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# ZHAKHANSHA DOSMUKHAMEDOV – A PROCLAIMER OF INDEPENDENCE

Annotation. Head of the Western Department of alashorda Zhakhansha Dosmukhamedov place of birth, childhood, educational ladder, atatek branches, results of education at the Ural military Real school, Preparatory Course, Admission to Moscow to the Faculty of law of the Imperial University and completion of it with a diploma of the first degree, as well as a copy of the candidate's work written and defended by Zhakhansha Dosmukhamedov in 114 years from the Central State Archive of Moscow, a novelty that is being added to the historical circulation, 23-year-old Zhakhansha summary of the work, the young man shares his sincere thoughts about the consequences of the then colonial oppression and ways to replace it in the future. At the same time, the work of Zhakhansha Dosmukhamedov is divided into three periods (1911-1917).), (1917-1920.), (1920-1938.).

**Keywords:** Alash; Alash–Orda; Oiyl Province; Alash Autonomy; Zhymtpyt; creation of the Western Department of Alash- Orda; Alash intellectuals; Kazakh congresses; history; legacy.

#### Introduction

Zhakansha Dosmukhamedov was born in 1887 in the territory of the former Zhympyty district, currently known as the Syrim district (renamed in 1992, as noted by the author D.S.), specifically on the lands of the "Buldyrty" state farm (these lands still exist today; only the state farm is now referred to as a rural council). There are several accounts regarding the year of Zhakansha Dosmukhamedov's birth. For example, the Encyclopedia of the West Kazakhstan Region and Maksat Taj-Murat's book Batys Alash-Orda both state he was born in 1885 [1, p. 110]. However, according to material obtained from the Almaty National Security Committee archive (dated August 28, 2001), he was born in 1883 [2]. Meanwhile, a document from the Moscow archive (dated April 17, 1997) lists his birth year as 1887 [3]. In the West Kazakhstan Regional Archive, Fund 418, Inventory 320, Case No. 529, there is an attestation certificate No. 991 from November 1905 upon completion of the Orenburg Military Real School, stating that Zhakansha Dosmukhamedov's birth year is 1887 [4]. His diploma No. 175, dated March 4, 1910, upon completing the Faculty of Law at the Imperial Moscow University, also records the year of birth as 1887 [5]. On December 7, 1930, while in Almaty, Zhakansha himself filled out a copy of an investigation protocol. In it, he





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wrote: "Мне 43 года" ["I am 43 years old"] [6]. When we calculate based on this, it proves he was born in 1887. This is an irrefutable fact (author D.S.).

## Materials and methods of research

Regarding his name, multiple variations have been recorded. Until recently, he was referred to as "Zhansha," "Zhakansha," and "Zhakanshah." Listing out references concerning the Alash leader's name: In the West Kazakhstan Regional Museum's Fund No. 418, Inventory 320, Case No. 529, in Certificate No. 991, and in Diploma No. 175 from the Faculty of Law of the Imperial Moscow University, Dosmukhamedov's name appears as "Zhansha." This form, "Zhansha," is also found in documents from the Orenburg Military Real School. However, all subsequent documents use the name "Zhakansha." According to materials obtained from the Kyzylorda Regional Archives and Documentation Department (dated June 6, 2003), his name is given as "Zhakansha."

Moreover, in the transcript of the investigation protocol on December 7, 1930, in Almaty, completed in his own handwriting, his name is written as "Zhakansha." The records regarding his rehabilitation from the Moscow archive, dated April 17, 1997, No. 5 PS-1811/57, also give his name as "Zhakansha." Documents from the State Archive of the Russian Federation (GA RF, Fund 10035, Inventory 1, P-50151, Pages 3–76) record his name as "Zhakansha." Additionally, a certificate obtained on August 28, 2001, from the National Security Committee of the Republic of Kazakhstan's Almaty City and Almaty Regional Department confirms his name as "Zhakansha."

By comparing these various documentary sources and prioritizing the records filled out in his own handwriting, if we are to come to a definitive conclusion about his name, it should be written as Zhakansha. When I met with Karashash Khalelkizi, the daughter of Khalel Dosmukhamedov, she said to me: "Dametken, you must write Zhakansha's name correctly. The name given to him at birth was 'Zhakanshah'." [7] His parents affectionately called him "Zhansha." Thus, the West Alash Orda leader, lawyer, politician, and orator Zhakansha Dosmukhamedov lived through extremely difficult and trying years. Keeping in mind that history revives what was once lost and helps us anticipate the future, we must correctly state the names of our historical figures.

## Research results

The Atatek (Genealogical) Record of Zhakansha Dosmukhamedov That I Compiled:

He belonged to the Tana tribe; his lineage runs: Karakunan – Suindik – Karagul – Kulsary – Zhakai – Kuanishali – Sultan – Dosmukhamed; and from Dosmukhamed came Gabbas (Kapbas) and Zhakansha. His father, Dosmukhamed, was one of the wealthy and respected figures of his region.

