

ISSN: 2788-9718 (online)

ISSN: 1814-6961 (Print)

Отан тарихы
Отечественная история
History of the Homeland

Үш айда бір рет шығатын ғылыми журнал
2024. № 27 (3)

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Published in the Kazakhstan
Otan tarikh
Has been issued as a journal since 1998
ISSN: 2788-9718 (Online)
Vol. 27. Is. 3, pp. 721-733, 2024
Journal homepage: <https://otan.history.iie.kz>

FTAXP / МРНТИ / IRSTI 03.20.
https://doi.org/10.51943/2788-9718_2024_27_3_721-733

THE ALL RUSSIAN CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY AND THE HISTORY OF THE CREATION OF ALASH ORDA

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Abstract. *Introduction.* After February 1917, Kazakh national leaders eagerly awaited the elections and convocation of the Constituent Assembly of imperial Russia, pinning on it the hope that it would recognize the right of Kazakhs to national self-determination. *The goals and objectives of the study.* Preparation and organization in all Kazakh regions of the kurultai of the regional and national level, for the participation of the leaders of the Alash movement in the elections and convocation of the All-Russian Constituent Assembly. *Materials.* The publications of the periodical press of the early twentieth century were also used as a source for this article. *Results.* The Provisional Government set the date of the elections and the convocation of the All-Russian Constituent Assembly for November 12-14 and 28, 1917. The Provisional Government itself was overthrown by the Bolsheviks on October 25, 1917, before the elections and the convocation of the Assembly. *Conclusion.* On November 28, the first meeting of the Constituent Assembly was disrupted by Bolshevik deputies who did not attend the meeting. In the elections, the Kazakh Alash party took 8th place among all all-Russian and national parties in terms of the number of deputies.

Key words: February Revolution, Provisional Government, Constituent Assembly, elections, Kazakh deputies, All-Kazakh kurultai, national self-determination, alash autonomy, dissolution of the Assembly, sovereignty.

Acknowledgements. The reported study article is part of project AP19678348 «The Collapse of the Russian Empire and the Revival of Kazakh statehood: historical and legal analysis».

For citation: Zhusip S-Kh.A., Zhumatay S. The all Russian constituent assemble and the history of the creation of AlashOrda// Otan tarihy. 2024. Vol. № 3. Pp. 721-733. (in Eng.). DOI: 10.51943/2788-9718_2024_27_3_721-733



БҮКІЛРЕСЕЙЛІК ҚҰРЫЛТАЙ ЖИНАЛЫСЫ ЖӘНЕ АЛАШ ОРДАНЫҢ ҚҰРЫЛУ ТАРИХЫ

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Андатпа. *Kіріспе.* 1917 жылдың ақпанынан кейін қазақстанның ұлттық көшбасшылары сайлауды және императорлық Ресейдің Құрылтай жиналысының шақырылуын тағатсыздана күтіп, оған Қазақтардың ұлттық өзін-өзі анықтау құқығын мойындайтынына үміт артты. Бірақ уақытша Үкімет сайлау мен Бүкілресейлік Құрылтай жиналысын шақыру күнін 1917 жылдың қарашасына белгіледі. *Зерттеудің мақсаты мен міндеттері.* «Алаш» қозғалысы жетекшілерінің Бүкілресейлік Құрылтай жиналысын сайлауға және шақыруға қатысуы үшін облыстық және жалпыұлттық деңгейдегі құрылтайшыларды (Құрылтай съезін) барлық қазақ облыстарында дайындау және ұйымдастыру. *Материалдар.* Мақала барысында жалпы ғылыми және арнайы тарихи әдістер қолданылды. Зерттеудің қайнар көзі отандық және шетелдік мұрағаттардан табылған материалдар болды. Сондай-ақ, осы мақаланың қайнар көзі ретінде ХХ ғасырдың басындағы мерзімді баспа басылымдары пайдаланылды. *Нәтижелер.* Уақытша үкімет Бүкілресейлік Құрылтай жиналысын сайлау мен шақыру күнін 1917 жылдың 12-14 және 28 қарашасына белгіледі. Уақытша үкіметтің өзін большевиктер 1917 жылы 25 қазанда, сайлау мен Ассамблея шақырылғанға дейін құлатты. Осылайша, сайлау мен жиналысты шақырудың одан әрі тағдыры жаңа заңсыз биліктің – большевиктің қолында болды. Өзін-өзі жариялаған Кеңес үкіметі Құрылтай жиналысы шақырылғанға дейін өзінің уақытша мәртебесін мойындады. *Қорытынды.* Айта кетейік, 28 қарашада Құрылтай жиналысының бірінші отырысына отырысқа келмеген большевиктік депутаттар кедергі келтірді. Сайлауда «Алаш» Қазақ партиясы депутаттар саны бойынша Бүкілресейлік және ұлттық партиялар арасында 8-ші орынға ие болды. Құрылтай жиналысы таратылғаннан кейін Алаш автономиясы егеменді республикаға айналды.

Түйін сөздер: Ақпан төңкерісі, уақытша Үкімет, Құрылтай жиналысы, сайлау, қазақ депутаттары, Бүкілқазақстандық құрылтай, ұлттық өзін-өзі анықтау, Алаш автономиясы, Ассамблеяның таратылуы, егемендік

Алғыс айту. Мақала АР19678348 «Ресей Империясының күйреуі және қазақ мемлекеттілігінің жандануы: тарихи-құқықтық талдау» ғылыми жобасын орындау аясында дайындалған.

