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CONSTRUCTING THE NATIONAL IDENTITY OF KAZAKHS IN LITERARY WORKS OF HISTORICAL GENRE IN THE 1960-1970s.

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Abstract. *Introduction.* Works of historical genre appeared in Kazakh literature in the 60-70s of the XX century. Historical narratives created prerequisites for the awakening and growth of Kazakh national self-consciousness, issues of the history of the development of national statehood were raised in the study period. The authors of historical novels attempted to illuminate the colonial past of Kazakhs and reimagine ethnic, cultural, and social processes in the Kazakh SSR under the Soviet regime. *Aims and Objectives* of the presented article are to examine the works of the historical genre and its influence on the formation of the national consciousness of the Kazakh people. *Methods and materials.* Archival materials of the Central State Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan, the State Archive of the Russian Federation, D.A. Kunayev's memoirs and M.M. Auezov's diaries were the main sources in the article. *Results.* Works in the field of all social sciences, which went beyond the outlined ideological contours, were criticized under the conditions of the command-administrative system. Kazakh writers sought ways to illuminate the history of the Kazakh people through the writing of historical narratives. *Conclusions.* Kazakh writers tried to dispute the dominant discourse of Soviet ideology about the cultural "backwardness" of Kazakhs, to describe the heroic past of their people. The emergence of national historical narratives greatly impacted the formation of the worldview and national consciousness of Kazakh society.

Keywords: Kazakh SSR, Kazakh writers, historical narratives, national identity, ethnic literature



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1960-1970 ЖЫЛДАРДАҒЫ ТАРИХИ ЖАНРДАҒЫ ӘДЕБИ ШЫҒАРМАЛАРДАҒЫ ҚАЗАҚТАРДЫҢ ҰЛТТЫҚ БОЛМЫСЫНЫҢ ҚҰРЫЛЫСЫ

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Аңдатпа. *Kipicne.* XX ғ. 60-70 жылдары қазақ әдебиетінде тарихи жанрдағы шығармалар пайда болды. Зерттеліп отырған кезеңдегі тарихи әңгімелер қазақтардың ұлттық өзіндік санасының оянуы мен өсуіне алғышарттар жасады, ұлттық мемлекеттіліктің даму тарихы мәселелері көтерілді. Тарихи романдардың авторлары қазақтардың отаршылдық өткенінің бетін ашуға, тоталитарлық режим кезіндегі Қазақ КСР-індегі этникалық, мәдени және әлеуметтік процестерді қайта қарастыруға талпыныс жасады. *Мақсаттар мен міндеттер.* Бұл мақаланың мақсаты – тарихи жанрдағы шығармалар мен оның қазақ халқының ұлттық болмысының қалыптасуына ықпалын зерттеп, талдау. *Материалдар мен әдістер.* Мақалада негізгі дереккөздер ретінде Қазақстан Республикасы Орталық мемлекеттік архивінің, Ресей Федерациясының мемлекеттік архивінің материалдары мен Д.А. Қонаев, М.М. Әуезовтің мемуарлық естеліктері пайдаланылды. *Нәтижелер.* Әміршіл-әкімшілік жүйе жағдайында белгіленген идеологиялық шеңберінен шығып кеткен барлық қоғамдық ғылымдар саласындағы еңбектер сынға алынды. Қазақ жазушылары тарихи әңгіме жазу арқылы қазақ халқының тарихын көрсетудің жолдарын іздеді. *Қорытындылар.* Тарихи жанрдағы шығармаларды талдау жазушылардың қазақтардың мәдени «артта қалуы» туралы кеңестік идеологияның басым дискурсына қарсы шығып, өз халқының қаһармандық өткенін суреттеуге тырысқаны анықталды. Зерттеліп отырған кезеңде ұлттық тарихи әңгімелердің пайда болуы қазақ қоғамының дүниетанымы мен ұлттық өзіндік санасының қалыптасуына үлкен әсер етті.

Түйінді сөздер: ҚазССР, қазақ жазушылары, тарихи әңгімелер, ұлттық болмыс, этникалық әдебиет



Алғыс айту: «1945-1991 жылдардағы Қазақстандағы кеңестік ұлттық саясат және этносаралық қатынастар мәселелері» атты мақала «Жас ғалым» ғылыми жобасын IRN AP4972994 іске асыру шеңберінде орындалды.

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КОНСТРУИРОВАНИЕ НАЦИОНАЛЬНОГО САМОСОЗНАНИЯ КАЗАХОВ В ЛИТЕРАТУРНЫХ ПРОИЗВЕДЕНИЯХ ИСТОРИЧЕСКОГО ЖАНРА В 1960-1970 ГГ.

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Аннотация. *Введение.* В 60-70-е гг. XX века в казахской литературе появились произведения исторического жанра. Исторические нарративы в исследуемый период создали предпосылки для пробуждения и роста национального самосознания казахов, поднимались вопросы истории развития национальной государственности. Авторы исторических романов предприняли попытки освещения колониального прошлого казахов, переосмысления этнических, культурных и социальных процессов в КазССР в рассматриваемый период. *Цели и задачи.* Целью данной статьи является изучение и анализ произведений исторического жанра и их влияние на формирование национального самосознания казахского народа. *Методы и материалы.* Основными источниками в статье стали архивные материалы Центрального государственного архива Республики Казахстан, Государственного архива Российской Федерации, мемуары, материалы личного происхождения из фондов Д. Кунаева, М. Ауэзова. *Результаты.* В условиях командно-административной системы, критике подвергались труды в области всех общественных наук, выходящие за круг обозначенных идеологических контуров. Казахские писатели искали способы освещения истории казахского народа через написание исторических нарративов. *Выводы.* Казахские писатели пытались оспорить господствующий дискурс советской идеологии о культурной «отсталости» казахов, описать героическое прошлое своего народа. Появление национальных исторических нарративов оказало большое влияние на формирование мировоззрения и национального самосознания казахского общества.