His mother was Myzhyk (in Z. Akbayev's 2008 book *Zhakansha*, she is noted as Rabiga), a woman renowned for her authority in the community, respected by relatives, and kind-hearted toward the poor.

Born into such a family, Zhakansha grew up bright and quick-witted from an early age. He received an Arabic education from a village mullah and later learned Russian from a teacher hired by his father. He studied at the Russian-Kazakh school in Zhympyty under a teacher named Kurbanali Suyirbayev. Later, he gifted a photograph of himself as a student to his teacher, inscribed "Любимому учителю от благодарного





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ученика" ("To my beloved teacher from a grateful student"). In 1899, Zhakansha, hailing from the Syrim region, was admitted to the preparatory class of the Orenburg Military Real School. It was the 22nd year of the school's existence. From the moment Zhakansha entered the school, he demonstrated a strong inclination and aptitude for learning. He was admitted from the preparatory class to the main first class without having to take an exam.

In the West Kazakhstan Regional Archive, Fund 418, Inventory 320, Case 529, it is recorded that Zhakansha Dosmukhamedov, a follower of the Muslim faith, was born in 1887 in the 1st aul (village) of the Zhympyty volost of the Orenburg province. It states that he entered the Orenburg Military Real School in August 1899 and completed the full course of the main department with excellent conduct on May 31, 1905. He received his attestation certificate on November 27, 1905 [8, p. 78]. The following grades are indicated:

- Russian language: 4 (good)

- German: 4 (good)

- French: 3 (satisfactory)

- Arithmetic: 4 (good)

- Algebra: 5 (excellent)

- Geometry: 4 (good)

- Trigonometry: 4 (good)

- History: 5 (excellent)

- Geography: 4 (good)

- Natural Science: 4 (good)

- Physics: 4 (good)

- Drawing: 4 (good)

- Drafting: 3 (satisfactory)

He also received a second-class certificate, which stated that after military service he could continue his studies at a higher educational institution. In Orenburg, along with obtaining knowledge within the school walls, Zhakansha gained extensive information about social life. After successfully completing the real school in 1906, his next decision was where to continue his education. Since the fall of 1905, he had continued his studies in a preparatory course for entering a higher educational institution. Upon finishing the preparatory courses in Orenburg, on August 22, 1906, Zhakansha Dosmukhamedov personally wrote a letter of application to the Rector of the Imperial Moscow University. In this letter, he informed that he had graduated from the Orenburg Military Real School in Orenburg City and was a scholarship recipient of the Orenburg Provincial Administration, and he expressed his desire to enter the Faculty of Law at the Imperial Moscow University. This request was granted in August of the same year, and thus Zhakansha Dosmukhamedov left for Moscow in 1906 to pursue his studies. This information is recorded in Fund 418, Inventory 320, Case 529 of the Historical Central Museum of Moscow City (currently, the materials are registered in the West Kazakhstan Regional Museum, No. 23377-V, author D.S.) [9].

From 1906 to 1910, Zhakansha Dosmukhamedov studied at the Faculty of Law of the Imperial Moscow University, which trained future lawyers. In 1906–1907, despite the strict disciplinary environment that followed the revolutionary upheavals shaking





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Russia, discussions and debates were frequently held. Various opinions were expressed openly and boldly concerning the political development of society. Universities and other educational institutions were under the direct control of the Minister of Education, A.A. Kasso. Students, especially those in the Eastern Languages Faculty, were under strict scrutiny [10].

Students from national regions were a rarity at the university. Still, those who came from these regions were noted for their diligence in study, active participation in public gatherings, and debates. One noteworthy point of that time was the Stolypin reforms. In official discourses, only favorable views were promoted, claiming that Russia was opening the way to bourgeois democracy. However, Zhakansha and his peers from Central Asia and other Eastern regions understood Stolypin's land reforms key instrument of the **Tsarist** government's colonial policy. Moscow University not only helped Zhakansha refine his legal perspective but also had a great influence on his personal growth and maturity.

Within the university walls, Zhakansha Dosmukhamedov distinguished himself with diligence and the determination to achieve the educational goals he had set. He understood that the study of law began much later in Russia than in other European countries. Whereas in Rome a law school was organized by Sabinus in the 1st century AD, in Russia legal lectures only started to appear in some educational institutions in the second half of the 18th century.

In ancient times, Romans applied Justinian's code in everyday and state life. In Russia, it was only in the 19th century that the first proposals concerning legality and the foundations of legal governance were formulated.