Дәйексөз үшін: Жүсіп С.-Х.А., Жұматай С. Бүкілресейлік Құрылтай жиналысы және Алаш Орданың құрылу тарихы // Отан тарихы. 2024. Т. 27. № 3. Б. 721-733. (Ағыл.)

DOI: 10.51943/2788-9718_2024_27_3_721-733



ВСЕРОССИЙСКОЕ УЧРЕДИТЕЛЬНОЕ СОБРАНИЕ И ИСТОРИЯ СОЗДАНИЯ АЛАШ-ОРДЫ

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Аннотация. *Введение.* После февраля 1917 года казахские национальные лидеры с нетерпением ожидали выборов и созыва Учредительного собрания императорской России, возлагая на него надежду, что оно признает право казахов на национальное самоопределение. Временное правительство назначило дату выборов и созыва Всероссийского учредительного собрания на ноябрь 1917 года. *Цели и задачи исследования.* Подготовка и организация во всех казахских областях курултай областного и общенационального уровня, для участия лидеров движения «Алаш» в выборах и созыве Всероссийского учредительного собрания. *Методы и материалы.* Источниковой базой исследования послужили материалы, обнаруженные в отечественных и зарубежных архивах. Также в качестве источника для настоящей статьи были использованы публикации периодической печати начала XX века. *Результаты.* Временное правительство назначило дату выборов и созыва Всероссийского Учредительного собрания на 12-14 и 28 ноября 1917. Само Временное правительство было свергнуто большевиками 25 октября 1917 года, до выборов и созыва Собрания. Таким образом, дальнейшая судьба выборов и созыва Собрания оказалась в руках новой нелегитимной власти – большевистской. Самопровозглашенное советское правительство осознавало свой временный статус до созыва Учредительного собрания. *Выводы.* 28 ноября первое заседание Учредительного собрания сорвано большевистскими депутатами, не явившимися на заседание. На выборах казахская партия «Алаш» заняла 8 место среди всех общероссийских и национальных партий по количеству депутатов. После разгона Учредительного собрания Автономия Алаш трансформировалась в суверенную республику.

Ключевые слова: Февральская революция, Временное правительство, Учредительное собрание, выборы, казахские депутаты, Всеказахский курултай, национальное самоопределение, автономия Алаш, роспуск Собрания, суверенитет.

Благодарность. Данная статья подготовлена в рамках выполнения научного проекта АР19678348 «Крушение Российской империи и возрождение Казахской государственности: историко-правовой анализ».

Для цитирования: Жусип С.-Х.А., Жуматай С. Всероссийское учредительное собрание и история создания Алаш-Орды // Отан тарихы. 2024. Т. 27. № 3. С. 721-733 (на Англ.)

DOI: 10.51943/2788-9718_2024_27_3_721-733



Introduction. After the overthrow of the autocracy in Russia, all the attention of the Kazakh national intelligentsia, conventionally called the intelligentsia or elite «Alash», was turned to the elections and the convocation of the All-Russian Constituent Assembly. Under the leadership of national leaders, the Kazakh people carefully prepared for the elections and the convocation of the Constituent Assembly. Since April 1917, the leaders of the Alash movement held kurultai (founding congress) at the regional and national levels in all Kazakh regions. And the resolutions of all these regional and one July nationwide Kazakh-Kyrgyz Kurultai on that issue were absolutely identical and appealed to the upcoming convocation with an appeal to proclaim Russia a federal republic.

Materials and methods. In the course of work on that article, general scientific and special historical methods were used. The methodological basis for studying the topic was the historicism, which is applied in the process of the history. The research was based on materials found in both domestic and foreign archives, such as the Central State Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan (CSA RK), the State Archive of the Russian Federation (GARF), the Russian State Historical Archive (RGIA), the State Archive of the Tomsk Region (GATO), the Central Archive of the Federal Security Service of the Russian Federation (CA FSB OF the Russian Federation). Also, publications of the periodical press of the early twentieth century, including the period 1917-1918, such as «Russian Word», «Newspaper of the Provisional Workers' and Peasants' Government» (Council of People's Commissars of Russia – Soviet power), «Birliktuy», «Turkestan Bulletin», «Ulug Turkistan», «Kazakh», «Saryarka», «Jizn nasionalnostei» newspapers were used as a source for this article.