Ключевые слова: КазССР, казахские писатели, исторические нарративы, национальное самосознание, этническая литература



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Introduction. The political life of the country was characterized by a trend, which N. Werth labeled as “nationalities' ostracization” which manifested itself in all spheres of Soviet life from the second half of the 1940s. N. Werth wrote “Stalin returned to the idea where Russia played the role of the center of the system. This concept was “historically justified” in the second half of the 1940s by the glorification of the past of the Russian people and the revision of the history of their relations with other peoples of the USSR” (Werth, 1992: 208-209). The similar trend continued in the Khrushchev period as well. Democratization processes and reforms of the socialist system under N.S. Khrushchev were inconsistent and contradictory. The cessation of repressions certainly contributed to stabilization in Soviet society, still the main orientations of “public consciousness” were formed exclusively “from above” (Aksyutin, 2004: 3). Public sentiments contradicting the fundamental principles of the Soviet system were either persecuted or monitored, depending on the radical character of the ideas and feelings. The process of derogation from the “Khrushchev thaw” has begun. Ideological control was again strengthened (Pikhoya, 200: 254). Khrushchev’s “thaw” “failed to meet the expectations of the Soviet intelligentsia” (Zisserman-Brodsky, 2003: 10). The authoritarian methods of suppression of any dissent continued under Leonid Brezhnev (Suzhikov, 1991: 321). In addition, there was a process of purposeful formation of the supra-ethnic unified community – the “Soviet people”, which offset the national specificity of the peoples of the USSR. The “Us-Them” dichotomy was asserted in the mass consciousness through institutional influence. “We” are Soviet people and “they” are either non-Soviet or even anti-Soviet (Sikevich, 2017: 316). The Resolution of the Central Committee of the CPSU “On Increasing the Responsibility of the Heads of the Press, Radio, Television, Cinematography, Cultural and Art Institutions for the Ideological and Political Level of Published Materials and Repertoire”, adopted on January 7, 1969, served as a basis for strengthening ideological control in the country. Historical-revolutionary and military-patriotic themes were prioritized in allowing literary works to be printed (Vdovin, 2024: 486).

Thus, the Party continued to control literature, social sciences, and periodical publications to prevent the publication of works that contradicted the official Communist ideology. Part of the Kazakh intelligentsia (some due to sincere belief in communist ideals, some due to some opportunistic reasons, etc.) was forced to speak in support of the current policy and fulfill the social order on the instructions of the party. Culture in all its manifestations was considered by the highest party leadership as an instrument of ideology and politics (Kydyralina, 2009:175). According to B.M. Suzhikov, the misfortune of social scientists was that the fear of being accused of the proclamation of ethnocentrism continued to persist. The authors limited themselves to writing texts acceptable to the command and administrative system (Suzhikov, 1991: 321). However, despite the bans and persecution, the Soviet leadership systematically received letters from representatives of the creative intelligentsia opposing the intensified ideological control and censorship from the mid-1960s to the early 1980s (Pikhoya, 2000: 255). During these years, groups of Kazakh youth oriented towards the development of the national language, national culture, and the preservation of Kazakh traditions and customs emerged. Thus, participants of the youth organization



“Zhas Tulpar”, one of the founders of which was M.M. Auezov, stood for the propaganda of national culture, including language, history, Kazakh literature, art, and music. The members of the group organized concert programs and met with scientists, writers, and other representatives of creative intelligentsia to improve the work on the promotion of the Kazakh people’s national culture and art (Kydyralina (2), 2009: 248).

Soviet Kazakh literature was conditionally divided by the authors of the article into two groups. The first group includes works that fit into the “procrustean bed” of Marxist-Leninist ideology. These works reflected the themes of internationalism, the friendship of peoples, and propaganda of the Soviet way of life. Many works were written about the successes of industrial development, the Virgin campaign in the republic, etc. Some writers were quite sincere in writing about the prosperous Soviet life, others tried to conform to the ideological conjuncture, fulfilling the order of the top party leadership, and keeping similar tendencies in the content of their works.

The second group includes works of the historical genre of the 1960s-1970s in which Kazakh writers attempted to cover the pre-colonial and colonial history of Kazakhstan. In historical novels, writers have addressed national culture, history, ethnic identity, etc. We agree with the Professor of Cambridge University D.T. Kudaibergenova’s viewpoint, who argues that “the cultural elites were able to go further than the restricted frameworks of official censorship. This allowed them to manage covering some of the issues of the ethnic and territorial history and cover the pre-Russian (both Tsarist and Bolshevik) parts of the history that were seen by the Soviets as nationalistic” (Kudaibergenova, 2013: 840). Moreover, the local political elite supported the writers and allowed several works that somewhat “fell out” of the vector of communist ideology for the publication. For example, D.A. Kunayev wrote in his memoirs about support to I. Esenberlin, O. Suleimenov and others (Kunayev, 2022: 259).

One of the main tasks of a modern multi-ethnic state is to study the dynamics of ethnocultural development. The analysis of these aspects in the Soviet period is relevant and in demand, as the modern multi-ethnic picture in Kazakhstan was formed precisely during the Soviet period. Kazakh writers’ works of the historical genre in the studied period are the reflection of the historical, cultural and social processes of Kazakh society. Studying and analyzing the works of Kazakh writers allows to uncover how writers under the Soviet regime tried to convey to the reader feelings of national pride, national self-consciousness and national identity.

The study of the historical genre in Soviet Kazakh literature allows the opportunities to reconstruct ethnic, cultural, political and social processes in the Kazakh SSR.

