

**THE SOVIET HISTORIOGRAPHY AND
THE QUESTION OF KAZAKHSTAN'S HISTORY**

A Retrospective of the Life and Works of
The First Kazakh Historian Ermukhan Bekmakhanov

Editors:

**Prof. Dr. Abdulahap Kara
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İstanbul – 2016

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and Questions of Kazakhstan History” on the Occasion of the 100th
Birth Anniversary of the First Kazakh Historian Ermukhan Bekmakhanov

Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University (MSGSÜ)

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PREFACE

Prof. Dr. Ermukhan Bekmakhanov (1915-1966) who has an important place in the Kazakh historiography in the Soviet period was commemorated with various scientific events in Kazakhstan in 2015 on the occasion of his 100th Birth Anniversary. His ideas were discussed. Books and articles about his life and works were published; documentaries and drama films were made.

Bekmakhanov, the first Kazakh historian with history education at graduate and postgraduate levels, has come into prominence with not only his studies, but also with repressions which he was exposed to since expressing historical truths.

He was arrested in 1952 and sentenced to 25 years in exile in Siberia for his doctoral thesis titled "Kazakhstan in the Years of 1920's-1940's" about Kenesary Khan (1802-1847) which had carried out a great rebellion against Tsarist Russia and then publishing it as a book. The book was banned. After Stalin's death in 1953 he was forgiven in 1954 and returned to Kazakhstan. Beginning to work in his former job again, Bekmakhanov continued his jobs teaching and researching in the Department of History of Kazakhstan at Kazakh State University in Almaty until his death on 6 May 1966.

The life and ideas of Bekmakhanov who had made important contributions to the writing of Kazakh national history have been subject to many books and articles. However, it is a fact that there are not enough studies in Turkey about Bekmakhanov and is even unknown among Turkish historians. When we carried out research on internet search engines in late 2014, we found no information about him in Turkish.

For this reason we, as the Department of History of Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University, decided to organize an international symposium to promote this great historian in Turkey. Our decision was supported with great pleasure by Professor. Dr. Yalçın Karayağız, the rector of Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University. Our historian colleagues at L.N. Gumilev Eurasia University in Astana in Kazakhstan have expressed that if such a symposium is held, they will be able to participate. They even said they could come to Istanbul with their own means. On the other hand, upon our request, the Union of Turkish World Municipalities agreed to sponsor accomodation expenses of guests coming from abroad and the printing of the symposium book.

So the international symposium of "The Soviet Historiography and Questions of Kazakhstan History" on the Occasion of the 100th Birth Anniversary of the First Kazakh Historian Ermukhan Bekmakhanov was held in Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University Bomonti Campus on

15-16 April 2015. The symposium, in which scientists from the USA, Kazakhstan and Turkey presented 19 papers, was successful.

Many people who attended the symposium expressed that they had never heard about Bekmakhanov before and that they had an opportunity to know him with this symposium. This shows that the symposium reaches its purpose and fills the space on this subject even if it is on a small scale.

We thought it would be useful to publish the symposium papers in Turkish as well as in English. Thus, it would be possible to contribute to the promotion of Bekmakhanov outside of Turkey. For this reason, the papers of guests from Kazakhstan were translated from Kazakh into Turkish, then all the reports were translated from Turkish into English. As our budget was limited, translations were made by voluntary researchers. The majority of the translations from Kazakh to Turkish were made by Assist. Prof. Dr. Gülnar Kara (Bilecik Eren University) and a paper by Aynur Erjibayeva (Ph.D. student of Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University).

Some parts of the papers were translated from Turkish into English by translators of the Union of Turkish World Municipalities and the rest by Dr. Serdar Yılmaz (Arel University), Bekir Sadıktopalıoğlu (Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University History Department), Ahmet Sert (Mimar Sinan University Fine Arts University PhD student) and Denizcan Dede (Koç University). We are grateful to them. In addition, all the English translations were meticulously edited by Assoc. Prof. Dr. Steven Sabol from University of North Carolina. We are also grateful to him.

We are thankful for everyone who contributed and supported the symposium, especially Prof. Dr. Yalçın Karayağız, the rector of Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University, Prof. Dr. Fatma Urekli, the Head of the Department History of Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University, members of the Department of History, all participants of the symposium, Bekir Sadık Topaloğlu for working with me at the editorial jobs for prepearing papers for print, Assoc. Prof. Dr. Fahri Solak, the general secretary of the Union of Turkish World Municipalities, which is sponsor of the symposium and this book.

Best regards,

*Prof. Dr. Abdulvahap Kara
Istanbul, 1 November 2016*

OPENING SPEECH OF SYMPOSIUM

Mr. Vice-Rector Prof. Zeki Alpan, Kazakhstan's Consul General in Istanbul Mr. Serjan Sarsenbayev, the Union of Turkic World Municipalities Secretary General Fahri Solak, representatives of Turkish World Research Foundation, symposium participants with a paper from various universities both in Turkey and from abroad, television and media representatives, dear scholars of our university and our students who impatiently waiting for the start of the program, welcome to you all to the International Symposium that will be held today and tomorrow about "Soviet Historiography and Issues of the History of Kazakhstan" and the honor you give to us all. Thank you for coming.

The Symposium: it is planned as five sessions, papers will be presented and discussed in the first four sessions and in the last session of the symposium a general evaluation will be made. During the symposium, fourteen papers will be presented by experts in the field. Sessions this afternoon will continue on the fourth floor of this building, located in the Department of History.

I want to thank to the rectorate, the office of Dean, the Union of Turkish World Municipalities, members of department of history, which supported the symposium and from the beginning quickly prepared everything; the symposium's secretariat that conducted the correspondence, and especially Prof. Dr. Abdolvahap Kara who pioneered the idea and the participating scientists from various cities of Turkey, Cyprus, and Kazakhstan.

Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the Republic of Turkey's founder, attached great importance to the development of historical research in order to make the Turkish people stronger and to achieve economic and politic independence.

Atatürk emphasised one point of many important issues that history should be written correctly and based on the documents. According to his conception of history, history can't be a product of some dream but that reflects the realities if it is based on documents.

Atatürk drew attention to the importance of historiography, saying that "Writing history is as important as making history. If the writer does not remain loyal to the maker, then the unchangeable reality transforms into a confusing matter for humanity."

Indeed, historians should correctly understand historical data and objectively assess and examine the history of mankind and any nation. Only in this way is it possible to understand properly the present and to prepare confidently for the future.

How bricks form a building, so articles, reports, books, scientific

articles of encyclopedia, all of these, constitute the history of a nation. In the same way, your valuable reports will be published by the Union of Turkic World Municipalities (in Turkish and English), so it will make a significant contribution to the study of history of Kazakhstan and Turkey.

I believe that the nation supporting history and historians will continue to play an active role in world history at all times. I wish you, on this occasion, the fruitful and successful work of the symposium.

Prof. Dr. Fatma Ürekli
Head of Department of History

ERMUKHAN BEKMAKHANOV AND IDEOLOGICAL REPRESSIONS AND LIMITATIONS IN THE RESEARCH OF KAZAKH HISTORY IN THE SOVIET PERIOD

Prof. Dr. Abdulvahap Kara*

Historians in the Soviet Union had to work within the confines of Marxism-Leninism ideology. As scholars paid attention to the confines and served the Soviet ideology to receive awards and honors, others that behaved on the contrary were blocked from being promoted and even sentenced to various penalties that had severe consequences such as death and deportation to labor camps in Siberia. However, sometimes, sudden changes in the ideological fields to which historians were subjected occurred, especially during the Stalin era. This caused historians to remain in difficult situations and to be sentenced to heavy punishment. One of the most concrete examples of these historical episodes was Ermukhan Bekmakhanov, a Kazakh historian.

During World War II Bekmakhanov started to conduct and write research about Kenesary Kasymuly, who led a powerful rebel movement against the Tsarist Russia hegemony, which pitted him against the Soviet government, the last Kazakh Khan. It was the demands of the regime at that time. Stalin wanted that all pre-1917 October Revolution national heroes be praised in order to give courage and spirit to the troops. But, Bekmakhanov's completed doctoral thesis coincided with the aftermath of the war. In this period, Stalin instead determined to restrict national heroes that he promoted before the war and to put forward and praise the Russian people and their role in the victory. Therefore, Bekmakhanov's research conflicted with the Soviet government's ideology in 1947 when he finished the doctoral thesis, which he began writing in 1941 and coincided well with the objectives indicated by the Soviet elites. For this reason, it can be said that his writing did not run contrary to the ideology, but it was unable to match the rate of change within Soviet ideology and his historical perspective and methodology. His resistance to the pressure to change what he wrote that fit with the pre-war ideology culminated in a 25-year exile to Siberia. He was eventually pardoned and returned home in 1953 after Stalin died and Khrushchev, with his anti-Stalinist policy, took power.

Historiography has not always been consistent in terms of ideological methods and goals in the Soviet Union. It changed from time to time as shown in the case of Bekmakhanov. This essay will try to

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explain the pressures and restrictions on historians, as well as the ideological changes, with regard to Bekmakhanov's life.

The Bolsheviks, who quickly formed the science of history and its interpretations as soon as they took to power, behaved tolerantly towards historians of the Tsarist period in the early years, especially those who had not adopted Soviet ideology, which the Bolsheviks themselves called "bourgeois intellectuals".

The Soviet regime did not punish the historians and allowed them to work in all areas of the history as well. They prepared the curriculum and textbooks. They could use their experience in archives and museums because the new regime did not train historians in line with their views yet. Those historians were not punished in any way until the Bolsheviks raised a new group of intellectuals and historians from the workers and peasants in the 1930s.¹

At the beginning of 1919, the Soviet government founded the Faculty of Social Sciences in order to train their Marxist historians. They intended to activate their own ideological controls in the faculty by incorporating and combining the history and philology departments of the former Tsarist regime. In the tsarist history education system, it emphasized ancient and medieval histories among its and academic research. However, in the Soviet system under the Bolshevik authorities, research focused on class struggle, revolutionary movements, socio-economic development of society, and on some of the problems that emerged after the October Revolution. Theory and methodology of Marxism-Leninism were taken into consideration for education and research.

In addition, the Institute of Red Professors was established in 1921 in order to rapidly meet the demand for scholars to carry out scientific studies in accordance with Marxist-Leninist ideology and that would serve in the newly established scientific institutions in every region of the Soviet Union. The education at the institute was based on the principles of supplying as much information as possible in a short time, and lessons on philosophy, political economy, the history of the country, and general history were provided. The works of K. Marx and F. Engels constituted textbooks and Marx's *Capital* was the main course book of the political economy lessons. The institute had its first graduates after three years. Among them were some historians who would become important figures later in the historical discipline and historiography of the Soviet Union such as A. L. Sidorov, A. M. Pankratova, and N. N. Vanag. A. M. Pankratova eventually became the

1 Ağayev, E. *Sovyet İdeoloji Çerçevesinde Türk Cumhuriyetlerinin Tarih Yazımı ve Tarih Eğitimi: Azerbaycan Örneği*, Hacettepe Üniversitesi Atatürk İlkeleri ve İnkılap Tarihi Enstitüsü (Unpublished doctoral dissertation), Ankara 2006, pp. 84-85.

doctoral dissertation advisor of Bekmakhanov in the 1940s and gave him considerable assistance. The Institute of Red Professors closed in 1929 and four institutes were established to replace it, such as the Institute of Party History, the Institute of History, the Institute of Philosophy, and the Institute of Economics.²

Thus, an old generation of historians coming from the Tsarist era and a new generation of historians trained with the materialist conception of history in the Soviet era had emerged. Old and new generations of historians worked together for some time. The Soviet government took the first steps towards the liquidation of the older generation of historians by late 1928, after it was convinced that the staff of historians with its own ideological goals was prepared. The older generation of historians were criticized at the first General Conference of Marxist historians of the Soviet Union from 28 December 1928 to 4 January 1929. One of the discussion topics at the conference was titled "The Struggle with Bourgeois and Petty Bourgeois Historians" and marked the beginning of the ideological struggle in the Soviet historical sciences. At the conference, speeches by M. N. Pokrovskie about "Leninism and History of Russia" and V. Rakhmetova about "The Birth of the Mensheviks Concept of Russian Historical Process" advocated a new approach to history and criticized the former approaches. Stalin pointed out in his speech at the General Assembly of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the USSR in April 1929 that the bourgeois intelligentsia was the greatest danger to the newly emerging socialism. Thus, Moscow began a struggle to neutralize the older generation of historians. As a result, many were imprisoned, exiled to Siberia or executed in the years of 1929-1930.

Moreover, Stalin's article, "Some Issues Concerning the History of Bolshevism" published in 1931 in the journal of "Proletarskaya Revolyutsia", echoed largely throughout the country. Stalin's article was a critique of the article by A. G. Sluts, which was published in the same journal in 1930 and that examined the history of Bolshevism. Stalin attempted to promote a new "method" in the historical sciences, while harshly criticizing Sluts' article. According to Stalin, "unfortunate bureaucrats" and "archive rats" dealt only with documents. Hereafter, assessments would be made to works, not to documents. The campaign carried out across the country that corresponded to Stalin's article was intended to cleanse the ranks of historians.³

2 Ağayev, pp. 132-137.

3 Makhat, D. "Lenindik-Stalindik Ult Sayasatı jane Qazaq Zıyalıların Quvgındav Tariyhınan", *Tavelsiz Qazaqstan Tariyhın Zerttevdin Özehti Maseleleri Gılımıy-Tanımdıq Maqalalar Jıynağı*, Astana (Astana Poligrafiya Publishing House), 2011, p. 123 (119-138); Ağayev, pp. 86-88.

In 1934, the Soviet People's Commissariat and the CPSU Central Committee made the decision to establish history departments at all universities after cleaning or suppressing the older generation of historians. With this decision, history departments opened in universities in all the Soviet republics in which history departments were closed or did not exist before.

History departments started in the Central Asian State University and Uzbekistan State University and Pedagogical Institute in 1935. Their opening was based on the Soviet of People's Commissars and the CPSU Central Committee's decision.⁴ There was no textbook for the history departments opened in Kazakhstan. The first textbook about the history of Kazakhstan and the Kazakh people was written by Sanjar Asfendiyarov, a military physician. Asfendiyarov, who supported the Bolsheviks from the beginning of the October revolution, took an active part in the upper echelons of the Soviet administration established in Turkestan. He served as director of Moscow Oriental Institute in the second half of 1920. At that time, he gave lectures at Moscow University. For this reason, in 1927, he was given the title of professor. Asfendiyarov returned to Kazakhstan and in 1928 and founded the first Kazakh university, which would later take the name of the Abai Kazakh Pedagogical University; he was appointed its first rector. He published the first textbook about Kazakh history with title of "Essays on the History of Kazakhstan" in 1935. The 115-page book covered the history of Kazakhstan from ancient times to the 1917 October Revolution. Although it was written in accordance with the Marxist-Leninist point of view and the theory of the class struggle, it was not approved by Moscow, which did not support his efforts to teach Kazakh history as a lesson in all schools. Asfendiyarov, the first Kazakh historian of the Soviet era, was arrested as an "enemy of the people" in 1937. He was executed in 1938 and his book was banned.⁵

Ermukhan Bekmakhanov, the first Kazakh historian with a doctoral degree in the history of the Soviet era, studied at the institutions whose teaching staff consisted of a new generation of historians. After graduating from the Labor Faculty in Semey in 1933, he began his education at the Tambov Pedagogical Institute, then continued his education at the Voronezh Pedagogical Institute after the closing of

4 Ağayev, p. 134.

5 Takenov, A., "Professor Sanjar Asfendiyarov (1889–1938)", *Qazaqstan Tariyhinin Očerkeri*, Almaty (Sanat Publishing House), 1994, pp. 116–118; Karenov, R. P. "Qazaq Eliniñ Bolaşağı: Üşin Kúresken Birtuvar Tulğa Sanjar Asfendiyarovtıñ Tariyhiy Murası Tuvğanına 125 Jıl Toluvına Oray", *Qaragandı Universitetinin Habarşısı*, January–February–March, 2014, No: 1 (73), pp. 59–65.

the former, and he successfully graduated from there in 1937. In the years when he studied at Voronezh Pedagogical Institute, he met and had a close relationship with Khalil Dosmuhamedov and Muhammedzhan Tynyshbayev, who were both exiled leaders of Alash National Movement. According to his spouse, Halima Bekmukhamedova, they were the first to encourage Bekmakhanov to study the rebellion of Kenesary Khan. Later, Mukhtar Avezov, a famous Kazakh writer, also encouraged him to pursue this subject.⁶

After completing his education, Bekmakhanov was appointed as a teacher at school of No. 28 in Almaty in 1937. He also began working as a research assistant at the Research Institute of Pedagogical Sciences and was soon promoted to director of the institute in November 1938. He became a member of the Communist Party in May 1939. He completed his postgraduate education in the Department of History of the USSR Peoples while working at the same time Kazakhstan Institute of Pedagogy Institute in 1940.⁷ In the fall of 1940, Bekmakhanov began to study at the Party School of the Central Committee of the Communist Party in Moscow by the order of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan. His education accelerated at the beginning of World War II and he returned to Almaty after completing his education in autumn 1941.⁸

A great opportunity for Kazakh historiography arose during World War II. Eleven prominent Russian historians in Leningrad and Moscow were evacuated to Almaty, a safer city, due to the war. Among them were A. M. Pankratova, B. D. Grekov N. M. Druzhina, M. P. Vyatkin, and Ya. Ya. Zutis. The presence of those scholars in Almaty, who were widely recognized for their successful scholarship throughout the Soviet Union, became a great opportunity to complete a comprehensive history of Kazakhstan. The scholars intended to write a history of Kazakhstan from the most ancient times to the 1940s. As he took notice of this, Bekmakhanov expressed his opinions to Muhamedzhan Abdihalykov, the Secretary General of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan, who was in charge of dealing with Russian scientists. Although initially reluctant, the Secretary-General approved the proposal as a result of Bekmakhanov's insistence. Bekmakhanov was appointed as a repre-

6 Bekmukhamedova, H., "Erekendey Jigitpen Birge Ömir Sürgen Men Baqıttı Ayelmin", *Anız Adam*, September 2015, No: 17 (125), p. 5; Koygeldi, M., "Bekmakhanovtıñ Kenesarı Taqırına Kelüvine Muhtar Avezov Aser Etti", *Anız Adam*, September 2015, No: 17 (125), pp. 28-29; Sarseke, M., *Ermukhan Bekmakhanov*, Astana (Foliant Publishing House), 2010, pp. 64-92.

7 Sarseke, pp. 97-98.

8 Sarseke, p. 98; Bekmukhamedova, *ibid*; Omarbekov, T. *Qazaqstan Tariyhınıñ Özektı XX Gasırdagı Özektı Maseleleri*, Almaty (Öner Publishing House), 2003, p. 386.

sentative of the government, coordinating the work of the scientists writing the Kazakh history and was temporarily removed from his office but maintained his salary.⁹

Thus, Bekmakhanov was provided for the first scientifically written history of Kazakhstan and had the opportunity to work with leading historians of Russia as well. Russian and Kazakh historians began to write together a book called “The History of the Kazakh SSR”. Bekmakhanov was to write the volume of the book that dealt with Kenesary. In this study, some important historians and writers of Kazakhstan also participated, such as Alkey Margulan, Mukhtar Avezov, Esma-gambet Ismailov, and Beysembay Kenjegaliyev. The first 670 paged history of Kazakh SSR, from the ancient times to the present, edited by Pankratova and Muhammedzhan Abdihalykov, was published in the summer 1943 in Almaty. This work was the first attempt to write a comprehensive history of a country of the Soviet Union, besides those written about Russia.¹⁰ At the same time, it was the first comprehensive Kazakh national history written in the modern sense.

Prof. Dr. Talas Omarbekov, a historian who emphasized that the work was the basis for Kazakh scientific histories, said that Russification policies of Tsarist Russia were openly criticized in this work in a way no other publication before or after.¹¹ Histories of other Soviet republics were to be written much later. For example, especially for Turkic Soviet republics, Uzbekistan SSR History was published in 1955-1957, Kyrgyzstan SSR History in 1956, Azerbaijan SSR History in 1958, and Turkmenistan SSR History in 1959.¹²

The History of the Kazakh SSR, published in 1943, had drawn all attention in the Soviet Union since it was the first and because many prominent historians from Moscow were among its writers. The book was nominated for the Stalin prize and was also initially and positively reviewed. For example, A. V. Piyakovskiy, a specialist on Central Asia, said in review published in the a June 1943 edition of the newspaper “Pravda” that the book was a major contribution to the Marxist-Le-

⁹ Sarseke, pp. 102-104.

¹⁰ Takenov, A., “Tariyhşı Ermukhan Bekmakhanov (Tariyhnamalıq Şoluv)”, *Qazaqstan XIX Ǵasırdıń 20-40 Jıldarında. (E. Bekmakhanov)*, Almaty Sanat Publishing House 1994, p. 376. (371-381); Bekmukhamedova, p. 6; Sarseke, pp. 105, 140-141.

¹¹ Omarbekov, T. “Qazaq SSR-nın Ejelgi Davirden Büginge Deyingi Tariykhı” – *Qazaqstannıń Ǵılımiy Tariykhinin Negizi*, *Qazaq Elinin Tariykhı (Qazaq SSR-nın Ejelgi Davirden Büginge Deyingi Tariykhı (Edition of 1943))*, Almaty, 2012, pp. 17.

¹² Ağayev, pp. 97-98.

ninist scientific research.¹³ However, an unfair evaluation by Prof. A. I. Yakovlev, a member of USSR Academy of Sciences, claimed that it was a harmful book written against the Russians, which worried committee members at the last meeting of the Stalin Prize Committee and the book failed to win the award. According to Yakovlev, the histories of all the Soviet republics should have been written “in terms of the Russian nation”; he argued that making national history of every country, every republic, would be harmful and incompatible with the principles of internationalism.¹⁴

A wide range of discussions emerged in the process of writing the book. However, scientists did their work with great interest because the issue was very new. Therefore, they collected a lot of information and documents. They wanted to primarily write the history of the national struggle on Kazakh territory. Bekmakhanov made great efforts to research the subject exhaustively. Accordingly, Bekmakhanov was advised to write a doctoral (candidate) dissertation on the basis of the collected material. Upon this recommendation, Bekmakhanov prepared a dissertation about “The Rebellion of Kenesary in the National Liberation” and successfully defended it at the History Institute of the Academy of Sciences of USSR in Moscow on 28 May 1943.¹⁵ Henceforth, the first criticisms began to emerge against Bekmakhanov. In particular, his jealous colleagues claimed that “Bekmakhanov was a nationalist and that he set Kazakhs against Russians”. This ignored the fact that his selection of Kenesary Khan as a dissertation topic was based upon the recommendation of the USSR Communist Party officials.

Why? Because when the German-Soviet war began in 1941, Stalin gave instructions that national heroes from all peoples should be put forward in order to raise the courage and spirits of troops. Stalin gave the following speech to soldiers in Red Square on 7 November 1941 in which he cited historical figures from the Tsarist Russia period:

“During this war, souls of your grandfather such as Alexander Suvorov, Alexander Nevsky, Dmitry Donskoy, Kumi Minin, Dimitri Pojarski and Mikhail Kutuzov should become your source of inspiration”. In this context, Kenesary Khan and Amangeldi Imanov were praised as

13 Fruchet, H., “The Use of History The Soviet historiography of Khan Kenesary Kasimov”, *Central Asia Aspects of Transition* (Edited by Tom Everett-Heath), London 2003, p. 136.

14 Takenov, A., “Tariyhşı Ermukhan Bekmakhanov (Tariyhnalıq Şoluvı)”, *Qazaqstan XIX Gasırdıñ 20–40 Jıldarında. (E. Bekmakhanov)*, Almaty Sanat Publishing House 1994, p. 376. (371–381); Bekmukhamedova, p. 6; Sarseke, pp. 105, 140–141.

15 Sarseke, pp. 132–134; Takenov, p. 377.

heroes of Kazakh national history.¹⁶

Expanding his candidate dissertation, Bekmakhanov later prepared his doctoral dissertation titled “Kazakhstan in the Years of 1820s and 1840s”. He successfully defended his dissertation at the History Institute of the USSR Academy Sciences on 14 October 1946 in Moscow in front of Russian scientists and prominent Kazakh writers and scholars such as Bavyrzhhan Momushuly, Kanysh Satpayev, Kerim Mynbayev, Malik Gabdullin, and Erden Azirbayev.¹⁷ Thus, Bekmakhanov became the first Kazakh historian to complete doctoral education in the history of Kazakh science. However, his diploma was not approved for two years by the High Attestation Commission of the USSR because of complaints from his jealous colleagues. He would even be sent into exile in Siberia because of unjust accusations and campaigns organized by them. Nevertheless, Bekmakhanov published his dissertation in October 1947. The book became popular as soon as it was published.¹⁸

Afterwards, complaints to Moscow about Bekmakhanov had increased. Meetings about the book were held in history institutes in Moscow and in Almaty in 1948.

Critics alleged that the movement of Kenesary was not a national struggle movement, as Bekmakhanov claimed, but a feudal and monarchist movement of a warrior that held his personal interests in the forefront. In particular, some historians such as T. Shoinbayev M. Jiznevskiy, Kh. Aidarov, and S. Tolybekov argued that the work was politically harmful. However, some Russian scientists strongly supported Bekmakhanov’s opinion and confirmed that the book was not a political work but scientific. Thus, the High Attestation Commission of the USSR approved the doctoral degree of Bekmakhanov.¹⁹

Meanwhile, Bekmakhanov had been appointed as the deputy director of the History Institute of Academy of Sciences of Kazakh SSR. However, his narrow-minded colleagues bothered him by writing letters of complaint to Moscow. Therefore, he resigned from that job in 1947 and began to work at Kazakhstan State University as a lecturer. Here he established for the first time the Department of History of the Kazakh SSR and became its director. He launched the postgraduate education in the Department of Kazakh History in 1949. He became a

¹⁶ Bekmukhamedova, p. 6; Ağayev, p. 95.

¹⁷ Bekmukhamedova, p. 8; Takenov, p. 377.

¹⁸ Bekmukhamedova, p. 8; Takenov, p. 377; Sarseke, p. 195; Omarbekov (2003), pp. 386–387.

¹⁹ Omarbekov T. – Omarbekov, S., *Qazaqstan Tariyhına Jäne Tariyhnamasına Ulttıq Közqaras*, Almaty Kazakh University Publications, 2004, p. 357; Bekmukhamedova, p. 8.

professor of the History of the USSR on 30 August 1949.²⁰

After the World War II, the Soviet government began to restrict the history of the national struggle before it had encouraged. A new tendency to evaluate and praise the role of the Russian people in victory of war had emerged within the Soviet government. This case was also reflected in the historiography as accusations of the leaders of national liberation movements, who rebelled against the Tsarist Russian government before the 1917 October Revolution, turned into a principle of the official historiography.

The History of Kazakh SSR was criticized from this point of view at the Advisory Meeting of Historians held in May-June 1944 by the Central Committee of the USSR. "Ideological mistakes" of the History of Kazakh SSR were identified and it was expressed that the book must be reprinted after corrections in the articles, which reflected official views, published in the journal of Bolshevik in number 6 of 1945 of CP Central Committee of the USSR and the journal of Bolshevik Kazakhstan in number 6 of 1945 of CP Central Committee of Kazakhstan.²¹ In accordance with this decision, the History of Kazakh SSR was reprinted after the corrections of "mistakes" with the name of "History of Kazakh SSR (Revised and Expanded)" under the editorship of O. Omarov and A. M. Pankratova.²² Thus, the History of Kazakh SSR published in 1943 was censored. However, the validity of the successor was not of long duration. After Stalin's death, the History of Kazakh SSR was again found objectionable and the book was rewritten and published in two volumes between 1957 and 1959 jointly by the Academy of Sciences of Kazakhstan and the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography. It was also found inadequate and republished during the Brezhnev era in five volumes after an extension in the years 1977-1980.²³ Bekmakhanov was exposed to pressure after the criticism of his works by the media of the Central Committees of Communist Parties of USSR and Kazakhstan.

Another critical article was published in the newspaper "Pravda" on 26 December 1950 entitled "The Questions of the History of Ka-

20 Takenov, p. 379.

21 Omarbekov (2003), p. 392; Kalkan, I.; "Halk Düşmanı mı, Halk Kahramanı mı? Sovyet Tarihçiliğinin İkilemi", *Stalin ve Türk Dünyası*, İstanbul Kaknüs Publishing House, 2007, p. 282 (281-286); 1943 edition of the book was published again in Russian and Kazakh in years of 2011 and 2012 after Kazakhstan gained independence.

22 Ağayev, a.g.e, p. 98.

23 Magavin, M. *Qazaq Tariyhinin Alippesi*, Almaty Kazakhstan Publishing House, 1995, pp. 5-7; Ağayev, p. 98.

zakhstan from the Point of Marxist-Leninist Education” written by Tilesh Shoinbayev, Khadisha Aydarov, and A. Yakunin. In this article, Bekmakhanov’s book was criticized as inciting nationalist sentiment against the Russians. Articles published in “Pravda” also reflected official opinions of the party because the newspaper was the most effective organ of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.²⁴

Now, these were difficult days for Bekmakhanov. It was certain that he would be punished. In those days, Jumabai Shayahmedov, the First Secretary of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan, called him and said: “Bekmakhanov you should disclaim realities. It is better for you to live and to be healthy. For now, the situation is in my hand. If you were to write articles for one or two newspapers and say ‘I made a mistake. Forgive me. The essential truth is following’, then you would be given condemnation as a punishment at most. You can go back to work with the party decision. If you do not accept it, you shouldn’t be angry at me, because then Moscow will deal with your case. Your file will be sent to Moscow.” Thereupon Bekmakhanov replied: “I thank you very much. I cannot distort historical facts for my own personal interests. I write historical facts.”²⁵

Bekmakhanov, not compromising his writings and ideas, was expelled from the party before 1951. He was fired from his job at the university due to “his great political errors” and even his scientific titles were taken back on 15 May 1951. Nobody would employ him. As a result of various applications and initiatives he was able to find a job as a teacher in a school in Almaty Narynkol in a district near the border of the People’s Republic of China.

He worked there only for three months. Considering the possibility of his escape into China, the NKVD (the name of KGB at that time) changed his place of duty to the Novotroitsk district of Chu city of the Zhambyl Oblast.²⁶ A man who was professor one day, became an elementary school history teacher on the next.

During his time teaching at Chu, Bekmakhanov went on and completed his work about “Russia’s Annexation of Kazakhstan”. He secretly went to his advisor, Prof. Anna Mihaylova Pankratova, in Moscow on summer vacation and finished his dissertation. After coming to Chu, he gave his work to a trusted friend to hide. He would defend it as a

24 Takenov, pp. 378–379; Bekmukhamedova, p. 9; Ağayev, p. 98.

25 An interview with Halima Bekmukhamedova, *Jarqyn Beyne Ermukhan Bekmakhanov Documentary Film of Kazakhstan Television*, 2015; Sarseke, p. 378.

26 Takenov, p. 379; Bekmukhamedova, p. 9; Sarseke, pp. 382, 384, 390–394.

dissertation and take back his doctoral degree and publish as a book.²⁷

On 5 September 1952, he was arrested while teaching in Chu. NKVD officials also searched his working room at his home in Almaty. Bekmakhanov was charged with the crime of “having ideas against the Soviet government and spreading nationalist ideas of the years of 1942-1951 and making anti-Soviet propaganda” according to RSFSR Criminal Code Article 58, paragraph 2, expressed in paragraph 10. He was incarcerated in the NKVD prison in Almaty until he was brought to trial on 2 December 1952. It took three days to the court and he was sentenced to labor camps for 25 years on 4 December 1952.²⁸

Bekmakhanov never lost his hope. In the letters he wrote to his wife, he said “Justice will come at the end. Everything will be as before”. Meanwhile he was also writing letters to officials of the Communist Party of USSR and Kazakhstan insisting that he was unjustly penalized. At last, his efforts were rewarded after Stalin died in 1953 and he was released in February 1954. The role of Prof. Pankratova was great in this as she was a well-known scholar and a member of the Communist Party of the USSR. Most importantly, she was a member of the Soviet Parliament in 1954. At that time, Parliament could determine the fate of Soviet prisoners. Pankratova and Bekmakhanov's other Russian scientist friends provided evidence of his innocence by making numerous appeals to the authorities.

In late January, he was brought to Moscow from the labor camps in Bodaybo, a Siberian city of Irkutsk State, and the NKVD set him free and gave him a document about his innocence on 16 February 1954.²⁹ Henceforth, Bekmakhanov would set 16 February as his birthday because he did not know his birthdate exactly. This was really his second birth. He would also accept Pankratova as a second mother who exerted every effort to release him. Bekmakhanov was despondent when Prof. Pankratova, 60 years old, died suddenly in 1957.³⁰

After coming to Almaty from exile, Bekmakhanov could not find work for quite some time. In the end, on 1 September 1954, he was able to find a work as an instructor at the Kazakhstan State University, a job owing to Pankratova's interventions on his behalf.³¹

At the university, students loved him very much. They were very

²⁷ Bekmukhamedova, pp. 9-10.

²⁸ Takenov, p. 379; Bekmukhamedova, p. 10; Sarseke, pp. 441-442.

²⁹ Takenov, p. 380; Sarseke, p. 515.

³⁰ Bekmukhamedova, pp. 10-11; Sarseke, 517.

³¹ Takenov, p. 380; Bekmukhamedova, p. 11.

impressed by the style of his lecture. Not only the students of the Kazakh State University, but also Kazakhstan Pedagogical University's students agreed that Bekmakhanov should lecture as a member of teaching staff at the university. 117 students of five higher education institutions in Almaty, in their signed petition, demonstrated their support for Bekmakhanov. Owing largely to the support of young people, Bekmakhanov started working in the Department of History at the Kazakh State University. He educated many students there.³²

He became a member of the Communist Party again. He then went to Moscow with his work on "Russian Annexation of Kazakhstan", which he had earlier entrusted to his friend. After publishing it there in 1957, the Soviet Scientific Board reinstated his title of Ph. D. and he won the right to full professor again. He re-opened the Kazakh SSR History Department of Kazakhstan State University on 1 September 1958 and again became the head of it.³³ In 1962, he was elected as a correspondent member of the Academy of Sciences of the Kazakh SSR.³⁴

He resumed the education of the master degree of history. 20 of his students defended their doctoral (candidate) dissertation in the 12 years he served before his death. In 1958, he wrote textbooks for secondary schools about the history of Kazakh SSR. These textbooks prepared by Bekmakhanov for grades 7-8 and 9-10 were the first textbooks about the history of Kazakh SSR. They were published in Kazakh, Russian, and Uighur languages and republished between 40-50 times in the years 1959-1990. The name of his historian daughter, Nayla Bekmakhanova, was added to the book. Its newer edition was always updated by her.³⁵

After the death of Ermukhan Bekmakhanov, his daughter, who lived in Moscow, carried on his studies in the history profession. She said that "My father had bequeathed me his works in the last days of his life. He should have done so because my profession is historian. He wanted from me that I control and update his textbooks and regularly publish. He guided me continually even when his health was very bad. I tried to fulfill my father's will. And I continued to publish his textbooks with his name for 30 years after he died. I served my father for 30 years. Of course, some changes and updates had been done if necessary. In the last 20 years, textbooks had been published in my name. Scientists still appreciate the textbooks my father wrote 50

32 An interview with Halima Bekmukhamedova, *Jarqyn Beyne Ermukhan Bekmakhanov Documentary Film of Kazakhstan Television*, 2015.

33 Takenov, p. 379.

34 Takenov, p. 381.

35 Sarseke, p. 667; Aǵayev, p. 111.

years ago as systematic and accurate ones”.³⁶

Bekmakhanov died from lung cancer on 6 May 1966. His grave is in a cemetery along Rayymbek Street in Almaty, next to the graves of the famous writer Mukhtar Auezov and famous film director Shaken Aymanov.³⁷

The department of history of the Kazakhstan State University, founded by him in 1947, makes every effort to keep Bekmakhanov's memory alive. Scientific meetings and conferences named “Bekmakhanov Readings” are held continuously in the Department of History. Every year his wife Halima was invited to tell anecdotes about Bekmakhanov. Moreover, the name of Bekmakhanov was also given to a classroom at the Department of History of Kazakhstan State University. There are two schools named Bekmakhanov in Kazakhstan, one in Chu city of Zhambyl Province and the second in Pavlodar province. His name was also attached to three streets and avenues in Almaty, Pavlodar, and Bayanaul.³⁸ Satybaldy Narimbetov, a famous film director, shot a film called “Entrustment” about Bekmakhanov, whose name was further given to schools and streets on his 100th birth year in 2015.³⁹

As a result of Bekmakhanov's legacy, historians in the Soviet Union could not possibly freely work and study. They had to carry out their research within the framework of Marxist-Leninist ideology. However, this ideology did not have a specific standard. It could be changed according to time, conditions, and leaders of the Communist Party of the USSR. Therefore, historians such as Ermukhan Bekmakhanov were sentenced to severe punishment, being exposed to unfair criticism and charges due to changes in ideology despite the fact that they had been educated in the Soviet history schools and the abode to ideology. From this point of view, Ermukhan Bekmakhanov was an unfortunate historian.

As a scientist who dedicated himself to the science of history, Bekmakhanov's place is great in the Kazakh historiography. First, Bekmakhanov worked with leading historians of the period and made an important contribution to Kazakh historiography. Second, he developed historical scholarship of Kazakhstan for the first time by promoting the leading historians of the USSR. It was important from two aspects. First, Kazakh historians have obtained their national historiography

³⁶ An interview with Halima Bekmukhamedova, *Jarqın Beyne Ermukhan Bekmakhanov Documentary Film of Kazakhstan Television*, 2015.

³⁷ Bekmukhamedova, p. 14; Takenov, p. 381.

³⁸ Bekmukhamedova, p. 14.

³⁹ See an interview with the director of the film, Satybaldy Narymbetov. *Anyz Adam*, September 2015, No: 17 (125), pp. 46–47.

earlier than other non-Russian republics. Second, the participation of experienced historians in the writing of the history was a significant contribution to the development of Kazakh historiography. All these make the place of Bekmakhanov in the Kazakh historiography unique.

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SOVIET POLITICS OF NATIONAL PUNISHMENT AND THE PROSECUTION HISTORY OF E. BEKMAKHANOV

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In general, the beginning of “nationalism and the falsification of the national history and reactionary rebellion of Kenesari” affair in Kazakhstan had deep roots, including more than six years that Kazakh culture and science festered in punishment. No one can explain history better than the historian. According to Prof. Dr. A. Takenov and the students of E. Bekmakhanov (our lecturer and brother):

The arrival of few evacuated Russian scientists to Almaty in 1941 accelerated Kazakh history writing as planned by Ministry of Education. Ord. Prof. Pankratova and secretary of Ideology Department of the Communist Party Central Committee Muhamedjan Abdihalikov were appointed as editor of the book called “History of the Kazakh SSR”. In order to write this book, the Russian scientists named Grekov, Drujinin, Vyatkin, Kuçkin, Zutis, Miller, and Lurie contributed just like Avezov, Margulan, Pokrovskiy, Mukanov, Müsirepov, İsmailov and Kenjebayev from Kazakhstan. This was the first book regarding the history of a republic among the “Independent Soviet Republics”. However, a journalist of the Kazakhstan Academy of Sciences A. İ. Yakovlev’s idea of “Tsarist Russia brought progression and civilization for people under its domination, therefore the fight against Tsarist Russia should be seen as obscured that “had the same meaning of Stalin’s thought of All Russian textbooks must be school textbooks of Russian. This cannot be adopted to the interest of 100 nations”. The overlapping of the two ideas had strengthened its position on Yakovlev’s historic republics.⁴⁰

With the request of A. N. Pankratova, who opposed this idea, famous Soviet historians conducted five meetings in the Communist Party Central Committee from 29 May to 8 June 1944, and stubborn resistance quickly appeared. When Yakovlev and Buşuev’s counter-argument did not provide a result, A. N. Pankratova and Communist Party Central Committee Secretary Şerbakov wrote a letter saying that “Yakovlev’s opinion about the national occupation policy issue was not in accordance with the teachings of Marxism-Leninism. Therefore, “Kazakhstan History” require a detailed discussion. This issue is important for Kazakhstan because it appeals to national feelings

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40 “Pankratovoy, Pisma Anny Mihaylovny”. *Voprosy İstorii*, 1988, No 11, pp. 54-79.

of Kazakh people.”

M. Morozov, who was a servant of the party and had nothing to do with Kazakh history, raised his objection regarding “Kazakh SSR History” in 1945 in the journal “Bolshevik” as it was a publication of the Communist Party, Secretary Şerbakov, Andreyev, and Malenkov could not even raise their voice and thus, Morozov’s view was accepted as the idea of the Central Committee of the KP. It occurred that Yakovlev and Morozova were not as important as it appeared to be from the influential people. It was later understood that a letter was written on behalf of Malenkov, Andreeva, and Şerbakov in 1944 underlining that “there were deficiencies and mistakes about Lenin’s works in some studies of Soviet historians”. The letter later known to be that signed by KP Director of the Propaganda Department of the Central Committee G.F. Alexandrov, his deputy P.N. Fedoseyev, and newspaper “Pravda” editor P.N. Pospelov.⁴¹

In one part of this letter about “Kazakh SSR History” it was wrongly understood that they failed to understand Stalin’s views regarding nation, because according to Stalin, the participation of other nations to Russia brought less harm compared to the significant harm if it invaded Georgia, Iran, Ukraine, and Poland by force. In this respect, we would not point out that colonialism brought “great loss” and defending this idea would have been protecting and softening the losses of the Russian invasion.

The Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee, based on the opinion emerging from Morozov’s article, decided on 14 August 1945 to prepare a second edition of “Kazakh SSR History”. Most importantly, this action led the way to criticize some heroes who awakened the national consciousness of Kazakh people. A year before this decision, Kazakhstan KPI secretary J. Şayahmetov (emulating Stalin) tried to encourage Kazakh soldiers going to war by giving examples of the spirit of such Kazakh heroes as Abılay, Sırım, İsatay, Mahambet, Kenesarı and Navrızbay.⁴² But, later, the First Secretary was forced to renege on its promises. The decision in 1945 proved subsequent events deficient in awakening the historical national consciousness of our people during and after the war. The capable historian E. Bekmakhanov became a sacrificial lamb as he was thrown into the fire of the “fight with Nationalism” (A. Takenov).

In the session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan in 1947, the “political errors on the Kazakh SSR Academy of

⁴¹ *Voprosy İstorii*, 1991, No 1, pp. 188 – 205, 48.

⁴² “Qazaq Halkının Javıngerlik Dastürü”, *Sosyalistik Qazaqstan*, 1944, 18. VIL.

Sciences Institute of Language and Literature Studies" was published. Surprisingly, on 14 September 1947 the "Socialist Kazakhstan" newspaper published an article about the "100th Anniversary of the Death of Khan Kene" with the name of Kenesari Kasimov. The author of the article was Ermukhan Bekmakhanov. For this brave article the author received strong warnings from the Central Committee of the KP. These warnings signaled a very difficult time for intellectuals. On 31 January 1948, the "Leninşil Jas" (Leninist Youth) newspaper published M. Akınjanov and T. Şoyınbayev's critical article called "political mistakes, Non Scientific Book". J. Şayahmetov, therefore, petitioned M. Suslova and, in line with this demand, the Kazakh SSR Academy of Sciences History Institute decided to discuss Bekmakhanov's work on 28 February. N. Drujinin pointed that "it was just because the 'cultural situation in Kazakhstan was behind the one in Russia, it was pointless to name Kazakh rebellions as anti-progressive.'" On 16 December 1948, the chairman of the Union of Writers, B. Gorbатов, was unexpectedly talking about political events saying that the "Kenesari rebellion aimed to expel the Russians from the Kazakh steppe, Bekmakhanov is quite complementary toward Kenesari". This irritated Konysbayev, Pokrovskiy, and Baişev and they wrote a letter to J. Şayahmetov asking his official opinion about how the Kenesari rebellion ought to be considered during preparation of the second edition of "History of the Kazakh SSR". With the intervention of İ. Omarov, J. Şayahmetov described "Kenesari's rebellion as the largest national liberation struggle of the Kazakh people of the XIX century". A. Pankratova wrote a letter to Omarov on 11 October 1949, elucidating that "Historians are trying to qualify a false history of Kazakh people. I do not understand why Georgian and Uzbek Khans were named progressive intellectuals while Kazakhs like Abılay or Kenesari Kasimov were scribbled in the same situation." (Qazaqstan Respublikası Ortalık memlekettik Arhivi, İ. Omarov qorı.)

In the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan on 21 February 1950, the decision named "About the Status and Responsibilities of the History of Science in Kazakhstan" was reported and the issue was dropped. However, ideological articles began to come from the center (A. Takenov). It noted Ilyas Omarov's private conversation with Jumabay Şayahmetov: "For me, today is a friend of mine who saw himself as an enlightened Kazakh: I cannot sleep during the day if I do not write anonymous complaint letters". "The professional habit of complaining was terrible! How limitless is a human's greed? Unfortunately, I do not have the strength to fight them. How sad the situation."⁴³ Assuming that this complaint was likely to have very bad

43 Süleymenov, M. – Süleymenova, H. J. – Golubev, A., *İlyas Omarov. Jizn' i Filosofya*, A.

consequences, İlyas went to Şahmatov: J. Şayahmetov looked at İlyas with weary eyes: "We're late, İlyas! We're late. This man is in front of the eyes of the men in Moscow. He even obtained their trust. If you touch him, we will burn ourselves. Ahmetjan Koyşıgulov had asked me three years ago to punish him. I did not listen to him. It was difficult to struggle with him at that time, and now you cannot do anything" he said. At the end, Şayahmetov's forecast became true, the telephone started ringing and everything went uncontrollable. On 26 December 1950, the "Pravda" newspaper published an article about "Kazakhstan History Matters were investigated by the teachings of Marxism-Leninism." It was written by T. Şoyınbayev, H. G. Aydarova and A. Yakunin. This article gave impetus to Soviet government's punishment campaign because it became a policy of "Communist colonial, communist chauvinism". Moscow had chosen Kazakhstan and Tatarstan to implement this policy. That was understood by looking at 4-5 years into the propaganda department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan and the newspaper "Pravda". These local experts were being trained to attack the Academy of Science. We would like to summarize how this punishment policy continued at the hands of Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee.

In May-June 1950, Chairman of the Communist Party Central Committee's Propaganda Department, P. Apostolov, B. N. Mitreykina, and party, Komsomol and chairman of the union section of workers, A. Petrovskiy, arrived in Kazakhstan in order to discuss the complaints and organized by the "Pravda" correspondent in Almaty, Çerniçenko and T. Şoyunbayev regarding "The Kazakh SSR Academy of Sciences was filled with experts who had the wrong political views". They reported their findings to Secretary of the Communist Party Central Committee G. M. Malenkov on 29 June 1950. Accordingly, all institutions affiliated with the Academy were investigated. We will analyze the commission's decisions with history and literature, coupled together with the social sciences. Thus:

"It was informed in a written complaint letter that science and culture in Kazakhstan were related with nationalism, the principle of Bolshevik was disrupted by the selection and placement of staff in Kazakh SSR Academy of Sciences. The claims referred to in the complaints were partially verified in the investigation. Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee elucidated that some researchers in the Kazakh SSR had issues that were harmful and ideologically erroneous thoughts in their works. They also glorified the rich and the khans, showed the October Revolution deflated in the Kazakh villages, delibe-

ately allowed the bourgeois-nationalist views to prevail and tried to seduce the Russian opposition movement. However, many researchers continue to repeat these mistakes. There is no accurate assessment by the Communist Central Committee of Kazakhstan in this regard. For example, "Kazakhstan in the 20s-40s of the XIX Century" author of the book, E. Bekmakhanov 'still maintains stubbornly its false opinion on the nature and importance of the rebellion of Kenesari Kasimov.' This author in his work is doing propaganda for the work of the leader of the Alaş party, Alikhan Bökeyhanov, about reliable documentation about the history of the Kazakh people and reserving "special attention" to Varşavski in the preface of the book "Trotsky in exile". It was not for the first time that Bekmakhanov got in touch with the Trotskyites. Fatal errors are repeated in literature and the arts as well. Prepared for 8th grade junior high school textbooks of the Kazakh literature, Jumaliyev (1948) glorifies the khans and sultans by saying 'I have the mind of forty people'. Murat and Şortanbay views were described positively in the textbook about the XIX century. Their propaganda of Eastern Muslim culture and the past khanate state were positively maintained. In the course book prepared by Mukanov and Jumaliyev for the 9th grade high school, the names of reactionary writer and one of the leaders of Tatar Pan-Turkism, Gaspıralı and Sandıbayev, were convicted for anti-Soviet movement in 1930 were cast out.

The decision of the Commission (continued): 'The Kazakh SSR Academy of Sciences in 1950 published the work of Akışeva named 'Seizure the possessions of Rich of Kazakhstan'. The anger of the rich against Soviet rule has been brought together in the book. The also placed some thought of poor people who participated in rich people's revolt. It was just because this book is politically harmful that the Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee removed this publication. The book called 'The settling of nomads and livestock development in Kazakhstan' by Pogorelskiy in 1950 was also removed from publication, pointing out that the "Long-term nomadic tribal system is not the same as Marx and Engels showed us, on the contrary as Radloff wrote it'. The book moreover ignored the passing from nomadic to sedentary by not taking the importance of Soviet government into account, instead it asserted public enemy Baytursunov's thoughts about famine. The exhibits at the local museum were designed to build anti-Russian but friendly organization (boy) system. It was shown as if Russians were colonists of Kazakh people rather than Tsarist Russian government. Nationalist opinion was described as harmful in Jubanov's book, a member of the Academy of Sciences of the Kazakh SSR. In this book, ("Today's Nightingale"- T. J.) the history of the Kazakhs against the

Russians was told with songs and folk songs. Jubanov was awarded the degree of Doctor of Art for this book.

Many harmful ideas and heroes are also included in many games, theaters, and the operas staged in Kazakhstan. Musiperov, the writer of many drama works, was dismissed by the party. “Kız Jibek”, “Er Targın”, “Kambar ve Nazım” epics were found to be dangerous by Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee in 1950, assuming that these epics glorified the khanates’ generous and rich life of the feudal-patriarchal class. For example, “Alash Orda” famous leader Halil Gabbasov’s own brother, A.M. Gabbasov, was appointed as director of Satpayev Desert Land Research Institute. Satpayev’ son-in-law, Alkey Murgulan who had PhD in philology, wrote no useful scientific work except the one 1939-1940 piece regarding Edige. In his article, M. Argulan praised the common enemy of Russian and Kazakh people, and showed Edige as a real example and protector of Kazakhs. This work of Margulan was published after the Communist Party Central Committee claimed that Edige had a reactionary character.

Satpayev coming from wealthy family, protected and defended his famous revolutionary brother from the Alaş orda movement for a long time...

Geological Institute headed by president of the Academy Satbayev, was filled with highly unreliable non-political persons. After the decision of the Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee in 1950, there were 10 people who were children of Trotskyites, deserters from the army, spies in foreign countries and members of “Alash Orda” bourgeois-nationalist party. Although the president of the Academy came from a very rich family, his two brothers had been prosecuted by the Soviet government. Satbayev in the meantime did hide his work with in Alaş Orda between 1917-1919.