Discussion. The topic of the All-Russian Constituent Assembly was considered in the works of Kazakhstan scientists K. Nurpeisov (Nurpeisov, 1995), M. Koigeldiev (Koigeldiev, 1995), D. Tastemir (Tastemir, 2012), A. Sarsenov (Sarsenov, 2012), D. Amanzholova (Amanzholova, 2009), as well as foreign researchers, as L.G. Protasov (Protasov, 2008), M.V. Vishnyak (Vishnyak, 2010), Oliver H. Radki (Oliver, 1989), P.N. Milyukova (Milyukov, 2017), O.V. Bolshakova (Bolshakova, 1998) and others. Among the scientific works, the monographs of M. Koigeldiev and K. Nurpeisov should be noted, their books «Alash Movement» and «Alash and Alashorda» are limited to a brief analysis of the results of the elections to the Constituent Assembly in the Kazakh regions, held on November 12-14 (25-27), 1917. They are considered strictly in the context of the history of the creation of the Alash Party, formation of the Alash and the activities of its Council (government) Alash Orda (Nurpeisov, 1995). D. Amanzholova in her book «Na izlome. Alash V etnopoliticheskoy istorii Kazahstana», based on Komuch's documents, disputes L.G. Protasov's doubts about the election of Kazakh leader A. Bukeikhan and his associates in the Alash party - O. Aljanov, I. Turmukhamedov and S. Kadirbayev to the Assembly (Amanzholova, 2009). Among the listed researchers, the works of L.G. Protasov «Vserossiyskoe Ureditelnoe Sobranie: istoria rozhdeniya igibeli» and «Lyudi Uchreditelnogo sobrania. Portrait v interere epochs», (Protasov, 1997) A.V. Bolshakova «Vserossiyskoe Ureditelnoe Sobranie istoria rozhdeniya I gibeli» (Bolshakova, 1998), M.V. Vishnyak «Vserossiyskoe Uchreditelnoe Sobranie» and Oliver H. Redki «Russian idet na vibori: vibori vo Vserossiyskoe ureditelnoe Sobranie, 1917» as fundamental research on the All-Russian Constituent Assembly (Vishnyak, 2010). The article introduces materials from the newspapers «Saryarka», «Birlik Tuy», Gazeta Vremennogo Rabocheho i Krestyanskogo Pravitelstva», «Yuzhny Ural», «Jizn nasionalnostei» (Jizn nasionalnostei, 1919) as well as a number of new archival documents.

Results. After the February Revolution of 1917 in post-imperial Russia, the future of the former colonial empire depended on the All-Russian Constituent Assembly, to which the Kazakh people, led by national leaders, placed great hope that it would recognize their right to national self-determination. The Constituent Assembly had to determine the state structure of Russia. The Kazakh regional congresses and the First Kazakh-Kyrgyz Kurultai, held during



1917, unanimously demanded that the upcoming convocation of the Assembly proclaim Russia a federal democratic republic. But the elections to the Constituent Assembly were held on November 12-14, 1917 – after the overthrow of the Provisional Government and the seizure of power in Petrograd by the Bolsheviks in October (November) 1917. Elections in a number of Kazakh regions were disrupted, in the Steppe District (Akmola and Semipalatinsk regions). They were initially postponed to the end of December 1917, then to February 1918, when the Assembly was already forcibly dissolved.

So how many Kazakh deputies from the Alash party were elected to the All-Russian Constituent Assembly? Did the Kazakh deputies have the opportunity to achieve recognition by the Constituent Assembly of the rights of the Kazakh people to national self-determination? Holding of the All-Russian Constituent Assembly (hereinafter referred to as the «Constituent Assembly») as soon as possible, as reported in the proclamation of the Provisional Government of March 6, 1917 (Milyukov, 2017: 71).

A group of leaders of the Alash movement, led by A.N. Bukeikhan, met the February Revolution in the rear of the First World War in Minsk (Belarus). In the telegram «To the Kazakhs (in the original «Kyrgyz»), free citizens of the renewed Russia!» On March 16, 1917, sent by this group to 25 addresses of the Steppe and Turkestan territories, the following was noted:

«The sun of freedom, equality and fraternity has risen for all the peoples of Russia. Kazakhs need to organize themselves to maintain a new system and a new government...

Kazakhs should prepare for the constituent assembly and identify worthy candidates... Our slogan is «Demokraticeskaya Respublika» and land to those who derive income from it by cattle breeding and agriculture... Don't be afraid of anyone but God!» (Bulletin..., 1917).

However, the preparations for the election of deputies to the Constituent Assembly lasted for 9 months, which was influenced by two significant reasons. The first of them was that the new Provisional Government of Russia had to solve at the same time many complex and pressing issues - political, economic, social, national. In addition, the massive illiteracy of the country's population ($\frac{3}{4}$), the lack of legal and technical means necessary for the organization and conduct of elections, relevant bodies and institutions, the instability of the Government itself and even the unfinished war, etc. also did not contribute to the timely organization and conduct of elections. (Vishnyak, 2010: 153).

Another reason was that the Provisional Government sought to create an ideal election law. In this regard, on March 25, 1917, it was decided to establish a Special meeting to prepare a draft Regulation (law) on elections to the Constituent Assembly. The staff of that institution was formed for more than a month, and it was able to start work only on May 25. 82 people were included in the Special Meeting, including two kazakhs, professional lawyers Zhakhansha Dosmukhametuly (Dosmukhammedov) and Ualitkhan Tanashuly (Valitkhan Tanachev or Tanashev).

J. Dosmukhametuly (1887-1938) - graduated from the law faculty of Moscow University. In 1910 he worked in court in the city of Uralsk (Sarsenov, 2012). Since 1912 he worked as a judge in Altai, since 1914 - a fellow prosecutor of the Tomsk District Court. In November 1917, he was elected to the Constituent Assembly from the Ural constituency on the list of the Alash party, and in December, the II National Kazakh-Kyrgyz Kurultai was elected to the commissars of the Alash Horde Council (Martynenko, 1992: 74).

