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## **Alikhan Bukeikhan's philosophy of independence (cultural and philosophical analysis)**

The beginning of the XX century was a time of aggravation of the land problem for the Kazakh people. At this time, the Kazakh intelligentsia, who were engaged in Enlightenment, began to actively act. Alikhan Bukeikhan was the head of the government of Alashorda, who managed to mobilize Kazakh students not only in the educational, but also in the political struggle to work in the interests of the nation. The article discusses the philosophy of independence of Alikhan Bukeikhan in a historical and cultural context. The authors of the article take into account topical issues of political, economic, educational, organizational, cultural activities of A. Bukeikhan using the example of historical data and memorable notes. Thanks to his political insight, he managed to preserve our land by uniting Kazakh intellectuals, so that it would not be swallowed up or destroyed by the policy of the Empire. Archival data show that Alikhan's political influence was strong even during his imprisonment. Intellectuals of such Turkic countries as fraternal Turkish, Tatar, Bashkir, Uzbek, Kyrgyz took Alikhan's philosophy of independence as an example. In the article, an attempt is made to understand the high level of political philosophy of A. Bukeikhan and his relationship with external forces is considered. Among the intellectuals of Russia, historical figures who have established close relations are indicated by the reference table. The article systematically defines a holistic picture of the political philosophy of the head of Alashorda, regardless of the period of his life, such as participation in regional expeditions, membership in the cadet party, joining the organization of Freemasons, becoming a Duma deputy, imprisonment, persecution in historical context. The content of the article deals with the stages of development of political philosophy of Alikhan Bukeikhan, his contribution to independence, his activity towards the unification of the Kazakh people in a cultural and philosophical context.

**Keywords:** independence, political philosophy, colonialism, Alash party, Alashorda autonomy, national interest, Kazakh intellectuals, land problem, culture, cultural philosophy.

### *Introduction*

Independence is a sacred concept that gives meaning and significance to the daily life, relationships, psychology, profession, and dreams of the people. In the post-colonial period, the process of decolonization of the Kazakh people began with attempts to rid themselves of cultural and psychological domination. The spirit and essence of Kazakh culture became the first condition for accelerating the decolonization process. The needs and practices of contemporary Kazakh society are related to its specific cultural conditions. The nature of these conditions lies in the fact that, after declaring independence, the Kazakh people became part of global science and technology. The alignment of the Kazakh people's goals and interests is related to recognizing independence as the main value. A review of the philosophy of independence advances scientific debates in all areas of theory, relying on research of high quality and logic. The promotion of the philosophy of independence is undertaken through approaches such as historical analysis, analytical political philosophy, philosophy of contemporary history, comparative philosophy, critical theory, and literary-historical interpretation. In current research on Alash studies, the discourses in the fields of history and literature are constantly being renewed. In philosophical and cultural studies, Alash studies are still taking shape. There is a limited body of scholarly work on the political-philosophical discourses of the Alash heritage. In evaluating the contribution of the Alash intellectuals to the philosophy of independence, we rely on the research of literary scholars and historians. In this article, the main criteria of Alikhan Bukeikhan's philosophy of independence are examined through major works in literature and historical scholarship.

Since the beginning of the decolonization process in Kazakh society, the formation of new thinking and critical perspectives has expanded the relevance of cultural studies in the historical and spiritual development of the nation. The first signs of decolonization appeared even before the collapse of the USSR, in 1988, with the decision of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan to rehabilitate Kazakh intellectuals. However, earlier, in 1959, Shakarim Kudaiberdiuly was rehabilitated during Khrushchev's "thaw" pe-

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riod, but later faced a renewed ban. Even after gaining independence, the study of Kazakh intellectuals did not cover a broad scope. In the last three years, numerous scholarly works dedicated to the historical figure of Alihan Bokeikhan have been published. This phenomenon in ethnopsychology arises from the people's deep desire for full decolonization. Modern Kazakh scholars such as T. Zhurtbai, D. Kamzabekuly, S. Akkululy, A. Isimakova, S. Zhumagul, D. Kydyrali, and others have made significant achievements in studying the heritage of Alash. Russian researchers have also started to actively investigate Alihan's legacy. Among the scholars, V.S. Khristoforov, D. Amanzholova, Tomohiko Uyama, A. Khalid, and V.I. Kozodoy are offering new perspectives on Alihan's political philosophy. Studies on the efforts of Alash to influence not only Kazakh politics but also Russian imperial policies are rising to a new level. The evaluation of the history of Alash autonomy can be significantly deepened through new methods of the humanities such as philosophy, political science, and cultural studies. From the perspective of cultural studies methodology, Alashorda was recognized as a state that realized independence earlier through the establishment of borders. The Alash intellectuals addressed issues of land, borders, language, religion, and national traditions, creating necessary conditions for the people. Their conviction that only Kazakhs are the rightful owners of the land, and that people should live freely and according to their will, had a significant impact on the people's consciousness.

