
Alikhan Bukeikhanov - The Idea of National Statehood

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To cite this article:

Leila Khassanayeva, Nazira Duisembayeva. Alikhan Bukeikhanov - The Idea of National Statehood. *Social Sciences*. Vol. 11, No. 2, 2022, pp. 69-77. doi: 10.11648/j.ss.20221102.13

Received: February 15, 2022; **Accepted:** March 17, 2022; **Published:** March 29, 2022

Abstract: For the present generations, it is important to know not only what historical work the national political elite has done, but also what they have become as figures. Because in the entire civilized society, each generation can deeply understand its own peculiarity, its historical duty and its tasks through the study of such problems in the context of historical knowledge. Alikhan Bukeikhanov at the beginning of the twentieth century was at the head of the national movement in the new historical conditions, thereby continuing the struggle started in the XVIII century under the leadership of Abylai Khan, and in the XIX century under the leadership of Kenesary Kasymuly. He played a leading role in the theoretical justification of the idea of the national state in the new historical period, as well as in determining the ways and means by which this goal was to be achieved, and during his lifetime was recognized as the leader of the national liberation movement at the national level. The Alash movement, which was formed as a result of the purposeful work of Alikhan Bukeikhanov and his closest associates, entered the genealogy of the nation as a comprehensive civil struggle of an entire generation of intellectuals for the people's existence and values. In other words, the Alash movement is a clear indication that there was a tradition of continuity of the national idea in the history of the country, which served as the main priority of national interests. The place of Alikhan Bukeikhanov and his associates in the history and culture of the nation was also that they openly and clearly expressed this fundamental position in a certain historical period and devoted their lives to this goal without any hesitation. The lack of inclination of the Provisional Government to solve the national issue prompted the Kazakh intellectuals to independently restore state power in Kazakhstan. The Cadet Party which recognized not only the identity of nations, but also cultural autonomy wasn't agree with Kazakh intellectuals, but also sought to create an autonomous state within Russia.

Keywords: Alikhan Bukeikhanov, Nation, Intellectuals, National Political Elite, Influence, Idea, National Statehood

1. Introduction

In connection with the acquisition of Kazakhstan's sovereignty and independence, it became possible to re-study historical events in the direction of new historical knowledge and on the basis of new data. Self-knowledge of the people in the history of the Fatherland is carried out in the course of studying complex processes in the issues of statehood. It is known that this happens through the activities of representatives of the national elite, who explore and illuminate the historical reality. The leading part of the representatives of the national political elite was formed under the socio-economic influence of the ideas of the first Russian revolution of 1905 in the early twentieth century and the then Kazakh society, as well as on the basis of Muslim movements.

Representatives of the advanced national political elite have always been leaders in saving the Kazakh country from colonial oppression, in the struggle for the national liberation movement, in the struggle for independence. One of the main goals set by the representatives of the national political elite was the issue of statehood.

In solving the state issue, the leading representatives of the national political elite, using the Russian Duma, the tsarist administrative bodies, sought to convey to the population their thoughts of the early twentieth century through the magazine "Aikap", the newspapers "Kazakh", "Dala Ualayaty", "Alash", "Saryarka", "Birlik Tuy", which aimed at the idea of independence and independence of their country. These ideas of theirs did not pass without a trace, as evidenced by the present itself.

The study of socio-political activities and the struggle of representatives of the national political elite for statehood

allowed us to understand whether there was an alternative way of development of Kazakh society or only the direction proposed by the Bolsheviks-this is what leads to a deep understanding of the complex problem.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the struggle for statehood received a new direction and its character became new. Until the beginning of the twentieth century, attempts to restore national statehood were made by the ruling group in Kazakh society-sultan, bai, bi, batyr. The popular movement led by Kenesary Kasymov was a reflection of such an action in the nineteenth century. But these attempts at various times ended in failure for obvious reasons.

Even in the historical period under consideration, the essence and content of the struggle for statehood acquired a specific programmatic character. First, to achieve liberation, representatives of the national political elite came to the beginning of the movement. They took on such difficult issues as the creation of a liberation ideology, the creation of a political party. Secondly, the Kazakh intellectuals considered the main ways and means to achieve this goal. According to the national political elite, the main internal fact or that should have set the goal was the achievement of national integrity and the formation of national consciousness. The next major factor was the unification of efforts in the Russian Empire in the struggle for an independent state of the nationalities, especially Muslim and Turkic. In other words, the struggle for independent statehood during this historical period acquired a new purposeful quality both on a national scale and in the all-Russian space.

In turn, it is not difficult to trace the direct relationship between the struggle for statehood at the beginning of the twentieth century and the strengthening of statehood and independence today.