U. Tanashuly (1887-1949) was a graduate of the Faculty of Law of Kazan University (1912); in 1910-1912 he was in Western Europe. Deputy of the Constituent Assembly from the Horde district (Bukeevskaya Horde). In December 1917, at the II All-Kazakh National Kurultai (Congress), Alash Orda was elected to the Government (Martynenko, 1992: 74).

The development of the draft law on elections to Higher education institutions was completed in August 1917. But in the end, the democratic law on elections to higher



education institutions in the history of Russia was adopted: universal, equal, direct elections by secret ballot. The adopted provision (law) was significantly ahead of the social development of the electoral legislation of the leading countries of Western Europe and the United States and was revolutionary for pre-revolutionary Russia (Protasov, 1997: 368).

For the first time in the history of Russia, women and military personnel were granted voting rights, and the age limit of 20 years was set low for that time (in Great Britain, Italy, USA, France, the age limit was 21 years, in Belgium, Germany, the Netherlands, Spain - 25 years).

The provision on elections to the Assembly did not recognize the property qualification, the qualification of settlement, which directly concerned the rights of the semi-nomadic Kazakh people, and literacy, restrictions on class, religion or nationality. The elections were free and alternative.

Due to these circumstances, the elections were scheduled for September 1917 (Rakhmetov, 1930-1931: 163).

After another government crisis, the Provisional Government adopted a resolution on holding elections on November 12, 1917, setting the date of their convocation for November 28 (RGIA. F. 1329. Op. 1. D. 1022. L. 159).

During the election campaign, the Soviet government exerted pressure on voters either in the form of legal restrictions on rights or in the form of direct state pressure. Even newspapers were massively closed, and their distributors were arrested, there were also cases of destruction of opposition printing houses (*Rysskoe slovo*, 1917) (GARF. F. 1810. Op. 1. D. 91. L. 130). Soldiers were forced to threaten people to cast their votes for Bolshevik candidates (GATO. F. 1068. Op. 1. D. 13. L. 133-134).

During the preparation for the election of deputies to the Constituent Assembly, there were other really difficult tasks, the most significant of which was the organization of elections. Polling stations and commissions faced an acute shortage of legally free or simply illiterate people (GARF. F. 110. Op. 1. D. 159. L.44). For that reason, judges and teachers were involved in the work of precinct commissions, and sometimes it came to the appointment of high school students to the commission. Not putting citizens on the voting lists, as well as not issuing them with personal identification cards, was just one of many similar problems (GARF. F. 1810. Op. 1. D. 156. L. 45).

In addition, the fact that local election commissions did not have basic expendable equipment - paper, glue, etc. significantly complicated the compilation of deputy lists. For that reason, elections were disrupted in a number of electoral districts and postponed to the end of December 1917, including in the Steppe District (Akmola, Semipalatinsk region), as well as the Transcaspian district (GARF. F. 1810. Op. 1. D. 7. L. 123).

In total, the elections lasted for three months. Elections in some regions, such as in the Steppe District, were rescheduled for the month of February 1918. And by that time, the Bolsheviks had forcibly dispersed the Constituent Assembly (Bolshakova, 1998: 99-116).

Kazakhs, on the initiative of the leaders of the movement and the Alash party, carefully prepared for the elections of the Assembly. The resolutions of all authorities on that issue were identical and addressed to the upcoming convocation with an appeal to proclaim Russia a democratic federal republic (Martynenko, 1992: 21-36, 46-53, 54-61, 62-75). Like all the subcolonial peoples of the former Russian Empire, the Kazakh people and their leaders had great reason to hope that the Constituent Assembly recognizes their right to their state. The leader of the movement and the Alash party, A. Bukeikhan, stated that the members of the Alash party elected to the Constituent Assembly face the task of declaring the autonomy of Kazakhstan. There have been movements for autonomy in other national areas as well. Our Alash party has been banned with other national parties (Tatarstan, Bashkiria, et al.). The basis of these blocks was: a joint demand from the Constituent Assembly for the autonomy of



national regions within the Russian (...) state through mutual confidence with Russian (...) parties... I personally negotiated on all these issues, as a representative of the Alash National Party and other national parties, with members of the Kerensky Provisional Government, the leaders of the Cadet, Menshevik and Socialist-Revolutionary parties»(TSA FSB RF. Investigative case №12066. L.28).

According to the new electoral regulations, one deputy is elected out of 200,000 people. According to the calculations of the leader of «Alash» A. Bukeikhan, in 1917 the number of Kazakhs in 9 regions and one province (Astrakhan), including Semirechensk, Syrdarya regions, Kazakh counties of Samarkand, Ferghana, Transcaspian regions of Turkestan Territory and Altai province, amounted to 5.4 million people. «Therefore,» A. Bukeikhan sums up, «there should be 27 Kazakhstani deputies, 13-14 candidates for deputies (by rotation). Thus, there should be 40-41 of our deputies in total»(Table 1)(Kyr balasy, 1917: 2).

