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Formation of the idea of national statehood movement activities Alash

This article discusses the political program of the party, who opposed the imperial government, as well as the activities and goals of representatives of the national intelligentsia and the formation of the ideas of national statehood in the activities of the Alash movement. The main purpose of this study is a deep analysis of the representatives of the national intelligentsia in the formation of statehood and the revival of the national ideology. The article also examines the role of representatives of the national intelligentsia in the revival of the national idea and national associations.

Key words: Kazakh intelligentsia's activity, Kazakh intellectuals, independence of Kazakhstan, Kazakh nation, Alashorda.

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Алаш қозғалысының қызметінде ұлттық мемлекеттілік идеясының қалыптасуы

Берілген мақалада XX ғасырдың басында патша өкіметіне қарсы оппозицияда болған саяси партиялардың бағдарламалары, іс әрекеттері, жолдары, өздерінің көздеген мүдделері, зиялы қауым өкілдеріне тән өркениеттік деңгейдегі мәдениеттері қарастырылып, Алаш қозғалысының қызметінде ұлттық мемлекеттілік идеясының қалыптасуына шолу жасалады. 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 мақалады жалпы қарастырылады.

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

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Формирование идей национальной государственности в деятельности движения Алаш

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

Ключевые слова: Деятельность национальной интеллигенции, казахская интеллигенция, независимость Казахстана, казахская нация, Алашорда.

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FORMATION OF THE IDEA OF NATIONAL STATEHOOD MOVEMENT ACTIVITIES ALASH

It is clear that at the beginning ofXXth Century in the history of Turkic nations with the awaken 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 andespecially struggle of Kazakh nation left a different mark in the political history of Russian empire. Kazakh intelligence took an active participation in this movement which captured throughout Russian Empire.

Surely 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 [1].

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 37Kazakh 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.

As it was mentioned above, within a group of Kazakh intelligence who studied in Russia there were leaders like A. Bokeikhanov, A. Baitursynov who followed the idea of being independent from tatar nation and suggested to follow the development way of Europe. And students who studied in Ural and Torgai followed the idea of being «Under the Islamic and Turkic flag». This group was published on «Aikhap» magazine. («Aikhap» started its publication in 1911 and it was the firstborn influential magazine in social life of Kazakhs', along with it was the first magazine which published in Kazakh language raising the spirit of nationality.) These two movements had existed before the February revolution. K. Kemengerulu in his research assesses the national intelligence's activity as following: henceforth among Kazakh intelligence there are two movements. 1) Alikhan Bokeikhanov's group holding by the west culture tried to make the Kazakh nation's spirit farfrom Pan-Islamism. 2) Bakhytzhan Seidalin and Zhakhansha's group staying under the Islamic position tried to bring together Kazakh nation laityunder the Islamic flag [2]. 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» [3] .

At the beginning of XXth century Kazakh intelligence who studied in Russian cities felt Russian culture and political influence upon them and began to develop political ideas and advocate democratic ideas by the influence of some oppositional parties. There was a great impact especially by Cadet Party on forming of Kazakh intelligences' political views and Cadet Party also was supported by Kazakh intelligent groups. Kazakh intellectuals joined to cadet party and by being their members accepted the program of the party. In 1906 the spiritual tutor of Kazakh intelligence Alikhan Bokeikhanov was included in a central committee of cadet party. According to this S. Asphandiyarov wrote: «Kazakh bourgeois intelligence joined to Russian bourgeois intelligence». Alikhan Bokeikhanov was the member of cadet party's central committee. Elected as State Duma Deputies I and II from Kazakhs, A. Bokeikhanov, M. Tynyshbayev, A. Birimzhanov were included to progressive block leading by other cadets. It was shown as «Muslim faction» without party [4].

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.

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». 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 [5]. 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?... » [6] 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. 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. 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 [7]. 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» [8]. Assembly also declared the protection of minority nations' rights in Turkistan [9]. 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» [10]. 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. 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 [11]. In fact, oppositional political program of Party against the Tsarist Empire, their actions, ways of solution, protection of their own interests, civilization culture belonging to intelligence at that time is the good example and lesson for today's and future generation.

At the time when M. Chokai had been actively performing political works in Turkistan region his name was also recognized at important positions in organization of Orenburg Kazakh politics. M. Chocai was prominent politician who worked toward establishment of national government both in Turkistan and in Dala regions. In his reports to members of OGPU on 29 November of 1919 M. Dulatov, even if the date was not clearly defined, stated that M. Chokai was also invited to the Second General Kazakh Assembly held during 3rd -5th of Desember of 1917, but due to issues regarding newly developed the Hokand Government was not able to to arrive at the time and joined it later [12]. One of the most significant decisions made during Assembly was foundation of «Alashorda provisional Kazakh Government». Thus M. Chokai was elected as a member of Turkistan Alashorda government too. At the beginning representatives of Alashorda were somewhat against of foundation of Turkistan government. A. Bokeikhanov in the article published in «Kazakh» newspaper in October of 1917 mentioned this idea as: «We are relatives and have a same religion with Turkistan. Being autonomy is being self-government. It is not easy to be governmentand to work, while our Kazakh are deprived of working masters, our general Kazakh are illiterate. The Turkistan's people are more illiterate and the lack of masters are ten times more in comparison with us. If Kazakh will in autonomy with Turkistan, it will seem such a camel and donkey harnessed to an autonomy cart. Where we will go in such a cart?» [13]. In fact, M. Chokai had a different opinion concerning Kazakh autonomy separately from these two groups. That is to say, K. Nurpeisov in his researches acknowledged that M. Chokai had a significant role in coming of two parties to an agreement [14]. According to judicial protocols

given to OGPU by M. Dulatov, M. Chokai stated that it would useful for «Alashorda» to cooperate with Turkistan Autonomy [15].

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.

The fact that A. Bokeihanov's opinion against merger with Turkistan have changed was seen throughout The Assembly of Sirdaria Kazakhs. It was affirmed during the assembly that «If Alashorda will declare itself as an independent autonomy and will unite with Turkistan; Kazakh-Kirgiz's of Sirdariya will exit Turkistan autonomy and will make a decision to join Alash autonomy». That is to say, here it can be seen that M. Chokai made an invitation to unite with Alashorda. This issue can be clearly observed from the citation of M. Chokai published in «Kazakh» newspaper dedicated to Sirdaria Kazakhs. However, the main object of Alash heads was to unite all Kazakhs in the Central Asia under single flag.

In January of 1918, together with occupation of Orenburg by Bolshevists, Alash government was disintegrated and Turkistan was also decayed. The heads of Alash, who were not understood by the Soviet Government to the time, were in reliance on Kolchaks in Samara, white guarded Provisional Government in Siberia and Ufa Directorial in terms of accepting the alash Autonomy as coherent national government and asked them for support. Nevertheless any of these petitions gave expected result.

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 Bolshevists. 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 Bolshevists which M. Chokai waged in Europe.

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.

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 upon reconstruction of ways to independence of nation not through bloodshed and breaking everything but on the contrary by democratic, civilization ideological tactics.

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