Because the materials of the investigation will soon be discussed at a meeting of Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee, we think it is right change the administrators of the Kazakh SSR Science Academy”.⁴⁴

It was obvious how scientific works were being conducted and worsening political level of KP employees of the Central Committee. Çerniçenko and Şoyınbayev took this decision with the aid of B. M. Mitreykin, who did not get along with K. Satbayev during his time as secretary of SSSR Academy of Sciences and its various branches. In his defense against First Secretary of the Communist Party Central Committee J. Şayahmetov and SSS Deputy Director of the Propaganda Department of the Central Committee V.S. Krujkov, K. Satbayev did not take Kazakhstan’s divisions seriously in 1941-1945. He even made

44 . Satbayev, K. I., *Sbornik Dokumentov i Materialov*, Astana, TOO “IC-Servis”, 2009, p. 560.

gossips and blocked the development of divisions constantly. In these years, any political divisions established was greeted negatively by Mitreykin. "How will it be," sparked concerns "also clearly shows that hatred and the hostility between Mitreykin and Satpayev. V.S. Krukova commissioned the newspaper "Pravda" to discuss this issue at the Soviet Communist Party's Central Committee and proposed a review of writing critical articles about the Kazakh SSR Academy of Sciences. They accordingly used E. Bekmakhanov's work related with the rebellion of Kenesari Kasimov.

V. Ozerov, "Pravda" newspaper-editor of Critique and Bibliography Department Assistant, was sent both to organize an article about "Against distortions in the book of Brief History of Kazakhstan" and to glean Şayahmetov's thoughts. Written form of this speech that stirred the whole of Kazakhstan is as follows:

October 1950. Questions (after reading the article and other documents two times): How do you evaluate our speech and what is your opinion about this?

Answer: Strictly speaking the most important issue, the Kenesari rebellion movement was reactionary, or was it progressive? We assume, so far, it was progressive.

Şaripov's article reveals the opinion of the Central Committee of the KP. If the "Pravda" newspaper says on the need to inform about this issue, it should be true to change the strong attitudes of the article. We also need to be included in the study. Because, the Central Committee of the KP had worked in the right direction by posting Sharipov's articles and documents. To answer your questions about the authors: in order not to put in the docket of the KP Central Committee, it is right not to give away the names of authors of the article. Instead, it will be best suited with a similar name to the Russian surnames. Otherwise everyone could search the real name in Kazakhstan. J. Şayahmetov said thank you for showing me the article with confidence by responding to rhetorical answers

Did he possibly answer otherwise? I guess not. "After reading the article twice", "if I am asked to notify about this idea", words like "not to become arrogant in this subject" show that people who were after rebellion Kenasari Kasimov and E. Bekmakhanov know influential people. Though this time J. Şayahmetov prevent him just to "bow down", On December 12, 1950 "Pravda" newspaper chief editor L.F. İliçyev's reported about "Issues of the History of Kazakhstan should be written by taking Marxism-Leninism ideology into account" to the Secretary of the Ideology Department of the Communist Party Central Committee, "The Black Cardinal of Communist ideology" M. A. Suslov,

demonstrated that there was no going back again. Here is detailed information given about the views of the then political circumstances of Kazakh intellectuals in Kazakhstan:

A couple of people, such as Russian historian Yakunin and H.F. Aydarova who did not consider the rebellion of Kenesari Kasımov in the right manner, kept asking to publish their article from Pravda's journalist Çerņiçenko. Yakunin and Aydarova met three times with Şoyınbayev so as to publish the article. The issue of Kenasari rebellion was discussed by P. Kuznesov (Pravda), Morozov and Liholat (KP propaganda department). They eventually decided to publish the article. Thereafter, a telegram arrived from E. Bekmakhanov and additional investigative work was carried out according to the instructions. "Pravda" newspaper Deputy Director of Criticism and Bibliography Department V. Ozerov privately went in Almaty. It was determined that the majority of Kazakh historian were against E. Bekmakhanov's attitude and they reported that they see him as a bourgeois nationalist. The Administrator of the Kazakh SSR Academy and the Central Committee of the KP officer reported that they were opposed to describing Kenasari Kasımov's rebellion as retrogressive.

Şayahmetov read the article as well and reported to make some changes in order to publish in the newspaper "Pravda". Changes were made and a meeting was carried out in "Pravda" newspaper of Criticism and Bibliography Department. This article was discussed at the meeting. Bekmakhanov and Vyatkin (editor of the book) matched wits against comrades as it was written in Bekmakhanov's weakly written previous letter.

Yakunin, H.F. Aydarov and specifically from Kazakhstan B. Suleymenov did not accept the statements from Bekmakhanov. After this article was discussed in the editorial meeting for the fourth time and sent to Mozorov and Liholat, they ordered it to be published.

E. Bekmakhanov's last letter, with its old attitude of laundering the operation, as well as the menacing speech style, is noted by a number of perjury charges.

E. Bekmakhanov, has described article writers (their name was secret) as supporters of the enemy. According to him the article was about: " bourgeois nationalists the enemies of the people of the Kazakh and lies supported by cosmopolitans." Thus he tried to prove some thought not mentioned in the article.

For example, E. Bekmakhanov and writers compared Kenesari and Shamil, just to get Shamil's name on record despite not being mentioned in the article.

Bekmakhanov, said to the author of the article: "... (the 19th century) in the 1830s-1840s, Kazakh workers should remain under colonialism."

This opinion was to protect the Tsarist government's colonial policies", he claimed. In the article, it was explained that "Kazakhstan's incorporation into Russia" had a progressive character "but Tsarist Russia invaded the Kazakh steppe and Central Asia and exploited people in 1830s. Colonial policy of the Russian Tsarist government together with the use of force and looting revealed the justified resistance of the Kazakh people."

There were also inconsistencies in E. Bekmakhanov's letter. For example, in Central Asia in the years of 1830-40s it did not accept the tension of the British-Russian relations. However, on the use of Russian management system: in Kazakhstan Bekmakhanov's book claimed that "... Because of this system, the 1830s British-Russian rivalry became more tense than ever before...the Russian-British rivalry in Central Asia gradually turned into a reality..."

E. Bekmakhanov's letter can be understood to maintain his attitude and the pressure to prevent publication of the article.

Thus we find it right to publish the article.

L. İliyçev. "

This wrong understanding of the Kenesari rebellion to erase completely the views of the national liberation of the Kazakh people through the wrong characterization "ideological punishment" of politics, showed that "The Tsarist colonialism," was replaced by "Communist colonialism." "Black Cardinal" Suslov obviously gladly signed the decision with elongated fingers. By the way, 35-36 years later, exactly the same person took a similar decision for the handbook of Oljas Suleimenov called "Elif ve Şair" with the manner of not accepting Kazakh history. "The last punishment instructions of the Black Cardinal" was not realized. Times have changed, "Communist colonialism" power began to decline.

Pravda's article was as strong as a court decision, maybe more, and First secretary of the Central Committee of the KP did not even ignore its power. This decision determined the fate of Kazakhstan.

J. Şayahmetov and I.M. Omarov regard the Kenesari revolt unfairly attacked based on the context of letters and documents, articles and defensive letters, letters of complaint that revealed Secretary of Ideology of the Central Committee of KP M.A. Suslov's and Pravda's organization of "campaign attacks". They did not allow the party organization to discuss "Pravda's" article for three months. But, when Şayahmetov went out of the country for duty, the article was hastily discussed by Second Secretary Kruglov's instructions in History Institute of the party organization.

J. Şayahmetov who told the soldiers "Abilay's, Kenasari's and Navrizbay's souls shall protect you during the Second World War", also confessed and said:

"I made significant political mistakes in my article published in "Socialist Kazakhstan" newspaper for the 25th anniversary of Amangeldi İmanov. I called Kazakh soldiers to fight against the Nazis in the names of their ancestors, Sırm, İsatay, Mahambet and Amangeldi together with Abilay, Kenesari, and Navrizbay. Comrad Ondasınov made the same mistake during his speech to the Kazakh SSR Supreme Council meeting in April 1944. KP Central Committee Propaganda Department Secretary Omarov's propaganda became insufficient. He could not detect the errors of bourgeois-nationalist character and did not open this discussion at the meetings of the Central Committee of the KP. As one of the editors of the book "History of the Kazakh SSR" second edition, he did not take into account the warnings about Bekmakhanov's errors. He assigned him to write the chapter of "The history of Kazakh SSR" section about Kenesari Qasimov's rebellion."⁴⁵

E. Bekmukhanov, who was decribed as "protective of Kenesari's servants and those from the Khan's generation", got sentenced with 25 years and was sent into exile to Semey, together with E. Ismailov, K. Muhamedjanov, K. B. Suleymanov, and Jumaliyev.

In remembrance of D. A. Konayev, there were expressions like "giving rise to the growth of this campaign and displaying incorrect political stance on this subject during J. Şayahmetov's presidency in the Central Committee".

It was a kind of an unwritten tradition of writing positive memorials of politicians and persons who pass muster with Soviet communist ideology and morality. In the opinion of D. A. Konayev, SSR KP MK director of the propaganda department P. Apostolov and B.N. Mitreykin and director of the department of party, labor union and Komsomol organizations A. Petrovsky and KP MK Secretary G. M. Malenkov wrote a report on "nationalism shall take place at the Academy of Sciences and Kazakh SSR filled politically with strangers ". These reports and unnamed complaint letters were organized by Pravda journalist A. Çerniçenko and sent to M. A. Suslov via its editor. This method does not tell the real thoughts of persons and his memories.

Thus, M. A. Suslov, KP MK and Pravda newspapers' wishes came true. Meanwhile, Mukhtar Auezov was again in the focus of discussions. The decision lasted three years and was taken under those conditions. And it all happened due to necessity.

⁴⁵*Adebiyetjane İskusstvo*, 1951, No 10.

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PROSECUTION OF BEKMAKHANOV: TRUTHS AND PROOFS

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In post-war period, the Soviet regime executed almost all the leaders of Alash Orda, victims of the Stalinist repressions. That made it impossible for them to take an active political, cultural, and social role that they should have played. There were only two important survivors from the Alash Orda movement. The first, Alimkhan Ermekov, spent much of his life in Soviet concentration camps, and the second, Mukhtar Auezov, the Soviet authorities suppressed during the 1940s and 1950s. These Kazakh leaders were accused by the authorities of adhering to the “Alash ideas”, which fit under the concept of “being nationalists”. Acknowledging the accusations, in his memoirs Ermekov wrote: “We, who spent a little time in ‘Alash’, faced almost every kind of slander. In any case of disorder in a random place in Kazakhstan, for example when starving people in Qaraqum, Mangyshtau, Shubarta, Bakhty or in Baqanas rioted, or when people of Jetisu migrated to China, or when in a village a farm animal that belonged to the Kolkhoz gets stolen, even when someone gets married to more than one women, or when something eccentric was written in a newspaper or journal, they blamed us for all of those.”⁴⁶

In the midst of this repressive era, the authorities persecuted many other Kazakh intellectuals, often accusing them of “supporting the Alash ideas in newspapers and journals”. The mere accusation meant persecution and it was the most effective means to purge the Kazakh intelligentsia. Clearly, attaching the label of “nationalist” to an Alash member initiated the purge in a way that exterminated so many educated Kazakhs. The idea of Alash, which spread all around the Kazakh Steppe, was considered sufficient justification for Bolsheviks to target a random Kazakh.

“The Great Terror” gained a new face in 1940s and 1950s, unlike during the era before and during the Second World War, court trials emerged. “Pairs” and “Triads” were abolished and at the same time the various State Defense Committee resolutions lost the power; politically prosecuted people were first accused in public meetings before being put on trial. Whereas in earlier episodes when different means to suppress were used, the accused was libeled in the press

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46 Oskembaiev, K., A. A. Ermekov'tin Kogamdık-Sayasıjane Agartuşılık Kızmeti (1891-1970), Karagandy, MBBKBA and KDI, 2003, pp. 277, 199.

during this period. At the height of the repressions in 1937-1938, the press busied itself with publishing party resolutions, but the importance of the press strengthened in the 1940s and 1950s. The pages of the newspapers and journals were filled with scientific, critical reviews, including some works of formerly purged colleagues. Prominent newspaper reporters often cautioned party leaders in the pages of the media. And, the role judges played was reduced only to writing judgments and applying the punishment.

One of the most controversial cases in the post-war era was the prosecution of the historian E. Bekmakhanov. He was labeled with "nationalism" due to his close relations with many former Alash leaders, many of whom shared a similar fate. The initial discussions of Bekmakhanov's work appeared in the Moscow Academy of Sciences on 28 February 1948.⁴⁷ Later, in June of that year and again between 14-19 July, the subject was debated in the Kazakh SSR Academy of Sciences, Institute of History, Ethnography and Archeology. It can be said that the first meeting resulted in success. The meeting attendees generally decided to blame the scientist for his deviations, later echoed at the Kazakh SSR Academy of Sciences. Despite the accusations, his treatment was relatively soft compared to the old system of punishment in the USSR. Since it was a discussion, there were people present who opposed and defended Bekmakhanov. If T. Shoiynbaev, S. Tolybekov, V. Zhiznevski, K. Aidarova, A. Nurkanov, and B. Suleimenov openly criticized him, others such as I. Budovnis, E. Dilmuhamedov, A. Nusipbekov, A. Tursynbayev, T. Elevov, H. Adilgerayev, B. Asfendiyarov, S. Medvedev, and T. Kulteleyev spoke in his defense.

At first glance, it is necessary to ask about the correctness of those who accused him. His accusers tried to prove that Bekmakhanov's ideas were somehow in opposition to Marxism-Leninism, while simultaneously trying to demonstrate their own loyalty to the Party. Some speakers rejected his work, even if they had no proof. In fact, K. Aidarova, who spoke in the meeting held in Moscow and who failed to see what she expected among the historians of the country, did not go to meet with her Kazakhstani colleagues. In her article called, "Against Violating the Historical Truth", Aidarova pointed out the political campaigns being carried out countrywide. Clearly she concerned herself with more than the merits of the case, she cared about the political consequences as she argued her points in the journals "Zvezda" and "Leningrad", where she faulted the Kazakh SSR Language and

47 Bekmakhanov E., *Jetimdik şıǵarmalar jınagı*, 6. Tom (Stenogramma E. B. Bekmakhanovın "XIX. g. 20-40 j. Qazaqstan" kitabının diskussıyası). – Pavlodar: "EKO" GÖF, 2005, p. 360.

Literature Institute for its failure and she noted Bekmakhanov refused to alter his work despite being urged to do so. She positioned herself firmly with Stalin's attitude regarding Kenesary's rebellion, citing his article "Social-Democratic View on the National Issue".

Initially, she stressed that Bekmakhanov's monograph associated with the Alash intellectuals. She needed to do that to prosecute him politically, accusing him of being an "Enemy of the People". S. Tolybekov expressed his opinions by saying,

The counter-revolutionary Alash Orda Party, transformed Kenesary into a symbol for the struggle of liberty by calling him a holy ancestor, who gave courage to all counter-revolutionary elements, due to his leadership in the Kazakh people's struggle against the Great Russian people. All Kazakh intellectuals, now who are older than 30 years, must not forget the Alash Orda theorist and poet Magjan Jumabaev who praised Kenesary in his nationalistic poem when he wrote:

'In the Steppe, there isn't any place which can compete with Burabai,
Among the Kazakhs, there is not any hero who can compete with Kenesary!'

The question is, why did those Alash Orda members praised him too much? For his progressive actions? Not at all. They saw the vanguard of Kazakh Nationalism in his presence. And they weren't mistaken.⁴⁸

As for B.Suleimenov, he said:

Bekmakhanov falsifies Kazakh history in his book. He praises the bourgeois nationalist 'Alash Orda' leaders. Bekmahkanov includes Alikhan Bokeikhanov in his book without any explanations and cites his works as though they are reliable historical sources. Furthermore, he propagandizes him openly, without any shame. It is not right that Bekmakhanov considers A. Bokeikhanov's works and writings as archive materials. It is impossible to tell him that. Along with that, the author does not criticize Bokeikhanov's works and articles in any place of his book, on the contrary he uses them as historical sources in his work. For example, our university's and Pedagogy Institute's students opposed that by asking, 'Why E. Bekmakhanov exculpates Alikhan Bokeikhanov, is it even possible?', and of course, we had to prove it that it was impossible. A question appears about that, is it needed to prove that exculpating 'Alash Orda' members are wrong, not only the leaders. ... I think, such a person will not appear.⁴⁹

48 Bekmakhanov E., *Jeti tomдық şıғarmalar jınagı*, 6. Tom (Stenogramma E. B. Bekmahao-
vtin "XIX. g. 20-40 jj. Qazaqstan" kitabının diskussyası). – Pavlodar: "EKO" GÖF, 2005, pp.
72-73.

49 Bekmakhanov ibid, pp. 267-269.

Furthermore, Suleimenov also critiqued G. Togjanov. He tries to prove that Bekmakhanov was inspired by his book, titled the “Kazakh Colonial Village”. Bekmakhanov answered those accusations by saying,

Are my critics unaware of that there are some examples of this case, even representatives of reactionary classes that praise most progressive individuals, in the cases which they are interested? As Zhirenskin said, ‘Alash Orda also benefitted from Abai and Shokan.’ Why did I mentioned the nationalist A. Bokeikhanov, as you said? As you also know, in historical literature there is a work called “The letters of Orta Zhuz Khans and Sultans in the years of 1824-1830” which was published by Bokeikhanov. Why should we publish this important historical document as unnamed and in a mysterious way, just in order not to mention this person’s name? You talked about the nationalist Togjanov for half an hour. But there is not even one word about him in my book...”⁵⁰

In order to label Bekmakhanov as an “Enemy of the People,” his critics had to make accusations that would politically crush him. It is not surprising that in this discussion, some Kazakh intellectuals used associations with the Alash party. During and after various prosecutions, all such accused Kazakh intellectuals tried to acquit themselves as they stood before the Russian Bolsheviks. But in most cases, it proved impossible. On the contrary, the Bolsheviks suspected such people and started to investigate them.

Another topic raised was about the use of folklore materials. That was another aspect to prosecute the intellectuals to label them “nationalists”. Prohibiting the use of folklore materials, which were regarded as national sources, was quite widespread during this period.

As for Bekmakhanov, he was one of the first historian-scientists who started to use folklore materials in his scholarship. He explained why by saying:

For researching Kazakhstan’s history, the place of the folklore is quite important as historical source. It is because, up until second half of 19th history, there was no written literature for the Kazakh people. The importance of folklore materials is that it supplies correct information about historical events and individuals. Because, it is the people themselves who wrote the history and who had direct contact with the incidents. Even though we do not talk about Kazakh folklore as a whole, we can say: because various incidents are told from start to end, the names of many individuals are given correctly and also because it includes much knowledge, what you call as folklore is a

⁵⁰ Bekmakhanov *ibid.*, pp. 298–316.

matchless treasure for a historian.⁵¹

Among scholars who commented, the philologist S. Amanzholov explained a historian's usage of folklore materials: "Our historians and literati have to clarify their interest in folklore materials and poets of the court. Every Sultan and Khan used court poets who glorified their work, so that their Khanate would be remembered in the future. Such poets are mostly ideologues of a certain class. For example, Buxar in Abylai Khan's era, or Nysanbai in Kenesary's era."⁵² He stated that Bekmakhanov used the poet Nysanbai in his work about Kenesary. B. Suleimanov also commented about this topic. In response, Bekmakhanov said that "Not only Kazakhstan's, also other peoples' past was written in historical travel-books and officers' memoirs, tradesmen, and other ruling class representatives too. We can have information about the past events, through those sources. Why we should throw them into a dustbin? Your words make no sense because, if you cannot interpret what a source is, you cannot approach to those sources in a scientific way."⁵³

The third major accusation against Bekmakhanov was how he portrayed Kenesary's personality. Among the topics discussed was that Kenesary descended from Genghis Khan, his fought against the Great Russian nation, he was a reactionary, and the aim of his uprising was examined too. On this topic, many famous historians spoke and expressed their opinions. Despite these well-known Russian historians who supported Bekmakhanov, in that era of Bolshevik domination, it was impossible for Bekmakhanov to exculpate Kenesary.

Finally, they allowed the accused Bekmakhanov the chance to speak. The historian claimed that his critics and others with opposing arguments relied on the tactic of "Giving irrelevant footnotes from Marxism-Leninism classics and failing to associate them with historical events". The historian expressed his opinions clearly by saying: "I pointed out that Kazakhs had their own state and also the fact that my nation exists."

Despite all of this, the discussions were inconclusive, although the consequences became clearer shortly thereafter. In fact, during this meeting, an underlining sentiment formed to fault Bekmakhanov. It was already clear that he was going to be politically prosecuted.

In 1950, prosecution of E. Bekmakhanov gained a new role. On 26 December, "Pravda" publish an article, which was written by Shoynbaev, Aidarova, Yakunin, et.al, and titled "Examining issues of the History

51 Bekmakhanov, E. *Qazaqstan XIX ғасырдың 20-40 жылдарында (Оқу қуралы)*, Almaty: "Sanat", 1994, pp. 42-43.

52 Bekmakhanov, *Jeti tomдық şıғармалар жинағы*, p. 217.

53 Bekmakhanov, *Jeti tomдық şıғармалар жинағы*, p. 316.

of Kazakhstan in the direction of Marxist-Leninism"; it ignited anew the official accusations against Bekmakhanov. On 10 April 1951, the Central Committee of Kazakhstan CP decided to deal with the issues raised in the article. It determined that the article's conclusions were correct and it criticized Bekmakhanov's bourgeois-nationalistic views.⁵⁴

The article in "Pravda" became an excuse, not only to prosecute Bekmakhanov but also other Kazakh intellectuals. The historian A. Takenov expressed his opinions about the article that K. Aidarova wrote about Bekmakhanov, noting:

Writers of the article were mediocre historians who could become visible among scientists only by criticizing Bekmakhanov. Based on that fact, there has been another secret power which protected them. Despite this, they only repeated their opinions during the discussion, "Pravda" newspaper published those sentences with big letters: 'All historical sources show that, Uprising of Kenesary was neither progressive, nor revolutionary. That reactionary movement strengthened patriarchal-feudality order among the Kazakhs, caused revival of medieval Khan government and it separated Kazakhstan from Russia and great Russian people.'

Those harsh words were like a directly given order.⁵⁵

On 4 December 1952, Bekmakhanov was convicted. In the decision, it was written: "As the investigation files in the court show E. Bekmakhanov falsified historical knowledge and propagandized bourgeois-nationalism in his works. He praised feudality, the rich people and the reactionary Khans and sultans which fought against Russian people and tried to protect the medieval system in Kazakhstan. He used works of reactionary poets and people's enemies who were called as "Alash Orda" to prove his bourgeois-nationalist ideas. He performed his nationalistic ideology among the people he knew, too."⁵⁶ Based on those accusations, his conviction came with the harshest punishment. He was sent to work in the camps for 25 years based on the USSR Penal Code's 58-10 articles' second passage. (The aforementioned passage is about forming armed groups countrywide, or setting up an armed uprising, also taking over the government in local oblasts, or contributing to the movements in order to forcibly take over a region from USSR)

54 Nurpeyisov. K., "Bekmakhanov Pen Onın Bastı Kitabı Qalay Jazalandı?", *Qazaq Tarihi*, 2005, No. 2.

55 Takenov. A., "Eluınşı Jıldardıń Basında Qazaq Tarihi Qalayqıspaqqa Alındı?", *Qazaq Tarihi*, 1994, No. 1, 3.

56 Astana qalasındagı "Aljir" muzeylik-memorialdıq keşen materialdarınan.

Along with him, K. Satbaev was another of the Kazakh intellectuals also accused. He wrote letters to Stalin, to CP Central Committee Secretary G. Malenkov, and to Kazakhstan CP Central Committee Secretary J. Shaiakhmetov, insisting that he was libeled. X. Abzhanov, who works on Kazakh intellectuals' life, published new documents about K. Satbaev.⁵⁷

One example is the letter written by K. Satbaev, then president of the Academy of Sciences in the Kazakh SSR. In the letter, we see that the Bolsheviks wrote frequently during his life about movements that "Did not fit with Soviet Society", and subsequently used against him during his prosecution. Included in that process was the rumor that in 1927 rumor he published about Edige, that he filled the Academy of Sciences with foreign people, that he propagandized for the nationalist "Alash Orda" in 1917, and other such accusations. Regarding the accusations about Alash, K. Satbaev explains:

This accusation is based on the point that my name appears in the "Saryarka" newspaper's November 9, 1917, issue, within the list of 'The people who were sent by Alash Orda in 1917, in order to propagandize for the Alash Orda Party among the people'. I did not see this issue before the autumn of 1951, and in the autumn of 1917 I was in the hospital due to tuberculosis. Later I came back to my village for treatment. At that time, I was 18 years old and I did not know anything about politics. I have no idea why and how my name was written in an Alash Orda newspaper. In my opinion, Alash Orda might have written my name in the newspaper because they tried to gain the few Kazakh intelligentsia and students, and I was a student too. Or perhaps it is related to my uncle's son Abikei, who was a member of Alash Orda. I never propagandized for Alash Orda, and if I would have such actions it would be easy to figure out from that era's archives, on contrary I wanted this issue to be researched on a detailed way.⁵⁸

He repeated those opinions in his other letters also.

As it can be understood from Prof. K. Satbaev's letters, the accusations against him about being related to the Alash party proves the Bolshevik intention to exterminate Kazakh intellectuals. As it is certain from historical sources, his uncle's son Abikei Satbaev, worked in the Eastern part of the Alash Orda Party.

As he also stated, along with those accusations, the Propaganda Department's Chief of the Central Committee of the Kazakhstan Com-

57 Nazarbayev, G. – Abzhanov, H., *Qazaqstan: Tarih pen Tagdir*, Almaty: "Kitap baspası", JŇS, 2003.

58 Ibid.

munist Party (CP) Khramkov was accused of “protecting nationalists” at the Kazakhstan Communist Party’s 5th meeting. In the letter that he wrote to Stalin, he explained all of those accusations. K. Satbaev also claimed that the last accusation was about Bekmakhanov. Whilst talking about E. Bekmakhanov’s prosecution, he wrote that Bekmakhanov worked in Academy of Sciences, that he was a scientist assigned the duty to research the Kenesary Kasymov rebellion before the publication of the article called “Examining issues of the History of Kazakhstan in the direction of Marxist-Leninism” in “Pravda”, but for some reason there had been a disagreement among historians, the Kazakhstan CP Central Committee officers, and even among the Kazakhstan CP Central Committee secretaries.⁵⁹

Political prosecution also affected the management of Kazakh National University, where Bekmakhanov worked. Later, criticism turned against scientist and psychologist T. Tazhibaev, who was rector of the Kazakh National University. He was also criticized earlier, for gathering untrustworthy people who were subsequently fired from the university following political accusations. He was especially criticized for protecting Bekmakhanov.⁶⁰ The article named “The intolerance against criticisms in Kazakh National University” in “Pravda” also caused Tajibaev to be removed from his duty as president.

We cannot say that the prosecutions during the 1940s and 1950s concluded following Stalin’s death in 1953. Persecutions against Kazakh intellectuals in Kazakhstan continued, with condemnations ending only after the 20th Congress meeting of Communist Party.

The Communist Party’s 20th Congress, held between 12-25 February 1956, saved Soviet citizens from the Stalinist terror. At this meeting, on 25 February, the USSR’s CP Central Committee’s General Secretary, N. S. Khrushchev, gave a speech about “Idolizing one person and the harm of it”. That speech determined the fate of all representatives of the people, as well as the fate of specific individuals. Thereby, research about this speech as a historical source would help to learn the history of the political persecutions. Materials from the 20th Congress, a historical source of the Soviet totalitarian regime, is the document that clearly proves the violation of human rights. N. S. Khrushchev proved in his speech⁶¹ the scope of Stalinism’s crimes very well. He

⁵⁹ Ibid, p.263.

⁶⁰ Takenov, A., “Eluinşi Jıldardın Basında Qazaq Tarihi Qalayqıspaqqı Alındı?”, *Qazaq Tarihi*, 1994, No. 1, 3.

⁶¹ *Reabilitatsya. Politicheskiyeprosessy 30-50-h godov (pod. Obş. Red. A. N. Yakovleva)*, Moscow, Politizdat, 1991, pp. 19-67, 461.

said after researching many materials and other documents in files of the prosecutions made by the commission that many innocent people were falsely accused and blamed with lies. He said that in the years of 1937-8, many party members, officers, and workers throughout the society were libeled with the title of “enemy of the people” but they were never “enemy of the people” or “spies”. They were always loyal Communists, but the officers who performed those investigations slandered them with accusations that are very hard to believe.

In 1988, the President of Kazakhstan’s S. Velikhanov Institute of History, Archeology, and Ethnology, R. Suleimenov, reinterpreted the fate of those Kazakh intellectuals in the period of political persecution: “The effects of the prosecution period in the 1930s-1950s are ongoing today. The unwarranted prosecution tired our intellectuals so much that later generations inherited the concept of fear. The young scientists, who had never been prosecuted, became very hesitant. With the anxiety of doing something wrong, most of them think, ‘we must live a peaceful and quiet life without writing anything wrong’”.⁶²

Nowadays, the Stalinist phenomenon, which prosecuted innocent people, is in the past. However, in the late 1980s a big problem remained unsolved. The Alash Orda intellectuals, who struggled against the Soviet government from the beginning, were still not rehabilitated. And, Alash Orda intellectuals, not being rehabilitated, meant their works remained in the shadows. It was seen, for that to be amended, serious changes within Soviet society were needed. As late as M. Gorbachov’s Glasnost and Perestroika era, which spurred on those necessary big changes in Soviet society, the Kazakh Alash Movement’s leaders and members were eventually rehabilitated. The Kazakh people had the chance to read their books and other works. And, it proved to be evidence of Russian colonial policies in the steppe. It was evidence that the Bolshevik state had to be fully abolished in order to exculpate the many individuals victimized by Lenin and Stalin’s prosecutions.

62 “Tarihtin Ar Paragı Qimbat Bizge”, *Sosiyalistik Qazaqstan*, 1988, 25 August.

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REFLECTIONS OF THE PROSECUTION OF HISTORIAN ERMUKHAN BEKMAKHANOV IN THE SOVIET PRESS

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In the old Soviet Union, the Bolshevik party clearly dominated the official administration and leadership positions in government. The totalitarian regime, which strengthened completely in the first half of the twentieth century, subjected the administration to an ideology that organized and exerted a powerful authority in every area of the political-environmental life. It was also necessary that the fields of education and science had to reflect the official ideology and obey the doctrines as articulated by the party leaders. In Joseph Stalin's open letter, "About Some Issues of Bolshevism's History", which he wrote for the journal 'Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya', he aimed to elevate issues of Bolshevism's history, to put scientific methods into practice in order to know the party's history better, and he demanded that historians and other overcome the false Trotskistes who described the party's history incorrectly. The life of historian Ermukhan Bekmakhanov, one of the first modern Kazakhs to possess a doctorate degree, coincided with this gloomy period encumbered with this totalitarian pressure. The state, suspicious of his historical motivations, subjected the scientist to political prosecution in order to find political-ideological defects because it questioned a man committed to searching systematically for the history of his people. The groundless accusations and prosecutions harmed his health and he passed away at age 51. What remains from the historian, who devoted himself to history science, are works that examine the substantial issues of Kazakhstan between the eighteenth and twentieth centuries, Kazakhstan coursebooks, and his works about pedagogy.

However, during the period of the totalitarian regime, his works were not considered worthy. He was accused of being a bourgeois nationalist and a scientist who interpreted history in a wrong way. The press organs presented the propaganda of official ideology of the communist party and played an important role during political prosecution of the historian Ermukhan Bekmakhanov. In this study, the political campaigns organized against E. Bekmakhanov, the role the communist party media organs played, and the harm these campaigns had on the writing of Kazakh history will be discussed.

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When Did the Political Pressure Begin against the Historical Sciences in Kazakhstan?

J. Stalin's article called 'About Some Issues of Bolshevism's History', which appeared in 1931 in the sixth issue of the journal 'Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya', aimed to elevate Bolshevism's history to its rightful place, to further teaching and improve studies of the party with scientific methods, and to compete with the Trotskists and others who interpreted history incorrectly. There were prohibitions against the works of some Kazakh intellectuals, such as K. Kemengerulı, M. Tınışbayev, T. Şonanulı, S. Asferndiyarov, Ş. Kudaybergenov, and A. Bökeyhanov, whom the regime deemed that they interpreted history falsely, harmfully, and ignored the appropriate class concepts. There has been a false perception about Kazakhs' historical science, that it was too new and owed any appreciation to Russian scholars and scientists. This idea was articulated by the Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee, particularly in the area of social science.⁶³

Stalin's article mentioned above, noted historical methods that ought to be considered in 1934 by the Soviet Communist Party and Education Minister; the warnings of J. Stalin, A. Jdanov, and S. Kirov about Soviet History course book determined that Stalinist concept on the science of Soviet History. The 1938 'Short History of Communist Party' determined the methodological way of all the Soviet Union people's history.

In just such a period, Ermukhan Bekmakhanov finished secondary school in 1932 in Bayanavul, after that he completed a one-year preparation course to university in Semey, and between 1933 and 1937, with the assistance of a Ministry of Education scholarship, he completed his education in the history department at the university in the city of Voronej. Having graduated from university, in 1937 Bekmakhanov started his duty as a teacher at Number 28 secondary school in Alma-Ata. Here, he participated in studies about the writing of history methodological works for the people of USSR and helped prepare the first antique world map for Kazakh language schools. In the Pedagogy Research Institute in Alma-Ata (currently, Altynsarin Kazakh Science Academy), the researcher worked as a principal in the same institute between the years 1939-1940. The young researcher's first scientific methodological works were issued in the magazine 'Public Teacher' (current 'School of Kazakhstan') in 1938-1939 and aroused the interest of teachers and the readers. With the principalship in the Kazakh Pedagogy University, (currently Abay University), he con-

63 Omarov, İ., "O Zadaçah İstoriçeskoy Nauki v Kazakhstane", *Bolşevik Kazahstana*, 1950, No1, p. 28.

tinued his doctorate education. Prof. Anna Mihaylovna Pankratova, a famous historian and the member of USSR Science Academy helped him through tough times and provided directions to his important works during the first steps of his history science studies. At that time, literacy education was given great attention at high schools and observed by the Communist Party Central Committee; because of this, he received additional education between 1940-1941. Apart from this, he furthered his historical training at various education foundations.

Criticisms about Ermukhan Bekmakhanov in the Soviet Press

With the beginning of World War Two, it was decided that experts working in the institutes connected to the USSR Science Academy were to be evacuated to Kazan, Sverdlovsk, Tashkent, and Alma-Ata. Following this decision, ten scientists with A. Pankratova, then a principal in the Science Academy History Institute, came to Alma-Ata in the Autumn of 1941. Kazakh SSR Minister of Education Deputy Ermukhan Bekmakhanov was assigned to arrange matters, such as housing, for the Moscow historians and to organize their working situation. The historians were assigned as rectors of Alma-Ata City Communist Party Organization. Anna Mihaylovna Pankratova, who aimed to do party propaganda things and scientific studies together, gave her opinion about the writing of 'Kazakh SSR History'. It is obvious that such issues, especially the writing of the history course books, were to be approved only by the party committee. Therefore, with the approval of the Party Central Committee, they started to write the course book of Kazakh history. The scientific counsellor of the book, A. Pankratova, agreed to assign specialists such as K. Satbayev, M. Avezov, S. Mukanov, A. Margulan, G. Mäsiropov, and B. Kenjebayev to write the Kazakh history. Apart from that, she also added three scientists from the research institute. E. Bekmakhanov undertook the task organization of the different researchers and he himself contributed to the writing of the book. In those times, E. Bekmakhanov (1941-1942) was working as a secondary school principal in Kazakhstan Ministry of Education and between the years 1942-1944 as a rector in Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee. He served as the deputy of institute principal, and as a researcher at the Ethnography, History and Archeological Institute of Kazakh Science Academy between 1943-1948. Performing the scientific studies and the administration at the same time, also marked the start of his political prosecution. It is possible to examine in three parts the criticisms against E. Bekmakhanov in the pages of the press and the accusations against him because of his political positions.

First Period:

The course book, "The History of Kazakh SSR," written together by Moscow and Kazakh scientists, was published in July 1943. In the first edition, the book was separated into two parts: 1. The Kazakh people in the independence period, (from prehistoric period to the 1860s), 2. Kazakhstan, in the colonial period (from the 1860s to the October Revolution).⁶⁴ A writers' committee subsequently amended the book into six parts: 1. The Pre-historic period in the Kazakhstan land; 2. The first tribal community in the Kazakhstan territory; 3. The Barbarian government until the feudal period; 4. The improvement of feudal relations in Kazakhstan and the first feudal states; 5. The period until the second half of 18th century to the first half of 19th century and the emergence of the feudal colony system; 6. The period from the second half of 19th century to the October Revolution. The course book was recommended for the Stalin award, but rejected because its contents were deemed to be 'against Russia', especially after the "Bolshevik" magazine published an article 'About the Kazakh SSR History', severely criticized M. Morozov's book.

Party criticisms about Kazakhstan history, such as 'mistakes, nationalist manipulations', were taken into consideration. Due to the fact that no other historical works appeared that examined the Soviet period, it was proposed that the book would remain in its original form divided into two parts, with the possibility of later amendments on the research of Soviet history. However, party press organs continued to criticize the writers and searched for political and methodological mistakes in the book's content. This indicated that the struggle against nationalism was resumed.

The book failed to receive a Stalin award. On 14 August 1945, the Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee decided to prepare a second edition of 'Kazakh SSR history.' The second edition of the book was published in 1949, which followed considerations and advices from Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee decisions. The second volume that included the Soviet period history was prepared and given to the press.

The republics created the USSR, which include the Communist Party Central Committee, caused the prohibition of the first national Kazakh history course book, but in 1946, 'The USSR Communist Party History' ultimately determined the concept of historical sciences of the party and it printed 10 million copies. Some 200,000 copies of the book were distributed in Kazakhstan. The Kazakhstan Communist

⁶⁴ Shayahmetov, J., "O Sostoyanii Ideologicheskoy Raboty v Kazahskoy Partinyonoy Organizatsii", *Bol'shevik Kazakhstana*, 1948, No 3, p. 17.

Party Central Committee had planned to print 50,000 copies and to translate the book into the Kazakh language. The first 20,000 printed copies appeared in the Kazakh language. At the first meeting of the Communist Party High Council, which took place in March 1946, approved the Five-Years Plan for 1946-1950, and included commitments for 'The development and improvement of economy of USSR people'. With this new era in the lives of the Soviet peoples, the Bolshevik Party took full responsibility. There was guidance for issues, such as 'Ideological studies must be increased to fulfill this responsibility'.⁶⁵ All areas of ideological and cultural studies of the party and states were mobilized for this issue. All of the cultural foundations, like the press, propaganda, science, literature and art, radio, cinema, theatre, and museums had to work to train the communist laborers.⁶⁶ At the office of Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee, discussions occurred about issues such as Economic divisions of the USSR Science Academy Kazakh Branch, Language and Literature, History Institutes, the studies of research and investigation, and the investigations of social-economy disciplines in Kazakh SSR higher education foundations. History specialists were instructed to write the history of Kazakh people according to the Marxist doctrine.

Throughout August and September 1946, various organs of the Communist Party Central Committee dealt with and seemingly accelerated discussion about party ideology in 'Zvezda' and 'Leningrad', the 'drama theatre repertoires and the studies for the enhancement of it', decisions about the film 'Big Life', the opening of Communist Party Central Committee Social Science Academy, reconstruction of Party Higher School tied to the committee, and at party schools located in each republic's capitals. These discussions and state organs demanded that social scientists produce the correct propaganda of party policy and ideology to present to the public at-large. While doing the ideology propaganda studies, the party demanded scholars and others to abide by the party decision mentioned above and the decisions of Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee which were meticulously determined by the 'Kazakh SSR History'.⁶⁷

According to the Communist Party Central Committee decisions, it was compulsory for historians to participate in ideology activities

65 Shayahmetov, J., "Qazaq SSR'nin Halık Sharuashılıǵın Örekendetuvin Besjıldık Josparı men Qazaqstan Partiya Uyumunın Mindetteri", *Qazaqstan Bolşevigi*, 1946, No 7-8, p. 21.

66 Ibid.

67 Shayahmetov, J., "O Sostoyanii Ideologičeskoy Raboty v Kazahskoy Partiynoy Organizatsii", *Bolşevik Kazahstana*, 1948, No3, p. 18.

among the people too, rather than simply adhering to their scientific studies. Party organizations warned that 'Kazakh historians do not adequately promote their successes among the workers, the kolkhoz populations, and civil servants and they do not use important propaganda rules like press-media courses.' It was being reported that the most important failure was 'their curiosity to old history and their interest in it'. The criticisms centered on topics such as only one of the six books published in 1946 and 1947 that examined the Soviet period was 'The triumph of October Revolution in Kazakhstan', and that the first three articles of 'Kazakh SSR Science Academy' magazine were about the issues before Soviet period, just five of the associate professors' theses were about Soviet period and the remaining thirteen covered the pre-Soviet period.

Political and methodological defects were identified in the scientist's works that examined Kazakhstan's history up to the Soviet period. A review of some of the so-called political and methodological defected works is important here. In the second edition (1946) of the 'Kazakh SSC Science Academy News' (*İzvestiya Akademii Nauk Kazakhskoi SSR*), with a focus on history, A.Margulan's article about Edige appeared. In the article, the writer examined the Golden Horde period of Kazakh history and Edige, who was the common hero of all the Middle Asian people. Accusations asserted that A.Margulan's article 'Altınordu mirza dignified Edige who was the enemy of Russian, Kazakh and the other populations', that 'It indicated that Edige was the highly regarded among all Middle Asian populations', and it was said the article was 'lacked sufficient scientificity and was full of Panturkist ideas'. In 1947, 'The Bibliography of Kazakhstan History Materials' (Eastern sources issued up to 1917) was published. The writer was N.Sabitov and the editor was A.Murgalan. This publication included the works of Arabian, Persia and Turk historians about the Kazakh people's history and culture. This work also criticized, but in a different way, topics that included religious tales and epics.⁶⁸ However, the positive ideas in the work of H.Aydarova, 'Çokan Velihanov', it was said that Arab and English literature's role exaggerated the formation of Çokan Velihanov's ideas.

Important improvements in Kazakh history had to be conducted that associated it with the 'Supreme Russian History' and according to class and party methodology. Some historians revealed their share of criticisms in this way. If A.Borizov's article, 'Syrian essay in the Taraz basin', which was printed in the archeology series of the 'Kazakh SSC

68 Omarov, İ., "O Zadaçah İstoriçeskoy Nauki v Kazakhstane", *Bolşevik Kazahstana*, 1950, No1, p. 31.

Science Academy News', received criticisms that it exploited resources of Middle Asian peoples cultural history from Persia and Syria, than it follows that N.G.Apollova's book, 'Involvement of Kazakhstan to Russia', was criticized for not being adequately examined.

In 1946, the Kazakh SSR Science Academy, History, Archeology and Ethnology Institute was founded and attached to the USSR Science Academy History division. We can say that the foundation of the institute played an important role in the improvement of state's historical sciences.

At the Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee meeting, the USSR Science Academy, the research and examination studies of Economy, Language and Literature, History institutes of Kazakhstan divisions, and the scientific studies of social discipline departments in Kazakhstan high school foundations were negotiated. The historians were instructed that the history of Kazakh people must be written according to Marxist doctrine. The proper course for scientific studies of history declared that scientists are:

1. To prepare the second print of 'Kazakh SSR history from the ancient period to the present' according the decisions of Kazakhstan Party Central Committee on 14 August 1945.
2. To put archive materials into one system, to prepare a multi-volumed complete works that includes documents from ancient Kazakh history.
3. To research historical social ideas in Kazakhstan at the end of the nineteenth century and to systematize it accordingly.
4. To publish materials and documents about the October Revolution and Civil War in Kazakhstan.
5. To research the improvements of Kazakhstan's economic, political, and cultural development since the October Revolution.
6. To research Kazakhstan's Party Organization.
7. To publish materials about the history of the Second World War, to be called 'Kazakhstan in the Second World War'.⁶⁹

The Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee instructed historians and teachers of literature, as well as all the workers of ideology, that they had to write history by taking the decisions about the first edition of 'Kazakh SSR History' into consideration and to prepare its second edition accordingly.⁷⁰ It insisted that historians and

69 Abdihalikova M., "Besjildik Jospar jane Qazaqstanda Gılimnın Mindetteri", *Qazaqstan Bolşevigi*, 1946, No 6, p. 29.

70 "Ideologiyalıq Jumusumudın Darejesi Jogarı Bolsın", *Qazaqstan Bolşevigi*, 1946, No 9-10, p. 36.

doctoral students had to fulfill these objectives.

Articles about historical scientific issues were published in several scientific magazines, such as four history series editions of 'Kazakh SSC Science Academy News', and two editions in the archeological and historical series "Voprosy İstorii", "Vestnik Akademii Nauk Kazahskoy SSR". These self-examinations mentioned the decisions of Communist Party and the instruction to enhance mutual criticisms were supposed to be in the articles 'Kazakhstan Bolshevism', 'Socialist Kazakhstan', 'Kazakhstan Communist', 'Kazakhstanskaya Pravda', and in the other party press organs that appeared in the 'Criticism and Bibliography' sections.

Second Period

The historian Ermukhan Bekmakhanov's defense of his associate professorship thesis coincided with the period of difficult times in terms of the public political situation, which accelerated the eradication of renewed nationalism activities evident during the war years. After he defended his thesis in October 1946, these activities ignited more than ever. Bekmakhanov's enemies anonymously filed complaints against his book, 'Kazakhstan in the 20s and 40s of the 19th century', which was published in Alma-Ata in 1947 and under the guidance of M. P. Vyatkin, in magazines, journals, and newspapers and sent letters to party officials.

Deputy Principle of Kazakhstan Science Academy History, Archeology and Ethnology Institute (between 1946-1947) Ermukhan Bekmakhanov's article 'The history science situation in Kazakhstan and its duties', which was issued in the ninth edition of 1947 magazine of 'Bolshevik Kazakhstan', received significant criticism by party workers.⁷¹

In the article, in which he articulated his ideas about the important history science issues, Bekmakhanov pointed out some controversial issues in history science. In his article, he mentioned his view that 'The materials written about Kazakhstan history before October Revolution should not be ignored, that Russian scientists like Academy Member Professors Velyaminov-Zernov, Radlov, Barthold, Levşin, Aristov, and Potanin also searched these issues. In their scientific studies, they have rich documents and some of them were used in scientific studies for the first time and that is why it has huge significance.' He added, as well, that the works of the aforementioned research should be approached critically. He mentioned the importance of Chokan Velihanov's works about the history of East Turkistan and the people of Chungarya, Kazakh and Kyrgyz, Kurbangali Halid, Omar Karashev's

⁷¹ Bekmakhanov, E., "O Sostoyanii k Zadaçah İstoriceskoy Nauki v Kazahstane", *Bolşevik Kazahstana*, 1945, No 9, pp. 26-37.

Kazakh history, ethnography, and culture.

It does not matter that E. Bekmakhanov did not explicitly cite the Kazakh intellectuals' names who had worked on Kazakh history before October Revolution, because as he explained about the studies devoted to this period: 'If before the Revolution, Russian historians' studies were methodologically low and if they were written with 'High Russian Racism' and approached critically the sources of Kazakh historians in this period, the bourgeois-nationalism thoughts were also clearly evident.'⁷²

In the 1943 work, 'Kazakh SSR History', which the USSR Science Academy, History Institute Almaty Department, USSR Science Academy Kazakhstan Department, and the workers of the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute Kazakhstan Department organized together (editor A. Abdihalikov and A. Pankratova) he determined the facts, such as 'The first step to search one of Soviet East people history through Marxist doctrine and the awakening of scientific interest to the book because it is the first detailed study about the Kazakh peoples' history.'

The importance of the book is its rich content and documents regarding Kazakhstan history from ancient times to the present were brought together systematically. Ermukhanov says that 'The writers, as the members of Kazakh nation, assumed serious and reasonable criticism because of the mistakes and the wrong ideas at the time writing the book 'Kazakh SSR History'' and also further criticized by observing that 'The writers of the book remained limited just by searching the Kazakh peoples' independence campaign instead of searching Kazakhstan history through the production power and development of power relations, social classes, and class struggle.'

Having been issued the article of E. Bekmakhanov's analyzing the past and the present of Kazakh science history, the first criticals came from "Kultura i Jizn" newspaper and "Bolshevik Kazakhstana" magazine. The researcher named A. Liholat's 'Mixed Article About History Science Duty' was issued in "Kultura i Jizn" newspaper in its 35. number of 20 December 1947 edition and in the first edition of 1948s 'Bolshevik Kazakhstana' magazine. It is to the point that the writer of the article inclined only to the points that he found inaccurate by ignoring the valued evaluation and comments of E. Bekmakhanov's. In his article E. Bekmakhanov examined the history science issues in detail. We will mention about the points criticized in the press organs.

In the 6th number of the 1945 edition of 'Bolshevik', the writer criticized the article from the 1943 'Kazakh SSR History', which included about the author's methodological mistakes that resulted in

⁷² Ibid, p. 27.

erroneous information and interpretations about the Kazakh people's history; despite this, E. Bekmakhanov tried to prove in his article that the importance of the book awakened scientific interest.⁷³

In addition, the critics failed to mention the mistakes and defects in M.P. Vyatkin's book, 'About Kazakh SSR History', and the origins of erroneous ideas in 'Kazakh SSR History' (one of the M.P. Vyatkin writers), or the newly issued book about Kazakh history by S. N. Pokrovskiy, the works of V. F. Şahmatov, and M. P. Vyatkin and that he did not extend his praise of Bekmakhanov's book 'Kazakhstan in the 20s and 40s of 19th century'.⁷⁴ To him, the other defects in the articles existed because they failed to show other crucial investigations in areas such as that 'Some states and populations before the foundation of Kazakh state' history, 'The emerge and the improvement of Kok Turk Imperial Rule in the Early Middle Age', the works written about several states' history ruled under Cenghis Khan hegemony, the search of the history of the states founded in the XV century in Kazakhstan's land, the relations of the Kazakhs with China and Zhungaria, the people and state, slavery in Kazakhstan, Tolengits, batyrs, and chieftans.⁷⁵

Highlighting the positive sides of 'Kazakh SSR History' book in E. Bekmakhanov's article, the writer confessed that the mistakes made in the issue of the separation of Kazakhstan history periods were also rightly criticized. The first print of the book was separated into the chapters: 1. Kazakh people in the independence period (From Ancient times to the 60s of the XIX century) 2. Kazakhstan in the colonial period (From the 60s of XIX century to the October Revolution).⁷⁶ It was separated to 6 chapters after the amendments of writers' committee. 1. Ancient times on Kazakhstan's territory; 2. The first tribal community in Kazakhstan's territory; 3. Barbarian state until the feudal period; 4. The development of feudal relations in Kazakhstan, the first feudal states; 5. The period from the second half of the XVIII century to the first half of the XIX century, the emergence of the feudal colonial system; 6. The period from the second half of the XIX century to the October Revolution. Party critics were also taken into consideration, such as 'mistakes, nationalist manipulations', that occurred in Ka-

73 Liholat, A., "Putanaya Statya o Zadaçah İstoriçeskoy Nauki", *Kultura i Jizn*, 20.12.1947, No35 and *Bolşevik Kazahstana* 1948, No1, p. 50.