At the heart of Alihan Bokeikhan's political career lies the philosophy of the steppe. The foundation of the research is that the Alashorda intellectuals came from a traditional culture, capable of withstanding external cultural pressures without being absorbed by them. The wisdom of the Khan, political maturity, the ability to plan actions with specific solutions, the willingness to take risks, the ability to foresee the future, the ability to appreciate the land, and the skill to mobilize educated people for national interests distinguish him as an outstanding leader. Even though he was in exile in Samara and Moscow, his struggle continued actively, not only for the Kazakhs but for other Turkic peoples who had been colonized. Alihan is revered as an ideal ruler. There are no utopian ideas in his works; every idea is grounded in a strong foundation and is part of national interests. Alihan's political strategies had a significant influence on previous, contemporary, and subsequent generations. He believed that the way to freedom from colonialism lays through enlightenment, as did Abai, and among his contemporaries, many people, despite differences in political views, maintained unity in their struggle. He also raised a generation of fighters who were ready to fight for language and culture.

In the 20th century, Kazakh intellectuals were united by a common cultural identity. Folk epics such as "Jusip-Zylikha," "Kozy Korpesh-Bayan Sulu," "Enlik Kebek," "Alpamys," "Er Targin," "Kenesary-Nauryzbai" were familiar to all since childhood. Alash intellectuals were also closely connected with each other. They supported one another and were always active in public affairs. The ties between the families of Kunanbai and Bokeikhan lasted until the end. Memoirs testify that they supported each other, and traditions and values were passed from one generation to the next. Syrym Bokeikhanov, who left a collection of memoirs about Alikhan, notes that another relationship has occurred. Shakarim's son Akhat and Alikhan's brother Raimzhan, the son of Azikhan, married their sisters. In the collection of memoirs, he writes: "I knew by myself that Akhat aga was a relative of our house. He was the husband of Kaden, our mother's older sister" [1; 151]. Kadisha (Bapash apai), the second wife of Akhat Shakarimovich Kadana, is the older sister of Syrym Bokeikhanov's mother. In his memoirs about his mother, he also wrote that his mother was delighted when she saw Wasila, Abai's granddaughter, and hugged him, running ahead. We see in the autobiographical historical memoirs signs of a culture that gave a national character to the Kazakh people. The prerequisite for uniting the Alash party under the banner is the fact that Kazakh culture has fully matured and has become a value of every family. National worldviews put conscience above, showed unity in the common interests of the intelligentsia of that time, which excelled in traditions and reached a high level of consciousness with the spiritual culture of its people.

Today, ongoing debates in science discuss whether Alashorda was truly a state. This question is not only the responsibility of historians but also of philosophers. To answer it, the philosophical question of the existence of Alashorda must be correctly formulated. Currently, there are various interpretations of the term Alashorda: movement, party, autonomy, government, state. Alashorda passed through all these stages, from its formation to its dissolution. Biographical studies of its leaders will be a prerequisite for the formation of any political system. What is considered a milestone in the life of Alikhan Bokeikhan, starting with the Karkaraly petition in 1905 and ending with the closure of the Butyrskaya prison in Moscow, causes a contradiction in cultural and philosophical research. The origins of his philosophy of independence fully encom-

pass his place of birth, the environment in which he grew up, his genealogy, as well as his students and their followers.

### *Research Methods*

In the article, the methodological basis of the research is determined through Alihan Bukeikhan's articles, fundamental studies about him, memoirs, archival materials, the historiography of Alashorda, historical data, and cultural-philosophical analysis of literary works to define the philosophy of independence. The independence that Alihan dreamed of is deeply examined through the concepts of cognition, meaning in philosophy, and the notions of value and sanctity in cultural studies.

