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Mustafa Shokay about cooperation in Turkestan region and Kazakhstan

Abstract. The publication of 12 volume editions of Mustafa Shokay, not previously published in his homeland, in our opinion, will greatly enrich the history of economic thought and the economic history of Kazakhstan.

In his socio-political activities and analytical researches, he, one of the founders of the Alash movement and the leader of the Kazakh opposition to Soviet power outside the USSR, paid considerable attention to the socio-economic processes that took place in that period in the Soviet Union as a whole, and in Kazakhstan and republics of Central Asia in particular.

The co-operation conducted by the Soviet authorities in the 1920s and 30s of the last century was an important lever in the construction of a socialist social system. This article discusses the views of Mustafa Shokay on this process, conducted by the dictatorship of the proletariat. The analysis of his published works on this problem, especially in Kazakhstan and the Turkestan region, testifies his significant contribution to the theory and practice of the cooperative process, as well as how he painfully perceived the tragic consequences of the ongoing Soviet cooperation and revealed its negative sides.

Keywords: cooperation, consumer cooperation, peasant economy, agriculture, reform, supply and marketing cooperation, income, livestock.

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Being in emigration, representing the interests of the people of the Turkestan region, the Kazakh people and the Alash party in foreign countries, Mustafa Shokai (1889-1941,

a graduate of the law faculty of St. Petersburg University, an eminent statesman and public figure, scientist, journalist) showed considerable interest in political, social and economic processes that took place in the Turkestan region, Kazakhstan in the 20-30s of the twentieth century.

A special place among his scientific researches and published works on political, social and economic problems is occupied by comprehensive studies of the process of cooperation in the Central Asian republics and in Kazakhstan in the 20-30s of the last century, its disastrously devastating consequences for the indigenous population of these territories. On this problem, he published a significant number of scientific writings and journalistic articles.

Mustafa Shokai, a politically-minded figure, a responsible employee of the State Duma of the Russian Empire, was well versed in this matter, since at the beginning of the last century co-operation in the Russian empire was greatly developed; the Provisional Government also took a number of specific measures to develop cooperation. At the beginning of the birth of Soviet power, I had the opportunity, with my own eyes, to be convinced of the Bolshevik policy pursued with respect to small private owners and the problems of their cooperation.

Moreover, being in a prolonged forced emigration in Turkey and the countries of Western Europe, he was well acquainted with the forms and methods of cooperation in a market economy conditions. Therefore, exploring the forms and methods of the process of cooperation in the Soviet Union, and especially in its backward national suburbs, he had the opportunity to carry out a comparative analysis between them.

Mustafa Shokai defines the paramount political and economic importance of the party

leaders to the co-operation as following: “I will start with co-operation, which makes the main element of the “socialist organization” of the economy under Kazakhstan’s conditions” [1, Vol. 8, p. 345].

In his opinion, joining the cooperatives must be carried out on a voluntary basis and be implemented gradually. That is, in stages from lower forms (consumer, supply and marketing) to higher forms (production), with rigorous consideration of local national characteristics and conditions, especially in previously backward national margins (in Turkestan region and Kazakhstan) [2, 4, with. 405-406; 3, volume 7, p. 113-118].

So, for example, noting the historical features of the Kazakh people’s attitude to the process of cooperation, Mustafa Shokai cites from their written appeal to Lenin (since he did not accept the Kazakh delegation, who came to meet with him) the following points: “It should be noted that artel start of cooperation and cooperation in the work of the Kyrgyz (Kazakh - A.Dogalov) people is highly developed. Thus it is clear, with what the laboring Kyrgyz masses who have the above social structure and the Kyrgyz populist intelligentsia should go for union whether with the workers and peasants seeking freedom from exploitation and oppression or with yesterday’s oppressors and exploiters - the bourgeois classes” [4, Volume 2, with. 257].

On this occasion, he sets forth his following considerations. “An uncomplicated economy, in which the main role is played by cattle breeding that is close to primitive, with relatively weak development of agriculture and the complete absence of factory industry, eliminated the need (even if to take the Bolsheviks’ point of view) of the methods practiced by the Bolsheviks in Russia. The Kyrgyz steppes with these features can quite easily meet any economic reforms in Russia” [4, Volume 2, p. 155].