Table 1. The list of candidates who ran for deputies on the list of the Alash party:

No	Areas	The number of the Kazakh population (thousands of people)	Number of prospective deputies
1	Semipalatinsk	754	3-4
2	Akmola	557	2-3
3	Turgay	486	2,5-2
4	Uralska	536	3-2
5	Transcaspian	82	0,5
6	Syr-Darya	1 021	5
7	Semirechensk	971	5-4
8	Ferghana	431	2
9	Samarkand	91	0,5
10	Astrakhan	320	2-1

In the above-mentioned article, the author put forward a list of the best candidates for deputies of the assembly of 43 people for consideration of the First National Kazakh-Kyrgyz Kurultai (congress) scheduled for July 21, 1917. The first National Kazakh-Kyrgyz kurultai, held on July 21-26, 1917 in Orenburg, fully approved that list, which was later published in the «Kazakh» newspaper (Table 2)(Martyntenko, 1992: 50-51).

Table 2. List of deputies elected to the Constituent Assembly from the indigenous Kazakh people and displaced Russian peasants and Cossacks who inhabited the Kazakh steppe regions:

No \	No electoral district	The district	Deputies(pl an)	Deputies (elected)	Note
1	54	Transcaspian region	2	no	
2	56	Samarkand region	5	5	
3	57	Semirechensk region	6	6	
4	58	Syr-Darya region	9	no	
5	59	Turgay region	6	5	
6	60	Ural region	6	7	
7	61	Ferghana region	10	10	
8	65	Amu-Darya district	1	no	
9	69	Ordynsk district	2	2	
10	72	Steppe district(Akmola and Semipalatinsk regions)	13	no	The elections were postponed first to 26-30.12.1917, then to February 1918.
Total:		47	33		



The first kurultai created a national party, that party was called «Alash». According to M. Shokai, «the entire Kyrgyz (Kazakh), relatively small intelligentsia, came under the banner of (the party) «Alash». With the exception of a few people who were not accepted into that party because of their past pre-revolutionary activities to the detriment of the interests of the people. All Kyrgyz congresses (kurultai), both regional and county and volost, were held under the slogan (of the party) «Alash» (Shokay, 2012: 243-244).

Elections to the Higher Education Institution in the listed Kazakh regions, with the exception of Akmola and Semipalatinsk regions, were held on November 12-14 (25-27), 1917, when there was Soviet power. Due to the above circumstances, the elections in the Syr-Darya and Transcaspian regions were disrupted, Akmola and Semipalatinsk were merged into one Steppe District, but the elections in it were first postponed to the end of December 1917, then to February 1918.

Despite the incomplete elections in a number of regions (districts) of the former Russian Empire, it was recognized that the Constituent Assembly had been formed. According to one source, 347 Social Revolutionaries, 180 Bolsheviks, 81 Ukrainian Social Revolutionaries, 16 Mensheviks, 15 Cadets, 11 Ukrainian Social Democrats, 4 People's Socialists, 62 Muslims, etc. were elected to the Assembly. Thus, the total number of Social Revolutionaries was about 450 deputies (Protasov, 1997: 299-300). Initially, 808 deputies were planned, and from 703 to 766 deputies were elected (Oliver, 1989: 71).

Meanwhile, the analysis of the RCOIT under the CEC of Russia is considered more reliable, according to which 766 deputies were elected. Among them, 374 Revolutionaries, 180 Bolsheviks, 24 cadets, 22 Mensheviks, 81 Ukrainian social Revolutionaries, and 12 from the Alash party, etc. (Protasov, 1997: 299-300).

Information about the total number of elected deputies, especially deputies from the Kazakh regions, is extremely contradictory (Protasov, 1997: 93). For example, according to the Russian Central Election Commission, the Alash party received 12 mandates of the Constituent Assembly, but only the name of Mustafa Shokay, elected from the Ferghana region on the list of the Alash party. (GARF. F. R-749. Op. 1. D. 5).

Meanwhile, with the exception of three electoral districts (or four regions), from which only 22 deputies were to be elected, 13 of them Kazakh, but where the elections were either declared invalid (Syr-Darya and Transcaspian regions), or postponed to a later date (Steppe District), from the remaining 7 regions (The number of deputies should not have been 12, but at least 17. And that assumption is fully confirmed by information from the book by the Russian historian, Professor Lev Protasov «People of the Constituent Assembly: a portrait in the interior of the epoch» (Protasov, 2008: 464). L.G. Protasov provided a complete list of all elected deputies of the Constituent Assembly with a brief biographical note in alphabetical order (Protasov, 1997: 368).

So, according to the list of L.G. Protasov, given by the Chronos portal, not 12 deputies were elected from the Kazakhs to the Higher Education Institution, but as many as 20. But, it should be noted that not all of them are listed as nominees of the Alash party. Accordingly, almost all the Kazakh deputies of the Constituent Assembly listed on the Chronos portal, with the exception of Abdurakhmanbek Orazayuly (in the document Abdurakhmanbek Urazaev), were nominated on the list of the Alash party. A. Orazayuly, S. Akayuly (Sarykbai Akayev), as well as M. Shokay (Chokaev) were elected to the Assembly on the all-Afghan list Muslim organizations under No. 2. M. Tynyshbayuly (Tynyshpaev) from the Semirechensk district was on the list of the Socialist bloc No. 2. According to the unified list No.3 of the Alash party bloc and the Semirechensk Cossack army, four were elected to the Assembly – Sadyk Amanzholyuly (Sadykh Amanzholov), Ybyrayim Zhainakuly (Ibraim Dzainakov) (GARF. F. 1810. Op. 1. D. 369), Dior Saurambayuly (Saurambayev) and Semirechensk Cossack Stepan Shendrikov (Protasov, 1997).