### *Results*

The main issue that deeply concerned the Kazakh society at the beginning of the 20th century was the land issue. Alihan understood well that during times when the people were losing their land and suffering from widespread poverty, famine, and devastation, there was no strength left to fight for land. Alihan, who had a deep knowledge of our oral history and genealogies, was vigilant regarding the land issue. He acknowledged that we had managed to preserve the vast territory of Kazakhstan through the power of tribal patriarchal hierarchy, thanks to the nomadic economy. However, the European scientific-industrial revolution forced the Kazakh people to change their familiar way of life. From that point on, it became impossible to preserve the land according to the laws of the steppe. During the period of Russian colonialism, Kazakhs lost a significant amount of land, which caused Alihan great distress.

From that moment on, he made it his mission to preserve the remaining land. In 1917, the program of the Alash Party, published in the "Qazaq" newspaper, shows great care in its formulation. At the beginning of the program, it states that Kazakhstan should be part of a democratic federal body of Russia, with the clarification that within this federal republic, power would be implemented through democratic means. The leaders of Alashorda, concerned for the safety of their people, proposed to protect their rights by introducing a Kazakh-language judicial system. In a telegram calling for the Second General Kazakh Congress, Alihan wrote: "If we cannot defend ourselves, when disorder grows and difficulties multiply, the Kazakh people will suffer. Therefore, in addition to forming a militia, a great issue to be discussed at the congress is what we must do to ensure that the Kazakh people do not lose their identity" [2; 258].

For the preservation of land, demographic growth was essential. Alihan understood that if the population decreased, they would lose the land. In the "Land Issues" section, the program wisely addresses the land issue: "In land law, there should be no land sales; everyone should use land for their own benefit. Land should not be sold beyond its usefulness, and it should be taken by the zemstvo (local government). The minerals, subsoil, and wealth of the land should belong to the state, and control over it should lie with the zemstvo" [2; 222].

The program included key terms such as "Kazakh," "Kazakh language," "local population," "people's will," "freedom," "defense of the country," and "justice." The sections of the Alash Party program were:

1. *State Structure*
2. *Local Freedom*
3. *Fundamental Rights*
4. *Religious Affairs*
5. *Power and Courts*
6. *Defense of the Country*
7. *Taxation*
8. *Workers*
9. *Education and Science*
10. *Land Issues*

Alashorda Autonomy: The First Turkic Nation to Declare its Statehood within Russian Dominated Central Asia.

Alashorda autonomy was the first among the Turkic nations under Russian imperial rule to declare its own statehood. This was a significant historical achievement. The leaders of the Alashorda government, by implementing a well-organized and systematic policy, created the content of laws that provided for a comprehensive and informed approach. They believed in the possibility of Kazakhstan becoming a developed nation, like Japan, with the right systems and leadership. According to Japanese professor Tomohiko Uyama, during the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905, Kazakh intellectuals became increasingly interested in Japan.

Uyama, in his article *Repression of Kazakh Intellectuals as a Sign of Weakness of Russian Imperial Rule*, suggests that the cruelty shown by Semey Governor A.N. Troynitsky towards the Kazakh people motivated Kazakh intellectuals to engage in national liberation struggles [3].

It is well-known that the beginnings of collective resistance against Russian rule by Kazakh intellectuals can be traced back to an early period. In his work *Turkic Union*, academician D. Qamzabekuly quotes the leader Turar Ryskulov's remarks about the intellectual movements of the time, stating, "At that time, the efforts and movements of the relatively small number of Kazakh intellectuals had a cultural nature. Their political direction and goals were unclear. Therefore, they expected support from both the Russian liberal movement and Muslim circles." D. Qamzabekuly reference to the concept of culturalism during the turn of the century helps to understand the direction of spirituality at the time [4; 70].

In 1915, A. Bokeikhan wrote educational articles on Western spirituality "from the guard of spiritual culture" and "German culture." The political events in Russia at the beginning of the 20th century opened up many opportunities for Alihan Bokeikhan in his fight for independence. Alihan criticized the October 17, 1905 manifesto, saying it was "the first and last time Russia became Europe." In 1915, he wrote articles on Western spirituality, Spiritual Culture Watch and German Culture. In these articles, he used countries that maintained their traditional cultures while embracing knowledge and science as models. The reinterpretation and addition of historical details by researchers in the Alihantanu field prove that the creation of the Alash autonomy was not spontaneous.

