



UDC 37.02.91(075)  
IRSTI 03.20  
DOI 10.37238/2960-1371.2960-138X.2026.101(1).16

**Aigerim Abdikhanova\*, Zhanat Akhmetova, Marzhan Kasimbekova**

**Kazakh National Women's Teacher Training University  
Almaty, Kazakhstan**

**\*Corresponding author:** aigerimabdikhanova@gmail.com

E-mail: akhmetova.zhanat73@gmail.com, kasimbekovamarzan@gmail.com

### **KAZAKH «SOCIALISTS»: FROM THE HISTORY OF THE CREATION OF THE «USH ZHUZ» PARTY**

**Annotation.** Based on archival materials and published scientific research, the article examines the ideological initiatives, program and general «social democratic» principles of the «Ush zhuz» party, the first «socialist» party established in the Kazakh steppe at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. At crucial moments in history, society's interest in its past increases. After all, it is in the past and history that we look for the roots of modern problems, questions and possible answers to them, as well as the basis for predicting the future. For a long time, history was written in accordance with the interests of the prevailing ideology and did not fully reflect real life and the contradictory processes of its development. The purpose of the research is to study the history of the formation of the Socialist party «Ush zhuz» and, within its framework, to conduct research on the history of national liberation and democratic movements of the early twentieth century. At the same time, one of the determining factors in the progressive development of historical science is reflection on the activities of representatives of the National intelligentsia, who fought for independence and liberation. To analyze the socio-political activities of representatives of the intelligentsia of Kazakh society on the basis of archival documents and published scientific research, as well as to determine the «socialist» direction of the political struggle waged by the «Ush zhuz» party. An objective assessment of the leaders of the «Ush zhuz» party, created in response to the demands of the time, their «peaceful» rather than «revolutionary» position and their role on the historical stage. We note that the activities, ideological initiatives and programmatic foundations of the leaders of the «Ush zhuz» party, who did not exclude themselves and actively participated in public life, were one of the most important moments in the past history of our country.

**Keywords:** Socialist party «Ush zhuz», K. Togusov, intelligentsia, Kazakh autonomy, revolution, bolsheviks, national identity.

#### *Introduction*

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the awakening of national consciousness led to the consolidation of Turkic peoples. The growth of national awareness at the turn of the century was shaped by the influence of Enlightenment and religious ideas, the ultimate convergence of which found expression in the ideology of Jadidism. During the period under consideration the early twentieth century this process contributed to the rapprochement between Kazakh nationalists and the «western-oriented» muslim movement.

At the same time, the intensification of political life in the Kazakh steppe resulted in the emergence of three principal ideological currents. The first was the religious trend led by tatar or Turkestan muslims; the second was the western-oriented movement headed by local intellectuals; and the third considered the weakest was a current that sought to channel young people into the orbit of the Russian socialist movement.

The first attempt to establish a regional branch of the People's Freedom Party (Kadets) was made in 1905 at a congress held in the city of Uralsk, attended by representatives of five oblasts of the Steppe Region. Among the organizers of this congress were prominent public figures such as Alikhan Bökeikhanov, Bakhytgerei Karataev, Tileuli Berdiuly, Mukhamedzhan Bakhytgereiuly, Khalel Dosmukhamedov, Nurgali Aitmukhameduly, and others. In July 1906, at a similar meeting held in Semey, Alikhan Bokeikhanov delivered a speech introducing the participants to the programmatic principles of the People's Freedom party. Well-known figures, including Shakarim Kudaiberdiuly, also expressed their views on this party.

Nevertheless, according to Alikhan Bökeikhanov's own recollections, until the 1910s political parties among the kirghiz (kazakh author's note) population were still at an early stage of formation [1, 478 p.].

According to Akhmet Baitursynov, the February Revolution was received correctly and with enthusiasm by the «kirghiz» (kazakh author's note). First, it liberated them from the oppression and arbitrariness of the tsarist



administration; second, it inspired hope for the realization of their long-cherished aspiration the right to self-governance [2, 384 p.]. The kazakh intelligentsia linked their principal objective the attainment of political autonomy within the Russian Federation with the political program proclaimed by the Provisional Government and the idea of convening a Constituent Assembly. The Provisional Government regarded self-government based on cultural and national development as the foundation of bourgeois statehood. However, the leaders of the Kazakh national intelligentsia adhered to the idea of establishing a national-territorial autonomy within Russia. Evidence of this trend can be found in the resolutions adopted at the regional and All-Kazakh congresses held in 1917. During this period, Kazakh students in educational institutions in Omsk, Orenburg, Tashkent, Semey, and other cities formed their own politically oriented organizations, which initially focused primarily on cultural and educational activities. In 1917 alone, nearly twenty youth circles and organizations were established, including «Erkin Dala» in Orenburg, «Birlik» in Omsk, «Zhas Qazaq» in Uralsk, «Ūmit» in Troitsk, and others in various cities.