And were there any methods of struggle for statehood in the public activities of the national political elite, or were there ways of a different approach used by political groups in the struggle for patriotism, the national liberation movement? Finding answers to such questions is necessary for a literal understanding and comprehension of the tasks facing us at the presentstage, in the historical period in which we live.

2. The Problem of National Autonomy at the Beginning of the XX Century

For the present generations, it is important not only what historical work the national political elite has done, but also what they have become as figures. Because in the entire civilized society, each generation can fully understand its own specifics, its own historical tasks and tasks through the study of such problems in the context of historical knowledge.

Alikhan Bukeikhanov at the beginning of the twentieth century was at the head of the national movement in the new historical conditions, thereby continuing the struggle started in the XVIII century under the leadership of Abylai Khan,

and in the XIX century under the leadership of Kenesary Kasymuly. He played a leading role in the theoretical justification of the idea of the national state in the new historical period, as well as in determining the ways and means by which this goal was to be achieved, and during his lifetime was recognized as the leader of the national liberation movement at the national level. The Alash movement, which was formed as a result of the purposeful work of Alikhan Bukeikhanov and his closest associates, entered the genealogy of the nation as a comprehensive civil struggle of an entire generation of intellectuals for the people's existence and values. In other words, the Alash movement is a clear indication that there was a tradition of continuity of the national idea in the history of the country, which served as the main priority of national interests. The place of Alikhan Bukeikhanov and his associates in the history and culture of the nation was also that they openly and clearly expressed this fundamental position in a certain historical period and devoted their lives to this goal without any hesitation. The lack of inclination of the Provisional Government to solve the national issue prompted the Kazakh intellectuals to independently restore state power in Kazakhstan. The Cadet Party which recognized not only the identity of nations, but also cultural autonomy wasn't agree with Kazakh intellectuals, but also sought to create an autonomous state within Russia.

Although autocratic power in Russia was strengthened in the early twentieth century, it began to be openly criticized by democratic and radical forces in society, especially the organized opposition. The political situation in Europe contributed to the emergence of liberal and revolutionary movements in the Russian Empire. Against the tsarist government, political forces united on an oppositional basis, and ideological alternative groups of the country's authorities began to be created. They appeared mainly in the form of political parties.

The programs of the opposition parties created during this period reflected such views as the introduction of democratic institutions into the political system of an absolute monarchy, the containment of autocratic power by constitutional means, and the overthrow of political power through a coup. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the "party of peaceful renewal", which combined the ideas of liberalism and conservatism, proposed to introduce a parliamentary system of government in the state issue. The liberal "Constitutional Democratic (Cadet) Party", which supports them, proposes to introduce the establishment of the socialist system in a democratic way, achieving political power even through a coup.

In connection with the transition of Kazakhstan to Russian citizenship, the Khan's power was abolished, the life of the Kazakh society underwent socio-economic changes, the region was involved in the scale of capitalist relations. However, the remoteness of Kazakhstan from the center in the colonies of the empire, the nomadic way of life prevented the Kazakh people from showing political activity, distancing them from political life in Russia. Having received education

in the cities of Russia, having felt the advanced Russian culture and political influence, the Kazakh intellectuals, under the influence of some opposition parties, began to develop political thought and promote democratic ideas in Kazakhstan. The Cadet party had a particularly great influence on the formation of the political views of the Kazakh intellectuals.

The Cadet party itself found support among the Kazakh intelligentsia. The community of the national political elite joined the Cadet party, became a member and recognized its program. The spiritual leader of the Kazakh intelligentsia, Alikhan Bukeikhanov, was elected a member of the Central Committee of the Cadet Party in 1906. On this occasion S. Asfendiyarov wrote: "the Kazakh bourgeois intellectuals were an alliance with the Russian bourgeois intellectuals (cadets). A. Bukeikhanov was a member of the Central Committee of the Cadet Party." He was a member of the Progressive Bloc, headed by cadets A. Bukeikhanov, M. Tynyshpaev, A. Birimzhanov, B. Karataev, A. Kalmenov, etc., elected deputies on behalf of the Kazakhs in the I, II State Duma. There was also a non-partisan "Muslim faction" [1].

The fact that the program of the Cadet party reflected the parliamentary system of government as the main idea attracted the Kazakh intelligentsia. Kazakhs pinned their hopes on parliamentary governance and linked its future with the idea of Kazakh statehood. To this end, in December 1905, a branch of the Cadet party in the Kazakh society was established in Uralsk under the leadership of Alikhan Bukeikhanov.