74 Ibid.

75 Ibid, p. 51.

76 Shayahmetov, J., "O Sostoyanii İdeologičeskoy Raboty v Kazahskoy Partiynoy Organizatsii", *Bolşevik Kazahstana*, 1948, No3, p. 33.

zakhstan's history. It was suggested that the first separated form of the periods was convenient by taking into consideration the possible changes about this issue in the Soviet period history, and not having written any book about the subsequent history.

In his article, E. Bekmakhanov pointed out that during the time of writing the second print of 'Kazakh SSR History', some works made a crucial contribution, such as the works about Syrym Batyr in M.P. Vyatkin's study, which was the first to use substantial archive material from the Second World War years, about the reforms of Süleymenov between 1867-1868, the Apollova's work about Kazakhstan's involvement with Russia, the works of H.Aydarova who researched Ç.Velihanov's life and the book called 'Kazakhstan in the 20s and 40s of the XIX century' that covered the social-economical situation in the first half of the XIX century, S.N. Pokrovski's 'Civil Wars in Seven Seas', V.F.Shahmatov's 'Internal Bökey Orda and the Isatay Taymanov Revolt'. He also evaluated the aforementioned works above as unique studies that help us to know more about Kazakh history.

As mentioned above, E. Bekmakhanov identified specific crucial issues and the functions of Kazakhstan's history in his article. He expresses in his article that: 'The crucial duty of the historians is to search the issues of the foundation of the Kazakh state and the emergence of the Kazakh people. Sorting out this issue rightly is related to the ability to see the social-economic and political developments of the people and the states founded before the foundation of Kazakh state. Thereby, it is necessary to search the other states founded in Middle Asia and the Turk Khanates that emerged in the Middle Ages. It is important to write books about the Jagatai Nation, the Kipchak state, and the Karakhan state, and also important to search the activities of Janibek and Kerey, which layed the foundation of the Kazakh Khans Tavke and Ebu'l Hayir Khan. The cultural, political, economic, and diplomatic relations of the Kazakh people with the other people in terms of these relations has not been researched yet. During the emergence of the Kazakh people and their founding a state, it is important to search the relations with China, Zhungarya, the Middle Asia Khans and the Başkurt, Kirghiz, Kalmuk, Uyghur people.'

He proposed to identify various issues of Kazakhstan's incorporation into Russia: To search how Russian civilization came to the Kazakh deserts, its influence on Kazakh culture and its way of life, and the relations of Kazakh intellectuals with Russian civilization, etc.

Liholat, as mentioned above, in his article critically noted that 'If the historians take account the recommendations of E. Bekmakhanov about the research of crucial issues of Kazakhstan history, it will

take many long years to finish the history of the Soviet period. It is unacceptable that such an article be printed by the Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee's press organ 'Bolshevik Kazakhstana'.

He promised to rectify the inappropriate defects about Kazakhstan's historical sciences' responsibilities in one near future issue of the magazine and stated that Liholat's criticisms issued in 'Bolshevik Kazakhstana' magazine and 'Kultura i Jhn' were true.⁷⁷

H. Aydarova, one of E. Bekmakhanov's colleagues, followed in 1948 with the essays 'Nationalist Perversion in Kazakhstan History Issues' and 'Searching Kazakhstan History Issues through Marxist-Leninist Doctrines'. On 23 February 1948, the USSR History Science Academy representatives discussed E. Bekmakhanov's book following instructions from the USSR Communist Party Central Committee. H. Aydarova, M. Akınjanov, and T. Şoyunbayev attended this meeting as special guests and attacked the book with their criticisms. They discussed the book on several occasions to further their criticisms. The first meeting was at the USSR Science Academy History Institute in Moscow and the second meeting was at the Kazakh SSR Science Academy in Alma Ata in June. The next meeting was in Science Academy, History, Archeology and Ethnography Institute between 14-19 July 1948.⁷⁸ The direction taken at these meeting emerged from K.Şaripov's article 'Let Kazakhstan's History be searched through Marxist doctrine' that later appeared in 1949 in the journal "Voprosy İstorii" (No.4), "Bolshevik Kazakhstana" (No.9) magazine and in the same years' newspapers 'Socialist Kazakhstan' and 'Kazakhstanskaya Pravda'. A review of the article in 'Socialist Kazakhstan' newspaper suggested that 'While searching the changes of Kazakhstan social-economic relations E. Bekmakhanov could not rightly identify the passing of Kazakh society to the feudal period and within this commonly occupied territory or the intensifying class arguments that the people crushed. There is not any idea of the struggle against the khans and sultans, the governors and rich people in his book. By exposing Kazakh nationalists trying to show Kazakhs and the Russian relations was between oppressed and oppressors, the historian needs to show the friendship and common fate of the Russia and Kazakh people by examing the difficult life experiences of Russian peasants in Orenburg and Siberia. The big mistake of E. Bekmakhanov is his inability to show class arguments adequetly during the 1837-1846 upheavals.'

⁷⁷ "Ot Redaktsii", *Bolshevik Kazakhstana*, 1948, No 1, p. 52.

⁷⁸ Omarbekov, T., *XX Gasırdagı Qazaqstan Tarihiniń Özektı Maseleleri*, Almatı, 2001, p. 336.

E. Bekmakhanov's answer to K.Şaripov's article was issued in the 'Socialist Kazakhstan' magazines on 2 October 1949.⁷⁹ E. Bekmakhanov admitted that he made three methodological mistakes and mentioned these mistakes in detail. According to E. Bekmakhanov's article, the correct interpretation would identify the Marxist doctrine against the independence campaign of Kazakhs between the years 1837-1846. Bekmakhanov acknowledged that he did not reveal appropriately that the rebellion between 1837 and 1846 was not only against colonial oppression but also a class campaign by the oppressed against the oppressor. Accordingly, 'The class differences between rioters was not shown adequately in my book called 'Kazakhstan in 20s and 40s of 19. century'. This is the first and the most important mistake. Secondly, the Kazakh peoples' independence revolt was supposed to be related and associated with Russian history. It is the only possible way to explain truly the historical role of any revolt. Because, the fate of the Russian and Kazakh people are related to each other through history. However, in my book I did not adequately evaluate the importance of involvement of Kazakhstan to Russia in order to show its progressive side. I, also, did not show that the progressive side of Kazakhstan's incorporation to Russia led to a struggle against their own elite and monarchy further attached the Kazakh and Russian people together. This is the second important methodological mistake of our book. Third, in this book the attacks of Kenasari was shown as a necessity of the Kazakh peoples' independence movement.'

These are the three methodological mistakes which caused other mistakes, such as to dignify the personality of the Khan and to make an exaggerated evaluation.

E. Bekmakhanov preserved his initial ideas about the history of the Kazakh people's independence struggle even after the debate about his book. In his article in the newspaper that the contribution of the Kazakh laborers during the revolt did not prevent the involvement of upper layers to revolt. The sultans and the governors participated the revolt as well. In the specific period of the revolt, they fought against the external powers together with the labourers. The main reason for this was to prevent specific parts of the feudal administration to profit the Tsarist government. Kenasari Kasimov was such a feudal deputy. He was the leader of independence movement that benefited from the anger of the Kazakh laborers against the colonialism of the Tsarist government. He declared that Kazakh territory must be returned to the Kazakh people. These demands were echoed by the Kazakh people. This explains the expansion and continuation of the

⁷⁹ Bekmakhanov, E., "Adil Sın", *Sosiyalistik Qazaqstan*, 02. 10. 1949.

revolt. Thereby, his point of view did not change the interpretation that 'Kenasari played a progressive role in the independence movement of the Kazakh people in 1837-1846'.⁸⁰

To the critical ideas about the involvement of Kazakhstan with Russia and the progressive character of the riot in 1837-1846, H. Aydarova, S. Tolıbekov, T. Şoyunbayev, B. Süleymenov, and some other historians, he answered: 'Some historians from the Kazakh SSR Science Academy (H. Aydarova, S. Tolıbekov, T. Şoyunbayev, B. Süleymenov) did not accept the progressive character of Kazakh people revolt between the years 1837-1846. This makes a discharge of colonialism policy of Tsarist Russia. We need to truely understand the progressive quality of Kazakhstan's involvement to Russia. The importance of the progressive quality is not being allies with Tsarist Russia of the Kazakh khans but with Kazakhstan benefits' matching up with the developed economy of Russia and the progressivism of Russian culture. Its importance is that Kazakh laborers having the opportunity to fight with the common enemies against the governing class by taking the leadership as an example with the oppressed class of Russia. When it is looked upon this way, nobody ignores the importance of the Kazakh people independence revolt's progressive quality that emerged from Tsarist government and Middle Asia Khan colonial policy.'⁸¹

In K.Şaripov's article, 'Let Kazakhstan History Be Told Through Marxist Doctrine' in the periodical 'Socialist Kazakhstan', it was also claimed that 'Some comrades do not accept the revolts between the years 1837-1846 as a public upheaval and as having progressive sides by also making true criticisms about the book during the debates at the Kazakh SSR Science Academy' and the historians H. Aydarova, S. Tolybekov, T. Shoyunbayev, and B. Suleymenov's mistaken views were criticized.

Third Period

T. Shoyunbayev who did not find K.Şaripov's article adequate, which was issued at the same time in some of press organs like "Voprosy İstorii" (no.4), "Bolşevik Kazahstana" (no.9) magazines and "Socialist Kazakistan" and "Kazakhstanskaya Pravda" in 1949. Even as Şaripov declared some criticisms about the personality and the behavior of H. Aydarova and A. Yakunin, and observed that "Kenesari Kasimov took the leadership of the revolt as he tried to discharge." Şaripov's article did not help to solve the issue that occupied Kazakh historians. Because of this, E. Bekmakhanov's mistakes were associated with other studies as well. An article was issued in the newspaper 'Pravda' under the

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Ibid.

editorship of İ. O. Omarov and A. M. Pankratova on 26 December 1950 that stated 'Kenesari's revolt was not evaluated properly even in the second edition of Kazakh SSR History'.⁸² On 10 April 1951, the Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee made a decision because of this article and criticized E. Bekmakhanov's 'bourgeois nationalist views'.⁸³ In the Kazakhstan Writers Union Communist Organization meeting on 20 April 1951, the article named 'Let Kazakhstan History issues be told through Marxist-Leninist doctrine' appeared and in the newspaper 'Pravda' newspaper on 26 December 1950 the decisions made by Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee were discussed. Party organization representatives in the capital city, writers, teachers of literature, historians, and students participated in the meeting.

The chairman of Kazakhstan Soviet Writers Organization, K. Jarmaganbetov, made a speech about the issue during the course of the meeting. S. Mukanov, M. Avezov, H. Jumaliyev, A. Tajibayev, and other important writers stated their views about the speech. In the monthly magazine 'Literature and Art', a descriptive conclusion emerged, namely that 'Kenesari, the enemy of the people', which seemingly set the stage for the ideas stated in the meeting.

K. Jarmaganbetov, spoke at length at the 26 December 1950 that the article issued in newspaper 'Pravda' and the decision made about the 10 April article by the Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee was that the historian E. Bekmakhanov and 'The book called 'Kazakhstan in 20s and 40s of XIX century' is harmful as an idea, worthless in terms of ideology, not appropriate under Marxist-Leninist doctrine, and evaluated Kazakhstan history under the guise of bourgeoisie-nationalist ideas'. The spokesperson evaluated the situation, saying that 'The revolt under the leadership of Kenasari Kasimov between the years 1837-1847 intended to divide Kazakhstan from Russia, the Kazakh people from 'supreme' Russian people, by the intention of founding the hegemony of Khiva and Kokands Khans over the Kazakhs, with this changing Kazakhstan into English imperialist colony, and bringing out the Medieval feudal system again.' He also added that 'E. Bekmakhanov and some historians who sided with him praised the revolt as an independence movement by elevating Kenesari as some sort of peoples' hero.' In his speech, the 'retrogressive revolt' of Kenesari found its place widely in Kazakh literature.

M. Akinjanov who stated positive views in newspapers about the

82 Shoyunbayev, T. – Aydarova, H. – Yakunin, A., "Za Marksistko-Leninskoye Osveşeniye Voprosov İstorii Kazahstana", *Pravda* 26. 12. 1950 and *Bolşevik Kazahstana*, 1951, No1, pp. 11-15.

83 Nurpeyis, K., "Qaysarlıq pen Qasiret", *Egemendi Qazaqstan*, 15.02.2005, No 29.

article in 'Pravda' newspaper, said in his own writing: 'E. Bekmakhanov, E. Smaylov, Dilmuhamedov, and Jirenşinler told history with mistakes as well as praising Kenesari with exaggeration. Kenesari and his fanatical supporters have to stop these mistakes. But this is just one side of the issue. There is this one serious side and this is not to allow history to be told with mistakes.'⁸⁴

In the same year, on 16-17 October, at the gathering of the Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee, J. Şayahmetov, the first secretary of Communist Party, claimed: The article in the newspaper 'Pravda' identified serious ideological mistakes in the historical sciences and also helped us to see the same mistakes in Kazakh literature and course books in the elementary schools.'⁸⁵

E. Bekmakhanov, accused for his 'big political mistakes' on 15 May 1951, was dismissed from university, and was expelled from party organizations. He continued to work as a history teacher, for a while, at a secondary school in Narinkol near Alma Ata. He was arrested while teaching in the village of Shu, in Jambyl, on 5 September 1951 and according to the USSR criminal code 'He was sentenced to 25 years for making propaganda of ideas contrary to the Soviet state and for opposing the Soviet government, and after this he was sent to a re-education camp in the GULAG system.

After Stalin's death, the situation changed and on 16 October 1953 E. Bekmakhanov was freed from the charges against him and restarted teaching at the university on 1 September 1954. His title of professor was reinstated in 1957 in Moscow after publishing a new book 'The Incorporation of Kazakhstan to Russia'. In 1962, he was chosen as recording member of the Kazakhstan Science Academy. The famous historian of the Kazakh people, E. Bekmakhanov, passed away on 6 May 1966 at the young age of 51.

Conclusion

The Communist Party press campaigns that accused E. Bekmakhanov of committing 'bourgeois nationalism' was a political campaign that demanded the erasure of the Kazakh peoples' national identity. The issue of researching Kazakh folklore, Kenesari, and Abay became a debate directed by stringent party ideology.

Accordingly, the most important duty of the historical sciences

84 Aqınjanov, M., "Qazaqstan Tarihindagi Burjuaziyalıq ultşılıdığa qarsı", *Adebiyat pen İss-kustvo*, 1951, No 6, pp. 70-73.

85 "Respublikanın partya uyumdarında ideologyalıq jumıstın jayı jane onı jaqsartu şaraları turalı", *Adebiyat pen İskkustvo*, 1955. No 10. pp. 1-14.

in the 1940s and 1950s was to write Kazakhstan's Communist Party History and examine the Soviet period history of Kazakhstan, it was supposed to be written through 'The development period of Kazakh peoples' economy and culture, as though the Soviet era history were the golden pages of Kazakh history.'⁸⁶

Social science became incompetent that crossed the boundaries in the political realm and discharged the responsibilities associated with researching, examining, and making predictions about the future. In the years following the Second World War, the consequences of Stalin's strong, singular administrative party policy, ideology, and the press increased in the fields of social science.

The past and the present of Kazakhstan's history was supposed to interpret history only under the rigid class party methodology. At that time, history studies were written and issued based upon party views and sensibilities. Documents were issued, as well. However, the opportunity to exceed party ideological boundaries and to note possible misinterpretations of historical documents or adapting them to party ideology became eliminated ideas against party ideology and failed to reveal proper investigation. The barriers to research a country's history according to objective historical sources, the politic and ideologic press in science, the prosecution of the people who wrote true things, and the prohibition to print excluded scholarship, increased the empty pages in Kazakh history. As a consequence of the political and ideological pressure under the Soviet totalitarian regime, the realities of Kazakh history were not written; science of history was adapted according to strict party ideology. Only after Kazakhstan's independence, Kazakh intellectuals and scientists were freed from political interference and accusations. The empty pages in the history were slowly filled, one by one. An opportunity was created for the people to refresh their memory. Scientific studies about Ermukhan Bekmakhanov in Kazakhstan and elsewhere are proofs of this intellectual freedom.

86 Omarov, İ., "O Zadaçah İstoričeskoy Nauki v Kazakhstane", *Bolşevik Kazahstana*, 1950, No1, p. 34.

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THE FATE OF THE SCIENTIFIC HERITAGE OF ERMUKHAN BEKMAKHANOV UNDER TOTALITARIAN REGIME

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Ermukhan Bekmakhanov is the first professional historian among the Kazakhs that emerged in the Soviet period. He was the author of scientific works that highlight the acuteness of the problem and the novelty of the research. Monographs, textbooks and manuals devoted to the history of Kazakhstan of XVIII - XIX centuries as well as researches on pedagogy were issued from his pen.

Bekmakhanov's case materialized on a charge of "bourgeois nationalism" can exemplify how a totalitarian regime gives to the purely scientific academic debates the tone of a political one. The origins of Bekmakhanov's historical concept and the fate of his monograph are the obvious reflection of the historical studies conditions and the relationship of totalitarianism regarding the creative intellectuals in the second half of 1940s – 1950s. In the historiography of Kazakhstan this period was characterized by further ideological offensive against the regime of professional personnel of scientific and artistic intellectuals.

As we know, Bekmakhanov's 1947 monograph of "Kazakhstan in 20-40s of XIX. Century" became the object of heated debate in which were involved not only historians, but also economists, lawyers, journalists, and literary critics.

The reprisals against Bekmakhanov and his monograph had its own prehistory. Historiographical understanding of this situation is important for understanding of forced "evolution" of Bekmakhanov's concept, as well as for the general state of development of Kazakhstani historical science in the second half of the 1940s–1950s. The letters of A.M. Pankratova, which were published in the journal "History questions" in 1988, could serve as the evidence of this.⁸⁷

"History of the Kazakh SSR from ancient times to the present days" was published in June 1943. It is commonly known that in the Soviet Union it was the first experience of creation of the history of a single national republic, co-written by Kazakhstani historians and specialists from Moscow evacuated to Almaty during the war. A number of chapters were devoted to the development of culture of Kazakhstan during the Soviet period. Along with the historians, the prominent Kazakh writers, scientists, linguists, and literary scholars, such as

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87 Письма Анны Михайловны Панкратовой, *Вопросы истории*, 1988, No 11.

M. Auezov, A. Margulan, E. Ismailov, and others, were the authors of these chapters. The value of these chapters was extremely high as for the first time the cultural events of the Soviet-era republic were characterized in a generalized, systemic basis, and also the source base of research was expanded. At the same time, R.B. Suleymenov, a well-known researcher of Kazakh culture, noted that the history of development of Kazakh culture in the Soviet period appeared to readers as depleted and in some extent as distorted work: the cultural figures which were the former political prisoners and the founders and pioneers “fell out” from history. The process of struggle was not covered in the chapters and the objective difficulties and mistakes were ignored. All shortcomings were attached to the exposed “enemies of the people” without any proof.⁸⁸

The issue of the fate of this generalized work “History of the Kazakh SSR” is considered by modern Kazakh historians as part of the historiography of the totalitarian state policy in the sphere of science and education, as well as the fate of creative intellectuals in the postwar period. In this regard, it is important to note the works of M. Kozybayev, K. Nurpeyis, L. Gurevich. Their research allowed scholars to reconstruct the complete picture of ostracism, which were exposed in the works of scientific intellectuals, in particular Bekmakhanov’s works that appeared during the period of the so-called “struggle against nationalism”.⁸⁹

During the discussion regarding this collective work on Kazakh history, Kazakh scholars were divided in their opinions. Some historians estimated the “History of the Kazakh SSR” as the first successful attempt to create a general work on the history of a particular Soviet republic. However, they made critical feedback regarding the periodization of the history of Kazakhstan in the pre-revolutionary period, the assessment of particular historical figures of national movements, that covered the problem of the ascension of Kazakhstan to Russia and its consequences.

Another group of historians emphatically called the book an anti-Russian one, which supposedly idealized national uprisings against Russia.⁹⁰

Chapter fourteen, which examined the movement of Kazakhs under the leadership of Kenessary Kassymov and written by Bekmakhanov, came

88 Сулейменов Р.Б. “Историография культурной революции”, В кн.: *Историческая наука советского Казахстана. (1917-1960 гг.). Очерки становления и развития*, Алма-Ата: Алым, 1990, pp. 272, 218.

89 Нурпеисов Н. “История одного «дела»”, В кн.: *История Казахстана: белые пятна. Сб. статей*. Алма-Ата: Казахстан, 1991, с. 34-49; Гуревич Л. *Тоталитаризм против интеллигенции. Из истории политики тоталитарного государства в отношении интеллигенции Казахстана*, Алма-Ата, 1992.

90 *Письма Анны Михайловны Панкратовой*, Вопросы истории, 1988, No 11., p. 58.

under special attack. The accusations against the authors responsible for the creation of “anti-Russian” book, which were echoed before party leaders, could not escape accountability without any consequences.

The “History of Kazakh SSR” book’s authors were accused of highlighting Kazakh feudal and patriarchal relations that seemingly embroidered throughout the book, and, on the contrary, that the oppression of working masses on the part of Kazakh sultans and khans was not considered fully enough.⁹¹

After the discussion, the campaign with a total criticism of the “History of the Kazakh SSR” was almost launched. In particular, this was related to the chapters that were devoted to the national movements of the Kazakh people against tsarism.

M. Morozov’s review, published in the journal “Bolshevik” (6, 1945), laid the foundation for this campaign. The main point of the article boiled down to the accusation against the authors on consideration the incorporation of Kazakhstan to Russia as a conquest, and on this basis, in the interpretation of this process to be regarded as an “absolute evil”.

The similar epithets and feedback were contained in the resolution of Central Committee of the Communist Party (b) of Kazakhstan “On preparation the 2nd edition of “History of the Kazakh SSR”.⁹²

As is known, in the autumn of 1946 Bekmakhanov defended his doctoral dissertation at the Institute of History of USSR SA. In 1947 the manuscript of his dissertation was published as a separate monograph “Kazakhstan in 20-40s of XIX. Century”. This event coincided with the resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party (b) of Kazakhstan “About the serious political mistakes in the work of the Institute of Language and Literature”. This document marked a next new stage of the “ideological offensive” for critically thinking intellectuals.

The methods were the same, to pin the political label for scientific point of views that did not coincide with the communist doctrine and the use of personal animosity between the scientists. Bekmakhanov’s works came under particular attack during the second half of 1947. Primarily, the condemnation referred to his main work “Kazakhstan in 20-40s of XIX. Century”.

On 28 February 1948 in Moscow, at the Institute of History of the USSR, Bekmakhanov’s critics organized the representational discussion regarding his monograph. The course and outcome of this discussion is well known in Kazakh national historiography. We should only note

91 “О подготовке 2-го издания «Истории Казахской ССР»”, *Известия*, pp. 3-4.

92 “Казахского Филиала Академии Наук Союза СССР”, *Серия историческая*, 1946, No 2 (27), pp. 49-51.

that despite the critical feedback on the book and attachment of the political labels on the part of his colleagues, Aydarova and Shoinbayev, the leading historians from Moscow appreciated the book's value.

There were some difficulties in studying the materials for the discussion of the monograph of Bekmakhanov held in July 1948 in Alma-Ata. Full text, stenographic publication of these discussions allowed us to fill the gaps in one of the significant pages of historiography regarding the totalitarian regime politics influencing creative intellectuals in the postwar period. Of course, in addition, the publication contributed to strengthening documentation base of modern history of Kazakhstan. The discussion lasted for five days (14-17, 19 July) and was attended by more than twenty people.

Recently, scholars M.K. Kozybayev and K.N. Nurpeissov, who devoted a number of articles for the discussion under consideration, divided the participants of the discussion into several group based on the level of scientific analysis, assessment of the nature of the book, and the conclusions drawn.⁹³ In our opinion, such a classification is methodologically reasonable.

To confirm that mentioned above, we should directly refer to the source. We should mention that we have no specific goal to analyze the content of monograph, but we focus instead on the practice of conducting scientific discussion under the conditions of totalitarian press in the field of science and regarding scientific intellectuals.

The statements of the first group of historians (T.Zh. Shoinbayev, S.E. Tolybekov, Kh.G. Aydarova, M.V. Zhiznevskiy, B.S. Suleymenov, A.Nurkanov, M.B. Akhinzhanov) were filled with such definitions as "nationalism", "menshevism" and citations from the works of the Marxism-Leninism classics and Stalin. The historians of this group strongly argued against the conceptual statements of the book "Kazakhstan in 20-40s of XIX. Century" and denied the scientific character of this work. In his speech T.Zh. Shoinbayev emphasized that "instead of disclose as Bolsheviks the bourgeois nationalists which declared Kenessary Kassymov a protector of work people, Bekmakhanov repeats all the bourgeois-nationalist fabrications in his work". In conclusion, T.Zh. Shoinbayev called the monograph indefensible in scientific content, bourgeois-nationalistic, apolitical, unneeded and offered to remove it from the use.⁹⁴

S.E. Tolybekov, an associate professor and Director of the Kazakh

⁹³ *Большевик Казахстана*, 1945, No 6, pp. 49 – 51.

⁹⁴ *озыбаев М. ., "Нрпейісов Н.Н. Тадыры қрделі айсар талант", Социалистік Азастан, 1989, 18 Антар; История Казахстана: белые пятна. – С. 34-49, pp. 14-19.*

State Pedagogical Institute named after Abay, called the work politically harmful and scientifically complicated. M.V. Zhiznevskiy, a Deputy Director of State Public Library named after Pushkin, accused the author of violating the Marxism-Leninism statements considering the historical events and the role of personality in history and masses in history; he accused Bekmakhanov of "admiration of Kenessary's personality".⁹⁵

According to Kh.G. Aydarova, the harmfulness of the book lies in the fact that "the citations from the Marxism-Leninism classics veiled the bourgeois-nationalist concept" that may mislead an unsophisticated reader of Kazakh history.⁹⁶

Speaking at the final session of the discussion on 19 July 1948, the head of the department of 19th century history, B.S. Suleymenov, declared that "I have to say with Bolshevik directness and frankness, that the author (Bekmakhanov – G.K.) failed the trust of the scientific community and made in his work significant ideological mistakes". Suleymenov made the following allegations against Bekmakhanov, the author of the monograph "Kazakhstan in 20-40s of XIX. Century":

- The author of the monograph leads the reader directly to invent idea that the working people of Kazakh society did not make any marks in the history, and consequently scientific, cultural values in the history of Kazakhstan;
- The author adheres to the concept of ignoring the value of the common people;
- The author does not hesitate to rehabilitate publicly the leader of Alash-Orda party Alikhan Bukeykhanov, giving him without any reservations the tribute in his book, promoting and using his materials and works, as a reliable and valuable historical source;
- The author preaches anti-Marxist theory of "single stream";
- The author ignores the resolution of Central Committee of the Communist Party(b) of Kazakhstan "About the serious political mistakes in the work of the Institute of Language and Literature", using the statements of reactionist poets, such as Shortanbay;
- On the practical side, the book is incomplete; in terms of ideology, it is indefensible.⁹⁷

On the contrary, in the speeches of the second group of historians

95 озыбаев М. ., "Нрпейісов К.Н. Тадыры қрделі Айсар талант", *Социалистік Азастан*, 1989, 18 Антар; История Казахстана: белые пятна. – С. 34–49, pp. 41–53.

96 озыбаев М. ., "Нрпейісов К.Н. Тадыры қрделі Айсар талант", *Социалистік Азастан*, 1989, 18 Антар; История Казахстана: белые пятна. – С. 34–49, pp. 65–71.

97 озыбаев М. ., "Нрпейісов К.Н. Тадыры қрделі Айсар талант", *Социалистік Азастан*, 1989, 18 Антар; История Казахстана: белые пятна. – С. 34–49, pp. 134–145.

(B.A. Aspandiyarov, I.U. Budovits, A.M. Zhirenchin, E.D. Dilmuhamedov) there prevailed a tendency to praise the monograph, without taking into account any criticisms that were expressed during its discussion in Moscow at the Institute of History of USSR SA.⁹⁸

The speeches of the third group of speakers (A.N. Nusupbekov, T.E. Eleuov, Kh.M. Adilgerreyev, T.A. Kulteleyev, A.B. Tursunbayev, S.G. Medvedev et al.) differed in a detailed, analytical approach to the monograph "Kazakhstan in 20-40s of XIX. Century".

In general, this group highly praised the scientific level of the book and agreed with the assessment of the 1837-1847s uprising led by Kenessary Kassymov as an anti-colonial one; these scientist-historians expressed a number of significant comments:

- The presence in one place the wrong thesis about the revolutionary nature of the uprising led by Kenessary Kassymov;
- There was not enough to substantiate the differences in economic structures, culture and way of life of Kazakh Zhuzes in general;
- The existence of non-critical attitude to folklore as a historical source;
- The existence of idealization of Kenessary Kassymov.⁹⁹

As we can see, practically the discussion of a scientific work was transferred to the political stage. As it is known, Ermukhan Bekmakhonov was the victim of total repression during the postwar period and was sentenced to 25 years in prison.

Only under the conditions of gaining independence for Kazakhstan were researchers able to restore the "gaps" in the historiography of the state's history, including the issues of political campaigns of the totalitarian regime against the intellectuals of the republic in 1940s and 1950s.

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⁹⁸ Озыбаев М., "Нрпейісов Қ.Н. Тадыры қрделі айсар талант", *Социалистік Азастан*, 1989, 18 Антар; *История Казахстана: белые пятна*. – С. 34-49, pp. 42-48, 80-84, 90-94, 127-134.

⁹⁹ Озыбаев М., "Нрпейісов Қ.Н. Тадыры қрделі Айсар талант", *Социалистік Азастан*, 1989, 18 Антар; *История Казахстана: белые пятна*. – С. 34-49, pp. 53-59, 60-64, 72-79, 85-90, 145-151.

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STUDIES ON KENESARY KASYMULY IN THE KAZAK AND KYRGYZ HISTORIOGRAPHY AND THE ROLE OF ERMUKHAN BEKMAKHANOV*

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Studying the movement led by Kenesary Kasymuly¹⁰⁰ has been one of the important and problematic issues of the 19th century Kazak and Kyrgyz historiography. This subject started to be studied in Tsarist times and has taken its place in the historiography at the various and even contrasting edges. In the Kazak historiography, evaluations regarding Kenesary's revolt differ mainly as Soviet-era and post-Soviet era, while in the Kyrgyz historiography this topic involves differences in terms of opinions rather than era.

Research about Kenesary Kasymuly has shown changes over time and regimes. The rebellion first occurred and was first registered during the Tsarist Russia period, and was characterized as a negative movement. Riots under the leadership of Kenesary Kasymuly between 1837 and 1847 occurred in many parts of the Kazak territory, with the support of all three Kazak *jüzes*¹⁰¹. He was recorded as a rebellious bandit, since Kenesary fought against the Tsarist Russia's expansionist policies and wanted to revive the Kazak Khanate.

History was very significant and prestigious issue under the Soviet regime. History writing ought to fit certain frames, in accordance with the Marxist and Leninist viewpoints. History of the people had to be written within certain formats; for instance, the people joined Russia voluntarily; working class, farmers and the masses were oppressed by the bourgeois and feudal classes; and they reached welfare thanks to the October Revolution and the Soviet Communist Party. Indeed, in Kazak and Kyrgyz cases, historians had to write that these people joined Russia by their own free will, and also underline that they were brutally exploited and suppressed by old feudal leaders, clan leaders and wealthy strata of their societies. While writing these topics, the issues

* This article is an extended version of the paper "Қазақ жана кыргыз тарыхнаамаларында Кенесары Қасым уулуның ишмердігін изилдениші" (Studying Kenesary Kasymuly's Activities in the Kazak and Kyrgyz Historiography), published in 2006, in Bishkek.

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100 Kasymuly means son of Kasym.

101 The Kazaks have 3 *jüzes/zhuzes* (hordes) which is a part of the genealogical identity. It is supposed that *jüzes* appeared in the 16th-17th centuries, and also had territorial, administrative and military dimensions. These are *Uly жүз*, *Orta жүз* and *Kishi жүз*.

concerning the national and religious identity must not be touched, and must be written in the context of materialist and atheist viewpoints. Besides, the success of the Soviet people had to be underlined. It was also essential to praise Party and its leaders in Moscow.

Kenesary Kasymuly had to be evaluated as a reactionary feudal and monarchical movement's leader in the Kazak historiography during the Soviet period, while he was considered as a hero of the national liberation movement in the post-Soviet era. The reason for this radical change in views and assessments is clear. It is the fact that history books of the Soviet period needed to be written according to Marxist-Leninist principles and within the ideological framework. After the collapse of the Soviet Union and the countries gained their independence, there have been efforts to re-search, revise, reinterpret and rewrite the history, as well as to purify it from the ideological stereotypes of the Soviet era.

The recording of the Kenesary Kasymuly rebellion began immediately after his death, during the era of Tsarist Russia. Baron Peter Uslar's¹⁰² work is considered as the first record mentioning Kenesary in details. Uslar's "*Chetyre mesyatsa v Kirgizskoy Stepi*" (*Four Months in the Kazak Steppe*), was published in 1848. The author, who reflects the Russian point of view, called Kenesary a "bandit" and a "rioter", and called the people around him a "gang". He depicted the moment he met Kenesary as "I was face to face with a famous bandit who had been shaking the steppes for a long time". Baron stated that as he was familiar with the mentality of the Kazaks and because he knew the importance given to the body structure of the heroes by the Kazaks as well as his great influence over his people, he expected a body unique to a hero. Surprisingly and contrary to his expectations, he found Kenesary not so tall and also thin. Uslar described him as "His slightly slanted eyes gleamed with intelligence mixed with cunningness, while his physiognomy never demonstrated the brutality, which he exhibited in many cases".¹⁰³

Baron Uslar also recorded that Kenesary treated him not as a prisoner but as a guest, and even indicated that he was pleased to meet Uslar. Kenesary added that he himself was the most diligent servant

102 Baron Peter (von) Uslar was a Russian officer, military engineer, linguist and ethnographer. He was a prominent Caucasian specialist of the 19th century. Uslar participated in the military campaigns, sent to suppress Kenesary movement in 1843–44 (<http://myaktobe.kz/archives/38393>).

103 Uslar, P.K. "*Chetyre mesyatsa v Kirgizskoy Stepi*" (*Four Months in the Kazak Steppes*), *Otechestvennye zapiski*, 1848, no: 10, <http://rus-turk.livejournal.com/400427.html> (Accessed October 2015).

of the Russian Tsar, and that peace in the steppes was maintained thanks to his personal efforts. According to Kenesary, some malicious Kazaks had been accusing him with the various concocted stories and events, and had been distorting his relations with the Russian government. Uslar wrote: "Although all these tricks of the stubborn rioter were amusing, it was not a novelty for me. I already knew that after every painful defeat, Kenesary applied similar games. Usually Kenesary starts correspondence with the steppe administration (Tsarist Russia's governorship that was in charge of the Kazak steppes - GKE), where he accuses others, attempting to clean himself, and where he also would express his readiness to obey. Meantime, he would be actively preparing for the new predatory actions". Uslar indicated that all these hospitable receptions and the procedures helped him to understand the steppe diplomacy.¹⁰⁴ Although Baron Uslar's notes are biased, it contains important details.

Uslar's description also draws attention to Kenesary's diplomacy. Moreover, even if the archive documents reveal Kenesary's letters addressed to the Tsar or the governors, expressing that he was ready to obey or he was already the most diligent servant, they should be evaluated together with Uslar's words. Therefore, even this memoir alone demonstrates that how written sources, including the archival documents, should be carefully used. This method, described by Uslar, was one of the tactics used by Kenesary to keep the Russian government busy and meanwhile to get prepared for new battles. It is understood from Uslar's depiction that Kenesary, knowing and using diplomacy very well, was not only a brilliant commander, but also a successful politician.

E.T. Smirnov, a Russian expert on Central Asia, prepared and published a work in 1889, narrated by Kenesary's son Sultan Ahmet, *Sultany Kenesary i Syzdyk (Sultan Kenesary and Sultan Syzdyk)*. In the *Preface*, written by Smirnov, he underlined that Ahmet Kenesaryuly's narrations served as an occasion to prepare this work, and states: "the events narrated there are very valuable as they narrate the war in Central Asia from the opposite angle" (opposite to Russia).¹⁰⁵

N.I. Veselovsky prepared *Sochineniya Chokana Chingisovicha Valikhanova (Works of Chokan Valikhanov)* for publication and published it in St. Petersburg, in 1904. Grigorii Potanin, the friend of Chokan and one

104 Uslar, P.K. "Chetyre mesyatsa v Kirgizskoy Stepi" (Four Months in the Kazak Steppes), *Otechestvennye zapiski*, 1848, no: 10, <http://rus-turk.livejournal.com/400427.html> (Accessed October 2015).

105 Smirnov, E.T., "Preface", *Sultany Kenesary i Syzdyk (Sultan Kenesary and Sultan Syzdyk)*, prepared by E.T. Smirnov, Tashkent, 1889, p.6.

of the writers of the *Preface*, recorded the details of deceased Chokan's life. In this article, G. Potanin indicates that Chokan could have written a great article about the history of the Kazak riots led by his uncles Sarjan [Kenesary's brother] and Kenesary. The author also expressed that Chokan used to narrate these events lively, animating with the help of the Kazak folk songs, proverbs, legends, customs and traditions.¹⁰⁶

As for the Kazak historiography in the early periods, Chokan Valikhanov, Kenesary's relative, did not write about Kasym's children in his "*The Genealogy of the Kazak Khans and Sultans*" for an unknown reason.¹⁰⁷ Although it is not possible to know its exact reason with the available information, two possibilities come to the mind. One of them is that because Valikhanov did not support Kenesary's attitudes and actions, he might not mention Kenesary in the genealogy. The other possibility might be because of the Soviet censorship, as Chokan's works were published during the Soviet period (in 1984-85). It is not easy to reach the original copies and manuscripts. Nevertheless, Chokan, while talking about the events of the Kenesary's period, used the expressions "when rebellious Kenesary sultan rioted in the steppe".¹⁰⁸ In addition, Chokan recorded that Kenesary's father Sultan Kasym initiated the riot in 1825, and his children Sarjan and Kenesary continued the unrest until 1846. Valikhanov also indicated that Kenesary was the bravest of the rioters, and was chased by the Cossack troops everywhere. Then, he had to flee to the South Alatau mountains and lost his life in the terrible struggle with the Kyrgyzs.¹⁰⁹

Kenesary Kasymuly, while fighting against the expansionist and invading policy of the Russian Empire, asked the Kyrgyzs to act together and stand against the invasion. Upon the rejection of his request, he attacked Kyrgyz people. After losing the fight, along with his brother Nauryzbai and other relatives near Maytöbö hill in Ysyk

106 Potanin, Grigorii, "Biyograficheskie svedeniya o Chokane Valikhanove" (Biographical Data about Chokan Valikhanov), *Sochineniya Chokana Chingisovicha Valikhanova (Chokan Valikhanov's Works)*, prepared, edited and Preface by N.I. Veselovski, St. Petersburg, 1904, IV-XXXIV.

107 Valikhanov, Chokan. "The Genealogy of the Kazak Khans and Sultans", *Sobraniye sochineniy v pyati tomah (Collection of Chokan Valikhanov's Works in Five Volumes)*, Almaty, 1985, vol. 4., pp. 173-176.

108 Valikhanov, Chokan. "The Genealogy of the Kazak Khans and Sultans", *Sobraniye sochineniy v pyati tomah (Collection of Chokan Valikhanov's Works in Five Volumes)*, Almaty, 1985, vol. 4., p. 258.

109 Valikhanov, Chokan. "The Genealogy of the Kazak Khans and Sultans", *Sobraniye sochineniy v pyati tomah (Collection of Chokan Valikhanov's Works in Five Volumes)*, Almaty, 1985, vol. 4., p. 312.

köl (Issyk-kul'), they were captured by the Kyrgyzs and were killed a few days later. Kenesary's head was sent to the Russian Empire, and in return, the Kyrgyz *manaps* and soldiers were rewarded with the medals and the robes.

As the tragic end of Kenesary's life is related to the Kyrgyzs, it is also useful to look at the Kyrgyz historiography. In Kyrgyz historiography, by one view, Kenesary is seen as an enemy, and by another opinion, he is evaluated as a person that should be assessed in accordance with the conditions of his period. According to the latter view, it is necessary to do profound research keeping in mind the political environment of that period, and to conclude as a result of this in-depth research.

Belek Soltonoyev¹¹⁰, Kyrgyz historian, in his book *Kyzyl Kyrgyz Taryhy*¹¹¹ (*Red History of the Kyrgyzs*) written in the years 1895-1934, provided the readers with plenty of historical details. The book contains some valuable information, though some should be used with caution. Soltonoyev expressed that Kenesary's father Kasym sent messengers to Ormon, the Kyrgyz khan, in order to be in solidarity. Later on, Kenesary also sent an ambassador. Besides, Nauryzbai's (Kenesary's brother) last words before he was killed were mentioned in the book.¹¹²

Another famous Kyrgyz historian Begimaly Jamgerchinov in his article "*Kirghizia v epokhu Ormon hana*" (*Kirghizia during Ormon Han Period*), published in 1944, indicated that "Ormon Khan, just like Kenesary, was not far beyond from the influence of the feudal environment in which they lived and acted".¹¹³ In this work written as early as the 1940s by Jamgerchinov, the geopolitical conditions of the time were examined from various angles.¹¹⁴ The author stated that in order to make an analysis, it is necessary to take into consideration the circumstances of the period. Unfortunately, this broad vision sometimes cannot be

110 Belek Soltonoyev was one of the first Kyrgyz historianp. During the Stalinist repressions that were especially addressed towards the intellectuals, he was also arrested and shot in 1938. The writer was accused of being against the Socialist and Stalinist order, and was purged. The author's works and writings were prohibited. The above-mentioned work was written between the years 1895 and 1934; however, it was first published in 1993, after the dissolution of the Soviet Union (Soltonoyev, 1993:2, inner cover).

111 Another title of this book was *Kyrgyz-Kazak Taryhy* (*History of the Kyrgyzs and the Kazaks*) (K.T. Abdrahmanov-K.K. Kerimov, 2003:48).

112 Soltonoyev, Belek. *Kyzyl Kyrgyz Taryhy* (*Red History of the Kyrgyzs*), Bishkek, 1993, vol.p. 1-2.

113 Jamgerchinov, Begimaly. *Kirgizy v epohu Ormon-Hana* (*The Kyrgyzs during Ormon Khan Era*). Frunze, 1944, p. 120.

114 Jamgerchinov, Begimaly. *Kirgizy v epohu Ormon-Hana* (*The Kyrgyzs during Ormon Khan Era*). Frunze, 1944.

seen in the studies written by the next generations.

Kushbek Usenbayev, in his book *Ormon Khan*, mentioned positive aspects of Ormon Khan and wrote that he was an important statesman who worked to maintain the integrity of Kyrgyz people. Usenbayev wrote: "The rise of Ormon Khan's reputation and his recognition among people as a strategist was [closely] related to his defeating Kenesary Kasymuly's ravaging, bloody and invading campaign. If there has not been Ormon Khan's vigilant and surprising strategist character, it would not be possible to defeat the enemy (and by doing so to protect the independence of the local people) that marched towards our territory with more than twenty thousand specially trained, well-prepared soldiers who had undergone ten years of struggle and experience".¹¹⁵ These lines fit neither the historical realities nor scholarly objectivity. Besides, at those periods, some conflicts or bloody incidents could take place from time to time, among two brotherly and neighboring peoples, or between the clans. However, it would be more correct to evaluate the historical data from the broader perspectives bearing in mind the pre-conditions and consequences of the revolt rather than labeling the events as "ravaging", "enemy" and "invaders".

Istoria Kirgizskoy SSR (History of the Kyrgyz Soviet Socialist Republic) was one of the official and important history sources of the Soviet period. According to the book, in 1847, the leaders of the Sarybagysh clan of the Kyrgyzs corresponded with the Russian authorities. *Manaps* of Sarybagysh clan Ormon and Jantay as well as the *Manap* of Solto clan Jangarach, requested to accept their intention to become Russia's subjects, and also asked for help in the struggle against Kenesary Kasymov, the rioting Kazak sultan. Governor General of the Western Siberia, on behalf of the Russian government, avoided from a concrete answer.¹¹⁶ However, it is impossible to say that the Tsarist administration did not take any concrete measures to suppress the Kenesary revolt. At that time, "The Kazaks were ruled specifically by the 'Regulations on Siberian Kirgiz' section of the statute that for administrative purposes officially designated the *Orta zhuz* Kazaks as 'Siberian Kirgiz' and the *Kishi zhuz* Kazaks as 'Orenburg Kirgiz'".¹¹⁷ It is known from the archival documents that the Russian Empire sent the Orenburg corps composed of 26 infantry divisions, and the Siberian

115 Usenbayev, Kushbek, *Ormon Han (Ormon Khan)*, Bishkek, 1999, p. 102.

116 *Istoriya Kirgizskoy SSR (History of Kyrgyz SSR)*. Frunze, 1984, vol.1, p. 580.

117 Sabol, Steven, "Kazak Resistance to Russian Colonization: Interpreting the Kenesary Kasymov Revolt, 1837–1847", *Central Asian Survey* (June/September, 2003) 22(2/3), p. 237.

corps composed of 27 infantry divisions to fight against Kenesary Kasymov movement.¹¹⁸ Again according to the archival documents, every year between 1840 and 1845, military corps were sent to the Kazak steppes to put an end to the Kenesary movement. However, at the end of the “onerous”, “burdensome” and “fruitless” attempts and experiences, the Russian administration felt the necessity to change the tactics. In 1845, the Tsarist Russia took decision to build the castles of Ural and Orenburg. Russian government soon began to see benefits of the castle, such as keeping the rioters suppressed and away from the boundaries, being protected from the next attacks of the Kazaks, and so on. Thus, in 1847, Russia built another castle on the right bank of Syr Derya, by the valley Rayim tract.¹¹⁹

Sabyr Attokurov, another Kyrgyz historian, in his book *Kyrgyzdar XIX kylymda (Kyrgyzs in the 19th Century)* has a chapter named “The Struggle of the Kyrgyzs with Kenesary Kasymov”. Although the title of the chapter seemed problematic, the author concluded saying that “the bloody battle in the years 1846-47 should not be evaluated as the Kazak-Kyrgyz war”.¹²⁰

Another Kyrgyz historian Janibek Jakypbekov, in his work entitled *Some Problems of the Kyrgyz Historiography*, criticized Ryskul Joldoshev’s article “The Narration on Ormon Khan. Historical Analysis” for evaluating Kenesary as an enemy, for the subjective analysis and for not utilizing the works of Kazak and Kyrgyz scholars on this subject¹²¹. Jakypbekov draws attention to the necessity of a new perspective to this topic, and of reaching the conclusion after an extensive and in-depth research as well as reading the works of the Kazak scholars. Jakypbekov has a broader perspective by stating that Kenesary ought to be considered as an important personality of his era, bearing

118 Mazhitov, Sattar. “Istoriya kolonizatsii Kazakstana v kontekste vneshney politiki Rossiyskoy imperii v pervoy polovine XIX veka” (*History of Colonization of Kazakhstan in the Context of Foreign Policies of Russian Empire in the First Half of the 19th Century*), *Istoriya kolonizatsii Kazakstana v 20–60-h godah XIX-veka (History of Colonization of Kazakhstan in 1820s–1860s of the 19th Century)*, ed. Galiyev-Majitov, Almaty, 2009, pp. 292–293.

119 Mazhitov, Sattar. “Istoriya kolonizatsii Kazakstana v kontekste vneshney politiki Rossiyskoy imperii v pervoy polovine XIX veka” (*History of Colonization of Kazakhstan in the Context of Foreign Policies of Russian Empire in the First Half of the 19th Century*), *Istoriya kolonizatsii Kazakstana v 20–60-h godah XIX-veka (History of Colonization of Kazakhstan in 1820s–1860s of the 19th Century)*, ed. Galiyev-Majitov, Almaty, 2009, p. 293.

120 Attokurov, Sabyr. *Kyrgyzdar XIX kylymda (The Kyrgyzs in the 19th Century)*. Bishkek, 2003, p. 93.

121 There is a possibility that the state of being the 5th-generation-grandchild of Ormon Khan might have influenced viewpoints and analysis of Ryskul Joldoshev.

in mind the political circumstances of that time. At the same time, Jakypbekov's work has statements regarding Kenesary such as "he fought with the barbaric methods against the barbaric structure" or "a statesman who followed contradictory policies".¹²²

Döölötbek Saparaliyev, in his article on the Kyrgyz-Kazak relations, examined the Kazak and Kyrgyz relations in a chronological order and paid a great attention to Kenesary Kasymuly's movement. Saparaliyev has conducted an objective study of this topic, using the Russian archival documents along with the Kazak authors' works.¹²³

Another important source published in Kyrgyzstan is *Archival and Historical Documents on Ormon Khan (1790-1854)*. In this publication, historical and archival documents regarding the Ormon Khan's era are compelled. Documents and letters included in this work are very significant. Indeed, there is a document that has a historical importance: the complete text of the agreement signed between the Kyrgyzs and Kazaks after the death of Kenesary.¹²⁴

Regarding the question how the Kazaks have interpreted the Kenesary movement, the differences can be observed even in the early periods. It is narrated that when Kenesary movement took place in the steppes, public opinions were divided mainly into two viewpoints: those who held contra-Kenesary, pro-Russian opinion, and those who were in favor of Kenesary's actions, with more nationalist attitudes. It is recorded that this divergence of opinions reflected in every aspect of life, even became a subject of the *aitys* (improvised poetic and musical competition). For example, during the commemoration of Sapak Bi, the famous Kazak clan leader, there was an *aitys* between poet Ötebay, who voiced the advantages in case the Kazaks became Russian subjects, and the other poet Kultuma, who defended the opposing ideas. This poetic competition maintained live in people's memories.¹²⁵

122 Jakypbekov, Janybek. *Kyrgyz İstoriyagrafiyasynyn Airym Maseleleri (Some Problems of Kyrgyz Historiography)*. Bishkek, 1995, p. 29.

123 Saparaliyev, Döölötbek. "Kyrgyz-kazak mamilesi (XVII k. ekinchi carymy – XIX k. birinchi carymy)" (Kyrgyz-Kazak Relations at the second half of the 17th Century–First Half of the 19th Century), *Manas Universiteti Koomduk İlimder Jurnalı*, Bishkek, 1993; Saparaliyev, Döölötbek. "Mir ispytannyi vremenem", *İstoricheskie i arhiunnye dokumenty ob Ormon-hane (1790-1854)* (Historical and Archival Document about Ormon khan, 1790-1854), Bishkek, 1999.

124 *İstoricheskie i arhiunnye dokumenty ob Ormon-hane (1790-1854)* (Historical and Archival Document about Ormon khan, 1790-1854). Bishkek, 1999.

125 Potanin, Grigori, "Biyograficheskie svedeniya o Chokane Valikhanove" (Biographical Data about Chokan Valikhanov), *Sochineniya Chokana Chingisovicha Valikhanova (Chokan Valikhanov's Works)*, prepared, edited and Preface by N.I. Veselouski, St. Pe-

Mukhamedzhan Seralin, the Kazak poet and the editor of the Kazak periodical *Ai qap*, published his collection of poems in 1903 (and re-published for several times in the following years) long before the Soviet regime. Seralin, in his poem “*Top zhargan*”, written in 1898, described Kenesary as a “dishonest dictator who allied himself with other *biis* and rich Kazaks merely to enrich themselves at the expense of the Kazak masses”.¹²⁶ In this context, Seralin’s depictions fit the Tsarist Russia’s discourse, and Kenesary was reflected as the one who used the masses in his personal interests rather than the public problems.