The Alashorda government remained active in its work up until the 1917 revolution. Some historians argue that the formation of the Alash autonomy began with the 1905 Karkaraly petition. Year by year, the appearance of different discourses has provided favorable conditions for the study of the political philosophy of the Alash leader at the international level. One such discourse is found in the work by Adib Khalid, *Central Asia from the Age of Empires to Our Time*, where he suggests that Kazakh intellectuals established an independent autonomous republic before the 1917 revolution. According to Khalid, the Alashorda government declared the Kazakh nation as the main ethnic group, transformed the Kazakh language into a science, and united the people, which stopped the migration of Cossacks and peasants. Khalid also notes that Kazakh intellectuals differed from those in Turkistan and Bukhara. He points out that the Kazakh aristocracy was quick to send their children to Russian schools, understanding the importance of reaching European science and technology as quickly as possible. Khalid makes a bold statement regarding the mass starvation during the collectivization period, stating, "European origin peasants also suffered from hunger, but it affected the Kazakhs much more. According to the 1926 census, Kazakhs constituted 57.1 % of the population, but 90 % of those who died from hunger were Kazakhs" [5; 233].

Alihan Bokeikhan frequently cited developed countries like Denmark, Australia, and England in his articles. In his article "Kaperetip and the National Economy of Denmark," he emphasized the need for the "Kazakhs to have schools, water to irrigate their land, and individuals like Borgensen and Miller who could serve the nation, produce oil, wash wool, tan hides, sell meat, raise livestock, and grow crops" [6; 216]. Alihan advocated for diversifying animal husbandry and transitioning into settled life. He wanted to introduce gradual changes to the traditional economy and believed this would bring significant benefits to the people. *Kazakh Intellectuals and the Struggle Against Russian Colonialism*. Among the Central Asian nations, the Kazakh intellectuals were the first to openly resist Russian colonialism. According to the Alash researcher Dihan Kamzabekuly, intellectuals from the Tatar and Bashkir nations observed Alihan Bokeikhan's political decisions and sought support from the Kazakh people, whose population and territory were much larger. Professor N. Dulatbekov, who found archival documents in Moscow, writes in his article *Alihan and the Tatar Elite* that "Tatar intellectuals always held Alihan Bokeikhan in high regard and considered him a leader. Alihan never ignored the interests of the local Muslim community" [7].

Kazakh intellectuals were well-prepared for political changes and quickly made decisions during critical moments, such as participating in the All-Russian Muslim Congress and holding a national Kazakh congress. In a time when political conflict was escalating — between Kadets, Social Democrats, White Guards, the Siberian government, Masonic organizations, Monarchists, the Red Guard, Soviets, Bolsheviks, and Mensheviks — Alashorda created its government.

Currently, a large volume of archival documents related to the Alash intellectuals has yet to be uncovered in the history of Kazakhstan. Historians are not satisfied with the available data. Alihan's participation in expeditions across the Kazakh steppe, his membership in Freemason organizations, his signing of the Vyborg Appeal, his position as a member of the Duma, his role as editor for several Russian newspapers, and his ability to establish good relationships with leaders of the Cadet Party, White Guards, and Social Demo-

crats all suggest that there are still many historical documents and facts waiting to be discovered. Historical science makes its analysis based on factual data. From the perspective of the philosophy of history, Alihan's vision of independence and how he implemented his concrete decisions has a profound significance. Let us attempt a comparative interpretation of the political philosophy of the leader of Alash.

First, Alihan, who openly fought against the Tsarist government, did not recognize the Soviet government at all. Alihan Bokeikhan did not bow to either authority. He was able to take advantage of the time when the Red Army was still disorganized and centralized power was not yet fully established. He understood the danger that the Bolsheviks would pose in the future before they even came to power. He openly opposed them, stating: "We saw the irresponsibility of the rulers during the reign of Nicholas. The Bolshevik leader, Ulyanov-Lenin, like Nicholas, will rule with absolute power. Just as Nicholas turned the people into mute beasts, so will he" [8; 50].

Second, in the struggle for independence, Alihan chose the path of peaceful means. Alihan's philosophy of independence is completely different from the philosophies of world-renowned anti-colonial leaders such as N. Mandela, M. Gandhi, L. Sédar Senghor, and F. Fanon. Alihan's philosophy was focused on creating a civilized nation that could surpass Russian civilization, and creating a situation in which the scientific achievements of Russia would be outdone. His ideal was to educate his people in a way that would prevent them from falling into subjugation. All Kazakh intellectuals made it their goal to uplift the nation through education. Alihan Bokeikhan utilized the knowledge of educated Kazakhs for the benefit of the country.