These organizations were engaged in distributing politically themed leaflets and poems addressing pressing issues, as well as organizing cultural evenings, debates, and other educational initiatives. Among these political currents, one organization distinguished by its revolutionary program of action was the Revolutionary Union of Kazakh Youth, founded by Turar Ryskulov in the Aulieata district (present-day Taraz region author's note). Its membership consisted of advanced representatives of the national intelligentsia drawn from the middle and lower social strata of Kazakh society. The primary objective of the Revolutionary Union was to oppose the policies of the Provisional Government, the dominance of kulaks at the local level, and the activities of volost administrators, village elders, and wealthy elites supporters of the old regime [3, 387 p.]. March 1917 was marked by the transition of local Social Democratic organizations from clandestine activity to an open phase of political struggle, as well as by the extensive expansion of propaganda and agitation among workers and other laboring groups of the population. During this period, the activities of local Social Democrats were directed by Bolsheviks from Tashkent, Orenburg, and Omsk. The organizations of the Russian Social Democratic Labour party (RSDLP) in Pepovsk (Perovsk), Kazaly, Aktobe, Uralsk, Petropavlovsk, Semey, Shymkent, and other cities and railway junctions functioned in a unified manner, with Bolsheviks and Mensheviks operating jointly within their ranks.

After the February Revolution, a number of political parties and organizations began to emerge in Kazakhstan that articulated the political interests of the local population. Among them, Alash was recognized as the party of the national-democratic intelligentsia; «Ūsh zhüz» as a political party that united popular representatives of a radical and pro-Bolshevik orientation; and «Shuro-i-Islamiya» as a movement adhering to the ideas of Islamism and Turkism.

The fate of the Turkic peoples and the distinctive features of the historical development of their statehood can also be elucidated through an examination of the history and programmatic documents of the Turkish Federalists party, known in Azerbaijani history as the Musavat party. As stated in its program, the Turkish Federalists Party defined itself as a democratic organization grounded in the interests of the working masses, aiming to defend the economic and social interests of the Turkic working population within Russia, as well as the national and cultural rights of all Turkic and other Muslim peoples adhering to Islam.

In this context, Islamists upheld the idea of «pure Islam», whereas proponents of the Turkist current tended toward principles of reformism and pragmatism. As a result, although «Shuro-i-Islamiya» initially combined these two orientations, three months later, in June 1917, the organization «Shuro-i-ulama», which advocated the idea of «pure Islam», split off from it. Under the leadership of its head, the jurist Seraly Lapin, the ulama sought to realize the right of self-determination of Muslim peoples on the basis of Sharia norms and Islamic principles.

Having outlined these developments, we now turn specifically to the history of the «Ūsh Zhüz» party, which adhered to a «socialist» orientation.

#### *Materials and methods of research*

The theoretical and methodological foundation of this study is guided by the phenomenological principle, which examines information as well as the individual's creative potential, realized materially through cultural objects. In the preparation of this article, the principles of historical cognition and objectivity were applied, along with methods of source systematization and historiographical analysis.

The empirical basis for the events of the early twentieth century was drawn from archival materials of the Presidential Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan (PARK), including: Documents of the Political Institution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan (Fund 811), Documents of the All-Union Communist (Bolshevik) Kazakh Regional Committee (Fund 141), and Documents of the Russian Communist Party, Kyrgyz (Kazakh) Bureau (Fund 140), which together helped elucidate the content and arguments of this study.



*Discussion*

The early twentieth century marked a period of awakening and development of national consciousness among the Kazakh people, during which the revival of socio-political thought in the Kazakh steppe became evident, alongside the articulation of ideas of national independence and self-governance. A social group that played a particularly significant role in defending the national interests of the Kazakh people was the national intelligentsia. Representatives of this intelligentsia emerged from diverse social strata and professional backgrounds, including civil servants, bank employees, feldshers, teachers, translators, engineers, and others. They were primarily concentrated in major provincial and district centers such as Omsk, Orenburg, Petropavlovsk, Akmola, and Semey.

At the same time, the Kazakh intelligentsia was far from homogeneous in terms of social origin, education, and living standards. The first group consisted of individuals educated in gymnasiums and higher educational institutions, who were well oriented in issues of economic and political development both in Kazakhstan and across the empire as a whole. Members of this group tended to think independently of Islamic dogma and possessed a deep understanding of the essence of tsarist Russia's colonial policy. The second group comprised individuals educated in rural and urban schools where Islamic principles predominated in the curriculum. This type of education exerted a certain influence on their worldview, inclining them more strongly toward religious values. The third group consisted of graduates of Russo-Kazakh or exclusively Russian schools who received a secular education. They held modern outlooks and sought to integrate the customs and traditions of their people with new economic and cultural developments.

