting «energetic measures to implement the mobilization of the Kazakh population. Despite the submitted explanatory note, on September 10, 1920 M. Auezov was removed from the post of the manager, after which he left for the Chingiz parish of Semipalatinsk district. After leaving administrative work for a short time, in January 1921 M. Auezov was accepted as a teacher at the Semipalatinsk Institute of Public Education, in August 1921 he was elected chairman of the Gubernatorial Executive Committee. From this period, M. Auezov's political career went up: he was included in the CEC of the KazASSR (Central Election Commission of the Kazakh Autonomous Socialist Soviet Republic), and elected a delegate to the IX All-Russian Congress of Soviets, which was held in Moscow in December 1921. But, in the autumn of 1922, the twenty-five-year-old M. Auezov left the state post in Orenburg, enrolled

as a free listener at the Central Asian Turkestan University in Tashkent. After graduating from it, the young writer was admitted to the Petrograd State University for the philological department. Having left Semipalatinsk in 1925, M. Auezov does not return to the city anymore, all further visits were of a short-term business character. The gubernial intellectuals who accepted the October revolution actively continued to work in the new socio-political realities (the Centralized library system of the city of Semey).

The approval of the functioning government at the level of the republican intelligentsia was announced at the Congress of Scientific and Literary Workers on June 12-17, 1924 in Orenburg. As it was emphasized in the «Review of the information department of the Central Committee of the RCP (Russian Communist Party) and the Kyrgyz Regional Committee of the RCP (Russian Communist Party) for 1924»: «After the greetings at the congress, a resolution was proposed approving the activities of the Soviet government and condemning, in particular, the national movement Alash Orda. There were no unfriendly speeches, because for several years, everyone had been outwardly focusing on their loyalty to the Soviet government» (ЦГА, 5:12.).

Starting from the above, it can be summed up that the period of the 1920s was a time of trial for most of the intelligentsia, an intense search for a strategy of coexistence with the new government. In the region, as before, a biased attitude towards the intelligentsia prevailed after the October coup and the victory of the Bolsheviks in the Civil War, hard work was carried out to find a strategy for coexistence with the new government. The initial stage of state policy towards the top of society is due to a flexible approach, including: accounting, analysis of the internal resources of the intelligentsia and its mobilization, as a result of which the Bolsheviks managed to ease tensions in the confrontation and attract dozens of local intellectuals to their side, including from among the former representatives of the national party Alash (Гражданская, 2018:327). However, since the second half of the 1920s, there has been a cardinal change of course in the relationship between the party leadership and the national intelligentsia, initiated by F. Goloshchekin. As a result of this policy, there was an almost complete removal from the educational and literary field, up to the physical destruction of yesterday's ideological rivals of communism and increased pressure on their «accomplices» in the field of art.

Conclusion

The research conducted on the basis of an extensive range of data, the works of historians and political scientists within the framework of the theory of modernization, allowed us to reveal the following features of the intelligentsia of East Kazakhstan in the 1920s-1930s and draw the main conclusions:

1. 1920s – characterized as the initial stage of the formation of the Soviet intelligentsia of East Kazakhstan. During this period, from a small, poorly researched socio-professional group with low social mobility, pronounced weakness of the professional and educational component and the absence of established professional communities, the intelligentsia of East Kazakhstan overcame structural isolation, significantly increasing social mobility. In the specific conditions of the NEP (New economic policy), the main source of identifying and forming new educational forces was the independent activity and initiative shown on the ground. We emphasize that the transition process took place in the conditions of the most severe socio-economic, economic crisis in the gubernia, which satisfactorily stimulated the deepening of the transition process.

– At the stage of the 1930s, the final formation of the Soviet intelligentsia of the region takes place, East Kazakhstan branches of educational unions are formed. The old ways of forming the intelligentsia are becoming a thing of the past, intra-group social mobility is becoming more active, at the same time acting as a powerful tool of state policy.

2. In the approach and implementation of the policy of the Soviet government towards the intelligentsia, conformism with a tendency to strengthen the state monopoly in the field of education and ideology has been observed throughout this period. Thus, at the initial stage of the construction of the Soviet state, when the creation of a federal state and the retention of power by the Bolsheviks were important, political power and means were used to demonstrate sufficient flexibility of the Bolsheviks, their desire to compromise with the intelligentsia, including representatives of the regional artistic intelligentsia from among the supporters of the Alash party. A special role in strengthening the positions of the Bolsheviks belonged to the chairman of the Ust-Kamenogorsk ukom (County Committee) P. Bazhov, who showed his natural talent as an organizer in the East of Kazakhstan and carried out great creative administrative and cultural and educational work in 1919-1920.

With the coming to the post of the first head of the Communist Party of the Kazakh ASSR (Kazakh Autonomous Socialist Soviet Republic) F. Goloshchekin in 1925, the politicization of the course of the Bolsheviks was outlined, the intransigence towards former ideological opponents, who by the mid-20s had a wide representation in the cultural-educational sphere of the republic, intensified. Which eventually led to a new stage in the development of cultural construction, which entailed a new wave of political repression.

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