According to L.G. Protasov, Gubaidolla Alibekuly (Gaidolla Alibekov), Zhakhansha Dosmukhametuly (Dosmukhamedov), Khalel Dosmukhametuly (Dosmukhamedov), Nurgali Ipmagambetuly (Ipmagambetov) and Salimgerei Karatleuly (Salimgirei Karatleuv), nominated by the Alash party, but not specified party affiliation, were elected on the list No. 1 of the Ural regional of the Kazakh (Kyrgyz) Committee; Bakhtygerei Kulmanuly (Bakhtygirei Kulmanov) and Ualitkhan Tanashuly (Validkhan Tanachev) – from the Horde district (Bukeevskaya Horde). A. Baitursynuly (Baitursunov), Akhmet Birimzhan (Beremzhanov), Sagyndyk Doszhanuly (Doszhanov) and Gabdolla Temiruly (Abdulla Temirov) appear as deputies of the assembly from the Alash party. Total - 20 deputies (Protasov, 2008).

According to the list of the Alash party, as well as other lists, the founder and leader of the Alash party, Alikhan Bukeikhan, is missing from the Kazakh elected deputies to the assembly. Although he ran as a candidate on the party's list in two districts – Turgay and Stepny. The elections in the Steppe District, as noted above, were postponed. But in the Turgay district, the list of the Alash party of 7 candidates won a triumphant victory. An example of the triumph of «Alash» can be the results of the Turgay district, where the elections were held on November 12-14, 1917. For example, in the Turgay district of the same region, three lists appeared in the elections: No.1 list of the Alash party, No.2 list of the Party of Social Revolutionaries and No.3 list of the Party of Social Democrats (S.D. Mensheviks). Out of 68,000 voters in the county, 55,127 voters turned out to the ballot boxes. Of these, 54,976 votes were cast: for the list №1 of the Alash party, 110 votes for the list No.2 of the Party of Socialist Revolutionaries and for the list No. 3 of the Social Democrats (Mensheviks) - a total of 41 votes (Yuzhny Ural, 1917: 3).

A similar situation developed in Turgay district: 57,046 people out of 70,000 voters voted, 55,349 votes for list No.1 of the Alash party, 181 votes for list No.2 (The Party of Socialist Revolutionaries), and 1,516 votes for list №3 (S.D. Menshevikov). (Yuzhny Ural, 1918: 3).

Of the 400 voters in Irgiz (a total of 800 voters) who turned up at the ballot boxes, 360 votes were cast for the Alash list, the remaining 40 votes for the lists of the Party of Socialist Revolutionaries and S.D. Mensheviks (Yuzhny Ural, 1918: 3).

Thus, in the report of the newspaper «Southern Ural» on the II All-Kazakh Kurultai, which took place on December 5-13 (18-26), 1917, it is reported that A. Bukeikhan was elected to the Assembly from Turgay, Akmola and Semipalatinsk regions (Yuzhny Ural, 1917: 3).

That message of the «Southern Ural» finds full confirmation in the material of the newspaper «Saryarka», the official printing body of the Government of Alash Orda. The «Saryarka» newspaper claims that elections were held in the Steppe District from December 26 to December 31. The editorial board admits that it does not yet have complete information about the election results. It should be noted that in the list of candidates for deputies of the All-Russian Constituent Assembly, A.N. Bukeikhan was listed at No. 1 (Saryarka, 2023: 23). But the editorial board of Saryarka received information about the preliminary results (first count) of the vote from a number of counties and cities. For example, about 700-800 Kazakh workers worked at the British factory in Ekibastuz, of which 705 workers voted for the list of candidates of the Alash party at №5, for the list No. 11 of the Ush Zhuz party (self-proclaimed Kazakh Socialist Party) - not a single vote.

Petropavlovsk (in original In Kyzylzhar district) the Alash party received 26,814 votes, Ush Zhuz 36 votes; in Petropavlovsk, 486 votes for Alash, 4 for Ush Zhuz.

In Kokshetau (Kokchetav) county, 39,600 votes were cast for «Alash» and 164 votes for «Ush Zhuz».

In Omsk district (Akmola region) for «Alash» - 16,200, for «Ush Zhuz» - 300; in Omsk for the first party 80 votes, for the second - 50.



In Akmolinsk for «Alash» 790, for «Ush Zhuz» - 3 votes.

In Semipalatinsk district (Semipalatinsk region), 58,300 voters voted for the Alash party, 1 for Ush Zhuz; in Semey (Semipalatinsk), the Alash list gained 3,304 votes, the Uz Zhuz list №11 - 1 vote.

In total, according to the preliminary count of the votes cast in 4 counties (Petropavlovsk, Kokshetau, Omsk and Semipalatinsk districts) and 4 cities (Petropavlovsk, Omsk, Akmolinsk and Semipalatinsk), the Alash party scored 146,199 votes, while its main competitor, the self-proclaimed Ush Zhuz party, scored only 559 (Saryarka, 1918: №29).