Materials and methods. The methodological basis of the study is a set of general scientific and historical principles: historicism, objectivity, integrity and systemacity. The principle of historicism allowed us to study the process of formation of national literature in the 60-70s of the XX century. In particular, the authors attempted to study the relationship between the history and literature of the Kazakh people, the process of formation of their national consciousness through the prism of national historical narratives. The use of various documentary sources, analysis of research literature allowed a comprehensive study of the role of the historical genre in Kazakh literature in the construction of Kazakh national identity in the 1960s-1970s.

Practical tools are a set of general scientific (content analysis, synthesis, induction, deduction, interpretation and generalization) and special-historical methods, such as historical-comparative, historical-systemic, retrospective, and reconstruction methods, which allowed us to determine the main conceptual ideas of the analyzed historical novels and substantiate their value for Kazakh society in the 60-70s of the twentieth century.



During the research various types of published and unpublished sources were used: office records (certificates, reports, statements) and materials of personal origin (memoirs, diaries).

The main sources were the works of Kazakh writers on historical themes. Archival materials collected in Kazakh and Russian archives also became the source base of the study. In the Central State Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan (CSA RK) the documents from fund 2225 - personal fund of the poet, public figure Olzhas Omarovich Suleimenov, fund 1692 - Ministry of Education of the Kazakh SSR, fund 1890 - Ministry of Culture of the Kazakh SSR, fund 929 - Kazakh State Publishing House were studied. In the State Archive of the Russian Federation (SA RF) the archival files of the fund 10063 - the fund of the state political and public figure of the USSR and Russia Yakovlev Alexander Nikolayevich were reviewed.

The most valuable part of the study is the materials of fund 2225 of the CSA RK. The documents of the fund contain O.O. Suleimenov's interviews to magazines and newspapers, sketches on the ongoing national policy in the republic, etc. The article uses the declassified document of the State Security Committee of the Kazakh SSR about the verification of citizens' letters regarding O. Suleimenov. This reference contains reviews of O. Suleimenov's books "Az i Ya" and I. Esenberlin's "Wrath" in Kazakh.

A certain substantial basis of the article was formed by memoirs and documents of personal origin: "About my time. From Stalin to Gorbachev" by D. Kunayev, "Diaries. Leave to Stay" by Murat Auezov.

Discussion. Historiography on the problem under study can be divided into two groups of studies: works of foreign and domestic scientists.

In the works of foreign researchers B. Anderson (1983), M.B. Olcott (1983), D. Zisserman-Brodsky (2003), D. Kudaibergenova (2013, 2019), etc., issues related to the formation of national identity, interaction between representatives of different nationalities, manifestations of nationalism, chauvinism, etc. are raised.

The works of M.B. Olcott and D.T. Kudaibergenova were of the greatest interest for the study. M.B. Olcott notes that the works of Kazakh writers in the 1960-1970s were devoted to important events in the history of Kazakhstan. According to the researcher's viewpoint, the authors of historical novels painted a more "Kazakh-centered" picture of the pre-revolutionary period than many of the Soviet Kazakh historians did (Olcott, 1981: 31).

D.T. Kudaibergenova explores historical, social and cultural aspects of Kazakh society through historical narratives of the twentieth century. The researcher believes that Soviet Kazakh writers managed to influence the national consciousness of Kazakhs through their works, and the mass publication of historical novels formed "an imaginary community of Kazakhs". Kudaibergenova D.T. says that Kazakh Soviet writers created "ethnic literature", which reflected the ideas of Kazakh ethnosymbolism and ethnocentrism. These historical narratives were written for Kazakhs by Kazakhs, mostly in the Kazakh language (Kudaibergenova, 2013: 847).

It is important to highlight the works of the following Kazakhstani researchers: Zh.U. Kydyralina (2009), G. Dadabayeva and D. Sharipova (G. Dadabayeva, 2016). Based on extensive archival material Zh.U. Kydyralina investigates the socio-political sentiments among Kazakh creative intelligentsia on the national issue. In the work "Nation and History" the process of the formation of national self-consciousness of the Kazakh people, the problems of national-state construction in the republic, and the emergence of the national idea are considered in detail.

G. Dadabayeva and D. Sharipova on the example of I. Esenberlin's historical novel "Nomads" concluded that in the Soviet Kazakh literature, post-colonial problems were touched upon in the 1960s-1970s. Researchers argue that "The realization of the project



would have been impossible in the 1920–1950s, not only due to ideological censorship, but also due to the lack of favorable conditions, including post-war poverty, Stalin’s purges, and the immaturity of national political elites who were unable to sponsor such projects” (Dadabayeva, 2016: 169). Let us disagree with the last formulation of the researchers about “immaturity of national political elites”. It is doubtful that the national intelligentsia of the 20-50s of the twentieth century can be considered “immature”; rather, it was placed within a rigid, clearly delineated ideological framework. Researchers also note the “loopholes” used by Kazakh writers in creating “nationalist” narratives. G. Dadabayeva and D. Sharipova agree with D.T. Kudaibergenova’s viewpoint that writers used mainly the Kazakh language to cover some historical subjects and overcome the restrictions imposed by censorship. Since the central authorities did not speak Kazakh, the field for voicing historical subjects was less limited.

Results. Literature was a powerful tool of Soviet propaganda. The power structures considered writers as a force influencing the public consciousness of the people. Some writers tried to meet the expectations of the party. It depends on several reasons, among which are (as noted above) internal convictions and adherence to the ideals of Soviet power, the desire to advance in their careers and receive high royalties, fear of condemnation or exile, etc. Consequently, the “correct” (in the communist sense), “ideologically verified”, “obedient” generation of writers, scientists, artists, etc. was formed. O. Suleimenov said: “Obedient literature and disciplined science - mentally underdeveloped generation, weak technology, primitive production” (CSA RK. F. 2225. In. 1. C. 245. P. 26). Literature subordinated to the political system created illusions of a prosperous life and often led readers away from the Soviet reality. However, another part of the writers was telling about the history of Kazakhs, reflecting the problems of their people, national identity in their works.