The researcher V. Grigoriev says about this historical event: "even at the height of the First Russian Revolution, A. Bukeikhanov, B. Syrtanov, Zh. Seidalin and other representatives of the intellectuals gathered in the Urals, with the help of their Russian associates, sought to create a party that would ensure the rapid involvement of the national bourgeoisie, the best people and intellectuals of the aul-region in the political life of the country, the implementation of measures aimed at the rapid development of Kazakh society to capitalism. The Central Committee of the Cadet Party, for a number of reasons, did not support the enthusiasm of a. Bukeikhanov and his entourage. However, those who admired the activity of Alikhan Bukeikhanov invited him to the second congress of the Cadet Party in 1906» [2].

Representatives of the national political elite, who adhered to the idea of the Cadet party, sought to achieve in Russia a parliamentary, constitutional way through the state in the future national autonomy with the status of a republican. However, this problem remained only in the form of an idea. Because since 1917, the leaders of the Cadet party have proposed, in order to preserve the state integrity of Russia, to grant only a single equality and cultural autonomy. This proposal did not please the supporters of the Cadet party abroad. Members of the Kazakhstan branch of the party categorically opposed cultural autonomy. Alikhan Bukeikhanov resigned from the Cadet party in protest against its orientation and opinions on issues of autonomy, land

issues. Alikhan Bukeikhanov expressed his opinion on this issue: "Why did I leave the Cadet party? The Cadet Party opposes the autonomy of the nation. We decided to create a people's autonomy under the slogan Alash" [3].

Representatives of the national elite, who were educated at Russian universities, were in favor of a civilized, evolutionary, democratic development of society. The policy of the Bolshevik party, which adhered to the idea of achieving political power, establishing socialism, was not supported by the Kazakh intelligentsia. Therefore, in 1917, they actively began to create the Alash party in order to implement their idea of creating a national democratic state.

So, let's consider the answer to the question of when the idea of Kazakh autonomy arose. It can be said that the idea of creating autonomy arose as a result of many years of political struggle, continuous ideological searches of representatives of the national elite. In the course of this, the struggle of the Kazakh intellectuals for the liberation of the nation acquired a new legal significance. Officials of the Russian colonization apparatus also managed to understand this situation. In most cases, the Kazakh intellectuals openly expressed their opinion. The proof of this can be, for example, the document: Zh. Akbayev wrote in a letter to Count Palen: "is it true that you were the President of the Republic of Karkaralinsk?..." [4]- the question itself can be said that Zh. Akbayev promoted the idea of creating a Democratic Republic. The fact that B. Syrtanov was also involved in the formation of the idea of autonomy and a Democratic Republic can be seen in the data concerning his life.

The work of B. Syrtanov "The charter of the Kazakh people" in 1911 proves that the idea of the future state building of the Kazakh people was the advanced idea of that time [5]. As an example, the following document can be cited: "further consideration of public charters-the involvement of the people in the heritage of culture and civilization, the implementation of the Manifesto on October 17 should establish legality and legality" [6].

The February revolution, which overthrew the tsarist government, was welcomed by the Kazakh society with great joy. The newspaper "Kazakh" in the issue for March 24 this year published the text of a telegram addressed to Kazakh leaders headed by A. Bukeikhanov, M. Dulatov to the key centers of Kazakhstan [7]. The telegram says: "To all the peoples of Russia on the day of brotherhood, equality, and freedom, yes," he said. Now it is necessary to put aside enmity, fading, disputes, quarrels, disputes, party differences. The type of kingdom we want is a democratic republic, that is, one that must raise livestock, harvest crops, and own land." [8]

The telegram clearly traces the political position of the Kazakh leaders. First, they called on the people to support the new Government and put forward the slogan of a Democratic Republic. Secondly, they proposed to put on the agenda the solution of issues on the land. Third, by carrying out preparatory work for the Constituent Assembly, he called for the organization, unification and resolution of issues related to the fate of the nation.

The February bourgeois-democratic revolution contributed to the growth of the political activity of the masses on the ground. The revolution promoted the broad use of the political rights of the broad masses, ensured their open intervention in the political struggle. It manifested itself in the following cases: first, when deciding on the issue of local power, there was the appointment of persons armed with the revolutionary spirit, instead of persons representing the tsarist power; second, in some places there was a withdrawal of requirements for administrative methods of government and the well-known liberal system; third, the movements for democratic freedom and general democratic national autonomy have intensified; fourth, the revolutionary movement and revolutionary agitation in the province have intensified.