Sanjar Aspendiyarov¹²⁷, one of the first Kazak historians of the Soviet period, published his work *Qazaqstan Tarihyynyn Ocherkteri* (*Notes on the History of Kazakhstan*) in 1935. After describing for pages Kenesary and his movement in a negative way, at the very end, the author indicated that this revolt was one of the biggest mass uprisings by the Kazaks, emerged to get rid of the colonial yoke of the Tsarist Russia. In addition, Aspendiyarov stated that this period of the Kazak history should be evaluated as the first phase of the national liberation movement.¹²⁸ Probably the author had to criticize Kenesary and his revolt and describe as a negative figure and event due to the circumstances of his period. The oppression of the Kazak people by the brutal Tsarist regime and by the local feudal lords was appropriate according to the classical Marxist discourse in the Soviet Union. However, it is quite significant that Aspendiyarov assessed Kenesary revolt as the first phase of the national independence movement. A few years later, Aspendiyarov lost his life due to Stalinist repression and purges of the intelligentsia.

Eltok Dilmukhamedov was one of the Kazak intellectuals, who wrote the thesis on Kenesary Kasymuly rebellion. Dilmukhamedov

tersburg, 1904, IV-XXXIV; Potanin, Grigori. “Biyograficheskie svedeniya o Chokane Valikhanove” (Biographical Data about Chokan Valikhanov), Valikhanov, Chokan. *Sobraniye sochineniy v pyati tomah* (Collection of Chokan Valikhanov’s Works in Five Volumes), Almaty, 1985, vol. 5, p. 365; Semiluzhinski (Yadrintsev), N. “Chokan Valikhanov i kul’turnye vzaymosvyazi narodov” (Chokan Valikhanov and Cultural Interrelations of the Peoples), Valikhanov, Chokan. *Sobraniye sochineniy v pyati tomah* (Collection of Chokan Valikhanov’s Works in Five Volumes), Almaty, 1985, vol. 5, p. 286; Valikhanov, Chokan. “The Genealogy of the Kazak Khans and Sultans”, *Sobraniye sochineniy v pyati tomah* (Collection of Chokan Valikhanov’s Works in Five Volumes), Almaty, 1985, vol. 4, p. 491.

126 Sabol, Steven, “Kazak Resistance to Russian Colonization: Interpreting the Kenesary Kasymov Revolt, 1837–1847”, *Central Asian Survey* (June/September, 2003) 22(2/3), pp. 244–245; *Kazak SSR Tarihy* (History of Kazak SSR), Almaty, 1982, vol. 3, pp. 510–511.

127 Aspendiyarov is sometimes written as Asfendiyarov.

128 Aspendiyarov, Sanjar. *Kazakstan tarihyynyn ocherkteri* (Notes of Kazakhstan’s History). Almaty, (1935) 1994, pp. 57–60.

defended his thesis, entitled “*Vosstanie Kazakov pod rukovodstvom Kenesary Kasymova v 1837-1847 gg.*” (*Uprising of the Kazaks under the Leadership of Kenesary Kasymov in 1837-1847*) in 1946, in Tashkent. One of the jury members was Ermukhan Bekmakhanov. In the mentioned thesis, Kenesary uprising is elaborated very profoundly both in terms of sources and analysis. Nevertheless, the political conditions of the period annulled this thesis in the coming years, and made the scholar rewrite the thesis on a totally different topic.¹²⁹

One of the first professional works on Kenesary among the Kazak historians belongs to Ermukhan Bekmakhanov. He received history education and earned doctoral degree on this field, and became the first Kazak history professor. Ermukhan Bekmakhanov's book *Kazakstan in the 1820s-1840s of the 19th Century*, published in 1947, was one of the first monographs on Kazakhstan's 19th century history, written from the Marxist view. Another aim of the book was to fill the gap on the field of historical monographs in Kazakhstan. The book was guided by the main program of the party. The author paid special attention to the socio-economic structure of the Kazaks, the class structure and political structure of the Kazak state, the historical problems on the bilateral relations of the Kazaks with the Tsarist Russia and the Central Asian Khanates. Besides, the author elaborated the problems of the national liberation movements in Kazakhstan in the example of the well-known movement of Kenesary Kasymov.¹³⁰ Actually, with Ermukhanov's research, Kenesary Kasymuly's movement was at the agenda again, exactly 100 years after the end of the uprising.

After *The 1820s-1840s of the 19th century* was published, it was welcomed by the scholars and the administrators. The book was even nominated to the Stalinist award and it passed the first phase of the evaluation. However, the chapter of the book about Kenesary Kasymov's uprising caused a great problem that lasted for years and also caused a tragedy for Bekmakhanov. The problem spread to Moscow. In Almaty, five-day-discussions were held in the Academy of Sciences of KazSSR. There were various criticisms; for example, it was pointed out that “Bekmakhanov's book did not have solid foundations in terms of the contents; and it was a bourgeois-nationalistic work

129 Dilmuhamedov, Eltok. “*Vosstanie kazahov pod rukovodstvom Kenesari Kasimova v 1837-1847 gg.*” (*Uprising of the Kazaks under the Leadership of Kenesary Kasymov in 1837-1847*). (Tashkent, 1946) Almaty, 2010.

130 Bekmakhanov, Ermukhan. *Kazakstan XIX Gasyrdyn 20-40 Jyldarynda* (*Kazakhstan in the 1820s-1840s of the 19th Century*). Almaty, (1947) 1994, pp. 5-6; Kurmangaliyeva Er-cilasun, Güljanat. *Stalin's Great Purges and the Penal System: The Case of the Kazak Intelligentsia*. M.P. Diss., Supervisor: Pınar Akçalı. Ankara, METU, 2003, p. 69.

without an ideology.” Therefore, it had to be immediately removed from circulation, “the work was confusing and dangerous in terms of ideology”.¹³¹ Stenography of the five day-debates, the criticisms towards this book, and Bekmakhanov’s responses to these criticisms were deciphered and published as a book.¹³² Upon investigation and prosecution of the professor, all his academic titles were annulled, and Bekmakhanov started to work in the schools as a teacher. In September 1952, he was arrested during the class and was sent to the concentration camps. He returned in February 1954.¹³³ He was actually sentenced to 25 years. One reason for his earlier return was Stalin’s death in 1953. Another reason was the role and efforts of Pankratova, who was a famous and influential historian, Bekmakhanov’s friend, supervisor of his doctoral dissertation, a person like his “second mother”, and who wrote and met top administrators in Moscow so that Bekmakhanov gets acquitted.¹³⁴ Although Bekmakhanov was the first professor to release a monograph with an in-depth research on Kenesary Kasymuly, he had to make changes in his discourse and evaluations after the repression and punishments.

The official view of the Soviet era is clearly seen in the book *Kazak SSR Tarihi (History of Kazak SSR)*. The *History of Kazak SSR* was prepared by many historians, and in accordance with the functioning of the regime, was approved by the history institutions of the Communist Party of the USSR and the Kazak SSR. In this book, it is written that the ideology of Kenesary was feudal, reactionary and based upon reviving the khanate regime. It is stated that Kenesary repeated many times that he would save all Kazaks from Russian rule. It is also written that he estimated all Kazak *jüzes* as his own

131 Takenov, Abu, “Tarihshy Ermukhan Bekmakhanov” (Historian Ermukhan Bekmakhanov), *Kazakstan XIX Gasyrdyn 20–40 Jyldarynda (Kazakstan: In the 1820s–1840s of the 19th Century)*, Almaty, Sanat, 1994, pp. 372–381; Kurmangaliyeva Ercilasun, Güljanat. *Stalin’s Great Purges and the Penal System: The Case of the Kazak Intelligentsia*. M.P. Diss., Supervisor: Pınar Akçalı. Ankara, METU, 2003, pp. 69–70.

132 *Stenogramma (Stenography)*, 7 vol *Works of Ermukhan Bekmakhanov (Discussions of Bekmakhanov’s Book)*, edp. E.M. Aryn et al. Pavlodar, 2005.

133 Dmitrova, I. “Preface to the Edition of 2011”, *İstoriya Kazahstana (İstoriya Kazahskoy SSR s drevneyshih vremen do nashih dney, izdanie 1943g.) (History of Kazakhstan (History of Kazak SSR from the Ancient Periods till Now, ed. of 1943)*, 3rd ed. Almaty, 2011, p. 9.

134 Kalkan, İbrahim. “Halk Düşmanı mı, Halk Kahramanı mı? Sovyet Tarihçiliğinin İkilemi” (People’s Enemy or People’s Hero? Dilemma of the Soviet Historiography), *Stalin ve Türk Dünyası (Stalin and Turkic World)*, edp. Emine Gürsoy-Naskali and Liaisan Şahin. İstanbul, 2007, p. 286; Aryn, E.M. and J.O. Artykbayev. “Ermuğan Bekmakhanovtyñ Ömirbayany” (Life Story of Ermukan Bekmakhanov). <http://bekmakhanov.psu.kz/> (Accessed October 2015), pp. 14–23.

private property.¹³⁵ In another section of the book, it is indicated that the families of those who helped to suppress Kenesary's and similar uprisings, to be exempted from taxes.¹³⁶

Research of Kenesary Kasymuly's activities have increased and become one of the important issues after the independence. Kenesary Kasymuly was now regarded as a Khan, elected by three *jüzes* and a hero who fought against the Russian colonization. Kenesary's features as a military leader and a politician were highlighted. It was emphasized that Kenesary was respected and loved by the people, because he struggled for the people.¹³⁷

Nevertheless, Januzak Kasymbayev, Kazak historian, considered that Kenesary movement could not reach the masses in an absolute level, as there were the Kazak clan leaders and administrators that believed and called the people to live in peace and harmony under the Russian domination.¹³⁸ Whereas, Ermukhan Bekmakhanov mentioned that the masses from all 3 *jüzes* of the Kazaks supported Kenesary's leadership and participated in his revolt, even if not all the time and in the same amounts.¹³⁹ Although Bekmakhanov had to edit his discourse of Kenesary movements after the harsh criticisms, concentration camp sentence, and the realities of his time, the author's evaluations shed light on the Kazak historians after the independence. Furthermore, such historians of independent Kazakhstan as Edige Valikhanov, Sattar Mazhitov and Vil' Galiyev have written this topic in detail, with new perspectives and methods, and their works constitute significance.

Sattar Mazhitov, in his article titled "*Kenesary Kasymov i Ermukhan Bekmakhanov v kontekste ideologicheskoi arkhitektoniki totalitarizma*" (*Kenesary Kasymov and Ermukhan Bekmakhanov in the Context of Ideological Architectonics of Totalitarianism*), revealed interesting similarities of the fates of Bekmakhanov and Kenesary at various periods. In addition, Mazhitov stated that while investigating Kenesary Kasymuly topic, Ermukhan Bekmakhanov's stenographies of the defenses of the master's and doctoral theses, held in Moscow, should be used as the sources. Regarding the discussion about Kenesary issue and

135 Kazak SSR Tarihy (History of Kazak SSR). Almaty, 1982, vol. 3, pp. 174–180.

136 Kazak SSR Tarihy (History of Kazak SSR). Almaty, 1982, vol. 3, p. 238.

137 Kazakhstan Tarihy köne zamannan büginge deyin (Ocherkter) (History of Kazakhstan from Ancient Times till Now). Almaty, 1994, pp. 225–231.

138 Kasymbayev, Januzak. *Ob osvoboditel'nom haraktere vosstaniya 1837–1847 gg.* (On Liberational Character of the Revolt of 1837–1847). Almaty, 1993, p. 107.

139 Bekmakhanov, Ermukhan. *Vosstanie Hana Kenesary (1837–1847)* (Kenesary Khan's Revolt, 1837–1847). Almaty, 1992, p. 12.

Kazak-Kyrgyz relations, Sattar Mazhitov cited famous Kazak writer Mukhtar Awezov's classic answer: "When Kenesary unites the Kazaks and Kyrgyzs against the Russian Empire and Central Asian Khans, I am in favor of Kenesary, but when he shed our brothers' (Kyrgyzs') blood, I vigorously condemn".¹⁴⁰

Edige Valikhanov, in the article co-authored with A.L. Krivkov "*K voprosu ob izuchenii problem istorii Kazakstana novogo vremeni*" (*On The Problems of Studying Contemporary History of Kazakhstan*), mentioned how they had been examining Kenesary Kasymuly movement in the light of new methods and new perspectives. They paid special attention to re-examine the military operations and regional toponyms, carefully and in details.¹⁴¹

Since the dissolution of the Soviet Union, dissertations have been prepared related to Kenesary movement and studies. In the thesis prepared in Kazakhstan by Zhaniya Kusainova, entitled *Istoriyografiya natsional'no-osvoboditel'nogo dvizheniya pod predvoditel'stvom Kenesary Kasymova (1837-1847 gg.)* (*Historiography of the National Liberation Movement led by Kenesary Kasymov in 1837-1847*), the author elaborated the historical process of studying this issue. Furthermore, she underlined Kenesary Kasymuly's roles as a khan, military commander, diplomat and politician in the struggle against the Russian occupation and his efforts of reviving the Kazak Khanate. In the thesis, it is widely covered how this issue reflected in the Russian historiography.¹⁴²

Another thesis entitled *Uchastie sibirskogo kazachestva v podavlenii natsional'no-osvoboditel'nogo dvizheniya kazakhskogo naroda pod predvoditel'stvom sultanov Sarjana i Kenesary Kasymovykh (1824-1847 gg.)* (*Participation of the Siberian Cossacks in Suppressing the National Liberation Movement of the Kazaks Led by Sarjan and Kenesary Kasymovs, 1824-1847*) was prepared by Hadisha Aubakirova. In the thesis, the role of the Siberian Cossacks in the colonization of the Kazak

140 Mazhitov, Sattar. "Kenesary Kasymov i Ermukhan Bekmakhanov v kontekste ideologicheskoy arhitektoniki totalitarizma" (Kenesary Kasymov and Ermukhan Bekmakhanov in the Context of Ideological Architectonics of Totalitarianism), http://www.iie.freenet.kz/indexnews.php?subaction=showfull&id=1113449133&archive=&start_from=&ucat=3& (Accessed October 2006).

141 Valikhanov, Edige and A.L. Krivkov. "K voprosu ob izuchenii problem istorii Kazahstana novogo vremeni" (On the Issue of Studying the Problem of Modern History of Kazakhstan). <http://www.iie.kz/pages/194.jsp> (Accessed October 2006, October 2015).

142 Kusainova, Janiya. *Istoriyografiya natsional'no-osvoboditel'nogo dvizheniya pod predvoditel'stvom Kenesary Kasymova (1837-1847 gg.)* (*Historiography of National Liberation Movement Led by Kenesary Kasymov, 1837-1847*). (Cand.) Diss., Supervisor: S. F. Mazhitov. Almaty, 2000. <http://cheloveknauka.com/istoriyografiya-natsionalno-osvoboditelnogo-dvizheniya-pod-predvoditelstvom-kenesary-kasymova-1837-1847-gg> (Accessed October 2015).

steppes was mentioned. Besides, the movements of the Sultans Kasym, Sarjan and Kenesary; the participation of the Cossacks in the struggles against the Kazaks and military structure of the Kazaks during Kenesary Kasymuly were analyzed.¹⁴³

Kenesary Kasymuly issue was also investigated as a thesis within the Russian Federation. Indeed, *Russian Policies regarding Kenesary Kasymov Revolt 1837-1847: Regional Aspect*, the thesis prepared by Alexey Aseev was defended in 2004, in Barnaul. In this thesis, Russian policies towards Kenesary movement were evaluated in four stages.¹⁴⁴ Aseev's interpretation of Kenesary movement is different from theses and opinions in Kazakhstan.

To sum up, the assessment of Kenesary Kasymuly movement has varied depending from the territories, periods and regimes. The revolt was regarded negatively during Tsarist time, because Kenesary fought against Tsarist Russia's expansionist policies and regulations. During the Soviet Union, if the context discredits, criticizes and judges the Tsarist regime and feudal structure, it did not contradict the Soviet ideological framework. However, Kenesary movement had the nature of a mass struggle and was supported by all Kazak *jüzes*; therefore, it meant a movement for national independence. This state carries both national and anti-Russian features; therefore, Kenesary uprising did not fit to the socialist format; because the Soviet ideology considers anti-Tsarist movement and struggle against Russian hegemony as different concepts. For this reason, Kenesary Kasymuly as a personality was evaluated as a brutal one who cares about his own interests, and an active resistance led by Kenesary was assessed as a reactionary, feudal, monarchical and as a harmful act. After the end of the Soviet regime and the independence is reached, Kenesary is re-evaluated as a Khan and the hero, and his movement re-visited as a national

143 Aubakirova, Hadisha. *Uchastie sibirskogo kazachestva v podavlenii natsional'no-osvoboditel'nogo dvizheniya kazakhskogo naroda pod predvoditel'stvom sultanov Sarjana i Kenesary Kasymovykh (1824-1847 gg.)* (Participation of the Siberian Cossacks in Suppressing the National Liberation Movement of the Kazaks Led by Sarjan and Kenesary Kasymovs, 1824-1847). (Cand.) Diss., Supervisor: Amangeldi Kusainov. Astana, 2000. http://irbis.pushkinlibrary.kz/cgi-bin/irbis64r_13/cgiirbis_64.exe?LNG=&Z21ID=&I21DBN=KNRUS&P21DBN=KNRUS&S21STN=1&S21REF=5&S21FMT=fullweb&C21COM=S&S21CNR=10&S21PO1=O&S21PO2=1&S21PO3=A&S21STR=%D0%90%D1%83%D0%B1%D0%B0%D0%BA%D0%B8%D1%80%D0%BE%D0%B2%D0%B0,%20%D0%A5.%20%D0%90 (Accessed October 2015).

144 Aseev, Aleksey. *Politika Rossii v otnoshenii vosstaniya Kenesary Kasymova 1837-1847 gg.: Regional'nyi aspekt* (Russian Policies regarding Kenesary Kasymov Revolt 1837-1847: Regional Aspect). (Cand.) Diss., Supervisor: V.A. Moiseev. Barnaul, 2004. <http://www.dissercat.com/content/politika-rossii-v-otnoshenii-vosstaniya-kenesary-kasymova-1837-1847-gg-regionalnyi-aspekt> (Accessed October 2015).

independence movement. It is not clear yet how the studies regarding Kenesary Kasymuly would be shaped in the future.

As it is seen in the example of Kenesary, assessments of the personalities and their activities in history, such contrasting concepts as heroes and enemies that usually appears on the two extreme edges, can be changed and re-placed quickly. The two distant concepts may become close to each other. As a result, the hero may suddenly become an enemy; the enemy can become a hero. Indeed, as Ibrahim Kalkan wrote, "Kenesary, who was known as a hero for generations and about whom epics were sang in the Kazak society, was taught as a people's enemy to Kazak students in the textbooks over the years".¹⁴⁵ Another interesting detail is the similarity between the fates of Kenesary and Bekmakhanov. Actually both of them were defeated due to internal enemies.

Ermukhan Bekmakhanov, whose work is assessed as the first professional work on the history of Kazakhstan, was almost the first historian to evaluate Kenesary and his movement positively in the Soviet Union. Because of this work, the author had enormous difficulties and challenges, investigation and prosecution. Bekmakhanov's period coincided with the period when history was shaped to the ideological foundations, in accordance with the Marxist, Leninist and Stalinist principles and criteria. Bekmakhanov's difference from other historians was that he published the results of his in-depth research regardless of ideological borders of the period.

While writing the history, historical topic, writing process and the author, all of them have permanently become history themselves. This historical process, experienced criticisms, questionings, prosecution, had affected negatively historian's health and life for sure. The role of Ermukhan Bekmakhanov and his works are great in taking the place in the history of Kenesary Kasymuly and his activities. In addition, Bekmakhanov has influenced the perspectives of history writing of the independence era as well, and has left a permanent mark in history.

145 Kalkan, Ibrahim. "Halk Düşmanı mı, Halk Kahramanı mı? Sovyet Tarihçiliğinin İkilemi" (People's Enemy or People's Hero? Dilemma of the Soviet Historiography). *Stalin ve Türk Dünyası (Stalin and Turkic World)*, edp. Emine Gürsoy-Naskali and Liaisan Şahin. İstanbul, 2007, p. 286.

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ERMUKHAN BEKMAKHANOV AND THE KENESARY KASYMULY REVOLT

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For American and European students of Kazakh history, there are certain individuals that emerge in the scholarly literature that receive the majority of attention, whose works must be consulted, read, and studied, in order to examine the Kazakh national, cultural, political, economic, and social development. Often these are historic figures; individuals who shaped our understanding of the Kazakh nation, either through great or infamous deeds, perhaps with a legacy that alter our view of the Kazakh nation and its evolution. Among this illustrious list are khans and batyrs, such as Zhanibek and Kerai, Abulkhair, Ablai Khan, and others. Just as often, men of science and the arts capture our attention, most notably Chokan Valikhanov, Ibrahim Altynsarin, or Abai. For students of Kazakh history, these are serious individuals, but the historiography is as important as the scholars and writers who told their stories, men such as Alikhan Bokeikhanov, Mukhtar Auezov, Saken Seifullin, and others.

Yet, we are also dependent upon the scholars and travelers to the Kazakh Zhuz, such as Aleksei Levshin, Radlov and Bartold, or Valikhanov who examined and interpreted Kazakh culture and society for scholars, and Shakarim Kudaiberuli who explained Kazakh genealogy, or the later historians such as S. Asfendiarov and S. Amanzholov, or Apollova, Kozybaev, and Viatkin. This is but a small number of the travelers and scholars that students embrace in their search for the Kazakh past. Few scholars, however, achieved both the notoriety and fame of Ermukhan Bekmakhanov. Even almost fifty years after his untimely and premature death, only a handful of scholars remain as critical to the study of Kazakh history and society. The reason is simple enough, he was a talented historian, but it was his subject that continues to feature so importantly for students of Kazakh history. His most important contribution remains *Kazakhstan v 20-40 gody XIX veka*, a thorough examination of the Kenesary Kasymov Revolt and Kazakh society on the eve of the final Russian conquest and colonization of the vast Kazakh steppe.

For most American and European scholars, Solomon Schwarz first introduced Bekmakhanov's story to the historical community with his 1952 article, "Revising the History of Russian Colonization," which appeared in *Foreign Affairs*.¹⁴⁶ This brief introduction to the "Bekmak-

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khanov Case" was followed two years later in the essay "Ideological Deviation in Soviet Central Asia," by Serge Zenkovsky.¹⁴⁷ Ten years later, Lowell Tillett published an article that again examined the "Bekmakhanov Case" with a bit more detail, which followed with his 1969 monograph *The Great Friendship: Soviet Historians and the Non-Russian Nationalities*.¹⁴⁸ The reasons these initial works matter is because American and European scholars generally neglected Bekmakhanov's work, but rather focused instead on the treatment he received for his so-called ideological deviation. Too few scholars outside of Kazakhstan or the Soviet Union understood Bekmakhanov's valuable contribution to the study of Kazakh history. That is not to suggest that American and European scholars completely ignored Kazakh history, but the attention lacked the resources and opportunities to investigate the "Bekmakhanov Case" or to study seriously Kazakh history and culture beyond the narrow confines of a library. Scholars such as Martha Brill Olcott reintroduced a new cadre of young scholars to Bekmakhanov and the Kenesary Kasymov Rebellion.¹⁴⁹

The collapse of the Soviet Union and Kazakhstan's independence created new opportunities for younger scholars to study in Kazakhstan, to work in its libraries and archives. Bekmakhanov became an invaluable resource with the republication of his 1947 *Kazakhstan v 20-40 gody XIX veka* (Almaty: Kazakh Universiteti, 1992 [1947]).¹⁵⁰

The Kazakhs have, however, since the collapse of the Soviet Union consistently described the rebellions, particularly the Kenesary Kasymov Rebellion, as wars for "National Liberation." Other works have also been published that examined Kenesary's rebellion, including V. Z. Galiev and B. T. Zhanaev, eds., *Natsional'no-osvoboditel'naia bor'ba Kazakhskogo naroda pod predvoditel'stvom Kenesary Kasymova* (Almaty, 1996). Further scholarly interpretations describe Kenesary as

146 Solomon M. Schwarz, "Revising the History of Russian Colonialism," *Foreign Affairs* 30 (April 1952), 488-493.

147 Serge A. Zenkovsky, "Ideological Deviation in Soviet Central Asia," *The Slavonic and East European Review* 32, No. 79 (June 1954), 424-437.

148 See Lowell R. Tillett, "Soviet Second Thoughts on tsarist Colonialism," *Foreign Affairs* 42 (January 1964), 309-319; Lowell Tillett, *The Great Friendship: Soviet Historians and the Non-Russian Nationalities* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1969).

149 Olcott, Martha Brill, *The Kazakhs*, Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1987.

150 Since the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, the Kazakhs have republished equally good biographies of Srym Batyr or Kenesary. Kazakh historians are very interested in both men and the era. See Viatkin, Mikhail, *Batyr Srym* (Almaty: Sanat, 1998 [1947]); and Bekmakhanov, Ermukhan, *Kazakhstan v 20-40 gody XIX veka* (Almaty: Kazakh Universiteti, 1992 [1947]).

a solid military leader but one who was at times politically tactless. See, for example, two interpretations of the rebellion that echo this interpretation of the revolt, Zh. Kasymbaev, *Kenesary Khan* (Almaty, 1992) and Kh. Aubakirova, "Uchastie Sibirskogo Kazachestva v podavlenii natsional'no-osvoboditel'nogo dvizheniia Kazakhskogo naroda pod predvoditel'stvom sultanov Sarzhana i Kenesary," (Doctoral dissertation: Eurasian University of Astana, 2000).

Although there has not been significant scholarly work conducted by American or European scholars that examine the revolt in quite the same way, two articles have debated the concept of "national-liberation" and Kenesary. Bekmakhanov's interpretations figure prominently in both.¹⁵¹

The Kenesary Kasymov Revolt was the turning point in the steppe as Russia committed more men and resources to fighting Kenesary than any other previous Kazakh rebellion. One element that made Kenesary's revolt unique was that at various times it extended to all three hordes, attracting Kazakhs regardless of clan or horde to rally to his cause. Indeed, the revolt was unique because at different times during the revolt, according to the revolt's most prominent historian, Ermukhan Bekmakhanov, every clan allied with Kenesary. The problem was that at no time during the revolt did all clans at the same time ally with Kenesary.¹⁵² Despite what might seem at first glance to suggest that he marshaled huge numbers to his side, the best estimates are that at the revolt's peak (1844-1845) he could field between two thousand to ten thousand "well-armed horsemen."¹⁵³

In December 1838 Kenesary sent a letter to Tsar Nicholas I (1825-1855) that included four demands Russia must agree to before he lay down his arms to end the rebellion. In the letter, Kenesary insisted that Russia abandon the Aktau fort and destroy it. He further demanded that Russia "destroy all other establishments in steppe locations," to dismantle the Akmolinsk Judicial tribunal (*divan*), and "free our imprisoned people."¹⁵⁴

151 See Sabol, Steven, "Kazak Resistance to Russian Colonization: Interpreting the Kenesary Kasymov Revolt, 1837-1847," *Central Asian Survey* 22:2/3 (June-September 2003), 231-252; Malikov, Yuriy, "The Kenesary Kasymov Rebellion (1837-1847): A National-Liberation Movement or a Protest of Restoration?" *Nationalities Papers* 33:4 (December 2005), 569-597.

152 Bekmakhanov, Ermukhan, *Kazakhstan v 20-40 gody XIX veka* (Almaty: Kazakh Universiteti, 1992 [1947]), 170-173.

153 According to estimates by the Orenburg Frontier Commission, he could field two thousand men. See TsGAR RK, f. 4, op. 1, d. 4957, l. 11.; One of the first historians of the revolt, N. Sereda, believed he had up to ten thousand "well-armed horsemen." See Sereda, N. A., "Bunt kirgizskogo sultana Kenesary Kasymova," *Vestnik Evropy*, No. 8 (1870), 73.

154 TsGAR RK, f. 374, op. 1, d. 25, ll. 15-16.

In June 1841, Kenesary wrote to the chairman of the Orenburg Frontier Commission to explain the reasons for his continued hostility to Russian expansion in the steppe. He claimed that in 1825 Ivan Karnachev, with a force of 300 Russians and 100 sympathetic Kazakhs, attacked his brother Sarzhan's aul. They "sacked the aul...[and] plundered an untold quantity of livestock and property, and slaughtered 64 people; the remainder saved themselves by flight."¹⁵⁵ He cited a number of different atrocities purportedly committed by Russians or Cossacks that demanded defensive, retaliatory acts by Kazakhs. Kenesary described the Russians as "leeches sucking the blood of the Kazakhs."¹⁵⁶

Most observers at the time, as well as subsequent scholarly accounts, fault Kenesary for the continued internecine struggle in the Kazakh steppe. Kenesary, according to these interpretations, made a political miscalculation that he could force clans hostile to his resistance to Russian colonization to join him and proclaim their allegiance to him. By 1845, Russia was fully committed to defeating Kenesary and restoring order to the steppe. The constant warfare resulted in lost warriors, lost livestock, and increased hostility among Kazakhs who refused to submit to Kenesary's rule. Kenesary fled south, a tactic Kazakhs often used to escape Russian retaliation, eventually finding temporary sanctuary among the Kirghiz in Semirechie. The problem was, however, that Kokand was fighting Bukhara and attempting to assert control over Semirechie, where Kenesary was camped. The Kirghiz were fighting against Great Horde Kazakhs for the province and Kenesary, weakened by the flight south, attempted to get the Great Horde Kazakhs to join his cause to resist Russia and to oust the Kirghiz nomads from the lush Semirechie pastures. Kenesary started negotiating with the Kirghiz, to end the fight against the Kazakhs and Kokand, but at some point in the negotiations, the Kirghiz decided Kenesary was a liability and took him prisoner. Sometime in April 1847, the Kirghiz executed him, bringing to an ignoble close the last major Kazakh military resistance to Russian expansion into the Kazakh steppe.¹⁵⁷

Bekmakhanov's analysis of the Kenesary Kasymov rebellion was a turning point in the study of the revolt, but it also introduced the idea of the Kazakh "nation" as something more than an artificial So-

155 TsGAR K, f. 4, op. 1, d. 1996, ll. 3–6. The original was written in the Arabic script commonly used by Kazakhs. It was reprinted in Cyrillic Kazakh in V. Z. Galiev and B. T. Zhanaev, eds., *Natsional'no-osvoboditel'naiia bor'ba Kazakhskogo naroda pod predvoditel'stvom Kenesary Kasymova* (Almaty, 1996), 35–37.

156 TsGAR K, f. 4, op. 1, d. 2622, 1845g., l. 1059.

157 Bekmakhanov, Ermukhan, *Kazakhstan v 20–40 gody XIX veka* (Almaty: Kazakh Universiteti, 1992 [1947]), 313–340.

viet construction. Bekmakhanov challenged assumptions about the class-nature of Kazakh society, particularly notions about the role *Batyr* played in society, he marshalled the works of Valikhanov and others to support his interpretations of Kenesary's rebellion. Bekmakhanov's use of folklore and oral traditions complicate the interpretations, but are also invaluable as historians attempt to reconstruct Kenesary's world. In addition, Bekmakhanov argued that Kenesary attempted to eliminate clan and tribal confederations that weakened Kazakh society and made it susceptible to Russian expansion and colonization. He further argued that Kenesary was a reformer, not a bandit, who enjoyed wide-spread support among Kazakhs, rich and poor, and who defended the "Kazakh nation" from external forces, including Russian, Khivan, and Bukharan imperial expansion. According to Tillett, "Bekmakhanov was not defying recent party directives altogether, but was attempting to work out a formulation that would find acceptance without basically changing a long-standing interpretation."¹⁵⁸

Bekmakhanov was a meticulous historian; he utilized extensive archival materials that altered historical interpretations, and he fostered a vigorous debate among scholars not only of his generation but for future historians. His skillful use of Kazakh oral traditions enabled subsequent scholarship to access this genre in ways that perhaps he might not have imagined. The republication of his book created a valuable foundation to the trove of materials heretofore unavailable to foreign scholars, whose access to the archives and libraries in Kazakhstan was severely restricted before the 1990s. One might argue that Bekmakhanov's most valuable contribution to Kazakh history, and in particular to the Kenesary Kasymov Rebellion, equaled that of the American historian, Frederick Jackson Turner's "Frontier thesis" as the baseline by which so much subsequent scholarship debated. Did the frontier shape the American character? Did Kenesary represent a national-liberation movement? Bekmakhanov contextualized Kenesary's movement into the larger global anti-colonial efforts, despite the particularly powerful ideological interpretations that weighed so heavily on his conclusions. Rather than restricting Kenesary to the steppe and Russian expansion, it revealed a coalescing of national conception that was emerging among the Kazakh people.

The Kazakh nation existed before Kenesary, but it was misshaped, dis-united, lacked leadership, and inarticulate of the concept of nation or state for the Kazakh people. Kenesary, as Bekmakhanov so clearly demonstrates in his book, was a man of his world, his time,

158 Tillett, Lowell, *The Great Friendship: Soviet Historians and the Non-Russian Nationalities* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1969), 113.

but nonetheless seemed capable of uniting disparate visions of the Kazakh nation. Bekmakhanov situated Kenesary's leadership into this anti-colonial environment evident in other imperial situations, comparable to American Indian resistance (something the American Historian Turner failed to do), and African and Asian anti-colonial movements as well. It is fair to argue that Bekmakhanov himself did not make these interpretations, that his work did not explicitly make the broader connections to other anti-colonial movements, but the interpretations he provided in his book are evident to students of the global, nineteenth-century, anti-colonial resistance. The pity is that Bekmakhanov's scholarship has not been made available in translation for scholars unfamiliar with his valuable contributions. Thus, while his scholarship is devoted to Kazakh history, his work has much broader, comparative application.

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TsGAR K, f. 374, op. 1, d. 25, ll. 15-16.

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ERMUKHAN BEKMAKHANOV AND KAZAKH STATE QUESTION

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Dear Brethren and Scientists!

He lived only for 51 years, but experienced many things in his short life. He became the first Kazakh scientist with a PhD, a professor and honorary member of the Academy of Sciences, and he founded the first history department in Kazakhstan. Despite the ideological pressures of the time, and political regime's oppressions, insults, and tyranny, he defended the truth he believed in and highlighted his nation's interests. One of the most significant personalities of the Kazakh nation, E. Bekmakhanov, in 2015 we celebrated his birth 100 years ago.

An evaluation of his scientific research, not only in Kazakhstan but also in the fraternal country of Turkey, at such a great academic meeting will surely develop fraternal, social and cultural links. Therefore, I sincerely thank our friends who have contributed to the organization of this meeting.

Though I am not an expert of Bekmakhanov's works, I want to underline that all academicians of our history, of Kazakh history, know him very well because his life experience is like curriculum vitae that contains our national history and that history's difficult trials and tribulations.

Firstly, I want to present some information about his life.

Bekmakhanov was born on 15 February 1915 in the village Tore, on the shore of Lake Zhassybai in the Bayanavul district of Pavlodar province, which is famous for its prominent scientists and philosophers and regarded as a sacred territory among the Kazakh nation. Though previously not spoken, today it is known that Bekmakhanov was the seventh generation grandson of Abylai Khan.¹⁵⁹

Ermukhan's father passed away when he was six years old. Thus, he supported his widowed mother, who had three sons and endured several difficulties. He graduated from Bayanavul primary school at age 11 and, despite his mother's opposition, enrolled in the Faculty of the Proletariat in Semei.

"During those years, a famine erupted in Kazakhstan as a result of the forced introduction of collective farms. Ermukhan's mother and youngest daughter died because of starvation. This destroyed Ermukhan. Even he did not know where they were buried or even if they were

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buried.” writes Medev Sarseke, in his biography of Bekmakhanov.¹⁶⁰

In 1933, Bekmakhanov enrolled in the Tambov Pedagogy Institute History Department with a full scholarship from the Ministry of Education. However, with the closure of the department in 1936, he transferred to Voronezh Pedagogy Institute and graduated in 1937. In the same year, he returned to Kazakhstan and initially started as a history teacher at No. 28 M. Mametova secondary school in Almaty. After that, he worked at the Research Institute of Kazakhstan Ministry of Education. Within a short time, he was promoted as an institute principal.

Between 1946 and 1947, he acted as vice-principal of the newly-established History, Archaeology and Ethnography Institute of the Kazakh SSR Academy of Sciences. From 1947 until his untimely death – that is, 6 May 1966 – he acted as the chairman of the history department of the Kazakh Public University.

Generally, the historians divide his career and rise as a historian and academic into three periods.

During the first period (1942-1947), he defended his PhD thesis (1943) and thereafter he became a professor by successfully defending his docent dissertation, which would later be published as a book titled “Kazakhstan between 20s and 40s of the 19th Century”.

The second period (1948-1958) is famous for his downfall and troubles, most notably the attacks against him and the persecution, accusations, and exile.

The last period (1958-1966) covers the years when he was re-admitted to his position, re-claimed his posts, was elected as a standing member to the Kazakh SSR Academy of Sciences in 1964, produced several significant works and course books, educated students, and subsequently fell ill and died.¹⁶¹

The diaries and memoirs of his contemporaries and students reveal his curiosity about the arts and sciences, his fondness of friendship and fraternity, his love for his family and country, and his devotion to moral principles and national values.

Now we can concentrate on the content of the presentation. Bekmakhanov’s 100th anniversary of his birth coincides with the activities commemorating the 550th anniversary of Kazakh Khanate, which was celebrated nationwide by the proposal of Kazakhstan’s President Nursultan Nazarbayev. Bekmakhanov’s expertise on topics such as the rebellion of Kenessary Kasymoglu Khan and the Kazakh Khanate’s rise as an indepen-

160 Medev, Sarseke, *Ermukhan Bekmakhanov*, 2010.

161 Takenov, A.S., Ermukhan Bekmakhanoviç Bekmakhanov, U. Knige Korjihina. T. P., Senin. A. S., *İstoriya Rossiyskoy Gosudarstvennosti*, Moscow, 1995, pp. 10-14.

dent state in 1465 comply with the state formation issue of the Kazakh nation. As evidence to our words, we can provide certain information.

The state as a concept was first investigated by philosophers such as Polybius, Aristotle, Sun Tzu, Al Farabi, and Ibn Khaldoun; this concept is now widely studied by contemporary social scientists.¹⁶² The state as a concept requires highlighting the emergence of political civilizations and their transformation processes, the logic and strategy of the reciprocal actions stemming from human-state relations, and the nature of an administration phenomenon rather than the rules of state administration or state's political and judicial infrastructure. Furthermore, we need to research the history of states or entities in state form, which gradually developed as the "system of system"¹⁶³ and prevailed in certain territories and regions during different epochs.

State formation, per se, has a peculiar national and moral nature and national and cultural stance. It is like an infinite history containing certain moral values and administrative experiences. For example, we cannot confine the history of today's independent Kazakhstan to the boundaries of the Kazakh Khanate. Our civilization's predecessors, the Scythians, Huns, Gokturks, Golden Horde Khanate, Kazakh Khanate, their administrative norms such as Mete Shanyui Khan, Bumin Khan, Istemi Khan, Esim Khan, Kasym Khan, Tavke Khan, Abylai Khan, Kenesary Khan, and their administrative reforms along with the historical experiences, reflect our national state system.

While searching the national state history, we have to:

First, identify the nature and background of the phenomena, such as formation of state systems and institutions, and their transformations and decay;

Second, identify the role of historical personalities who contributed to the creation and progress of the Kazakh nation's political civilization, coupled with the state's geopolitical, judicial, and socio-cultural aspects.

Third, investigate the Republic of Kazakhstan's state institutions (administration, administrative organizations, and their branches and ideologies etc.) and inter-institutional relations.

To wit, to search thoroughly the concept of a national state on a periodic basis will undoubtedly promote our national consciousness not only as human beings but also as citizens.

After summarizing the concept of state, we can observe this method clearly reflected in the Kazakh nation under Russian subjugation and concurrent state formation in Bekmakhanov's masterpiece "Kazakhstan

162 Timofeeva A. A., *Problemy Stanovleniya i Razvitiya Rossiyskoy Gosudarstvennosti: uchev. Posobiye*, A. A. Timofeeva, M, MPSI, 2009, p.7.

163 Şaburov. A. S., "Gosudarstvo i Gosudarstvennost': Voprosy Sootnoşeniya", *İzvestiya. İGEA*, 2012, No3 (83), pp.126-129.

in 20s and 40s of the 19th Century”.

For example, Bekmakhanov draws attention to the transformation the “aksuyeks” (elites) of the 19th century experienced as a result of a tyrannical policy through a comparison to the “aksuyeks” of the 18th century. By doing so, he not only posited the transformation of the system but also demonstrated the appearance of “kara suyeks” – non-elites – on par with the elites of Genghisid descent among the new lower classes, such as “ekinzhi, zhatak, baigus”. He described the “aksuyeks”’ loss of social status as a result of their relations with the ordinary classes and the term’s evolution to the limits of a specific name with these words: “According to the regulations and laws of the Russian Tsardom in 1822 and as a result of the political modifications on the Short Chapter, all Genghis successors except Sultan-Pravitels and Agha-Sultans who served for the Tsardom and received orders from it lost their all privileges.”¹⁶⁴

Furthermore, he stressed that in the first half of the 19th century, the “tore”s who engaged in marriages with “kara suyek”s were called “karaman” and added that the “bey” class who had more influence than the Khans in Kazakh society slowly began to lose supremacy: “... Case-judge “bey”s began to lose income and sometimes got no profit. Some retained their position through maintaining their roles as justice distributor while some others derailed because of the aforementioned bad habits. Therefore, bribery began to prevail in these institutions which had previously been the symbols of justice...”¹⁶⁵

We should here remind the reader that Bekmakhanov was the first person to investigate academically specific social strata, such as “sultan”, “bey”, “batur”, and “bay”, and the additional concepts such as “aksuyek”, “kara suyek”, “tore”, and “karashy”, in Kazakh society.

The consequences of Russian Tsardom’s colonisation policy in Kazakhstan profoundly affected all levels of our national state. Geopolitical positioning, re-determination of the boundaries, national state rituals and changes in these rituals, the consequences of reforms on several fields, and military conflicts and similar issues have to be examined separately. However, Bekmakhanov underscored that the main goal of the Kenessary Khan rebellion was the protection of a Kazakh state.

To detail:

In order to re-establish the territorial integrity, Kenessary Khan strived to retrieve Kazakh territories that formerly belonged to his grandfather, Abylai Khan, around the Uludagh Region. Therefore, he contacted various Russian statesmen and sent letters to Russian leaders, such as Gern and Gorchakov.

164 Zatonskiy, V. A., *Effektivnaya Gosudarstvennost*, red. A. V. Mal’ko, M., Yurist, p. 286.

165 Ibid.

He established the Khanate committee. He also emphasized the roles of several prominent beys, such as Navryzbai, Aghybai, Iman Batur, Chukmar Baktybayev, and Saydak Hozha Ospanov.

He introduced certain limits against the infinite rights of beys within a reformed judicial system with the help of Aryngazi Sultan, oriented in accordance with the Sharia law. He regulated the cases himself. He also appointed himself and other mullahs to the cases regarding horse theft among the Kazakh clans.

In order to handle diplomatic affairs, he appointed experienced Kyrgyz staff, such as Chukmar Baktybayev, Saydak Hozha Ospanov, Alim Yagudin, and Esengeldi Sarzhanov, who had the potential to arrange and negotiate treaties with China and Russia and he created a national diplomacy protocol.

He introduced new reforms through consolidating the state's administrative system.

He pioneered new reforms on the economy and trade.

All these activities undoubtedly contributed to the Kazakh nation's state formation, formed the basis of our country's state administration, and determined the ideological stance of today's independent Kazakhstan. Bekmakhanov commented: "Kenessary accomplished great progressive reforms. These reforms soon contributed to the unification of Kazakh people and consolidation of Kazakh state. However, we should also assert that these reforms were introduced in order to empower the feudal state. A Kazakh state would not survive under the circumstances of the era."¹⁶⁶

Nowadays, Kenessary's statue on a horse and a street named after him in Astana encourages younger generations for the future. Thus, Bekmakhanov's observation that "I told that the Kazakh nation had had a state and homeland" during the most troubled times by successfully articulating the historical role of Kenessary has a special meaning.¹⁶⁷ We should strive to understand him.

Unfortunately, it is a truth that a person like him who loved his people and produced beneficial works for the people was hindered by the "envy" of our citizens as cited by our ancestor Abay. It is pity that he left us too early.

Today here in Turkey, your interest in Kazakh history and the academic legacy of a prominent scholar of the Kazakh nation deserves applause. For this purpose, I re-iterate my gratitude.

¹⁶⁶ Bekmakhanov, E., *Kazakhstan v 20-40-e Gody XIX veka*, A-Ata, 1992.

¹⁶⁷ Bekmakhanov, E., *Jeti Tomdıq Şıǵarmalar Jinagi*, cilt 6 (Stenogramma E. B. Bekmakhanovın "XIX. Gazırdın 20-40 jı. Qazaqstan" kitabının diskussıyası", 2005, p. 360.

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IMPORTANT ISSUES OF KAZAKHSTAN HISTORY IN THE WORKS OF E. BEKMAKHANOV

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Introduction

The dissolution of Soviet Union in 1991 has created different perspectives about the history of Turkish communities that lived in this geography. The studies and research made during the Soviet period, with its ideological pressure, started to be questioned and the white pages of the history started to be opened one by one. The independence of Kazakhstan created the opportunity for historians to look at the political, socio-economic and legal dimensions of Kazakh state structure from a different perspective. We can say that especially the colonization of Kazakhstan by Russia and research about the national liberation struggle of the Kazakhs were forced to be told in different ways. The period when Czarist Russia colonized Kazakhstan is the time when the Kazakh community was in contradiction and also the time when the Kazakh plains turned into one of the regional states of neighboring countries. The liberation struggle of the community who reacted to this is another dimension of this topic. During the early Soviet era, the attitude and policy of Czarist Russia towards other non-Russian communities were criticized greatly. All the resistant movements against Czarist governance were seen as national struggles. In the first half of 20th century, the "trade capitalism" concept of M. N. Pokrovskiy¹⁶⁸ was dominant in evaluating the foreign policy of Czarist

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168 Mihail Nikolayevic Pokrovskiy, historian and politician from USSR. He was born as the son of a customs official in 1868 and after graduating successfully from high school, he went to Moscow University. In 1905 he became member of Russian Social-Democrat Labor Party. He was arrested for participating in December Rebellion and in 1906 he took refuge in France. During his asylum period he wrote his important works "Russian History from Ancient Times to Recent Times", 5 volumes, (Russkaya İstoriya s Drevneyşih Vremen) and "Main Lines of Russian Cultural History (Oçerk İstorii Russkoy Kultury). After the Bolsheviks took over the government from Czarist governance in 1917, he went back to his home country and worked in different academic institutions. Interpreting Russian History from a perspective tightly bound to Marxist-Leninist principles, M. N. Pokrovskiy underlined in his studies that socialist revolution and proletarian dictatorship were the inevitable political results of Marxism and that dialectical method was important. One of the most fundamental principles of Pokrovskiy's opinions was "commercial capital", and he thought that the driving force behind Russia's colonizing policy was this; he also put forward the concept of "absolute evil". After Stalin took over the government his opinions were criticized as anti-Marxist and unscientific. Following his death his books were collected from libraries and the representatives of

Russian Empire in Soviet historiography. M. N. Pokrovskiy evaluated the policy of Russia in Central Asia as occupation and said “Turkistan is the official colony of Russia”¹⁶⁹. Among the young historians who supported this idea of Pokrovskiy, there was A. M. Pankratova¹⁷⁰ who was to be the master of E. Bekmakhanov. These historians were evaluating the inclusion of other communities into Russian Empire as the colonization policy of Czarist Russia and were using the “absolute evil”¹⁷¹ concept for this policy. They saw economic factors, in other words, commercial capital, new markets, and raw material sources as the important pushing factors for the inclusion process of communities into Russia. But after the death of M. N. Pokrovskiy, these views of him were criticized and changed with Stalin’s concept of “minimum evil” in 1937. From this point, even if Soviet historians confessed that Czarist Russia colonized Central Asia and other regions, they tried to put forward the progressive ways of this, and tried to prove that they were included into Russia from their own desire. A. M. Pankratova, who had great role in the preparations of the monograph of the comprehensive work “Kazakh Soviet Union History,” as the editor in chief, never gave up her principles. She wrote “We can never legitimize the colonization policy of Czarist Russia.”¹⁷² A. M. Pankratova was among the scholars who were sent to Kazakhstan during the Second World War. A. M. Pankratova had great influence on E. Bekmakhanov’s understanding of the circumstances of the historical period he was researching and also keeping his critical attitude in spite of the negative dimensions of the period. During the Second World War Soviet, historians had to propagandize for the ideology of

Pokrovskiy School were labeled as “the home for agents, terrorists and evils who masked themselves properly”. But after the death of Stalin he was cleaned in 1960p. Mentor of E. Bekmakhanov, A. M. Pankratova was among the scholars who adopted his opinions.

169 Pokrovski. M.N., *Diplomatiya i Voyny Tsarskoy Rossii v XIX. Veke*, Moscow, 1923, p. 8

170 Anna Mihaylovna Pankratova is one of the Soviet Period historians who had great contributions to Kazakhstan history and also E. Bekmakhanov’s mentor as in his own words, “Second mother”. During Second World War she was among the scholars who were evacuated from Moscow to Kazakhstan. During the years she lived in here she played an important role in the preparation and publication of “Kazakh USSR History”. When E. Bekmakhanov was criticized because of his studies, she was among a couple of people who supported his acquittal when he was penalized.

171 Until 1936 Shamil, Kenesary and others were labeled as leaders who fought for freedom against “public jail”. Bolsheviks were castigating all the practices of Czarist Russia. As one of the scholars who were known with the perspective criticizing colonizing policy of Czarist Russia, M. N. Pokrovskiy defined this with “absolute evil”. But in 1937 Stalin described this opinion as anti-Russian and changed with “minimum evil”.

172 Archive RAN, f.1577, opis 2. d.71.

'Brotherhood of People.' Besides, to show respect to "great" nation, to praise its role in history, and to show Russia as the pushing force in the social development of Central Asia and Kazakhstan as Soviet ideology then demanded. Bekmakhanov was among those Kazakh historians whose views were unbiased with objective information regardless of the ideological pressures.

E. Bekmakhanov's views on Russia's colonization in Kazakhstan

The scholarly subjects of E. Bekmakhanov, one of the Kazakh historians of Soviet period, reflect diversity and a versatility. Moreover, he advanced his own works by using disciplines such as demography, ethnography, oral literature, and ethnic sociology. His studies consist of works that examine important issues of Kazakhstan's history during the 18th and 19th centuries, and include lectures, books, studies on pedagogy, and scientific articles. We can say that the issues that E. Bekmakhanov especially dwelled on are the colonization policy of Czarist Russia in Kazakhstan and national liberation movements of Kazakh community, most notably Kenesary Kasımov. The colonization of Kazakhstan by Czarist Russia started during the 1730s, but the process was completed in the middle of 19th century.