Finally, the third source confirming the mandate of A.N. Bukeikhan as a deputy of the Higher Education Institution is the so-called State Meeting held in September 1918 in Ufa, in which only members of the Assembly were allowed to work. A.N. Bukeikhan is on the list of participants of the meeting together with H. Dosmukhametuly and B. Zhakhdamuly (Zhakhdamov) appear as a representative of the Kyrgyz-Kazakh Government Alash Orda, Imam Alimbekuly (Alimbekov) – as a representative of the All-Kyrgyz (All-Kazakh) People's Council Alash Orda (VestnikKom..., 1918: 3). If the mandate of A.N. Bukeikhan, like any other participant of the Ufa meeting, as a member of the Assembly had not been confirmed, he would not have been allowed to attend the meeting. The remaining Kazakh representatives (A. Baitursynuly, A. Birimzhan, S. Doszhanuly, J. Dosmukhameduly, U. Tanashuly, M. Tynyshbayuly, S. Shendrikov, A. Orazayuly, M. Shokai) were present as members of the Constituent Assembly. Thus, at least 23 deputies were elected to the Higher Education Institution from the Alash party and from the Kazakh people in general, along with A. Bukeikhan, I. Alimbekuly and B. Zhakhdamuly.

But in connection with the Bolsheviks' seizure of central power in Russia and especially with their unexpected defeat in the elections to the Higher Educational Institution, the issue of autonomy of the Kazakh regions now depended entirely not on the number of Kazakh deputies, but on the Soviet government that lost these elections.

The Bolsheviks overthrew the Provisional Government on October 25 (November 7), 1917 and seized all-Russian power, but then realized that they were also a temporary power until the Assembly was convened and approved. That is evidenced, firstly, by the resolutions of the Soviet government itself, adopted in the period between the seizure of power in Petrograd and the convocation of the Assembly, that is, from October 25 (November 7) to November 28 (December 11), 1917. Secondly, the name of the official press of the Soviet government was a reflection of reality, the Newspaper of the Provisional Workers' and Peasants' Government, all decrees and circulars were printed on the pages of this newspaper. Below is one of the latest resolutions of the Soviet government as a provisional government:

«Resolution of the Provisional Workers' and Peasants' Government of November 26, 1917 on the opening of the Constituent Assembly

1. The first meeting of the Constituent Assembly is convened at the invitation of the Commissioner of the All-Russian Commission for Elections to the Constituent Assembly upon the arrival in Petrograd of more than four hundred members of the Constituent Assembly.

2. The meeting shall be opened by a person authorized to do so by the Council of People's Commissars, with at least four hundred members of the Constituent Assembly present in the meeting room.

Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars V. Ulyanov (Lenin).

Commissioner of the All-Russian Commission

On Elections to the Constituent Assembly M. Uritsky

Chief Executive Officer of the Council of People's Commissars V. Bonch-Bruевич

Secretary N. Gorbunov»

(Gazeta Vrem..., 1917: 1).



Obviously, for that reason, the Bolsheviks were extremely interested in legitimizing their power by the decree of the Supreme Soviet – the last and only legitimate government of post-revolutionary Russia, as evidenced by the decree of October 27 (November 9) 1917 «on holding elections to the appointed (overthrown Provisional Government.) The deadline is November 12», his deputies (Gazeta Vrem..., 1917: 1).

It is also obvious that the Bolsheviks decided to take that risky step out of confidence in their unconditional victory in the elections, for which they took all measures, up to gross violations of the election law. But the elections ended in a complete victory for the Social Revolutionaries, who, together with the Ukrainian Social Revolutionaries, received more than 50% of the mandates of the Constituent Assembly, while the Bolsheviks gained slightly more than 34% (according to other sources, slightly more than 38%).

The Assembly met for its first meeting in Petrograd on the date set by the previous legitimate Provisional Government – November 28 (December 11), 1917.

But the Bolshevik deputies boycotted it, for that reason the first meeting of the Assembly did not gain a quorum. Due to lack of quorum, it was closed.

The boycott of the Bolsheviks finally dashed the hope not only of the leaders of the Alash party to convene a Constituent Assembly, but also of all the peoples of post-imperial Russia and accelerated the process of autonomization throughout the former empire. In connection with the fall of the Provisional Government and the seizure of power by the Bolsheviks in Petrograd, as well as the transfer of Ufa (October 26) and Tashkent (October 28) under the control of the Soviets, A. Bukeikhanov, who continued to perform official duties as commissioner of the overthrown Provisional Government in the Turgai region, gathered his associates in late October (early November) 1917 according to the Alash party, to an emergency meeting at his residence in the city of Orenburg. According to the testimony of the former head of the Bashkir autonomy Z. Validov, at a meeting that lasted 2 days, discussed the situation in the Kazakh Steppe and Turkestan territories and Russia as a whole. Zaki Validov, who participated in the meeting, stated: «... we decided to remain faithful to the ideas of democracy and the Constituent Assembly, not accept the rule of the Bolsheviks, and focus on Ukraine, which implements a policy of regional autonomy. It was agreed at the end of December to convene the Kazakh and Bashkir kurultai in Orenburg on the same days, and to embark on the path of struggle for sovereignty in Turkestan»(Validi, 1994: 214-215).