Literature not based on Marxist-Leninist philosophy was criticized, prevented from publication or withdrawn. The situation became more difficult after the adoption of the resolution “About political mistakes in the work of the Institute of Language and Literature of the Academy of Sciences of the Kazakh SSR” (1947). During Kazakh literature lessons much more attention began to be paid to the dominant influence of Russian literature on the development of Kazakh. In most Kazakh secondary schools, 10th-grade students wrote essays on the following topics: “The Role of Russian Literature in the Development of Kazakh Literature”, “Russian Culture in Abai’s Works”, “The Theme of Soviet Patriotism in Dzhambul’s Poetry”, “Images of Lenin and Stalin in Kazakh Poetry”. Students of historical circles of some secondary and seven-year schools in East Kazakhstan, Dzhambul, Karaganda, Semipalatinsk and other regions were mainly engaged in the study of the history of the Russian state, the emphasis was made to a greater extent only on the history of the USSR. Thus, according to the reports, students prepared several reports on such historical topics as: “USSR in Soviet literature”, “Traditions of the great Russian commanders Suvorov, Kutuzov in the Great Patriotic War”, “Great Commanders of the Civil War of 1918-1922”, “The victory of the Russian people over Nazi Germany under the leadership of the Great Stalin” and others (CSA RK. F. 1692. In. 1. C. 1188. P. 252). The main topics of the institute lectures for teachers, students and school teachers were predominantly lectures and reports exposing nationalist perversions and mistakes, explaining the policy of the Communist Party in the national question (CSA RK. F. 1692. In. 1. C. 2138. P. 66). Novels about happy Soviet life were published in huge print runs. The propaganda of communist ideas was also carried out through the publication of a large number of translated and original works of the classics of Marxism-Leninism in Kazakh and Russian languages.

It is possible to distinguish several main directions of literature released by the editorial boards of publishing houses “Kazakhstan” and “Zhazushy”: propaganda of ideas of Marxism-Leninism; struggle against hostile ideology; atheistic literature; development



of methodology of agitation-mass work in the network of party and Komsomol education; propaganda of Soviet way of life; education of political consciousness and moral and volitional qualities of builders of communist society (especially of the younger generation). A significant part of literature was created not for the cultural enrichment of the Kazakh people, but for the formation, dissemination and consolidation of communist ideology (CSA RK. F. 929. In. 8. C. 4. P. 1).

In the introduction of the article, we proposed a conventional division of the works of Soviet Kazakh writers into two groups. Let us consider the first group.

The theme of internationalism, friendship of peoples was fundamental in Kazakh literature. For example, such works as “Soldier from Kazakhstan”, “Awakened Land” by G. Musrepov, “School of Life” by S. Mukanov were published and welcomed. G. Musrepov talks about friendship and mutual assistance of peoples, internationalism, the role of Soviet toilers, etc. in his works. The fragment from “Soldier from Kazakhstan” arouses interest. G. Musrepov illustrated the meeting between a Kazakh and a Turkmen, who told each other about their nationality in the conversation. G. Musrepov wrote: “They sit next to each other, carefree joking, laughing together at things that would have been fought to the death before”. From the story it becomes clear that both of them were born on a land where there had been constant conflicts for centuries, and now (after the establishment of Soviet power) this land has become a place of close friendly fusion of cultures. This meeting was witnessed by the hero of the story, Kairush, who “waits when they return to the theme of “only Kazakhs”, “only Turkmens”. If there is no longer a trace of this wild ancient enmity in them, then what do their words mean?” (Musrepov, 1949, 50). From their further conversation Kairush understands, that for the interlocutors the national belonging of “Kazakhs” and “Turkmens” was expressed only “in the differences in material culture and in certain skills possessed by their fathers and grandfathers”. Thus, G. Musrepov shows the changes that have taken place in the consciousness of people, where there is no more place for wars and clashes, and the national features, content and specificity of the spiritual cultures of the two ethnic groups remain only in the past.

The novel “Awakened Land” shows the first meeting of Russian, Ukrainian and Kazakh workers which has led to friendship and mutual understanding. Representatives of different nationalities managed to find a common language, experience a sense of pleasure from mutual communication, and most importantly, G. Musrepov reflects the formation of proletarian, international ideology (Musrepov, 1953: 10). “Awakened Land” by G. Musrepov is the transition of the Kazakh republic from a backward national periphery to a modern industrial region along with other developed republics of the USSR (Musrepov, 1953: 11).

S. Mukanov shows plots about the mutual help of Kazakhs and Russians in his work “School of Life” (Mukanov, 1985:33). We consider it necessary to cite one conversation from the work “School of Life”, in which the idea of the superiority of the “elder brother” was carried out: “Saktar said that in general everything in our houses (kibitkas) - linen, dishes, clothes – everything is made by Russian hands and in Russian factories. And what can do people in our steppe? – Felting, making a cart, building a yurt. Is that all? And dwelling! Before the Russians, the Kazakhs did not even know how to build a dugout. Only about fifty years ago they started to build stoves and fence yards, and even that was not there... We should learn from the Russians... Our ancestors migrated to these places from Syr Darya a hundred years ago... we fled from the Kalmyks and found protection by the Russians. At that time there were Cossack villages here, Cossacks welcomed the escapees: “Settle down! Live! The land is not spared! The whole steppe is yours”. So, our great-grandfathers began to settle down and learn from the Russians. But it was not to be... Mullahs and khans began to mess them up, especially Kenesary, Ablai's son did a lot of things. He's a son of a dog. He's raised the whole nation. Well, only in our place he was unlucky. Our fathers drove him out of here”



(Mukanov, 1985: 105). Thus, the idea of certain helplessness of Kazakhs in the past was fixed in the mind of the Kazakh reader. In the mentality of Kazakhs the thesis, expressed in the 1920s by F.I. Goloshchekin, that “it is necessary... to influence the steppe man, to teach him to use a spoon, fork, windows, pipes in wintering houses...” was fixed. This couldn’t but form among Kazakh youth a certain syndrome of “inferiority” in the future.