The policies of Czarist Russia in Kazakhstan accelerated following some imperial decrees in the 1820s. With the acceptance of "Siberian Kyrgyzs¹⁷³ Charter"¹⁷⁴ in 1822, the Czarist Russian government started to implement vigorously several reforms, notwithstanding the administrative features of Kazakh community in Middle Jüz¹⁷⁵. Until the

173 Here, "Kyrgyzs" means "Kazakh Turks". In most of the documents of Czarist Russia Kazakhs are mentioned as Kyrgyzs or Kyrgyzs-Kaysaks.

174 It is a reform Project prepared by M. M. Speranskiy, who was administered as West Siberia military state governor, to re-design the government in Siberia. This Charter was signed by Czar I. Alexander in 22 June 1822. The fundamental duty of the charter was to annihilate the political independence of Kazakhstan and to include Kazakh lands into Russian Empire. According to M. M. Speranskiy, in order to make Kazakh nomads citizens of Russia, first of all, the abolition of Khanate governing and not addressing to Kazakh community as government officials were needed. (*Materyaly po İstorii Politicheskogo Stroya Kazahstana, Alma-ata, 1960*) According to Charter, Middle Jüz became a part of Omsk province and then became a part of West Siberia Governorate with Tomsk and Tobol provincep. Between 1822 and 1838 7 provinces were established. Most of the parts of this Charter were valid until 1917.

175 The social-political organization of Kazakh tribes was composed of three 'Orda's and these were named as "cüz (jüz)". These Ordas, like tribes, clans and lines, were ranged according to order of precedence. "Middle Juz" (Middle Orda) was in the center of Kazakhstan and composed of inhabitant nomads settling in the area from North of Balkaş River to forest-steppe line of South Siberia. (Lawrens Krader, *Kazakh Ethnonym, tranp. Serkan Acar., Tarih İncelemeleri Dergisi XXIX /2, 2014, p.658*). Main tribes: Argın, Konırat, Kıpçak, Kerey, Nayman, Uak. After the last Khan of Middle Jüz Ualı died in 1819, Czarist Russia decided not to administer a new Khan.

beginning of 19th century, Kazakh lands belonged to Russia verbally; whereas some of the regions of the Great Jüz¹⁷⁶ and Middle Jüz were under the authority of Kokand and Khivan Khanates. In other words, according to E. Bekmakhanov, Czarist Russia made those reforms to solve this problem and to eliminate the independence of Kazakh state. Three ways of precautions taken in general for this were: 1. Towers strengthened with safeguards were built in the border lines and Cossack compounds¹⁷⁷ were settled. 2. In order to put the reforms of Czarist Russia government into practice, Provinces¹⁷⁸ (okrug) and provincial courts¹⁷⁹ were established and then a range system¹⁸⁰ was enacted. In this way the political authorities of Kazakh Turks were limited. 3. Taking the lands of Kazakh in a systematic and indiscrete way, practicing tax system, and practicing government monopolies (like fishing and lumber cutting). It was obvious that the real aim of this Charter was to eliminate the Khanate way of government in Kazakh lands and to take all the lands of Kazakhs under the domination of

176 Great Jüz is the confederation of tribes living in Yedisu region in 18th and 19th centuries. The winter residences of Great Jüz Kazakhs were South of Balkaş Lake, Moyunkum, İli, Çu and Talas Rivers, and their tablelands were Jungar and İli Mountains and the foothills of Tanrı Mountain. Information about the tribes and geographic location of Great Jüz is in the studies of researchers like A. Levşin, A. İ. Tevkelev, Ş. Valihanov, N. Aristov, V. V. Vostrov, V. V. Radlov.

177 During the occupation of Czarist Russia, the whole lands of Kazakhstan were full of military towers, garrisons, and police stations. Cossack compounds on this line of bulwark were settled in the range of 9.2 or 16.2 verst. Cossack compounds and villages were not only in the borders with Russia but also in the inner regions of Kazakh steppes. The place choice of police stations and compounds were determined according to the strategic targets of Czarist Russia. This bulwark line was the start of the settlement and the increase of Cossack villages. According to the records, the compounds were composed of 40 or more houses. On the other hand, Cossack compounds in steppe were more crowded. In the 60s of 19th century, Military-Cossack colonies were replaced with Russian villagers.

178 The province named as "Okrug" word in Russian is the name generally given for the administrative unit of Russian Empire.

179 This institution named as "Okrujnoj Prikaz" in Russian language governed the province. The duties of the Council were to provide the security of the province population, to eliminate the looting at horse-theft, to handle education and health affairs, to provide the obedience of community to Czarist government, to manage the religious affairs, to collect tax and to provide the security of the caravans.

180 As an administrative management, range system was taken as an example from Orinbor Cossack army who had border compounds with Kazakh steppe and who were divided into ranges since 20s of 19th century. According to reformists, the range system had to enable the inclusion of Little Jüz into Russian administrative system and collecting tax from the society. Yu. Lysenko, M. V. Kulikova., *Sistema Mestnogo Samoupravleniya v Kazahskoy Step'i: Ideologiya Reform i Problemy Realizatsii (konets XVIII seredina XIX v., p.183 // BBK 63.3(2)5*

Czarist Russia. In addition to using military power to put the reforms into practice, providing cooperation with the leading individuals of Kazakh society was also another strategy.

In order to do this, Czarist Russia let Sultans and 'Biy's¹⁸¹ use their winter quarters and highlands as their own properties by means of granting them privileges. For instance, the lands distributed to the leading people of Kazakh society in the Bökey Khanate¹⁸² were as follows: 400,000 desyatina¹⁸³ for Jangir Khanate, 700,000 desyatina for Musagali and Şingali Ormanovs, 390,000 desyatina for Karavulhoca Babacanov, 400,000 for Mendigerey, 170,000 desyatina for Şöke Nuralıhanov, 300,000 desyatina for Balkı Kudaybergenov, 200,000 desyatina for Begalı Sultan, and between 1830 and 1845, the Khanate and its relatives have dominated 151,117 destinya lands between Idyll and Ural Rivers.¹⁸⁴ Thus, the lands that were used collectively by the society before turned into private properties and this became one of the factors which brought along the dissolution of nomads who survived with animal husbandry.

In addition to this, Czarist Russia first added Sultans and Biys to its own administration system, left the administration systems of province and district to them, and made them tax exempt. For instance, in a letter¹⁸⁵ Siberia Corps Commander Major General Bronevskiy wrote to a border post on 17 February 1832 asserted that "Kökşedağ

181 'Biy' is the person who solved cases, dealt legal issues and functioned as ambassador, if needed, in administrative management of Kazakh society.

182 It is the administrative zone that was created as a result of colonization policy of Kazakhstan in Czarist Russia. After 1771 following the retreat of Kalmuck, the land between Itıl-Yayık Rivers was empty. Ebulhayır Khan's grandson (son of Nuralı Khan) Bökey asked the permission of Czarist Russia to settle his people in this region. Before that Czarist Russia didn't allow Little Jüz tribes enter the right part of Yayık River. Thus in 1801, the Khanate known as Bökey Orda or Inner Orda was established, and Bökey was elected as the first Khan. The center of Khanate Orda was settled in 1826. This set an appropriate ground for Russia's Khanate government weakening policy because Little Jüz had already a Khan (Şergazy Khan). The presence of two independent Khans in Little Jüz had caused many problems. The population of Bökey Khanate was more than 5000 in 1825. After the death of Bökey Khan because his son was young, the Khanate was governed by his brother Şıgay Khan. In 1823 the Khanate was governed by the son of Bökey, Jangir. In 1845 after the death of Jangir Khan Russia never allowed the assignment of any Khan.

183 1 desyatina is almost 2.5 decares.

184 Mukanov, P. "Kazak Adebıyetının Tarihi", *Kazaktın XVIII-XIX ǵasırdaǵı adebıyetınin tarihinan oǵerker*, Almatı, 1942, p. 63.

185 "İz Perepiski Hana Sredney Kirgizskoy Ordy Bukeya i Ego Potomkov", *Zapısnyaya Knıjka Semıpalatınskoy Gubernıı*, vyp. IV, p.13; *Kazakhstan 20-40 ǵody XIX.veka*, Almaty, 1992 edition, p. 121.

province Sultan Ablay Gabbasov and Karkarlı province Sultan Tursun Cengizov will be waived from the “prohibition” tax of giving 1000 horses, 1000 oxen and 1000 sheep for a lifetime and this decision will be valid for the first generation relatives of these people” shows this openly. Sultans and biys also took over judiciary power. Czarist Russia’s playing Kazakh community against itself served the aim of Russia. When the captured land of the community was extorted by Sultans and Biys, the Russian government took the side of Sultans and this way instilled social conflict. According to the Charter in 1822, the Middle Jüz lands were divided as exterior provinces.

The governance of the provinces was given to Aga Sultans¹⁸⁶ who had two Russian and two Kazakh assistants. Aga Sultans were chosen for three years by other sultans and they got the title of commander in Czarist Russian army. Provinces consisted of 15-20 districts (bolys) and the governors of those districts belonged to the class of Sultans or Biys, namely ‘Bolys Starşın’. Sultans under the governance of Bolys were in 12th rank officer status of Czarist Russia. Bolys’ consisted of 10-12 villages (aul) and in every aul there were 50-70 houses. The aul was governed by Biys named as Starşın. Obviously, the governing system in Kazakh community was organized as Czarist government ordered. The governors were turned into officers paid and dubbed by Russian government. “In order to show the title ‘Aga Sultan’ more attractive and beneficial for Kyrgyzs”¹⁸⁷, Aga Sultans were decided to be given 100 silver ruble and 60 sacks (990 kg) rye flour, once a year. There were 200 Kazak soldiers under the governance of Aga Sultans and this prevented Sultans from acting freely. In accordance with Kazakh traditions and for the aim of familiarizing the new system, Aga Sultans were announced by making them sit on a white mat as in ancient Khan Elections. Between 1822 and 1838, on the lands of Middle Jüz there were established 7 provinces, 98 districts and 1042

186 Aga Sultans were managing Province Court and at first, just the Sultans coming from Genghis Khan’s ancestry were elected. In 1824, Tursun Cengizov was elected first “as Aga Sultan of Karkaralı Province in the former governance of Bökey Khan. On the other hand, Gubaydulla Valihanov was Aga Sultan of Kökşedağ Province under the former governance of Ualı (Veli). Apart from that, there are other Aga Sultans often heard in Kazakh history like Cengiz Valihanov (Kusmurun Province), Tezek Töre (Great Jüz), and Musa Şormanov (Bayanavul Province). Czarist Russia government entitled Aga Sultans as ‘major’ after they served for 3 years and the Sultans elected from ordinary people as ‘lieutenant’. In 1854 with the enactment of I. Nikolai Czar Aga Sultan title was abolished (*Kazakh Encyclopedia*, red.B. Jakıp., Almaty, 2011, p. 880; *Sayısi Tüsündirme Sözdük.*, Almaty, 2007) Some of Aga Sultans have become subject to Kazakh oral literature with their misuse of authority.

187 Istor. Arhiv KSSR, font. 345, opis 1., d. 215, from Asian Committee Enactment in 13 January 1824 // E. Bekmakhanov, *Kazakhstan 20-40 gody XIX.veka*, Almaty, 1992 edition, p. 121.

villages like Karkaralı, Kökşedağ, Ayagöz, Akmola, Bayanavul, Üçbulak and Aman-Karagay. The number of the provinces increased up to 10 by the middle of 19th century¹⁸⁸.

Kazakh tribes living in those provinces could not travel outside the province borders and use the lands they had nomadized before. This led the Kazakh tribes previously living together to disband slowly and mix with each other. The duty of Provincial Courts was to provide security, to prevent theft, *barımta*¹⁸⁹ and rebellion against government, to provide the security of caravans and gather Prohibition Tax¹⁹⁰ from the society, to care about the education of the folk and to solve religious problems. In fact, the reform which seemed to solve the problems caused more problems in Kazakh society. Province and district officers who had the authority to collect prohibition tax cleaned the society out with incredible methods. This behavior both caused the reaction of the nomads and ended with fatal events. As S.N. Sevastyanov wrote, "In spite of the support of Czarist Russia, sultans didn't have any privilege in society. Disobedient Kyrgyzs both disrespected Sultans and were sometimes killed, like in A. Janturin event¹⁹¹". With time, the Russian government started to administer talented people among ordinary folk, and even Russian military officials, as Aga Sultan or Pravitel Sultan. For instance, in 1820s-1830s, 43 of 87 people on duty as Aga Sultan in 6 provinces of Middle Jüz came from Genghis'

188 Lysenko, Yu. – Kulikova, M.V. *Sistema Mestnogo Samoupravleniya v Kazahskoy Stepі: Ideologiya Reform i Problemy Realizatsii (konets XVIII seredina XIX v., p.185 // BBK 63.3(2)5*

189 *Barımta* is the horse theft that Turkish nomads did to take revenge and compensate the damage their enemies gave. It is possible to see this as one of the legal traditions of nomad Kazakh society. This issue has always taken the interest of the researchers. Because this is not an ordinary horse theft, it is a way of taking revenge. K. O. Baycanova sees this as "a kind of military booty". (K. O. Baycanova., *Kazak adet-gurup ququgu boyunşa menşik ququguna iye bolujane toqtalu adisteri // Drevniy Mir Prava Kazahov. Almaty, 2004. c.2.*) In the report Orınbor Province Governor Volkonskiy gave to Russia Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1906 he wrote, "Barımta in Kazakh villages and border lines is organized by Kazakh Sultans and Starşins themselves." (S.L.Fuks., *Barymta // Uçeniye Zapiski Harkovskogo Yuridičeskogo İnstitutu. Harkov, 1948, vyp.3, p. 131-170.*)

190 Prohibition is the kind of tax in Mongolian and Turkish nomad tribes paid with animals, furs or other kinds of valuable objects. This word has been included into Russian during the occupation of Siberia by Czarist Russia. According to the Charter in 1822, Middle Jüz Kazaks had to pay "prohibition tax", one animal for each hundred animals.

191 İstor.Arhiiv.Kazahskoy SSR., font. 4, opis.1, d.2939, l.5.1847;E. Bekmakhanov., *Kazakhstan 20-40 gody XIX.veka, Almaty,1992 edition, p. 122.*

lineage. In the middle of 19th century, just 11 of district sultans were from aksüyek¹⁹², the number of the people who were administered as sultan from karalar¹⁹³ was 62.¹⁹⁴ This altered the social stratum of the Kazakh community. Taking courage from the reforms in Middle Jüz, Czarist Russia started to do the same in Little Jüz.

In 1822 Orınbor State Governor P. K. Essen prepared the “Charter for Orınbor Kyrgyz” and proposed to the government; the proposal was approved by Czar Alexander in 1824. Meanwhile Khan of Little Jüz Sherghazy Khan was called to Orınbor, put on the payroll for life and this led him to abandon his Khanate. At the same time there was a second independent Bökey Khanate in the Little Jüz. This dual government was organized according to the aims of Russia. As V. F. Şahmatov ascertained correctly, the presence of two Khanates in Little Jüz Kazakhs since 1812 meant the implementation of O.A. Igelstrom’s proposal about the cleverness of weakening or the abolition of the Khanate system.¹⁹⁵

In 1845 after the death of Jangir, the last Khan of the Bökey or Inner Orda, the Khanate system in Little Jüz was also abolished. The reforms were implemented in the Little Jüz a little bit differently. If the sultans in Middle Jüz were charged by election even if piously, the sultans in the Little Jüz were appointed by state governor. The Little Jüz was divided into three (West, East, and Central) exterior provinces and governance was given to Sultan Pravitel’s. The military camp of Sultan Pravitel’s was in a Cossack compound, and this enabled the Czarist government to keep a close eye on them. Until 1831, the Little Jüz was divided into two as borderland and steppe provinces. In 1831, ranges were settled in the borderland provinces and the number of those ranges increased to 54 in the 19th century. The authorities of the ranges had to collect house tax¹⁹⁶ from the community and report every kind of problem in

192 In Kazakh Language “aksüyek” (word to word translation: white bone) is a term used for aristocracy in Kazakh society. Aksüyek class includes toere tribe coming from Genghis Khan’s ancestry and Scholars coming from Prophet Muhammad. Kazakh Khans were just chosen among the ones coming from Genghis’ ancestry. On the other hand, Scholars were in clergy. Because aksüyek people were the educated class of the society, they were holding the administration of the community and they had certain privileges. In the ancient times the representatives of this class did not have marital relations with the other tribes of Kazakhs. This situation changed after the inclusion of Kazakhstan into Czarist Russia.

193 Ordinary tribes that are out of Aksüyek class.

194 *Kazakhstan Central Archive*, font. 345, opis.1, d. 707.

195 Şahmatov, V. F. *Vnutrennaya Orda i Vosstaniye Isataya Taymanova*, Alma-ata, 1947, p. 4.

196 “Kibitoçnaya podat” (tent tax) in Russian language, this tax is the one taken by Czarist Russia from the nomads of steppe provinces. The counting of the tents was made in every three years. House tax was first taken from Kazakhs of Orınbor pro-

the society to Sultan Pravtels. According to "The Article about Orınbor Kyrgyzs" enacted in 1844, the general governance was given to Orınbor Borderline Commission. There were a Chairman, 4 Advisors, 4 Kazakh Members, an Officer for Private duty, a doctor, and a veterinary office in the Commission. According to the new act, the Court of Biys tried small claims and other cases were dealt by the Russian Military Court. While the political independence of Kazakh Turks was destroyed, the most fruitful lands of Middle Jüz and Little Jüz were occupied conspiratorially and Cossack people were settled on those lands.

According to the calculations of military topographer Kakulin, just in 1839 15000 km² lands were given to Cossack people from Öskemen to Ombı along the coastal line of the İrtiș River. According to an eye-witness, "10 verst¹⁹⁷ lands along İrtiș coast were given to Cossack people and nomad Kazakhs were not allowed to come closer to the river. They could neither drink water nor fish"¹⁹⁸. The heavy taxes, the occupation of fertile lands, the corruption of local authorities who made cooperation with Czarist Russian government made Kazakh nomads poorer. Therefore, new classes like "ekinci, jatak, bayguş", which were not present in Kazakh community before, emerged. Because Kazakhs became poorer by losing their animals as a result of lack of pasture, they started to work cheaply for Cossacks and Russian villagers in borderland compounds. While İ.Zavalışın states that rich Kazakh people started to get used to European culture, they had a different kind of attitude towards agriculture; he also says "Ekinci is the name for the lowest class of their society so it is a humiliating word and only hopeless poverty forces Kyrgyz people to work in agriculture"¹⁹⁹. Except for losing their lands, also the extreme increase in taxes was one of the factors that made the society poor and forced to adopt a sedentary life. According to Orınbor Border Commission data, in 1850 the number of "bayguş" was 21,000 in Little Jüz, 3000 Middle Jüz, and 2743 in Great Jüz. The Czarist government allowed the "jatak" and "bayguş" to work in the salt and mineral business to provide a cheap workforce. Poor Kazakh people even sold their children because of their bad living conditions.

vince in 1824. After 1868 it was started to be taken from Kazakhs of Akmola, Semey, Yedisu, Oral and Torgay provinces, instead of "prohibition tax". (M. A. Miropiyev., *O Polojenii Russkih İnorodtsev., S-Peterburg, 1901. p. 404-405.*)

197 Versta is an old Russian length measuring unit, 1 versta=1.06 km.

198 V.Kostyurin., *Po Zapadnoy Sibiri, Omsk-Semipalatinsk, "Novoye Vremya", 1839, no.2291; E. Bekmakhanov., Kazahstan 20-40 gody XIX.veka, Almaty, 1992 edition, p. 127.*

199 İ. Zavalışın., *Opisaniye Zapadnoy Sibiri, III.volume, Sibirsko-Kirgizskaya Step, Moscow, 1867, p. 53.*

According to the act implemented in 1809, the people apart from royal class were allowed to buy Kazakh children. In the beginning of 19th century just in Guriyev city 100 Kazakh children were sold in exchange for 4-5 sacks rye flour.²⁰⁰

Meanwhile the situation in Great Jüz was a little bit different because most of the land was under the occupation of Kokand Khanate. In addition, the Kokand Khanate longed to possess Middle Jüz lands. The lands of the Kazakh people who became nomads in Üstürt and Mangıslak Peninsula were under the domination of Khivan Khanate. The war of independence that some of the sultans (for instance: Arıngazı Sultan) started against Khiva with the hope of the support of Czarist Russia ended up with defeat. Although the sultan of Little Jüz Şergazı tried to strengthen his Khanate by giving his daughter to Khivan Khan Allakul, except for Şekti and Tabın tribes, none of the Kazakh tribes recognized him as Khan. Central Asia Khanates were taking taxes like “uşur” and tribute from the tribes under their domination; they often looted them and occupied their lands and this caused them to clash among themselves. Therefore, the risk of losing political independence for Kazakh people was apparent on both sides: in the south, were Khiva and Kokand and in the north-west lay the Russian Empire.

E. Bekmakhanov's evaluation of Kenesary Uprising

In 1830s-1840s, the Kazakh people had to fight on two fronts to protect their political independence. According to E. Bekmakhanov, the war of independence under the leadership of Kenesary Kasımov is the first mass uprising of the society against colonization and it has an important place in Kazakhstan history because it delayed Czarist Russia's occupation of the Central Asia Khanates. In 1943 E. Bekmakhanov undertook the authorship of the section about the Kenesary Uprising in ‘Kazakh SSR History,’ under the editorship of A. Pankratova. In this study, which has caused controversy ever after among Soviet historians, the researcher has questioned the national struggle of the Kazakh tribes started against Kenesary Khan and the relationships between Kenesary and Russian government and Central Asia Khanates; besides he has examined the reforms that were implemented under Kenesary's governance. The researcher shows Kenesary Khan as a commander, politician, and a diplomat that aimed to bring all the tribes of the three Jüz of Kazakhs.

Even the president of Orenburg border commission Ladyjenskiy had said, “Kenesary is much more than an ordinary bandit who works for

200 Leuşin, A. *Opisaniye Kirgiz-Kaysakskoy Ord i Stepey*, III, 1832, p. 90.

and runs after raid. He is not one of the people who appears suddenly in the steppe and gets lost without a trace after a minor interference from the government. He is superior to temporary people in the sense of generation, aim and ability. That's why he shouldn't be underestimated."²⁰¹ The real aim of Kenesary Sultan was to return Kazakh lands back to the borders of Abılay Khan Period and to re-establish the Kazakh Khanate by bringing the Kazakh tribes together. E. Bekmakhanov shows the inclusion of the three Kazakh Orda (Jüz) in the resistance as an important characteristic of Kenesary's uprising. In his study he counts Kazakh tribes as those engaged in the uprising and puts forth concrete evidences about why Aday, Jappas and a part of Agrın tribes did not support Kenesary. Kazakh tribes not only engaged in Kenesary's uprising to resist Russian colonization. For instance, there was no close relation between Kazakh tribes who lived in the inner part of Kazakh steppe and Russians.

The reason of their support for Kenesary soldiers was to save themselves from the pressure of Khiva and Kokand Khanates. In other words, it is possible to recognize that Kenesary had to fight in two fields; both against Central Asia Khanates and simultaneously against Russia. By fighting with Kokand Khanate perpetually, Kenesary aimed to get the occupied lands of the Great Jüz. His demanded that Czarist Russia return the lands that were under the occupation of Russia, to destroy the guard towers, and the abolition of the taxes collected from Kazakhs. We can say that the uprising was attended from every section of Kazakh society. Contrary what Meyer said, "Most of the people who attended to the uprising of Kenesary were homeless people"²⁰², there were also rich Sultans and important tribal leaders among the rebels. It is also possible to see in Russian military officials' reports that both the sultans whose privileges were taken by Czarist Russia and officers in Russian government had secret relations. Except for Kazakhs, there were also Bashkirs, Tatars, Uzbeks and Russians among the rebels. In the report of president of Orenburg border commission General Gern, there were 5 Russians, 4 Baskirs and 6 Tatars.²⁰³ There were also sultans who cooperated with Czarist Russia and supported the Russian government with full effort to break the rebels. One of the closest friends of Ş. Valihanov, Yadrintsev confessed that "...during the uprising the Kazakh steppe was divided into two: some of them fought

201 Steblin – Kamenskiy, M. İ., "K İstorii Vosstaniya Kenesarı Kasymova" *İstoriceskiye Zapiski*, Moscow, 1942, p. 247.

202 Meyer, L. *Kirgizskaya Step Orenburgskogo Vedomstva*, 1865, p. 57.

203 İst. Arh.KSSR, fond.4, opip. 1, d.2426, l. 17.

for independence, but the others recognized Russian domination.”

After Kenesary proclaimed himself as Khan in 1841, he performed administrative, legal and military reforms to continue to strengthen the national struggle. First of all, he established an Advisory Board from his close fellow soldiers. The Khan was the person who resolved disputed and would make the final decision among the Board. Later on he established specific departments for tax collection, military issues, and diplomatic correspondence. For instance, in this new system, the taxmen who misappropriated collected taxes or who made mistakes were punished severely.

These taxmen were collecting “zaqat” from all the nomad Kazakhs, and “ușur” tax from the farmers. Also, there were special officers, chosen among the clans and named as “jasaul”, to control whether the orders of Khan were carried out or not, and these officers were administered in tribes. The legal duty was performed by biys with the permission of Kenesary. Kenesary promoted the codetermination of people who had special characteristics, notwithstanding their social stratum. Kenesary encouraged the Kazakh people to be engaged in farming so they could produce bread for the fighters. The Czarist Russian government forbade the access of wheat to rebels and seized the production of bread; they were tightly controlling the caravans and severely punishing the tradesmen who were carrying bread for the rebels. Kenesary’s commercial policy of looting caravans at first had changed over time. The Khan, seeing that the caravans were bringing money constantly and appropriately, gave up looting them. In fact, in order to develop the caravan trade, Kenesary sometimes summoned the heads of the caravans to meet with him.

Kenesary was supporting the idea of centralization of ruling in the Khanate he established. That was why he tried to prevent the clash of important and influential tribal leaders. He forbade looting and raiding. He punished the guilty ones who caused clash among tribes, because these clashes between Kazakhs just served Russian interests. Sultan-Pravitel Ahmet Janturin under the service of Czarist Russia informed in the reports he sent to the Russian government that some of Kazakh tribes were closer to Kenesary, that they made peace between themselves under his influence and that barimta stopped.²⁰⁴ The sentence in the letter of President of Orinbor Border Commission Gens “His (Kenesary’s) peacemaking and leadership and activities are efficient. As he becomes more eager and successful in this issue he will gain more people and he will influence Orda; be-

204 Sereda, N., “Bunt Kirgizskogo Sultana Kenesari Kasimova”, *Vestnik Evropy*, 1870, August, p. 555.

sides he will be dangerous”²⁰⁵ shows that this situation worried the Russian government.

Kenesary also showed effort to establish a regular army. From fugitive soldiers and officers, he learnt the basics of Russian military tactics. He divided his soldiers into ten, hundred, and thousand, according to the old Turkish system, and assigned well-known captains and majors of Military Board as their commanders. But it is a sad truth and rightfully reproachable that Khan Kenesary harmed Kazakh villages even if they cooperated or not, guilty or not. It is understood that Kenesary did not comprehend properly the political and diplomatic meaning of the new Kyrgyz entity, created under the leadership of Ormon Khan in Kyrgyz lands.

Conclusion

In his studies E. Bekmakhanov proved that contrary to the propaganda of Soviet-era ideology, the inclusion of Kazakhstan into Russia did not happen by their will but with the use of military force through an occupation policy. This showed that apart from the economic damage it caused Kazakh society, colonization also played an important role in the dismemberment of the Kazakh Khanate. He pointed out the fact that with the “divide and rule” policy, the Czarist government provoked Kazakh society towards each other and deepened the on-going clash. In addition to this, he did not ignore the progressive ways of the inclusion of Kazakhstan into Russia; he has stated that this has influenced positively the health and education sectors, adopting sedentary life, and the recovery in trade. He described the uprising against colonizing policy of Czarist Russia under the leadership of Kenesary as national struggle and drew attention to the important role of the rebellion in the development of national consciousness of the society. Nevertheless, we can say that he both criticized the wrong dimensions of Kenesary’s policy and underlined that this uprising became an example for subsequent civil upheaval.

205 Bekmakhanov. E. *Kazakhstan v 20-40 gody XIX. veka*, Almaty, 1992 edition, p. 291.

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KAZAKH INTELLECTUALS OF 1920s AND 1930s AND THEIR SPIRITUAL CONNECTION WITH E. BEKMAKHANOV

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The spiritual connection between E. Bekmakhanov and Kazakh intellectuals of 1920s and 1930s and the reasons why it happened and how it occurred are significant points to study Kazakhstan's history. Important characters and persons are the result of historical development. During the process of social development, the individual's worldview, perceptions, political and ideological views and perspectives took shape. Individuals will inevitably be part of the community's struggle from changes that occur in the development process of a society and will remain under the influence of the political and ideological events. A person either accepts and supports them or demonstrates a reaction contrary to the perception and understanding. Individuals express personal opinions and beliefs about specific issues. Sometimes they may have views and ideas that reflect opposition against the ideological structure of the political system within the society. E. Bekmakhanov trained during era of Soviet rule, witnessed innovations in every sphere at the state level and contributed to the development of his country that he loved dearly as a citizen and specialist. He felt the ideological influence of the Soviet system in his time and understood the concurrent ideological pressures as well.

It is also important to analyse the lives and activities of eminent people and compare their activities according to the current perspectives. One must ask, how did they perceive the development of society? Did the individual embrace contemporary opinions shared by other Kazakh Soviet intellectuals or did internal contradictions and conflicts occur? This essay examines the spiritual connection between E. Bekmakhanov and Kazakh intellectuals during 1920s and 1930s.

With Kazakhstan's declaration of independence, science and history advanced rapidly and the historical gap occurred suddenly, which affected all areas of the republic's social life. Over time, new documents emerged from the dusty shelves of libraries and new information developed based on these rediscovered documents; overall, a new historical and educational approach occurred. In the late 1980s, early 1990s, new studies addressed topics such as the Alash Movement, the activities of the leading ideas and intellectuals of the 1920s and 1930s, and the "Bekmakhanov case" were revealed from the important documents that appeared in numerous publications. These developments

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seemed to turn into a flood water for interpreting Kazakh history. In addition, these newly released documents influenced all of these many new studies.

Scholars re-examined Kazakhstan's past and new realities that were once contained in a sealed box came out and slowly created a new historical consciousness. In this context, new analysis and comprehension of the common ideas and opinions evolved that claimed national interests and the spiritual connection between E. Bekmakhanov and Kazakh intellectuals of 1920s and 1930s. Scholars provide the historical facts in detail to illustrate the patriotism, spiritual abundance, and fight for freedom are good features assigned to the historical figures.

What was the connection between the work of Kazakh intellectuals that the state accused of nationalism and exiled during 1920s and 1930s and E. Bekmakhanov, whose works appeared in the second half of the 1940s and later was similarly accused by the Soviet party system? Why were scholars like Ş. Kудайберdiyev, A. Bökeyhanov, M. Dulatov, H. Dosmuhamenov, M. Tınışbayev, S. Asfendiýarov, and M. Avezov, who left important works in the history and literature, and E. Bekmakhanov analysed serious topics regarded by Soviet authorities as dangerous? What were the reasons that compelled him to address this issue? Was it a thorny issue that had troubled days for Kazakh opinion leaders? Was it an effort to show and prove K. Kasımov's struggle against tsarist imperialist policies as a struggle of national freedom born from Bekmakhanov's loyalty to the national history and efforts to reveal the historical truth? Or, was it because he could not deny the historical facts? Of course, we cannot say that he discussed it without understanding of the severity of the subject. In order to understand and make a detailed analysis of this situation, it is necessary to explain the conditions of the aforementioned terms.

In June 1943 in Almaty under the editorship of academician A. M. Pankratova, a 671-page book called *Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic from Old Age to Today* was released in Russian. This scientific work was under the strict observation for its inclusion of inappropriate thoughts and ideas as judged by society and this explained the reason why the book was published under the supervision of A. M. Pankratova and Ideology Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan M. Abdulhalıkov. Many scholars during the war came from the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of History were also included in this book.

At the end of 1941, a group composed of scientists from Moscow and Leningrad had been evacuated to Almaty. B. D. Grekov, S. N. Pokrovskiy, S. V. Yuşkov, S. M. Mukanov, G. M. Müsirepov, M. O. Avezov, and

Zautis reported from the USSR Academy of Sciences, and S. İsmailov, professors of history D. A. Baysov, A. P. Kauçkina, A. N. Bernştam, A. F. Miller, M. P. Vyatkin, Doctor of Law S. L. Fuks, Doctor of Philology B. Kenjebaev, the Artist N. T. Timofeyev, and candidates of doctor of historical sciences A. F. Yakunin, A. A. Lurye, and E. Bekmakhanov joined together to prepare the book. Famous researchers from Leningrad to Moscow, and a small number of local researchers, together wrote the history book from the ancient era to contemporary Kazakhstan in 1943.²⁰⁶ The reason why so few local scientists were included was that there only a few were known and some were exiled by the Soviet government in 1937-38 and forbidden to return and many were fighting at various fronts during the war.

Bekmakhanov was in his twenties and had the ability for scientific research. As a specialist, he helped the preeminent scholar of his time, A. M. Pankratova. Despite the strict scrutiny received, the book was critical as it related to the historical facts. According to some Kazakh historians, during the book's preparation process an argument about the national struggle was released against the tsarist imperialist policy. Bekmakhanov was commissioned to write about the 1837-1847 rebellion under the leadership of Kenesari Kasımov. This was his research paper's topic and accepted as the right person to undertake such a study.²⁰⁷ Bekmakhanov could not ignore the historical facts. He was aware of the imperial exploitation and occupation policies explained the reason behind the national struggle contributed to the Kazakh population's uprising. Kazakhs opposed the regime's imperialistic policies and that is why they supported Kenesari's rebellion, which became Bekmakhanov's argument in the monograph in his subsequent works. However, this argument revealed Bekmakhanov as a bourgeois nationalist and it stirred great debates about the subject.

Bekmakhanov started his education in the Tambov Higher, but later registered in Voronezh Pedagogical Institute, where he met with Hanel Dosmuhamedov who was exiled from Kazakhstan to Voronezh and was one of the leaders of Alash National Movement.²⁰⁸ It seems clear that Bekmakhanov's meeting with H. Dosmuhammedov was the starting point for him to investigate the Kenesari incident and to become a historian. Professor H. Dosmuhamedov produced a lot

206 Nurpeyisulu, K. "Tarihi Şındıktan Attap Öte Almagan", *Egemen Kazakistan*, 8 April 1999; İstoriya Kazahskoy SSR s Drevneyshikh Vremen Do Nashikh Dney, Editor: M. Abdıhalikova ve A. Pankratova. A-A, KazOGİZ, 1943. -671.

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208 *KazUU Habarşısı. Tarih serisi*, 2004. No2 (25). P. 6.

of work on Kazakh history, literature and culture, and he published Nisanbay's poem called "Kenesarı – Navrızbay".²⁰⁹ In 1923 he also wrote a review of "Kenesarı-Navrızbay" epic by Ebubekir Divayev. H. Dosmuhammedov, in his brief study called "Short Description about Teymanulı İsatay Led Uprising", said that "the most powerful Kazakh national uprisings in 18th and 19th century were those of Sırım, İsatay and Kenesarı. The main purpose of these three uprising was to save Kazakh people from the Russian rule".²¹⁰ H. Dosmuhammedov knew perfectly the resources and legends related to the Kenesarı uprising and hence he was clear on this issue in retrospect. Therefore, he could rightfully direct Bekmakhanov as he shared his ideas with him. Even Bekmakhanov's wife, Halima Bekmuhammedova, said in her memoirs that "H. Dosmuhammedov could inform my husband about Kenesarı in the Voronezh Pedagogical Institute".²¹¹ It took courage for Bekmakhanov to befriend H. Dosmuhammedov, stigmatized as he was by the regime as a nationalist and public enemy.

Bekmakhanov could also meet publicly with well-known civil servants and Alash intellectuals Jahanşa Dosmuhammedov, Abdülhamit ve Jakıp Akbayev, Aşım Omarov, Seydazim Kadirbayev, Karim Toktabayev, Muhammedjan Tınışbayev, Jumakan Kuderin, and Muhtar Murzin while visiting H. Dosmuhammedov's home.²¹² These encounters affected the formation of Bekmakhanov's combative character and his courage. It was obvious that Bekmakhanov analysed and was influenced by A. Bökeyhanov's Russian work "Relevant Additional Documents with Kenesar Sultan Term" and M. Avezov's "Khanete Kenesi". After publishing his work "From Kazakh History" about the uprising led by Kenesar Kasımoğlu, Köşke Kemengerulı put forward that "he did not wear immediately the yoke of Kazakh government and resisted it for a long time. But the rebellion occurring everywhere did not get out of the tribe frame. General public rebellion occurred with the leadership of Kenesarı".²¹³ It also showed the reasons for the defeat of Kenesarı in a systematic way: "reasons for the defeat of the Kenesarı movement: 1) great Juz and the Kyrgyz supported Russia as they thought that Russia would

209 Dosmuhammedulı H., *Alaman*, Almatı, 1991. P. 100.

210 Dosmuhammedulı H., *Taymanulı İsataydın Qozgalısı Tuurasında Kısqaşa Maglumat. Tandamalı (İzbrannoye)*, Almatı, Ana tili Yay. 1998, p. 52.

211 *Türkistan*, 26 April 2004.

212 Nürpeyisov K. – Kulkenov M. – Habijanov B. – Mektepov A., *Halel Dosmuhammedulı Jane Onın Ömiri men Şıarmaşılıgı*, Almatı, 1996. p. 161.

213 Kemengerulı K., *Kazak Tarihinan. Karsı Kozgalıstar. Tandamalı*, Almatı, Kazakistan Yay. 1996. p. 54.

be supportive of them throughout their lives. 2) Small Juz entered in the yoke of slavery and even it had no power to act. 3) In Middle Juz the economic situation was poor and there was unrest in the society. 4) The Russians had been organized better in the military sense and was a strongly armed. T. Şonanulı stated that “Kenesarı claimed that we will not surrender our ancestors’ country into the hands of Russian but in the end Kenesarı was defeated and forced to seek a new place to retreat in Aladag.” It is another historical reality to put it that way and say that stories about Kenesarı rebellion and fight were an independent voice of Kazakh people. S. Asfendiyarov accepted Kenesarı movement in 1837 as “The latest and greatest of the Kazakh national revolt against Czarist government.” Although Bekmakhanov knew what kind of punismeht the 1920 and 1930s Kazak intellectuals had received just for investigating the Kenesarı rebellion, he continued his research. He demonstrated their statements and data without any hesitation regarding the socio-political conditions. It was a true and fair indication of science and the effort undertaken as the best way to serve the people.

Bekmakhanov as a researcher and scientist trained himself well and work efficiently. He successfully defended his PhD thesis, titled the “Kazakh National Struggle in the Leadership of Kenesarı Kasimov (1937-1947),” in 1943 at Moscow, under the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Science Board. Earning the title of doctor at the young age of 28 years old, resulted in his further inspiration and willingness to continue in his research. He collected data for his professorship for three years and investigated archives in Moscow, Leningrad, Omsk, Almaty, and Tashkent. After considerable effort, he obtained his professorship in 1946 with the thesis called “Kazakhstan in 20-40 years in the XIX Century.” After a year passed, he published his work in the form of a monograph and demonstrated Kenesarı movement as a national independence struggle.

It was a great success of publishing the book 1943 called “Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic from the Ancient to the Present Time” and therefore it was offered as an award to Stalin. However, the evaluating board formed with Russian pundits A. I. Yakvlev had criticized the book, calling it “the book is against Russians”²¹⁴ and thus it generated heated debates for years to come. Discussions about the book’s notions of a national struggle took place on 12 November 1943. But the book was reviewed as “It bears attitude towards Russians and praised too much on national struggle against Russia” in May and

214 *Voprosı İstorii*, 1988, No11. p. 54.

June 1944 during the SBKP committee meeting.²¹⁵ The book also was evaluated as “It was not right to encourage the leader of the national struggle movement”²¹⁶ and “some party leaders do not agree on some principals regarding the authors”.²¹⁷ This study was blamed for “giving ideological leverage to bourgeois nationalists people who are against Leninist-Stalinist policy”.²¹⁸ Thus, it was thought that the book would be re-revised and re-constructed.²¹⁹

If we look closely, we can see the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Kazakhstan History, and Director of the Institute of Archeology and Ethnography S. V. Yukasov, as the reason why Bekmakhanov was blamed and called a “Bourgeois nationalists,” and accused of relations with Alash intelligentsia in the 1920s and 1930s. It was just because there was a cadre problem between Bekmakhanov and Yukasov about the second edition of the book on the “Kazakh SSR”.²²⁰ Another reason was that Yukasov thought that Bekmakhanov as a young scientist could be a rival for himself.

S. V. Yukasov did surely not forget what happened in 1937 and thus he was cautious that Bekmakhanov might be comparable to accused nationalists Baytursınov and Dulatov. It also appears that Yuşakov feared questioning by the security organs as to why such a dangerous man became scientist as he was a member of the jury in Bekmakhanov’s PhD defense.

For those reasons, S.V.Yuşakov wrote a letter to SBKP Central Committee Propaganda Department chief B. P. Stepanov on 3 November 1947 and to first President of Kazakhstan Communist Party of Bolsheviks J. Şayahmetov on 27 November, that said Bekmakhanov was guilty.²²¹

T. Şoyınbayev and M. Akınjanov published an essay in “*Leninşil Jas*” newspaper to criticize Bekmakhanov’s studies, published under the heading as “Political mistake, scientific study is worthless”.²²² Bekmakhanov’s friend, H. Aydarova, also argued that Bekmakhanov’s work was “not a scientific study according to the structure of the idea

215 Ibid, p. 59.

216 Ibid, p. 74.

217 “Novıye Dokumentı o Soveşanii İstoriķov u QK BKP(6) 1944” *Voprosı İstirii*, 1991. No1; p. 189.

218 Ibid, p. 200.

219 *Bolşevik Kazakhstana*, 1945.No 6, pp. 74–80.

220 Gureviç L. *Totalitarizm i İnteleģenciya*, Almaty, 1992. p. 76.

221 Ibid, p. 77.

222 *Leninşil Jas*, 31 January 1948.

and was fallen captive to bourgeois nationalism concept".²²³

Under these circumstances, T. Şoyınbayev, H. Aydarova, A. Yakunin's wrote that the "History of Kazakhstan should be described in terms of the Marxist-Leninist ideological perspective", which were published in the newspaper "Pravda" on 26 December 1950.²²⁴ These writers criticized Bekmakhanov's work as Kenesari movement "strengthened the feudal patriarchal mentality that undermines the Kazakh people, revived the medieval khanate system and was a reactionary movement worked to keep Kazakhstan separate from Russia and the supremacy of Russian people".²²⁵

Thus, the exile and punishment of the 1930s had a significant impact on young scientists to assign a new step into the world of science. A. Yakunin initially considered the Kenesari movement as Kazak national independence struggle; however, when he sensed the political winds changing, he blamed the movement and cast a slur on Bekmakhanov as a bourgeois nationalist. Yakunin, moreover, pointed out that Bekmakhanov supported implementing the ideology of the Alash movement against the Soviet reality.²²⁶ This behaviour was an act of a person who blamed and sacrificed others for the sake of his own well-being. Actually, Bekmakhanov's evaluation of Kenesari movement was the same as Alash intellectuals and the same opinions were later expressed to be the fundamental basis of the accusations.

An accusatory campaign was launched immediately after the article in the newspaper "Pravda." On 10 April 1951, the Kazakhstan Bolshevik Communist Party Central Committee leveled charges that Bekmakhanov's views resembled "the accused bourgeois". On 20 April 1951, the Kazakhstan Writers Union Party members organized a meeting and discussed the decision of KKBK Central Committee.²²⁷ Discussions during this meeting were published in the "Literature and Art" magazine and reported that "Kenesari was the enemy of people".²²⁸ Kazakh writers M. Avezov S. Mukanov, Jumaliyev K., K. Amanjolov, and E. Ismailov declared later that they were wrong regarding the Kenesari movement and its continuity with Alash Orda ideology.

Bekmakhanov's 1947 study expressed that "to create an indepen-

223 *Vestnik AN Kaz SSR*, 1948. No 3. p. 36.

224 *Pravda*, 26 December 1950.

225 *Han Kene (Kazak Halkının Taveisizdiği Üşin Küresken Han-Batırlar Tuuralı Tarihi Tolgamdar men Pyesa, Dastandar)*, Almatı, 1993. P. 252.

226 *Voprosı İstorii*, 1951. No 4, pp. 58-59.

227 *Kazak Tarihi*, 2006, No 1, p. 51.

228 *Adebiyet jane İskusstvo*, 1952, No 5, pp. 54-64.

dent Kazakh government... the efforts of Kenesari movement brought Kazakh people together and he faced many difficult obstacles to overcome".²²⁹ According to Bekmakhanov, the "Kenesari movement was the national struggle of Kazakh people who were ready to sacrifice their life to protect the independence. We see this Kenesari uprising was a progressive character against the tsarist government. The evidence of this was the attempt to establish a central government to eliminate the enmity between the tribes" and showed the Kenesari movement as realistic and fair.

However, repression, exile, and the totalitarian system shattered Bekmakhanov's will. Faced with severe and difficult problems, and sentenced to terrible penalties, Bekmakhanov had to rescind his thesis and opinions evident in the study and in 1957 he published another work called "Kazakhstan Should Be Subject to Russia".

In this work, Bekmakhanov wrote that "by analyzing Kenesari Khan's domestic and foreign policy, we can conclude that his policy was against the public". He further noted that "Also, ... it was commented that social foundations of feudal-monarchist movement of Kenesari was supported by supreme class of some of the reactionary feudal-Sultan".²³⁰ Bekmakhanov was compelled by the Soviet system to comply with its rigid ideological realities, with its terms and conditions. As a scientist who loved his people, but forced to succumb to pressure, Bekmakhanov evaluated fairly the people's history and imprinted his name and people's national values onto the national history.

Although the ideology and politics of the Soviet Party wrongly understood the work of Kenesari and Alash intellectuals, time and history has accurately recorded a fair and accurate assessment.

Love and loyalty to his people, academic integrity to science, and not ignoring the real events, connected the Alash intellectuals and Bekmakhanov and created a bond between their ideas. His militant character raised people's national spirit and the national interest and he did not waste any effort towards the goal of national independence.

229 Bekmakhanov E., *Kazakhstan XIX gasırdın 20-40 jıldarında. (Textbook)*, Almatı. Sanat Yay. 1994. p. 416.

230 Bekmakhanov E., *Prısoyedineniye Kazahstana k Rossii*, SSCB İlimler Akademisi Yay. Moskova, 1957. p. 343.

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THE ROLE OF ERMUKHAN BEKMAKHANOV IN THE TRANSITION PROCESS FROM KAZAKH SOVIET HISTORIOGRAPHY TO KAZAKH NATIONAL HISTORIOGRAPHY

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Soviet historiography is not a new subject for many of the academics in the world. Nevertheless, the newly independent states began to deal with the area more often since the Soviet demise. The case of Ermukhan Bekmakhanov, which is the theme of this conference, began to be studied first by the native Kazak historians and articles began to appear in international publications, recently.²³¹ History writing, and lifetime consequential struggle of Ermukhan Bekmakhanov who studied a native liberation movement dating back to the imperial era from the Soviet history perspective is a prime example that we deal in today's conference. Right after the declaration of Kazak independence, elder generation of Kazaks, who were students of Bekmakhanov, instilled his struggle into Kazak national sentiment of the new generation of intellectuals by publishing his famous work of history in the Kazak language in 1994. Some two decades after that publication, the commemoration of Bekmakhanov is now taking place in this gathering.

The main purpose of Soviet historiography was the acknowledgement of the Bolshevik Revolution and the victory of communist ideology. Under such circumstances, the so-called 'peoples' heroes' of the imperial era and their struggle began to be regarded as positive issues. Historians of the Soviet period interpreted the past events according to the approved viewpoint of the central administration regardless of their wish to reflect the reality.

Our subject of discussion is the example of the research and study of the Soviet undertaking and interpreting an imperial historical event from the ideological standpoint of the Soviet era. Consequently, the difference in historiographic approach between the Bolshevik Soviet and Stalinist era appear clearly.

Many of the historically forbidden themes in Kazak history began to

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231 Yilmaz, Harun. "History Writing as Agitation and Propaganda: The Kazak History Book of 1943," *Central Asian Survey*, Vol.31, No.4(2012). Harun Yilmaz, "Soviet Construction of Kazak Batyrs," in *Social and Cultural Change in Central Asia: The Soviet Legacy*, edited by Sevket Akyildiz and Richard Carlson, New York: Routledge, 2014, pp. 45-62.

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be discussed openly after the Glasnost era. Ermukhan Bekmakhanov's work about the Kazak history during the 1820s-1840s appeared first in 1947. The second edition of the book in Russian appeared in 1992. A Kazak translation of the book appeared only in 1994 in Almaty by the "Sanat" publishing house. Many of the formerly suppressed matters related to the national consciousness of the Kazak people began to be shared with the public in the republic. The national tone in the history writing and understanding as well as interpreting history became stronger in the newly independent republic after the collapse of the Soviet empire.

During the studying process of the work and life of Ermukhan Bekmakhanov as a historian, it is important to pay attention to the Kazak understanding and Kazak notion of public administration as well. An evaluation of Bekmakhanov's works solely from the Marxist theoretical view point would not be a fair attempt to the culture, tradition, and historical memory of the Kazak society. Bekmakhanov was conscious of the dilemmas of Kazak society of the nineteenth century when he wrote about the struggle of the late Khan of the Kazaks, Kenesary Kasimuly. Principles of liberating the toiling masses and with the propaganda of fraternity and equality of the oppressed people of the earth according to the Soviet ideology had to go side-by-side with the Kazak struggle of the nineteenth century against the imperialist tsarist rule. There were many opposing points in existence within the genuine principles of Kenesary Khan's national spirit vis-à-vis the above policies. Kenesary Khan was the symbolizing figure in the unfortunate struggle of the Kazaks losing their ancestral land to the landless Russian masses.²³² The legacy of Kenesary Khan was regarded as a symbol of the Kazak national spirit not only for the Sovietized Kazaks within the Soviet borders, but rather as a crusading effort for Kazaks living outside the borders of Soviet Union. Kenesary Khan's struggle is also a proof for encountering those claims that 'the Kazaks did not have a state tradition' in their history. It is rather a historic obligation of Kenesary Khan, who was a genetic descendant of Chingis Khan ruling the Kazak people for generations. He served to display the Central Asian state tradition in the Kazak steppes.

According to Turkkaya Ataov, the famous historians Arnold Toynbee in his study of history suggested that:

... (Toynbee) attests the ability to make real history to "creative personalities," the "geniuses," the "superman," the "superhuman" or

232 Sabol, Steven. "Kazak Resistance to Russian colonization: Interpreting the Kenesary Kasymov Revolt (1837-1847). *Central Asian Survey*, Vol.22(2/3). (June/September 2003), pp.231-252.

the “privileged human beings”. It is they who appeal, according to Toynbee, as saints, mystics, founders of religion, philosophers, generals and historians.²³³

It seems that ‘touching history’ is an apt word for such turning points with great consequences. The history of Central Asia throughout the ages is no exception from this point of view.