Third, while he advocated for Turkic nations to unite against colonialism, he made sure that the Kazakh people's issues regarding language, religion, and land were not left on the sidelines. He promoted the idea that the Kazakh language was the purest and most uncorrupted root of Turkic languages.

In current historiography, while independence is often considered in the context of 1991, philosophically, our national consciousness is still deeply tied to the traditional reverence for the Khanate. When analyzing historical events, we must take into account the feelings, psychology, mood, anxieties, hopes, and fears of people living at the time. The life of the Kazakh people during Alihan's era was one marked by both hope and fear. We are familiar with how the wish to be a free nation turned into hopelessness for some (the poets of the Zar Zaman era), flickered with hope during the Jadid movement, and ultimately resulted in concrete solutions (the Alash struggle). Alihan not only showed the way to independence but also charted the path to becoming a civilized state that would be free from the threat of losing its independence. In the articles he wrote for the people, he emphasized the importance of preparing for change and staying resilient.

In the memoirs of Smahan Tören, it is written that in 1916, Alihan Bokeikhan persuaded the people of Mangystau not to join the uprising and instead to participate in labor. The memoir states: "The Aday people came out with a flag in front of him and shouted, 'Our Khan has arrived!'" Alihan immediately said, "Stop! Stop!" and gave them advice to calm down. "Abylaylaping, Bokeylaping!" shouted the Aday. Alihan told them, "Give 19–31-year-olds for work. I will go with you, I will be with you," and stopped them with his advice" [9; 84]. Alihan Bokeikhan took every effort to protect his people from war, punitive detachments, starvation, and disunity.

Alihan interpreted independence as the preservation of language and land. He became wary of Russia's actions, especially the quick annexation of the lands of nations like the Bashkirs, Crimean Tatars, and Nogais by the Russian Empire. The colonizing Russia, which was taking advantage of weaker countries and seizing their territories through shrewd politics, could be expected to do anything. Alihan Bokeikhan maintained close ties with Russian intellectuals and was actively involved in politics. Historian J.S. Akqululy writes about his publicistic activities, stating: "As for Alihan Bokeikhan's active publicistic work, it seems he dedicated his entire conscious life to it — from 1889 to at least 1927, nearly 40 years" [10; 3]. Alihan Bokeikhan published articles in Russian newspapers with great activity. These included "Irtysh," "Omych," "Goloss Stepí," "Rech," "Slovo," "Volzhsky Den," "Samara Atshabari," "Iqtisad," "Rossiya Torgovli," "Sibirskiye Voprosy," and others. His articles on land issues were substantiated by laws and backed by statistical data, including population, land area, agriculture, the history of the land, geography, daily life, even livestock numbers, and pasture sizes, with specific examples provided.

A. Bukeikhan wrote in the article "History of the Kazakh," published in the newspaper "Kazakh" on February 16, 1913 in Issue No. 3: "Our Kazakh is not going to lose his name and become a Kyrgyz. 'I don't know,' he said. In the light of the world in this century, the Kazakhs open their eyes, straighten their faces, as if they did not lose their kazakhism, and make their Sharq habit comfortable, creating 'Kazakh culture' (Kazakh culture), on the one hand, build 'Kazakh literature' (Kazakh literature) and preserve their kazakhism" [11; 32]. Not only intellectuals who were members of the Alash Orda, but also people from other

parties contributed significantly to the benefit of the Kazakh people with their various professions, positions, and political views. The intellectuals who were members of parties such as “Ush Zhuz,” “Birlik,” “Shuro-i-Islam” were closely connected by kinship and regional ties, as seen in the works of S. Seyfullin’s “Tar Zhol, Tayghak Keshu” and S. Mukhanov’s “Adaskandar.”

M. Shokay, S. Kozhanov, R. Marshek, M. Tynyshbayuly received direct orders or guidance from Alihan regarding the fate of the Turkistan region. Their ultimate goal was to preserve the land by building cities and concentrating the population in one center. The fear that “idle land invites enemies” was felt by all Kazakh intellectuals, not just Alihan.

