

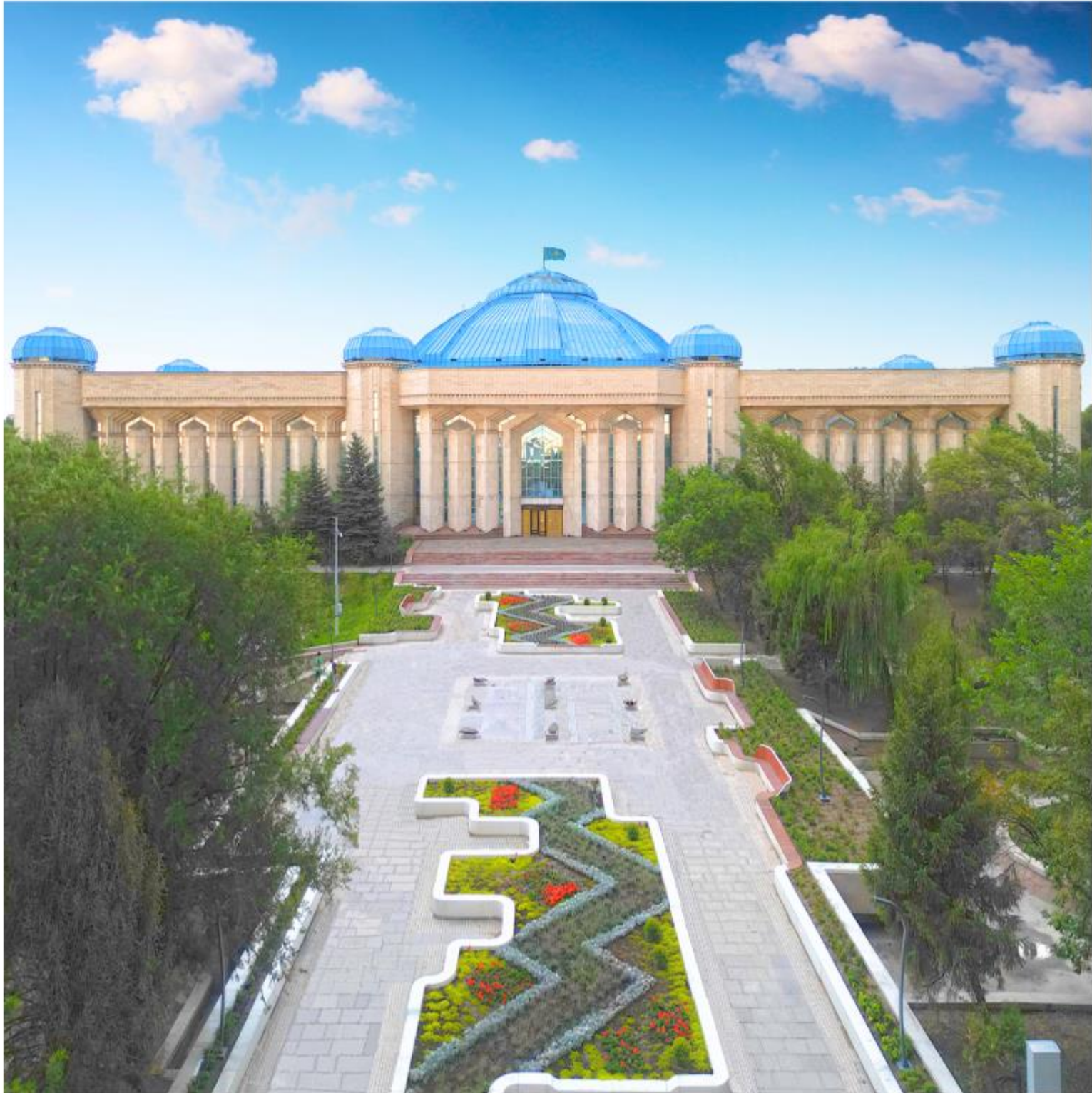
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## POLITICAL TRAJECTORY OF FORMATION OF ALIKHAN BUKEIKHANOV

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**Abstract.** The most fundamental thing in the political heritage of A. Bukeikhanov is the idea of national-state self-determination; it was put forward by him and his associates, who devoted all their efforts to its implementation, proclaiming the state «Alash-Orda» in December 1917. The life, socio-political, as well as scientific activities of Alikhan Bukeikhanov – all this served the greatness of Kazakhstan. He embodied the moral and political choice of the people, which, largely thanks to him, was embodied in the normal, without political battles and bloody showdowns, path of development of the state of Kazakhstan. It is necessary to emphasize the extremely positive contribution of the Kazakh leader, which he made to the formation of independent statehood at the first most difficult stage of our new history.

The article, based on broad scientific and historical material, reveals both the biography and socio-political activities of a prominent public and government figure, scientist, talented publicist, as well as the leader and organizer of the national democratic party «Alash», head of the first Kazakh national government «Alashorda» - A. Bukeikhanov. The activities of the Alash party, as is known, formed the fundamental basis for the state development of the Kazakh steppe, anticipating the future of independent Kazakhstan.

