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Evaluation of the colonial period in the works of the Kazakh intelligentsia of early XX century

Kazakh national intelligentsia in the face A.Bukeyhanova, M.Dulatov, Baytursunova A., M. Shokai, Sh.Kudayberdieva showed that under the rule of tsarist, the representatives of our people showed national consciousness and expressed disagreement with the policies of the Russian government, and quite different from the Russian researchers evaluated the accession of Kazakhstan to Russia. The authors decried the negative effects of reforms carried out by the tsarist government and tried to pay attention to the unjust oppression of the Kazakh people. By its actions, the Kazakh intelligentsia called sons of Alash to fight against the king and strengthened among the Kazakhs protest to the authorities. In the works of Kazakh intellectuals of the early twentieth century marked a critical approach to assessing the merger, it emphasizes compulsion to appeal to the Russian Kazakhs, serious consequences of colonial policy. The return of the creative heritage of the Kazakh intelligentsia, reflected in the conceptual views of modern Russian historians.

Key words: autonomy, achievement, intelligence, colonization, protest.

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XX ғ. басындағы қазақ зиялы қауымының еңбектерінде отарлық кезеңді бағалау

Қазақ зиялылары Ә.Н. Бөкейханов, М. Дулатов, А. Байтұрсынов, М. Шоқай және Ш. Құдайбердіұлы империялық саясаттың қазақ халқына көрсеткен озбырын ашық айыптады. Қазақ жерінің Ресей империясының құрамына енуіне қатысты ұлттық тұрғыда орыс зерттеушілеріне қарағанда мүлдем басқаша баға берді. Қазақ зиялылары өз көзқарастарында патшалық Ресейдің қазақ халқына қатысты жасаған қысымының әділетсіздігін сынға алды. Алаш жұртын осы саясатқа қарсы ашық күреске шақырды. Нәтижесінде қазақ даласында Ресейлік отарлау саясатына қарсы қозғалыстар басталды. XX ғасыр басындағы қазақ зиялыларының еңбектерінде сол тарихи кезеңде Ресейдің қол астына кіруінің салдарын ашық жазды. Отарлау саясатының ұлттық мүддеге әсерін талдау арқылы жаңа жолдарды іздеген қазақ зиялы өкілдерінің көзқарастары бүгінде өз маңызын жоғалтқан жоқ. Қазақ зиялыларының қалдырған мұралары қазіргі отандық тарихшылардың зерттеулерінде осы мәселені жаңжақты талдауындағы ықпалы орасан. Автор мақалада осы зиялы қауым өкілдерінің еңбектерін жүйелі зерттеу арқылы осы мәселенің таласты тұстарына талдау жасайды.

Түйін сөздер: автономия, жаулап алу, интеллигенция, колонизация, қарсы тұру.

Абдилдабекова А.М.

Оценка колониального периода в трудах казахской интеллигенции начала XX века

Казахская национальная интеллигенция в лице А. Букейханова, М. Дулатова, А. Байтурсунова, М. Шокай, Ш. Кудайбердиева показала, что в условиях господства царизма представители нашего народа проявляли национальное самосознание и выражали несогласие с политикой российского правительства и совершенно иначе от русских исследователей оценивали присоединение Казахстана к России. Авторы открыто осуждали негативные последствия проводимых царизмом реформ и старались обратить внимание на несправедливые притеснения казахского народа. Своими действиями казахская интеллигенция призывала сынов Алаша к борьбе против царя, и среди казахов усилился протест к власти. В работах казахской интеллигенции начала XX века обозначен критический подход к оценке присоединения, подчеркивается вынужденность обращения казахов к России, тяжелые последствия колониальной политики. Возвращение творческого наследия казахской интеллигенции отразилось на концептуальных воззрениях современных отечественных историков.

Ключевые слова: автономия, завоевание, интеллигенция, колонизация, протест.

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EVALUATION OF THE COLONIAL PERIOD IN THE WORKS OF THE KAZAKH INTELLIGENTSIA OF EARLY XX CENTURY

In late XIX and early XX centuries emerged a cohort of talented Kazakhs (A. Bukeikhanov, A. Baityrsunov, M. Dulatov, M. Shokai, S. Kudaiberdiev, etc.) that declared their disagreement with the tsarist colonial policy and expressed their readiness to fight for the preservation of the country's sovereignty. They came with the first wave of the Russian democracy and developed their ideas being the center of the political processes. They witnessed greater massive pressure on Kazakhstan exerted by the metropolis, rather the state of Central Asia, the national intelligentsia viewed its mission first of all in keeping the originality of the Kazakh people. The autocratic regime interested in creating subjugated servicemen out of the locals to delegate them part of the administration employed the Russification policy for the native population, but confronted some problems. Group of thinkers grew out of the Kazakhs eager to dedicate their intellectual potential to protect the national dignity. It should be noted that Kazakhs deeply respected their traditions and cultural values, and their attitude to the fatherland Russian perceived as some kind of nationalism subject to complete eradication.

