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THE GROWTH OF INTELLECTUAL POTENTIAL XX CENTURY IN KAZAKHSTAN

Abstract. The article describes the dominant role of educational movement in the formation of the Kazakh national intelligence. In a pre-revolutionary Russian part of Central Asia, there were possibilities of development of Islamic integration, a pan-turkizm, and ethnic nationalism. The literate of the Tatar population played the significant role in the distribution of the ideas of Muslim-Turkic unity. The reasons of the defeat of a pan-turkizm in Kazakhstan consisting in the religious indifference of nomads and powerful influence of daily occurrence of the interethnic relations which led to the wide circulation of the Russian culture which was the conductor of westernization of the Kazakh society reveal. The critical role in the choice of a civil way of development of Kazakhs was played by the Russian and Kazakh educators creating the Russian-Kazakh schools and the Kazakh schools with teaching in Russian. Founders of the Kazakh national movement Alash mainly studied at the Russian-Kazakh schools of northern and western districts of the region and in higher educational institutions of the European part of Russia. The Kazakh national project was supported later by the Soviet power during the realization of national-orientated policy.

Key words: national development, intelligence, Alash party.

The article describes the formation of the Kazakh national intelligence as a part of the national and educational growth at the beginning of the 20th century. With socio-economic and political processes that took place in Kazakhstan during that time, they had a profound impact on the spiritual and educational sphere of life of the Kazakh society. The formation of the national intelligentsia was a complicated and lengthy process, hampered by the colonial regime, the discriminatory tsarist policies, which adversely affected the quantitative growth of specialists in the field of the national economy, particularly in industry, culture, education and other important spheres of public life. The socio-economic and political processes that took place in Kazakhstan at the beginning of the 20th century had a profound impact on the spiritual and educational sphere of life of the Kazakh society. The radical changes in the socio-economic and political life of Kazakhstan contributed to a significant transformation of the public consciousness of the people and caused the awakening of national identity, defining the formation of new ideas, thoughts, and views in the Kazakh society.

The accession of Kazakhstan to Russia has led to the fact that to the study of geography, natural resources, economy, history, ethnographies began to come, scientists, travelers here. In the 18th century, in 1769 I headed one of the first expeditions to edge P.S. Pallas. The work "Travel on Different Provinces of the Russian Empire" (1773) became her result. In 1772 N. Rynkov published "Day notes of travel of the captain N. Rychkov to Kyrgyz kaysatsky steppes in 1771". The issue in 1832 of books by A.I. Levshin "The description of the Kyrgyz – the Cossack, or Kyrgyz-kaysatsky hordes and steppes" became a significant stage of studying of Kazakhstan by Russians. Dahl occupies one of the central places among the representatives of the Russian culture who have made an invaluable contribution to studying of folklore, life, and customs; he was the officer at the Orenburg governor 1833-1841. In 1833 while collecting material about a pugachevsky revolt Orenburg and Uralsk were visited by A.S. Pushkin.

In the 19th century among researchers of Kazakhstan, there were world-renowned scientists, such as P.P. Semyonov-Tian-Shansky (1827-19H years), head of the Russian Geographical Society. He explored

the Central Tien Shan, Semirechyyu, and Central Asia traveled around Altai. Under his management the multivolume research "Russia has been made and published. Complete geographical description of the fatherland". Two volumes from them: "The Kyrgyz edge" and "The Turkestan region," are devoted to Kazakhstan and Central Asia. Here geographical conditions, natural wealth, history, the life of Kazakhs are described. Also N.A. Severtsev, I.V. Mushketov studied geography, flora, fauna of Kazakhstan, his natural minerals. The big contribution to the studying of the edge was made by the orientalist, the turcologist, the ethnographer, the academician of the St. Petersburg academy V.V. Radlov (1837-1918). He studied customs, ceremonies, folklore of the people of Altai, the northern areas of Kazakhstan, examined Semirechye. His publications "Samples of National Literature of Turkic Tribes" contain the Kazakh fairy tales, epic works, lyrics. Also, great scientist-orientalist, the archeologist, the linguist, the academician V.V. Velyaminov-Zernov (1830-1904) in books "Research About the Kasimovskikh Tsars and Tsarevitches," "Historical Data about the Kyrgyz-kaysakakh" has consecrated many nodal questions of the history of Kazakhstan. Dobromyslov, Aristov, Krasovsky studied the history of that area. General-staff officers, officials of the Russian administration, political exiled were also engaged in the collection of data on history, ethnography, geography.

In the cultural development and social thought in Kazakhstan in the second half of the 19th century, the critical role was played by scientific organizations and cultural and educational institutions. Departments of the Russian Geographical Society have been open in Orenburg (1868), in Omsk (1877), then section in Semipalatinsk, and in 1897 – department in Turkestan. They published collections where materials on history, ethnography, geography were published.