**Materials and research methods.** The first publications on the history of the national liberation movement of the Kazakh people, in particular the Alash movement, including a documentary collection. A set of documents collected by A.P. Bochagov in 1927 on the political order of the Kazakh Regional Committee of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks, N. Martynenko, the collection «Alash-Orda» (1929) the history of Alash and Alash-Orda in the works of E. Fedorov, P. Galuzo. The publication in 1935 of the work of S. Brainin and Sh. Shafiro «Essays on the History of the Alash-Orda», which testified to the complete approval of the class method of covering the history of the national liberation movement in the region. Scientific works by K. Nurpeisov, M. Kul-Muhammed, M. Koigeldiev, T. Omarbekov, V. Grigoriev, T. Kakishev, S. Akkulyuly, A. Sarmurzin, which covered various aspects of the history of Alash.

Monographs by D.A. Amanzholova «Kazakh autonomism and Russia: History of the Alash movement» (M., 1994), K.N. Nurpeisov «Alash hәм Alashorda» (Almaty, 1995), M. Koigeldiev «Alash kozgalysy» (Almaty, 1995), a collection of documents and materials «Alash Movement» (A., 2004, 2005), which marked new approaches to history of the national liberation movement, determining the role and place of the Kazakh intelligentsia at turning points in the development of society.

**Key words:** Kazakh intelligentsia, Kazakh leaders, nomadic economy, A.F. Shcherbina's expedition, Duma, «Vyborg Appeal», newspaper «Kazakh», pan-Turkists and Westerners, Masonic lodge «Polar Star», mobilization of «foreigners», party «Alash», Ufa directory.

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## ӘЛИХАН БӨКЕЙХАНОВТЫҢ САЯСИ ТРАЕКТОРИЯСЫНЫҢ ҚАЛЫПТАСУЫ

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**Аңдатпа.** Ә. Бөкейхановтың саяси мұрасындағы ең іргелісі – ұлттық-мемлекеттік өзін-өзі билеу идеясы, оны жүзеге асыруға бар күш-жігерін жұмсаған ол және оның

жолдастары 1917 жылы желтоқсанда «Алаш-Орда» мемлекетін жариялады. Әлихан Бөкейхановтың өмірі, қоғамдық-саяси, сондай-ақ ғылыми шығармашылығы – осының бәрі Қазақстанның ұлылығына қызмет етті. Ол халықтың моральдық және саяси таңдауын бейнеледі, оның арқасында Қазақстан мемлекетінің даму жолы негізінде саяси шайқастарсыз және қантөгіссіз кездесулерге әкелді. Қазақ көшбасшысының жаңа тарихымыздың алғашқы ең күрделі кезеңінде тәуелсіз мемлекеттіліктің қалыптасуына қосқан ерен үлесін ерекше атап өткен жөн.

Кең ғылыми-тарихи материалға негізделген мақалада Ә. Бөкейханов - өмірбаяны да, қоғамдық-саяси қызметінің де мазмұны ашылады, көрнекті қоғам және мемлекет қайраткері, ғалым, дарынды публицист, сондай-ақ «Алаш» ұлттық-демократиялық партиясының жетекшісі әрі ұйымдастырушысы ретінде, тұңғыш қазақ ұлттық үкіметі «Алашорданың» алғашқы басшысы. Алаш партиясының қызметі, белгілі болғандай, қазақ даласының мемлекеттік дамуының іргелі негізін құрады, тәуелсіз Қазақстанның болашағын болжаған.

**Зерттеу материалдары мен әдістері.** Қазақ халқының ұлт-азаттық қозғалысының, атап айтқанда Алаш қозғалысының тарихына арналған алғашқы басылымдар, оның ішінде деректі жинақ. 1927 жылы А.П. Бочаговтың Бүкілодақтық коммунистік партиясы Қазақ өлкелік комитетінің саяси тапсырысы бойынша жиналған құжаттар кешені, Н.Мартыненко, «Алаш-Орда» жинағы (1929) Е. Федоров, П. Галузо шығармаларындағы Алаш және Алаш-Орда тарихы. 1935 жылы С. Брайнин мен Ш.Шафионың «Алаш Орда тарихының очерктері» атты еңбегінің жарық көруі өлкедегі ұлт-азаттық қозғалыс тарихында таптық әдістің болғандығы толық қамтылған. К. Нұрпейісов, М. Құл-Мұхаммед, М. Қойгелдиев, Т. Омарбеков, В. Григорьев, Т. Какишев, С. Аккулыұлы, А. Сармурзиннің ғылыми еңбектері Алаш тарихының әр қырын қамтиды.

Д.А. Аманжолованың «Қазақ автономиясы және Ресей: Алаш қозғалысының тарихы» (М., 1994), К.Н. Нұрпейісовтің «Алаш һәм Алашорда» (Алматы, 1995), М. Қойгелдиевтің «Алаш көзғалысы» (Алматы, 1995) атты монографияларында және «Алаш қозғалысы» (А., 2004, 2005) құжаттар мен материалдар жинағы, қоғам дамуының бетбұрыс кезеңдеріндегі қазақ зиялыларының рөлі мен орнын айқындайтын ұлт-азаттық қозғалыс тарихына жаңа көзқарастарды қалыптастырды.