One of the most prominent representatives of this group was Kölbai Tögisov, who demonstrated considerable activity in the social and political life of the period and contributed to the development of democratic and educational trends within Kazakh society. Assessing the role of the national intelligentsia in society, Turar Ryskulov placed particular emphasis on its significance in the history of the democratic movement. In his view, representatives of the intelligentsia should be approached in a differentiated manner, taking into account their political, national, and social orientations [3, 259 p.]. This perspective accurately reflects the complex social structure of Kazakh society during that period and the ideological differentiation within the national elite. In the early twentieth century, the Kazakh intelligentsia advanced ideas of national unity, enlightenment, and political independence. It may be argued that their activities and ideological pursuits laid the foundation for subsequent national movements and for the formation of the idea of an independent state.

A new phase of the Civil War era was also characterized by the development of the national periodical press. In particular, the development of capitalism in Kazakhstan, the expansion of commodity–money relations, and the disintegration of patriarchal social structures created the preconditions for the emergence of periodical publications. The first Kazakh-language periodical was the newspaper «Turkestan ualayaty», which was later reissued in the city of Omsk under the title «Dala ualayaty». These publications exerted a significant influence on the growth of public consciousness among the population of the region. The emergence of such periodicals gave impetus to the overall rise of the national liberation movement in Kazakhstan, contributing to the consolidation of the people, the awakening of national consciousness, the dissemination of enlightenment, and the introduction of global cultural achievements. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the most progressive and educated representatives of Kazakh society, concerned about the future of the country, sought to «awaken» the people and to implement reforms aimed at advancing social progress. In this process, the formation of the Kazakh periodical press acquired particular importance. The Kazakh press became a key instrument for disseminating national consciousness and enlightenment ideas, shaping public opinion, and paving the way for national renewal [4, 10 p.].

The first national-level periodical in Kazakh history, published in the Kazakh language, was the journal «Aiqap». It appeared in 1911 under the editorship of Mukhametzhan Seralin. Researchers highly regard Seralin's work, noting that he was the first figure to establish the publication of a national journal in Kazakhstan with a democratic orientation [5, 165 p.]. It would not be an exaggeration to describe the journal Aiqap as a window through which Kazakh society was introduced to the world of enlightenment. The journal critically addressed the colonial nature of the tsarist regime, socio-political issues, problems in education within Kazakh society, the study of the native language, the condition of Kazakh women, agrarian issues, scientific innovations, folk creativity, religion, and other relevant topics [6, 25 p.]. The journal «Aiqap» primarily brought together representatives of the progressive Kazakh intelligentsia who reflected the interests of the liberal-democratic orientation, including B. Mailin, S. Seyfullin, S. Dönentayev, B. Karataev, S. Toraygirov, K. Tögisov, and others.

Another notable publication in Kazakhstan prior to the revolution was the newspaper Kazakh. As G.E. Öteпова observes, it served as «the eyes, ears, and voice of the nation». This assessment is certainly agreeable. Around Kazakh, the most active and progressive representatives of the Kazakh intelligentsia A. Bökeikhanov, A. Baitursynov, M. Dulatov, M. Jumabayev, B. Mailin, and others gathered to publish their works. The primary



purpose of the newspaper was to call on the Kazakh people to live consciously and creatively, to struggle for their independence and rights, and to develop their native language and literature. Reflecting on the significance of Kazakh for the further development of Kazakh society, Kölbai Tögisov wrote: «The newspaper «Kazakh» emerged at a moment when profound changes were taking place in the life of the Kazakh people, and issues of life and death were acutely posed. As the only publication in the region, it pursued, and continues to pursue, the following goals: to illuminate various aspects of life in the vast Kazakh steppe, to disseminate useful information in the fields of science, art, and technology among the population, and to introduce them to the cultural, political, and economic life of other countries of the world [7, 256 p.].

At this time, the growth of social and political consciousness among Kazakh intellectuals was significantly influenced by representatives of the Russian intelligentsia and political exiles. It should be noted that the Russian intelligentsia was not homogeneous; rather, it expressed a variety of perspectives on the pressing issues of the period. For example, during the election campaign for the First State Duma, one segment of the intelligentsia supported government decrees that restricted the electoral rights of the Kazakh population, publishing letters to this effect in official periodicals such as Torgai Oblast News and Orenburg Oblast News. Meanwhile, a second segment, adhering to a liberal-democratic orientation, supported the participation of Kazakhs in the elections. Their shared aspiration to democratize society was articulated through newspapers such as Semipalatinsk Leaflet, Step, and Stepnoy Kray [6, 27 p.]. Thus, at the beginning of the twentieth century, the socio-political life of the Kazakh steppe and the development paths of its people were characterized by a wide diversity of views and opinions. This phenomenon reflects the distinctiveness of the historical period and clearly demonstrates the heterogeneity of Kazakh society, including the social composition of the national intelligentsia. Nevertheless, despite differences of opinion at the time, the unifying principle was the call to «awaken» the Kazakh people and to encourage active struggle for democracy, freedom, and independence.

