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SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ACTIVITIES OF KHALEL GABBASOV – A FAMOUS FIGURE OF THE KAZAKH NATIONAL MOVEMENT ALASH IN THE CONTEXT OF BIOGRAPHICAL RESEARCH

Abstract

This article examines the social and political contributions of Khalel Gabbasov (1888-1931), a key figure in the Kazakh National Alash movement and a publicist. Utilizing archival documents, it details his involvement in political events between 1917-1918: his role in the Turkestan Committee of the Provisional Government, participation in forming Alash autonomy, organizing military units in Semipalatinsk, editing the "Saryarka" newspaper, and negotiating with central authorities. His work from 1921 to 1923, as a member of the extraordinary commission of the Kazakh ASSR for transferring the Akmola and Semipalatinsk regions to Kazakhstan's administration, is also covered. This study highlights Gabbasov's tragic repression in 1930 and his subsequent execution in 1931.

Keywords: Khalel Gabbasov, Alash-Orda, national movement, autonomy, Semipalatinsk, Kazakh intelligentsia, political activity, Turkestan Committee, biographical research, repressions

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ОБЩЕСТВЕННО-ПОЛИТИЧЕСКАЯ ДЕЯТЕЛЬНОСТЬ ХАЛЕЛА ГАББАСОВА – ИЗВЕСТНОГО ДЕЯТЕЛЯ КАЗАХСКОГО НАЦИОНАЛЬНОГО ДВИЖЕНИЯ АЛАШ В КОНТЕКСТЕ БИОГРАФИЧЕСКИХ ИССЛЕДОВАНИЙ

Аннотация

Статья посвящена исследованию общественно-политической деятельности видного деятеля казахского национального движения Алаш, публициста Халела Габбасова (1888-1931). На основе архивных документов и материалов рассматривается его активное участие в политической жизни страны в период революционных событий 1917-1918 гг.: работа в Туркестанском комитете Временного правительства, участие в создании автономии Алаш, формировании военных отрядов в Семипалатинске, редактором газеты «Сарыарка», переговоров с центральной властью. Освещается его деятельность в период с 1921 по 1923 гг. в составе чрезвычайной комиссии КазАССР по передаче Акмолинской и Семипалатинской областей под управление Казахстана. Особое внимание уделено тра-

гической судьбе Х. Габбасова, репрессированного в 1930 году и приговоренного к высшей мере наказания в 1931 году.

Ключевые слова: Халел Габбасов, Алаш-Орда, национальное движение, автономия, Семипалатинск, казахская интеллигенция, политическая деятельность, Туркестанский комитет, биографическое исследование, репрессии

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КАЗАК УЛУТТУК АЛАШ КЫЙМЫЛЫНЫН БИОГРАФИЯЛЫК ИЗИЛДӨӨ КЕРЕКТЕГИНДЕГИ АТАКТУУ ИШМЕР ХАЛЕЛ ГАББАСОВДУН КООМДУК-САЯСИЙ ИШМЕРДҮҮЛҮГҮ

Кыскача мазмуну

Макалa казак улуттук Алаш кыймылынын көрүнүктүү ишмери, публицист Халел Габбасовдун (1888-1931) коомдук-саясий ишмердүүлүгүн изилдөөгө арналган. Архивдик документтердин жана материалдардын негизинде анын 1917-1918-жылдардагы революциялык окуялар мезгилиндеги өлкөнүн саясий турмушуна активдүү катышуусу каралат: Убактылуу өкмөттүн Түркстан комитетиндеги иши, Алаш автономиясын түзүүгө катышуусу, Семипалатинскиде аскердик бөлүктөрдү түзүү, "Сарыарка" гезитинин редактору болуу, борбордук бийлик менен сүйлөшүүлөр. 1921-1923-жылдары КазАССРдин Акмола жана Семипалатинск облустарын Казакстандын башкаруусуна өткөрүп берүү боюнча өзгөчө комиссиясынын курамындагы ишмердүүлүгү чагылдырылат. Х. Габбасовдун 1930-жылы репрессияга кабылып, 1931-жылы өлүм жазасына тартылган кайгылуу тагдырына өзгөчө көңүл бурулат.

Түйүндүү сөздөр: Халел Габбасов, Алаш-Орда, улуттук кыймыл, автономия, Семипалатинск, казак интеллигенциясы, саясий ишмердүүлүк, Түркстан комитети, биографиялык изилдөө, репрессиялар.