**Тірек сөздер:** қазақ зиялылары, қазақ көсемдері, көшпелі шаруашылық, А.Ф. Щербина экспедициясы, Дума, «Выборг шақыруы», «Қазақ» газеті, пантүркістер мен батысшылар, «Полярная звезда» масон ложасы, «бөтендерді жұмылдыру», «Алаш» партиясы, Уфа каталогы.

**Сілтеме жасау үшін:** Б.Т. Куппаева. Әлихан Бөкейхановтың саяси траекториясының қалыптасуы // MUSEUM.KZ. 2024. №2 (6). 34-43 бб. DOI 10.59103/muzkz.2024.06.05

## ПОЛИТИЧЕСКАЯ ТРАЕКТОРИЯ СТАНОВЛЕНИЯ АЛИХАНА БУКЕЙХАНОВА

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**Аннотация.** Самое принципиальное в политическом наследии А. Букейханова – идея национально-государственного самоопределения, она была выношена им и его соратниками, которые отдали все силы на ее претворение, провозгласив в декабре 1917 года государство «Алаш-Орда». Жизнь, общественно-политическая, а также научная деятельность Алихана Букейханова – все это служило величию Казахстана. Он воплотил тот нравственный и политический выбор народа, который во многом благодаря ему воплотился в нормальном, без политических битв и кровавых разборок, пути развития

государства Казахстан. Необходимо подчеркнуть исключительно позитивный вклад казахского лидера, который он внес в становление независимой государственности на первом самом сложном этапе нашей новой истории.

В статье на широком научном и историческом материале раскрыта, как биография, так и общественно-политическая деятельность видного общественного и государственного деятеля, ученого, талантливого публициста, а также лидера и организатора национально-демократической партии «Алаш», главы первого казахского национального правительства «Алашорда» – А. Букейханова. Деятельность партии «Алаш», как известно, сформировала фундаментальную основу государственного обустройства казахской степи, предвосхитив будущее независимого Казахстана.

**Материалы и методы исследования.** Первые издания по истории национально-освободительного движения казахского народа, в частности, движения Алаш, в том числе документальный сборник. Комплекс документов, собранных А.П. Бочаговым в 1927 году по политическому заказу Казкрайкома ВКП(б), Н. Мартыненко, сборник «Алаш-Орда» (1929) история Алаша и Алаш-Орды в работах Е. Федорова, П. Галузо. Публикация в 1935 г. работы С. Брайнина и Ш. Шафира «Очерки по истории Алаш-Орды», которая свидетельствовала о полном утверждении классового метода освещения истории национально-освободительного движения в крае. Научные работы К. Нурпеисова, М. Кул-Мухаммеда, М. Койгелдиева, Т. Омарбекова, В. Григорьева, Т. Какишева, С. Акку-лыулы, А. Сармурзина, в которых освещались различные аспекты истории Алаша.

Монографии Д.А. Аманжоловой «Казахский автономизм и Россия: История движения Алаш» (М., 1994), К.Н. Нурпеисова «Алаш һәм Алашорда» (Алматы, 1995), М. Койгелдиева «Алаш қозғалысы» (Алматы, 1995), сборник документов и материалов «Движение Алаш» (А., 2004, 2005), которые знаменовали собой новые подходы к истории национально-освободительного движения, определение роли и места казахской интеллигенции на переломных этапах развития общества.

**Ключевые слова:** казахская интеллигенция, казахские лидеры, кочевая экономика, экспедиция А.Ф. Щербины, Дума, «Выборгский призыв», газета «Казах», пантюркисты и западники, масонская ложа «Полярная звезда», мобилизация «иностранцев», партия «Алаш», каталог Уфы.

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**Introduction.** If you look closely at the history of the twentieth century, you can see that the Kazakh intelligentsia gave birth to many outstanding figures and political leaders already in the first third of the century. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the development of the Kazakh national idea was undertaken by the intellectual elite, who put forward the idea of national consolidation. Its representatives came from various strata of society, primarily from the traditional steppe aristocracy. The first political leaders, leaders of the national liberation movement were Alikhan Bukeikhanov (scientist-economist, member of the Central Committee of the Constitutional Democratic Party of Russia, deputy of the 1st and 2nd State Dumas, founder of the first national political party «Alash», head of the national state «Alash-Orda»), Akhmet Baitursynov (poet, translator, linguist, editor of the newspaper «Kazakh»), Myrzhakyp Dulatov, Zhakyp Akpayev, Mustafa Chokay, Mukhamedzhan Tynyshpayev, Khalel and Jansha Dosmukhamedov and others – most of them are graduates of higher educational institutions of St. Petersburg, Moscow, Warsaw, Omsk, Orenburg.