#### *Research findings*

In the autumn of 1917, another national-political organization emerged in Kazakhstan the «Üsh zhüz» party, more specifically, the Kazakh socialist party. The party primarily extended its influence in the northeastern regions of Kazakhstan, while its Central Committee was based in the city of Omsk. The founder and chairman of the Central Committee was Mukhan Aitpenov. However, the activities of «Üsh zhüz» were most closely associated with the name of Kölbai Tögisov. Tögisov became widely recognized on the socio-political stage at the end of 1917, although he had already been involved in politics during the First Russian Revolution of 1905-1907. Thus, the emergence of the «Üsh zhüz» party in Kazakhstan's political life during the revolutionary upheaval was not accidental. It represented a natural outcome of the region's prior socio-political development and reflected the complex processes of socio-political division within Kazakh society. At this time, each social group and class began to more clearly understand and protect its own interests amid the ongoing changes in the country. As noted in G.M. Rakhimova's study: «The emergence of this party is associated with the period of intensified political conflicts and debates after October 1917. Within the context of various currents and complex contradictions among the less affluent Kazakh population, the «Üsh zhüz» party was established» [8, 118 p.].

However, numerous scholarly studies and literary works have often characterized the «Üsh zhüz» party as «bourgeois nationalists». At the same time, it is well documented that at the time of its formation, the party's political, economic, and social objectives and orientation were discussed and published in the press in various languages. Notably, on November 17, 1917, the newspaper «Revoliutsionnaya Mysl» [9] (Omsk) reported the establishment of the new Kyrgyz (Kazakh) socialist «Üsh zhüz» party in the Kazakh region. The article stated: «...the Central Committee of the party was elected, including the following members: Chairman - Mukhan Aitpenov; Vice-Chairman - Kölbai Tögisov; Secretary of the Central Committee - Iskhan Qabekov; Treasurer - Abdirakhman Qlychbaev. The headquarters of the Central Committee of the Üsh Zhüz Party was located at 48 Telyatnikova Street, Omsk. Among the party members were Shaymardan Alzhanov, Abdolla Asylbekov, Nurgali Qulzhanov, Yermukhamed Tokpaev, Suleimen Tölengutov (brother of Kölbai Tögisov), Kazhymukan Munaytpasov, Qasen Qaranayev, Mukhan Esmagambetov, Karim Duisekeyev, Qali Esmagambetov, Qaliaskara Kuanishev, Karim Soteshev, Abilkayyr Dosov, and many others. The establishment of the Üsh Zhüz Party was received with the support of a certain segment of Kazakh society».

Shortly thereafter, several articles of varying perspectives were published about the Üsh Zhüz Party in Kazakh, the organ of the Alash Party, as well as in the newspapers Saryarka and Jas Azamat, which were organized by Kh. Ghabbasov, I. Alimbekov, R. Marsekov, and others. In November of the same year, the editorial office of Saryarka received a telegram explaining the reasons for the formation of the «Üsh zhüz» party, which stated: «...dissatisfied with the program of the well-known Kadet Alash Party founded by Alikhan Bokeikhanov, certain Kazakhs established a socialist party called «Üsh zhüz». Its goal was to protect the federation and to unite the Turkic-Tatar tribes. A separate list was submitted for the Constituent Assembly. The chair of the presidium was Mukhan Aitpenov, and the secretary was Iskhan Qabekov» [10].



The prominent historian and academician Kenes Nurpeisov provides the following assessment of the «Üsh zhüz» party: Regarding the activities of one of its leaders, Kölbai Tögisov, he notes that the «Üsh zhüz» emerged in the autumn of 1917. Initially, the party declared its intention to cooperate with the Alash movement; however, it soon reversed this position and became one of the main critics of Alash concerning Kazakhstan's socio-political issues. Leadership roles within the «Üsh zhüz» political organization were carried out by the former defense lawyer, journalist, and playwright Kölbai Tögisov; the feldsher and interpreter Shaymerden Dosov; the laborer Iskhan Qabekov; and the journalist Mukhan Aitpenov [14, 127 p.].

Shortly thereafter, the Central Committee of the party decided to publish the newspaper Üsh zhüz, which was to appear twice a week as the party's official organ. Kölbai Tögisov was appointed as the editor of the newspaper. In January 1918, the editorial office of the newspaper was relocated to Omsk. Professor G.E. Öteпова, in her study based on the newspaper Vechernyaya Zarya on the lives of the kyrgyz (kazakh) people, notes: «The Central Committee of the Socialist Kyrgyz (Kazakh) «Üsh zhüz» party moved the publication of its weekly organ from Petropavl to Omsk. The newspaper was printed at the regional printing house using forty Kyrgyz script characters. The editor was Kölbai Tögisov» [6, 40-41 p.].