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The accession of Kazakhstan to Russia influenced the development of education. Children of wealthy parents got an education in madrasah of Bukhara. Samarkand, Khiva, Tashkent. Children of ordinary nomads, generally boys, received literacy elements in the Muslim schools. Educational institutions of secular character began to open in connection with the requirement of training of officials of the colonial experts: translators, clerks. Those were, the Asian school opened in 1786 in Omsk, in 1789 Government school in Orenburg, in them the Russian and Kazakh children studied. In 1825 the cadet corps in Orenburg, and in 1846 - in Omsk was open, they trained military experts and administrative officials. The first Kazakh secular school was open in 1841 in the Bukeevsky khanate, and in 1850 in Orenburg at the Boundary Commission. Poorly female education developed. Only thanks to I. Altynsarin's efforts in 1887 the women's school in Irgiz was open. In 1890-1896 the Russian-Kazakh women's schools in Turgai, Kostanay opened. Karabutake, Aktyubinsk. The first professional educational institutions were the Turkestan teacher's seminary founded in 1879, and the Orenburg Kazakh teacher's school began in 1883. Later teacher's academies in Aktyubinsk, True, Semipalatinsk, Uralsk were open. For all pre-October period, they trained 300 Kazakh teachers. Also in the 19th century agricultural and medical assistant's schools were free, but there was no higher educational institution.

During the 19th century several powerful bards, including Makhambet Otemisov and Shortanbay Qanauwlï, chose as their theme the diminution of the Kazakh way of life under increasing Russian pressure. Among the western Kazakhs of the Little Zhuz, this oral literary development reached its culmination in the second half of the 19th century and the early 20th century in the works of Buhar Zhıraw, who

combined the didacticism of the zhıraw with the quick wit of the improvising aqın. His poetry frequently treats such issues as the types of behavior that are appropriate to different stages of life.

Kazakh oral poetry of the 19th century displays breadth and diversity unmatched by any other Turkic oral literature. The Kazakh literary concept of humanity was in a complex interdependency of the natural and the human realms that expressed through numerous metaphors dealing with animal life and the forces of nature. A didactic element is essential in these works, but its basis is fundamentally human; religious models may appear, but they are one model among others and do not claim the absolute priority that they do in the works of literature of other Muslim Turkic peoples.

Chokan Valikanov, Ibray Altınsarın, and Abay Qunanbaev (Abay Ibrahim Kunanbay-ulï) – all of whom were writing during the mid- and late 19th century – mark the beginning of a new and essentially modern self-consciousness among the Kazakh intelligentsia. Valikanov was the first Kazakh to receive a full Russian education, and Russian novelist Fyodor Dostoyevsky befriended him. A

After 1905, restrictions that had earlier been imposed by Russia on the publication of works in the Kazakh language were eased. Kazakh-language newspapers such as Ayqap, Alash, and Qazaq, each with a different cultural and political orientation, soon emerged. The generation of Kazakh writers active at that time, including Omar Qarashuwlï and Ahmed Bay Tursunov (Aqmet Baytūrsyn-ulï), was chiefly engaged in pedagogic and political activities. The poet Turmaghanbet Iztileyov was executed by Soviet leader Joseph Stalin in 1939 for his translations of Persian classical literature into Kazakh.

The outstanding figure of Kazakh literature during the Soviet era was Mukhtar Auezov. He graduated in Russia and Uzbekistan, later he became a successful writer who published some of Kazakh stories. He started to write during his education in university. By the 1920s he had begun to study Abay, who played had been a significant role on his upbringing. Auezov wrote his novel Abay. Epic in scope, it depicts the social environment from which Abay emerged. It was both a moving narrative and a unique document of Kazakh life during the period of the Russian conquest and after that when Kazakhs faced fundamental economic and cultural choices for which their traditional culture had not prepared them.