They considered one of the main tasks of their activity not only to preserve the national identity of the Kazakh people, but also to recreate the historical past and cultivate national feelings. Kazakh leaders sought to express national interests and overcome the division of Kazakh society along tribal lines, which, in their opinion, was necessary for the establishment of national unity. Alikhan Bukeikhanov can rightfully be called the first in a series of political leaders of Kazakhstan at the beginning of the twentieth century.

**Discussion.** Alikhan Bukeikhanov was born in 1870 in the Karkaraly district of the Tokraun volost. The family of Alikhan Bukeikhanov belonged to the Kazakh aristocracy «aksuek» and had its roots in the descendants of Genghis Khan up to the 23rd generation. Until the age of eight, Alikhan grew up and was brought up in his father's village, which was located 135 versts from Karkaralinsk. When he was 8 years old, he was enrolled in the Russian-Kazakh school, which was opened in 1845 by the father of Abay Kunanbaev. Then Alikhan entered the Karkaraly Agricultural School, which opened in 1872. His successes at school were so significant that General Kolpakovsky himself applied for the candidacy of Alikhan Bukeikhanov to the Omsk Technical School. In this educational institution the foundation was laid for his future development as a scientist and publicist.

After graduating from college, Bukeikhanov decided to continue his education at the St. Petersburg Imperial Forestry Institute. Director of OTU N.E. Dobrokhotov appeals to the Karkaraly district chief with a request to grant Sultan Alikhan Nurmukhamedov a scholarship in the amount of 200 rubles in view of his very excellent successes and impeccable behavior. While a student at the Forestry Institute, Alikhan Bukeikhanov took an active part in rallies and political meetings, during which his political worldview was formed. Alikhan Bukeikhanov was concerned about the plight of the Kazakh people, who had been subordinate to the Russian Empire for the last two centuries, who had not yet freed themselves from the old tribal, feudal relations, and who were suffering the hardships of civil strife. He was well aware that for the liberation of the people it was necessary, first of all, enlightenment, education, and the rise of general culture.

After graduating from the St. Petersburg Forestry Engineering Institute in 1894, Bukeikhanov not only received political training, but also became a serious research scientist. From 1898 to 1899 Bukeikhanov, together with M. Chumbalov, I. Gusev, D. Satybaldin, conducted an applied study of his native Karkaraly district, the main goal of which was to identify the existing economic potential of the district and analyze its socio-economic condition.

In 1903, the 18th volume of the collection was published in St. Petersburg under the general title «Russia. A complete geographical description of our region». In this volume, dedicated to Kazakhstan, one of the authors was Bukeikhanov, who wrote the section «Distribution of the population of the Kyrgyz (i.e., Kazakh) region by territory, its ethnographic composition, life and culture». In this section, he gave a general description of the culture of the Kazakh people, drawing on materials from «folk literature», focusing in particular on the analysis of the poem «Kozy-Korpesh and Bayan». It is noteworthy that he specifically singles out Abai, highly appreciating him as a «representative of a new trend» in Kazakh poetry. Bukeikhanov later tried to introduce Abai to the Russian reader, and this is not accidental, since the generation of Kazakh intellectuals of the early 20th century, who advocated state self-determination of the Kazakh people, strongly emphasized their ideological kinship with Abai, sought to widely master the cultural heritage of the past as a stimulus for awakening and development of national self-awareness.

Alikhan Bukeikhanov, in his works at the beginning of the 20th century, gave a scientific forecast that irresponsible plowing of untouched virgin lands for centuries and predatory use would ultimately lead to their infertility and dust storms. The scientist's warnings that the Kazakhs, deprived of pastures for livestock, could become refugees forced to leave their native lands were justified in the same way. Bukeikhanov was convinced that nomadic farming, which knows how to make maximum use of environmental conditions for raising livestock, is by no means a backward form of farming, but, on the contrary, a completely rational farming. One of Bukeikhanov's fundamental scientific works is «Sheep Breeding in the Steppe Region» (1904). This unique study is devoted to the main branch of the nomadic economy of the Kazakhs - sheep breeding. The work represents a large-scale, fundamental study and is a true encyclopedia of Kazakh sheep breeding [Nurgaliev, 1995].

In 1904, Alikhan Bukeikhanov took part in the «Expedition to study the steppe regions in the statistics of economic relations», which was led by A.F. Shcherbina, who prepared materials for the widespread resettlement of Russian peasants to the lands of the Kazakhs. The expedition

worked in Pavlodar, Karkaraly, Ust-Kamenogorsk, Semipalatinsk districts of the Semipalatinsk and Omsk districts of the Akmola regions of the Steppe Territory. He comprehensively examines its economic and economic structure, conducts a census of the population and its economy, and studies the culture, life and traditions of the people. Bukeikhanov also systematized the collected materials and compiled characteristics of the Kazakh economy, developed norms for Kazakh land ownership and land use. The research he carried out as part of the expedition testifies to a deep knowledge of the economic relations of his native land, is distinguished by objectivity and critical analysis of the very complex processes of the Kazakh nomadic and semi-nomadic economy [Akuly- uly S., 1993].