The writer in the pages of his novel shows a disdainful attitude towards the Kazakh language before the establishment of Soviet power. In particular, S. Mukanov illustrates a plot where the interpreter, a Russian Cossack who knows Kazakh perfectly well, deliberately and demonstratively distorts it in conversation, periodically inserting Russian words. The writer is sure that the interpreter did it “out of the greatest contempt and disregard for the Kazakh language” (Mukanov, 1985: 93).

During the meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan on the preparation for the decade of Kazakh literature and arts in Moscow, which was held on October 27, 1955, Leonid Brezhnev (then First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Republic) noted that “Kazakhstan is not the same as it was in the recent past. We will write that grandiose socialist construction is being carried out in Kazakhstan and that against background art, literature, Kazakh people are growing, and we want to show our achievements in Moscow. The decade should show the course of history, so that the themes of theater, art workers, literature, painting reflected historical-revolutionary themes. Moments included in the first volume of the history of the Kazakh SSR on the reunification of Kazakhstan with Russia, friendship with the Russian people. It would be nice to show the historical moments, the reunification of Kazakhstan with Russia in art in the aspect of Bogdan Khmelnytsky. We must show the historical-revolutionary theme, then the modern theme” (CSA RK. F. 1890. In. 1. C. 322. P. 49-50). So, from the statement of L.I. Brezhnev at the meeting we see that writers were given (recommended) specific guidelines and directions, among which the most popular were historical-revolutionary themes, socialist construction, achievements of the Kazakh people after the establishment of Soviet power, friendship of peoples.

The plenum of the CPSU Central Committee (April 1968) noted the sharp aggravation of the ideological struggle between capitalism and socialism. The resolution pointed to the need to “direct all available means of ideological education to strengthen the communist conviction, the sense of Soviet patriotism and proletarian internationalism in every communist and Soviet man, ideological firmness and ability to resist any form of bourgeois influence” (CSA RK. F. 929. In. 8 C. 164. P. 1). In general, by the content of such works we can conclude that the theme of friendship of peoples was fundamental in Kazakh Soviet literature. There was constant propaganda of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, idealization of the Soviet way of life, irreconcilability to the enemies of socialism and communism.

The second group of creative writing intellectuals.

Genres of historical and science fiction literature appeared in the Kazakh creative environment in the 60-70s of the twentieth century. M.M. Auezov labeled this direction as a “revival of remembering and fantasizing function of ethnic memory” (Auezov, 2011: 266). Perhaps M.M. Auezov meant that the time had come when it was necessary to turn to the past for the formation of national consciousness. As M.M. Auezov wrote: “We are forced to start from the bottom – to solve the problems of the anti-colonial movement”. As a result, Soviet Kazakh writers explored their history, traditions, and national values with the help of myths and symbols. They created images of national heroes, formed resistance to the ethnic and cultural assimilation of the Kazakh people. Thus, the new Kazakh literature of historical genre in the period under study contributed to the awakening and growth of the national self-consciousness of the people. Writers created so-called “imagined communities” (Anderson, 1991), and developed the “national imagination” of Kazakhs in their historical



novels (Kudaibergenova, 2013: 842). O.O. Suleimenov in his interview said: “We, the writers, got involved in special studies, and through our efforts this topic became permissible”, adding that “now every second writes about history, which is also bad” (CSA RK. F. 2225. In. 1. C. 88. P. 10). We assume that O.O. Suleimenov meant that not all writers could/wanted to cover the history of the Kazakh people, due to the reasons we described above. Deformations (errors, inaccuracies, mythologization, etc.) of some historical events could lead to several problems and contradictions. Writers-historians were able to reconstruct history in the memory of the people only by painstakingly gathering disparate knowledge (the fragmentation was also connected with prohibitions/restrictions in the pre-war period of the 1930s to refer to the pre-revolutionary historical past, the threefold change of the alphabet “Tote-Zhazu - Latin – Cyrillic” and in this connection the gap in the ability/opportunity to read the texts of the recent past, the absence/limitation of written sources due to the specificity of the nomadic way of life of Kazakhs, etc.). Excessive attachment to the fact and excessive freedom in its interpretation were the two extremes that the creator of historical novels had to overcome (Auezov, 1972: 119). The ideological views of writers also led to distortions and inaccuracies in conveying the historical past. As M.M. Auezov noted, a writer who dares to create historical narratives should clearly define his worldview principles and tasks. In addition, he should know what the problems to be solved with the experience of previous generations (Auezov, 1972: 118). M.M. Auezov, regarding some writers of the historical genre wrote that “its creators remain in the captivity of the old social orientation and therefore cannot but limit themselves to liberal enlightenment, hurrah-patriotic slogans that do not shock the censorship and excite only embryonic levels of patriotism” (Auezov, 2011: 266). In our opinion, M.M. Auezov was referring to that part of the intelligentsia who, due to censorship and restrictions, avoided forbidden topics in literature, fearing possible accusations of nationalism and other repressive measures from the authorities. However, at the same time, through references to various historical events and cultural values, without openly opposing or coming into conflict with the official ideology, they tried to influence the minds and national feelings of the Kazakh people. The plots of the ancient and medieval history of the Kazakh people were one of the important themes in the works of Kazakh writers in the period under review. The study of the past became the subject of critical analysis and served as a basis for identifying the national in literature. According to M.M. Auezov, the emergence of this genre met the actual spiritual demands of the Kazakh people (Auezov, 1972: 8). A nation's interest in its history indicates not only a high level of its self-consciousness, but also provides an opportunity to conceptualize itself as a whole, to determine its place among other nations (Auezov, 1972: 72).