Kazak society considered Kenesary Khan/Han Kene as a leader who had many of the above characteristics. Therefore, one of the decisive years for the very survival of the Kazaks took place during the nineteenth century under the leadership of Kenesary Khan. It can be seen in the works of Ermukhan Bekmakhanov, who recorded page by page in digging into many archives for the history of Khan Kene’s struggle, which has made public the conflicting interests of the power centers of the Central Asian Turkic society in general and Kazak people in particular. It was the struggle of the Kazaks against the colonial Russian over-lordship as well as societal peculiarities of the people in the Kazak steppe that resulted with heavy consequences during and after all those years and decades.

When you read the work of Ermukhan Bekmakhanov about Kenesary Khan, one can see the legendary and epical struggle of Kenesary and his brother Navrizbay, grandsons of Abilay Khan, who had united the Kazak and led decisive battles of survival against the *Zhungars* in early eighteenth century; the organizing ability of the two brothers who brought together the Kazaks living their traditional life-style since time immemorial and band them together to lead with extraordinary bravery against the military superiority of the tsarist Russian imperialist forces; the genetic ability of statesmanship of Kenesary Khan can also be seen clearly in his diplomatic correspondence with the colonialist Russian state officials and administration. However, Kenesary Khan was subjected to a rather supercilious style of the tsarist imperial behavior of the Russian officials.

During the Soviet period, many historical events were used to serve the political purpose of the system due to the ideological priority in writing history. Kazak history writing prior to the revolution was also subjected to such an operation. The centrally directed history writing process in Kazakhstan also created the so-called “Red Heroes,” and they were the ones who received much praise. It was later realized that the works about Kenesary Han Kasymov threatened to display the misinterpretation of such an exploitative policy.

A new wave of reinterpretation of history emerged during the two

233 Ataov, Turkkaya. “History and Professor Toynbee: A Critique of Western Interpretation, *Turkish Yearbook*, Vol.IX (1968), p.7.

decades after the 'glasnost' campaign, following the Soviet demise in the republics and regions of the former Soviet territory. The re-evaluation and writing of history began to be reversed with the detailed interpretation about many forbidden subjects and figures in the history on the former Soviet domain. Academics and intellectuals specializing on the Soviet Union immediately realized these changes and began to work on the subject.²³⁴

Apart from his academic works, the personal life of historian Ermukhan Bekmakhanov mirrors the struggle of Kazaks under the Soviet regime. Bekmakhanov is one of the descendants of the Kazak Khans. He was born in the second year of WWI and spent his childhood during the early years of Soviet consolidation. During the era that the socialist ideology's so-called class struggle eliminated almost whole "crème de la crème" of native intellectuals in the Soviet empire, Bekmakhanov experienced poverty and destitution as an orphan without a father. He went to Semey to continue his education and lost to hunger his mother and sister living in today's Pavlodar during the 1931-1932 famine. He was not even able find the remains of his mother and sister.

Historians and academics in Kazakstan today are contributing to the evaluation of many vital issues regarding the native Kazak history through studying the case of Ermukhan Bekmakhanov.

- First, the reexamination of the historian who worked to analyze the struggle of Kenesary Khan; researchers are clarifying the distortion of a fact that the Kazaks did not accept the Russian over-lordship with their own will.

- Secondly, as a result of the above-mentioned research, it became clear that there was a national leader in the nineteenth century in Kazak society and at least a considerable number of people followed and supported his leadership, and further, Kenesary Khan's legacy intensified the national spiritual strength of the present-day society of Kazaks. Historian Bekmakhanov dealt with a potentially dangerous theme from the perspective of the Soviet ideology by revealing a reality to the light of day through his tireless research in tsarist archives, which were deeply hidden by the Soviet state.

- The works of Bekmakhanov reveal the details of reactions and objections of the Kazaks to the tsarist Russian colonization policies and plight of the Kazaks in their ancestral homeland as a result of the occupation of their territory.

- Studying this case is essential in bringing to daylight cases such as repentance from political mistakes, unfairness of the regime as

234 Confino, Michael. "The New Russian Historiography and the Old-Some Considerations," *History and Memory*, Vol.21, Number 2, Fall/Winter 2009, pp.7-33.

well as disrespect to the scientific research by the supporters of the oppressive totalitarian system of the Soviet era.²³⁵

- This study also uncovers the fact that the Kazaks were subjected to foreign over-lordship at an increasing degree starting from the nineteenth century onwards. As a result of the policies that pressure the Kazak people during the tsarist and later under the Soviet era, Kazak intellectuals have tried to survive and accepted the forceful manipulations of the centrally controlled ideological force.

Historians of every age should be aware of the historiography in every state and era in order to reach the right conclusion in their research. Paying attention to this record of history, is vital for historians for the sake of being objective regarding the specific viewpoints, ideas, ideologies of every age and in every society. There are an increasing number of works that examine Soviet-era history from a variety of different angles. The present-day Kazak history is no exception in that regard.

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235 Zhurtbay, Tursyn. "Kenesary Zhane Tarihshy E. Bekmakhanov 'Kazak Halkynyn Zhavy Bolyp Zhariandy?'" *Alash Ainasy*, 02.11.2014.

PERSECUTION AGAINST INTELLECTUALS AND AUTHORS IN KAZAKHSTAN (1940-1950)

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Over time, leaders and ideas that affect humanity unquestionably change. However, the institutions and intellectual currents that are seemingly ready to sacrifice the life and liberty of millions of people for ideas and obsessions do not always change. Therefore, totalitarianism does not disappear. It rather silently hides like a small ember under the ashes of fire. We are prone to think that it will be ready to flame again if someone throws a dry branch upon it. Time creates its own authors. Nobody can write about the Stalin-era like those who experienced it. We will strive to evaluate the humane values of modern times through their published books and relations with their leaders.

Honestly speaking, history repeats itself sometimes. The twentieth century created the totalitarian state structure that generated some of the harshest political codes. Some historians assume that totalitarian regimes and antediluvian despots were the elements of Ancient Egypt; nevertheless, the most brutal version of totalitarianism prevailed in the twentieth century. Despite its short reign, Soviet totalitarianism ranks first in terms of influence and the art of execution. Experienced by our several contemporaries, this system sometimes demonstrated its brutal face and sometimes sought romantic elements. In essence, we should look at totalitarianism's political, social, and psychological consequences and its long-lasting effects concerning today and tomorrow.

The apparent persecution against Kazakhs, Lithuanians, Georgians, Ukrainians, Russians, and Uzbeks was not a product of coincidence. The persecution against the intellectual echelons of these peoples stemmed from the fear that they had grasped the potential outcomes of totalitarianism.

The persecution against national values gained momentum in Kazakhstan under totalitarian rule. For example, there was almost no place without a fence or observation tower in Kazakhstan during the Stalinist era. Among the USSR Directory of Camps, we note KARLAG, STEPLAG, OZERLAG, AKTÖBELAG and KUMLAG; there was also a directory of working camps and colonies run by the Ministry of Internal Affairs. There were around 70 camp sections and colonies.

Across the Kazakh lands, there was almost no city and town without these infernal camps. These politically-motivated camps in Kazakhstan

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became symbols of the Stalinist Soviet regime.

Prof. K. N. Nürpeyis classifies the political oppression in Kazakhstan under six separate periods:

The first period (1917-1920): During this period, a civil war broke out after the formation of Soviet government and society divided into two as “Reds” and “Whites”.

The second period: Evident during the latter half of the 1920s, this period was famous for abstract oppression. The main targets of this oppression were the Kazakh intellectuals who appeared in late nineteenth and early twentieth century, many of whom aligned with Soviets and participated in the Alash-Orda movement. During this period, some politicians and scholars were sentenced by Stalinist courts to exile. Among them, Trotsky, Chayanov, and Kondratiev were destined to Kazakhstan.

The third period (1920s and early 1930s): This period witnessed the abduction of the members of the Kazakh National Alash movement and the mandatory transition of Kazakhs from the nomadic lifestyle to sedentary life and agriculture. This period was also notorious for the elimination of animal husbandry and introduction of the kolkhoz system.

The fourth period (From 1937 to the end of the Second World War): During this period, political oppression targeted “traitors” and “enemies of the people”. Some people the Stalinist regime collectively exiled to Kazakhstan before and during the war.

The fifth period (From mid-1940s to early 1950s): Soviet soldiers, held captive by the Nazis during the war, returned home following the war and the cities and villages held in occupation by the Nazis faced the oppression. Among the intellectual circles that included men and women of science, literature, and medicine, the Stalinist regime targeted them as “bourgeois nationalists” and “degenerate cosmopolitans”.

The sixth period (1960s-1980s): This period was famous for the totalitarian regime’s struggle with the “Kazakh nationalists” under the moderate policies of Khrushchev and the December 1986 events.²³⁶

The aforementioned “fifth period” witnessed Stalin’s last persecutions. It differed from the other periods due to the exceedingly concentrated persecution of literary intellectuals. It was a threat and an assault upon the well-educated elements of society.

During this period, as a result of the persecutions, Kazakh intellectuals were labelled as “nationalists” by the regime. In the late 1940s

236 Nurpeyis, K., E. “Bekmakhanov pen onun kitabi kalay jazıldı?”, *Qazaq Tarihi*, 2005, No2. pp. 5-13.

and early 1950s, Stalinist ideologues initiated a new struggle against the intellectuals.

In 1946, the post-war phase started with the USSR CP Central Committee pressuring the magazines "Zvezda" and "Leningrad", drama theatres and their repertoires, and the movie "Bolshaya Zhizn". At this point, the decision taken by the Kazakhstan CP Central Committee on 21 January 1947 named the "Kazakh SSR Academy of Sciences Language and Literature Institute's significant political faults on its works" yielded negative outcomes.²³⁷ On 27 August 1948, with the approval of Kazakhstan CP Central Committee, the Kazakh SSR Academy of Sciences complied with the decision. In accordance with the decision, all institutes, as well as the biology and medicine centres of the Academy, were compelled to revise their scientific research topics and research-development plans, and tighter control was applied to institutions of higher education and doctoral dissertation topics.²³⁸

On the other hand, between the 1930s and the 1950s, Kazakhstan – especially Almaty – became the harbour for exiled, talented scholars and artisans of the Soviet Union, including primarily S. Eizenshtein, Roshal, M. Zoshenko, K. Paustovskiy, S. Marshak, V. Shklovskiy, and A. Nikolskaya. The "Vanguard Organs of Proletarian Supremacy" chased them and other society-friendly people.²³⁹

Immediately thereafter, the regime started a campaign against "Tsarists", Kazakh "nationalists" and "bourgeois-lovers". Among the branches of Kazakh SSR Academy of Sciences, and generally among intellectuals, fear and doubt became eminent. That is to say, the 1937 syndrome re-appeared and comparable societal conditions echoed the earlier era.²⁴⁰

First, poets and authors felt a strong sense of persecution. Their works became hotspots of debates and they experienced persecution on the pretext of not complying with the Soviet ideology.

Between 1947 and 1954, the well-known writer Muhtar Avezov felt persecuted on the bases of being a "retrogressive nationalist",

237 Takenov, A., "Elüvinşi jıldardın basında Qazaq tariyhi qalay qıspaqqalı alındı?", *Qazaq Tariyhi*, 1994, No1, p. 3.

238 Süleymenov, R., Guryevich, B., Ya, L. "Lysenkouşına v Kazahstane", *Izvestiya AN RK, Seriya Obşetvennyh Nauk*, 1992, No3.

239 Nurpeyis, K., E. "Bekmakhanov pen onun kitabi kalay jazıldı?", *Qazaq Tarihi*, 2005, No2, pp. 5-13; Takenov, A., "Elüvinşi jıldardın basında Qazaq tariyhi qalay qıspaqqalı alındı?", *Qazaq Tariyhi*, 1994, No1, p. 3; Süleymenov, R., Guryevich, B., Ya, L. "Lysenkouşına v Kazahstane", *Izvestiya AN RK, Seriya Obşetvennyh Nauk*, 1992, No3; Jurtbay, T., "Eto Napisano v Kritičeskuyu Poru", *Abay*, 1996, No2.

240 Nurpeyis, K., E. "Bekmakhanov pen onun kitabi kalay jazıldı?", *Qazaq Tarihi*, 2005, No2, pp. 5-13.

“pro-bourgeois author”, “pro-Alashorda” and “Khanate system fan”. Until 1951, he was able to protect himself from these accusations. However, when the pressure peaked and when his students and supporters began to be jailed and sentenced for 10–20 years, he understood that he was under the threat of persecution.²⁴¹ The story of Avezov’s persecution was researched by the prominent scholar T. Zhurtbay.

In 1951, “Literaturnaya Gazeta” published the article of Dr. S. Nurushev titled “The Elimination of Bourgeoisie-Nationalist Destructions while Evaluating Abay’s Works”. Here, the whole life of M. Avezov, along with his socio-political service, became a matter of question. Naturally, his actions under Alash movement were uncovered. His work as an editor to the magazine “Abay”, before and during the October Revolution, and the magazine’s relation with the Alash Party and his actions in favour of appealing the Kazakh youth to the party were mentioned. His critics identified Avezov’s “harmful actions” in literature in cooperation with the movement’s representatives after the establishment of the Soviet government. All of these were accompanied with further accusations such as “he misses the past”, “he praised the Alashorda Party”, “he insulted against the Soviet realities”, “he engaged in hate speech against the Russian people” and “Alashorda supporters’ ideas caused the emergence of Pan-Turkism and Pan-Islamism”. He was criticised for not keeping his promises in his letters published in the national media in 1932. His play “Han Kene” and his works about Abay’s research activities were demonstrated as evidence to this failure. He was accused of showing mullahs, Alashorda supporters, and “people’s enemies” as Abay’s students. He published stories in the Kazakh language in 1944. In addition, even though Avezov did not provide A. Baytursunov’s name, he was criticised as he exemplified Baytursunov’s stories.

Avezov was forced to write an open letter to “Literaturnaya Gazeta” concerning these accusations. As we observe, the most significant accusation was his relation to the Alashorda Party. In June 1951, the Kazakh SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Language and Literature, along with Kazakhstan Union of Authors, held a meeting named “A scientific discussion on Abay’s literature topics”. S. Mukanov delivered a speech titled “Abay’s literature school and students”.²⁴² S. Mukanov also criticised the articles published in “Abay” while under Avezov’s editorship. Furthermore, he named A. Baytursunov, M. Dulatov, and S. Kudayberdiyev as Alash Party member Abay students. According to T. Zhurtbai, “Avezov

241 Jurtbay, T., “Eto Napisano v Kriticheskuuyu Poru”, *Abay*, 1996, No.2.

242 “Bes Aris: Estelikter, Esseler jane Zerttev Maqalalar”, Qurastırghan D. Aşımhanov, Almatı, Jalın, 1992, p. 544, pp. 68–69.

was the one who resisted with his works without submission”.

Several years before, in 1946, S. Mukanov's novel “Our Time's Hero”, G. Musiperov's story “Private Kaptagay”, Tilevov's poem “Syrym Batyr” and M. Avezov's novel “Poet Brother” were published in the magazine “Adebiyat zhane Iskustvo” and evaluated as soft works without significant political affiliation. In April 1953, M. Avezov was forced to go to Moscow. He began to work at M. Lomonosov Moscow Public University as professor and lectured about the “USSR Public Literature History”.

On the event commemorating the 90th birthday anniversary of M. Avezov, the prominent Kazakh poet O. Suleymanov said “During the zenith of the Alashorda-Nationalist accusations, during the chaotic 1930s, Avezov surprisingly survived. Despite these difficult times, he never gave up championing Abay”.²⁴³

M. Avezov's persecution affected his students as well. On 9 March 1951, at the Kazakh SSR Academy of Sciences Language and Literature Institute's Scientific Committee, the young academic Kayym Muhamedkhanov's dissertation “Abay's Poesy School”, under the supervision of M. Avezov, was evaluated. This dissertation, defended on 7 April 1951, was later dismissed. Moreover, A. Zhyrenshin's book, “Abay and his Russian Friends”, faced the same fate.

The arrest of E. Bekmakhanov initiated the stage of persecution of historians, men of letters, and statesmen. Subsequently, the accusations against E. Bekmakhanov were directed to the others as well. Labelled as nationalists, the music researcher A. Zhubanov, Abay researcher M. Avezov, and the authors S. Mukanov, K. Zhumaliev, E. Ismailov, A. Zhirenshin, and A. Margulan faced persecution as well. That is, the persecutions of that time prove the oppression on the grounds of nationalism against Kazakh Turks. Pressure on intellectuals also affected the museums. At the meeting concerning Abay, a decision was made about revising the activities of the Abay museum in Semey and the elimination of the “nationalist-motivated, anti-revolutionary” elements in the museum.²⁴⁴

On 16 March 1949, an article titled “Bourgeois Cosmopolitans at Universities” was published in the journal “Kazakhstanskaya Pravda”. On 20 March of the same year, a similar article was published in this journal and targeted several Kazakh authors by stereotyping them as “degenerate cosmopolitans, traitors”.

243 Qapayeva, A., *Kultura i Politika (Gosudarstvennaya politika v oblasti kultury v Kazahstane vo vtoroy polovine 1940-h – 1991gg.)*, Almaty, Atamura, 2004, p. 328, p. 53.

244 Düysenova, N., *Qazaqstandaǵy XX Ǵasırdın 40–50 Jıldarındaǵy “Ultıńıldıq” pen “Kosmopolitıńıldıqqa Qarsı Kúres Nayqanı*, Almaty, 2006, p. 150, p. 148–149.

In the literature of 1940s, the topic of treason was not prevalent. During the second half of 1940s, the picture dramatically changed. The state of warfare in the country deepened the oppression of the totalitarian regime on art and literature.

The parameters of this systems were the composition of two fictional characters. The first character was the enemy (Nazism), who was brutal but easily beatable because he was a fool. The second was the Soviet soldier, who was the unbeatable and victorious warrior protecting his homeland.

People believed in the power of the Soviet army. This belief went so far that no one considered the probability of treason among the army's members. The ideological machine did not allow the existence of any traitorous character in literature. The existence of such a character would be regarded as a plot against socialist victories and the newly established socialist Soviet army. Needless to say, these tropes in literature were required and designed to encourage the soldiers who might going to their death. This can be explained by the military tactics used against the enemy. The issue of treason became a central topic only in 1970s-1980s in Soviet literature.

To conclude, I want to present a quotation of Kazakhstani author Yu. Dombrovskiy, who experienced the persecution in 1940s and 1950s and has some composed some works about this tragedy: "Our period was tough, human relations were complicated, even humans... No! It is very difficult for me to talk about the people of that time, even impossible... I was one of them. All in all, they are not those with us now, my readers. Then, we were forced to carry the toughest problems on our shoulders."

In this way, the authors' conflict with Stalinism helped them to grasp the essence of Nazism and Communism and directed them to think about the resistance of Europe's destiny and mankind's spiritual power against the physical and spiritual tyranny. As nature is composed of infinite births and deaths, the governments established themselves not for the people but against them.

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THE INFLUENCE OF COMMUNIST PARTY ON WRITING HISTORY AND HISTORICAL EDUCATION IN KAZAKHSTAN IN THE SOVIET PERIOD

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Kazakhs, having the origins from Turkic people and living between Central Asia's wide steppes and the Turkish homeland Altay, came to the stage of history in XV century with establishing of Kazak Khanate. They were independent until the beginning Russian occupation of Kazakhs steppes in the middle of XVIII century. Destroying Kazan and Astrahan Khanates Russian became neighbor to Kazakh steppes and the first relation between Kazakhs and Russians started. Russian merchants started coming to Kazakh steppes, which accelerated the Kazakh-Russian relations. With Tsar Petro I Russian interest raised over Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan.²⁴⁵ From the middle of XVIII century Russians started invasion of Kazakhs steppes. In that period separated political structure of Kazakh Khanate and Kalmuk attacks from East facilitate Russian occupation. In the middle of XIX century after separating Kazakhstan into three parts, Little Zhuz, Middle Zhuz and Grand Zhuz, lost its political unity and Russia completed the occupation of Kazakhstan. To consolidate the authority of the occupied regions Russia organized the administration, and on the other side they were started the policy of assimilation.²⁴⁶

After organizing the administration in Kazakhstan ensuring Kazakhs, which lived on a large geography, adaptation to Russia formed a big problems to Russian leaders. The struggles of independence from occupation were occurred and people in a large amount gave the support them in Kazakhstan, in spite of the fact that the occupation was completed. In order to make a permanent administration in the occupied regions Russian leaders believed in compulsory cultural assimilation, just like it was done with cultural politics in occupied Tatar and Baskurt regions which was used as a model. Russia's main goal with applying culturel politics in Kazakhstan and Turkestan was to provide conformation of Turkic people to Russian administration in occupied regions. And it could be done only by russification of Turkic

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245 Sabol, S. *Russian Colonization and The Genesis of Kazak National Consciousnes*, Newyork, 2003, p. 27.

246 Özdemir, E. "Rusya'nın Kazakistan'da Uyguladığı Kültür Siyasetine Örnek olarak 'Dala-Vilayeti Gazetesi'", *Turkish Studies*, Vol.4/3, 2009, p. 1698.

peoples. Missioners like Nikolai Ilminsky, A. E. Alekterov and N. P. Ostromov took an important role in applying these politics. Russian government via repression supported the policy of assimilation which was being applied in all aspects of cultural life.

The results of assimilation done in period of Tsardom of Russia forms a base to cultural politic in Soviet period in terms of aims and methods. After the October Revolution of 1917 with communist revolution Soviet leaders, who wanted to control whole land of Tsardom of Russia, continued the assimilation policy that was being applied in period of Tsardom with aim to keep the non-Russian nations under the roof of Soviet Union to make a new Soviet structure. The goal wanted to be reached here is fuse the non-Russian nations into Russian culture based Soviet pot and to prevent the differences and mismatches caused by ethnic and religious beliefs. The Soviet nation's, the new nation that was planned to build, language would be Russian language, and the culture would be Russian culture, and other different factors would be combined under the Soviet brotherhood.

Very important mission was attached on science of history and history to accomplish the building of planned Soviet nation. It was necessary to build under common Soviet nation a new historical memory of the very different nations who are fighting each other. It could be done only with writing history again. Because, thanks to science of history things that are wanted to be seen can be seen, and things that are not wanted to be seen can be ignored. In this kind of ideological state conception constructing fictional history on a good base can make successful ideology that is being raised upon the state. The official history made in direction of this fiction could take mission of protecting the institutional continuity of ideology and institutional integrity of state. In this way could be possible to canalize the individuals and to determine society's falls, movements and life styles.²⁴⁷

From the begging of establishment of Soviet Union the Communist Party gave a importance to rewriting history to reach their ideological goals. Yet on December 8, 1930 on the meeting of the Communist Academy History Institute, the head of science of history Pokrovski, the mission of historians in Soviet Union describes as follows: *"The struggle in the field of history is the struggle for the main road of the party... Between these two struggles there is a unbreakable relationship. It is impossible to separate them... History is a very big weapon in this political struggle... Compared to others history is a very important political science. There is link between the previous political history*

247 Hacısalihoğlu, F. "Azerbaycan'da Ulusal Tarih Yazımı", *History Studies*, (Prof.Dr. Enver Konukçu Armağanı), 2012, p.175.

and today's political history. It is impossible to separate history from this policy. It cannot be other thoughts of history."²⁴⁸

Stalin's strengthening of position of state control after the 1930's the changes in researching and writing history is visible. Under the pressure of Communist leaders historians started writing history that will consolidate the Soviet brotherhood. In these works the participation of nations, living under Soviet Union, to Russia was showed not as occupation, but as completely voluntarily, and at the same time it is emphasized that these participations provided the support to the people that were occupied. Also it is highlighted the big brother role of Russians over other nations.²⁴⁹

Also in the period after Stalin the Communist Party continued to expect historians' works that'll consolidate nations' union under the Soviet pot. The 23rd Communist Party Congress that took place in 1966, Party gave to historians tasks as follows: *"Party is expecting from scientists and historians to stick together with communisms needs to provide high level morality to the people and to solve the problems of society."*²⁵⁰ As it is understood historians were carrying very important mission of ideological struggle.

The Communist Party's expectations from historians can be summarized as follows: To increase the friendship of different nations that are living under Soviet Union which has a multinational structure, for strengthening the nations' bonds to Soviet government to forefront the Soviet patriotism. As it is understood, from that point of view not only Soviet period but also the Tsardom period should be rewritten, too.

The implementation field of this new history thesis, that is supporting soviet ideology, became a new curriculum of formal educational institutions. The artificial minds, made according to Communist Party's directives, without doubt would be quite effective in rising of young generations that will meet the expectations of Communist Party. In making a new mind of society as much as historians' the history teachers' role was very important, the guidebook that supports curriculum of history class was explained this way: *"The materials of history class should be run in a way of increasing a love to Lenin, to Communist Party and to students' socialist homeland. Furthermore, the patriotism, the proletariat and internationalist thoughts of students*

248 Ağayev, E. "Sovyet İdeolojisi Çerçevesinde Türk Cumhuriyetlerinin Tarih Yazımı ve Tarih Eğitimi: Azerbaycan Örneği", (Yayınlanmamış Doktora Tezi), 2006, p. 84.

249 Tillet, L. R., *The Great Friendship Soviet Historians on the Non-Russian Nationalities*, N. Carolina, 1969, pp. 16-17.

250 "Bolşiya Zadağı", *Voprosi İstorii*, 1966, No: 6, p. 8.

*should be consolidated. The materials that will strengthen the atheism should be used again and again. Teachers should never forget these principles when preparing the class program.”*²⁵¹

Soviet ideologists pushed the responsibility of teaching communist education through history classes to the level of primary school. In the guidebook for IV. classes explaining what kind of communist education could be reached through history classes, the history teachers' goals are illustrated as follows: *“To gain a communism education to new generations the parables from USSR history are very important. Students should take parables from history of Soviet with aim to increase endearment to multinational country, Communist Party and Soviet nation.”*²⁵²

The Question of Kazakhstan's Voluntarily Participation to Russia

One of the fields of applications of the new history thesis was Turkestan and Kazakhstan. Soviet historians, fell under pressure of Communist Party that came together with Bolshevik revolution, started retrospectively emphasizing the brotherhood of Soviet nation. Instead of the negative things that happened in Tsardom period, it's started rewriting of history that will strengthen the unity of nations. That's because the facts that bloody and challenging war that happened in near Kazakhstan history leaved very deep traces in minds of Kazakh people. In Kazakhstan it was impossible to establish the Soviet brotherhood with society mind shaped on unfair occupation and wars. For that reasons, topics like general history and the process of Russia's occupation of Turkestan and Kazakhstan are considered again according to new conception of history.

According to the new understanding, uniting Kazakh Zhuses with Russia in Tsardom period happened totally voluntarily. Soviet thesis was based on the letter that they claim Ebu'l Hayr, the khan of Kazakhs of Little Zhus sent in 1730 by one envoy to Russian Tsarina Anna Ivanova. According to that letter, Ebu'l Hayr Han was asking Tsarina for protection with these words: *“We could make a near relationship with Bashkirs, who live near river Yayik under your citizenship. The leader of Bashkirs Aldarbay asked us to you send envoy. He's asking to you to take Kazakhs of Little Zhus, which are now under our control, under your auspices. We wish to live in peace with Bashkirs near Yayik under your control.”* In published letter there is no signature of Ebu'l Hayr Han. The letter was signed by envoys. In 1730, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Russia reported Ebu'l Hayr Han's auspices wish to

251 IV. *Klas Kazak SSR Tarihi Materyaldarının Okutuv*, Almatı, 1970, p. 5

252 IV. *Klas Okuşılarına Tarih Saktarı Jolymen Komunizm Terbiyesi Beruv*, Almatı, 1972, p. 6.

Ivanova, and suggested to take under Russia's nationality all Kazakhs living under khan's control. This means that instead of using word auspices it was used word nationality. In 1731 Anna Ivanova send to Ebu'l Hayr Han a decree informing him that all Kazakhs living under his control are taken under Russia nationality. Muhammed Tevkelev was sent as a envoy to Ebu'l Hayr Han to formalize this decision.²⁵³

After meeting with Russia's envoy Tevkelev, Ebu'l Hayr Han stated that he took the Russia's decision of asking for auspices, but also stated that he didn't take confirmation from other chieftains and sultans. In October 1831, all chieftains and sultans participated on Khan's Council and they heavily criticize Ebu'l Hayr Khan's decision of asking to participate to Russia which is taken by himself before asking council. The council as a result decided that "*We want to live in peace with Russia but not under their nationality.*" In the council only Ebu'l Hayr Han with three other persons near him accepted Russia's auspices and they took an oath.²⁵⁴

This event that happened in process of annexation of Kazakhstan to Russia in publications in Soviet period constituted a base for Kazakhstan voluntarily participation to Russia. Russia's establishment of fortification on north of Kazakh's land in Turkestan, and therefore becoming neighbor to Kazakhs, Russian officers' undertakings to take Kazakhs under Russia's influence, Kazakhs' fear of Dzungar, Ebu'l Hayr Han and few other Kazakh chieftains' asking for Russia's auspices and similar reasons does not mean that Kazakhs are voluntarily Russia's community and part of state. Tsar Petro's East policies should be remembered to understand that here Kazakhstan was not voluntarily annexed to Russia. Petro's following words are helping us to understand Russia's ambitions over Kazakhstan: "*Kazakh is a gate and key to all Asia countries there. That's why we should absolutely take them under Russia auspices*"²⁵⁵ Thus after Russian occupation they fought very much to protect their liberty and against Russian influence. Riots leaded by Syrym Batur, Jolaman Tilenshi, Isatay Tayman, Sultan Kenesari couldn't be overlooked neither by Tsardom historians nor by Soviet historians. This struggles for liberty are showing that Russia's annexation of Kazakhstan was not voluntarily participation, but it was a occupation.

In the Soviet period in a name of building a Soviet nation histo-

253 Hayit, B., *Sovyetler Birliği'nde Türklüğün ve İslam'ın Bazı Meseleleri*, İstanbul, 1987, pp. 132-133.

254 Ibid, p. 134.

255 Hayit, B., *Türkistan Devletlerinin Milli Mücadele Tarihi*, Ankara, 1995, p. 49

rical facts are overlooked. Soviet propaganda is basing these events on these unfounded claims: Peoples of Turkestan united with Russia voluntarily. Even if happened some small riots there, they happened with incitation of feudal chieftains which didn't want to lose their privileges. Local people always behaved friendly to Russian people.

The formal history education felt the effects of Soviet thesis about Kazakhstan's going under Russia control. In the book named "Teaching Kazakhs USSR History Materials for IV Classes" prepared to help history teachers in Kazakhstan, suggests to teacher how to easily explain that process of participation Kazakhstan to Russia was voluntarily this way: "It should be taken benefit from visual materials of meeting between Ebu'l Hayr Han and Russian envoy and the oath that they claim that happened to show that the process of participation Kazakhstan to Russia was voluntarily. Assuring that students are carefully looking at visual materials it should be shown that khan and persons around him took the oath by their consent and they were satisfied with it."²⁵⁶

In the same guidebook to teachers are recommended these sentences to ensure that the participation to Russia was based on voluntarily basis: *"Why and how did Kazakhstan participate to Russia? Teachers, with their own words, should talk about inside and outside attacks on Kazakhstan and should explain how Kazakhstan in these negative conditions needed help from other country. It should be pointed out that this country was Russia and the sentence of Ebu'l Hayr Khan given to Tsarina should be read to ensure this topic."*²⁵⁷

In history books for VII/VIII classes with titled "Kazakhstan's Voluntarily Participation to Russia" annexation process is explained as follows: *"At the begging of XVIII century Kazakhstan situation was in a very difficult because of damage that came from Dzungar's attacks from East and Hive feudals' attacks from West. The situation became even worse with the pressure that came from the Shah of Iran. In that situation the relationship between Kazakhs and Russian started to strengthen. And as a result of this relationship Kazakhs Hans asked annexation from Russia."*²⁵⁸

As a result the period of Russian occupation full of bloody collision and struggle for liberty was overlooked and these occupations were tried to explain as a Kazakhstan's voluntarily annexation to Russia, which is based on letter that Ebu'l Hayr Han sent to Tsarina asking from her auspices. An important steps are taken for facilitating Soviet

256 IV. *Klas Kazak SSR Tarihy Materyaldarının Okutuv*, ibid, p. 25.

257 Ibid, p. 26

258 VII/VIII. *Klas Kazak SSR Tarihi*, Almatı, 1970, p. 56.

brotherhood by trying to make hostility that happened in the past be forgotten.

Emphasizing of Russia's Occupation of Kazakhstan as Progressive Process

One of the destructions that was done by Soviet government to consolidate Soviet brotherhood was the attempt of emphasizing Russian occupation as progressive starting from the tsardom period. This method was also tried with culture policies in tsardom period. In the State Newspaper of Dala which were published for Kazakhs who lived in the Step State of Tsarist Russia, tried to lighten the reactions of Kazakhs against occupation via repression by emphasizing social and economic progress that came together with Russia's occupation of Kazakhstan.

In the Soviet period in historical works occupation of Tsardom was shown as a progressive development for local people. A paper published in 1948 talked about that "*Kazakhs voluntarily wanted Russia's annexation of Kazakhstan and progressive way of annexation*". From 1950's after this theory was ratiocinated by general assembly it became a view of regime of Soviet government. In Mart 1951 in Tashkent was organized a conference under the title "*The National Character in the Colonial Revolution in the Central Asia and Kazakhstan*". At conference these thesis were followed: "The only developing way of Central Asia and Kazakhstan was the uniting with Russia. All national struggles were reactionary. Because, their aim was to separate from Russia. However, these struggles also had insurgent and progressive-minded ways. Because they worked against the regime."²⁵⁹

Ermukhan Bekmakhanov's work on "Kazakhstan in the Years of 1920's – 1940's" started discussions to formalize Russia's annexation of Kazakhstan as a progressive in 1947. On 23rd December 1951 in Pravda newspapers, the issues of national struggle, especially struggles in a guidance of Sultan Kenesary, in Bekmakhanov's book and representing it as a national war of independence took very heavy critics. In all Soviet papers, after these critics in Pravda, Kenesari was started to be shown as a reactionary and enemy of own nation. And not just Kenesari, all freedom struggles in Turkestan against Russian occupation went to reevaluation process.²⁶⁰

Soviet historians' this point of view expressed like: "A lot of positive reforms are done in Kazakhstan under Tsar Administration. Tsadom government gave a lot of exemptions and prerogatives to Russian

259 Hayit, *Sovyetler Birliğinde Türklüğün ve İslam'ın Bazı Meseleleri*, p.142.

260 Poppe, N. N., "Harpten Sonraki Devirde Sovyetlerin Türkistan'daki İdeolojik Siyaseti" *Dergi*, 5/17, 1959, pp. 6–8.

immigrants and Kazakhs who accepted Orthodox religion. On contrary Kazakh sultans, mullahs and tribal leaders, who lost prerogatives as a result of these progressive developments, felt annoyed and started provocations against Russia. "This reactionary way of rebellion incidents was explained as follows: *"The Kazakh people, who were tried to get rid of Russia by Kazakh chieftains' incitements, were turned into a victim that could easily be fallen into hands of the imperialists like Englishmen."* According to Soviet propaganda, Turkestan people's participation with Russia was not always non-resistant. Even if resistance happened it came from feudal chieftains, but people always behaved friendly to Russian people.²⁶¹

After 1950s start publication of history book representing Tsardom Russia occupations as a progressive movement. Among these works is A. Nurkanav's "Kazakhs with Great Russia until infinity" published in Almaty in 1957 and T. Shoinbayev's "The progressive ways of Russia's annexation of Kazakhstan" published also in Almaty in 1963.²⁶²

Kazakh historians, who at that time had to support new Soviet thesis, tried to base Russia's annexation of Kazakhstan with these facts: Russia taking Kazakhstan under its dominance protected Kazakh people from Tatar-Mongols attacks, Kazakh people found peace by being protected from inside and outside attacks, and in peace Kazakhstan production, trade and agriculture increased.

Article published in 1958 in magazine called "Jas Muallim" (Young teacher) is guiding history teachers as follows: "In gaining a new generations' socialist point of view in Kazakhstan history classes are very important. New generations learning Kazakh history will notice the progression of Kazakhstan's participation to Russia. With this participation in Kazakhstan grew Kazakhs self-esteem, as a result of it facilities of production in Kazakh steppes increased and raised persons like Abay Kunanbayev, Chokan Velikhanov ve İbray (İbrahim) Altınсарın. As one another important result of this annexation, Kazakhs who met with bright Russian civilization had a chance to escape from being in regressive Muslim East World."²⁶³

The progressive way of Russian occupation was taken in a curriculum of secondary education, too. Teachers were suggested to present occupations progressive quality on history classes as follows: "Russian help to Kazakhstan against Dzungars' attacks should be in forefront using historical material. Social and economical progress of

261 Ibid, pp. 12-14.

262 Urban, P., "Sovyet Milli Siyasetinin Bugünkü Eğilimleri", *Dergi*, No: 34, 1964, p. 79.

263 *Jas Muallim*, No: 7, 1958, p. 32

Kazakhstan after participation to Russia should be presented. It also should be explicated the Kazakhstan's rescue from Mongol tribe and English attacks and attacks of Khanates from south."²⁶⁴

In books of history classes the Russian occupation's progressive ways are showed like this: "With Russia's annexation Kazakhstan paid taxes to Russia and as response Russian government fulfilled all the duties they were obligated to. After participating of Kazakhstan to Russia the bridges were built, roads secured, trade and agriculture developed. Also, Tsardom government protected Kazakhs from foreign enemies."²⁶⁵

Emphasizing of Kazakh-Russian Relations Through History

In one of ideological history works from Soviet period, Russian-Kazakh friendship was showed in a topic of historical roots. The local bright socialist supported the new Soviet thesis. According to one of brightest Uzbek socialist Kari Niyazov Russia's historical bond with people of Central Asia is dating centuries back. These bonds were firstly established with commercial relations and were carried out by the initiatives of these nations themselves and eventually they were brought closer to each other with mutual understanding.

According to Soviet's new thesis, with Russia's annexation of Turkestan people who lived at these areas in a short time fused with Russians. In spite of colonial system in Tsardom period the growing friendship was established. This friendship was consolidated with many examples in historical works from Soviet period. Trade and cultural relationships with roots dating until Medieval are brought to forefront.

The book titled "The History of Kazakh SSR", prepared for secondary education in Kazakhstan, explains the rooted friendship between Russian and Kazakhs as follows: "West Siberia's participation to Russia contributed a lot to friendship between Kazakhstan and Russia that lasts up to these days. To improve this relationship Russia built a castle near to Tara River. This way Kazakhs are protected from outside attacks. In the times of Haknazar Khan Kazakhs lived between Ural and Volga rivers like a wanderings. In the result of violent foreign attacks against the Noghai Horde and the Kuchum Khanate in Siberia, Haknazar Khan thought to take advantage of Russia, where he had friendship in the struggles he had done. Relationship between Russia and Kazakhstan strengthened after Russia's conquest of Kazan."²⁶⁶

In the same book mutually relationships from XVII and XVIII centuries are summarized as follows: "*After attacking trade roads by Oirats*

264 *Sekiz Jildik Orta Mektep Programasi*, Almatı, 1976, p. 11.

265 *Kazak SSR Tariyhi, VII/VIII. Klas*, Almatı, 1980, p. 56.

266 *Ibid*, p. 33

in Central Asia in XVII century and becoming dangerous to trade Tsar Fedor Ivanovich meeting with Abilay Khan decided to use power to make these roads safe. The agreements were singed to improve trade between Russian people with Kazakhs. These agreements prepared the project of participation Kazakhstan to Russia.”²⁶⁷

Bringing forefront the struggle of local people and Russians against enemies in a new history books for school was tried to lay the foundation of Soviet brotherhood. In auxiliary history textbooks for IV. classes Napoleon wars was asked to explain in this way: *“The main aim of using these materials related with Napoleon wars is to point out that in a Homeland war in 1812, in a real people war, on Russian land alongside Volga river against foreign enemies the shield was made by non-Russian, where Kazakhs also took place. In that way students’ love for ancestor will be awaken and also it will contribute to their education according to the spirit of friendship.”²⁶⁸*

The other issue that Soviet ideologists forced Kazakhs to accept is the friendship on the campaign of Virgin Lands in Kazakhstan and Turkestan between local people and Russian migrants who grew on these lands. M. Fazilov, the Secretary of Kazakhstan Communist Party’s Kokshetau State Committee, wrote an article entitled “Virgin Lands, The University of Nations Friendship”. It summarized the mutual benefits of cultural interaction of Russian and local peoples in the result of the placement of Russian immigrants in virgin lands as follows: *“Coming of Russian migrants did not just caused opening new land in agriculture, but also caused disappearing traditions which were outdated for centuries. Today, marriage of Kazakh girls with Russians and Ukrainians is not a rare case... Also it is truth that Kazakhs are naming their children after their Russian brothers. Bayas Kaliyev, who lives in Keskate village, named his son after Yuri, world’s first cosmonaut.”²⁶⁹*

In Tsardom Russia one of the colonial methods was immigration policy with whom relocation of Russian and Ukrainian peasants, with no land in Russia, to fertile farmlands in Kazakhstan, and their contribution to social and economic lives was explained in history textbooks of history as follows: *“Villagers familiar to agriculture who are living bordering Kazakhstan are relocated to Kazakh lands. Nomad Kazakhs learned agriculture from migrants that came from outside, and started growing wheat, barley and maize themselves. The increasing*

267 *Kazak SRR Tarihi*, IX/X. Klas, Almatı, 1980, p. 31.

268 *IV. Klas Kazak SSR Tarihi Materyaldarının Okutuv*, p. 16.

269 Özdemir, E., “Sovyetler Birliğinde İdeolojik Tarih Eğitimi”, *Belgelerle Türk Tarihi Dergisi*, Aralık, 1999, p. 120.

*of Russian migrants caused the increase in trade and production. This situation made Kazakhs closer to Russians.”*²⁷⁰

In the World War II and Soviets' struggle against Germany was a very appropriate material to stress the peoples' brotherhood living on Soviet lands. In history books these topics were emphasized very much, as follows: “A Great Union of Soviet Peoples”. During the war the inside integration against outside enemy was explained as: “*After beginning of war that Hitler's Germany started against Soviet Union, on contrary to Soviet multinational image, showed how powerful it was. Soviet nations' political, military and economic unity empowered in spite of Fascists' attacks. To win as soon as possible heroes from different nations under Soviet Union were gave an eternal struggle against Germans near Moscow. In the epic defense in Pavlov's House were not just Russians, but also heroes from Kazakh, Tajiks and all other nations.*”²⁷¹

When planning a new Soviet nation it is not forgotten the Russians' leadership role in this nation. Stalin's speech that he gave in Kremlin in 1945 to Red Army's commanders is important to understand mission given to Russians under Soviet roof. Stalin stated: “I'm drinking in honor of the health of Russian people. Because, they are unchanged base among all other nations. I want to congratulate Russian people. Because, they became a guiding power to our people.” This point of view of Soviet leaders was totally in cultural life, as much as it was in history education. To history books added parts that will increase from other nations' love to Russian people, main element of Soviets, and the parts that will reveal leadership role of Russian nation. In one methodological paper prepared for historians this thoughts is expressed as: “In developing Soviet Union and other nations over the world Russian civilization helpful and effective role was very huge.”²⁷²

The Soviet leaders' purpose of claiming the superior Russian role over other nations under Soviet is to increase the bond to Soviet Union which in a base had Russian culture and civilization. Soviet historians falling under pressure of Communist Party done works that supports new Soviet thesis. At the same time the new thesis took place in a curriculum of secondary education institutions.

Conclusion

In a conclusion we can say that Communist Party's leaders to ac-

²⁷⁰ Kazak SSR Tarihi, VII/VIII. Klas, p. 63.

²⁷¹ Ibid, p. 74.

²⁷² Jana Tarihta Metodologik Kural, Almatı, 1955, p. 56.

hieve their goals, after realizing that with existing society mind was impossible to build Soviet brotherhood that they planned, worked on creating new historical mind. With that purpose Communist Party intervened on historical work in Kazakhstan, just like in all other Soviet geography. Kazakh history was taken and rewritten according to directions of Communist Party. The new history thesis systematically took place in programs of secondary education. With the new memory wanted to be built the Soviet nation's bases were tried to be founded.

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A GLANCE AT THE BACKGROUND OF A SOVIET HISTORIAN*

Asst. Prof. Dr. Elnur AĞAYEV**

Introduction

The background of “Soviet historian” as a title needs to be explained. Because the second part of the title, the background, will also be explained in detail shortly thereafter, the first part of the notion deserves explanation. What does “Soviet historian” mean? What is the limit of Soviet historian in terms of time, place, and subject? How and what was the process by the term Soviet historian change and develop? In summary, the person—Soviet historian—whose background under examination should be known.

It is possible to identify the Soviet historian concept in two ways, as a narrow and a broad sense. In the narrow sense, the concept of Soviet historian is the name given to historians who research the Soviet period history, starting from 1917 with the Bolsheviks accession to power until the disintegration of Soviet Union in 1991. In fact, instead, this term, *Sovietologist*, is preferred in literature. But, it is important to remember that the concept of Sovietologist is not limited to historians that research the USSR (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) because the historians who are engaged in different dimensions of USSR life are also referred to as Sovietologist. In a narrow sense, Soviet historian is not just a citizen of Soviet Union. It is also possible for the citizens of other countries to be included in this category; they have been included and they are still included. They are included because this research area is still valid.

On the other hand, in broad terms, Soviet historian is the term given to historians who lived in Soviet Union and researched about the land that lay within the borders of the Soviet Union and also other countries in the world. The term Soviet historian is broadly used in literature is not given a specific name and this term has translations in different languages ([Rus. Советский историк, Eng. *Soviethistorians*]). The “Soviet historian” in this study will be the one used in broad terms because with the decline of Soviet Union the mission of Soviet Historian has

* This article has been written with the inspiration taken from a part of PHD Dissertation of Elnur Ağayev's “History Writing and History Education of Turkic Republics within Soviet Ideology: Azerbaijan Example”.

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ended. The concept of Soviet historian used in broad terms is now a history; it has to be analyzed and is still being analyzed.

It is beneficial to look at the developments of the Soviet historian concept in its ideological dimension after specifying its meaning within its time and place. In other words, the question of how the type of Soviet historian has completed its development should be answered. Before answering this question, another important topic should be emphasized: Soviet historian is a part of the Soviet ideological system. He is the one who is among the creators of this system and who provides its sustainability. While doing this, at the same time, he served the system. He is “armed” with the methodology of Marxism-Leninism. Here the term “arm” is used on purpose because of its struggle with the other systems; the Soviet system regarded history to be an important tool and used it. The real duty of the Soviet historian is to study about the important problems of the society, the working class, and the peasantry. To examine class struggle, revolution and national independence struggles and to study the historical development process of economic structure, which is seen as background by Marxist ideology, are important tasks of the Soviet historian.²⁷³ The Soviet historian decides the “us” and “other” of the system with reference to Soviet ideology and keeps the contents of these terms alive by writing historical studies and history textbooks.

While performing these tasks, the science of history predicated the experience of the Soviet Union Communist Party (CPSU), the experience of Soviet Union, and the foundation of socialism and communism in Soviet Union. While accomplishing these tasks, it did not limit itself with the issues within the country; it also helped the development of perceptions about socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism.

This ideological background of the Soviet historian, which was determined in broad terms, did not form in a short time. As the Soviet system rooted and strengthened, the Soviet historian created, developed, and enlarged his structure in parallel with this process. In the 1960s, a typical Soviet historian image appeared. When the process of its development is examined, it is possible to see five important stages together with some breaking points: 1. 1930s, 2. *The period of Second World War*, 3. *The Change after the Death of Stalin*, 4. 1960s and 1980s. These important stages are the results of the perspective at the macro level. Although it is possible for studies made at the micro level to put forth some determinations apart from macro thesis, the system has always prevented, removed, assimilated, and destroyed the tendencies

273 “Наука”, Большая Советская Энциклопедия, Том 29, второй выпуск, Moscow 1954, p. 253.

apart from macro thesis, except for the decline of the Soviets.

In this case we have to make some, though short, determinations about the characteristics of the above-mentioned first period. The main characteristic of the 1930s was the work production of historians of the former Tsarist regime together with the historians of new Soviet period at the beginning of this period between the 1920s and 1930s. Because the new system had not trained its own historians yet, it gave the older generation of historians the means to produce their works. Thus, in this period there were works produced that did not overlap with the ideology of the system. But, in the 1930s the older generation of historians and different opinions were suppressed with the appearance of a new generation of historians and the increasing control by the system on history. Especially under the pressures of 1937, the older generation of historians and, therefore, different opinions were silenced. The second phase, the *period of Second World War*, was the time when it was needed to awaken and raise the independence, freedom, and the equality perspective of Soviet society to motivate it against the enemy and to call it to war. In this sense, whether they harmonized or not with the ideology of the system, the heroic deeds and the heroes in the history of Soviet society started to be praised. The “decision” that permitted this was the famous speech of Joseph Stalin on the anniversary of the October Revolution at Red Square on 7 November 1941. In this speech, Stalin praised the generals of Tsarist Russia he overthrew and said: “I wish the dream of your ancestors Aleksandr Suvorov, Aleksandr Nevski, Dimitri Donskoy, Kumi Minin, Dimitri Pojarski, and Mihail Kutuzov will be your source of inspiration in this war.” In this period, the historians were given more freedom as a consequence of war-time conditions and “to motivate society for war” was determined to be the main ideology. This period concluded as the Second World War ended. In the third phase, the *Change after the Death of Stalin*, there was initially an uncertainty. Stalin was dead, but the Soviet system and government could not create an answer for how they would continue. Hence, it was uncertain how the historians would evaluate and comment on the events. The approval of the system was expected. When the XX Congress of CPSU in March 1956 made statements that removed the uncertainties, the historians had to wait again due to the consequences of rebellions in Hungary and Poland and groupings in the party.²⁷⁴ This situation became clearer

274 The memories of Yuri Polyakov, the historian who was in the preparation group of the textbook on Soviet Union whose writing was started in 1955 and finished in 1957, are important for their description of the period. About this, please check: “Институт истории полстолетия назад. Беседа Академика Ю. А. Полякова с главным редактором

until the end of the 1950s.

Because 1960s were the years when the type of Soviet historian was fully formed, it is beneficial to take this issue broadly. The era of 1960s was the time when the Soviet historian was under the influence of Soviet ideology; he submitted himself to this ideology. The place for the open declaration of this submission was at the *Public Agreement on Precautions for the improvement of preparing Scientific-Pedagogy Personnel for History* organized in Moscow between 18 and 21 December 1962. The meeting was attended by almost 2000 historians, scientists, lecturers, and archivists from different regions of the Soviet Union. On December 18 and 19, a general session occurred in which the academic B. N. Ponamaryev—who attended the meeting as the representative of the State—gave a speech about “*The duty of History as Science and the Preparation of Scientific-Pedagogy Personnel for History*” that was discussed. On December 20–21 the issues of History of CPSU, History of USSR, and General History were discussed in three sessions. As the “translator”, President of USSR Sciences Academy, M. V. Keldyš, narrated the duties that Ponamaryev, as the representative of state, placed on historians:

“In the program of Communist Party of Soviet Union, social sciences and fine arts play the main role in the guidance to social development. In the establishment of communism, these examine socialism and its transmission to communism in political, economic and cultural levels, develop and strengthen the idea of communism in Soviet society.