Introduction

Biographic research is becoming more relevant in world historical science. In modern science, the inclusion of individual biography in the context of history as a special dimension of socio-cultural processes is increasingly used. Biographies, as stories of people who are witnesses and participants of real historical events, reflect the scenario and drama of the life path, the possibilities of alternative historical development. The focus of biographical research is on the spiritual world of a person, intentions and searches, difficulties and obstacles, conformism and innovation, recognition and failures.

In Kazakhstan, the issue of forming a unified concept of national history is becoming more relevant, where the principles of objective study of all stages of the historical development of the country will be outlined. This is necessary, first of all, for the progressive development of domestic historical science in accordance with global trends and the application of modern methodological approaches, as well as for the formation of a common state ideology and the formation of patriotism among the younger generation in the context of the spiritual modernization of society. In turn, historical personalistics in

Kazakhstan as a direction in the development of historical thought has not received due development and is still poorly developed, often due to its subordinate position to political history.

In this context, the study of the biographies of famous leaders of the national liberation movement Alash, which includes Khalel Gabbasov, who made a great contribution to the development of socio-political thought in Kazakhstan, is of great interest.

Description of methods and materials. General scientific and special historical methods, including the biographical method, were used in preparing the article. The biographical method is widely used in the humanities: in literary criticism and art history, biographies of cultural figures have always been covered in sufficient detail; in history, biographies of great personalities and the creation of a whole direction of "history in faces" are known. The material for the analysis is archival documents and sources of personal origin, memoirs of contemporaries presented in Russian and Kazakhstani archives, and other diverse sources. In the course of the study, a wide layer of documentary sources was studied, identified in the State Archive of the Russian Federation (SARF), the Central State Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan (CSA RK), Archive of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan (AP RK), the Center for Documentation of the Contemporary History of the Abay Region (CDCH) and others.

Discussion and results. Gabbasov Khalel Akhmetzhanuly was born in 1888 in the Chagan volost of the Semipalatinsk district of the Semipalatinsk region (now the Abay region) into a family of cattle breeders. He received his primary education in 1898-1901 at a parish elementary school, then at a Russian-Kazakh school in the city of Semipalatinsk. In 1901-1909 he studied at the Semipalatinsk boys' gymnasium. After completing his studies, he worked as a village teacher in the Seitenevskaya volost of the Semipalatinsk district until the fall of 1910. In the same year, he entered

the law faculty of the Moscow Imperial State University, but was expelled in the spring of 1911 for participating in a student strike [1, p. 128]. However, already in the autumn he managed to be reinstated in the university, but in a different faculty – physics and mathematics, which he graduated in 1915 with a gold medal. The change in his chosen specialty was connected with the termination of the payment of stipends by the governor of the Semipalatinsk region from the local zemstvo budget to Kazakh students of law faculties. The governor was concerned that students of the law faculty would be involved in social and political life and would be subject to the influence of the capital's revolutionary-minded youth. Khalel, like other representatives of the Alash movement, received higher education in large cities of Russia (A. Bukeikhanov, Zh. Akbayev, Zh. Dosmukhamedov, A. Beremzhanov and others), found himself in the advanced environment of revolutionary democratic ideas and came to understand the need to carry out fundamental reforms in order to improve the life of the people [2, p. 12].

After graduating from the university, Khalel Gabbasov worked as an accountant in the Central Administration for Small Credit Affairs in Petrograd. In 1916, he transferred to work as a small credit inspector in the Semipalatinsk branch of the State Bank, which was engaged in small agricultural lending at that time [3, pp. 307-308]. This institution provided loans to such organizations as cooperatives and partnerships for the provision of financial loans to peasant migrants who arrived in the Kazakh land in connection with Stolypin's agrarian reform. On September 18, 1918, he opened one of the first Kazakh credit unions, which was reported on the pages of the newspaper "Kazakh" in № 204 for the same year [4, p. 140]. Subsequently, this partnership provided financial support to the newspaper "Saryarka", published since 1917, in which Khalel was the editor, opening a printing house for its publication. In 1918, the Semipalatinsk branch of

the State Bank, headed by Khalel Gabbasov, also supported the publication of the literary and social magazine "Abai" [5, p. 4].