Thus, the «Üsh zhüz» party evolved into a political association of petty-bourgeois democrats. Shortly thereafter, the socialist Üsh zhüz merged with the Socialist Revolutionaries. The party supported the idea of a union of Muslim peoples in the Volga region, Kazakhstan, the Urals, the Caucasus, and Central Asia, advocated for land redistribution among the Kazakhs, opposed the zemstvo system, and called for adherence to the «just laws» of Sharia. Among the Kazakhs, the «Üsh zhüz» was the sole political rival of the Alash Orda, although its objectives differed only slightly from those of Alash.

The majority of the party's ordinary members were drawn to the ideological principles of «Üsh zhüz», which initially represented a synthesis of Socialist Revolutionary ideas and the traditional Muslim movement ideas that were widely understood and popular among the Kazakh population. In its early stages, Kölbai Tögisov defined the position of Üsh zhüz as follows: «Our Üsh zhüz» party adheres to this platform and follows the path of that wing of the Socialist Revolutionaries [6, 43 p.]. Disillusioned with the activities of the Provisional Government, Kölbai Tögisov gradually turned toward the Soviets, embracing socialist ideas centered on freedom, equality, and justice. Precise data on the membership of the Üsh Zhüz Party are not available. Nevertheless, judging by the numerous telegrams the party received from various cities and settlements across Kazakhstan and Central Asia, its membership gradually increased. V.K. Grigoriev noted that by early April 1918, the party «numbered approximately one thousand members» [12, 417 p.]. These figures are corroborated by other researchers, who report that the party had more than 450 members in Omsk alone, and approximately 200 members in Petropavl [13, 49-77 pp.]. Thus, after gathering a number of supporters, the «Üsh zhüz» quickly aligned itself with the Russian (and Russian-speaking) bolshevik allies, and in december 1917, raised the issue of nominating its candidates for the Constituent Assembly. To establish their party on the political stage and introduce it widely to the public, Kölbai Törisov and his associates put forward a group of their people as candidates for the Assembly. The nominees included: Nurgali Qulzhanov from Semey; the three representatives of the Akmola Regional Kazakh Committee – Khasenkozha Bekhozhin, Qazy Torsanov, and Bayseit Adilov; Mukhan Aytpenov, chairman of the Omsk Uyezd Kazakh Committee; and Galiaskar Kuanishev, chairman of the Petropavl Uyezd Kazakh Committee. Kölbai Törisov himself participated among the candidates as a member of the Executive Committee of the All-Russian Peasant Soviets. Beyond the above, the candidate list included Üsen Qasaev, Saken Seifullin, Nurgali Qulzhanov, a Semey seminary teacher, officer Mahmut Ualikhanov, feldsher Shaymerden Alzhanov, Sultan Abylaev, and Ybyrai Tolebaev. The newspaper Revolyutsionnaya Mysl published the list of the 13 candidates approved by the Central Committee of the «Üsh zhüz» party to be sent to the Constituent Assembly [6, 41 p.]. One of these candidates was Saken Seifullin. The thirteen individuals nominated for the Constituent Assembly under the «Üsh zhüz» list were generally aligned with the three major Russian political parties of the time: the Socialist Revolutionaries (SRs), the National Socialists, and the Social Democrats. In the context of 1917, historians have found no evidence in contemporary press reports or archival documents indicating that any of the aforementioned candidates opposed their nomination to the Assembly through the «Üsh zhüz» list [15]. After the Soviet government emerged victorious in the Civil War, it was reported that only Saken Seifullin had refused to consent to his nomination for the Constituent Assembly on behalf of the «Üsh zhüz» party. This list had been approved by the Central Committee of the «Üsh zhüz» party. However, at the time, being a small and little-known organization, the party was unable to retain all of its candidates. The unclear and poorly defined party program, its lack of organization, and the small number of members contributed to the withdrawal of many candidates on the «Üsh zhüz» side. Saken Seifullin noted that «the residents of Akmola did not wish to support the Üsh zhüz, and therefore did not actively participate in the election» [11, 144 p.]. He explained his refusal to participate in the election as a representative of the «Üsh zhüz» party as follows: «We did not take part in the voting to show that we did not agree with the policies of the «Üsh zhüz». We did not do this out of fear of Alash Orda, nor because we thought



the leaders of the Üsh zhüz were worse for the people than the leaders of Alash. On the contrary, the Üsh zhüz had excellent and loyal comrades, such as Shaymerden (Alzhanov) and Iskhan (Khabekov). For the revolution, Alash Orda was more dangerous and harmful than the Üsh zhüz» [11, 143 p.]. The Saryarqa newspaper published the results of this election. In the Petropavl district, Alash received 26,814 votes, while Üsh zhüz garnered only 36 votes. In the Semey district, Alash obtained 58,300 votes, with Üsh zhüz receiving just 1 vote. Similar results were observed in the Omsk district: 16,200 votes for Alash and 300 for Üsh zhüz.

Following their defeat in the election, the «Üsh zhüz» party declared its adoption of a bolshevik platform. It called on Kazakhs not to accept Alash's demands for autonomy, instructed the youth not to join the formations being organized by Alash, and forbade providing them with any financial support. The elections to the Constituent Assembly demonstrated that Üsh zhüz, in its early years, did not have significant influence among the Kazakh population. The results in the Petropavl district confirm this.