«In November, the newspapers «Kazakh» (Orenburg), «Saryarka» (Alash) and «Birlik tuyuy» (Tashkent) published a telegram of leaders «Alash», which was announced in Orenburg on Thursday. The extraordinary course was held on December 5(18), 1917, one of the first in the story of the day on the creation of the national militia to protect the country from the intervention of the Soviet Union (Bukeikhanov et al., 1917: 1).

As noted above, at the meeting of A. Bukeikhanov in Orenburg, the participants agreed that «Turkestan should also fight for sovereignty».

On November 26 (December 9), 1917, the IV Regional Extraordinary Muslim Kurultai gathered in the city of Kokand, which, «expressing the will of the nationalities inhabiting Turkestan to self-determination on the principles proclaimed by the Great Russian Revolution, declares Turkestan territorially autonomous in unity with the Federal Democratic Russian Republic» (Turkestansky Vestnik, 1917).

The IV Regional Extraordinary Muslim Kurultai elected the state authorities of the Turkestan Mukhtariate (autonomy). The 54–member «Provisional People's Council» affirmed the representative and legislative body, and the 12-member Provisional Council (Government) affirmed the executive body.

As it was decided at the external meeting in Orenburg, on December 5 (18), 1917, the II National Kazakh-Kyrgyz Kurultai began in Orenburg, by whose decree on December 12 (25) the National Autonomy of Alash was formed, which has all the signs of a sovereign



state. The Kurultai also elected its Provisional People's Council (Government) Alash Orda, out of three alternative candidates, A. Bukeikhan was elected its chairman (Martynenko, 1992: 69).

By its resolution of December 20, the Council of People's Commissars set the opening date of the session of the Constituent Assembly for January 5, 1918 (Gazeta Vrem..., 1917: 1). Elected to the assembly on the list of the Alash party and the commissioners of the Alash Orda Council, clearly representing the hopelessness of the meeting, decided not to participate in the opening of its session.

In early January 1918, the Constituent Assembly declared Russia a Federal Democratic Republic, thereby abandoning the monarchical form of government, as required by all Kazakh regional and national Kurultai of 1917, and also abolished private ownership of land (Lutsky, 1917-1918: 102). The abolition of private ownership of land was persistently and consistently sought by the leader of «Alash» A. Bukeikhanov since 1906, and it was also one of the three important reasons for his withdrawal from the ranks of the Cadet Party in 1917 (Kazakh, 1917: 3). The Assembly also managed to call for the conclusion of a peace treaty (GARF. F. R-749. Op. 1 D. 5). They refused to consider the "Declaration of the Rights of the Working and Exploited People," since this declaration would endow the Soviets of Workers' and Peasants' Deputies with state power. (GARF. F. R-749. Op. 1 D. 5).

Based on the situation, the Bolsheviks completely decided to disperse the Constituent Assembly. So, on January 6 (19), 1918, Russia, firstly, lost the last and only legitimate government after the overthrown Provisional Government. Secondly, Russia did not take place as a federation, as the Kazakh people demanded at all their regional and national kurultai in 1917 and as its former colonial peoples had great hope for it. The former colonial imperial Russia disintegrated into independent (sovereign) national and regional states that did not recognize the Soviet government as the central state authority of Russia.

Conclusion. In the conditions of anarchy in Russia and its disintegration, the autonomy of Alash, originally formed by the II National Kazakh-Kyrgyz Kurultai as an equal subject of the supposed federal Russia, transformed into a republic with full state power, that is, sovereignty not limited by external supranational bodies. And Alash-Orda, authorized by the Kurultai to «negotiate blocs (alliances, alliances) with other autonomous neighbors» in 1918-1920 pursued an independent (sovereign) foreign policy, negotiating in conditions of war against the intervention of the Soviet government on the recognition of its state sovereignty and independence by Japan and other countries. The victorious world powers in the First World War, who gathered in January 1919 for the Paris Peace Conference, and the establishment of bilateral diplomatic, trade and economic relations with them, military and political relations and the joint struggle against Soviet power.

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 RGIA – Rossiysky gosudarstvenny istorichesky archive [Russian State Historical Archive]
 ROSSPAN – Rossiyskaya politicheskaya encyclopediya [Russian political encyclopedia]
 TSA FSB RF – Tsentralnyj arhiv Federalnoy sluzhby Bezopasnosti Rossiyskoj Federatsii [Central Archive of the Federal Security Service of the Russian Federation]

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Редакцияның мекен-жайы:

050100, Қазақстан Республикасы, Алматы қ., Шевченко көшесі, 28
Ш.Ш. Уәлиханов атындағы Тарих және этнология институты
«Отан тарихы» журналының редакциясы

Сайтқа сілтеме: <https://otan.history.iie.kz>

Тел.: +7 (727) 272-46-54.

E-mail: otanhistory@gmail.com.

Журнал Қазақстан Республикасының Ақпарат және қоғамдық келісім министрлігінде
1998 ж. 9 наурызда тіркеліп, N 158-ж куәлігіне ие болды.

Мақалаларды қайта бастырып жариялағанда, микрофильмге және басқа да көшірмелерге
түсіргенде міндетті түрде журналға сілтеме жасау қажет.