Ethnographer T. Arshabekov, in his work *Alash’s Alihan*, states: “Alihan, who participated in census work in the Tobol province and gained valuable experience, joined the A.G. Shcherbina expedition, which began researching the Akmolinsk and Semipalatinsk provinces’ land from 1896 to 1901, and contributed to the study of 12 districts. He began his career as a statistician and eventually led the research team. His involvement in the Shcherbina expedition positively impacted his research into genealogy and national history. Alihan demonstrated that every Kazakh land has its rightful owner, and that these lands were the ancestral homes of the Kazakh people, by marking them on a map and providing detailed accounts of the land and its economy” [12; 121].

Alihan Bokeikhan never published an article that praised or acknowledged the successes of Russia’s actions. This suggests his concern not only for the territorial independence but also for the intellectual sovereignty of the Kazakh people. Alihan further developed the idea of the great Kazakh philosopher, Abai, who believed that the Kazakh people should learn the Russian language in order to assimilate European science and technology. Alihan not only understood Abai’s message deeply but also implemented it. His articles were written in a language that was easily understandable to the public, demonstrating his intent to make his deep knowledge accessible to a wide audience.

In his research on the archival documents of N. Dulatbekov in the Karaganda Regional Archive, it becomes clear why Samara’s spies referred to Alihan as “Asman,” “Osman,” and “Kalmyk” [13; 121]. It seems they considered him a dangerous Turkic nationalist intellectual to the Russian Empire. Interestingly, his scholarly abilities were recognized even during Tsar Nicholas II’s reign. Archival documents show that in official descriptions, he was labeled as a “scientist-forester.” According to these documents, four spies tracked him day and night and reported that he frequently met with influential Russian politicians.

Table 1

#### Alihan Bokeikhan’s Political Contacts During His Exile in Russia

№	name	main activity area	main Position	political orientation
1	2	3	4	5
1	G. Potanin	Full member of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society	Supporter of the Kazakh people	“Siberian Independence Societies”
2	F.A. Shcherbina	Corresponding member of the Imperial Academy of Sciences	Advocate for Ukrainian independence	Active member of the Liberal opposition from 1902
3	S.P. Shvetsov	Delegate of the All-Russian Constituent Assembly	Socialism	Active member of the Socialist Revolutionaries (SR)
4	V. Bartold	Academician of the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences	Orientalist	-
5	V. Radlov	Employee of the Imperial Academy of Sciences, Director of the Anthropology and Ethnography Museum	Orientalist	-
6	A.F. Kerensky	Minister of Justice of the Provisional Government, Leader of the Russian Masonic Brotherhood	Abolition of the monarchy	Leader of the Socialist Revolutionaries
7	V. Shulgin	Member of the State Duma	Monarchism	White Guard
8	N.S. Chkheidze	First Chairman of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee	Socialism	Social-Democratic
9	P.N. Milyukov	Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Provisional Government (1917)	Liberalism	Leader of the Cadet Party
10	A.A. Belyakov	correspondent of the newspaper “Steppe Region,” a revolutionary	Marxism	Social-Democratic

Continuation of Table

1	2	3	4	5
11	A.G. Elshin	Member of the People's Sovereignty Committee	Equality	Cadet
12	V.A. Kugushev	Member of the State Council Election Committee	Social-Democracy	Cadet
13	S. Oldenburg	Minister of Education of the Provisional Government, Academician (1917)	Liberal Opposition	Cadet
14	V. Bonch-Bruyevich	Director of the Central Museum of Literary Criticism and Journalism	Bolshevism	Bolshevik

As shown in the table above, Alihan Bokeikhan established close relationships with politicians from various ideological backgrounds. He not only learned from their political experience but also influenced them in his own right. When Alihan visited Semipalatinsk in 1917, the people greeted him with joy. Despite being in the company of major Russian politicians, he remained humble in front of his people, stating: "Brothers, thank you for this warm welcome. But you must understand, it was not me who built the freedom, it was the Russian men. I was just a companion on their path" [14; 229] Alihan's relationship with Russian political figures allowed him to preserve Kazakh land.

### Conclusion

In conclusion, the study of Alihan Bokeikhan intellectual biography has been framed through interdisciplinary research. The life philosophy of the leader of Alash led to the independence of Kazakhstan. The concept of independence is sacred. Alihan Bokeikhan, who gave his life for this cause, has become a legendary figure. His life continues to capture the interest of not only scholars but society at large. The image of Alihan stands as high in the academic world as it does in public life. His name, honored by his people, will continue to live on alongside the independent Kazakh state.