The formation of the Üsh zhüz party in 1917 reflected a distinct reaction by a segment of the Kazakh population to the revolutionary events in the country. Due to political illiteracy and repression, these groups were unable to immediately understand the situation and make the right choices. This revealed the ideological inconsistencies, political weakness, and lack of viability of the Üsh zhüz party. Nevertheless, the party utilized available means to fight for the freedom, liberty, and independence of the Kazakh people. To dismiss its contributions merely because it opposed Alash or supported socialist reforms during this difficult historical period would distort its significance and erase a part of history.

The Üsh zhüz party united a segment of the intelligentsia, including teachers, feldshers, and office employees, as well as small livestock herders, peasant farmers, artisans, petty property owners, and members of the working class. Comparing the social composition of the Alash and Üsh zhüz parties, Saken Seifullin noted: «Alash-orda consisted of the wealthier upper class, sons of high-ranking officials educated in tsarist gymnasiums, and hereditary nobles – the national elite. In contrast, Üsh zhüz brought together the residents of Omsk, artisans, cart drivers, herders, and largely illiterate poor people. Among them was also the famous wrestler Kazhymukan, who had previously been a shepherd» [11, 135 p.]. The formation of the Üsh zhüz party confirmed the heterogeneous nature of Kazakh society at the time and reflected the unique social, economic, and cultural development of the region [6, 43 p.]. In the december 24, 1917 issue of the Üsh zhüz newspaper, the party's program was published, outlining its main objectives and priorities. The key theses of the Üsh zhüz party program were as follows: 1. The party advocated for an immediate cessation of the imperialist war and supported the establishment of a peace agreement. 2. The party opposed the Alash party's initiative to transfer the right of governance over the Kazakhs from Petersburg to Tomsk, rejecting the notion of accepting Russians as senior authorities. The Üsh zhüz party also opposed the formation of an «Alash autonomy» and stated that if the Alash proposal were to be implemented as part of the «Siberian autonomy», the Great and Little zhüz, along with our Kyrgyz brethren, would never unite with it and would remain forever within the territories of Central Asia and Turkestan. 3. The party sought to provide support to the poor, orphans, and widows. 4. It demanded the allocation of land to Kazakh peasants and settlements based on a sedentary system, encouraging people to adopt a settled lifestyle while regarding pastoralism as a threat to the future of the Kazakh people. 5. Regarding judicial and administrative matters, while Alash leader A. Bokeikhanov rejected the incorporation of the Qur'an and Sharia into the future Kazakh legal code, the Üsh zhüz party proposed to exclude punitive measures such as cutting off fingers, ears, or noses, but retain sacred rules concerning marriage, family, inheritance, and related matters. 6. On the issue of zemstvos, the Alash party proposed zemstvos modeled after the Russian system. In contrast, the Üsh Zhüz party argued that zemstvos for a sedentary population were inappropriate for nomadic lifestyles, asserting that all matters should be resolved according to customary law by elders and local judges (biys). 7. The party formed a parliamentary faction with Muslim deputies and allied with the Socialist Revolutionary (Esser) party. In drafting this program, the members of the Üsh Zhüz party considered themselves representatives of the working people's interests [15, 10 p].

Historian S. Smagulova, in her specialized analysis of the programmatic theses of the «Üsh zhüze» party, notes that the «Üsh zhüz» members emphasized the need to establish a federative alliance among the peoples of Central Asia and Turkestan. Regarding the issue of autonomy, the «Üsh zhüz» members criticized the program of the Alash party. As Alash suggested, «this time we should seize the reins of the long-standing Kazakh administration from Petersburg, transfer it to Tomsk, and attach it to Siberia, still recognizing Russians as elders». The «Üsh zhüz» countered: «No, all the pale-skinned Russians are still Russians! What sense is there in taking a kamshat hat from one and putting it on another? Would it not be better to wear our ancestors' «kamshat hat» ourselves? Our Kazakhs do not want to make every visible Russian an elder. If we let an incapable, quarrelsome old man become an elder and put our horse in front of a man accustomed to fine carpets, we will only add insult to injury. Instead, as the saying goes, «cover your lap while you can» and «strike the iron while it is hot». Let us take a federative step carefully, preserve our resources at home, and henceforth manage our affairs ourselves» [16,



85-88 p.]. Furthermore, they argued: «If we join the Siberian autonomy as Alash proposes, will the Junior Zhuz and our Kyrgyz brothers, currently in Turkestan, ever unite with us?» Thus, regarding Kazakh autonomy, the «Üsh zhüz» party both aligned with and opposed Alash at different times. On the difficulties of establishing Kazakh autonomy, K. Tögişov concluded: «The Kazakh people are nomadic, poor, scattered among clans, and historically have not had an independent state tradition. «The «Üsh zhüz» members believed that it was beyond their capacity to establish Kazakh autonomy alone and argued that it was necessary to maintain a cooperative relationship with Turkestan: «Rather than bowing to Tomsk and submitting to Siberia, at the very least, the peoples of Central Asia and Turkestan should unite in a federation» [16, 89 p.].