Mustafa Shokai, as a true patriot of his nation, fully and unequivocally supports the idea of the appeal that “It is obvious that the national, economic and cultural characteristics of the Kyrgyz people require special methods and ways of work. Without acquaintance with the living conditions of the Kyrgyz people and knowledge of all these features, in the absence of a definite look at the question, it was impossible to organize the work seriously” [4, Volume 2, p. 256].

In his opinion, all these features historically evolved over many centuries and were determined by the forms of business management of the Kazakh population, formed the corresponding household ideology, which cannot be changed by the revolutionary method, which was used by the Bolsheviks who came to power. On this occasion, he wrote as follows: “I am by no means a defender of the inviolability of the historically established way of life in general, and if, as arguments against the Soviet methods of resolving the Kyrgyz issue, I referred to some historically established aspects of Kyrgyz life, this meant a different, than a simple protection of mode of life. Namely, a domestic ideology, the roots of which are laid in the whole situation of the previous period, cannot be changed by a take-over, as it happens in the field of politics. In the field of mass ideology, everything is happening slowly, and even the omnipotence of the revolution has certain facets.

Adherents of Russian Bolshevism, who due to the Moscow formulas of Soviet construction lost sight of reality and did not at all consider its laws, did not want to admit this.

The formula — from destruction and violence to creativity and freedom — defined everything” [5, Volume 2, p. 164].

He further points out that the party leadership of the Bolsheviks in Moscow, as well as the party elite in the national regions (consisting mainly of appointees of the Center and representatives of non-indigenous nationality), ignored these positive moments in the Kazakh environment. Especially, in the economic development of the new social system, including in the process of co-operation, and cites the following quotation from the aforementioned written address of the Kazakhs to the leader of the revolution: “But the representatives of the center still did not provide the necessary confidence of the Kyrgyz working masses and its leading intelligentsia, as a result,

there is a tutelage, bureaucracy, a kind of fruitless diplomacy, which ruins the whole business of building and arranging the life of Kyrgyz workers” [4, Volume 2, p. 257].

This thought can be supplemented with the following thoughts: «In the same place where there was nothing to destroy, where there was nothing the bourgeois, the blind and blinded «revolutionaries» began to destroy the living tissues of life. As a result of this solely destroying activity all of the few Kyrgyz intelligentsia, as well as all the people in general, turned out to be forcibly thrown out and deprived the opportunity to take part in the construction of a new life in the native and familiar environment ” [5, vol. 2, p.16 5].

To this he adds more ubiquitous manifestation of chauvinism on the part of non-indigenous workers in relation to the Kazakhs, especially on the part of representatives of the Cossacks, noting that «... the majority of whom are infected with chauvinism of the dominant nation, steeped in colonialist spirit. In this respect, recall by the center of those workers who, thanks to their knowledge of the living conditions of the Kyrgyz people and their exceptional interest, demonstrated in their work, could be most useful, is absolutely incomprehensible to us. Kyrgyz region, it would seem, needs to be strengthened by such workers and not to deprive it from the latter” [4, Volume 2, p. 257].

Similar principled position was held by our countryman, based on scientifically proved realities and taking into account local peculiarities, in questions of the process of cooperation conducted by the Soviet authorities in the neighboring to Kazakhstan Central Asian republics.

In his research, Mustafa Shokai considered all forms of cooperation that the Soviet authorities used during the process of cooperation on the territory of Kazakhstan and the Central Asian republics. Given that he has published a large number of scientific and journalistic works, in this paper we restrict ourselves to the analysis of his works devoted to the simplest forms of cooperation - consumer and supply and sales.

Based on the analysis of materials published in the republican central print media, he in 1926 in the article «In Soviet Kazakhstan» provides compromising information about the process of cooperation, which testifies the neglect of social and economic interests of the indigenous population of the Steppe region. So, for example, according to data from the central press organ of the republic “Enbekshi Kazakh. ... In Kazakhstan there are only 832 rural cooperatives and 42 urban. Purely Kyrgyz cooperatives including 210» [6, Volume 3, p. 128]. And this despite the fact that over 7/10 of the rural population were Kazakhs. Such a position in the matter of cooperation in the republic allowed him to reasonably summarize that “cooperatives serve the interests of the Russian population with preference over the Cossack-Kyrgyz ...» [7, Volume 3, p. 333].

