THE HISTORY OF “ALASH ORDA” AUTONOMY AS THE ATTEMPT OF BOURGEOIS GOVERNMENT’S DETERMINATION ON THE TERRITORY OF KAZAKHSTAN IN 1918-1920

G. Z. Kozhakhmetov
Decano del Departamento de Derecho
Universidad Estatal de Karaganda
República de Kazajistán
This article devoted to the history of the formation “Alash-Orda“ autonomy in Kazakhstan in 1918-1920. Alash-Orda“ autonomy had been shown as the one of national-models of state’s building in this period, alongside wite guard’s variant and Bolshevik’s soviet. Although this article explores reasons and circumstances of licuidation «Alash-Orda» government in Kazakhstan.

February bourgeois-democratically revolution of 1917 in Russia left it’s trace in the history of humanity finishing one of the hard, totalitarian regime of that time.

As the result of revolution the imperator of Russia Nikolai II renounced from his throne. There was formed the Temporary government where representatives of different political forces were entered. The main purpose of the Temporary government was the convocation of All-Russian Constituent Assembly, where was supposed to decide finally the form of Russian government’s ruling, but it was uniquely that it supposed to be in the manner of democratically republic.

Unfortunately, the Temporary government couldn’t solve it’s problems, because was obliged to participate in World War I, because of obligations with it’s ally. The country, in the condition of war was plunged to hard economical crisis: there was the lack of provisions, the rise of unemployment, which later will be a communists’ weapon for government up herald’s realization in October 1917. As the result of the revolution the country will go another historical way with a hard consequences for the Russian nation and it’s colonial fringes.

Returning to the epoch of Temporary government, it should be added, that a huge, disintegrating empire had a choice: to take a way of European bourgeois democracy with a granting more or less broad rights for national fringes or to build socialistic republic with the determination of the dictatorship of the proletarian, which was offered by radical revolutionaries social-democrats –Bolsheviks and finally the way, which was offered by “white motion”, the remainders of imperial army– the restoration of old autocratic Russia, with adding some democratic elements, which created visibility that Russia went by the way of bourgeois democracy.

It should be marked, that the way of bourgeois-democratically development of Russia was supported by national fringes, one of them was Kazakhstan. During all it’s colonial history from the half of XVIII century it was the region where natural wealth were extorted end it was the raw appendage for developing industry of Russia. A huge territories of steppes also was used for transmigration of the people from parent state. There was no even the simplest forms of local public home
rule, the region was ruled by the military official of colonial administration. Any discontent of local people was accompanied by cruel shrift with using the police and armed power. Because of it the fringes, as nobody else needed federative government with the consecration of civil rights and political liberty among all population of the country. From this point of view, “Alash Orda” autonomy which was formed in Kazakhstan at this years presented very alternative variant of development not only Steppe areas, but also all Russia.

The history of “Alash Orda” autonomy goes to those saturated historical events of 1917.

The association of the public motion “Alash” into the party had occurred on I All-Kazakh congress which passed from 21 till 28 July 1917 in Orenburg, the party’s program was published later in November. It’s developers were A.Bukeikhanov, A.Baitursinov, M.Dulatov, E.Gumarov, E.Turmyhamedov and others. The main principles of Kazakh government building were formulated in this program.

So, according to this program Kazakhstan was announced as independent state in form of national-territorial autonomy in structure of Russia Federative State. Russian State was supposed to be a parliament republic; as the head of legislative power was supposed to be The Dyma –the parliament of Russia, as the head of executive power– the President.

In the program there was clearly noted that even one law couldn’t be changed or accepted without the Parliament –State Dyma. Also the Dyma had a right of the request and checking an executive power– the Ministry [1-259].

Insight and prescience, science character in approach to its projects always characterized the leaders of “Alash” party. In difference from Bolsheviks they were distant from utopian ideas and in greater degree in their activity they relied on practical experience accumulated by the mankind.

It should be marked, that in the program of “Alash” party there was given a special place for manors, as one of the universal forms of the local home-ruling. As it well-known, in Russia, the manors was incorporated in the second half of XIX century during the greatest reforms conducted by Aleksandr II. However, reforms of Aleksandr II, including the manors, weren’t spread colonial fringes, one of which was the Kazakhstan. Because of it, one of the main problem of Kazakh democratically intelligent, as the whole “Alash” party, beginning
from 1905 was the requirement to give Steppe regions manor home-ruling. This requirements were the main activity of deputies from Kazakh population of first and second State Dyma. However tsarizm was relentless. It had no intention to give the manors to the region, because it was complacent by colonial ruling. Only due to Temporary government had got fondest home-ruling. For fairness there should be marked, that during 7 month of staying at the head of government the Temporary government in condition of the sharp political fight in society made a lot of useful things for national fringes, in comparable with Russian autocracy. In fact, there were incorporated manor home-ruling, jury, the mobilization of Kazakh to the military work was stopped, and so on.