The beginning of the 20th century was a new stage in the development of intellectual potential. Culturally, this was expressed in the assimilation first of representatives of the social elite, a narrow stratum of people, European culture and new values. Representatives of the national intelligentsia in the course of receiving education in European educational institutions were influenced not only by the national movement in the East, but also by the bourgeois revolutions of the West, the growing pressure of oppositional-minded compatriots to the tsarist regime. "The emergence and development of the periodical press in turn contributed to the development of capitalism, commodity-money relations, transport and communications, further colonization of the region". During this period, the competition between the nascent national bourgeoisie and the ruling Russian bourgeoisie, as well as the penetration of foreign capital, necessitated the reform of the education, press and communication system. The first Russian revolution of 1905-1907, the first world war of 1914-1918, the national liberation movement of the Kazakhs of 1916, the development of capitalism and, finally, the Great October Socialist Revolution were important milestones in the new history of the Kazakh people. A small national intelligentsia in these conditions began the fight for independence and freedom, and getting rid of the double oppression of the colonial yoke of tsarism and the local patriarchal-tribal clan. The main achievement of the Kazakh intelligentsia was that it noticed the growing Russification on time and began searching for means to bring the Kazakh society into motion, using for this purpose the social and political freedoms granted by the first Russian revolution; the intelligentsia sought to rescue the Kazakh people from tsarist oppression and patriarchal-tribal backwardness by shedding the light of knowledge and progress. Undoubtedly, it was a path of difficult struggle, complex conflicts and searches. At the beginning of the 20th century, educational activity in the spirit of a democratic cultural tradition was vigorously developing in Kazakhstan. It started with the opening of primary schools, especially Russian-Kazakh ones. Kazakh youth were trained in secondary special educational institutions of Tashkent, Orenburg, Omsk, and also in Kazan, Petersburg, Tomsk University, and later many of them were sent for teaching activities in rural areas, and some - in medical, cultural, educational and administrative institutions. The national Kazakh intelligentsia focused the people on the development of the country on the path of independence, conducted propaganda for gaining knowledge, engaging in science and art. In this process, a great role was given to Kazakh literature, which contributed to the portrayal of the life of the Kazakh people and the protection of its interests. The

development of education was also promoted by the publication of the periodical press, among which was the most popular newspaper 'Kazakh', whose editor was the famous enlightener Ahmet Baitursynov, and a secretary Mirjakyp Dulatov. Also, "the development of national culture and education was greatly influenced by the magazine "Ayqap", published in 1911-1915, which contributed to the development of literature, language and national identity".

Opposite processes - the intensive development of new trends in public life - on the one hand, and the existence of strong foundations of feudal antiquity - on the other created a somewhat complicated situation in the literature. In the conditions of a sharpened class, ideological struggle, the division among writers became more acute, which openly raised public problems in their works and polemics. The primary motives of the works of representatives of the reactionary trend in the Kazakh literature of the twentieth century were the idealization of the past, the preaching of Islam, the support of the anti-popular policy of autocracy. This time in history represented growth of the intelligence such as Sultanmakhmut Toraigyrov, Mukhamedzhan Seralin, Sabit Donentayev, Spandiyar Kubeev, Beimbet Mailin, Ahmet Baitursynov, Mirzhakyp Dulatov, Shakarim Kudaiberdiyev, Magzhan Zhumabayev, Zhusupbek Aimauytov. They continued the traditions of Abai Kunanbayev in their literary works. Their publicistic statements on the pages of revolutionary democratic publications ridiculed the vestiges of patriarchal relations, religious fanaticism, fought for social equality, opposed the colonial policy of tsarism and capitalist exploitation, called upon the people to enlighten, settled and agriculture, raised the issue of the emancipation of women. At the beginning of the twentieth century, Kazakhstan's cultural ties were reinforcing. Progressively-minded poets and writers, increasingly turning to Russian and West European classics, began translating the works of Pushkin, Lermontov, Tolstoy, Krylov and other leading Russian classics, including their translations and transcriptions from Western European culture. The genre composition of Kazakh literature also became diverse: it was during this period that the first Kazakh novels, dramas, stories were written, critical articles, essays began to emerge for the first time, and the satire developed. Kazakh literature has stepped onto a qualitatively new stage of development, and the publication of books in the Kazakh language had had a significant positive impact on the development of education in the region. In a short period, there were about 200 books published, including translated works of Russian writers. There were also samples of Kazakh folk art, compositions of the East classics, religious and heroic poems. It should be noted that in order to study the history, nature, and geology of the region more thoroughly, departments of the Russian Geographical Society, statistical and other scientific and industrial committees were created in Kazakhstan; along with Russian scientists, Kazakh researchers such as Ahmet Baitursynov, Alikhan Bukeikhanov, Bakytzhan Karataev, Zhakyp Akpaev, Zhahansha and Khalil Dosmukhamedov, etc., embarked on invaluable scientific works, which has been used as the most valuable sources so far. To sum up, it is imperative to emphasize that since the period when there was an irreconcilable struggle between the ideology of chauvinistic colonialism and the ideology of freedom and independence, the public consciousness of the people was ambiguous and constituted a complex phenomenon. Actively disseminated by prominent representatives of the advanced Kazakh intelligentsia, the ideas contributed to the desire of society to develop education and culture, the formation of self-awareness, exerted a tremendous influence on the sense of justice, the morality of the people. The Kazakh intelligentsia considered the protection of national and public values and interests to be the primary task of their political activity. They were marked by the desire to establish an independent statehood, to free people from colonial oppression, to fight for public values, such as the right of every person and every people to freedom of self-determination and free access to the achievements of world educational practice and culture.

