

"Gifts" from Russian politicians or how a political myth affects the structure of historical memory

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Annotation: This article examines the statements of Russian politicians on territorial claims against Kazakhstan, as well as the responses of domestic leaders and political scientists. This article provides historical information about how the Kazakh Khanate was formed, and where the Kazakhs lived for the last 500 years. The facts are also given of how the land delimitation took place, and what agreements and acts were signed between independent Kazakhstan and the Russian Federation.

Key words: Independence, Kazakhstan, USSR, Russian Federation, Kazakh Khanate, history, territory of Kazakhstan, politics, state borders, state integrity, respect, culture.

For the Republic of Kazakhstan, Russia has been and remains an important strategic partner. The economies of the two countries are linked by close threads, but there are more and more unfriendly statements from the politicians of the Russian State Duma towards their neighbor. The effect of the accumulation of negative mass is taking place, and all this is not beneficial to the international relations of the two states.

In 2020, on the eve of the Independence Day of Kazakhstan and literally a day before the meeting of the Supreme Eurasian Economic Council with the participation of the heads of the EAEU countries, the great-power chauvinism of the State Duma deputies made an unexpected and offensive contribution to the self-identification and mobilization of Kazakhstan. Vyacheslav Nikonov, head of the Russian State Duma Committee on Education and Science and a member of the ruling United Russia faction, said that Kazakhstan simply did not exist, that Northern Kazakhstan was not inhabited at all. And, in fact, the territory of Kazakhstan is a great gift from Russia and the Soviet Union [1]. This phrase of the deputy sounded in the "Big Game" program of the First Channel of Russia in December 2020. In Kazakhstan, the deputy's speech caused a surge of indignation and a negative reaction.

The next day after the politician's statement, the media reported that an activist of the Patriot movement had placed a banner "Northern Kazakhstan - Russian land" on the fence of the Kazakh embassy in Moscow [2]. The Kazakh Foreign Ministry immediately summoned Aleksandr Komarov, Charge d'Affaires of the Russian Federation, and handed him a note of protest. In this diplomatic document it was written: "The more frequent provocative attacks of some Russian politicians against Kazakhstan are causing serious damage to allied relations between our states. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Kazakhstan expects an adequate assessment by the Russian side of such statements and calls for measures to be taken to prevent further statements of this kind from statesmen of the Russian Federation"[3]. The first to respond to the diplomatic note of protest was not the Russian Foreign Ministry, but the Russian deputy, Yevgeny Fedorov, a member of the United Russia faction. His comment was published in the media. According to Fedorov, if Kazakhstan thinks that it has not received a "gift", then it is necessary to "talk differently". According to him, the deputies of Russia are raising the issues of "returning the territory" and canceling "illegal decisions of 1991", referring to the law "On the procedure for resolving issues related to the secession of the union republic from the USSR." The comment of Deputy Fedorov sounded like this: "That is, the last argument of the moral plan fell after the statement of the Kazakh Foreign Ministry. This means that Russia must demand, since you do not recognize it as a gift, then give it back. Because you took it illegally.

Because in the 90th year, a law was adopted, spelled out in detail, for which they voted in Kazakhstan, the Constitutional Law of the Soviet Union. There is a lot that is violated. But in this case we are talking about issues related to the territory. Who would have what kind of territory as a result of the secession from the USSR. And there it is written in Russian that in the event of a withdrawal from the territory of the Soviet Union, the republics give the USSR the territory received when it entered the Soviet Union. This is a legal issue. If you want to leave, comrade Nazarbayev, Tokayev, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, well, take your suitcases, give up the territory, the city of Verny - Alma-Ata and everything else and leave. They will say: "And we have no territory left." And what have we got to do with it? " [4]. In this way, two deputies of the State Duma of Russia declared that the present territories of Kazakhstan were "donated" by Russia.

In the Republic of Kazakhstan, the above statements by the deputies of the State Duma of Russia caused a critical adverse reaction. In this regard, society recalled the words of Russian President Vladimir Putin at a meeting with young people in the summer of 2014: "N. Nazarbayev created a state on a territory where there has never been a state. The Kazakhs have never had statehood "[5]. At the same time, social networks expressed dissatisfaction with the fact that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Kazakhstan handed a note of protest not to the Russian ambassador to Kazakhstan, but to a representative of the embassy. The deputies of the Kazakh parliament also spoke out. Senator Mukhtar Kul-Mukhammed, who reacted sharply to Nikonov's speech, was later joined by several other members of parliament. The Ak Zhol Party and the People's Party of Kazakhstan issued statements in response to statements by Russian lawmakers.

Political analyst Yerlan Sairov, a Majilis deputy from the Nur Otan party, called the statements of Russian deputies a demarche that does not comply with international law. In his opinion, the Russian Federation recognizes the territorial integrity of Kazakhstan, since President Vladimir Putin congratulated Kassym-Zhomart Tokayev on the country's Independence Day. E. Sairov finished his words by saying that political scientists and experts observe turbulent processes all over the world, how the agreements reached after the Second World War are being violated. According to Sairov, the speeches of Russian deputies on the territories of Kazakhstan show that chauvinism is becoming an instrument of propaganda of patriotism in Russia, which is experiencing economic difficulties due to sanctions. Former diplomat Kazbek Beisebayev believes that if Russia does not give official explanations, then the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Kazakhstan that handed the note of protest, according to the rules of international diplomatic relations, "should call the Russian ambassador to Kazakhstan for consultations."