*Science of history has a specific place in fulfilling these duties. It is important to learn the recent history of our country and to examine the successful history of Communist Party and Soviet society, and also Socialism, Communism and the labor movements in the world”.*²⁷⁵

As a consequence of these efforts, Soviet historians crafted the “submission letter” below, on the last day of the meeting, and with the guidance of the CPSU:

“To Central Committee of Communist Party of Soviet Union,

We, the meeting contributors of Soviet Union historians, thank to Central Committee of Communist Party of Soviet Union under the leadership of Nikita Sergeevich Khrushchev, on behalf of many important scholars for the development of science of history in our country. The CPSU Program and the decisions of XXII Party Congress gives the duty

журнала Отечественная история С. В. Тютюкиным”, Отечественная история, Москва 2001. No. 5, pp. 128–130.

275 Келдыш, М. В., “Вступительное слово”, Все союзное совещание о мерах улучшения подготовки научно-педагогических кадров по историческим наукам, Москва, 18–21 дек. 1962г., Moscow, 1964. pp. 9.

of combining life and the experience of establishing communism with science of history to Soviet historian. The Party calls Soviet historians for help in training Soviet society about establishing communism. As N. S. Khrushchev has already stated, our younger generation should know the successful history of Communist Party, the struggle of the workers for enfranchisement and the glorious history of our country and be educated in the soul of our party and the reform of working class.

Soviet historian saw and understood the role of intellectuals for approving communist worldview in the ideological questions. Our duty is to increase the scientific level on the ground of theory and ideology-politics in the science of history and to prepare high-level personnel that can solve hard scientific problems with respect to Marxist- Leninist methodology.

We will direct our total theoretical power to the solution of the important problems of history, to the learning of all the dimensions of legitimacy of Soviet society and global socialist system, to the examination of the common experiences of international communist, working class and national enfranchisement movements, and to the struggle with bourgeois ideology.

.... As members of the CPSU MK, we believe that Soviet historians will fulfilled the task of founder of communism in the program of the CPSU with all the power

*Long Live Communist Party of Soviet Union, the great and important power in the establishment of communism!"*²⁷⁶

Soviet historians continued their activities until the mid-1980s (until Period 5) in the direction of the ideas stated above. It was during this period that the Soviet government changed, which included a "reconstruction" in ideology and "openness" policies awakened a democratic soul in the Soviet Union. The issues, formerly prohibited under pressure, scholars and others discussed and examined. This new atmosphere, which covered all of society, institutions, and scientific areas, was also evident in the historical sciences. In 1990, following the disintegration of Soviet Union, the mission of the Science of Soviet History ended and gave way to research centers of History throughout the former Union and latter Independent Republics, to history departments and new history dissertations emanating from these centers.²⁷⁷

276 "Центральному Комитету Коммунистической Партии Советского Союза", Все союзное совещание о мерах улучшения подготовки научно-педагогических кадров по историческим наукам, Москва, 18-21 дек. 1962 г., Moscow, 1964, p. 512.

277 For further information on the development process of Soviet historian apart from the sources above, please check: Elnur Ağayev, *Sovyet İdeolojisi Çerçevesinde Türk Cumhuriyetlerinin Tarih Yazımı ve Tarih Eğitimi: Azerbaycan Örneği* (History Writing and History

Background of a Soviet Historian

What is meant under the title of the background of a Soviet Historian? It was that the Soviet historian's social origin, the reason to choose history, the willpower to decide a research topic, access to sources, the examination and citing the source, his language, the process of writing his work, the publishing and distribution of his work, his international connections, and finally his perspective of looking to his works evolved after the Soviet period.

1. Social Origin of Historian

The point that merits attention in the biographies of most historians who studied history and who produce works in the area of history in the Soviet period was the class resemblance and similarity of their families. In fact, the class structures of the historians mentioned below echo on another: Working class family, peasant family, and intellectual family. For example, "Yuri Aleksandrovič Polyakov was the son of an official servant",²⁷⁸ "It is written about Boris Samuilovič Itenberg as: 'Born as the son of shoe seller, the professor of History later worked in the History Institute, the history-scientific center of Russian Sciences Academy",²⁷⁹ "N. I. Pavlenko was born in a family of tradesmen. He became a member of Communist Party of the Soviet Union in 1943",²⁸⁰ "Academician Kovalchenko was raised in a multi-child family of a blacksmith".²⁸¹ It was a frequent situation for the historians to mention these facts in their biographies. In fact, it was not a coincidence for the historians to have this kind of a family origin. There was a reference made to the basis of the Soviet system. For the first article of the Soviet Constitution Charter said: "The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is a people's state that is based on the will and benefit of workers, peasants, scholars, laborers and all the

Education of Turkic Republics in the framework of Soviet Ideology: Azerbaijan Sample), Hacettepe University Institute of Atatürk's Principles and Reforms Unpublished PhD Dissertation, Ankara 2006, p. 84-102.

278 "Ю. А. Полякова с главным редактором журнала Отечественная история С. В. Тютюкиным", Отечественная история, Москва 2001. No. 5, p. 122.

279 Будницкий, О. В., "Историк из поколения лейтенантов", Отечественная история, Москва 2001. no. 5, p. 131.

280 Рахматуллин, М. А., "К 80-летию со дня рождения Николая Ивановича Павленко", Отечественная история, Москва, 1996. No. 2, p. 107.

281 "Академик РАН И. Д. Ковальченко (1923-1995). Труды и концепции", Отечественная история, Москва, 1996. No. 6, p. 85.

country, other nations, and societies”.²⁸²

Not every historian or scholar had this family background, but reference to this background was a precaution for possible future exclusions. For instance, “the family status of Boris Pavlovich Kozmin has been stated differently in his biography because he was not a proletarian and a peasant. To write that he came from a rich family meant he would face problems in the proletarian state conception. He has not faced any problems yet but in case he faced any kind of possible criticism, the basis of the “ideological mistake” would be predicated on class wealth.”²⁸³

Not every scholar was lucky to hide his family status. Whenever it was recognized that someone hid their family status, problems quickly followed. The close friend of Boris Pavlovich, S. A. Makashin, was among the unlucky ones. “As a result of changing his family status in his biography and the recognition of this change, for a long time he could not defend his thesis at university and his altered his family status caused him many problems in the future.”²⁸⁴

Professor Teymur Bünyatov of Azerbaijan Sciences Academy Institute of History, whose father was killed in the oppression period of 1937 by the state for being traitor, told the story about his change of family status: “I went to Moscow for a Master’s Degree. Nobody knew where I was, neither a friend nor an enemy. I was doing my studies in fear because if they had known that I was the son of the traitor, they would immediately suspend me from school.”²⁸⁵

The family background of a historian coming from a worker, proletarian, peasant or a scholarly family was important for him in the sense of his place in the government and also of his studies. For sure, this approach about background was not special to just historians. It was an important issue for other sciences in the Soviet system and even also for social life.

2. The Reason for Choosing History

Apart from the personal interest for being historian²⁸⁶, the impor-

282 Конституция (Основной закон) Союза Советских Социалистических Республик, Москва 1989, p. 5.

283 Твардовская, В. А. – Б. П. Козьмин, Историк и современность, Москва, 2003, p. 5.

284 Tvardovskaya, a.g.e., p. 5

285 Bunyatov, Teymur, “Gözl İnsan, Böyük Alim”, *Tarixi Onun Problemleri Jurnalı*, Baku, 2002, No. 4, p. 203.

286 In the memoirs of Soviet Historians that they published in the coming years they reflected their personal interest as: “My interest on history books while I was a child

tance given to historians in Soviet society²⁸⁷ played an important role for choosing to study history. It was thought that historians filled important positions in Soviet management levels started to appear in people's minds throughout society by the 1950s.²⁸⁸ And, this belief was still valid during the last period of the Soviet Union.²⁸⁹

In practice, it was obvious that this understanding continued even after the collapse of the Soviet Union.²⁹⁰

brought me to the department of history." See: "Пол века служения исторической науке", интервью с Е. Г. Гимпельсоном, Отечественная история. Москва 2001, No. 4, p. 140. Or "I was born in a villager family. While we were children we listened stories about Citizen Battle from our elderly and neighbours and these stories awakened in me the desire to be a historian. I wanted to make research about the lives and works of the heroes and politicians I listened." Check: Павел Васильевич Волобуев, Отечественная история, Москва 1997, No. 6, pp. 99-100.

287 We can see this importance from the awards that historian Pospelov, who had been in high positions and took awards. When we look at his biography we come across this: "Pospelov Petr Nikolaevič (1898-1979) Soviet state and party authority, historian, academician of USSR Sciences Academy, Hero of Socialist Labor (1958). Member of Soviet Union Communist Party since 1916, Editor of *Pravda* newspaper (1940-1949), Secretary of Communist Party Central Committee (1953-1960), Director of Marxism-Leninism Institute (1949-1952 and 1961-1967 years), Member of Communist Party Central Committee (1939-1971), Candidate for Membership of Communist Party Central Committee Administrative Board (1957-1961), MP of Supreme Soviet of the USSR (1946-1966). He has works on the history of Soviet Union Communist Party, he has taken USSR State Award (1943), he has taken Golden Medal on behalf of USSR Sciences Academy Karl Marx (1972)". See: Поляков, Ю. А., "Штрихи к портрету (Воспоминания о П. Н. Поспелове)", Отечественная история, Москва 1999, No. 5, p. 154.

288 "In 1950s Department of History was a trend department. There was such a belief that the ones who graduated from this department would be party leader of the provinces (the province would be governed by him). The ones who graduated from the universities with a high degree would be placed in high positions in Party Center, the worst ones would be lecturers in universities. In fact, this factor affected my choice of history department. My aim was to become the prominent person in our province and to eliminate the injustice made to my father. It was to exile the ones who called me public enemy to Siberia because of my father's exile of Siberia." See: Bünyatov, "Güzel İnsan, Büyük Alim", p. 202.

289 When I submitted a petition to the History Department of Azerbaijan State University in 1989, the above mentioned subject was among the ones who were discussed mainly. Because of this the History Department was seen as a department shown favor.

290 For example, the historians predominantly have had important places in ad-

15. Working Class – Thesis 1.²⁹¹

It becomes clear that roughly 66 percent of all doctoral theses were based on Soviet influences, expectations, and ideology.²⁹² Another important provision for researches was to find and develop ideologically related topics and subjects in neighboring countries, such as Turkey and Iran, and conduct the research according to certain ideological constraints.

4. Historians Reach to the Sources

After having established the subject, the second important phase starts, which is to attain the sources and evaluate the archival documents. Because of the Soviet archives' fidelity to the Soviet Union's Council of Ministers, Soviet historians who wanted to use the archives had to apply for permission with a signed document from where the authority of their workplace (newspaper, magazine, university etc.) There had to be specific information about the subject they planned to examine, the purpose of the subject, and the expected result, in this signed document. Most of the time, even the research plan had to be included. Generally, the pivotal and local political party archives were only available to party members. The implementation about who can use which documents was predetermined. If the documents were not classified as confidential (*sekretno*) or very confidential (*sover-*

ministrative government and state government of Republic of Ukraine after Soviet Union. Between 1994 and 1996, the private administrative affairs of President Leonid Kuçma was followed by historian doctor D.Tabachik and the humanitarian affairs vice supervisors of Prime Minister by academicians Ivan Kuras and Valeriy Smoliy. For more information see: Васильев, Валерий, "От Киевской Руси к Независимой Украине: Новые концепции Украинской истории", Национальные истории в Советской и Пост советских государствах, Moscow 1999, p. 215.

291 To see the accepted doctorate thesis during this period look to: *Bibliography of the Accepted Academic Theses in Azerbaijan (years between 1920-1975)*, part 1, Elm publication, Baku 1981, p. 114-187.

292 During the years between 1920-1975, 40 doctorate thesis accepted simultaneously in Azerbaijan. 22 of these 40 thesis were directly about part during the soviet period, socialism, socialist industry and likewise subjects. look.: *Bibliography of the Accepted Academic Theses in Azerbaijan (years between 1920-1975)*, p. 164-187. See: Поспелов, П. Н., "Основные направления научных исследований и подготовки научно-педагогических кадров по истории КПСС" Все союзное совещание о мерах улучшения подготовки научно-педагогических кадров по историческим наукам, Москва 18-21 декабря 1962 г., Moscow, 1964, p. 15.

shennosekretno), historians could acquire and use them. Otherwise, these confidential and very confidential documents could be used by special researchers, and only with permission, which could only be taken from special government institutions.

Any quotes taken from the documents were ascribed to numbered pages and checked by special personnel at the archive. The quotes not related to the written subject information, were removed or lined through.²⁹³

Archives of the Soviet Union were centralized in Moscow and Leningrad, and this situation was a handicap for the historians who lived or worked in elsewhere. This problem was stated by scholars from time to time. The KGB archives were out of bounds during the Soviet Period, for anyone who wanted to search about the recent past. But it can be seen that during the last days of the Soviet Union, historians used those archives.²⁹⁴

It is necessary to mention the publication of documents that were available for historians to use during the Soviet period., which require substantial work and effort. To be more specific, it was seen as a substantial team-work

The editorial work by scholars was not enough, it also required some party members too. This party member was assigned by the party ideology department, was not only responsible for reading and evaluating the comments of these scientists about the documents and works, but they also had the “power of intervention” to the content of the documents. Rearranging the document contents according to party ideology was an important consideration. Therefore, this practice should always be noted while evaluating the Soviet period documents and archives..²⁹⁵

Thus, the Soviet historian had to utilize only the documents made available to him.

5. Importance of the quotations that historians use or made

The points to be considered during the writing process were:

Quotations from Soviet leaders representing Soviet ideology at the beginning of the document. This meant especially quotes from Marx,

293 Ağayev, *ibid*, p. 151.

294 Some of the middle asian historions tod their complaints about this matter in Moscow like this: “Some of the documents about the Middle Asia are located in Moscow. This situation gives local historions a hard time.” See: Все союзное совещание о мерах улучшения подготовки научно-педагогических кадров по историческим наукам, Москва, 18–21 ден. 1962 г., Moscow, 1964. p. 241.

295 The process of publishment of A.I Gertsen’s Works is a right example to give about this subject. During this process lots of ideas and sentences took out of the work by party officers because they were not suitable to the party ideology. For detailed information look Tvardovskaya, p. 195–196

Engels, Lenin, and, before 1956, Stalin. But, these are generally just for the sake of formality and the quotes were not considered to be critical information for archival research.²⁹⁶ After the Soviet era, many historians confirmed this element.²⁹⁷

Marxist terminology was used in the documents and works of this era. But, despite the use of Marxist terminology, the real purposes were polemicist and opportunistic rather than scientific. Generally, the objective was to attack political deviations. Secondly, on a macro-historical level, Marxist terminology and the drafting of history were designed to plant larger historical periodization. Explaining the specific revolutionary events or some crises with class conflict was something a historian must do.

But, if the subject of the research goes further away from the classical era, the Byzantine period or the daily problems of the mediaeval era, the historians' free reigns increased.²⁹⁸

Because of ideology and the ideological obligations, even though the Soviet historian used new and different resources in every work, it was impossible to save the work from being just a pile of features.²⁹⁹ During the writing phase of scholarship, the Communist Party expected partisanship from the writer. The research should be based on the opinion of the Party about the subject and the documents should be secondary. In other words, historians ground their ideas on some documents, but not historical ones, as they used only the party's research papers. And, they had to see the past as the "party looks at it". Party leaders' infusions were highly important on this level.³⁰⁰ Leaders were not only designating the future, they designated

296 Georg G. Iggers "I had to use Lenin as a references in my works. That was an obligation". This was confession also made by historians during the Soviet times. Iggers, Georg G., *Bilimsel Nesnellikten Postmodernizme Yirminci Yüzyılda Tarih yazımı*, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, İstanbul 2000, s. 82; Budnitskiy, a.g.m., p. 137.

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298 Iggers, *ibid.*, p. 82.

299 *Ibid.*, p. 82-83.

300 A scientist had to make a speech in a meeting of the party leaders on the day of Lenin's death anniversary. "Stalin summoned me during the first days of January. He told me 'you will be giving te speech on Lenin day. You are going to make a speech that shows the ugly truths about american imperialism. Use lenin's sentences as quotes. You will find enough of them. Your speech will be scientific. You can work that through. You will make harsh critics. You can work that through too. You will have 35 minutes.' I practiced on my speech. My firends prepared the resources and I wrote the speech. I read it over and over again to make it fit in that

the past as well. If a leader claimed that an event happened a specific way, that determined its interpretation. If a leader concluded that two plus two equaled five, it was the historian's work to make it so.³⁰¹

These facts reveal that historians were not permitted objectivity during the scientific research process. Historians analyze the events from the documents, but when it comes to evaluation of the analysis, they extend to the boundaries that the ideology set for them.³⁰²

Naturally, there were some valuable written pieces even under these circumstances. The research methodologies that authors used meant abandoning topics about the recent past, or getting away from the center, and working on narrow subjects.³⁰³

Finally, a Soviet historian had to document in the references that he/she used some sources directly about the ideology.

6. The language of the historian

Another aspect that historian should be careful about was the literary language of the work. The literary language was crucial to show the scientific level of the piece, the understandability of the piece for the reader and the historian. And, it was crucial that during all three phases of the research: the literature review, the literature used, and the writing period. The language of the historian meant the alphabet that he used during the writing of the work and the language historian used in the writing: the terminology.

Since the 1940s, after the alphabet confusion that occurred in the first years of the Soviet Union, the Russian language and the Cyrillic alphabet moved to the forefront in the work of Soviet historians. It is possible to speak of history writing and education in a national language in the newly formed Republics of the Union, notably evident that in the infusion of the Russian language at all levels as an effective state language. It was not possible to expand languages beyond

35 minutes. I finished my speech 45 second early. Stalin looked at his watch and said "well done". See: Polyakov, p. 155.

301 Хорхордина, Т. И., "Архивы и тоталитаризм (Опыт сравнительно-исторического анализа)", *Отечественная история*, Moscow 1994. No. 6, p. 148.

302 This situation was confessed by Polyakov after the Soviet period. "I would really like that, the people who grow up in a different period could understand the past 50 years. Everybody in the institute knew that we had to follow the party's directives. Historians were working really objectively, science was improving. But when it comes to politics, everybody had to support the soviet ideology and must work in the boundries that the party had set for us..." See: "Институт истории полстолетия назад, p. 130.

303 Ağayev, *ibid*, p. 154.

the republic borders with the national languages, which is why the Russian language was the essential language.³⁰⁴

The historians faced the necessity of the Russian language for another subject. Historians preparing their thesis defense also required an acknowledgment of their academic title in the universities or science academies, had to send their thesis to a committee in Moscow for approval. And, for this approval, the thesis had to be written in Russian or translated into Russian.

Another subject that brings the historian and the Russian language face to face is the terminology that changed after the October Revolution. Within the new historiography that emerged during the period following the October Revolution, some sentences, phrases and even words changed to be replaced by new terminology. Words such as dynasty and progeny were replaced with revolution, rebellion, Bolshevik, social struggle, proletarian, worker and peasant. "Evolution of the socialist revolution in villages", "worker's and peasant's fight for freedom", "the establishment of the socialist community" became popular and they were reflected in the history books.³⁰⁵

7. The publication of History and Censorship

Historians often arrived at the point that after receiving approval by the university or the science academy to determine where the work must be published. What kind of problems faced the historian with the decision to publish the work?

The biggest problem for the historian was censorship. To fully understand the struggle of the historian, the method and the procedures of the censorship in Soviet Union must be examined.

Censorship in Soviet Union was overarching in every area; starting with scientific subjects, literature, paintings and even the labels on the bottles were subject to censorship. But, the interesting part of this is that censorship was discreet, even for the writers. There was

304 The biggest struggle of the historians of Azerbaijan and Middle asia was the fact that they were unable get in touch with the Arabic Alphabet. Arabic was forbidden because it was the language of Quran, and this situation made the old resources unreachable. And most of the historians who knew the language was put in jail, egziled or killed during 1937s for being close to Turks or İslam." See: Bünyadov, Ziya "Sicence of history in Azerbaijan on the Line Between Two Centuries: Situation and perspective", *Elm ve Hayat Magazine*, Issue 10, Baku 1988, p. 2; "Выступления А. Н. Нусупбекова", *Vsesoyuznoe Soveshanie o Merakh Uluchsheniya Podgotovki Nauchno-Pedagogicheskikh Kadrov po İstoricheskim Naukam* (18-21 Dekabrya 1962 g.), Moscow 1964, p. 104.

305 To look at the index of the books published during the Soviet Union would be enough for this. For detailed information look: Ağayev, *ibid.* pp. 260-275.

a vision for the world that there was no censorship in Soviet Union.

The Word “censorship” cannot be found in the literature of Soviet Union, it appears like an invisible hand in its execution. Works appeared with two types of censorship, 1. “Internal censorship” (*vnutrennyyatsenzura*) and 2: “external censorship” (*vnešnyyatsanzur*).

Internal censorship was the auto control mechanism that the writer had to make sure that the work and analysis were based on the Soviet Union’s ideology. This internal censorship was crucial for historians in order to avoid any kind of trouble in the future. “Internal censorship” was referred to as “the throat singing to itself”, because this music can be heard by the writer.³⁰⁶ Besides some exceptions³⁰⁷, all scientists experienced this internal censorship.

External censorship was directly in the hands of the government. In the first month of their rule (November 1917), the Bolsheviks signed the “law of impression”. The main goal of this law was to efface the writings that seemingly opposed the young government and Soviet ideology. As an important aspect to this law, the regime claimed that it was “temporary” and when the time right, it would be abolished.³⁰⁸ But, when this might happen was never indicated.

In March 1919, at the VIII Congress of the Communist Party, it was decided to establish the party’s control over publications. Hereafter, party members became responsible not only for controlling party publications, but also all other publications.³⁰⁹

On 6 June 1922, the General Administration of Literature and Publishing, known as a GLAVLIT (Glavnoe Upravlenie po delam Literaturny i izdatelstv) was established, which reserved the right of control over literature and publications. Despite the effectiveness of the police system, the KGB, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA), the Party’s ideology and propaganda branch³¹⁰, GLAVLIT was the most effective and active center in this area. Since August 1963, this center constricted its jurisdiction for the Protection of State and Military Information in

306 “Институт истории полстолетия назад”, p. 142.

307 “My books that were studied abroad or used for a specific cause, were not written in a free environment. My conscience is clear while I sit behind my desk, because my books never faced a censorship”. Gurevich, *ibid*, p. 16.

308 Декреты Советской власти. том1. Moscow 1957. pp. 24–25.

309 Tvardovskaya, *ibid*, p. 63.

310 All publishing and printing houses had an authorized member of the Communist Party who was responsible for part’s ideology, propaganda and culture in that region.

publications; nevertheless, until the collapse of Soviet Union, the name GLAVLIT was used for this organization by historians and scientists.

GLAVLIT was a dependent unit of the Publications Committee, which was a part of Ministers Council of the Soviet Union. It would permit and control the activities of publishing houses, approve their publication management, and control the suitability of the work contents to the Party's ideology and management; in other words, GLAVLIT was a guard of Party's ideology on publications.³¹¹ The publications of all republican publishing houses that were dependent to the center were planned and verified by GLAVLIT. The main obstacle in publishing the works of scientists and historians was GLAVLIT, despite the fact that scientific studies of the Academy of Science were formally excluded from the influence of this institution. GLAVLIT would examine the works repeatedly. The censorship observer examined the author copies, correction copies, printed samples of works and made evaluations on the ideological aspects of works. The censorship observer would suggest "the elimination of shortcomings in ideological evaluation" and the "replacement of useless information". At the same time, they could suggest changes to some words, paragraphs and section titles, or completely remove the work. The information about notes was transferred to the publishing director by common implications; the director explained the situation to writer, after which the writer made corrections. But, the writer never saw the censorship observer's notes taken during the review.

Therefore, writers could only see amendments in their works after they were published. Typically, to quote the party leaders' writings in their works served as a guarantee to be accepted for print or signified insurance for the works.³¹²

Confirmation was transferred in the following way to an author's manuscript: "There is no disclosure of military and state secret", to corrections of an historian "Publication is allowed", and to the first sample print "Print is permitted". Only after these stages, the publication of the work would be realized. In case of nonfulfillment, the censorship observer's suggestions for correction to the works would not be included in the publication list and were delayed for years in publishing houses.³¹³ Without GLAVLIT's affirmation, it was impossible to publish the work.³¹⁴ GLAVLIT's provincial duties were fulfilled by

311 Look for first period works of GLAVLIT: "ГЛАВЛИТ", Литературная Энциклопедия в 11 томах. Том 2, Moscow 1930.

312 Gurevich, *ibid*, p. 23.

313 *Ibid*, p. 95

314 Tvardouskaya, *ibid*, p. 63.

GLAVLIT's republican branches and every branch was responsible to report their activities to Moscow.

As mentioned above, at the publishing stage of an historians' works, the historian dealt not only with GLAVLIT's control on the one hand, but also the control of state institutions, including conditions of that period, often became the reason to delay the publication. The process becomes clear, based upon the reminiscences of Soviet historians. For example, "In 1946 the memoir written in the honor of the great historian D.M. Petrushevsk, but the book was counter to the party's objectives and it was required 'to eliminate'" the "ideological deflections".³¹⁵ Despite the fact that A.I. Neusikhin finished his PhD in 1946, his work was published in 1956. The government required its own wishes and views, but not those of the writer. At Moscow State University, it was required to change opinions about the historian Petrushevski, in order to show that he was a bourgeois historian. It delayed the publication for years because Neusikhin did not conform.³¹⁶

Prof. Dr. E.G. Gimpel considers the conditions of the period as a reason for delay of the publication of the "1918 Soviet-German Relations" because as it was targeted not only by the censorship observers, but also the conditions of internal and external affairs had an important effect on the publication of this work.

If we consider all the applications, it is possible to see the problems and difficulties that historians faced during the publishing period. This shows how Soviet historians could reflect their opinions in their works, uncovers how they were successful in it, and indicates the necessity of making historical critiques in the works of scientists during the Soviet era.

In addition, there is some use mentioning journals that published the works of historians. Journals can be divided into two groups, such as the journals published in the center and the journals published in the provinces. "Proletarskaya revolyutsia" (Proletarian Revolution) (1921-1938), "Pechat' i Revolyutsia" (Revolution and Media) (1921-1930), "Pod znamenem marksizma" (Under The Banner of Marksizm) (1922-1944), "Istoriik – Marxist" (Historian-Marxist) (1926-1941), "Katorga i Ssilka" (1923-1935), "Krasnyi Arkhiv" (The Red Archive) (1922-1941) and other journals were generally published before the Second World War. Moreover, the journal «The Questions About History of KPSS» under the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, «The History of the USSR» under the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, have been published since the

³¹⁵ Gurevich, *ibid.*, p. 13

³¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

establishment of Academy of Sciences. Journals were published as news in the History Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR.

The works of historians could be published in the scientific journals called «News» that existed at universities. Despite the constant change of names and temporality of some journals, they helped historians in terms of publication. In this system, historians tried to publish their works to conform with Bolshevik ideology. The editorial and advisory boards, along with the management of these journals, were the members of the Communist Parties.

8. The Historian and Abroad

For historians, just like to other scientists, it is important to be aware of new publications and advances in the entire world as it is related to their professional field. But, scientists and historians in the USSR faced difficulties, such as persecution by the Soviet government that controlled all incoming and outgoing publications through its ideological prisms, so that historians had to write works that were in accord with Soviet ideology.

The entry and exit, export and import, of all books and publications in the Soviet Union were carried out by the institution called «International Book». The Soviet Union Author's Rights Agency (VAAP I -Vsesoyuznoe agentstvo avtorskix prav) was responsible for all publications entering the country and being sent abroad. A censorship organization GLAVLIT also played a big role in the review of incoming and outgoing works in the USSR.

According to data from 1928, 55,400 foreign language books, 250,948 units of magazines and newspapers entering to the country from outside world were introduced. 3,098 of these books (5,5 %) and 19,718 units of magazines and newspapers (7,8 %) were prohibited.³¹⁷

The ideological approach applied to the export and import of publications was also evident in the control of scientists who were coming to the USSR or going out. Since 1930, such prohibitions were widely enforced. The international scientific relations experienced a serious crisis in 1930, which continued until 1937. In that period, travel by scientists abroad was prohibited, some foreign scientists were deported from the country, and a large number of them were arrested. International conferences were organized in the country, but the government banned anyone from sending materials abroad.³¹⁸

317 "ГЛАВЛИТ", Литературная Энциклопедия в 11 томах. Том 2, Moscow 1930.

318 Виноградова, Т. В. – Кожевников, А. В., "Учений и государство:

Prohibitions on foreign scientific relations continued in different ways until the collapse of the Soviet Union. Historians were mainly sent to Socialist countries and scientists were invited from these countries. Numerous foreign publications, which were opposed to Soviet ideology, were provided to the most famous of scientists to supply the appropriate criticisms.

When historians received an official invitation to go abroad, it was necessary to discuss it with representatives of communist party and with the officials of the organization. In fact, such discussions would take place in the Central Committee of Communist Party.

In this regard, the experience that Soviet historian Tarle³¹⁹ had is interesting. "Professor of history sciences E.V. Tarle was invited to the Sorbonne University in France to teach students. In order to get permission for this work, Tarle wrote a letter to the Head of the Soviet National Commissariat V. M. Molotov. Molotov asked the Ministry of Education about Tarle's personality. The answer was:

«Confidential,

Personally to Molotov

I do not find it appropriate for E. V. Tarle to be allowed to work at the Sorbonne University. In my point of view, this man is dangerous and he conceals his political identity. According to my estimations he is not even a real Marxist. I talked about it to The National Commissariat of Internal Affairs (NKVD) and to the governing body of the University. Both of them think that Pr. Tarle shouldn't go abroad». Bubnov

In 10 September 1935, Tarle's invitation was discussed at the meeting of the Central Committee of the SBKP. The decision was: «To postpone the visit of Pr. Tarle in Paris»³²⁰.

In the USSR, visits abroad by scientists were generally controlled, planned, and organized by Moscow. They were taught specific measures

Феномен Капица", Социальные и гуманитарные науки. Отечественная и зарубежная литература. Реферативный журнал, Науковедение. Серия 8, Moscow, 1997. p. 108.

319 Prof. Tarle is one of old generation historians of USSR. He was a member of department of political sciences of Columbia Academia in US, member of three important french community, member of associaton of Soviet Friends in France, deputy director of Associaton of English-Soviet Culturel Approaches and had contacts with important historical journals in US. See: Каганович, В. С., "К биографии Е. В. Тарле (конец 20-х-начало 30-х гг.)", Отечественная история, Moscow, 1993, No. 4, pp. 84-99.

320 Есаков, В. Д., "Триписьма Е. В. Тарле воядям (1934-1938 гг.)", Отечественная история, Moscow, 1999. No. 6, p. 109.

of speech, rules of behavior, what they can do and what is prohibited. Towards the last period of the Soviet Union, in 1980, scientist Kamil Veliyev, who came to Ankara, was prohibited from visiting some places that were in opposition to the Soviet Union, such as: the Azerbaijan Culture Association, the tomb of Mehmet Emin Resulzade, leaders of the Azerbaijan National Immigration, etc.³²¹

In fact, sometimes a ban to go overseas could be issued by the director of the institution without being sent to party officials or security department officials due to some personal jealousy. "Someone who held a high position in the Academy of Sciences was told that the ban to travel overseas was issued by the KGB. I wrote a letter to KGB to find out whether there was such kind of situation and to find out the reasons if there was. I talked to high officials there. But, they did not have any complaints against me. Then, I understood that it was my director who didn't want me to leave. Isn't that interesting? "You are being invited to the foreign country, your books are being translated into foreign languages and theirs are not; so, do you know what jealousy is? It is when they praise your work in the country, show you as an example, but wouldn't let you go abroad".³²²

The regime would ban not only foreign travels by scientists in whom it saw danger, but also prohibited giving lectures in domestic universities. "I wasn't allowed to leave abroad (as in 1988-1989 many scientists were prohibited to leave) and to give lectures in domestic universities (Novosibirsk, Leningrad). I found out the reason from the talk of the Communist Party Ideology Division official in Moscow branch and the party official. "Suppress Gurevich - because he thinks". The programmed thoughts that I could promote were too dangerous for them."³²³

As stated above, not only was overseas travel banned, but also sending and publishing works abroad could result in the suppression of scientists. If a work published in the Soviet Union was later published abroad, it would be counted as a crime, claiming that the "work" serves their interests not "ours".³²⁴

The process historians had to go through in order to participate in foreign scientific conferences can be summarized as following. First, they should have invitation from the scientific organizations abroad. Party membership played an important role to start the accession process as well as the approval of the institution's director. Then a conversation

321 Ağayev, *ibid.*, p. 167.

322 Gurevich, *ibid.*, p. 17.

323 *Ibid.*

324 "Институт истории полстолетия назад", p. 142

would be held with the head of the party branch in the organization. After obtaining permission from the regional party branch, one was able to complete the documents. Texts of speeches or interviews which will be given at the conference abroad must be submitted to the officials and receive permission from them on this issue. There was no direct permission to go to other countries but socialist ones. In order to do this a scientist must have participated in the meetings of socialist countries previously and met without any criticism there.³²⁵

9. Soviet Historians Overview their Works

After the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991, Soviet historians regained the opportunity to overview their works. They started new research in order to clean the traces of Soviet ideology in their works. But, it was impossible to deny the works.

In 1991, at the beginning stages of the Soviet Union collapse, the famous historian of Azerbaijan, Ziya Bünyadov, had emphasized that Azerbaijani history should be rewritten. According to him, everything in Azerbaijan historiography has been subjected to the harmful intrusion during the 70 years of Soviet rule; therefore, by using the archives freely and by training new generations of historians we can overcome this situation.³²⁶

Historians whose works were under ideological pressure during the Soviet era, united together in the idea of rewriting their works in order to remove those effects. You can see it once more in examples given below:

“Works I wrote during the Soviet era carry the stamps of that period and they couldn’t escape from the official state ideology and political conditions of that time. If I were to write again, of course I would write many things in a different way. I do not reject my old works, because they have already taken their place in the history of science”.³²⁷

At the end of the 1980s – beginning of the 1990s, I had to return again to my old position, as life was demanding a new approach to old things. I did not try to remake plus to minus, or minus to plus mechanically, I did not hurry to take the dark cloud from one’s head and put it to another’s... For example, in the work of Denikin “Russian revolt story” I gave a rough anti-revolutionary image. There was no other evaluation and couldn’t be. But after many years I realized that

325 These evaluations were made by meeting with Asst. Prof. Gennadi Bordyugov of History Department of M. V. Lomonosov Moscow State University (02.08.2005) and with Kamil Veli Nerimanoğlu of Baku State University (12.10.2005).

326 Bünyadov, Ziya, “Tarih Yeniden Yazılmalıdır”, *Elm ve Hayat Dergisi*, No. 6, Baku 1991, p. 3.

327 “Институт истории полстолетия назад”, p. 142.

I had one-sided point of view on the event. Now when we can look at events more broadly, I realize that Denikin's movements are part of our history and it isn't the way we explained before."³²⁸

"I do not reject my works that I wrote in the 50s, 60s or 70s. But this should not mean that I am satisfied with every aspect of my works, because I would write differently in these days. The reason for this is not just that I obtained new knowledge or broadened my horizon, but perhaps that I know events more deeply."³²⁹

The historian of the Soviet period, Jemil Guliev, in the introduction of the book that collects old articles of the post-Soviet period, focuses on the evaluation according to the historians of particular period, and emphasizes that in new published work there is no need for quotations, therefore, they should be replaced by expressions.³³⁰

In fact, the Soviet historian did not write his works for Lenin, Stalin or Marx. They wrote based on their, and at the same time, on party's documents, but not for them. They wrote in order to get to know, research, and strengthen the country. Conditions of each era are different, so the Soviet historians of a particular era should be evaluated according to their period.

Conclusion

The Soviet system, as well as any political system, bred a generation of historians to legitimize it, to believe and trust in it, and to educate the masses in order to ensure its continuity. It continued to move along with the Tsarist era historians at the beginning of the journey, as there were not enough historians loyal to its ideology. However, as the system gained strength, it refused the structure of historians that belonged to an older generation, and continued to lead the way with newly educated Soviet historians. Moreover, as the system gained strength, Soviet historians began to adhere to the system more closely. They had already become the part of that system. Therefore, they were in the founding team and became the ones who ensured its continuity. In doing so, at the same time, they were the system's servants.

The new scholarly cadre was "armed" with the methodology of Marxism-Leninism. History was seen and used as an important weapon in the struggle of the Soviet regime against other political systems.

328 Поляков, Ю. А. "Путпознания истории", Отечественная история, Moscow, 1996, No. 6, pp. 148.

329 Gurevich, p. 16.

330 Guliyev, Cemil, *Tarih, Düşünceler, Müyahizeler, Geydler (1953-2003)*, Bakü 2004, p. 6.

The primary task of Soviet historians was to work on essential problems of the people, the working class, and the peasantry. The most significant tasks of the Soviet historians were the examination of the class struggle, revolution and national liberation struggle, and the investigation of the historical development of the economic structure based on Marxist ideology. Soviet historians determined the system as “we” and “others” proceeding from Soviet ideology and keep this concept alive through its historiography and history books.

To fulfill the duties imposed by the system, Soviet historians needed an environment for researching. Works would be produced in this place. The Soviet system provided research centers, institutions, and universities to create such an environment. But, at the same time, it controlled the work that the environment produced. It would command and control the type of product to be developed, which ingredients will be used and how they will be prepared, the amount of latitude and how it was presented. Therefore, Soviet historians were never free or independent in choosing the profession of historian, in determining the subject of research, in accessing to resources, in reading the sources, and in approaching the writing and publications. They had to follow the established rules. In the end, Soviet historians became the owner of the product, which were fully determined by the rules of the system. The ones who refused the rules were subjected to punishments. They have been silenced in the different ways, deported to Siberia, expelled abroad or were shot.

After the collapse of the Soviet system, Soviet historians and the environment were also eliminated. However, the product of the system and its environment, and Soviet historiography, which already completed its mission, took its place in history.

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THE GOLDEN HORDE IN SOVIET HISTORIOGRAPHY

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Golden Horde was one of the biggest Turkic States in the middle ages that played a significant role in World History. Lands from Central Asia to Balkans, from Siberia to Caucasia and Middle East were within the boundaries of this state. Even though the khans were descended from Genghis Khan, Golden Horde qualified as a Turkic-Islamic State on account of the fact that the population was formed by Turkic tribes such as Kipchaks and Volga Bulgaria and that Islam was accepted as the official religion during the reign of Uzbek Khan.

Golden Horde's dominance spread far from its then bordered lands. The Bulgarian and Serbian khanates in the Balkans and Byzantium were taxed. Whereas, keeping the Russian principalities under its dominance for almost two and a half centuries made it one of the most important features of Golden Horde. During this time, Russians paid taxes to Golden Horde, princes took an edict from the khans to succeed to the crown, Russian princes pledged their children to khans, Russian troops marched with its khans, Russian princes commemorated khan names with their minted coin, the khans conducted census on Russian territories and appointed their representatives to Russian princedoms as governors in an effort to maintain order and so. Although this commitment may seem severe at first glance, the influence of Golden Horde over Russia during this alliance in the fields of diplomacy, military, religion, finance and literary and the adoption of state structure, military system, embassy forms and postal services of Golden Horde by Russians rendered Russia one of the greatest states in the region.³³¹

"Moscow owes its greatness to Khans of Golden Horde" as Russian historian N. Karamzin indicated.³³² Nevertheless, Golden Horde State is typically evaluated by Russians negatively.

When the Mongolian campaigns started in thirteenth century, Russians labeled Mongolians and subsequent Golden Horde dominance as the "sign of the apocalypse."³³³ Russians believed that the Mongolian

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331 For the loyalty of Russians to Golden Horde and Golden Horde's influence on Russia, see Kamalov, İlyas, *Altın Orda ve Rusya Rusya Üzerindeki Türk Tatar Etkisi*, İstanbul 2009.

332 Karamzin, N.M., *İstoriya Gosudarstva Rossiyskogo*, V, İzdatelstvo Zolotoy Vek, St. Petersburg 2003, p. 646.

333 In point of fact not only Russians also Armenians and Georgians perceived Mongolian campaigns as punishment of God. See, Galstyan, A. G. *Armıyanskıe İstoçniki o Mongolıah*,

campaigns were God's punishment because of all the sins committed by the Russian population.³³⁴ According to Orthodox belief, God performs fear and punishment to purify humans from evil so that this punishment manifested itself as nothing but Golden Horde. In chronicles, Slovos (stories that based on lives of leading Russian men) and again in the life stories of clerics and priests, Golden Horde was described as a "barbaric" state, while its khans were called "undue, godless, filthy, and despicable".³³⁵ From this point in the history, Golden Horde was portrayed as a state that burned everything down and that caused Russian cities to worsen and negatively affected Russian handicrafts.

The attitude towards Golden Horde during this period lasted in the era of Tsarist Russia. The *Kazanskaya İstoriya (History of Kazan)*³³⁶ which is believed to be written between the years of 1564-1565, is a really good example in this context. The author of the work, who was a captive of the Kazan Khanate for 20 years, described Turkic clans as "godless, undue and filthy," so as similar rhetoric and sentiments appeared in the chronicles written before this as well. The author intoned about the consequences of the dominance of Golden Horde over Russia as "At that time our mighty Russian lands were orphaned, impoverished, fame and honor were destroyed, but not till the eternity... From Batu Khan's time to Ahmet Khan's time, there was a bad, arrogant and barbaric dominance over the Russian lands... Golden Horde was a bad tree and river. And there was a new branch: Kazan. And it bore a bad fruit."³³⁷

The case that makes *Kazanskaya İstoriya* so important is that since the date it was written, historians convey the information in this source word by word. That is to say, the records in *Kazanskaya İstoriya* have

İzveçeniya iz Rukopisey XIII - XIV Vekov, İzdatelstvo Vostochnoy Literaturi Moskva 1962, p. 44. For Turkish translation see Galstyan, A. G. Galstyan, *Ermeni Kaynaklarına Göre Moğollar*, (Trans. İ. Kamalov,) Yeditepe Yayınları, İstanbul 2005, p. 85

334 PSRL, II, *Voskresenskaya Letopisy*, podgotovuil k İzdaniyu A. İ. Tsepkov, Ryazan 1998, p. 177; PSRL, VII, *Ermolinskaya Letopisy*, podgotovuil k İzdaniyu A. İ. Tsepkov, Ryazan 2000, p. 98.

335 For this subject see Kemaloğlu, İlyas, *Rusların Gözüyle Türkler*, İstanbul 2015.

336 For detailed information about *Kazanskaya İstoriya* see Moiseeva, G. N. "Kazanskaya İstoriya", *Kazanskaya İstoriya*, podgotovka teksta, vstupitel'naya statya i primeçaniya G. N. Moiseevoy, pod redaktsiey V. P. Adrianovoy-Perets, İzdatelstvo Akademii Nauk SSSR, Moskva-Leningrad 1954, pp. 3-16; Acar, P., "XVI. Yüzyıl Türk-Tatar Tarihinin Mühim Bir Kaynağı: "Kazanskaya İstoriya"", *Karadeniz Araştırmaları*, No. 33, 2012, pp. 35-42; Caferov, T. XV-XVII. Yüzyıl Rus Edebiyatında Türkler, translation N. Abdullayev, Atatürk Kültür Merkezi Yayınları, Ankara 2010, pp. 23-46.

337 *Kazanskaya İstoriya*, podgotovka teksta, vstupitel'naya statya i primeçaniya G. N. Moiseevoy, pod redaktsiey V. P. Adrianovoy-Perets, İzdatelstvo Akademii Nauk SSSR, Moskva-Leningrad 1954, p. 45-53.

taken fundamental place for Russian historians for almost four and a half centuries. N. Karamzin and S. Solovyov, who are two of the first Russian historians in the nineteenth century, included the writings of this author in their works without even analyzing it, promoting all other Russian historians to repeat their assessment without question.³³⁸ Russian poets and literary types were impressed and influenced from these interpretations too. For example, the Russian poet Alexander Pushkin wrote that, Mongolians (Golden Horde) were “*Arabs who have no Aristotle and algebra*” and therefore they were deprived of giving a culture that could enrich the Russian lands. Pushkin stated that, “Golden Horde’s impression on Russia was on such a really low level that it cannot compare to the Arabs’ impression on the west.”³³⁹

While the approach to Golden Horde and its history was maintained far into the time of Peter I, attempts were made to erase the traces of Golden Horde in Russia, to achieve some serious reforms, and to transform Russia into a “western” state. The USSR moved everything forward though. In 1944, during the Second World War, which was namely a life or death situation for Russians, and in which Russian lost millions of citizens, the USSR Communist Party forbade the research of Golden Hordes’ history completely. This prohibition was symbolically important because of the *Edigey Legend*, which was based on the conflict between Toktamis, the khan of Golden Horde, and Emir Timur.³⁴⁰

This prohibition caused an interesting situation. The history books written during this prohibition ignored this two-hundred and fifty years of Golden Horde. Thus, Russian history books written in the time of USSR have the Tsarist Russia’s origins (Fifteenth century) beginning right after Kiev Russia’s collapse (Twelfth Century). In the earlier writings and Soviet history books, which were penned before this prohibition, Golden Horde was mentioned negatively and repeatedly as follows “*Golden Horde, was far behind the west in the terms of its cultural development. Golden Horde’s dominance caused the Russian economy, agriculture, construction, and crafts to regress....*”

Besides, the exceptions such as Lev Nikolayevich Gumilyov and the Russian historians who fled abroad and founded the study of Eurasianism, Soviet historians always approached Golden Horde in

338 For the approach of Russian historians to general history of Golden Horde and Tatar, see P. H. Alişev, “İzvrâşenie i Falsifikatsiya İstorii Tatar v Russkoy İstoricheskoй Nauke”, *Tatarskiy Narod Posle 1552 Goda: Poteri i Priobreteniya*, Kazan 2003, pp. 235–240; Kamalov, İlyas, *Altın Orda ve Rusya. Rusya Üzerindeki Türk-Tatar Etkisi*, pp. 51–55.

339 d’Encausse, H. C. *Tamamlanmamış Rusya*, (Translation R. Uzman), Ötüken Press, İstanbul 2003, p. 46–47.

340 *Edigey Destanı*, prepared by: R. Sultı, Türksoy Press, İstanbul (t).

a negative way. In this approach, a conflict greets the eye. Before Golden Horde there was an interregnum, and if the assumptions about Golden Horde's bad effects on Russia were as bad as Russian and Soviet historians claimed, the Russian state should have been in a worse situation than the start of the twelfth century and should have regressed more. However, Russia after Golden Horde's dominance became strong enough to surprise European observers.

The negative description of Golden Horde and its heirs during the Soviet era caused some other problems both to USSR governance and the non-Russian population. Golden Hordes' negative image was actually the others', the enemy's description. Therefore, this situation was admissible. But then, considering the facts that the depicter and "the other" were living under the same roof and Kremlin's sayings about brotherhood and friendship, there was an obvious contradiction and created an undesirable situation for non-Russian population. Moreover, a part of the non-Russian population was directly related to Golden Horde. Thus, when the Soviet government realized that this common history could unite all these populations against USSR, Soviet authorities developed another thesis after the 1944 prohibition. An edited book called "Materials for Tatar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic" was published in 1948 and the history of the Kazan Khanate and Tatar population was reinterpreted. According to this work, Tatar had nothing to do with the puritanical and barbaric Golden Horde and the Kazan Khanate which was just a remnant of this puritanical feudal state. In addition to that, Tatars, supposedly, lived under the oppressive dominance of these two states.³⁴¹ Hereafter, Ivan IV saved the populations (Turks) in the region from these two savage state's dominance, and moreover, these population liaised with Russians during this period. In other words, according to Soviet historians the people of Golden Horde and Kazan Khanate, who were suppressed by their own states, liaised with Russians when it came to their conflicts against these states and in which they ultimately defeated their common enemy. Meanwhile, certain facts such as the local insurgency against Russian incursion and continuous insurrection afterwards were ignored. This mentality was instilled into the population so well that even today Bashkirs began to celebrate the anniversary of the voluntary accession Bashkiria to Russia.

³⁴¹ Frank, A. J., *Islamic Historiography and "Bulghar" Identity among the Tatars and Bashkirs of Russia*, Brill Academic Pub., Leiden-Boston 1998, pp. 180-185; Şahin, L. "Rusya Federasyonu'nda Orta Öğretim Tarih Ders Kitapları Üzerine Tartışmalar: Tataristan Örneği", *İdil-Ural Tarihi Sempozyumu (10-12 Ekim 2011) Bildiriler, I: Türkçe Metinler*, prepared by: İ. Kemaloğlu, TTK Press, Ankara 2015, pp. 238.

Also, according to Russian historians, Russians saved Turkish people in the region from the enemy, safeguarded them and ensured their progress in every field. Russian expansionism was considered as a blessing to the peoples of Golden Horde and the other khanates. In fact, it is still the same today: *"Kazan's annexation to Russia meant its inclusion to the consistent structure of the central state. And this, took Kazan khanate out of the political and economic fragmentation that caused feudal conflicts and saved Volga geography out of the Ottoman captivity."*³⁴² Most of the Russian historians who work on this topic initiate their works with F. Engels' thoughts: *"Russia indeed had a receptive role for East. Russian dominion played a role that civilizes Black Sea and Caspian Sea, Central Asia, Tatars and Bashkirs."*³⁴³ According to the Russians, the khanates and their folk were barbaric and to civilize this barbarism was the reason behind Russian expansionism. Unfortunately, Turkish historians who lived in USSR could not contradict that.

There was another conflict in Soviets' position. During the time of Golden Horde and the inheritor khanates, the formation ethnic identity in Volga-Ural was completed and Russians named the people which consisted of Volga Bulgarians, Kipchaks and other Turkish tribes in the region as "Tatars". The word "Tatar" took place in *Dīwān Lughāt al-Turk* as well as in Orkhon inscriptions and it is the name of a Turkic tribe. However, there was another Tatar clan among Mongolians and this tribe had Mongol origins. The Tatar clan was very brave and ruthless; therefore, in Russia and Europe, all Mongols became to be called Tatar. Russians named the Volga-Ural's Muslim Turkish people as "Tatar", in regard to this Mongolian tribe.³⁴⁴ In other words, Russians called the Volga-Ural people "Tatar" while they claimed that these people had no connection with Golden Horde. Other than that, before the USSR, Russians had another interesting practice. Tsarist Russia called every Turkic tribe under the nominal "Tatar". They did this to claim that their "Tatars" had nothing to do with Turkey's Turks. Unquestionably, this designation was a wrong practice for Russians, because all the Turkic tribes were put together under single roof, even though they had different names. This mistake was namely revealed because the Russians abandoned this practice. At last, they named Turkey's Turks

342 Moiseeva, G. N. "Kazanskaya İstoriya", p. 6.

343 Ibid.

344 For detailed information about name "Tatar" and "Tatars" see İlyas Kamalov, "Tatar Adının Tarihçesi", *Avrasya Fatihi Tatarlar*, prep. by. İlyas Kamalov, Kaknüs Press, İstanbul 2007, pp. 11-34.

as – “turok” and “turetskiy”; and Russian Turks as – “türok” and “türk-siy” to demonstrate that these two populations had no connection.