In 1917, following the fall of the Russian empire, Alash Orda, a provisional Kazakh government formed by members of the Alash nationalist party, partially filled the power vacuum in present-day Kazakhstan. Alash Orda constituted an essential achievement of the quickly developing Kazakh intelligentsia, but a mere twelve years earlier, at the time of the 1905 revolution, neither Alash nor any other organized Kazakh elite group existed. At that time, the Kazakh elite consisted of two loosely organized camps of intellectuals: those who saw the Kazakhs' path to modernity as intimately connected to the secular European tradition through Russia, therefore called the secular intellectuals and those who saw it linked to the Islamic world, the religious intellectuals. This dichotomy continued to characterize Kazakh intellectual discourse through the revolution of 1917, after which the religious intellectuals became increasingly estranged, especially following the fall of Alash Orda to the Soviets.

Alash, as an elite group, was aligned with the secular side of the Kazakh intelligentsia, and its rise to power saw the fall of the religiously-oriented portion of that intelligentsia. While these groups held the same basic tenets – that Kazakh society had fallen into backwardness and required significant reforms, including sedentarization – they put forth competing visions for the future. Considering its historical context, the secular vision's relative success poses an interesting question about the formation of a Kazakh national intelligentsia and related nation-building attempts. Kazakhs had long lived under Russian rule and watched as Russians took their land and destroyed their traditional lifestyle. This paper will explain why, then, they ended up supporting the secular intellectuals, given the opportunity to support anti-Russian, Islamic-oriented groups. This paper will show that Alash's recognition of both Russian and Tatar threats to Kazakhness explains its relative success.

There has been much work on the causes of Alash's rise. For example, Gulnar Kendirbaeva, a historian of Kazakh nationalism, argues that Alash's position favoring gradual sedentarization of the Kazakhs was critical to their success. While a valuable contribution, her study is also exemplary of two underlying problems with the existing literature. First, its exclusive focus on land overlooks the fact that the Kazakh intelligentsia was, in fact, concerned with other significant issues at this time. These included education, language, customary law, and religion in addition to land. Second, and more importantly, because the primary land issue was Russian seizure of Kazakh lands to accommodate Russian peasant migrants (discussed in more detail below), this narrow scope suggests that Russians were the only significant outside force in Kazakh political life, which is not true. Indeed, Russia played a significant role in Kazakh political developments, and the secular intelligentsia's support of gradual sedentarization played a vital role in its success. At the same time, a very significant Tatar legacy remained from the years of Tsarist state-sponsored Tatarization.

The central problem for the early 20th-century Kazakh intelligentsia was the "national and cultural survival of the Kazakh people, i.e., the preservation of Kazakh culture and mentality – 'qazaqtyq' (Kazakhness)," which was rooted in nomadism. Thus, when confronted, for example, with Russian incursions onto Kazakh lands, threatening Kazakhs' ability to lead a nomadic lifestyle, they redefined Kazakhness to reconcile Kazakh identity with the necessity of sedentarization.

To fully understand this redefinition of Kazakhness, it is essential to consider the Kazakh intelligentsia's beliefs concerning the development of nations. Historian Peter Rottier argues that a critical aspect of the intelligentsia's conceptualization of Kazakhness was their acceptance of the Russian intelligentsia's belief in the linearity of the historical development of nations, which resulted because of history as "a way to explain both the roots of the Kazakh nation and its future development." The Kazakh intelligentsia reconciled the historical importance of nomadism in Kazakhness with sedentarization by "presenting settlement as the next stage in developing an advanced society," even if it was being forced upon them.

Thus, the survival of the Kazakh people depended upon a reconceptualization of Kazakhness. Such a reconceptualization required at least partial adoption of another civilization's tradition, for it required a new understanding of modernity. In the Kazakh case, the reconceptualization relied mostly on Russian civilization. While this is not surprising given the Russian education of most Kazakh intellectuals, it meant that they were faced with the conundrum of promoting the same, or at least similar, policies as their colonial overlords, while opposing the colonial rule. To do so required them to incorporate aspects of traditional Kazakhness connected to, but not dependent on, nomadism and to limit appropriation of Russian ideas in their new conception of Kazakhness whenever possible. This would help accomplish the central goal of the reconceptualization of Kazakhness, which was to provide as much continuity as possible in Kazakh identity while eliminating the role of nomadic lifestyle in that identity.