The peculiarity of the February Revolution was that a dual power was established in the country: the bourgeois Provisional Government and the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies were the real basis for the creation by the State Duma of organizations of the political power of the bourgeoisie in the center and in the localities, by city dumas and various committees. The provisional Government removed military governors, governors-general, and officials of the colonial administration from power. Instead, regional commissions, a civil executive committee, a coalition committee, and others were created. In volosts, auls and villages, the same volost and aul managers, village elders, and village atamans remained.

The provisional government appointed former officials-colonists of the tsarist government, as well as representatives of the Kazakh intellectuals, to head the regions. Thus, A. Bukeikhanov was a commissioner of the Provisional Government in the Turgay region, M. Tynyshbayev - in the Zhetysay region.

From the first day of the February Revolution to March 5, that is, until the decree of the Provisional Government on the creation of local government organizations, 29 provincial committees were created. At that time, no socio-political institution was equated with the mass character of these organizations that tried to exercise local power.

The bourgeois-democratic revolution gave rise to the possibility of establishing a new administrative system in the national regions and managing them independently. In the region, the county parish and the villages, the administrative bodies of the Provisional Government began to be formed. As in all of Russia, civil committees began to be created in the Kazakh region. The task of creating a system of civil committees of the Lower, that is, rural and volost rank, quickly unfolded. In parallel, the creation of a county and regional committee was underway. Their creation and organization of the system of local executive power were carried out in full.

After the February Revolution, the movement of the national elite increased, seeking to get rid of colonial oppression, so that the country's power was on its own, and other nations-their own country. After the victory of the revolution, Alikhan Bukeikhanov sent telegrams to

Semipalatinsk, Karkarli, Uralsk, Kyzylzhar and other cities, calling on his colleagues to create local Kazakh committees and take actions aimed at supporting the Provisional Government.

During this period, on the basis of the desire of the Kazakh people for freedom and awakened consciousness, Kazakh committees were formed. In the period from February to December 1917, the Kazakh committees - public organizations that have their place in the history of the national liberation movement, came to life as a result of the active public activity of the Kazakh intelligentsia, who mourned the absence of their nation and took on the huge burden of the struggle for liberation [9].

However, even when the local government bodies of the Provisional Government were formed in the regional and county centers, the Russian public was in control, and they were given leading positions in the committees. Among those who were part of them, of course, there were many who stood on the position of the old royal administration in the issue of interethnic relations.

Such conservative actions as ignoring the interests of the local population began to manifest themselves already when the executive committees were created. For example, the national interests in the Semipalatinsk Regional Committee were not taken into account at all.

In turn, the newspaper «Saryarka» wrote: «the flag of the tsarist time collapsed, the power of the state came into the hands of the general public. More and more committees these days are the authorities of the people. On March 5, the Semipalatinsk Regional Executive Committee, which headed the regional government, was opened. The committee consisted of two members from each community of the organization. Not a single person from the Kazakhs was taken into this committee [10]».

Even if the old unjust tsarist power was destroyed, and a new power came in its place, the movement was in danger of being left without state institutions that defended the national interests. Therefore, intelligent citizens of the Semipalatinsk region on March 7 urgently formed the Semipalatinsk regional Kazakh Executive Committee [10].

The regional Kazakh Committee, which took over the organizational work to prevent the resettlement of the Kazakh people, began to independently solve cases belonging to the Kazakhs. The national problems of socio-economic development of Kazakhstan after the February Revolution were waiting for their solution. At this time, a Muslim movement developed in the province. The local population associated the solution of the national question with the competence of the Provisional Government. Therefore, everywhere, especially in Semirechye, Muslims were looking forward to the arrival of representatives of the Provisional Government in Tashkent. They believed that they would get their freedom.

After the victory of the revolution in Kazakhstan, the national movement intensified. But the people's movement could not be developed by the poor peasants, etc. The working masses followed and followed the national elite, thus imitating

the ideas of "national autonomy". And the Provisional Government was in no hurry to solve such a national question. The government limited the problem of the local population, such as self-determination, independence of nations, to the slogans "common state support", "unity and indivisibility of Russia". The bourgeois government and the bourgeoisie advocated bourgeois democracy in a formal form. In such foreign regions as Central Asia, Kazakhstan, introducing limited democracy, tried not to go beyond the framework in order to ensure the "indivisibility of Russia" [11].

In this regard, the Provisional Government appealed to the peoples of Kazakhstan and Central Asia, where 98 percent of the population is Muslim, and in the Turkestan region-10 million people, the people have all the rights to national and cultural self-determination, given by the Russian revolution on the basis of freedom, equality, brotherhood of peoples - the Provisional Government could not implement this, although it spoke in words [12].