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### **Әлихан Бөкейханның тәуелсіздік философиясы (мәдени-философиялық талдау)**

XX ғ. басы қазақ халқы үшін жер мәселесінің ушыққан кезі болатын. Осы кезде ағартушылықпен айналысқан қазақ зияткерлері белсенді іс-әрекетке көшті. Қазақ оқығандарын ұлт мүддесіне еңбек етуде тек ағартушылық емес, саяси күреске жұмылдыра білген Алашорда үкіметінің басшысы Әлихан Бөкейхан еді. Мақалада Әлихан Бөкейханның тәуелсіздік философиясы тарихи-мәдени контексте қарастырылған. Мақала авторлары тарихи деректер мен естелік жазбаларды мысал ете отырып, Ә. Бөкейханның саяси-экономикалық, ағартушылық, ұйымдастырушылық, мәдени қызметінің өзекті мәселелерін назарға алады. Саяси білгірлігінің арқасында отарлаушы империяның жойқын саясатына жұтылып, құрып кетпес үшін бар зиялыны біріктіріп жерімізді сақтай білді. Архивтік деректер көрсеткендей Әлиханнның саяси ықпалы түрмеде болғанның өзінде күшті болған. Бауырлас түрік, татар, башқұрт, өзбек, қырғыз сияқты түркі елдерінің зиялылары Әлиханнның тәуелсіздік философиясын үлгі тұтқан. Ә. Бөкейханның саяси философиясының биік деңгейін түсінуге талпыныс жасалып, сыртқы күштермен байланысы қарастырылған. Ресей интеллектуалдарының ішінде тығыз қарым-қатынас орнатқан тарихи тұлғалар анықтамалық кесте арқылы көрсетіледі. Алашорда басшысының өлкелік экспедицияларға қатысуы, кадеттер партиясына мүше болуы, масондар ұйымына кіруі, Дума депутаты болуы, түрмеге жабылуы, қуғын-сүргін көруі сияқты өмірінің қай кезеңін аласақ та саяси философиясының тұтас бейнесі тарихи мәнәсінінде жүйелі анықталды. Мақаланың мазмұны Әлихан Бөкейханның саяси философиясының даму кезеңдерін, тәуелсіздікке қосқан үлесін, қазақ халқын біріктіру жолындағы қайраткерлігін мәдени-философиялық контексте зерделеу.

*Кілт сөздер:* тәуелсіздік, саяси философия, отаршылдық, Алаш партиясы, Алашорда автономиясы, ұлттық мүдде, қазақ интеллектуалдары, жер мәселесі, мәдениет, мәдени философия.

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### **Философия независимости Алихана Бөкейхана (культурно-философский анализ)**

Начало XX века стало для казахского народа переломным моментом земельного вопроса. В это время к активной деятельности перешли казахские интеллектуалы, занимавшиеся просвещением. Именно глава правительства Алаш-Орды Алихан Бөкейхан в интересах нации сумел вовлечь казахских интеллектуалов не только в просветительскую, но и в политическую борьбу. В статье рассматривается философия независимости Алихана Бөкейхана в историко-культурном контексте. На примере исторических данных и памятных записей авторы статьи принимают во внимание актуальные вопросы политико-экономической, просветительской, организационной, культурной деятельности А. Бөкейхана. Благодаря своему политическому знанию А. Бөкейхан сумел сохранить нашу землю, объединив казахских интеллектуалов, чтобы она не поглотила и не разрушила политику Империи. Архивные данные показывают, что политическое влияние Алихана Бөкейхана было сильным даже во время его пребывания в тюрьме. Интеллигенция тюркских стран (татары, башкиры, узбеки, кыргызы) последовала примеру философии независимости Алихана. В статье делается попытка понять высокий уровень политической философии А. Бөкейхана и рассматривается его связь с внешними силами. Исторические личности, установившие тесные отношения внутри российских интеллектуалов, представлены справочной таблицей. В статье системно раскрывается в историческом контексте целостный образ политической философии главы Алашорды, как участие в краевых экспедициях, членство в кадетской партии, вступление в организацию масонов, депутат Думы, заключение в тюрьму, репрессии. Содержание статьи рассматривает в культурно-философском контексте этапы развития политической философии Алихана Бөкейхана, его вклад в независимость и его деятельность по объединению казахского народа.

*Ключевые слова:* независимость, политическая философия, колониализм, партия Алаш, автономия Алаш-Орды, национальные интересы, казахские интеллектуалы, земельный вопрос, культура, культурная философия.

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