Saulesh Esenova offers excellent support for this view in a study of Shezhyre, a "genealogical register of all Kazakh tribes and lineages compiled…as a part of the Kazakh resistance to Russian colonization" in the early 20th century. Shezhyre was "closely associated with pastoralism," which allowed groups like Alash, which, not incidentally, took its name from the mythical founding ancestor of Kazakhs, to attack "the historic commitment of Kazakhs to pastoralism," while forming a single Kazakh identity connected to their language and history.

While Russification – notably the seizure of Kazakh lands—was the most immediate threat to Kazakhness, and thus a favored topic of scholars of Kazakh nationalism, Tatarization presented an equally significant threat to Kazakh identity.

Such political activity of the masses was connected to the Revolution of 1905 and subsequent politicization of the steppe. Alikhan Bukeikhanov, the most prominent early 20th-century Kazakh intellectual, believed the experience of 1905 was instrumental in forming the intelligentsia. In a 1910 contribution to a Constitutional Democrat (Kadet) publication, he wrote, "The entire steppe was engaged in the political sphere, and captured by the liberation movement's flow. A lively conversation on the needs of the Kirgiz [Kazakh] people began," in 1905, in which "religious and agrarian questions stood before questions of political freedom."

In the years following 1905, Kazakh intellectuals gained venues through which to express their views on threats to Kazakhness. The first such venue, the new State Duma in St. Petersburg, and was short-lived. A total of nine Kazakhs were elected to represent the steppe in the first two Dumas, after which Kazakhs lost their right to participation in imperial politics with the second Duma's dissolution in June 1907. These Kazakhs aligned themselves with the Kadets, primarily due to that party's support of all nationalities' "right to free cultural self-determination," and participated in the Muslim caucus of the Duma. By doing so, they showed their devotion to the preservation of Kazakhness, in some form, and attempted to use their positions in the capital to forward those goals.

Kazakh intellectuals also poured energy into publishing, writing, often in verse, and distributing books and pamphlets highlighting the Russian threat to Kazakhness, especially through seizure of land. Increasing government willingness to use repression to stop anti-colonial sentiment did not stop Mukhamedzhan Seralin from pushing for permission to begin publishing a Kazakh-language journal. In 1910, he received permission, and he began printing Ai qap [Oh, Alas!] in 1911.

Following Seralin's lead, Akhmet Bukeikhanov and other secular intellectuals began publishing Qazaq [Kazakh] in 1913. These periodicals became the venues of choice for the religious and secular intelligentsia. Ai qap provided a podium for Seralin and like-minded Islamic-oriented intellectuals concerned, first and foremost, with religion as a means of spreading their views, while Qazaq provided Bukeikhanov and other secular intellectuals to their venue. Interestingly, as has already been noted, both publications shared an overarching goal. They strove to preserve Kazakhness and save Kazakh identity from destruction by outside forces. The immediacy of Russian threats, especially regarding land, caused fierce anti-Russian sentiment in both groups. Nevertheless, both groups and periodicals discussed far more than the land issue. They also both devoted significant attention to questions of education and language.

On these issues, Qazaq editor Akhmet Baitursynov formulated the secularized intelligentsia's position, writing, "[i]n order to save our independence, and we must attempt…to rise to a state of enlightenment," a major part of which was promoting the Kazakh language. Moreover, he believed this was the priority in preserving Kazakhness because, "[t]he modern Kazakh intelligentsia, having received their education in Russian schools and Tatar medreses [religious schools], already begin to feel contempt for the Kazakh language, and begin to speak Russian or Tatar among themselves." Especially when compared with Seralin's belief that more significant connection with the Tatars was necessary to promote the advancement of Kazakh society, Baitursynov's writings, together with Karkaralinsk Petition, recognize that Tatars and Russians presented relatively same threats to Kazakhness.

Recognition of the Tatar threat to Kazakhness in the 1905 Karkaralinsk Petition has often been overlooked. Indeed, Bukeikhanov claims that its focus on religious issues was the result of a "Turkophile victory," despite the fact that the remainder of the petition contained many ideas Bukeikhanov himself supported. The reason for such misinterpretations is that the Petition does not so much as mention Tatar influence in a negative light. This does not, however, imply lack of recognition of the Tatar threat. Preferably, a careful reading and comparison with clearly pan-Turkist demands, with special consideration of what the petitioners did not demand, reveals an implicit recognition of negative Tatar influence.

Education provides an especially potent example of the recognition of Tatar threat. The petition's point on education, which appears immediately after that on religion, and which is the longest point in the document, is extremely critical of the existing educational situation. The essential complaint is, "aul schools [i.e., state schools] do not pursue a goal of enlightenment, but rather something unknown". This "something unknown" shows, above all, distrust of Russian intentions. The petitioners may not have stated a bright idea of what precisely Russian intentions were, but, based on context, it seems quite clear that the unknown intention of educational policy was to further Russification of the Kazakhs in some way.