The limited "democracy" of the Provisional Government formally proclaimed the equality and freedom of individuals before the law. In some courts, it was allowed to conduct cases in the local language, to teach children in their native language, and so on. The bourgeois government enthusiastically supported the idea of "cultural autonomy", because it understood that the local population could build schools, unite in the concept of education, and develop their native language at levels and types that were appropriate to the interests of the bourgeoisie itself. By its social significance and content, "cultural autonomy" served the interests of the bourgeoisie.

The old laws that deprived the Kazakhs of their political rights remained in force. The land issue has not been resolved. The Cossack army and other large landowners kept the same. The Department of Resettlement continued its activities, taking the best lands from the Kazakhs.

This clearly shows that the Provisional Government did not take social issues into account when addressing the interests of the local nation. And the Provisional Government decided to carry out land reform after the victory in the imperialist war, to convene a Constituent Assembly and declare it there.

On the question of the nation, the Provisional Government adopted a decree "on the abolition of religious beliefs and national restrictions" in March 1917. It read: "all restrictions imposed by law on the rights of Russian citizens to a particular religion, to study it, or to conscience are abolished."

However, this was a measure aimed at protecting the interests of the Provisional Government. The decree did not actually provide for the protection of the rights and interests of the peoples and nationalities of Russia. The document did not mention the political and self-governing rights of the peoples of foreign countries. In addition, the decree did not say anything about the thrones of minorities and peoples, ethnic groups. In the decree, the solution of socio-economic issues based on national oppression and inequality was not put on the agenda.

The heads of the Provisional Government did not speak to the masses, promising to solve social issues, including national ones.

Local people's organizations, individual groups, where the situation on the ground was not satisfied, sent telegrams, appeals, proposals to the provisional government, sent representatives to the center with a request to achieve the implementation of the government's declaration on the national question.

Despite the negative attitude of the Provisional Government to the solution of the national question, measures of counteraction, the national movement has developed on the ground. In Kazakhstan, such requirements as political autonomy and the right to self-government prevailed. Such demands became so strong that the heads of the provisional Governments had to pay attention to them. The growing popular movements oppressed the limited bourgeois government to solve social problems. The Government called a constituent assembly and promised to resolve these issues there. The leaders of the provisional organizations in Turkestan expressed confidence that "together with all Muslims, taking into account the interests of all citizens of the Russian Republic, they will recognize and support in every possible way the state power based on popular organizations, and will try to bring the country to the Constituent Assembly."

The Provisional Government did not officially abandon the issue of "autonomy", but did not take concrete measures to implement this direction, leaving it in the competence of the Constituent Assembly. The Committee of the Provisional Government in Turkestan appealed to the residents and called on them to "unite around the Provisional Government and defend the revolution. Let the Committee give all power to the people-this power is free and strong. He speaks his word at the constituent assembly" [12].

However, the Kazakh intellectuals could not wait for the resolution of national and state issues at the constituent assembly. Convinced that the Provisional Government is in no hurry to solve socio-economic and political issues, the Kazakh intelligentsia put it on the agenda at the level of the entire population. Along with the problems that matured after the victory of the bourgeois-democratic revolution, the most important issue for the Kazakh intelligentsia was the definition of the type and structure of the future Kazakh statehood. In this regard, active representatives of the Kazakh intelligentsia convened the all-Kazakh congress on July 21-26, 1917 in Orenburg. The congress was attended by representatives of the Akmola, Semipalatinsk, Turgay, Ural, Semirechensk, Syrdarya, Ferghana regions and the inner Bukeev Horde. At the Congress, along with land, judicial, religious, women's, national formations, etc., the question of the form of state administration and the autonomy of the Kazakh regions was considered. In the resolutions on the issues discussed at the Kurultai, depending on the type of state administration, it was written: "Russia should have a democratic federal, parliamentary republic" [5].

And in accordance with the autonomy of the Kyrgyz

(Kazakh) region, the following resolution was adopted: "The Kyrgyz (Kazakh) region should receive regional territorial and national autonomy" [5]. The national political elite determines the desire of society to solve the problem of the Kazakh statehood in the context of national interests, on the basis of the right of peoples to self-government. Unfortunately, the Provisional Government did not support the attempts of the nationalists on the ground to gain freedom, the right to self-government, to create national state structures. For example, a well-known figure of the Cadet party, Milyukov, said that his party "currently does not consider it right to create national-territorial organizations." The point of view of the Party of Social Revolutionaries, of which Kerensky himself was a member, also coincided with the opinion of the party of cadets and tsarist generals [13].