In this article, the author asks the question “How does Soviet cooperation work? » and further comments on this issue the position of the first party leader of the republic: «Goloshchekin does not want to say that it is bad, but he has to admit «the growth of abuses and cases of appropriation of state money» Why such phenomena occur, the speaker does not explain.” [6, Volume 3, p. 128].

Later in his fundamental work “Turkestan under power of soviets», published in 1935, Mustafa Shokai substantiates the negative aspects of the process of cooperation in Kazakhstan in relation to the representatives of the indigenous population of the republic. The author writes about this as follows: “Consumer cooperation of Kazakhstan has a network of 1,078 units. Of them serving the interests of the Kazakh population, all about 29.6%. According to the calculation of “ENBEKSHI KAZAKH” (issue of January 3, 1928), the exact number of cooperatives serving the Kazakh population is equal to 320 ... The number of agricultural cooperatives is equal to 738 from 135 thousand shareholders, of which shareholders-Kazakhs are only 44 thousand.

The magazine “FOR THE PARTY” does not explain us who, what exact group of Kazakhs are served by these Soviet cooperatives. We find these clarifications in “ENBEKSHI KAZAKH” in the issue of 20. XII. 1927 There we read:

- The so-called (and it is written: «so-called») cooperatives not particularly went far from

cities. Kazakh farms are not yet united around cooperation ... Moreover, even «state trade has not reached the semi-nomadic and nomadic Kazakh regions»...

Who after all lives «far away from the cities», where neither the Soviet cooperation, nor the Soviet state trade has not reached? 5.901.832 souls out of a total of 6,491.138 of the population of Kazakhstan! The percentage of Kazakhs among these 5.901,832 of non-urban population is at least 70%. Thus, you see that the benefits of the Soviet cooperation almost do not apply to the main cadres of Kazakh population. As for the «nomadic and semi-nomadic» Kazakh farms, which are not served at all by neither Soviet trade or cooperation, the number of these farms is determined in 90% of the entire Kazakh population. («ENBEKSHI KAZAKH» dated January 6, 28) «[1 , Volume 8, p. 345].

Mustafa Shokai constantly researched from official Soviet of periodicals the activity itself of created consumer and supply and marketing cooperatives on the territory of Kazakhstan and Central Asian republics. A thorough analysis allowed him to identify significant shortcomings and flaws in the work of existing cooperatives.

It manifested itself in many ways. So, for example, on this occasion, in the article “At the Turkestan bazaars” he cites the following negative points: “Let us turn to what Soviet cooperatives offer to the Turkestani. We need to know that the sov[etskije] bazaars, or how they call themselves “collective farm trade”, organized on the basis of “countertrade”, i.e. a peasant – collective farmer or individual farmer, who comes to the market to sell the products of his labor to farmers, must buy at cooperative shops the goods he needs.

Those peasants who come to the markets for many dozens of miles require tea bowl, teapots, tea, sugar, laundry soaps, and other household items” [8, Volume 6, p. 43].

However, consumer cooperatives offered to dehkans in exchange for their agricultural products, the goods they do not need and at a very high price. On this occasion, the author of the article wrote that the cooperative shops offered dehkans «cologne and a new kind of perfumery, European pants for teens, white ladies’ socks! In one cooperative shop, the Uzbeks offer the European ladies’ silk cloak lived at a price of 250 rubles ...» [8, Volume 6, p. 43].

In other republics of Central Asia and Kazakhstan, the style and working methods of consumer and supply and marketing cooperatives were similar. For example, he wrote “In Turkmenistan - the same story. ... from the collective farmers collect money for goods, but do not give goods. So, for example, in the Chardzhui district, collective farmers were collected from dehkans 46.122 rubles. for different products. When the time came and the peasants turned for goods, they were offered whether galoshes and ichigs are in such an assortment that they refused to accept” [8, Volume 6, p. 43].