The totalitarian regime in the soviet times ignored intentionally the works of the Kazakh intelligentsia as not corresponding the political situation. With the independence period their creative works were got into scientific circulation. Growing protest against the Russian colonial policy in the national remote areas was given in the works of A. Bukeikhanov. Most of his works are scholarly researches of encyclopedic character, monographs, written in Russian. Major works deal with the Kazakh people history, economic life, culture, specifics of daily life and household arrangements, ethnographic problems, and Kazakh lands' colonization history. These works contain great material including facts, statistical data, tables, and geographical information, and extracts from the sources he employed. Among them a special place is taken by the research «Historical fates of the Kyrgyz kray and its cultural successes» (issued in 1903), where he from all sides considered the history of Kazakh lands and gave assessment of the Russian colonization. The work did not speculate with the historical facts to please the political situation. The author emphasized forced appeal of the Minor and Middle Hordes sultans to Russian to pledge for the protection, naming the Jungar invasions as the major reason and unstable

power of the rulers: «Having recognized the power from the Russian government, Kyrgyzes did not comply with that situation at once, and attempted several time to restore independence, but failed» [1]. Considering the peasant migration policy of the Russian government, Bukeikhanov shows much more advantageous situation in the economics of the Russian migrants' households obvious from the data on their land plots assigned to each family. Limitation of living conditions, taxation for the use of their native lands undermined the major basics of Kazakhs' development. Along with that the colonizers eradicated the spiritual fundamentals of the population. The researcher gave numerous samples of measures taken by the Russian authorities to convert Kazakhs into Christianity that led to the situation when they scared practicing Islam due to the persecution of the colonial authorities.

A. Bukeikhanov referred to document known in the historical literature as «Karkaralinskaya petition» singed 14 500 persons. The document pointed that «voluntary» joining of Kazakhstan to the Russian empire in fact meant only foreign protection, and was signed an agreement on non-interference into the domestic affairs. But according to the laws taken by the Russian government, native lands of Kazakhs were seized into the state property, and the Russians were given better lands taken from the Kazakhs who were evicted by force. The author correctly expressed his disagreement with the unfair solution to the land issue; and if originally he wrote that the state's approach was «careful» but then the interests of the native population were ignored and in the rude way defied. We consider that criticizing the «civilizational mission» of the Russian officials, A. Bukeikhanov correctly noted: «Having conquered the kray, the Russians could not shift to the cultural activities because the original conquest was initiated exclusively for enrichment, and the first conquerors were not prepared to the cultural role» [2, p.62], and the public education cause was initiated much later.

Thus, A. Bukeikhanov made very important conclusions. He as a representative of Kazakh intelligentsia analyzed the Russian colonial policy consequences from the viewpoint of their benefits for the Kazakh people. The researcher noted that the Kazakh rulers appealed to Russian empire explicitly for the external protection, but due to the laws adopted by the tsarist government gradually the Kazakh lands were conquered.

Similar positions were held by Shakarim who did not write a special work on that historical period, but when he referred to other problems in Kazakh life, he expressed his negative attitude to the tsarist policy, and employed the term «conquest» when told about the policy of the empire towards the Great Horde.

Prominent public figure, writer Saken Seifullin in 1920 in the article «On Kazakh intelligentsia» wrote: «Among the enlightened Kazakhs since 1905 were spread revolutionary ideas, voiced calls to national equality and freedom. The awakening Kazakh intelligentsia at that time was inspired by Bukeikhanov, Dulatov, Baitursunov» [3].

M. Dulatov and A. Baitursunov wrote and proliferated proclamations calling the sons of Alash to fight against the tsar, and discontent increased among the Kazakhs by the tsarist regime. It was connected with the situation when in early XX century were surfaced all defects of the colonial policy. M. Dulatov wrote irate articles that being defeated in the Russo-Japanese war, tsarism intensified the pressure on Kazakh people, evicts them from their native lands and gives their territories to migrating peasants. In 1907 in the newspaper «Serke» was published a small by size but deep and actual in content an article of M. Dulatov «Out objective» where he openly tells about the dependence of the Kazakh people from Russia, that Kazakhs are under colonial yoke being persecuted for their traditions and rites, and Islamic faith. Intensification of the Russification policy, forced withdrawal of fertile lands and turning them into the property of Russian officials and migrants caused fair protest of the native population. That article produced a strong effect, as on the growth of the liberation movement and on the autocracy that was seeking how to save its dominance, that was proven by the confiscation of all the circulation and closure of the newspaper after that article had been published [4]. The collection of poems of M. Dulatov «Оян қазақ!» (Awaken, Kazakh!), issued in 1909 served as a political manifesto of Kazakh struggle for freedom, the topicality and content of the book revealed the attitude of the author to the Kazakhstan's status in the empire and colonial policy of tsarism. The significance of the collection was highly valued by the contemporaries, and further generations of Kazakhs.