The provisional government, which came to power as a result of the victory of the bourgeois-democratic revolution, did not seek to solve national and territorial problems for the peoples of foreign countries. Striving for gaining political independence, restoring the Kazakh statehood, the Kazakh intelligentsia did not achieve its goals.

3. Raising the Issue of National Statehood in Soviet Rule

The expectations of the Kazakh intellectuals to solve the problem of statehood, which joyfully welcomed the victory of the bourgeois-democratic revolution, were not fulfilled.

A significant place in the draft program of the party "Alash", published on the pages of the newspaper "Kazakh" on November 21, 1917, as the main problem was statehood. The first chapter of the program was shown under the title "Memleket Kepy". The chapter clearly states the type of state in Kazakhstan: "Russia will be a democratic federal republic. Democracy is the union of the state; federation is the union of equal states. In the Federal Republic, each state has its own basis, one solidarity, each carries its own reins of government" [14].

This indicates that in the future the Kazakh state should remain part of Russia and have equal relations in the category of federal construction.

As a matter of fact, as the well-known scientist-historian M. Koigeldiev noted today, "the alternative path proposed by the Alash intelligentsia did not provide for a sharp change in the centuries-old experience of development, traditions and customs of the Kazakh people by a revolutionary method, but their further improvement by an evolutionary path, taking into account the life experience of other civilized countries. And, most importantly, this way would allow the Kazakh country to self-determine, and thus solve its own internal social problems, have its own native people" [15].

Concealing the influence of the ideas of the Bolshevik party on the Kazakh intelligentsia, who sought to gain power in the system of political and state administration through an armed coup and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, would be a betrayal of history.

The leaders of the national political elite, realizing that the political situation is rapidly changing, hastened the decision to convene the all-Kazakh congress. In addition, Alikhan Bukeikhanov openly stated that he considers it right to convene the All-Kazakh Congress to resolve such complex issues of disagreements from the Cadet party on land, national-state construction, and religion. The national political elite considered various ways to achieve state independence in the fall of 1917. At that time, Alikhan Bukeikhanov advocated the unification of the Kazakh land with the Siberian autonomists. Therefore, nine representatives of the Turgay, Akmola, Semipalatinsk, Semirechensk, Ural regions and the Bukeev Horde, headed by A. Bukeikhanov, took part in the All-Siberian Congress, which discussed the creation of Siberian autonomy in the city of Tom from October 8 to 15 [16]. The Economic Council, which is approved by the congress, that is, the committee for the preparation of the basic law, also includes Kazakh representatives. The Siberian Council, elected by the congress, included deputies A. Bukeikhanov, M. Tynyshpaev, H. Gabbasov, E. Itbayev, and S. Doszhanov, elected to the Constituent Assembly of Kazakhstan [17].

It is worth noting that the acquaintance and cooperation with an outstanding scientist and public figure turned out to be fateful for Alikhan Bukeikhanov. The recognized leader of the "Siberian Oblasts" Grigory Potanin, who had a huge influence on Bukeikhanov; from Potanin, Alikhan was imbued with ideas (of autonomism). Direct and close companionship with the "Siberian oblasts", their leader Potanin, was the ideological environment under the influence of which Bukeikhanov began to form an idea of the future autonomy of the Kazakh people [18].

Alikhan Bukeikhanov explained the entry of Kazakhstan into the Siberian Autonomy as a temporary measure. In the newspaper "Kazakh" it was stated: "we thought, at first we relied on Siberia, transported, and then moved: "we, fleeing from the ruin of a huge state, then began to divide" [19].

Alikhan Bukeikhanov, on his way back from the congress of Siberian autonomists in Tom, stopped in Semipalatinsk, where on October 12-13 he met with the residents of the city and made reports [17]. In his speech, Alikhan Bukeikhanov gave a description of the types of autonomy, saying that "there are three types of autonomy, the Kazakh land accepted autonomy and asked for autonomy from the useful Siberia, which joined Siberia, because: there are many Kazakhs in the Siberian autonomy. There is a serious army, there is a serious education-culture, there are economic things that go to a serious internal Russia. If we talk about a separate autonomy, then in the Siberian Duma we will join the Yakuts faster than in the Siberian Duma, the Buryats, and in the majority-equal. You can't leave them the land of the Kazakhs. The peasant is ready to join Siberia" [17].

It is not difficult to understand that Alikhan Bukeikhanov pursued the goal of getting out of the current political instability in the country on the basis of this rapprochement and developing experience in matters of state structure and considering ways to implement the idea of Kazakh autonomy.