The political changes associated with the popular uprising of 1916 influenced the activation of Gabbasov's social and political activities, giving him the opportunity to demonstrate his personal qualities and education. As is known, on June 25, 1916, a decree was issued on the conscription of Kazakhs for rear work, which caused a flurry of popular unrest, and then punitive operations. Khalel Gabbasov, like other representatives of the Alash movement, adhered to a policy of reasonable compromise in order to avoid reprisals against the Kazakh population. At his request, a Congress of Kirghiz (Kazakhs – M.K.) was held in Semipalatinsk on July 30, 1916, where he spoke in favor of the need for mobilized people to appear for rear work in order to prevent the plundering of Kazakhs in the Semipalatinsk district.

During the revolutionary events of 1917, Khalel Gabbasov took an active part in the political life of the country. As is known, as a result of the economic and political crisis, in the conditions of the protracted First World War in Russia in February 1917, a democratic revolution took place, which led to the fall of tsarism and the transfer of power to the Provisional Government. In these conditions, Kazakh committees - new self-government bodies - were born in Kazakhstan along with the bodies of the Provisional Government. They took upon themselves the promotion of ideas to improve the life of the Kazakh population: the idea of national autonomy, the return of Kazakh lands from the resettlement fund, the transfer of office work and legal proceedings to the Kazakh language, and others.

In March 1917, Khalel Gabbasov was elected deputy chairman of the Semipalatinsk Regional Kazakh Committee. R. Marsekov was elected as the chairman, S. Toraigyrov as the secretary, and T. Abayev, M. Turganbayev, A. Ermekov, B. Sarsenov, Zh. Aimauytov, N. Kulzhanov, A. Kozbagarov and others were

elected members [6, p. 19]. Based on the results of the work of the organizing committees, regional Kazakh congresses were held in all regions of Kazakhstan in April–May 1917, at which the majority of deputies supported the positions of the Alash Party. From April 27 to May 7, 1917, Gabbasov was elected as one of the four comrades of the chairman of the 1st Semipalatinsk Regional Kazakh Congress, at which he was elected a member of the Regional Kazakh Committee. In May 1917, H. Gabbasov was nominated for the post of Deputy Chairman of the Semipalatinsk Executive Committee, and on June 22, 1917, he was elected as a member of the Semipalatinsk Regional Land Committee from the Kazakh Committee [7, p. 3]. The materials of the regional congresses recorded a widespread decision to convene an All-Kazakh Congress in the summer of 1917. 1 The All-Kazakh Congress was held from July 21 to 28, 1917 in Orenburg, at which H. Gabbasov, along with the generally recognized leader Alikhan Bukeikhanov, was nominated as a candidate for membership in the All-Russian Constituent Assembly [7, p. 3].

In October 1917, with the active support of local Kazakh committees, the organization of regional branches of "Alash" began. Khalel Gabbasov was elected Chairman of the Semipalatinsk Regional Committee of the "Alash" Party, and the temporary Semipalatinsk Committee of "Alash" included 11 people headed by him. In addition, Gabbasov, as a delegate from the Semipalatinsk region, took part in the II All-Kazakh Congress, which was held from December 5 to 13, 1917 in Orenburg. In addition to him, the region was represented by Zhumeke Murzalin, Turagul Ibrayev, Alimkhan Yermekov, Akhmed Chigirov, Kabysh Berdalin and Akhmedulla Barlybayev [8]. At the congress, Gabbasov delivered a key report on the creation of the Alash autonomy, its government - the People's Council, as well as the people's militia. The delegates to the congress were unanimous in the creation of a national ter-

ritorial Kazakh autonomous state and in the need to officially declare the autonomy of Alash. However, two opposing opinions emerged on the question of the timing of the declaration of autonomy. The first group, led by Alikhan Bukeikhanov, held the position of postponing the declaration of autonomy until the will of the Russian population, whose representatives were not present at the congress, became known. The second group, led by Khalel Dosmukhamedov and Zhahansha Dosmukhamedov, defended the position of its immediate proclamation.

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In order to organize the governing bodies of the autonomy, it was decided to organize the Provisional People's Council of Alash-Orda, consisting of 25 members, of which 10 seats were given to Russians and other peoples living among the Kazakhs. Semipalatinsk was temporarily chosen as the seat of Alash-Orda. Alash-Orda was to immediately take full executive power over the Kazakh population. Based on the results of the vote at the congress, Khalel Gabbasov was elected a member of the Alash-Orda government from the Semipalatinsk region, as well as a member of the financial commission and the commission for organizing the national militia. From December 1917 to March 1918, Gabbasov was elected a member of the estimate-financial and audit commissions of the Semipalatinsk district zemstvo council, a member of the Semipalatinsk regional zemstvo assembly [9, p. 12].