1905 became an important stage in the political trajectory of Alikhan Bukeikhanov's emergence as one of the major political figures. Russian Revolution 1905-1917 had an impact on the growth of the national movement in the Kazakh steppe. On July 25, 1905, at the Koyanda fair near the city of Karkaraly, a Kazakh congress was held, convened on the initiative of the Alash leaders. At the congress, a petition was adopted to the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of Russia, which set out the following demands: granting freedom of conscience, organizing education of the population in their native language, abandoning the resettlement policy, adopting a special legislative act on the ownership of the land fund by the indigenous population, securing the right to conduct civil and judicial record keeping in the Kazakh language, reducing the number of officials of the colonial apparatus, abandoning the practice of appointing governors general from the center, providing a quota in the supreme bodies of power for deputies from the colonial outskirts. 14,500 people signed the petition. The petition, compiled by the joint efforts of Bukeikhanov, Dulatov, Akpaev, Baitursynov, marked the beginning of the formation of the organization of the constitutional democratic party. At the end of 1905, on the initiative of the authors of the «Karkaraly Petition» a congress of authorized representatives of five regions of the Kazakh region was convened and held in Uralsk.

The first official recognition of his role as the leader of the national liberation movement was that in 1905 the Kazakh people elected him as their representative at the Congress of Zemstvo and City Leaders of Russia, which was held in November 1905 in Moscow. The congress brought together representatives of all nations and peoples living within the borders of the Russian Empire. Such important issues as the equality of all nations and peoples, equal voting rights, and freedom to use their native language were discussed. Alikhan Bukeikhanov also made a report at the congress, where he stated that «I am a representative of the 4 million Kyrgyz people, occupying a vast territory from the Urals to Altai, from the Siberian Railway line to Omsk...». At the end of his report, he said the following: «The immediate need of the Kyrgyz people is freedom to use their native language, especially necessary in view of the upcoming election campaign, and I join the proposal of those comrades who asked the congress to speak out for the immediate abolition of all restrictions on the rights of local languages».

The next year, in 1906, Bukeikhanov represented his people in the most representative assembly of Russia - the first State Duma, as a deputy elected from the Kazakh population of the Semipalatinsk region. This election was proof of the authority and respect that Bukeikhanov had in the Steppe region. The deputyship marked the beginning of a new stage in the political activity of Alikhan Bukeikhanov. For the first time, he had the opportunity to express his political views at the national level. In the first State Duma, a Muslim faction of the People's Freedom Party was formed, one of the leaders of which was Alikhan Bukeikhanov. His speeches in the State Duma were related to changes in resettlement policy, the land issue, the creation of social infrastructure in the steppe, and increasing the educational and cultural level of the Kazakh population. In the program of the constitutional democratic party formed in Uralsk, there was a point introduced by Alikhan Bukeikhanov, who called on the State Duma to pass laws according to which all Kazakh lands were declared the property of the indigenous population. Bukeikhanov also had a negative attitude towards the policy of settlement that the tsarist government pursued in the steppe among the Kazakh population. Alikhan Bukeikhanov pointed out the discriminatory nature of this policy,

when Kazakhs could settle together with Russians only if the latter were numerically superior. An active protest from Bukeikhanov was caused by the law adopted by the Duma, according to which Russian settlers and Kazakh nomads received identical plots of 15 dessiatines. Bukeikhanov convincingly argued in his articles «Kazakhs on the lands of the Cabinet» (newspaper «Kazakh», 1913, No. 10), «Reply letter» (newspaper «Kazakh», 1913, No. 28, 29, 36) that in arid, In the waterless clay lands it is impossible to grow anything or graze livestock; as a result, like the Bashkirs, you will have to either sell this plot of land or rent it out, and, in the end, be left with nothing [Nurgaliev, 1995].

In 1907, the State Duma was dissolved. Twenty of its deputies illegally gathered in the Finnish city of Vyborg to protest the tsar's decree dissolving the Duma. Here the famous «Vyborg Appeal» appeared, signed by 180 deputies out of 200. Alikhan Bukeikhanov also signed the «appeal», for which he was prosecuted and received three months in prison. A. Bukeikhanov spoke out against the political arbitrariness of the autocracy and called on the population to passive resistance in the form of non-payment of taxes, refusal of military service, etc. He was deprived of the right to participate in new elections as a candidate. Subsequently, according to the law of June 3, 1909, the entire Kazakh people lost the right to elect their representatives to the State Duma. Bukeikhanov sharply condemned this law in the articles «The Third Duma and the Kazakhs», «The Duma and the Kazakhs», where he accused the tsarist government of doing everything behind the back of the Kazakh people and to the detriment of their interests.