Nevertheless, the petition indicated support for secular education, an essential value of Westernized intellectuals, and an antithetical value to the Islamic-oriented intellectuals calling for

Thus, though wary of Russian influence in education, the petitioners supported continued instruction of Russian in primarily Kazakh-language schools to enable further educational opportunities. Moreover, they wanted an increase in opportunities for Kazakhs to enroll in Russian secular education, provided it did not threaten their Kazakhness through private Russian-language instruction.

While the position stated in the Karkaralinsk Petition on education may be primarily directed at minimizing Russifying educational policies, comparison with an appeal of Muslims from southern Kazakh lands to the Duma shows implicit concern for negative Islamic influence. There, the authors present an extreme pan-Turkist position:

Existing native (Russian-native) schools do not benefit us in any way, for the simultaneous study of two subjects is not accessible to our young children, a result of which is that they do not achieve the results they should in either subject…Therefore, the schools mentioned above should be closed.

Not only did they oppose an expansion of secular education; they explicitly condoned the elimination of such schools. The Kazakhs compiling the Karkaralinsk Petition were likely confronted with this option but concluded secular Russian-sponsored education was more likely to benefit the Kazakhs than Tatar-sponsored religious education. This should not come as a surprise, for the appeal for religious education also calls on the Duma to "completely abolish" the Kazakh Muslims' customary law, and stipulates, "their affairs should be handled…by shari'a." Without a doubt, the Karkaralinsk petitioners did not desire a replacement of Kazakh customary law with Islamic law, for doing so would merely replace undue Russian influence with undue Tatar influence, threatening Kazakhness differently.

One might conclude that this is the extreme Islamic traditionalist position and that petitioners would have agreed most with Jadid (Muslim reformist) perspectives. Indeed, Jadid intellectuals, who were primarily Kazan and Crimean Tatar, did support secularized education. They did not, however, support secular education in Russian schools. Instead, they called for the secularization of the curriculum in Muslim schools, allowing them to provide an education comparable to that of Russian schools, while still teaching some religious subjects. The petitioners' support for at least the continuation of Russian-Kazakh schools, therefore, contradicted not only the traditionalist but also the reformist Islamic-oriented perspective.

Thus, while the 1905 petition focused on limiting the Russian threat to Kazakhness, it cannot be considered a denial of the existence of a Tatar threat to Kazakhness. Preferably, it represents a prioritization of threats to Kazakhness, concluding that limiting the Russian threat was more immediately necessary, while still recognizing that Tatars posed a significant threat. The prominence of Islam that so worried Bukeikhanov is not a sign of pan-Turkist sentiment, but of the use of Islam as a motivator. So for the Kazakhs, it was just that: Islam could be used to mobilize Kazakhs, and its preservation was one of their goals, but threats to the Islamic aspect of Kazakhness did not form the core of Kazakh demands. This was true in 1905, as well as in 1916, on the outbreak of a mass revolt in response to the Tsar's conscription of Kazakh labor for the war with Germany, and in 1917, when they voted for Kazakh representatives to the All-Russian Constituent Assembly.

In the 1916 revolt, Islam seems to have played different roles. Some religious leaders supported anti-Russian actions, framing them as holy war, while others opposed the revolt altogether. Even those who favored rebellion did not call for the creation of an Islamic Kazakh state, because a non-Islamic nomadic state structure was much more familiar. Most importantly, Islam motivated revolt, a mobilizing call, but not an actual goal or model for further development. As in 1905, Islam was merely a way to get Kazakhs to act, not formative of the core of their demands.

Thus, when given a chance to elect representatives to the Constituent Assembly and regional and all-Kazakh congresses, they overwhelmingly chose members of the secular intelligentsia, who became the Alash party. The reason for this support was that these intellectuals showed consideration of the religious question, but did not focus too heavily on it, in the same fashion as the 1905 Petition. The best method to understand their positions is to look at the Alash Party Program and Kazakh congress minutes.

Like earlier statements on the part of both the secularized intelligentsia and Karkaralinsk petitioners, Alash intellectuals' positions presented at the Kazakh congresses and in the Alash Party Program were primarily focused on curbing Russification, but also showed recognition of a significant Tatar threat to

Kazakhness. This understanding of a dual threat to Kazakhness was most evident in the discussion of religion and education. While the program itself included little on either of these issues, they were discussed at much greater length in regional congresses and the All-Kazakh Congresses, convened in July and December of 1917.