In 1917-1918, the newspaper "Saryarka" played a major role in the public life of Semipalatinsk. It was the printed organ of the new government and covered all the events held, published under the editorship of Khalel Gabbasov. On its pages, socio-political issues were actively discussed, decrees of the Alash Orda government were published, articles by A. Bukeikhanov, M. Dulatov, A. Baitursynov and others were printed [9, p. 15].

As is known, due to the difficult political situation in the context of the civil war in late March – early April 1918, Khalel and Zhankozha Dosmukhamedov were sent to Moscow on behalf of the Chairman of Alash Orda A. Bukeikhanov to conduct negotiations on the issue of national autonomy with V. I. Lenin and I. V. Stalin. On April 2, 1918, Khalel Gabbasov, being the Deputy Chairman of the Government of Alash Orda, conducted negotiations with them via a direct line from Semipalatinsk. During the conversation, Kh. Gabbasov complained about the closure of the national committee by the local council. In turn, the People's Commissar for Nationalities Stalin stated that the resolution of the II All-Kazakh Congress on the procla-

mation of Alash autonomy did not contradict the ideas of the Soviets on autonomy, and that it was necessary for Alash Orda to recognize the authority of the Council of People's Commissars and begin organizing the convocation of the Constituent Congress of Deputies. Based on the results of the negotiations, on April 3, 1918, Kh. Gabbasov sent a telegram from Semipalatinsk to the Council of People's Commissars of the RSFSR. V. I. Lenin and I. V. Stalin on the recognition of Soviet power under the condition of granting broad rights to Kazakh autonomy. The telegram put forward 14 points of conditions, the content of which boiled down to the following: the restoration of closed Kazakh institutions, the organization of national autonomy within the Soviets, the release of arrested Kazakh figures, etc. Negotiations in Moscow continued until mid-April 1918 and showed that most of the proposals of Alash Orda were not recognized by the Soviet government. However, reporting on the completion of negotiations, Zhakhansha Dosmukhamedov and Khalel Dosmukhamedov wrote in a telegram dated April 12 to Semipalatinsk addressed to Khalel Gabbasov that the Soviet government had instructed each regional council of Kazakhstan to release imprisoned Kazakh activists, and also promised to fulfill other conditions proposed by the Alash Orda people, and also that a Kazakh department would be formed within the Commissariat for National Affairs of the RSFSR [10, p. 36].

However, subsequent events showed that the Soviet government did not move beyond promises, so on April 21, 1918, Khalel Gabbasov sent a follow-up telegram to Lenin and Stalin. In this telegram, he noted that despite the promises of local Soviets, the disregard for the natural right of the people to self-determination continued, as did the persecution and arrests of Kazakh activists, which worsened interethnic relations. Khalel Gabbasov wrote that the Kazakh People's Council considered it its duty to take all measures to quickly implement the idea of autonomy [11,

p. 209]. However, the second telegram also remained unanswered. After the breakdown of negotiations with the Soviet government in early May 1918, Gabbasov made another attempt to organize another regional Kazakh congress, which, however, ceased its work due to a conflict with the regional Soviet. As is known, as a result of such an attitude on the part of the Soviets, the Alashevites were forced to support the anti-Bolshevik movement.

Khalel Gabbasov took an active part in preparing the legislative base of the Alash Orda government. In particular, most of the resolutions were signed by the Chairman of Alash Orda A. Bukeikhanov and members M. Tynyshbaev and Kh. Gabbasov was adopted in June 1918. These resolutions concerned defending the positions of the new government on such issues as the attitude to the legislation of the Soviet power, on the zemstvo, on the formation of a military council under Alash Orda, on the organization of Alash Orda councils in regions and districts, on freedom of conscience, speech, press, assembly, unions and on the inviolability of the person, on temporary land use on the territory of the autonomy, on local railways, on state taxes, a special Kyrgyz court and an investigative commission for the consideration of cases of Kyrgyz Bolsheviks and on the appointment of members of the court and commission, Kyrgyz courts and others. As we can see, the decrees mainly concerned key issues of the Kazakh people's life and were aimed at restoring their violated rights.