On the 2 of February 1913 in Orenburg was released the first issue of the newspaper «Kazakh», and its chief editor was A. Baitursunov, the second editor – M. Dulatov and the editorial board consultant was A. Bukeikhanov. That newspaper raised the national spirit of Kazakhs living on the vast territory from the Caspian to China, and excited their self-consciousness and developed culture. Thus, the historical though of Kazakhstan in the first quarter of the XX century is based on

the works of the best representatives of the Kazakh intelligentsia. The creative legacy of the authors demonstrates wide world outlook and different approach to the evaluation of the tsarism's activities. Their works were written in the times all the deficiencies and consequences of the Kazakh lands' colonization surfaced. The important fact is that the representatives of the native populations made those conclusions and they had no need to hide or falsify the facts.

The evaluation of the Kazakhstan's joining the Russian empire was reflected in the works of professor K. Dosmukhamedov, who researched the movement of Issatai Taimanov and Makhambet Utemisov [5]. The nature of the predatory policy of Russia, in his opinion, was in the desire to exploit Kazakhstan as a bridgehead for expansion into Asia. The author viewed that adoption of the Russian protection by the Kazakh Juzes was a result of the collusion between tsarism and the followers of Abulkhair khan, and the author employed the term «subjugation». «The final subjugation» of Kazakh lands by Russia became the reason for the loss in the national-liberation war of Kazakhs in late XVIII – first half of the XIX centuries.

Considerable in content and depth was the work of T. Shonanuly «Zher tagdury/The fate of the land» written in 1923. The author employed a wide range of sources as statistical data, archival documents, legal acts of the Russian empire and etc. to make a scholarly objective research. In opinion of Shonanuly, with the adoption of the Russian protection the history of Kazakh lands ends and begins the history of a colony. In his work the author in detail investigates the colonial land policy of tsarism pointing that one of the major reasons of the Russian peasants migration was land shortage problem in Russia itself. The Russian government provided the best Kazakh lands to the migrants and did not limit their sizes that eventually led to the discontent of the local population. that policy of the government resulted in huge waves of migrations to Kazakhstan [6].

The problem of Kazakhstan's joining the Russian empire was studied by T. Ryskylov [7]. He connected that first of all with the external environment of Kazakhstan that was seen in pressure of Jungars from the east, of Kokand, Bukhara and Khiva from the south, from the west Nogays and Volga Kalmyks. T. Ryskylov points strengthening of the Russian expansion along the line Ural and Irtysh rivers after conquest of the Kazan and Astrakhan khanates by Russia in XVI century, and subjugation of Siberia. The author distinguishes two directions of the tsarist colonial policy: from late XVI century – Qazak colonization, and from mid XIX century – peasants, emphasizing that on the way of its expansion the Russian authorities immediately erected fortifications and settled them with the Qazaks and migrant peasants. Kazakhs were ousted to barren regions, and the relations between them grew more and more hostile. «After 1899 the ethnic conflicts between Kazakhs and Russians became the chief characteristic of the steppe life» [8].

M. Shiokai – historical figure whose name for a long time was tabooed. He viewed the Central Asia and Kazakhstan as indivisible territory of the Muslim peoples of Turkestan and put forward the idea to create «Kokand autonomy». In his researches he analyzed the Bolshevik policy in Turkestan, and assessed it was the continuation of the tsarist colonial policy. In the preface to the French edition of the work «Turkestan under the power of the Soviets» is made a remark: «Turkestan still can be viewed as a colony where the Bolshevik administration goes no far than the tsarist one in roughness and cynicism of the administrative methods» [9]. It is also stressed that the author belongs to the moist culturally endowed and educated persons of his country. A special place in his numerous publications M. Shokai dedicates to the assessment of the tsarist national policy in Kazakhstan, Russification problem, and defends the idea of Turkic peoples unity.

In the works of the representatives of national intelligentsia the entry of Kazakh lands into the Russian empire is presented from the viewpoint of the native population that experienced all the hardships of the colonial policy of tsarism. Much attention was paid to the land and migration policy consequences, its deficiencies and drawbacks when the interests of Kazakhs were not observed. The topic of the national identity, culture and territory preservation became the mainstream in early XX century and employment of the terms «conquest», «subjugation», «colonization» indicates to the concept of the Russia's conquest of Kazakhstan.

In general, the historical researches reflecting the process of the Russian protection adoption by Kazakh juzes in XVIII – XX centuries undertaken by the Russian officials and public writers are characterized by low historiographic quality level. That level is defined by the selection and accumulation of the materials, data, and facts on the topic under research. Therefore, the problem of Kazakhstan's joining the Russian empire was researched by the Russian authors to influence the public consciousness to make them adopt the civilziational mission of Russia in Kazakhstan.

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