This condensing of central Kazakh goals in the platform is likely since autonomy depended on support from other autonomies following the fall of the Tsarist system in February. Religion and education were significant issues for the Kazakhs, but not nearly as important to other autonomies as political and administrative reforms. For that reason, the Alash platform's first sentence read, "Russia should become a democratic, federative republic," the first section expanded on that demand, the second described the autonomy's place within that system, and the third declared fundamental political freedoms.

When the platform did reach the issue of religion, its position was:

Religion should be separated from the state. Every [religion] should be free and equal. The Kirgiz [Kazakhs] should have a separate muftiate. Kirgiz mullahs should keep Marriage, birth, death and divorce records.

The first two sentences were likely included to further establish Alash's credentials as a supporter of a democratic federative Russian republic but also served to protect Kazakh Islam from Russian interference. Likewise, the final sentence was a non-crucial demand, designed mostly to protect from the Russian threat. The third was by far the most significant demand for the Kazakhs and was meant not only to protect against Russian interference with Islam but also to limit Tatar influence in Kazakh Islam.

Creating a separate Kazakh muftiate accomplished two goals: first, it enabled more significant connection to the Muslim world and protected the Islamic aspect of Kazakhness; second, it sheltered Kazakh Islam from Tatar control and thereby protected non-Islamic aspects of Kazakhness from Tatar Islamic influence.

The July All-Kazakh Congress, in particular, provides support. There, Kazakhs from nearly all regions agreed to support the temporary inclusion of Kazakh lands in the Orenburg Muftiate's jurisdiction, until the creation of a Kazakh department within the Muftiate. A next All-Kazakh congress, meeting in December 1917, clarified the exact nature of this demand, stipulating that "all Kirgiz affairs should be examined by only the Kirgiz department together with the muftiate," and that all activities within the Kazakh department should be carried out in Kazakh. By far the likeliest reason for such explicit demands for the treatment of Kazakh religious affairs is the desire to limit Tatar power.

Elsewhere, this desire is expressed even more explicitly. The April Turgai Regional Congress shows extreme suspicion of Tatar control of Muslim institutions. One of its demands was the "proportional representation of Tatars and Kirgiz" in elections for religious officials, apparently aimed at setting limits on Tatar religious influence. Based on these expanded positions, the rationale behind Alash's support of a separate Kazakh muftiate is clear. The creation of such a muftiate would simultaneously shield Kazakhs from pervasive Tatar influence in religious institutions, and allow cultivation of the Islamic aspect of Kazakhness.

Alash's position on education, like that on religion, reveals a recognition of a Tatar threat to Kazakhness. Two points demonstrate this extraordinarily well. The platform declared that Kazakh schools must have Kazakh language instruction and that the Kazakhs should have their own secondary and tertiary educational institutions. The former primarily addresses Russifying educational policies, for Tatar had already been all but eliminated in Kazakh schools. The call for Kazakh secondary and post-secondary education, however, aimed to diminish both Russian and Tatar power through education. The lack of such institutions meant that Kazakhs, who were coming to value education more highly, could pursue studies past the primary level only in Russian or Tatar schools, both of which had their motives, and presented a threat to their Kazakh students' Kazakhness.

Responding to the same dual threat, the December All-Kazakh Congress recommended the creation of "national schools" and a committee for the composition of Kazakh language textbooks for primary and secondary schools. Use of the word "national" as a descriptor for the prevalent type of schools is telling. Their purpose would be to support Kazakh national consciousness through the promotion of Kazakhness, and the committee would ensure that the textbooks used in those schools would be devoid of all threats – Russian and Tatar alike – to Kazakhness. This would allow decreased dependence on Russian and Tatar schools, while also reinforcing the Kazakhness of those who would go on to higher education in non-

Kazakh schools. Alash's position on education was thus, as it was with religion, to create a uniquely Kazakh system, drawing from both Russian and Islamic models, but not wholly adopting either.

Conclusions. Alash intellectuals gained wide support within the Kazakh population because they supported a uniquely Kazakh path, recognizing both the Russian and Tatar threats to Kazakhness. Although they supported a reconceptualization of Kazakhness to diminish the role of nomadism, allowing Kazakh society to progress, and looked to civilizations with which the Kazakhs had had a contact for models, they did not propose complete adoption of any such model. For these generally secularized intellectuals, the history of Russians and Tatars among the Kazakhs had shown that complete adoption of either model would mean the destruction of Kazakhs as a unique people. Therefore, as both civilizations attempted to gain power, Alash intellectuals selectively chose aspects of each civilization model, while also maintaining aspects of traditional Kazakhness.