Khalel Gabbasov was one of the organizers of the 1-st Alash Regiment in Semipalatinsk. On July 26, 1918, in a memo to the manager of the military ministry of the Provisional Siberian Government, the head of the military department of Alash Orda, Captain H. Tokhtamyshev, wrote that in view of the fact that "the government of Alash Orda decided to fight the Bolsheviks together with the Provisional Siberian Government and bring the country to the Constituent Assembly, the government of Alash Orda decided

to create its own army." To this end, Alash Orda turned to the Provisional Siberian Government with a request to provide the Kazakh army with instructors, weapons, equipment and all types of provisions. The government decided to form 4 cavalry corps and one separate division, while the Kazakh army was subordinated in all respects to its headquarters, but in joint actions with the troops of the Provisional Siberian Government, it was subordinated to the supreme headquarters [12, p. 7]. Alikhan Bukeikhanov, Khalel Gabbasov, Mukhamedzhan Tynyshpayev, Aidarkhan Turlybayev, Zhakhansha and Khalel Dosmukhamedov and others played a major role in organizing the military forces of Alash Orda. The Alash army numbered more than 5,000 people.

From July 1918, Khalel Gabbasov worked as the head of food and medical-sanitary issues of the Semipalatinsk regional zemstvo council. In the spring of 1919, in the petition of the Semipalatinsk regional zemstvo council to release Kh. Gabbasov from conscription for military service, it was stated that he was in charge of 7 departments out of 17 organized, namely, the appraisal and statistical, veterinary, insurance, food and industrial, financial and land departments [13, p. 78-79]. At the end of 1919, with the arrival of the Bolsheviks, he was forced to leave Semipalatinsk and flee to his native Chaganskaya volost, but in January 1920, in connection with the amnesty, he returned to the city, where he announced the recognition of Soviet power.

After the establishment of Soviet power, Gabbasov continued to be active in social and political activities. He was a member of the board of the Semipalatinsk provincial land department, appointed authorized representative of the Kazrevkom under the Sibrevkom, and was the organizer of the Kazakh departments in the Semipalatinsk and Akmola provincial revolutionary committees. In 1921–1923, he was a member of the extraordinary commission of the Kazakh ASSR for the transfer of the Akmola and Semipala-

tinsk regions under the control of Kazakhstan, was deputy chairman of the Semipalatinsk regional council, and chairman of the land committee under the Semipalatinsk regional zemstvo. According to archival data, in 1920 he worked as an algebra teacher at the Semipalatinsk Pedagogical College, then, from 1922 to 1928, he worked as one of the managers at JSC Khleboprodukt, headed the operational department of the Alash District Agricultural Union, and held a senior position in the State Planning Committee of the Kazakh ASSR.

From that time on, a campaign to persecute Kh. Gabbasov began. The first time he was detained for unknown reasons, when on June 2, 1926, he went on another labor leave for two months and planned to rest with his family, first with relatives in Semipalatinsk, then in Chingiztau. According to researchers, one of the reasons for the arrest could have been that in the early 1920s, Gabbasov spoke out against the leaders of the Semipalatinsk Provincial Revolutionary Committee, headed by the famous N.I. Yezhov, who later headed the GPU. He was released due to lack of evidence of his guilt [14, p. 1–7].

For the second time, Khalel Gabbasov was arrested on October 16, 1928 by the OGPU PP officers during his regular vacation and trip with his family to Semipalatinsk. On April 4, 1930, he was sentenced by the OGPU Collegium at the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR to 6 years in a correctional labor camp under Articles 58-4, 58-1 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR. On January 18, 1931, he was sentenced by the Collegium of the OGPU PP of the USSR in the KASSR to 10 years in a correctional labor camp under Articles 58-7, 58-11, 59-3 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR. Khalel Gabbasov served his sentence in the Moscow Butyrka prison at the same time as other Kazakh activists - Zh. Aimauytov, D. Adilov, A. Yusupov. He spent a year and a half behind bars until he was sentenced to six years in a labor camp on April 4, 1930. Less than a year

later, on January 18, 1931, his sentence was reviewed and replaced with death by firing squad. Khalel Gabbasov was rehabilitated in 1988 due to lack of evidence of a crime.

Today, there are no direct descendants of Khalel Gabbasov. It is known that he and his wife Ramiya had two sons named Zaben and Kadir. It is known that Zaben died during the war, not having time to start a family. The second son, Kadir, lost his arm in the war, was married but had no children, and died in the 1980s [15]. Streets in the cities of Semey and Atyrau are named after Khalel Gabbasov. In 2017, Raisa Sadykova's monograph "Alash Bekzaty" was published, dedicated to

the Semipalatinsk literary environment of the early 20th century and the literary and prose heritage of Khalel Gabbasov [2]. However, there are practically no special historical studies dedicated to the life and work of Gabbasov, which makes the topic of research relevant.

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