However, in general, it is known that the program and activities of the «Üsh zhüz» party found support among the poor. On March 14, 1918, workers from the Semey, Öskemen, Zaysan, Pavlodar, and Karkaraly districts of the Semey Province sent a letter to the Executive Committee of the Semey Provincial Council and the «Üsh Zhüz» party, acknowledging their political activities. Additionally, Kazakhs from five districts sent telegrams to Kölbay Tögişov, the head of the «Üsh zhüz» party in Omsk, urging the abolition of provincial, district, and volost courts and their replacement with institutions that would provide support in elections.

On April 10, 1918, the Central Committee of the «Üsh zhüz» held an expanded meeting to confirm Tögişov's activities. Subsequently, on April 17, the «Birlik» organization convened a meeting and passed a resolution demanding the removal of K. Tögişov from his position and an investigation by the Omsk Provincial Council, claiming that he had disrupted the "Birlik" organization, which ultimately led to his arrest [16, 92 p.]. During the Civil War in March 1919, the Soviet activist Kölbay Tögişov and other leaders of the «Üsh Zhüz» party were captured and sentenced to death. The party ceased to exist.

#### Conclusion

In conclusion, the «Üsh Zhüz» members did not attempt to seize power rapidly through armed struggle. The party's program emphasized polytechnic education, the service of religion to the people, the promotion of a policy of peace, the encouragement of a sedentary lifestyle, and the prevention of interethnic conflicts. This demonstrates that even during the revolutionary years, the «Üsh zhüz» maintained a benevolent and democratic orientation.

An analysis of the socio-political activities of the «Üsh zhüz» party shows that it acted in accordance with democratic principles. Today, it is clear that we have a significant opportunity to fully restore the true positive and negative aspects of our history. The names of those who sacrificed their lives for the future of their people will always remain in the collective memory. This study confirms the unique and significant place of the «Üsh zhüz» party in the history of Kazakhstan's national liberation and democratic movements.

#### REFERENCE

- [1] Bokeihanov A. Tandamaly sygarmalary. Almaty: Qazaq ensiklopediasy, 1995. 478 p. [In Kazakh].
- [2] Baitursynov A. Sygarmalar jinagy. Almaty: «El sejure», 2013. 384 b. [in Russian].
- [3] Ryskulov T.R. Sobranie sochinenii v treh tomah. – Almaty, 1997. T.1. – 387 s [in Russian].
- [4] Beisembiev K.B. Ocherki istorii obşestvenno-politicheskoi i filosofskoi mysli Kazahstana. Alma-Ata: Nauka, 1976. 427 p [in Russian].
- [5] Ryspaev N.K. İstoria Respubliki Kazahstan. – Almaty: «Bılım», 2002. – 395 s [in Russian].
- [6] Oteпова G.E. Politicheskie prosesy na territorii Kazahstana v nachale XX veka (na primere partii «Us juz») [Political processes in Kazakhstan at the beginning of the 20th century (using the example of the «Ush Zhuz» party)]. Pavlodar: PGPİ, 2005. 88 p. [in Russian].
- [7] Togisov K. Sygarmalar jinagy [Collection of works]. Almaty: Alaş, 2003. 256 p [In Kazakh].
- [8] Rahimova G.M. Gorod Omsk v ekonomicheskoi, politicheskoi i duhovnoi jizni kazahskogo obşestva vo vtoroi polovine XX v.: diser. na soiskanie kand. istor. nauk. – Almaty, 2000. – 156 s [in Russian].
- [9] Kirgizskaia jizn // Revolucionnaia mysl. №55. Omsk, 17 noiabra 1917 g [in Russian].
- [10] Telegrama v redaksiu gazety // «Saryarqa». №21. – 21 noiabra 1917 g [in Russian].
- [11] Seifullin S. Tar jol, taigaq keşu [A thorny path]. Kop tomdyq syğarmalar jinağy. T.1. Almaty: «Jazusy», 2009. 395 p [In Kazakh].
- [12] Mestnaia jizn // İzvestia Omskogo oblastnogo ispolnitelnogo komiteta. – 21 fevralä 1918 goda [in Russian].
- [13] Elkeev B. Partia «Uş juz» i ee deiatelnöst v period ustanovlenia Sovetskoj vlasti v Kazahstane // İstoria Kazahstana: «belye pätna». Sbornik statei. – Alma-Ata: Kazahstan, 1991. – S.49-77 [in Russian].
- [14] Nurpeisov K.N. Alas ham Alaşorda [Alash and Alashorda]. Almaty: «Atatek», 1995, 256 p [In Kazakh].
- [15] QRPA. 811 qor, 23 t, 217-is, 10-p.



