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S. Sadvokasov versus Stalinism: National Question in Central Asia /first half of the 20th century/

The article is devoted pages dramatic social history of Kazakhstan and Central Asia. That was a historic step of self-determination of nations within the USSR. Fighters for the Kazakh state, such as Smagul Sadvokasov (1900 – 1933), openly declared development projects in the region. The author conducted research in the archives of a number of countries. Thus, we have clarified the date of S.Sadvokasov lifetime publications. The author analyzes Sadvokasov's views on world history, in particular the East. Restored the facts of his cooperation with the leaders of the union level, shared his opinion.

Keywords: S.Sadvokasov, nomads, Soviet Union, Kazakhs, archival sources, Central Asia, Stalin, state, identity, self-determination.

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Сталинизмге қарсы шыққан С.Сәдуақасов: Орталық Азияда ұлттық мәселе / 20-шы ғасырдың бірінші ж. /

Мақалада автор 20-шы ғасырдың бірінші жартысындағы Қазақстан және Орталық Азияның тарихи кезеңдері мен әлеуметтік-саяси жағдайларына шолу жасайды. Автор Алаш арыстарының бірі Смағұл Сәдуақасовтың (1900 – 1933) тоталитарлық жүйеге ашық түрде қарсы шыққан ой-пікір, ұстанымдарын тың мұрағат деректерімен дәлелдеген. С. Сәдуақасовтың Ресей, Қазақстан мұрағаттарында жатқан мақалалары талдаған.

Түйін сөздер: Сәдуақасов, көшпенділер, Кеңес Одағы, қазақ, мұрағат құжаттары, Орталық Азия, Сталин, мемлекет, тұлға.

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С.Садвокасов против сталинизма: национальный вопрос в Центральной Азии /первая половина 20-го века /

Статья посвящена драматическим страницам социально-политической истории Казахстана и Центральной Азии, периоду самоопределения наций в составе СССР. Такие борцы за самоопределение Казахского государства как Смагул Садвокасов (1900 – 1933), открыто заявляли о специфике развития региона. Автор провела поисковые исследования в ряде архивов Казахстана и России. Таким образом, выявлены датировка и наименования ранее неизвестных, прижизненных публикаций С.Садвокасова. Автор анализирует взгляды С.Садвокасова на всемирную историю, в частности, Востока. Восстановлены редкие факты его деятельности в Москве.

Ключевые слова: С.Садвокасов, кочевники, Советский Союз, казахи, архивные источники, Центральная Азия, Сталин, государство, личность, самоопределение.

Introduction

Disintegration of the USSR and the concept of change in Soviet history opened space for studying

the history of nationalities, formerly part of the Union. Thus, historians of Kazakhstan implement the possibility of recreating the truth about the victims of political repression of the 1930s.

One of those who openly opposed the regime was Smagul Sadvokasov (1900-1933). Since 1920, he held senior positions in the government Kazakhstan autonomy: Head of State Planning, Education, editor in chief of the republican media, Rector of the first Kazakh Pedagogical Institute. Inculcated experience of cooperation in the countryside, advocated national identity management.

Above all, Sadvokasov was the organizer of youth, was directly involved in the creation of a national theater. He translated works of Russian and foreign authors, was the author of articles and plays for the theater.

Despite Sadvokasov authority, the leadership of Kazakhstan and the Kremlin did not like his critical attitude to the idea of collectivization. He was removed from office, accused of «nationalism» and expelled from Kazakhstan. He first appeared in Tashkent, in the territory of Turkestan. Stripped as rector, he was forced to move his family to Moscow and became a student at the institute. Further, his fate was sealed. He died under mysterious circumstances at the age of 33 years.

Meanwhile, Smagul Sadvokasov was not an ordinary communist. Before joining the party of Lenin, he proved himself an active organizer while students. Moreover, he was close to the party «Alash», the opposition Communists. Working in the government of the Kazakh Republic, in 1923 he married the daughter of one of the leaders of «Alash» Alikhan Bukeykhanov.

All this «spoil» a biography of communist and gave reason, apparently blaming S.Sadvokasov in opposition sentiment. Rehabilitation S.Sadvokasov and acquittals in the case of «nationalist deviators» took place 60 years later.

Clarify the theoretical foundations of confrontation «Shrew» S.Sadvokasov to Stalinist reorganization plan of Kazakhstan and Central Asia, its reasons and arguments we have attempted in this publication.

Materials

Help in this work are the sources from the archives. Deposited in foreign archives in Russia, Uzbekistan and other documents reveal the content of the activity S.Sadvokasov. Documents expose the «script» of violence Stalin autonomous national leaders in the 20- 30 s of the twentieth century.

Traditional methods of scientific research, it is – methods of social and human sciences:

dialectics, historicism, objectivism, comparative studies, math, peers, etc. When deciphering sources and establishing dates, authorship used specific techniques.