Among the national political elite, there were other views on statehood. For example, in the Syrdarya and Zhetysu regions, which, due to the specific territorial-administrative and historical situation that developed at that time, were in close contact with the neighboring Kyrgyz and Uzbek countries in territorial, historical and other respects, the Kazakh population considered the Turkestan Governor-General in administrative management. The region has developed traditional ties with Tashkent, the political, economic and cultural center of the Turkestan Region. At the same time, Alikhan Bukeikhanov opposed obtaining autonomy together with Turkestan. He explained this point of view as follows: "Turkestan can be an autonomy. We have an opinion that the Kazakhs joined Turkestan positively. Turkestan and Kazakhstan are relatives. To be autonomous is to be loyal to the state. It is not easy to execute the affairs of the state" [17].

The first All-Kazakh Congress, which was attended by representatives of almost all regions of Kazakhstan, was held on July 21-26, 1917 in Orenburg. The agenda included 14 issues: the system of state administration, the autonomy of the Kazakh regions, the land issue, the creation of the people's militia, the zemstvo, public education, judicial spiritual and religious issues, the women's issue, the convocation of the Constituent Assembly and preparation for its elections in the Kazakh regions, the All-Russian Congress of Muslims, the creation of the Kazakh political party, an event in the Semirechensk region, participation in the All-Russian Federal Council of Kazakhs in Kiev and in the work of the Commission on Public Education in Petrograd [19].

The delegates paid special attention to the issues of national autonomy, land issues, preparation for the Constituent Assembly and the creation of the Kazakh political party.

A month before the congress, a number of articles on the issues of autonomy were published on the pages of the Kazakh newspaper, and various points of view were expressed. So, in the issue of June 24, 1917, the newspaper wrote: "If it is clear that autonomy is needed, then what type of state autonomy or Federal autonomy is most important for the Kazakhs? If we are talking about a type of regional autonomy, is it based on territory or cultural identity? Can the Kazakhs claim independence or achieve it in alliance with other peoples?" [19].

Akhmet Baitursynov and Mirzhakyp Dulatov expressed their opinion about an independent autonomous Kazakh state. Alikhan Bukeikhanov supported the Kazakh national, territorial autonomy in the "democratic, federal, parliamentary Russian republic". This view was supported by the majority. The resolutions of the congress stated that "the Kazakh regions should receive territorial national autonomy" [19].

Along with these issues, the Kazakh National Political Party "Alash" was created at the congress. In its resolutions, recognizing the need to create the Kazakh party, it was written at the congress on behalf of representatives of the Kazakhs that the All-Russian Muslim Council instructs to develop a program for this party, and the basis of the political

program should be the creation of a democratic, federal, parliamentary republic [20].

Alikhan Bukeikhanov, revealing the complexity and complexity of the problem, says: "When we say that we will become Kazakhs, we have one riddle that is difficult to solve. In Uralsk, Turgay, Akmola, Semey, many peasants settled with us; in these regions the peasant and the Kazakh Kym-Kigash are mixed. If we leave the Kazakh mixed with the peasant, and we will always be Kazakh, the Kazakh will remain Russian; if we copy the Kazakh from here, it will be a nomad from the Ata settlement; if we move, it will be madness; the best of the Kazakh land is a place mixed with this peasant. In the end, if the Kazakh nation remains one autonomous state, we will get the Russians. It will be an autonomy tied to the Land. It seems that the Russian inside us approves of this" [19].

Representatives of the national elite, pursuing national interests, came to a common agreement in connection with the term of the autonomy of the Alash. As a result, the Congress adopted the following resolution:

"Within a month, the Alashorda will attach the Turkestankazakhs to the entire Alash, and if it is not, then in a month it will represent the people.

1. If Alash is not turned on in a month, then everyone will see their day for themselves.
2. If a Turkestan kazakhs joined within a month, then when should autonomy be granted in Alash" [20].

The Congress determined the main directions of the Alash orda government in interethnic policy, and its resolutions stated: "the rights of small peoples living among the Russian Kyrgyz were balanced. All countries included in the Alash autonomy have a place in the number of all institutions. If landless peoples are under the authority of the Alash autonomy, then they are granted national and cultural autonomy" [21]. "The fact is that 10 of the 25 seats in the government of Alash orda, formed at the second All-Kazakh Congress, were left to non-Kazakh peoples [22].

After creation of Alash orda, it tried to put its goals and objectives into practice. Thus, at the first steps of Alash orda's activity in the field of national-state construction, much attention was paid to the formation of the armed forces of the Alash Autonomy and local governing bodies in the form of the "People's Military" [23].