In many cases, co-operatives forced villagers to make a forced nonequivalent exchange in the provision of essential goods: “In Khoja-Kale, the Turkmen - Saud office supplies Turkmen farmers to buttermilk only if the collective farmers take oil for every barrel for 3,000 rubles commercial manufactory» [8 , 6 volume, p. 43-44].

In conclusion, I would like to note that in his publications Mustafa Shokai not only reveals the negative aspects in the co-operation pursued by the Soviet authorities in the previously backward margins of the Russian Empire, which was formed due to the ongoing colonial policies of the tsarist autocracy, but also, as mentioned above, offers specific suggestions to achieve positive results in this process.

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Мустафа Шокай о кооперировании в Туркестанском крае и Казахстане

Аннотация. Выход в свет 12 томного издания, ранее не опубликованных на родине, трудов Мустафы Шокая, по нашему мнению, позволит значительно обогатить историю экономической мысли и экономической истории Казахстана.

В своей общественно-политической деятельности и аналитических изысканиях, он, один из основателей движения Алаш и лидер казахской оппозиции к советской власти за пределами СССР, уделял значительное внимание социально-экономическим процессам, происходившим в тот период в Советском Союзе в целом, и в Казахстане и республиках Средней Азии – в частности.

Кооперирование, проводимое советской властью в 20-30-годы прошлого столетия, являлось важным рычагом в деле строительства социалистического общественного строя. В данной статье рассмотрены взгляды Мустафы Шокая к данному процессу, проводимой диктатурой пролетариата. Проведенный анализ его опубликованных трудов касательно данной проблемы, особенно в Казахстане и Туркестанском крае, свидетельствует о его значительном вкладе в теорию и практику кооперативного процесса, а также о том, как он с болью воспринимал те трагические последствия проводимого советского кооперирования и раскрывал ее негативные стороны.

Ключевые слова: кооперирование, потребительская кооперация, крестьянское хозяйство, сельское хозяйство, реформа, снабженческо-сбытовая кооперация, доход, животноводство.

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Мұстафа Шоқайдың Түркістан өлкесінде және Қазақстанда жүргізілген кооперациялау мәселелері туралы

Аңдатпа. Мұстафа Шоқайдың өз отанында бұрын жарияланбаған 12 томдық туындысының жарық көруі, біздің пікірімізше, экономикалық ілімдер тарихын және Қазақстанның экономикалық тарихын маңызды түрде байыта түсуіне мүмкіндік береді.

Алаш қозғалысының негізін қалаушылардың бірі және КСРО аумағынан тыс жерде кеңес билігіне деген қазақ оппозициясының көшбасшысы ретінде, ол өзінің қоғамдық-саяси қызметтері мен талдамалық зерттеулерінде сол уақыттарда Кеңес Одағында жалпы, және Қазақстан мен Орталық Азияда жекелей орын алған саяси-экономикалық үдерістеріне маңызды түрде көңіл бөлген.

Өткен ғасырдың 20-30-жылдары Кеңес өкіметінің жүргізген кооперациялау саясаты Социалистік қоғамдық құрылысты қалыптастыру ісіндегі маңызды тетік болып табылады. Бұл мақалада Мұстафа Шоқайдың пролетариат диктатурасы жүргізген осы үдеріске деген көзқарастары қарастырылған. Оның осы мәселеге қатысты жарияланған еңбектеріне, әсіресе, Қазақстан мен Түркістан өлкесіне қатысты жүргізілген талдаулары оның кооперативтік процестің теориясы мен практикасына қосқан елеулі үлесін, сондай-ақ, ол жүргізген кеңестік кооперациялаудың қайғылы салдарларын қалай ауыр сезіммен қабылдайтынын және оның жағымсыз жақтарын ашқанын дәлелдейді.

Түйін сөздер: кооперациялау, тұтыну кооперациясы, шаруа қожалығы, ауыл шаруашылығы, реформа, жабдықтау-өткізу кооперациясы, кіріс, мал шаруашылығы.

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