Discussion

«Case» of Smagul Sadvokasov fabricated in Kazakhstan Goloshekin fell apart as soon as got to Moscow. It formally Smagul saved from arrest. But not from obstruction by fighters with «national deviationism» zealously took up disclosure nonexistent plot.

The Commission examined in particular Stalin's letter of Kazakh national culture, media and creative intelligentsia from May 29, 1925.

The letter mentions Stalin expat Mustafa Shokai. Deciding that the magazine «Ak Jol» (Kazakh: Shining Path), which came out in Tashkent, Kazakh authors criticize the Soviet reality, he demanded «reorganize radically magazine» Ak- Jol», expelling him from the non-party» [1, 2, 3, 4].

Immediately after receiving the letter of Stalin in Kazakhstan held reshuffle. Sadvokasov S. was appointed head of the People's Commissariat. The newspaper «Ak Jol» was eliminated.

In his new position Sadvokasov actively promoted the idea of opening a national university. He carefully studied the world experience in this direction. Even the language of teaching, he thought. This he said in Tashkent at the opening of the Kazakh Pedagogical Institute. Sadvokasov cited examples from the past of the East: China, Japan, and India [10].

The role of missionaries in educating the Eastern peoples and the importance of the Russian language for the Kazakhs he considered critical. On the one hand, it is necessary to study European languages to join in world culture. At the same time, it is important not to lose their ethnicity, national identity [10].

In 1926 Tashkent speech Sadvokasov demonstrates interest in the East around the world. He said: «All of you know that now manifest interest in the East, not only here in the Soviet Union, but also worldwide. Recently I had to browse a magazine where all the research materials on the scientific study of societies of the East. It turns out that in Germany there are several societies for the Study of Central Asia, even specifically for the Study of Kazakhstan» [10].

Interestingly, the more Sadvokasov cites the book «Decline of the West» by Oswald Spengler.

The philosophy of the book is based on the interest to the awakening East, he said. Sadvokasov relied on the advanced thinkers of his time. Report it reflects the spirit of the time: «What explains the interest in foreign countries to the East? One of the representatives of bourgeois Europe, Oswald Spengler spoke of «the decline of Europe.» He writes that Europe must come to an end ... So writes one of the smartest people of bourgeois Europe, and understandable, after such a philosophy, interest in the East» [10].

In a small speech, the head of the Ministry of Education of Kazakhstan focused on the experience of colleagues from Japan, India, and China to provide training. This fact speaks of his erudition, oratory. Sadvokasov hardly be accused of nationalism. On the contrary, it is open to the perception of information from the outside, considering different models of construction of high school.

Particularly interesting is his motivation in relation to professorship. Sadvokasov first drew attention to the audience resource wealth of Kazakhstan. «We also have a bonanza, but it lies underground. We have billions of tons of coal, millions of gold, salt, etc. But all this we must obtain and pay for the benefit».

Sadvokasov, who had to work as chairman of GosPlan (State Planning Commission) of KazASSR, gave facts of socio-economic development of the countries of the East. China. India. Turkey. Indonesia. Analog method practiced by them, allow identifying place of Kazakhstan's economy in global development.

In a study of the East, he assigned a special role science, universities, and professors. Tashkent at the time was regarded as one of the options for the future capital of Kazakhstan.

Population living near Tashkent Kazakh population was according to some sources more than 40% of the population. Diaspora in Uzbekistan had its own tradition, the status of the media. Opening of higher education has become a bright page in training for both republics. Wall KazPedVUZ (abbreviation: Kazakh pedagogical institute) subsequently withdrew eminent statesmen, writers and scientists.

Speaker (Sadvokasov) emphasized: «And in this great cause study of the East, now opened Pedagogical University should play a primary role for Kazakhstan. Within the walls of this university should be focused forces that will serve us directories, authoritative reference books where we could apply in our practical work».

Instructive and thought-provoking figures from science are commissar words: «The significance of our professors is much wider and more the importance that this word is understood in other countries. Our professors should not only be teachers of our students, but they need to study the life of the people among whom they work, should study the natural resources of their region, etc. In this sense, their mission is huge and great» [10].

And such a versatile man accused of nationalism? The so-called «national deviationism» was accused of the national leadership of Kazakhstan: T. Riskulov, S. Mendeshev, U. Kulumbetov, S. Seyfullin, Eskaraev, S. Sadvokasov, S. Asfendiarov, U. Jandosov, A. Leckerov. [5] For more than 300 people.

After the death of Vladimir Lenin, especially since the late 20s, Stalin began to invest in the concept of «national deviationism» more sinister content. Linked it with an extended, in 1928, the concept of increasing class struggle, as we approach to socialism [5].

Titled his programmatic article in the Moscow magazine «Bolshevik» (1928 number 1) as: «National and nationals» [7], S. Sadvokasov appealed to Lenin's position. And it is extremely irritated Stalin. «Chief» was inclined to qualify the desire to preserve «attribute independence» union republics, as a direct manifestation of the «National deviationism.»