Having become «unelectable», Alikhan Bukeikhanov devoted himself to journalism and science. Bukeikhanov is a publicist who wrote equally brilliantly in Kazakh and Russian. The publicist's talent was clearly demonstrated in a series of articles entitled «Sailau» («Elections») (newspaper «Kazakh», 1913, No. 12, 14, 15, 17), in which the psychology of the nomadic people was deeply analyzed and characteristics of various social groups were given. The differences are shown between elections in Europe and Russia, which are based on compliance with the law, the struggle between different parties, and elections among the Kazakhs, where everything is built on bribery and speculation. The true goal of elections can only be achieved through a fair and just election campaign. According to the «New Encyclopedic Dictionary» of F. Brockhaus and I. Efron, A. Bukeikhanov during this period edited such newspapers as «Irtys», «Omich», which were later closed by the local governor-general for «freethinking». Understanding the enormous role of the press in raising the consciousness and culture of the people, Alikhan Bukeikhanov makes incredible efforts to organize the publication of newspapers in the Kazakh language. As a result of his efforts, the first issue of the Kazakh newspaper was published in February 1913. Under the editorship of Akhmet Baitursynov, the newspaper managed to unite the advanced Kazakh intelligentsia, writers and poets. The main goal of the newspaper was the cultural rise of the Kazakh people, the development of their national language and literature. The newspaper «Kazakh» was the undivided ruler of the thoughts of the Kazakh people for five years. It made a significant contribution to the awakening of the national self-awareness of the Kazakh people, raised pressing issues of the time, promoted the ideas of enlightenment, and became the printed organ of the movement and the future Alash party. The newspaper survived the February and October revolutions and was closed by the Bolsheviks in March 1918 [Kazakhstan at the beginning of the twentieth century, 1994]. Under the pseudonym «Kyr Balasy» («Son of the Steppes», «Stepnyak») he published articles «Duma Parties», «Duma and Kazakhs», «August Bebel» in the newspaper «Kazakh».

At this time, Bukeikhanov thought a lot about the role of the Kazakh intelligentsia. In the article «Kirghiz», published in the collection «Forms of the National Movement in Modern States», he divided the intelligentsia into two groups: pan-Turkists and Westerners. Bukeikhanov wrote that in the near future, two political parties will probably be organized in the steppe, corresponding to two political directions. One of them can be called national-religious, and its ideal is the religious unity of Kazakhs with other Muslims. Another, Westernizing direction, sees the future of the Kyrgyz steppe in the conscious implementation of Western culture. The first will

probably take the Muslim Tatar parties as a model, and the second will take the opposition Russians, in particular the People's Freedom Party. The second direction included representatives of the advanced Kazakh intelligentsia, Bukeikhanov, Baitursynov, Dulatov and others, who advocated the formation of a national language, literature, culture, the protection of lands from colonization, and the protection of Islam, which was a significant obstacle to Russia's colossal policy.

The active political activity of Alikhan Bukeikhanov became noticeable not only among the Kazakh intelligentsia, but also in political circles in Russia. In 1915, he was accepted into the provincial committee of the Constitutional Democratic Party, and in October of the same year, Bukeikhanov was elected to the Central Body of the party as one of the prominent leaders of the Samara group of cadets. In 1911 and 1915 Three significant meetings take place between the future head of the Provisional Government, Kerensky and Bukeikhanov. According to S. Akkulyuly, these meetings were determined by the fact that Kerensky and Bukeikhanov belonged to the same Masonic lodge «Polar Star», which included many members of the cadet party. Masonic lodges of that time represented typical political clubs in which they gathered for political interests. This was a form of political communication, and sometimes powerful political influence on state power. According to A.Kh. Kasymzhanov, Alikhan Bukeikhanov wanted to use Freemasonry for his own political purposes, which included Kazakhstan gaining autonomy within Russia, including its own parliament, self-government, the presence of its own legislation and other attributes of independent statehood [Kasymzhanov, 1995]. But Bukeikhanov's hopes were not destined to come true. He did not find support from the cadets and masons on issues of Kazakh self-government.

Bukeikhanov did not find understanding in Kazakhstan in 1916, when he approved the royal decree on the mobilization of Kazakhs for rear work. The leaders of «Alash» in a number of issues of the newspaper «Kazakh» actively discussed the problem of conscripting Kazakhs for military service, and the majority was inclined to believe that it was possible to form cavalry units from the Kazakhs, similar to the Cossack troops. In April 1916, in Karkaralinsk, during the fair, an emergency congress was to be held to discuss issues related to the conscription of the Kazakh population into the army. However, the congress did not take place due to the decree signed by Nicholas II of June 25, 1916 «On attracting the male foreign population of the empire for work on the construction of defensive structures and military communications in the area of the active army, as well as for any other work necessary for state defense».

Having announced the mobilization of «foreigners» for rear work, the government decided to take advantage of cheap labor, simultaneously freeing Russian workers and peasants who could join the active army. On the other hand, the authorities were afraid to give weapons and military knowledge to the Kazakhs, Uzbeks, Turkmens, Kyrgyz and other peoples, who in the future could turn them against Russia. During this dramatic period for the Kazakhs, Alikhan Bukeikhanov decided to protect the people from new cataclysms and preserve them. That is why he called on the Kazakhs to carry out the king's decree. Firstly, he sought to prevent an armed uprising of practically unarmed Kazakhs against the regular Russian army. Secondly, in the event of a victorious outcome of the war for Russia, he hoped to ease the fate of the Kazakhs and create national autonomy. Carrying out the tactics of a reasonable compromise with the empire, highlighting the idea of the survival of the people, the leader of Alash proposed postponing the conscription for rear work and carrying it out after appropriate preparation. The government was forced to retreat tactically. Mobilization in Kazakhstan and Central Asia was postponed until mid-September. Moreover, Bukeikhanov went to the headquarters of the Western Front, where he created a «native department», the main purpose of which was to take care of all representatives of the eastern peoples called up for rear work.