According to Kazakh researchers G. Dadabayeva and D. Sharipova, the Kazakh historical novel of the 60-70s of the twentieth century is a symbiosis of the imperative of Russian-language literature and the counter-imperative Kazakh national literature (Dadabayeva, Sharipova, 2016: 166). The main post-colonial problems, such as the colonial past, problems of language usage and its development, etc. were touched upon in Kazakh Soviet literature precisely in the 1960s and 1970s. Kazakh writers faced the need to define new approaches to the study of the colonial history of Kazakhstan. In historical novels, writers were allowed to raise issues of statehood and national consciousness, to voice the problems of the Kazakh people, which were limited by the framework of Soviet ideological dogmas (Auezov, 2011:172).

M.B. Olcott argues that “The Kazakhs like all other Soviet people have their share of hack writers, party apologists and career literary administrators who occasionally pen a poem or short story to demonstrate their capacity to do creative work. Dzhuban Moldagaliev, the current head of the Kazakh Writers Union is one such person” (Olcott, 1983: 29). However,



we disagree with M.B. Olcott's viewpoint. Indeed, Zh. Moldagaliev was favored by the authorities, he was the first secretary of the Writers Union of Kazakhstan in 1953-1954, and in 1963-1971. He received the State Prize of the USSR for the poems "Eagle Steppe", "Mudflow"; he received the State Prize of the Kazakh SSR for the poem "Kisen Ashkan". His book "He Who Broke the Fetters" was awarded the Abay State Prize. However, in his creativity, some works reflected the specifics of the national culture and mentality of the author. We believe that M.B. Olcott's opinion is biased. In the poem in Kazakh "Men Kazakpyn" (I am Kazakh) (1964) Zh. Moldagaliev showed the life of the Kazakh people, its national characteristics, heroic traditions, and love for the Motherland. For example, his poem "Kazakh" did not correspond to the requirements of the Communist Party and for 35 years was not published anywhere. It was published only in 1979. During the December 1986 uprising, Zh. Moldagaliev spoke in support and defense of Kazakh youth to G. Kolbin (Sputnik.kz).

M.B. Olcott singles out a group of talented writers: I. Esenberlin, O. Suleimenov, A. Alimzhanov, S. Sanbayev, D. Doszhanov, A. Kekilbayev (Olcott, 1983: 29). The works of these writers have made a significant contribution and serve as a valuable addition to the history of Kazakhstan. O. Suleimenov noted that Kazakh culture was influenced by "cultural internequine strife".

The historical novel in Kazakhstan, was first popularized in the 1950s by A. Nurpeisov's trilogy about Aral fishermen during the civil war. A. Nurpeisov criticizes the ill-conceived and short-sighted Soviet authorities for the ecological disaster on the Aral Sea. At that time, A. Nurpeisov's critical remarks were cut for ideological reasons. The writer was able to voice these problems only during perestroika in the "The Last Duty" diology. In A. Nurpeisov's novels we see the love of Kazakhs for their land, the struggle of the Kazakh people for a better life.

I. Esenberlin's novel-chronicle "The Nomads" in three parts is one of the most interesting examples. The novel tells the story of the Kazakh people from the time of the formation of the Kazakh Khanate to the uprising of Khan Kenesary Kasymov in 1830-1840s.

M.B. Olcott, in retelling the novel "The Nomads", gives her interpretation of it. I. Esenberlin's Kenesary is not the cruel and despotic figure as portrayed by most Soviet authors. At some points, he evokes sympathy, defeated not only by Russia's superior military strength, but also by his refusal to accept the compromise that was offered to him. M.B. Olcott argues that I. Esenberlin defends the right of Kazakhs to keep all their national heroes, both positive and negative (Olcott, 1983:32). Indeed, in I. Esenberlin's novel Soviet readers were introduced to outstanding people who left a bright trace in the history of the Kazakh people.

In the afterword to the I. Esenberlin's novel, A. Margulan wrote that the history of Kazakhstan does not appear in isolation, but as a natural part of the general historical process, the events in it are considered from a deeply internationalization perspective. Archival materials contained in the fund 2225 Olzhas Omarovich Suleimenov, indicate that 60-70s of the twentieth century Kazakh prose writers of the older and middle generation created "entire hymns of Russian-Kazakh friendship" (CSA RK. F. 2225. In. 1. C. 224. P. 3). I. Esenberlin's novels "The Nomads" in 3 volumes, "Golden Horde" in 3 volumes "opened new pages of the history of Russian-Kazakh relations" (CSA RK. F. 2225. In. 1. C. 224. P. 4).

But there were facts of criticism and rejection of I. Esenberlin's work by party officials. Thus, M.A. Morozov, being the head of the sector of the Propaganda Department of the Central Committee, pointed out that some books and articles described historical events without "class analysis" and idealized the past of the people in the national republics. As an example, he named I. Esenberlin's novel "Khan Kene". M.A. Morozov insisted that the whole novel is imbued with the spirit of idealization, glorifying Kazakhs' nomadic



way of life, and Kenesary himself and his supporters are presented as “noble, courageous and great dzhigits”. M.A. Morozov accuses I. Esenberlin that he insistently emphasizes: Kenesary is a direct descendant of Chingiz Khan and therefore should rule the Kazakhs.

Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan Imashev reported that I. Yesenberlin’s novel was first published in the Kazakh language and criticized for ideological errors in the Kazakh press. However, despite this, it was published in Moscow by the publishing house “Soviet Writer” and was distributed throughout the country (SA RF. F. 10063. In. 1. C. 90. P. 23). D. Kunayev noted that I. Esenberlin's trilogy was highly recognized by the public (Kunayev, 2022: 258).