Meanwhile, in a letter to V.I. Lenin on September 22, 1922, Stalin revealed his understanding of «national deviationism» [6].

Under this definition fall members of Central Committee of Communists in Georgia, most leaders of Kazakhstan, Ukraine and Belarus.

So, in 1933, Stalin sent telegram to the first secretary of the Kazakh Regional Committee, L.I. Mirzoyan: «The immediate task ... is to concentrate fire against Kazakh nationalism [8].

By the time not only Smagul was sent from Kazakhstan, but many prominent national intelligentsias. All this has a negative impact on the policies of international relations.

Charges are widespread in the media of those years and have been transferred without criticism in scholarly works and textbooks. Only with the collapse of the Soviet Union documents on interrogations of arrested partially published. [10] Name S. Sadvokasov in them is often referred to in the context of the monstrous charges.

History disgraced Commissar had large, including – international resonance. A number of

researchers believe that he could have corresponded with Kazakh emigration to Europe, Mustafa Shokai.

Mustafa Shokai, a timely decision about emigration from the Soviet Union, became the mouthpiece of free speech. He secretly received letters, memos through travel. Talking with students from the Union, the artists did surveys Soviet periodicals. In his articles, Mustafa denounced Stalin. His notes informed of Stalinist terror against national leaders [12].

Others argue that he traveled to the United States and France, while working in Kazakhstan. We know that he wrote a statement to send him to study in Germany. In the years 1923-1924 Kazakh students studied in Germany in the direction of the government. However, Sadvokasov was denied.

Unfortunately, until now the contribution Sadvokasov S. regional studies, ethnography, cultural studies, theater, literary process highlights the weak due to scarcity of resources.

First S.Sadvokasov's biographers have died (K.Beysenbaev, N.Sansizbajev). In 1971 in Moscow died his wife Lisa Sadvokasova. In 1961 in Moscow died his friend M.Auezov [13].

B.Darimbet – journalist, who published the first two volumes of Sadvokasov's articles, in the 90s of the last century, died in a car crash [14].

Modern researchers, historians, linguists, mostly studying his article [15].

Meanwhile, our search for manuscripts Sadvokasov crowned finds. It turned out, after the expulsion Smagul continued his scientific work in Moscow, even under threat of arrest. His memoir was published in the academic journal capital [11].

Sadvokasov lifetime publications reflect the breadth of interests young Kazakh: Land Registry, the natural resources of Central Asia, ethno-cultural component, etc.

Sadvokasov attached great importance to vault data on the economy and geography of Kazakhstan. This could be useful for logistics railways, imports and exports of commodity products. He argued the need for maximum approach to the production lines. For the benefit of the common cause, Sadvokasov collected and processed materials available statistics.

He managed to get a new specialty, combine study with work. He helped arrange Fellow of the Institute of Oriental Studies. In due course he graduated brilliantly MIIT (Moscow Institute of Transport Engineers), started to work as an ordinary engineer at a construction site Moscow – Donbass.

Home waiting for him manuscripts, family: his wife, son. He was an extraordinary man. His interest in

the practice of the government abroad was not idle. In the journal «Kyzyl Kazakhstan» («Red Kazakhstan»), being the editor in chief, he opened a section on political events. It commented on the situation in Turkey, China, Mongolia, Germany, and USA.

Genocide in Kazakhstan as a result of the forced collectivization, the physical destruction of nationals from the leaders, certainly not numerically comparable to the genocide in China during the «cultural revolution.» Figures of victims of political repression in the Soviet Union and Kazakhstan, meanwhile, are comparable to the Holocaust. However, the strength blow national consciousness had serious consequences. For decades, intellectuals allied Soviet republics had to conceal facts, names.

Stalin reprisals over newspaper «Ak Jol» and Sadvokasov was only a prelude to massacres.

Conclusions

International Assessment of «business» in Kazakhstan nationals, promulgated. Of the offense was not. This proved. Protest movement against forming a cult of Stalin's personality, represented S.Sadvokasov and associates will have the right to exist.

His life and selfless work laid the foundation of Independence reached in 1991 Kazakhstan. His views and writings constitute property of the republic. The task of the new generations – to reconstruct the intellectual history of the region pearls.

Among other innocent victims of accusations, Smagul Sadvokasov different systemic economic views. His references to the works of contemporaries, foreign thinkers (Leo Tolstoy, Spengler, etc.), a lot of experience with the audience gave him a right to their own analysis of the situation. Most of its predictive estimates were realized after his departure. His ideas are still relevant.

The Republic of Kazakhstan is being planned writing real national history. History of the region should be «uncut». In this paper, have been strong supporters of research in foreign archives. Foreign historiography threads will be created on the basis of new publications.

Biographies and activities of the national leaders of Central Asia the first third of the twentieth century deserve to be enrolled in a row with people such as Mahatma Gandhi, Nehru, and Martin Luther King. All of them gave their knowledge, experience and life for their peoples to reach a decent level of development.

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