The February Revolution of 1917 found him in Minsk, where he was at the district headquarters. Bukeikhanov enthusiastically greeted the news of the February Revolution. «For the peoples of Russia», the head of the foreign department of the Zemgorsoyuz Bukeikhanov telegraphed from Minsk, the sun of Brotherhood, Equality and Freedom has risen. To support the



new Government, Kazakhs need to unite. To strengthen the new order, it is necessary to strengthen fraternal ties with other peoples. We must prepare for the elections to the Constituent Assembly. Fight for unity and justice» [Kazakh, 1914]. For Bukeikhanov, the February Revolution was a hope to embody the ideas of political liberalism and gain more rights for the population of Kazakhstan, including the right to autonomy. He believed that the result of this revolution should be a democratic republic, where the main source of power should be the people. Therefore, Bukeikhanov actively supported the idea of convening a Constituent Assembly, which could become the first step to parliamentarism, as well as the creation of a Provisional Government.

On March 20, 1917, the Provisional Government abolished all restrictions on the rights of Russian citizens based on belonging to a particular religion, creed or nationality. On April 7, 1917, a government decree was published on the formation of the Turkestan Committee consisting of N.N. Shchepkina, A. Bukeikhanova, M. Tynyshpayeva, A.A. Davletshina and others (Turkestan Committee - a body appointed by the Provisional Government to manage the territory of the former Turkestan Governor-General). The leaders of Alash-Orda were at different times appointed by the Provisional Government to the posts of Turgai regional commissar (A. Bukeikhanov), Zhetysay regional commissar (M. Tynyshpayev). For the first time, the governing bodies of Kazakhstan included representatives of the Kazakh intellectual elite, whose political views were aligned with the Socialist-Revolutionary-Kadet bloc. Thus, the leading position of the Alash movement in the political life of the region was recognized.

According to Akula-ula, the appointment of Bukeikhanov as commissar of the Provisional Government was a decision of the Supreme Council of the Russian Masonic organization. But soon serious differences emerged between Bukeikhanov and the cadets. In July 1917, Bukeikhanov expressed his disagreement with the cadet program on land and religious issues, as well as on problems of state building. His departure from the party was associated with three points of disagreement with the Cadets. Bukeikhanov was against the point that private property was introduced to land. The leader of Alash considered it unacceptable for the Kazakhs. On the religious issue, he adhered to the position of the Bolsheviks, believing that religion should be separated from the state. But Bukeikhanov's most important disagreement with the cadets arose over Kazakh autonomy, which the Provisional Government did not intend to provide. In his article «Why did I leave the Cadet Party?» Bukeikhanov explained his action in detail.

Analyzing the current political situation, Bukeikhanov comes to the conclusion that the best way to defend the interests of the Kazakh population will be a party that unites true patriots of Kazakhstan. That is why, on the initiative of Alikhan Bukeikhanov, the first political party in the history of Kazakhstan, «Alash», was created, which saw its main goal as achieving Kazakh autonomy. In July 1917, at the All-Kazakh Congress in Orenburg, the Alash party was formed and its executive committee was elected. Representatives of 6 regions took part in its work - Akmola, Semipalatinsk, Turgai, Ural, Semirechensk, Fergana, Bukeevskaya hordes.

Later, a draft party program was developed, consisting of 10 sections. The main goal of the party was the creation of Kazakh autonomy within the Russian Federal Democratic Republic [N. Martynenko, 1992: 88]. Many of the provisions put forward by Bukeikhanov remain relevant today. It was not a nationalist party, but a patriotic organization that aimed at the gradual transformation of Kazakh society and its adaptation to modern conditions. The conditions of that time did not allow the creation of a sovereign independent Kazakhstan, as a result of which the program included a provision for a federal, democratic Russia, consisting of independently governed autonomies. «The government is headed by the Constituent Assembly, in between - the president, elected by the Constituent Assembly and the State Duma for a certain period. The President governs through the Council of Ministers, responsible both to the Constituent Assembly and the State Duma» [Brainin S., Shafiro Sh., 1935: 140]. The democratic principle is consolidated in the exercise of the right of choice by all citizens without distinction of origin, religion and gender. The authors of the program, among whom Bukeikhanov played a leading role, emphasized the need to establish the secular foundations of the state. «Religion must be separated from the

state, everyone must be free and equal. «Considering that Islam penetrated Kazakhstan from the outside, the party leaders considered it necessary to create their own spiritual administration in Kazakhstan – «The Kyrgyz should have a separate mufti». In Article 5, concerning legal proceedings, the question of language is interesting. Kazakh democrats considered it necessary to point out that «in areas with a mixed population, interrogation and court decisions should take place in the language of those who constitute the majority in the area. All peoples have equal rights before the court». The social orientation of the program is determined by the fact that «Taxes should be collected according to the degree of wealth and property status in general - the rich pay more, the poor less», «Labor legislation should be in favor of workers». Enshrining in the program free education and education in primary school in their native language, the Alash Horde raised the question that Kazakhs «should have their own secondary and higher educational institutions, including up to the university» [Brainin S., Shafiro Sh., 1935: 142].