Persistent Tatar influence in Kazakh education and religion, after the shift in Russian policy to anti-Tatarization, make Alash's positions on those issues most revealing of that group's placement between the two models of civilization. On education, Alash accepted the Russian model of secular education, with the caveat that instruction should be conducted in Kazakh. Likewise, they accepted the liberal idea of a secular state, while also promoting the Islamic aspect of Kazakhness, and fostering a connection with the greater Islamic world. In each of these positions, Alash intellectuals considered both the Russian and Tatar threats to Kazakhness and attempted to construct a position that could limit both threats, while also furthering the progress of Kazakh society.

Kazakh society, for its part, after the politicization of the steppe in 1905, showed suspicion of both Russian and Tatar presence and power. In 1905, the Karkaralinsk Petition called for Islamic revival but lacked pan-Turkist sentiment. In 1916, Kazakhs participating in the anti-Tsarist revolt demonstrated that for them, Islam was primarily a motivator, and not cause in and of itself. Therefore, when presented with choices between Alash intellectuals recognizing both the Russian and Tatar threats, and more pan-Turkist movements, whose members saw no detriment to greater Kazakh-Tatar ties, they chose the former precisely because it had correctly recognized the dual threat to Kazakhness.

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XX ғас. БАСЫНДАҒЫ ҚАЗАҚСТАНДА АҒАРТУШЫЛЫҚ ҚОЗҒАЛЫСТАР

Аннотация. Қазақ ұлттық қозғалысының қалыптасуындағы ағартушылық қозғалыстардың әсері қарастырылады. Революцияға дейінгі Орталық Азияның ресей бөлімінде ислам интегрализмі, түркішілдік және этникалық ұлтшылдықтың даму мүмкіндігі жүзеге асырылды. Мұсылман – түркі идеяларының кең таралуына үлкен үлес қосқан білімді татар халқы болды. Қазақстандағы түркішілдіктің жеңіліске ұшырау себептері , қазақ социумын батыстандыруда көшпенділердің діни енжарлығы тұрғысынан орыс мәдениетінің кең таралуына әкелуі,күнделікті ұлтаралық қатынастардың күшті әсері қарастырылады. Қазақтардың ұлттық жолын таңдауда маңызды рольді орыс – қазақ және қазақ мектептерін қалыптастыруға орыс тілінен білім беретін ағартушылар ат салысқан қазақ және орыс ағартушылары болды.

Қазақ ұлттық Алаш қозғалысының негізін қалаушылар незінен Ресейдің европалық бөлігіндегі жоғары оқу орындарында және солтүстік және батыс аудандарының орыс-қазақ мектептерінде білім алған. Олардың бәсекелестері түріктер, оңтүстік аудандардағы кең таралған халықтың сауатты бөлігін оқытатын жаңашыл мектептерде оқыды.

Түйін сөздер: ұлттық қозғалыстар, алаш партиясы, зиялы қауым.

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ПРОСВЕТИТЕЛЬСКОЕ ДВИЖЕНИЕ В КАЗАХСТАНЕ В НАЧАЛЕ XX ВЕКА

Аннотация. Рассматривается влияние просветительского движения на становление казахского национального движения. В дореволюционной российской части Центральной Азии существовали возможности развития исламского интегрализма, пантюркизма и этнического национализма. Большую роль в распространении идей мусульмано-тюркского единства сыграли образованные слои татарского населения. Раскрываются причины поражения пантюркизма в Казахстане, заключающиеся в религиозной индифферентности кочевников и мощном влиянии повседневности межэтнических отношений, приведших к широкому распространению русской культуры, являвшейся проводником вестернизации казахского социума. Важную роль в выборе национального пути развития казахов сыграли русские и казахские просветители, создававшие русско-казахские школы и казахские школы с преподаванием на русском языке. Основатели казахского национального движения Алаш преимущественно обучались в русско-казахских школах северных и западных районов края и в высших учебных заведениях европейской части России. Рассматривается влияние просветительского движения на становление казахского национального движения. В дореволюционной российской части Центральной Азии существовали возможности развития исламского интегрализма, пантюркизма и этнического национализма. Большую роль в распространении идей мусульмано-тюркского единства сыграли образованные слои татарского населения. Раскрываются причины поражения пантюркизма в Казахстане, заключающиеся в религиозной индифферентности кочевников и мощном влиянии повседневности межэтнических отношений, приведших к широкому распространению русской культуры, являвшейся проводником вестернизации казахского социума. Важную роль в выборе национального пути развития казахов сыграли русские и казахские просветители, создававшие русско-казахские школы и казахские школы с преподаванием на русском языке. Основатели казахского национального движения Алаш преимущественно обучались в русско-казахских школах северных и западных районов края и в высших учебных заведениях европейской части России. Их конкуренты тюркисты, обучались в но-вометодных школах, распространенных в южных районах, где их идеи разделялись образованной частью населения.

Ключевые слова: национальные движения, партия Алаш, интеллигенция.