In the novels “Constellation of Pleiades”, “Pre-dawn Twilight” by A. Kekilbayev and “Spring snow” by M. Magauin the picture of Kazakh reality at “voluntary accession to Russia” is presented. In particular, O.O. Suleimenov wrote that A. Kekilbayev’s historical prose did not shy away from the pressing problems of his time (CSA RK. F. 2225. In. 1. C. 224. Pp. 3-4). M.B. Olcott noted that Kazakh literature tried to avoid controversial topics concerning Kazakh-Russian relations. Several prominent Kazakh writers gained fame by writing about the period before the formation of the Kazakh Khanate. The most famous writer of fiction was D. Doszhanov. The theme of Islam is presented in his widely popular book “The Silk Road” (Olcott, 1983: 35). D. Doszhanov omits the theme of religion in his work, but the very choice of this topic demonstrates that the Kazakhs are Muslim people who are part of the Muslim world of Central Asia. Most writers follow D. Doszhanov's example and avoid direct discussion of Islam and Islamic philosophy. It would be a mistake to assume that writers who wrote about Islam were practicing Muslims and used their works as propaganda for religious values. M.B. Olcott thinks that writers who reported life under Soviet rule were more cautious in discussing religion. As a rule, elderly people were represented as religious in their works. However, their religiosity was not the center of the plot and was manifested in an unobtrusive form (Olcott, 1983: 35). The writers did not touch upon religious themes, because one of the main directions of publishing houses in Kazakhstan was atheistic literature.

A. Alimzhanov criticized historians for forgetting about Al-Farabi, wrote about the culture of urban development in the Kazakh steppe, gave examples of ancient cities in Central Asia in the story “The Caravan Goes to the Sun”. The author emphasized that Kazakhs were not just nomads, but also creators of remarkable monuments of national culture (Olcott, 1983: 50). In addition, A. Alimzhanov praised the bravery and fearlessness of steppe warriors. As an example, he cited the phrase “Kosog regiments” from the work “Tale of Igor's Campaign”. In this case, the author correlated the word “Kosog” with the word “Kazakh” and assumed that it refers to Kazakh regiments (Olcott, 1983: 53). A. Alimzhanov in his works showed a sense of pride for his people, the desire of young people to know their history, highlighted the problems of everyday life of Kazakhs.

In the story “Karasunkar's Bridge”, A. Alimzhanov described a religious old man who prevents young people from excavating mounds. The elderly shepherd Karasunkar acts as a guardian of Muslim graves and he is an atypical hero of Soviet-era stories. Karasunkar is presented as a deeply religious man whose faith led him to the “greatest folly” of his life – migration to China after the revolution on the mullah's order. He later returns to Soviet Kazakhstan depicted as a paradise compared to Communist China.

A. Alimzhanov’s novel “Makhambet's Arrow” is about the national liberation struggle of Kazakhs led by I. Taimanov and M. Utemisov. This is what Kurmangazy said about the rebellion of Kazakhs: “No one has ever been able to bring the steppe people to their knees by force” (Auezov, 1972: 52). A. Alimzhanov made excursions into the field of history with deep reflections on the individual and the people’s fate, on the connection of times, on the contradictions of life, on the “spiritual maturation of that generation of Kazakh intelligentsia” (Auezov, 1972: 74), to which A. Alimzhanov himself belongs. Perhaps, speaking about



“spiritual maturation”, M.M. Auezov meant reassessment of life values, reflection and search for answers to questions about the development of his people, national identity and national self-consciousness. In A. Alimzhanov’s works we see the love for his Motherland, the struggle for justice. The creativity of the writer is the reflection of his attitude to the past and present of the Kazakh people. The study of the links between Kazakh and Russian literature remained one of the actual problems.

One of the first “historians of literature” (Auezov, 1972: 64) who talked about the ancient proximity of nomadic and Rus was O.O. Suleimenov. The linguistic and historical analysis allowed him to identify a layer of words of Turkic origin in the Russian epic “The Tale of Igor’s Campaign”, testifying to the interconnection of the ancestors of modern Kazakhs and Russians (Auezov, 1972: 64). “The Tale of Igor’s Campaign” was withdrawn by the Ministry of Defense from all military libraries of the country (Kunayev, 2022: 291). Olzhas Suleimenov’s book “Az i Ya” was published in the mid-1970s and received a negative reaction in Moscow. One Central Committee reference stated unapologetically about the young writer: “He tries to claim that patriotism is incompatible with a truly scientific phenomenon” (Ayagan, 1999: 81). Many prominent scholars and critics have declared this book nationalistic. For example, M.A. Suslov labeled the book as a work “with a clear anti-Russian and nationalistic orientation”. The edition of the book was banned. Doctor of Historical Sciences B.G. Ayagan wrote: “Even we, first-year students of the Almaty University were punished for reading O. Suleimenov’s book “Az i Ya” (Ayagan, 1999: 81).