[16] Smagulova S.O. Kolbai Togisov jane «Us juz» partiasy» [Kolbay Togisov and the «Us juz» Party].  
Almaty: Arys baspasy, 2009. 232 p.[In Kazakh].

**Абдиханова А.Е., Ахметова Ж.К., Қасымбекова М.А.**  
**ҚАЗАҚТЫҢ «СОЦИАЛШЫЛДАРЫ»: «ҮШ ЖҮЗ» ПАРТИЯСЫНЫҢ ҚҰРЫЛУ**  
**ТАРИХЫНАН**

**Аңдатпа.** Мақалада ХХ ғасырдың басындағы қазақ даласында алғаш құрылған «социалшыл» – «Үш жүз» партиясының идеялық бастамалары, бағдарламасы, сонымен бірге жалпы «социал-демократиялық» ұстанымдары архив материалдары мен жарияланған ғылыми зерттеулер негізінде қарастырылады. Тарихтың бетбұрыс кезеңдерінде қоғамның өз өткеніне деген қызығушылығы арта түседі. Өйткені, өткеннен тарихтан біз қазіргі мәселелердің түп-тамырын, сұрақтар мен оларға берілер жауаптарды, болашақты болжаудың негізін іздейміз. Ұзақ уақыт бойы тарих үстем идеологияның мүддесіне сай жазылып, шынайы өмірдің, оның қайшылықты даму үдерістерінің бейнесін толық көрсете алмады. Зерттеудің мақсаты – ХХ ғасырдың басындағы ұлт-азаттық және демократиялық қозғалыстар тарихына зерттеу жүргізе отырып, соның аясында «Үш жүз» «социалшыл» партиясының құрылу тарихын зерделеу болып табылады. Сонымен бірге, тарих ғылымының прогрессивті дамуының айқындаушы факторларының бірі – тәуелсіздік, азаттық жолында күрескен ұлттық зиялықауым өкілдерінің қызметіне ой жүгірту. Қазақ қоғамындағы интеллигенция өкілдерінің қоғамдық-саяси қызметтерін архив құжаттары мен жарияланған ғылыми зерттеулер аясында талдап, «Үш жүз» партиясының жүргізген саяси күресінің «социалистік» бағытын анықтау. Заман талабымен құрылған «Үш жүз» партиясы көшбасшыларының «төңкерістен» гөрі «бейбітшілік» ұстанымдары мен тарихи сахнадағы рөліне объективті баға беру. Өздерін шеттетпей, қоғамдық өмірге белсене араласқан «Үш жүз» партиясы қайраткерлерінің қызметі, идеялық бастамалары мен бағдарламалық негіздері – еліміздің өткен тарихының маңызды тұстарының бірі болғанын айқындаймыз.

**Кілт сөздер:** «Үш жүз» социалистік партиясы, К.Төгісов, интеллигенция, Қазақ автономиясы, төңкеріс, большевиктер, ұлттық таным.

**Абдиханова А.Е., Ахметова Ж.К., Қасымбекова М.А.**  
**КАЗАХСКИЕ «СОЦИАЛИСТЫ»: ИЗ ИСТОРИИ СОЗДАНИЯ ПАРТИИ «УШ ЖУЗ»**

**Аннотация.** В статье на основе архивных материалов и опубликованных научных исследований рассматриваются идеологические инициативы, программа и общие «социал-демократические» принципы партии «Уш жуза» – первой «социалистической» партии, созданной в казахской степи в начале ХХ века. В переломные моменты истории интерес общества к своему прошлому возрастает. Ведь именно в прошлом и истории мы ищем корни современных проблем, вопросы и возможные ответы на них, а также основу для прогнозирования будущего. История долгое время писалась в соответствии с интересами господствующей идеологии и не отражала в полной мере реальную жизнь и противоречивые процессы ее развития. Целью исследования является изучение истории становления Социалистической партии «Уш жуз» и в ее рамках проведение исследования истории национально-освободительных и демократических движений начала ХХ века. При этом одним из определяющих факторов поступательного развития исторической науки является осмысление деятельности представителей национально-освободительного движения, боровшихся за независимость и свободу. Проанализировать общественно-политическую деятельность представителей интеллигенции казахского общества на основе архивных документов и опубликованных научных исследований, а также определить «социалистическое» направление политической борьбы, которую вела партия «Уш жуз». Объективная оценка лидеров партии «Уш жуз», созданной в ответ на требования времени, их «мирной», а не «революционной» позиции и их роли на исторической сцене. Мы отмечаем, что деятельность, идейные инициативы и программные основы деятелей партии «Уш жуза», не исключавших себя и активно участвовавших в общественной жизни, являлись одним из важнейших моментов прошедшей истории нашей страны.

**Ключевые слова:** Социалистическая партия «Уш жуз», К. Тогусов, интеллигенция, казахская автономия, революция, большевики, национальное самосознание.