The prohibition of studying Golden Hordes’ history continued almost until the time of the USSR’s decay. At that time, especially in the Tatar Autonomous Republic, studies about the subject started to reappear. It can be more likely said that today a significant progress has been made. Almost all of resources on the subject of Golden Horde have been released as well as many researches on the political, economic, state organization and socio-cultural history of Golden Horde have newly been published. The Golden Horde Researches Institute founded under the auspices of the Şihabeddin Mercani History Institute hosts an International Golden Horde Symposium every year and publishes periodical journals called “*Golden Horde Review*”, “*Zolotoordınskaya Tsivilizatsiya (Civilization of Golden Horde)*” and “*Numismatics of Golden Horde*”. More recently, even in Russia itself some historians look more positively at Golden Horde than before. However, the number of scholars who still hold the old negative perspectives is still high. But, the actual important thing is to consider is that the history books for schools and students of the non-Russian populations, such as Golden Horde, interpret the history objectively. Otherwise, this issue has a potential to cause enormous problems over the long run in Russia where more than 100 ethnic groups live.

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KAZAN TATARS' ETHNIC BACKGROUND QUESTION: A REVIEW ON THE EFFECTS OF SOVIET HISTORIOGRAPHY

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What is history? Simply speaking, history is the sum of past events. On an individual basis, in other words, speaking from the aspect of an individual's psychology, we observe that the memories of the past constitute the core of our consciousness. All spent days left a trace in our minds. Accumulated traces and their memories create our personality. A scholar asserts: "In each moment, we are the sum of our all previous moments. We are the results of our all past experiences. [...] Recalling past is vital for our identity awareness: Knowing ourselves verifies our existence."³⁴⁵

Let us suppose that we lost our memory along with our all memories as a result of an accident. As medical cases demonstrate, the personalities of the patients suffering from memory loss degrade. Those patients get isolated from the society as a result of the decline in emotional capabilities and reasoning power.³⁴⁶ Under the light of these data, we can conclude that our memory creates our personality.

Similar to the dependence of the individual personalities to the memory, collective personalities depend on the perception of the past. Communities amass memories of past events. These memories were recorded with oral history methods before (narratives, legends etc.). In modern times, events are recorded via several mechanisms. The science of history rises on the basis of these records; that is, recording the past becomes an expertise. In the past, poets pioneered the protection of collective memory; whereas, in modern times, they are replaced by professional historians.

If historians are not allowed to conduct their research without disturbance and to search the truth and if their spiritual world is restricted with the narrow boundaries of a certain ideology, the loss of collective memory becomes inevitable and this leads to a serious trauma. There are several significant events resembling this loss in Soviet-era historiography. This article will focus on the Soviet historiography's destruction of the history of Kazan Tatars and its societal consequences. This discussion will be evaluated on the basis of Kazan

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345 Lowenthal, D., *Past is a Foreign Country*, Cambridge, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1985, pp. 185; 197.

346 *Ibid*, pp. 197-198.

Tatars' ethnic background and the question of the word "Tatar".

The Etymology of the Word "Tatar"

The word "Tatar" appeared firstly as the name of some nomadic tribal units of the north of China between seventh and twelfth centuries. Orkhon Inscriptions (eighth century) name "Otuz Tatar" and "Dokuz Tatar" units. Chinese sources mention about a grand and strong tribal confederation named "Ta-ta" ("Da-da") with ninth century. Among these units, it can be guessed that Kara Tatar (Otuz Tatar) referred to the Mongols; whereas, Ak Tatar (Dokuz Tatar) meant the Turks.³⁴⁷ In the course of time, the name of these units who disturbed the Chinese via frequent raids began to gain "barbarian" and "brutal" meanings in China and turned into a common name encompassing all tribes in the north of China. With this usage, the word "Tatar" was loaned to the Arabs and Iranians by the Chinese.³⁴⁸ The Islamic sources of eleventh and tenth centuries refer to the nations of Eastern Turkestan and Mongolia as "Tatars". In the dictionary of Mahmud of Kashgar (eleventh century), this region is called "Deşt-i Tatar" (Tatar Plain).³⁴⁹

According to the rumours, Genghis Khan had a profound hatred against the Tatars who acted negatively against his tribe and he defeated them on the eve of the establishment of Mongol Empire (1202) via exterminating a big number of them and separating their tribes. Subsequently, the remnants of Tatars lost their identities by integrating into the society of Mongol union majority.³⁵⁰ However, we can as well observe that despite Tatar tribes' disappearance, the name "Tatar" continued to prevail and Mongols began to be known as "Tatars". It can be guessed that the European travellers and tradesmen in Asia spread the name "Tatar" to Europe before the Mongol invasions. The records reveal that Genghis Khan was irritated by the reference to Mongols as Tatars and prohibited such calling. During the visit of European traveller Wilhelm von Rubruk to the Mongolian headquarters in 1254, the guest was warned of the prohibition of the usage of "Tatar" word.³⁵¹

347 "Tatarlar", *Büyük Larousse Sözlük ve Ansiklopedisi*, C. 22, Milliyet Yay., İstanbul 1986, p. 11300; "Tatarı", *Tatarskiy Entsiklopedicheskiy Slovar*, Institut Tatarskoy Entsiklopedii AN RT, Kazan 1999, p. 566.

348 Karimullin, A., *Tatarı: Etnos i Etnonim*, Tatarskoye Knizhnoye izd-vo, Kazan 1989, p. 18.

349 "Tatarı", *Tatarskiy entsiklopedicheskiy slovar*, p. 566.

350 Karimullin, p. 18; *Büyük Larousse Sözlük ve Ansiklopedisi*, p. 11300.

351 Karimullin, pp. 18-19.

The Mongols established a gorgeous dynasty by securing domination over China, Central Asia, Caucasus, Russian principalities, Ukraine, Hungary, Anatolia, Iran, Iraq and Syria via the invasions between 1211 and 1279. Historians point out that the numerically few Mongol administrators got assimilated by the dependant societies and the native peoples protected their languages and customs. At the end of the thirteenth century, the Mongol Empire got fragmented and turned into a commonwealth of states. The Golden Horde Empire was located at the western tip of this commonwealth. Caucasus, Crimea, Poland, Russian principalities, Volga Bulgarians and some parts of Central Asia and Siberia were under the control of the Golden Horde Empire.³⁵²

Although a population with diverse ethnic backgrounds lived under Golden Horde domination, the core of the empire was composed of the steppes (in the north of Black Sea and Caspian Sea) where the nomadic Mongols freely exercised their traditional lifestyles. Other regions such as the land of the Russians covered by forests were perceived as the periphery in this regard. In the steppes, the majority of the population was composed of the nomadic Kipchak tribes of Turkish descent. The Mongols had lost their identity within a course of time.³⁵³ The medieval Arabic and Iranian sources maintained the tradition of referring to the Mongols as "Tatars" and called the Golden Horde Empire's nomadic masses with Turkish majority as "Tatars" because of the descent of their administrators. This usage of "Tatar" word was also adopted by the Russian and European sources.³⁵⁴ In this way, the physically-exterminated name of the Tatar tribes spread to other geographies and peoples via Mongols.

One of the reasons for the survival of the word "Tatar" in Medieval Europe was that this word was associated with the concept of "Tartaros" (the world of the dead, hell) in religious literature. We should assert that this association created a special effect on the Medieval Europeans. The advancement of the Mongol armies created horrific rumours in Europe; and, as a result, the nomadic invaders began to be perceived as "hell monsters". In medieval portraits, the "Tatars" were depicted as horrific, slant-eyed, bow-legged and horny cannibals. According to the Russian geographer and historian K. Ritter, the word "Tartar" subsequently became a common name referring to the

352 "Moğollar", *Büyük Larousse Sözlük ve Ansiklopedisi*, V. 16, p. 8255.

353 Halperin, Charles J. *The Tatar Yoke*, Columbus, Ohio: Slavica Publishers, 1986, p. 19.

354 "Tatari", *Tatarskiy Entsiklopedicheskiy slovar*, p. 566.

barbarian nations in Europe.³⁵⁵

An investigation on the geographical usage of the word “Tatar” concludes that the Europeans perceived generally the lieu where the nomads lived in Asia, especially Turkestan, as the land of the “Tatars”. The Europeans used the word “Tatar” for the Anatolians in the fourteenth century as well.³⁵⁶ Furthermore, as a dependency of the Golden Horde Empire, the Moscow Principality was shown as “Tartaria” in European maps, too.³⁵⁷ To sum up, we can conclude that the historical concept ‘Ta(r)taria’ was used as a name of the region with undetermined boundaries spreading from the Eastern Europe to all around Asia.³⁵⁸ To conclude, we have to stress that the word “Tatar” did not refer to a specific ethnic group or geography. It was rather used as a general name with a broad content referring to several ethnic groups and regions under Mongol control.

The word “Tatar” began to have different meanings in Russia – Russia once was under the rule of the Golden Horde Empire; nevertheless, it expanded its control by subjugating the reminiscents of the Golden Horde Empire - within the course of time with respect to the West. During the period of Mongolian Empire and its successors, the name “Tatariya” was used as a name referring to the geography under Mongol control as it was in Europe. After the fragmentation of the Golden Horde Empire and its replacement by several khanates; the khanates of Crimea, Astrakhan and Kazan were called “Small Tatariya”; whereas, Turkestan was called “Grand Tatariya”.³⁵⁹

The expanding Russian Empire invaded the successors of the Golden Horde Empire beginning with the Kazan Khanate and established direct relations with the communities of these territories. As a result of this, the term “Tatar” in Russian began to have precision in ethnical terms. It became a general name referring to the Turkish-speaking Muslim ethnic communities of Turkish descent.³⁶⁰ Since it generally indicated

355 Karimullin, pp. 19–21.

356 “Tataristan”, *Büyük Larousse Sözlük ve Ansiklopedisi*, V. 22, p. 11299.

357 Karimullin, p. 20.

358 “Tartary”, *The American College Dictionary*, New York: Random House, 1964, p. 1240.

359 “Tatariya”, *Malıy Entsiklopediçeskiy Slovar Brokgauza i Efrona*, İzd. obş-vo “F. A. Brokgauz–İ. A. Efron”, St. Peterburg 1907–1909, <http://slovari.yandex.ru/>

360 “Tatari”, *Entsiklopediçeskiy slovar Brokgauza i Efrona*, C. 64, İzd. obş-vo “F. A. Brokgauz–İ. A. Efron”, St. Peterburg 1901, p. 671, <http://dlib.rsl.ru/viewer/01003924196#?page=201>

the communities of Turkish descent, the term “Tatar” began to be replaced by “Turkish-Tatar” within the course of time.³⁶¹

As the Russian Empire continued its expansion, some specific groups began to emerge under the broad “Tatar” category. As Russia became an empire in continental level at the end of the nineteenth century, the “Tatars” category became a framework of three distinct groups: 1) Asian or Siberian group (the Tatars of Altai, Abakan, Chulym, Kuznetsk, Baraba, Tobol and Irtysh); 2) European group (the Tatars of Kazan, Astrakhan and Crimea); 3) Caucasian group in between the European group and the Asian group (the Tatars of Azerbaijan, Kabarda and Dagestan).³⁶²

At the same time, we have to express that Russian Empire’s some Turkish-background peoples were not included under the framework of “Tatars” and were called with their traditional peculiar names (such as the Kyrgyz, Uzbeks, Turkmens, Yakut etc.).³⁶³ In a prominent encyclopaedia series published in Russia at the end of the nineteenth century, this issue was highlighted. It claimed that the usage of the name “Tatar” only for some specific ethnic communities created “a historical mistake” and added that the communities called with this name did not call themselves as “Tatars”.³⁶⁴

The example of Kazan Tatars verifies this claim. It is verifiable that this community that had been called as “Kazan Tatars” or “Volga Tatars” by the Russians from the ancient times did not adopt this name even at the end of the nineteenth century. In the middle of the milieu of political chaos in the last days of the Russian Empire at the beginning of the twentieth century, certain debates erupted among the intellectual circles of the Volga-Ural region Muslims on ethnic name and historical identity issues. A competition over the concepts of “being Muslim”, “being Bulgarian”, “being Tatar” and “being Turk” peaked. However, at the end, the name “Tatar” gained permanence. In order to grasp its purposes, we have to concentrate on the history of Volga-Ural region.

361 In the 86-volume Russian Encyclopaedia of Brokgauz and Efron published between 1890 and 1907, the word “Tatar” was presented as a historical term. On the other hand, the term “Turk” was classified as a contemporary term and a synonym of “Turkish-Tatar”.

362 “Tatari”, *Entsiklopedicheskiy slovar Brokgauza i Efrona*, C. 64, p. 672, <http://dlib.rsl.ru/viewer/01003924196#?page=202>

363 Chronologically speaking, Russians named the early communities they met (that is, the frontier communities) as “Tatars”; whereas, they called the communities they met afterwards with their traditional names.

364 “Tyurko-Tatari”, *Entsiklopedicheskiy slovar Brokgauza i Efrona*, p. 347.

Identity Descriptions in the Turkish Community of Volga-Ural Region (Thirteenth Century–Early Twentieth Century)

Volga-Ural region experienced the rules of Volga Bulgarians' State, Golden Horde Khanate and Kazan Khanate in chronological order between ninth and sixteenth centuries. After the official conversion of the Volga Bulgarians' State to Islam at the beginning of the tenth century, the native population rapidly began to adopt Islam. According to the identifications of historians, the name "Bulgarian" inherited from Volga Bulgarians in Volga-Ural region during the Golden Horde period, the description "Muslim" referring to a certain religious identity and a social term "Tatar" were used simultaneously. It is presumable that the term "Tatar" was used for the administrative and elite echelons of the Golden Horde Khanate; whereas, the descriptions "Bulgarian" and "Muslim" were used for the native population.³⁶⁵ After the fragmentation of the Golden Horde Khanate and its replacement by the Kazan Khanate in Volga-Ural region, the description "Kazanian" was added to these three names.³⁶⁶

After the annexation of the Kazan Khanate by the Russian Empire, religious identity began to gain significance among the Muslim population of the region because of the subjugation to a Christian authority. As a reaction to the Christianisation policy carried out by the Russian Empire with varying degrees frequently including harsh methods, the Muslim population of the region firmly stuck to the Muslim identity. The legacy of the Volga Bulgarians has a unique significance in this context. In the religious-didactic works written by the clerics of the Volga Bank geography in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the story of the conversion of the Volga Bulgarians to Islam had a special place.³⁶⁷ With the impact of these commonly-popular religious works which were taught at the schools and madrasahs as course books, the imaginations about Volga Bulgarians began to represent the starting point for the Volga Bank Muslim population in religious terms.³⁶⁸

According to expert Allen J. Frank, the narratives about Volga Bulgar-

365 We have to assert that the Volga Bulgarians' State officially adopted Islam at a very early date (early tenth century) and the Golden Horde Khanate officially converted to Islam only in mid-fourteenth century.

366 Fehretdinov, R. G., *Tatar halkı hem Tatarstan tarihi*, Megarif, Kazan 1996, pp. 182-183.

367 Gibatdinov, M., *Stanovleniye i Razvitiye Metodov Prepodavaniya Istorii Tatarskogo Naroda i Tatarstana*, Alma-Lit, Kazan 2003, p. 17.

368 "Bulgari", *Tatarskaya Entsiklopediya*, C. 1, Institut Tatarskoy Entsiklopedii AN RT, Kazan 2002, p. 492.

ians became the distinguishing feature for the regional Muslim identity. In this way, the Muslim clerics of the region attained a big step on creating a regional identity distinct from both the Russians and other Muslim communities in Russia. According to Frank, this “pro-Bulgarian” regional Muslim identity imagination shaped as a historiography tradition by the end of the eighteenth century would maintain its reputation among the population – especially among the peasants – up until 1930s and would forcibly cease only after the Soviet intervention.³⁶⁹

“Pro-Bulgarian” identity imagination adopted a different form in the nineteenth century in the movement of “pro-Veysi”. This movement, emerged in the second half of the nineteenth century and lasted up until the Soviet era, is described as a social protest movement and the “pro-Bulgarian” ideology central to the ideal world of this movement is described as an expression of a social utopia by the contemporary Tatar historians. The “pro-Veysi” movement emerged under the principles of a Nakshibandi Bahaddin Veysi (1804-1893) and gained popularity in some cities such as Kazan and Orenburg, in villages and especially in the lower echelons of the urban population. Unsatisfied of the current situation of the Muslim community, the “pro-Veysi” supporters strongly condemned the service of the Muslim clerics as Russian officials since the reign of Ekaterina II. Refusing to abide with the rules of the “infidel” authority, the “pro-Veysi” supporters moved beyond the condemnation and engaged in organisation of disobedience against the Russian Empire. They formed their own independent colonies (“God’s corps”) and rejected taxation, military service, population census and passports offered by Russia. In their worldview, re-establishment of the Bulgarian state and revival of the ancient societal structure had vital significance. Therefore, they demanded the return of the ancient ruined city of Bulgar to them and expulsion of the Russian population from the region. After the dismissal and punishment of the pioneers of the movement in 1885 (B. Veysi was taken to a mental hospital and other leaders of the movement were exiled to Siberia), this movement went underground and secretly involved in propaganda. After the Russian Revolution of 1905, the movement revived and acted until 1930s.³⁷⁰ We have to express that the “pro-Veysi” movement remained as a marginal movement with a stronger presence in villages and suburbs and did not spread to the majority of the Volga-Ural Muslim society.

369 Frank, Allen J., *Islamic Historiography and “Bulghar” Identity among the Tatars and Bashkirs of Russia*, Leiden; Boston: Brill, 1998.

370 “Vaisovskoye Duijeniyе”, *Tatarskaya Entsiklopediya*, p. 518.

With the nineteenth century, some spiritual stirrings began to emerge in Volga-Ural region in favour of modernisation. Thus, local social identity began to engage in a sophisticated transformation process. This transformation emerged as a part of *Ceditçilik* reform movement and was attained thanks to the efforts of well-educated intellectual circles.

In this process, the enterprises to learn the history of the region and to say new ideas had a particular role. In this regard, the prominent cleric, thinker, historian and educationalist Shihabeddin Merjani (1818-1889) took the first step. He went beyond the traditional history teaching concentrated on Volga Bulgarians and highlighted the periods of Golden Horde Empire and Kazan Khanate. Then, he established a link between Volga-Ural region and Central Asia and located his own nation's history with the general Turkish history perspective for the first time. According to him, as a result of the mix of native Bulgarian and Kipchak elements with outsider Mongol-Tatar elements, the fundamentals of a new society and culture had been formed. The tradition of patriotism on this basis stemmed from the "Tatar" self-consciousness.³⁷¹

In this way, he brought about for his society a new and broader point of view transcending the frontiers of Volga-Ural region. He invited his contemporaries to look beyond the period under Russian control and to be proud of their historical legacy crystallised under the name "Tatar". Against the usage of "Bulgarian", he proposed the name "Tatar". He asserted that "Tatar" name should be used with dignity against Russian derogatory propaganda. In *Kazan'ın ve Bulgar'ın Ahvali Konusunda Faydalanılan Haberler* (Volume I: 1885, Volume II: 1900), he spoke against his contemporaries who refused to use the name "Tatar": "Oh poor! You say that you are not a Tatar. However, you are also not an Arab, Tajik or Nogai; not a Chinese, Russian, French or German! If you are not a Tatar, then tell, who are you?"³⁷²

Merjani's point of view significantly affected the intellectuals of Volga-Ural region, especially the reformist *Ceditçiler*. Between 1890 and 1923, several history works championing the "pro-Tatar" point of view were introduced by the intellectuals of Kazan. Some of these historians are Fahreddin, G. Ahmerov, M. Remzi, G. Zebiri, H. Atlasi, K. Bikkulov and

371 See: Shamiloglu, U., "The Formation of a Tatar Historical Consciousness: Shihabuddin Mercani and Image of the Golden Horde", *Central Asian Survey*, 1990, 9 (2), pp. 39-49.

372 Mercani, Sh., *Müstafadi-l exbar fi ehval-i Kazan ve Bulgar* [1885; 1900], Ya. G. Abdullin and E. N. Hayrullin (ed.), Tatarstan Kitap Neşriyatı, Kazan 1989, p. 44.

A. Gubaydullin.³⁷³ The works published by these authors stressed the political power of the Medieval Tatar Khanate that once dominated the Russians instead of focusing on the religious dimension of Volga-Ural region. This mode of historical narration also championed the history of the Kazan Khanate, regarded the Khanate's downfall in the hands of the Russians as a calamity and investigated the purposes of this downfall. In this sense, we can claim that a modern version of nationalism began to emerge and a national history based on a political power began to be formed in the Turkish community of Volga-Ural region.

We have to also express that at the beginning of the twentieth century, the idea of Pan-Turkism began to spread around the Volga-Ural region as well. The idea of the linguistic and cultural union of the Turkish peoples pioneered by Ismail Gasprinski found a large ground among the Turkish population of Volga-Ural region and especially Yusuf Akchura significantly contributed to the theoretical development of the ideology of pan-Turkism.³⁷⁴

The beginning of the twentieth century was extremely chaotic and tumultuous for Russia. The same milieu applied to the Volga-Ural region as well. In this sense, we observe that all aforementioned identity descriptions were simultaneously present and engaged in competition among the Turkish-Muslim community. Some cliques of the society continued to champion the pro-Bulgarian approach. The pro-Veysi movement renovated and reactivated itself. The pro-Tatar ideologues and pan-Turkists engaged in debates. A discussion under the title of "Turk and Tatar" was carried out in *Ang* (Consciousness)³⁷⁵ and *Şura*³⁷⁶ magazines between 1911 and 1913. While the "Turk" supporters proposed a wide Turkish union, the Tatar supporters focused on the concept of "nation" and highlighted the presence of separate Turkish nations and "Tatar" nation as part of them. *Ang*'s description

373 See: Shakurov, F., *Razvitiye Istoricheskikh Znaniy u Tatar do Fevralya 1917 goda*, Kazan Üniü. Yay., Kazan 2002. Also see: Ishakov, Damir, "Rol Intelligentsii v Formirovanií i Sovremennom Funktsionirovanií Natsionalnogo Samosoznaniya Tatar", *Sovremenniy Natsionalniye Protsessy v Respublike Tatarstan – II*, Kazan, 1994, p. 5-26; Ishakov, Damir, *Istoricheskaya Demografiya Tatarskogo Naroda (XVIII-Nachalo XX Veka)*, İYALİ ANT, Kazan 1993.

374 For Yusuf Akçura, see: Georgeon, François, *Türk Milliyetçiliğinin Kökenleri: Yusuf Akçura (1876-1935)*, 3. Edition, Alev Er (trans.), Yurt Yay., İstanbul 1999; Muhammedinov, R. F., *Zarajdeniye i Evolyutsiya Tyurkizma*, Zaman, Kazan 1996, p. 43-84.

375 A magazine published between 1912 and 1918 in Kazan.

376 A magazine published between 1908 and 1918 in Orenburg.

of “Turkish-Tatar” is a significant appealing point.³⁷⁷

After the 1917 February Revolution, an attempt to establish a Turkish state in Volga-Ural region emerged. While struggling to form this political entity planned to be named as Volga-Ural State, the pioneers employed the word “Turkish-Tatar” in related documents in order to reconcile the debating cliques. On 20 November 1917, the decisions taken by the Turkish-Tatar National Parliament summoned in Ufa condemned the “tribal frictions - such as Bashkir, Tatar and Tipter - harming the consolidation of the Turkish-Tatar nation”.³⁷⁸

The Effect of Soviet Factor on the Identity Processes of the Volga-Ural Region

During this critical period, Bolshevik Revolution erupted and Soviet Union emerged. The Soviet government initially involved in soft and moderate policies concerning non-Russian peoples in order to gather supporters. Under this favourable milieu at the initial years of the Soviet Union (1920s), non-Russian peoples found better possibilities to study their histories. The intellectuals of Volga-Ural region continued to enhance the pro-Tatar view inherited from Merjani. Since the Soviet historiography was criticising the colonialist legacy of the Russian Empire during this period, the pro-national historical views of the non-Russian intellectuals did not contradict with the official history writing.³⁷⁹

However, the Soviet government did not hesitate to fix certain arrangements in favour of the Soviet ideology. For instance, they dismissed the Bulgarian supporter pro-Veysi movement since this movement relied on religious fundamentals. Pro-atheism Soviet regime would not tolerate any religious base.³⁸⁰ The pan-Turkism ideal faced the same destiny as well since the Soviet government did not approve any union among the Turkish peoples. Therefore, they labelled the pan-Turkism ideologues as pan-Turanist and dismissed all.³⁸¹

Tatar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic was established in 1920. In this way, the Soviet government forcibly put an end to the

377 Tagirov, I., *Oçerki istorii Tatarstana i Tatarskogo Naroda (XX vek)*, Tat. knij. izd-vo, Kazan 1999, p. 25.

378 Devlet, Nadir, *1917 Ekim İhtilali ve Türk-Tatar Millet Meclisi*, Ötüken Yay., İstanbul 1998, pp. 216-217.

379 See: Frank, *ibid*, pp. 179-181; Gibatdinov, *ibid*, p. 38.

380 “Vaisovskoye Duijeniyе”, *Tatarskaya Entsiklopediya*, p. 519.

381 Muhametdinov, R. F., *Zarozdeniye i Evolyutsiya Tyurkizma*, Zaman, Kazan 1996, p. 165.

identity search over the concepts of Muslim, Bulgarian, Tatar and Turk in the Volga-Ural region by determining the ethnic name of the region's Turkish population as "Tatar". Distinct from the tsar period, the name "Tatar" was only used for the Tatars of Kazan, Astrakhan, Crimea and Siberia.³⁸²

As the ethnic name question was solved in this way, certain fluctuations emerged during the Soviet period on the interpretation of the Tatars' past. As a result of the developments occurred with relation to the changes in Soviet policies and developments in historiography, Tatar identity went on several transformations.

The Effects of Soviet Historiography on Tatar National History Discourse

Thanks to the moderate policies of the Soviet Empire in its initial years, the Soviet government did not interfere in the pro-Tatar historical approach at first. Tatar historians continued to investigate their history and freely write in compliance with the present ideological circumstances.

However, after a short while, the milieu changed. With Stalin's consolidation of power at the end of 1920s, the Soviet Empire experienced a profound transformation that brought about stricter codes and narrower ideological confines. As a result, the Soviet policies on nations changed direction. The concept "harmony of the peoples" began to dominate the fate of the country. In order to achieve this harmony, Russian ethnicity and language were promoted. In terms of historiography, the tolerance toward non-Russians ceased and was replaced by a new historical approach championing Russian nationalism. In this regard, the legacy of the Russian Empire was evaluated with more moderate points of view and the process of annexation of non-Russian peoples to the Russian Empire was shown as a positive development. Moreover, the invasion of the Kazan Khanate by the Russian Empire was reinterpreted. According to this reinterpretation, the peoples of Volga-Ural region fought along with their Russian comrades against their class enemies. The historians had to comply with this framework in order not to be dismissed.³⁸³

Especially during the Second World War, in order to motivate the Soviet peoples, the tendency of championing the Russian nation gained

382 "Astrahanskiye Tatarı", "Kırmıskiye Tatarı", "Sibirskiye tatarı", *Tatarskiy Entsiklopediçeskiy Slovar*, pp. 45; 301; 516.

383 Frank, *ibid*, p. 181.

momentum; and as a result, several heroic stories of the Russian history were injected. This was closely related to Tatars since the concept of struggle against the Golden Horde domination was central to the Russian nationalist history understanding. The Soviet historiography used this theme in favour of its own ideological interests and provoked all Russian nations to “fight shoulder to shoulder under the leadership of the Russian nation against the Tatar-Mongol yoke”.³⁸⁴

For Tatars, this interpretation of Tatar historiography created a strange and problematic situation. The Golden Horde Empire – central to the national history imaginations of Tatars – was anymore depicted in negative ways by the Soviet historiography. In the history course books instructed in Soviet schools, the Tatar khans of the Golden Horde were described as barbarian and tyrannical class enemies. Thus, the national history understanding of Tatars fell in a visible conflict with the Soviet interpretation. In order to eliminate this conflict and conduct the necessary “fixings” on Tatar historiography, the Soviet government took action in several fronts.

In order to realise this goal, the Soviet government firstly enforced dismissals and prohibitions. While several pro-Tatar historians were silenced via certain methods³⁸⁵, all research activities and even folkloric studies on Golden Horde period were prohibited. For example, the studies initiated in 1930s to gather the variants of the İdegey legend were halted. In 1944, the USSR Communist Party strongly warned the Tatar SSR Communist Party about İdegey and the usage of certain narratives on Golden Horde period in some theatrical and opera works. The “promotion” of “retrogressive, feudal and parasitic” Golden Horde Empire in these works was condemned. The publication of İdegey legend was cancelled. Related dramas were stopped and some novels and stories were prohibited. Furthermore, certain ideological interventions were enforced in the content of the course books of Tatar literature.³⁸⁶

Possibly the worst and harshest effect of the Soviets on the Tatar historiography was the defacement of the history. At an ethnography conference held in Moscow in 1946, the ethnic background question

384 See: Halperin, Charles J., “Soviet Historiography on Russia and the Mongols”, *Russian Review*, Vol. 41, No. 3 (1982), pp. 306–322.

385 Aziz Gubaydullin was killed by shooting in 1938 and his works were prohibited.

386 See: İshakov, D. – İzmaylov, İ., “Aysbergi proşlogo”, *Tatarica*, 1992, Kazan, pp. 20–26; Usmanov, Mirkasım, “O Tragedii Eposa i Tragediyakh Lyudskikh”, *İdegey*, Tat. kn. izd-vo, Kazan 1990, pp. 247–254.

of the Tatar nation was evaluated. In a way satisfying the Soviet government, it was claimed that Kazan Tatars had no links with the Tatars of Golden Horde and Kazan Khanates. The Soviet ethnographers announced that the Turkish community of the Volga-Ural region hailed from Volga Bulgarians and adopted Kipchaks only in linguistic terms. As Allen J. Frank asserts, the Soviet government ironically reinvented the “Bulgarian” imagination that they had desirably abolished some years before for their very own purposes.³⁸⁷

In the recollection named *Historical Materials for the History of Tatar SSR* published in 1948, Tatar history was reinterpreted. This officially approved narration subsequently formed the basis of the history course books' content. The history of the Tatars would be depicted anymore as: “Originally descending from the Volga Bulgarians, the Kazan Tatars were squeezed under the oppression of the brutal Mongol-Tatar khans during the Golden Horde and Kazan Khanate periods. They were only spared after the conquest of Kazan by the forces of Ivan the Terrible. Then, they fought against the barbarian Tatar khans alongside their Russian comrades. The Russian control that replaced the Kazan Khanate brought about peace and welfare to the region. Especially after the consolidation of Soviet authority, the Kazan Tatars suffering from ignorance and poverty at last revived and attained civilized life”. From then on, the history of Tatars would be told in this way – that is, extremely shorn and falsified – till the end of the Soviet period.

We have to stress that the “Tatar” ethnic name got a negative meaning as a result of the descriptions such as “Mongol-Tatar yoke”, “parasitic looter Tatar Khans” and negative depictions. This fact unsurprisingly created negative social consequences. While the members of other nations scorned and ridiculed the “Tatar” individuals, the Tatars exposed to these insults felt ashamed of their social identity from their infancy. Therefore, the Tatars were obliged to live with this shame and to hate their pasts and even their names.

Tatar intellectuals disturbed of this situation engaged in activities to protect the historical legacy and Tatar identity on every occasion. Especially after 1960s, they caught certain chances. The ideological atmosphere softened after the death of Stalin opened some positive grounds in Tatar intellectual life and historiography. In 1960s and 1970s, some Tatar intellectuals initiated the “Respect to legacy” movement. In this prospect, the problems of mother tongue, education, science, culture and historiography that the Tatars suffered were highlighted. Though with certain precautions, some Tatar historians slowly began

³⁸⁷ Frank, *ibid.*, p. 179.

to talk about the blanks in Tatar history, to evaluate the periods and problems that had been left untouched, to probe the official historical approach and to turn out diverging interpretations from the official history. Furthermore, for the first time, they critically reviewed the Tatar-Russian relations. For instance, in mid-1970s, Tatar historian Selam Alişev rejected the fundamental positions of official Soviet historiography such as the Russian supremacy in comparison with non-Russian peoples, the voluntary submission of these peoples to the Russian hegemony and the progressive outcomes of the submission to the Russian hegemony. He further exemplified that the Tatar case had denied all these three positions.³⁸⁸

The beginning of the processes of Glasnost and Perestroika in 1985 in Soviet Union contributed to the empowerment of the “Respect to legacy” movement started in 1960s among the Tatar community. National identity search which had been halted by the Bolshevik intervention seventy years before reappeared in new forms under new circumstances.

Firstly, the existence of several important personalities such as historians and authors that had been forgotten by force during the Soviet period was remembered and their legacy was rediscovered. The works of S. Merjani and other historians influenced by him were republished. The discussions on the Golden Horde Empire started with the publication of the prohibited İdegey legend in 1988. At the same time, the interest on the history of the Kazan Khanate increased. The history’s reinvention process initiated new discussions on the ethnic identity and descent questions of Tatars. Under these new circumstances, “pro-Tatar” and “pro-Bulgarian” views began to clash again.³⁸⁹

In the periodical press of Kazan in 1987, a new debate erupted on the names of “Bulgarian” and “Tatar”. The discussion that started with the question whether the Tatars were of Bulgarian descent or Mongol-Tatar descent peaked with the pro-Bulgarian authors’ call for the abolishment of “Tatar” name and adoption of “Bulgarian” name. Pro-Tatar authors blamed the pro-Bulgarian side of defending Stalinism on the basis that the “Bulgarian” theory was the invention of the Soviets. With the political armament of the pro-Bulgarian side via foundations and organisations, the conflict spread to the political

388 See: Lazzerini, Edward J., “Tatarovedenie and the ‘New Historiography’ in the Soviet Union: Revising the Interpretation of the Tatar-Russian Relationship”, *Slavic Review*, Vol. 40, No. 4 (1981), pp. 625–635.

389 See: İshakov, D. “Sovremenniy Natsionalizm Tatar”, *Panorama-Forum*, no. 13 (1997), pp. 31–58. See also: Karimullin, Ebrar. *Tatarlar: İsemebez hem Cisemebez*, Tatar. kit. neşriyatı, Kazan 1991.

realm. Because of that, pro-Tatar side accused the pro-Bulgarian side of weakening the Tatar national movement.³⁹⁰

Certain points about post-Soviet pro-Bulgarian movement (*Neo-Bulgharism* as Allen J. Frank proposed) require attention. On the one hand, as Frank emphasised, this movement reiterated the positions of Soviet historiography by completely ignoring the original religious essence of the “Bulgarian” identity. On the other hand, this new movement overlooked the reality of Soviet political manipulation complained by the pro-Tatar side. In this regard, Frank assesses the new pro-Bulgarian movement as a “peculiar Soviet phenomenon”.³⁹¹ However, we have to assert that regarding this movement as a mere product of Soviet ideology would be wrong. As understood from the ideas of prominent pro-Bulgarian historian Ebrar Kerimullin, the reason behind the calls for the adoption of the name “Bulgarian” instead of “Tatar” stemmed rather from the negative image of “Tatar” as a result of Soviet legacy. In this sense, the neo-Bulgarian movement can be seen as a reaction to the Soviet policies (the expression of the negative feelings accumulated during the Soviet period).

In conclusion, this neo-Bulgarian movement could only affect a limited part of Tatar community. The pro-Tatar movement that was busy with the uncovering and absolving of the accusations against the Tatar history during the Soviet period (especially the Khanates of Golden Horde and Kazan) found much more supporters. During the rewriting process of the Tatar history’s defamed and lost pages, the Tatar name was also exonerated.

Taking everything into consideration, we have to also note that a consensus was not attained on the Tatars’ ethnic question among the Tatar society. Published in 1999, the *Tatar Encyclopaedic Glossary* avoided precise remarks about the Tatars’ ethnic descent and listed three different positions about this delicate issue: pro-Bulgarian, pro-Tatar-Mongol and pro-Turkish-Tatar.³⁹² Studies and research on the Tatar national history continue today as well.

390 Frank, *ibid*, p. 186–192; Fehretdinov, R. G. *Tatar Uğlı Tatarının*, Yar Challı, 1993, pp. 3–4.

391 Frank, *ibid*, pp. 184; 199–200.

392 *Tatarskiy entsiklopedicheskiy slovar*, p. 566–567.

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BEING INTELLECTUAL DURING THE STALIN ERA

Assoc. Prof. Dr. İsmail Türkoğlu*

Most of the Soviet-period Turkish intellectuals' death dates are recorded as either 1937 or 1938.³⁹³ These intellectuals were never mentioned in the encyclopaedias and biographical books of the period.³⁹⁴ After the death of Stalin, it became inevitable for the encyclopaedias and biographical books to mention these intellectuals; however, they include very little data and the intellectuals' works were strictly kept in the secret sections of the libraries.³⁹⁵ Nobody thought or could think about the fact that most of these intellectuals died either in 1937 or 1938. Did these people die as a result of a shocking earthquake or another natural disaster in these years? None of these intellectuals had a gravestone and all of them were buried sans shrouds.³⁹⁶ To probe the causes of these deaths would make someone anti-Soviet, Trotskyite, pro-Galiev, Turan Republic supporter, a foreign country collaborationist (most popularly with Turkey, Japan and Germany for Turks; US, UK and other countries for Russians and other peoples) or a spy and you would live your remaining life with an "anti-Soviet" stamp.³⁹⁷ Thus, nobody cried for these murdered intellectuals. While

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393 Though "Soviet-period" means the years 1917–1991. This article will strive to focus on the difficulties of the writing of intellectuals' biographies until Stalin's death in 1953.

394 Some of these intellectuals: Bekir Sıtkı Çobanzade, Aziz Ubeydullin, Abdulla Tagizade, Samed Vurgun, Ahmet Baytursunov, Mağcan Cumabayev, Abdülkerim Sıdıkov, İşenali Arabaev, Kasım Tinistanov, Bazarkul Daniyarov, Hüseyin Cavid, Mikail Muşfik, Halid Said Hocaev, Fatih Kerimi, Alihan Bükeyhanov, Abat Alibaev, Macit Devletbaev, Abdulla İsmailov, Fehrülislam Agiev, Sefa Burhan, Cemaleddin Velidi, Mahmut Galeü, Ata İshaki, Mansur Kırımov, İbrahim Salahov, Ali Rahim, Fatih Seyfi Kazanlı, Kerim Tinçurin, Sadri Celal.

395 Until Stalin's death, there was no possibility to mention any intellectuals killed in his era. These intellectuals were always referred as anti-Soviet traitors. After Stalin's death, some encyclopaedias began to mention some of these intellectuals; nevertheless, their life stories were not detailed.

396 In Uzbek author Şükrullah's *Kefensiz Gömülenler*, there is some information about the people buried sans shrouds in Uzbekistan. There are two separate editions of this work in Turkish by Şuayip Karkaş and Ahsen Batur.

397 After Stalin's death in 1953, the families of the intellectuals engaged in judicial process to demonstrate their innocence and attained a certain degree of success. Several families received the certificates verifying the innocence of their murdered relatives. These certificates were very significant for their future lives. They erased the "anti-Soviet" stamp from these families and offered them an equal life with other members of the society.

they were being taken from their homes, their neighbours fooled themselves by murmuring “They should have done something. Nobody can be arrested without any fault.” After Stalin’s death in 1953, some dealt with these killings; nevertheless, because of the prevalent fear, no one was able to write anything. More time was required.

One of the most significant accusations that could be levelled against an intellectual arrested during the Stalinist-era was to be charged with an encounter with an intellectual not living in Soviet Union by having sought asylum in a Western country, such as Mustafa Çokay, Ayaz İshaki, Mehmet Emin Resulzade, Musa Carullah Bigi, Abdürreşid İbrahim, Zeki Velidi Togan, Ahmet Temir, and Baymirza Hayit, or, usually as a result of torture, admitting to coming across with one of the aforementioned intellectuals. Then, the inquiring officer began to change his attitude and regard these arrested intellectuals as a “traitor”. Under these circumstances, the decision to exile someone to the labour camps was impossible. Execution by firing-squad was inevitable. If spared execution for crimes, such as being anti-Soviet, Trotskyite, pro-Galiev and anti-revolutionary, the verdict was no less than a ten-year service in a labour camp and, in case one survived, about ten-years compulsory residence in a far and remote region of the USSR.³⁹⁸ Furthermore, someone convicted would be deprived of citizenship rights for a certain period. In this way, the guilty were totally isolated from the society. Your relatives and friends had to forget you on the basis that being a friend of an anti-Soviet individual would create the same scenario for them as well. This included your intimate friends and relations, such as your spouse if married and very close family members. If you are sentenced to death, it was quite certain that your spouse would be arrested after you and sentenced to about ten-year sentence in the labour camps.³⁹⁹ In this way, she begins to think about her experiences before mourning for you or without knowing whether you were alive. While struggling against this life, she surrenders her humanity and her dealings with the remaining family becomes extremely difficult. Generally, some

398 Tatar-originated Kazakhstani author İbrahim Salahov (1911-1998) achieved to turn back from the labour camp with a crippled leg. However, he was deprived of his citizenship rights and came on the brink of starvation. He was able to survive only with a fake identity card provided by his friends which enabled him to work. For his tragic life story and his times in the labour camps, see: *Kolima Mahkumları* (narrated by Yusuf Özçoban), Konya 2013.

399 One of Turk-Tatar intellectuals, Aziz Ubeydullin, was arrested in Baku on 18 March 1937 and executed by shooting afterwards. After a short while, his wife Rabia Ubeydullin was arrested and sent to a labour camp for five years. Her sole guilt was being the wife of a “traitor”. For the biographies of killed or sentenced wives of intellectuals during the Stalin-period, see: Memmedova, Şefiçe. *Soykırım Analardan Başlanır*, Bakü 2003.

family members of an arrested and exiled intellectuals shared the same fate with them. For example, when the prominent Kazakh poet Mağcan Cumabayev was arrested on 30 December 1937, his two elder brothers, along with his younger brother, were arrested as well. While his elder brothers were killed along with himself, his younger brother returned home only after working in labour camps for ten years under extremely harsh conditions. The exact date of their execution by shooting and the locations of their graves are unknown even today. Even though Mağcan was acquitted after his wife's appeal in 1960, his works began to be printed only after 1989. That is, even a subsequent exoneration was not sufficient for your works' publication. All facilities and resources were utilized in order to erase someone from society and historical memory. Therefore, even though it has been 25 years since the collapse of the USSR, the number of the works about Turkish World intellectuals killed under Stalin's rule remains very small.

One other common peculiarity of intellectuals murdered under Stalin rule was that most of them were arrested previously, before 1937, and spent time in either labour camps or prisons. Returnees from labour camps and prisons had to endure tough days because the state labelled as "people's enemy" and "anti-Soviet". An intellectual so identified, lost his acquaintances. His relatives, friends, and neighbours stopped greeting him and distanced themselves from him. He lost his work and was forced to labour in most demoralizing and demeaning jobs. Life became unendurable and suicide frequently appeared as a way of liberation. Even his children were filled with hatred against him. The children of arrested or murdered people were admitted to the public foundling hospitals and subjected to intense propaganda there. The children being thus raised as young communists had no chance to approach with passion toward parents who were exposed as the "people's enemy" and "anti-Soviet."⁴⁰⁰

Arrested intellectuals' homes experienced detailed and meticulous legal searches on the day of arrest or shortly thereafter and all written documents, books, and pictures were seized. These items were not returned, even if the arrest ended. In this way, their personal archive and most of their library perished along with their works. There is no information about returning the seized works of the scholars who focused on the intellectuals, statesmen, and laymen who were either

400 Journalist and teacher Rukiye Devletkildi who had been arrested at the end of the World War II in Manchuria's Mukden city on 20 September 1945 along with her spouse by KGB and sentenced to ten-year work in labour camps tells the story of her daughter who was born in the camp and was raised with hatred against her in her memoirs. *Rukiya Devletkildi: Bir Tatar Hatınının Açık Yazması* (edited by İsmail Türkoğlu), Kazan 2005.

murdered or arrested during the Stalin-period, even after the dissolution of the Soviet Union. Therefore, the life stories of the intellectuals who were either murdered or arrested during the Stalin-period are written sans detail.⁴⁰¹ It was not likely for the intellectuals to complete their works or articles and embroider them with images, letters, and other official documents. Only after 1991 did some images and letters began to reappear from the drawers, from under mattresses, and pits in the backyards. Honestly, these items typically drew little attention from anybody except family members.

The returnees from the labour camps could mention only little about the violence and torture they suffered in the camps. To recall the bad memories or to speak negative words about the Soviet authorities would lead to extra punishments. Thus, the best way was to maintain silence and keep a record of the memories in the brain.⁴⁰²

In subsequent years, victims and survivors of the camps were suspect because of their very survival. For example, one of the most prominent Bashkir-Tatar intellectuals, Seyfi Kudaş was frequently accused being a survivor. The survival in the camps was strictly related to the self-survival and generally juxtaposed against another's downfall.

Since most of the documents of intellectuals arrested or murdered during this period are kept in the archives of the Russian Federation Intelligence Agency (formerly KGB, now FSB), and only former USSR countries' scholars are allowed to research in these archives, to utilize these documents is impossible.⁴⁰³ Non-USSR scholars have to rely on the research of USSR scholars. However, it is extremely difficult to attain a research permit even in ordinary state archives in Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, and Tajikistan; that is, even dreaming of a research permit about these

401 For example, Tatar author Muhammet Gaynullin, in *Tatar Edipleri* (Kazan 1978), mentioned some of the authors killed in Stalin-period in the years 1937-1938; however, he included no data on their later years or their fates. He could only include their date of death. Muhammet Gaynullin undoubtedly wanted to write the truth down; however, it was not the right time. Selam Alişev who edited Turkish World's first historian with diploma Aziz Ubeydullin's works wrote the unjust arrest and death of Aziz Ubeydullin in (*Tarihi Sahifeler Açılğanda*, Kazan 1989)'s introduction; however, he failed to provide information on the details of the calamity. We do not know whether he did so because of the lack of available data or because of fear.

402 For the stories of camp-survivors, see: Figes, Orlando, *Karanlıkta Fısıldaşanlar* (Trans. Nurettin Elhüseyni), İstanbul 2011.

403 Aşnin, F. D., Alpatov V. M. and Nasilov D. M. "Who Worked in the Intelligence Archives of the Russian Federation, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan", *Repressirovannaya Tyurkologiya*, Moscow 2002. Attaining research permit from the aforementioned countries' intelligence archives should have made other researchers envious.

countries' intelligence archives is out of the question. Although these aforementioned countries' intelligence archives contain exceedingly rich documents about the Stalin-period, even walking in front of these buildings requires courage. Under these circumstances, writing the biographies of the intellectuals arrested or murdered during this period is impossible. Biographies written in the light of available data and documents remain quite superficial.

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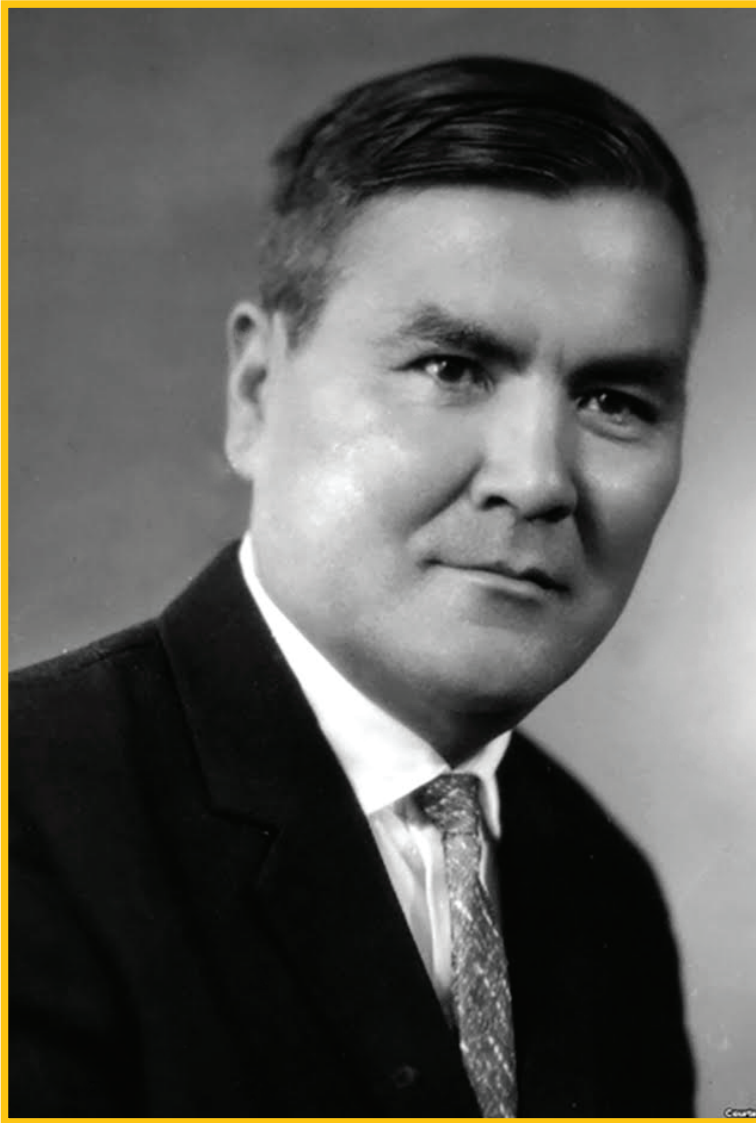
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**PHOTOS OF
ERMUKHAN
BEKMAKHANOV**



Bekmakhanov 1915- 1966



Bekmakhanov at the lesson, 1958



Bekmakhanov, with his wife Halima Bekmakhanova



Bekmakhanov in a meeting



Ermukhan Bekmakhanov, 1947

**PHOTOS FROM
THE SYMPOSIUM OF
ERMUKHAN BEKMAKHANOV**



The opening speech by Prof. Dr. Fatma Ürekli,
the head of Symposium Organisation Committee and
the head of History Department



Prof. Zeki ALPAŦ, Vice Rector of Mimar Sinan
Fine Arts University was giving his speech



Serjan Sarsenbayev, the Consul of Kazakhstan in İstanbul was giving his speech



The first session of the symposium



Prof. Dr. Danağül Mahat and Prof. Dr. Gülçin Çandarlıoğlu
at the symposium



Prof. Dr. Mualla Uydu, Assist. Prof. Dr. Meryem Hakim,
Assoc. Prof. Dr. Darken Kurmangaliy at the symposium



Assist. Prof. Dr. Leysen Şahin, Prof. Dr. Nesrin Sarıahmetoğlu, Assoc. Prof. Dr. Roza Musabekova and Prof. Dr. Abdulvahap Kara at the symposium



Assoc. Prof. Dr. Emin Özdemir, Assist. Prof. Dr. Muzaffer Ürekli, Assist. Prof. Dr. Gülnur Kara and Prof. Dr. Altay Orazbayeva at the symposium



Assoc. Prof. Dr. İsmail Türkoğlu and Prof. Dr. Mualla Uydu
at the symposium



Assoc. Prof. Dr. İlyas Kemaloğlu and
Assist. Prof. Dr. Leysen Şahin at the symposium



Prof. Dr. Danağül Mahat, Prof. Dr. Araylim Musagaliyeva, Assoc. Prof. Dr. Fahri Solak and Prof. Dr. Abdolvahap Kara at the symposium



Participants of symposium with together at the closing