All the hopes of the Alash orda people for a Constituent Assembly in building an independent state collapsed. On January 5, 1918, the Bolshevik authorities forcibly dissolved the All-Russian Constituent Assembly. The abolition of the All-Russian Kurultai to a certain extent showed that Kazakhstan remained firmly attached to the circle of the central government, putting it on the path of a unified national-democratic development, allowing the Kazakh society to independently solve its socio-economic, political and other problems since the February revolution of 1917 [24].

The beginning of the civil war in 1918 prevented the solution of the issue of creating the Kazakh autonomy. In general, the leaders of the Alash understood the October Revolution in a complex way. For example, A. Baitursynov

wrote later on this issue: "Kazakhs understood and rejoiced in the first revolution, because, firstly, it freed them from the exploitation and violence of the tsarist government, and secondly, it strengthened their hope for the practical realization of their goal-self-government. The second revolution was incomprehensible to the Kazakhs, the reason for which is easy to explain, since The Kazakhs did not have capitalism and class differentiation, even the property itself was not clearly defined, like other peoples. The October Revolution shocked the Kazakhs with its external manifestations» [25].

Despite this, the Alash intellectuals sought rapprochement and negotiations with the Bolshevik authorities in order to create a national state. Therefore, some of its members turned to taking the side of the Soviet government. In 1919, the Alash party left its active members, including its main personality A. Baitursynov. On July 10, 1919, V. I. Lenin signed the "provisional regulations on the revolutionary committee for the administration of the Kirghiz region" of the Council of People's Commissars. It was composed of A. Baitursynov. The national intelligentsia, who initiated the creation of the Kazakh statehood, joined the Bolshevik Party. On March 5, 1920, by the decision of the military revolutionary committee for the administration of the Kyrgyz region, Alashorda was disbanded.

Later, the civilizational idea of the Kazakh intellectuals, which sought to create an independent Kazakh state, national autonomy, was undermined, and they themselves were repressed as enemies of the Soviet government.

The February revolution created great opportunities for the development of the national liberation movement in Turkestan. All social groups in Turkestan sought to eliminate the colonial "status" of the region. And representatives of the national liberation movement went to the creation of territorial and national autonomy in Turkestan. Moreover, the complex and contradictory situation in the country posed the task of inviolability of the people and the protection of national interests. Such a structure had the prerequisites for the formation of a political state system united with the countries within the Turkestan Ualay, or a national state united with other countries. However, until the end of 1917, the Kazakh intelligentsia did not pay due attention to the implementation of the idea of uniting the steppe regions and Turkestan lands in a single state.

Alikhan Bukeikhanov knew that the creation of the Kazakh autonomy within the Siberian state, rather than joining the Turkestan autonomy, would open the way to the restoration of an independent national statehood.

The recent misunderstanding between the Kazakh intelligentsia and the Turkestan autonomists was resolved at the second All-Kazakh Congress. At the Congress, Mustafa Shokai stressed that all regions inhabited by Kazakhs should be part of Kazakhstan.

However, initially this problem was not solved immediately. The Bolsheviks considered it expedient to first take political power into their own hands, and then to centrally consider the question of the nation. As an example,

we can cite the agenda of the III Turkestan Regional Congress of Soviets, held in November 1917 in Tashkent. The Congress informed that Soviet power had been established in the Turkestan Region, and the power in the region had passed into the hands of the Turkestan Council of People's Commissars. Unfortunately, at the congress, the Bolsheviks did not open their mouths about the right of the local population to self-government and the right to create autonomy.

4. Conclusion

It is obvious that at the end of the twentieth century, when creating an independent state, the leaders and deputies of the parliament used the views and works of figures fighting for the revival of the Kazakh statehood, turned to them in a dispute.

It is necessary to remember that the national-political elite, which has chosen the path of civilized development, comprehensively focusing on the desire for independence, educates and instills in young people the qualities of national revival, patriotism, hard work, hard work for their people. Therefore, if the activities of the political elite, which led the ideological struggle for statehood, were studied not only in the form of test questions, questions and answers, but also using non-traditional forms of training, seminars, discussions, contests of views or round-table discussions, then its main value would be remembered. At the same time, in connection with the ideological struggle of the Kazakh people for national statehood, it is necessary to collect collections of archival documents about the social and social activities of the political elite and to make serial documentaries.

At the end of the twentieth century, it became clear that Kazakhstan had become an independent state. In the course of the study, we were convinced that today, in solving such urgent problems as the land, the state language, the national state ideology, the national mentality, the formation of national consciousness, national democracy, the works and views of the Kazakh intellectuals, who fought for the independence of the Kazakh statehood of the last century, are of great importance. These studies lead to the fact that the creation and future of the state of the Republic of Kazakhstan are guided by the works of Alash figures.

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