“Alash” party’s leaders was obliged to the Temporary government and with a help of seal pages treed to explain to people a practical profit of manor home-ruling. For example, in the ”Manor” article of the Alikhan Bukeikhanov, he wrote that manors are institutions, which were selected by population themselves, and manors are their protector, handhold and hope. Nothing can help people in their everyday life as manors. So he called Kazakh people to support election and choose for this job title more worthy and more literate representatives [2-253].

But Bolsheviks had another opinion in relation of manors. For example, Lenin in his works wrote, that manors are the fifth wheel in “cart” of Russian government’s ruling. His negative opinion to manor is understandable since they had their own plan of the changing the bourgeois form of democracy to Soviets.

From 5 till 13 December 1917, in Orenburg, there was held the Second All-Kazakh congress, where was selected Temporary National Soviet, the chairman of which was elected Alihan Bukeikhanov.

The Temporary National Soviet consisted of 25 person and 15 of them were selected on the congress. Such well-known public figures as Ahmed Beremzhanov, Halel Gabbasov, Mystafa Chokaev, Alimhan Ermekov, Myhametzhan Tinishbaev, Dzhansha Dosmyhamedov, Bahtigerei Kylmanov, Zhakip Akbaev and others entered in it from different regions of Kazakhstan. [3-74].

It is notable, that the decision of II All-Kazakh congress other ten places were left for deputies from Russian people and other nationalities.

From the first days of it’s formation, Kazakh autonomy “Alash Orda” having practiced on itself tsarist government’s politic in the manner of national inequality and humiliations, began to build it’s own state on the principles of internality.
Headquarter of “Alash Orda” autonomy was supposed to be in Semipalatinsk city. Later, on the autonomy’s territory of West and East departments will be formed.

A special activity was shown by Soviet of National Commissars and other institution of Soviet Russia. “Alash Orda” party’s leaders tried to obtain confession of Kazakh autonomy from Bolsheviks in this conditions. For this purposes there were held negotiations with Soviet government. However, as the further events showed Bolshevik’s management uniquely hinted that Kazakh autonomy can be accepted only in condition of confectioning the power of Soviet.

A distrust to Bolsheviks as to whole October revolution, which took place in nomadic cattle breeders’ regions grew every day. Akhmet Baityrzinov described the attitude of the scolded inhabitants to Soviet: “How Bolshevik’s motion occurred in the central parts of Russia- kirgizs didn’t know. In fringes it was accompanied with violence, robbery, abuse and special dictatorial power. …My allies and I didn’t accept with such position earlier under tsarist authorities and can’t accept it now, knowing that such things take place all over Soviet Russia, they were against Soviet authorities” [4-308].

Since the time the relationship between “Alash Orda” government and Soviet power had altered to open armed opposition.

The Bolshevik government of Russia using an open military power under pretext of the Civil War disposed with national bourgeois-democratic nations and it’s state formations. For example, on the III All-Russian congress in January 1918, Stalin in his report on national problem openly declared that Soviet government “…had to continue so called Civil War” on fringe, which on-essences is a fight with Bourgeois nationalistic government, which doesn’t want to accept the power of Soviets on it’s territory [5-35].

After white guard rout and the abolition of Soviets in 24 June 1918, in Semipalatinsk, “Alash Orda” took a resolution about unavaibleness of all Soviet authorities’ laws on the autonomy territory [6-173].

In this period, there lasted a construction of autonomy, if fact, there was formed a Military Soviet, consisting from 3 people with the functions of military ministry and with a right of forming a local military soviets. There were restored all existed manors’ institutions.

In this period there were enclosed a great effort for forming the military parts in the manner of horse militia by the autonomics management.
In quickly changing military-political situation, “Alash Orda” autonomies’ government took an attempts to adjust relationships with “White Motion” and obtain the confession of Kazakh government. Among them there was a Temporary Siberian Government. The projects, agreements, negotiations which were winnowed by “Alash Orda” government hadn’t any results. The official Temporary Siberian government’s seal in August 1918 “Siberian speech” wrote: “Only the state, daring on self-destruction, could go of own accord on that sort of separatism”. Then, the newspaper noted that the Temporary Siberian Government couldn’t acknowledge “Alash Orda” autonomy and one thing that it could provide for Kazakhstan is the satisfaction of cultural national necessities [7-73].