There were facts when this work appeared in interrogations of the Soviet power’s “opponents” in power structures. Kozhakhmetov Hasan Karibzhanovich was prosecuted under Article 170-1 of the Criminal Code of the Kazakh SSR by the Department of State Security of the Alma-Ata region on April 30, 1977. He was born in 1949 and worked as a teacher at a children’s music school in Issyk, Alma-Ata region. H. Kozhakhmetov was sentenced to two years of imprisonment for having produced and reproduced 670 copies of documents, proclamations of an “anti-Soviet nationalist nature” entitled “Internationalism and How Russians Use It”, “The Aspiration of the Russians to Become an International Gendarme”, “Union or Colony” and “On the Assimilation of Peoples”. During the search of his apartment Kazakh-language texts entitled “Az i Ya” and “Wrath” were found among other documents and seized. During interrogations, H. Kozhakhmetov said that they were compiled by him and were reviews of these novels. During the investigation of the criminal case, investigators petitioned several times for the interrogation of O. Suleimenov as a witness to the leadership of the Committee of State Security of the Republic. However, this issue was not resolved positively (CSA RK. F. 2225. In. 1. C. 521. P. 4-5). In his reviews H. Kozhakhmetov noted the great importance of the work “Az i Ya”, characterizing it as “the most valuable and truthful”. He noted that if Kazakhs would objectively evaluate history, then the history of “Turkestanians” would be studied as well as the history of Assyria and Babylonia. The reason this has not happened is that making changes to “already established “academic” history frightens the “great Europeans”. H. Kozhakhmetov argued that many Turkic peoples are part of the Soviet Union, and therefore it is “a very hard thing for Russians to recognize a more ancient history of the development of colonial foreigners than the history of Russians”. He believed that it was because “no proper attention was paid to the study of the history of the Turks” and some certain historical dates and facts were hidden, i.e. “the official authorities turned a blind eye to the proven truth, pretending that it did not exist” (CSA RK. F. 2225. In. 1. C. 521. P. 6).

In the publishing house “Zhazushy” concerning the implementation of the Decrees of the CPC Central Committee of June 17, 1976 “On the book of O. Suleimenov “Az i Ya” there was strengthened control over the origin of manuscripts, introduced mandatory double review, discussion of the most important manuscripts at the editorial and publishing councils.



As a result of the “intensive” work, serious comments and reductions were made on several manuscripts, some were delayed, and “ideological errors” were eliminated. Three employees of the publishing house were dismissed for the discovered shortcomings in the preparation of manuscripts, and four employees received warnings (CSA RK. F. 2225. In.1. C. 382. P. 18). Thus, despite the existing censorship, Kazakh writers still wrote on subjects from the national history, about the achievements of the Kazakh people in historical novels.

Many novels are devoted to the very relevant in Soviet times themes of the revolution and the first years of Soviet power in Kazakhstan. O. Suleimenov noted that writers could not write about the 30s of the twentieth century. The history of literature is “damaged” without these plots. The writer believed that all Kazakh literature bore the “stamp of secondary” and “apprenticeship” (CSA RK. F. 2225. In. 1. C. 88. P. 7). Prolonged “apprenticeship” begins to inhibit the manifestations of culture. If the writer cannot say what he wants, and the people cannot hear him, this is the main moral damage of culture. There were arrogant and condescending views of the center on the peripheral culture. Writers in Kazakhstan have become dependent. Everything that was a priority was regarded as opposition to the leading culture. Opposition was not allowed. Central publishing houses printed only those who “corresponded to a certain cliché, to the idea of national culture that matches Russian culture” (CSA RK. F. 2225. In. 1. C. 88. P. 8). Thus, O. Suleimenov said that everything that was permitted by party ideological censorship was allowed – in literature, theater, cinema. Kazakh writers are used to this.

However, according to O. Suleimenov, this situation in literature was not the case for all peoples of the USSR. For example, the writer believed that Georgian literature had gained positions in the Russian consciousness, starting with Rustaveli. Therefore, “Georgian literature is allowed more than Kazakh or Kyrgyz one. Kazakh writers publish a lot in central publishing houses, but it is difficult for them to penetrate the Russian consciousness. They need to overcome stereotypes” (CSA RK. F. 2225. In. 1. C. 88. P. 8).

According to M.M. Auezov, historical narratives in Kazakh literature, in which writers made attempts to tell the reader about the past, showed “a very limited character” (Auezov, 1972: 130). Historical novels did not pay enough attention to contemporary issues. Authors were often carried away by nostalgia for their roots and origins. Writers were afraid to analyze the class and social essence of historical events. M.M. Auezov characterized such a situation as follows: “This is the disease of growth, and it should be discussed so that it does not become chronic” (Auezov, 1972: 130).

Conclusion. Thus, deformations in the field of national policy and the processes of Russification that took place in the Kazakh SSR generated discontent among a certain part of the Kazakh population and the Kazakh intelligentsia. The goal of the supreme party leadership was the complete merger of nations and the formation of a new community - the Soviet people. In these conditions, works in the field of all social sciences that went beyond the outlined ideological contours were criticized. The censorship restricted or banned the release of those works of Kazakh fiction in which the authors embellished and idealized the role of national heroes, described patriarchal-feudal customs, without paying attention to stories about the friendship of the Kazakh and Russian peoples, issues of internationalism, etc.

The fiction in the article was divided into two groups. The literary works of the first group demonstrated the friendship of the Kazakh and Russian peoples, reflected the ideology of the Soviet state and internationalism. Some representatives of the creative intelligentsia began to use fiction to embellish Soviet reality and avoid unpleasant realities in their works. In the works of the second group, writers were looking for ways to highlight the history of the Kazakh people and the formation of national consciousness through the writing of historical narratives. The characterization of Kenesary Kasymov by S. Mukanov and I. Esenberlin



is a vivid example of the difference in the creativity and assessment of historical characters in almost one chronological parallel between the two groups.

We believe that the emergence of the historical genre in Soviet Kazakh literature in the Brezhnev period, firstly, was a manifestation of some weakening of censorship and, secondly, an attempt of part of the Kazakh creative intelligentsia openly to put the problem of formation of national consciousness, national identity.

In the 1960-1970s ethnic literature was created in Kazakhstan, where writers could tell and publish works about some subjects of Kazakh history. These plots were “forbidden” topics for historians at that time. Historical novels became a kind of platform where it was possible to challenge the dominant discourse of Soviet ideology about the cultural “backwardness” of the Kazakhs, to describe the heroic past of their people, while not engaging in open polemics or struggle with party attitudes. The emergence of national historical narratives in the period under study had a great impact on the formation of the worldview and national consciousness of Kazakh society.

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