Majilis deputy Omarkhan Oksikbayev believes that the words of Russian deputies sounded not just like there is no smoke without fire. "But we need political calm. It is impossible for two countries to quarrel just because someone said so. I don't think that Russia needs a confrontation with Kazakhstan," O.Oksikbaev said. Member of the Senate of Kazakhstan Murat Bakhtiyaruly, who made a statement in connection with the statement of the Duma deputies, also assures that the words of the Russian deputies "are a sign that the imperial policy of Russia continues and patience must be limited."

As a result, Elbasy Nursultan Nazarbayev asked his compatriots in a speech on the occasion of the national holiday "to cherish as the apple of our eye these sacred lands that we inherited from our ancestors." On December 18, Kassym-Jomart Tokayev took part in a meeting of the Council of CIS Heads of State: "Our task is not to allow situations that could divide our peoples, but to look for ways and opportunities for establishing mutually beneficial cooperation, rapprochement of the CIS states in conditions of strategic turbulence" [6].

If the neighbors of Kazakhstan doubt the availability of geographical lands, history proves from time immemorial about our rich territory inherited from our ancestors: from Altai to Atyrau, from Alatau to Arka - the legitimate heirs of the endless steppes that occupy the shores of Ustyurt and the old Caspian Sea, Syr and Irtysh. Turkic tribes lived on the territory of Kazakhstan, and after the invasion of these lands by the Mongol-Tatars, the Golden Horde was formed on the Kazakh land, and after its collapse, the Ak Orda. It is with their successors that the life of the Kazakh tribes begins.

The tribes all the time moved from one place to another, since the Kazakhs are a free people who have been engaged in cattle breeding all their lives. In Russian sources, Turkic tribes began to appear only in the 15th century. At the same time, Kerey and Zhanibek founded the Kazakh Khanate. Russians at that time began to call Kazakhs Kyrgyz, and Kyrgyz and other related tribes Kara-Kyrgyz, who also led a nomadic lifestyle. From 1731 to the middle of the 19th century, Russia annexed a huge area of the Kazakh steppes. The security of these new "Russian lands" was ensured by such fortresses as Irgiz, Turgai and Aralsk to the north of the Aral Sea, which were founded in 1845-1847, Perovsk in the lower reaches of the Syr Darya and Verny (present-day Almaty) at the foot of the Tien Shan in 1854.

In August 1920, the Autonomous Kyrgyz Soviet Socialist Republic (AKSSR) was formed as part of the RSFSR with the capital in Orenburg. It included the following regions: Akmola, Semipalatinsk, Turgai, Uralsk, Syrdariya, Dzhetisu as well as parts of the territory of the Trans-Caspian region, Astrakhan and Orenburg provinces, inhabited mainly by Kazakhs. In 1925, the autonomous republic was renamed the Autonomous Kazakh SSR. Then, according to the constitution of the USSR in 1936, the Kazakh was transformed into the Kazakh SSR. At the beginning of the twentieth century, Russia was at the peak of colonization. Almost all of Central Asia became the territory of Russia. On the way to achieve justice for the indigenous territories that belonged to our ancestors, many famous Kazakh scholars and educators fell victim to the repression of the Soviet regime. One of them, Alikhan Bukeikhanov, was a firm patriot of his homeland, he considered himself a supporter of the "Westernizing direction" of the social movement of the Kazakh intelligentsia, which "sees the future of the Kyrgyz steppe in the conscious implementation of Western culture. Alikhan Bokeikhanov was one of the first who began to draw the borders of the Kazakh land. After all, Bokeikhanov was a historian, encyclopedic scientist, economist, ethnographer, literary critic, translator and publicist. He was sentenced to death and was shot because the authorities saw in him a real threat, they were afraid that the people would follow him [7].

In order to cut off statements of a negative and misinformative kind about the territory, it is necessary to display archived data in the public field. All diplomatic materials, protocols and documents have been preserved both in Russian and in the archives of the Republic of Kazakhstan.

Article 2 of the Law "On the procedure for resolving issues related to the secession of a union republic from the USSR" states that a decision on the secession of a union republic from the USSR is taken by way of a referendum. Clause 7 of Article 14 states that a republic seceding from the Soviet Union must agree with the USSR the status of territories that did not belong to the seceding republic at the time of its entry into the USSR. However, Kazakhstan did not raise the issue of leaving the USSR. According to Kazakh historians, after the formation of the USSR, territories were not annexed to Kazakhstan.

The law became invalid after December 8, 1991, in Belovezhskaya Pushcha in Belarus, President of the RSFSR Boris Yeltsin, President of Ukraine Leonid Kravchuk and Chairman of the Supreme Council of Belarus Stanislav Shushkevich signed an agreement on the termination of the existence of the USSR. Kazakhstan declared its independence on December 16, 1991, eight days after the collapse of the Soviet Union [8].

The territorial supremacy of the Republic of Kazakhstan is ensured by a number of provisions of the constitutional legislation. Clause 2 of Article 2 of the Constitution of the Republic of Kazakhstan fixed: "The sovereignty of the Republic of Kazakhstan extends to its entire territory." Article 5 of the Constitutional Law "On State Independence of the Republic of Kazakhstan" proclaimed: "The territory of the Republic of Kazakhstan within its existing borders is integral, indivisible and inviolable." In the development of this provision, paragraph 2 of Art. 2 of the Constitution determined: "The state provides the integrity, inviolability and non-alienation of its territory."

Post-Soviet Russia officially recognized the Kazakh border under the friendship treaties of July 16, 1992 and the state border of January 18, 2005. Under the collective security treaty, Russia

also undertakes obligations to protect and preserve the sovereignty and integrity of Kazakhstan within these fixed borders [9].

In conclusion, it should be noted that despite all sorts of negative statements from the Russian authorities, Kazakhstan has always been and will be in friendly diplomatic relations and a strategically important partner.

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