Couldn’t get a positive result in negotiation with Temporary Siberian Government, “Alash Orda” directs it’s attention to another object of anti-Bolshevik’s camp-Komuch.

Competing with Liberian Government, Komuch acknowledged all autonomy formations on national fringes territory. “Alash Orda” was acknowledged as the governments of Bashkir, Orenburg and Ural.

As it was seen the breakout had succeed. Esser’s liberalism played it’s role in supporting of Steppe region’s interests. However, a Komuch days were limited.

In September 1918, anti-Bolshevik’s power of Siberia, Ural on the Uphim counsel signed a final act about the formation of Temporary Russian Government-Directory.

The activity of Directory wasn’t long. In November 1918, in Omsk where was situated its headquarter, as a result of military upheaval. The whole power was alter real to the Sovereign Ruler an admiral A.V.Kolchak.

In comparable with his own predecessors in fight with Bolshevik government, Kolchak didn’t try to “play” in democracy. As a true military he conducted direct and cruel politician for saving the empire which had no assuming any independent for national military.

Finally, at the end of 1919 and in the beginning of 1920, unacknowledged by Bolshevik and anti-Bolshevik camp later, “Alash Orda” Kazakh autonomy had to take the conditions of Soviet power. It means that they had to say pack the weapon, dismiss the army, bodies of power and ruling and to give all property to the Kazakh Revolution Committee.
It is necessary to note that this decision wasn’t easy for leaders of “Alash Orda” party. They donated the autonomy for saving nation from vain bloodshed.

The events of that hard time for Kazakhstan show us that nation intellectuals and other population from which “Alash” party consisted used its chance, given by history to create Kazakh national government to which nomads aspired on extents of many hundred years. As the result of it appeared the model of national-territorial autonomy, which was based on principles of Bourgeois democracy in the manner of “Alash Orda” autonomy. Unfortunately, objective conditions and military political situation of that time hadn’t allowed to realize their plans till the end. However their labor and victims, brought into the name of liberty didn’t disappear in vain for future generation.

The ideas, which were put in a basis of the state are conformable with present day time where Kazakhstan nation builds the democratic legal state, where the main places occupies person’s rights and liberties. The power assists with all power to the development of harmonious personalities and promotes the conservation of the national culture and distinctive of all nationalities, which are included into Sovereign Kazakhstan.

The list of used literature:

In that place. pág. 253.


Amanzholova D.A. Kazakh autonomy and Russia. M. Young Russia. 1994. pág. 73.
Anotation

The history of “Alash-Orda” autonomy’s creation is researched in this article. It is shown the meaning of February revolution, bourgeois-democratic revolution of 1917 year, because of it appeared objective condition for overthrow in Russian Imperia.

According to the author’s opinion, the main accomplishment of February revolution is rendering opportunity for national outskirts for creation their own State system in the frame of isolated Russia.

The article “Alash-Orda” autonomy was alternative to Bolshevik and monarchy variants of Russia’s development in the meaning.

National intellectuals, which head “Alash-Orda” autonomy, saw Kazakhstan in its project as independent state in the compound of Russian Federation. Russia was presumed to be democratic and parliamentary republic with the head of legislative body must to be parliament – State council, and head of executive body must be – President.

According to the democrats’ opinion political rights and citizens’ freedom must be proclaimed in the country, electoral law must be universal and equal in the conditions of multi-party system.

According to this, leaders of “Alash-Orda” autonomy were against of Bolshevik’s class revolutionary way of Russia’s society development, and didn’t want to admit Soviet power and this condition predetermined their future destiny.

Under the urge of Red Army “Alash-Orda” autonomy must dissolve their power body and armed forces, but according to the author’s opinion it will not be unnecessary for the freedom of future generation.

Nodaway ideas of generation give good material for consolidation of democracy and the basis of state society for Kazakhstan, which builds his own sovereign state.

Key words

“Alash-Orda” autonomy – was founded in 1917 among national states on the Russia’s territory after the February revolution.

Kazakh Autonomic Soviet Socialistic Republic – was founded on August 26, 1920 by Bolshevik’s government on the Kazakhstan territory.
Temporary government – was founded by democratic parties of Russia after February revolution of 1917, and was overthrown by Bolsheviks in the result of October revolution of 1917.

White Guard – is stream of Russia’s monarchy power, monarchy parties and rest of armed forces of tsarist Russia was in its structure.

Constituent Assembly – is All-Russian parliament, which was founded by temporary government and its main role was to create future Russia’s destiny. It was dissolved on December, 1917 by Bolsheviks.