Considering that in previous years there was a massive seizure of land from the Kazakh population, the program sets the task of a fair solution to the issue, first of all, the return of land to the indigenous population.

Bukeikhanov, as one of the authors of the project, guaranteed extraterritorial cultural autonomy, minority rights and proportional representation in the institutions of the Alash autonomy to representatives of other nations living among the Kazakhs.

The national program made it possible to consolidate all the peoples and nationalities living in the region at that time. The Kazakh people received a real opportunity to achieve the main goal - the restoration of national statehood.

The leaders of the Alash party greeted the October Revolution with ambiguity. Bukeikhanov openly wrote about his rejection of the policies of the Bolsheviks led by Lenin, who, in his opinion, seized power through an armed coup and then led millions of people into a bloody civil war. In Orenburg, from December 5 to 13, 1917, the second All-Kazakh Congress was held, at which the intention was announced to form the territorial-national autonomy «Alash» as part of the Bukey Horde, the Ural, Turgai, Akmola, Semipalatinsk, Semirechensk, Syr-Darya regions, Kazakh districts of Fergana, Samarkand, Amu-Darya, Trans-Caspian regions and Kazakh volosts of Altai province. The congress, without discussion, adopted the program of the Alash party and formed its Central Committee headed by A. Bukeikhanov. The main result of the II All-Kazakh Congress was the creation of a «temporary people's council» consisting of 25 people, 10 seats in which were reserved for representatives of non-indigenous nationalities. The Council was ordered to «immediately take into its own hands all executive power over the Kazakh population». In a special clause, the congress decided that «Everyone who lives among the Cossack-Kyrgyz is guaranteed the right of a minority. In all institutions of Alash autonomy, representatives of all nations must be represented proportionally».

The executive power of the Alash autonomy, represented by the Alash-Orda, which was tasked with convening the constituent assembly of the autonomy, was accountable to the legislative institution.

On the question of the time of declaring autonomy for Alash, the opinions of the participants were divided. The group led by Zh. and Kh. Dosmukhamedov advocated the immediate declaration of autonomy, while A. Bukeikhanov, M. Dulatov, A. Baitursynov were against it, arguing that the issue should remain open until «the attitude of the non-Kyrgyz population of the steppe regions ... to autonomy». In addition, in their opinion, the right to declare autonomy belonged to the Alash constituent assembly. Three of those who voted on this issue, including M. Chokaev, abstained from voting. Subsequently, such disagreement resulted in the emergence of the Western and Eastern «Alash-Orda», headed by Zh. Dosmukhamedov and A. Bukeikhanov, respectively.

In 1918, the Alash-Orda government established contacts with the Siberian Autonomy, which arose as a result of the overthrow of Soviet power in Siberia. He was prompted to take this step by the futility of all attempts by Alash-Orda to enter into negotiations with the government of

the RSFSR. It is known that during 1918, A. Bukeikhanov, the head of the Eastern branch of the Alash-Orda, and Kh. Zh. Dosmukhamedov, the leaders of the Western branch of the Government of the Alash Autonomy, sought a compromise solution to controversial issues through mutual recognition of the autonomy of Alash and the Soviet authorities. But apart from the promises of the Alash-Orda delegation led by the Dosmukhamedov brothers, who visited Moscow in March 1918, an amnesty for the leaders of the Alash party and the Alash-Orda government, the national democrats in the person of A. Bukeikhanov achieved nothing.

On November 4, 1918, the Ufa Directory («Provisional All-Russian Government»), created in September 1918, dissolved the Alash-Orda government, which was the reason that the leaders of the Alash party made the difficult decision to join the Bolsheviks. Only Alikhan Bukeikhanov refused to serve the Bolsheviks. For these unbending principles, Bukeikhanov was exiled to Moscow, where he worked as an expert on the East. In 1937, on the standard «enemy of the people» charge of that time, Alikhan Bukeikhanov was shot.

**Conclusion.** The most fundamental thing in the political heritage of A. Bukeikhanov is the idea of national-state self-determination; it was put forward by him and his associates, who devoted all their efforts to its implementation, proclaiming the state «Alash-Orda» in December 1917. «Everything I do», said de Gaulle, «serves the greatness of France». Projecting onto Kazakhstan, we can say: everything that Alikhan Bukeikhanov did served the greatness of Kazakhstan. He embodied the moral and political choice of the people, which, largely thanks to him, was embodied in the normal, without political battles and bloody showdowns, path of development of the state of Kazakhstan. It is necessary to emphasize the extremely positive contribution of the Kazakh leader, which he made to the formation of independent statehood at the first most difficult stage of our new history.

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