Russian law professors, such as legal scholars S.E. Desnitsky and I.A. Tretyakov, proposed transitioning from "rule by man" to "rule by law," i.e., governing the country based on legal norms rather than personal authority.

Zhakansha paid special attention to A. Menger's "Legal Socialism" theory, which suggested that as a result of global legal developments and the influence of adopting them, capitalism would eventually reach a socialist level.

Besides attending professors' lectures, Zhakansha read the works of Western European jurists, as well as periodicals like "Vestnik Prava" (1899–1906), "Tyuremny Vestnik" (1893–1917), and the newspaper "Pravo." One of the main conditions of a lawyer's craft-artful oratory-was something he strove to master. To achieve this, he followed these principles:

- Let your public speech be eloquent, so that people listen with interest.
- Let people recognize your high level of mastery in the art of speech from the words you say.
- People judge a person's status by the manner of their speech; they do not judge speech by status. A person's abilities and level of understanding lie hidden in the meaning of the words they speak.
- Give special attention to the nuances and subtleties of words, and speak meaningfully.
- If you do not pay attention to the meaning of your words, you are like a parrot.
- Words are no trivial matter; learn to appreciate their worth.





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- Never shy away from learning how to speak better; if you know a lot, speak little; if you know little, do not speak much.
- When you speak, let every word hit the target precisely, etc.

Zhakansha had been fond of eloquence since childhood. He knew by heart the wise sayings of Syrim Datuly, which were famous throughout the Kazakh steppe. Along with his natural talent, he further honed his oratorical skills in Russian at university, becoming such a skilled speaker that even Russians were impressed by his eloquence.

On his own initiative, Zhakansha also attended lectures at the Eastern Languages Faculty, paying attention to previously unheard-of facts, and studied the history of Kazakhstan and other Central Asian peoples under Russian Imperial rule, as well as searching out and reading scholarly collections on their national liberation movements.

In order to complete the university course, he did not neglect the importance of remaining less conspicuous. What helped him evade closer scrutiny, unlike some of his peers, was his acquaintance with the family of General Kolossovsky, who once served as district head (oyaz) of Chernyaev (present-day Shymkent). General Kolossovsky's daughters, Olga and Nadezhda, were studying medical courses in Moscow at the time and became acquainted with Zhakansha, often spending time together. Thanks to this situation, Zhakansha had the opportunity to meet influential individuals and learn firsthand about ongoing events in the country, especially from conversations around government circles. Through his connection with these young women, he even managed to become acquainted with Nadezhda Krupskaya, who would later become the wife of V. Ulyanov (Lenin), the leader of the Bolsheviks. (It is said this connection would later influence Zhakansha's fate [11, p. 90]).

Information regarding Zhakansha Dosmukhamedov's graduation from the Faculty of Law of the Imperial Moscow University can be found in the Moscow Central Historical Archive, Fund 418, Inventory 320, Case 529, Page 8. According to the requirements of this academic program, the number of hours spent studying various subjects is recorded as follows:

## General subjects:

- Encyclopedia of Law: 207 hoursHistory of Roman Law: 208 hours
- International Law (General Course): 209 hours
  Financial Law (General Course): 209 hours
- History of Russian Law: 208 hours
- History of Russian Law. 200 hours
   History of Legal Philosophy: 208 hours
- Political Economy Theory: 207 hours Subjects for Civil Law specialization:
- System of Roman Law: 209 hours
- Local Civil Law: 209 hoursCivil Litigation: 209 hours
- Commercial Law: 208 hours
- Commercial and Bankruptcy Cases: 208 hours
- Private International Law: 208 hours
- Criminal Law: 209 hoursCriminal Cases: 209 hours





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Ecclesiastical (Church) Law: 209 hours

This document thoroughly lists the academic hours, exams, tests, and additional seminars he completed during his university years. It also states that Zhakansha Dosmukhamedov specialized in civil law, Roman law history, and criminal procedure. The university charter (ustav) of the Imperial Moscow University, founded on the basis of Article 77 of August 23, 1884, is mentioned as well. Zhakansha Dosmukhamedov was issued Diploma No. 175, dated March 4, 1910, and sealed with a stamp [12].

A copy of the candidate thesis that Zhakansha Dosmukhamedov defended at the Faculty of Law of the Imperial Moscow University was obtained from the Central State Archive (TsGA) of Moscow on June 25, 2024-114 years later. This was a great success for us. Additionally, we found his handwritten scientific work, receipts, and a beautiful student photograph. The title of Zhakansha's 1910 research work is: "The Basic Rules of the Traditional Kyrgyz-Kazakh Legal System and the People's Court as Their Enforcement Mechanism." In this work, he writes:

"Our society has been imbued with the habit of giving bribes; these days you will never encounter a strict and honest people's court. The present-day Kyrgyz-Kazakh court does not meet the most basic requirements of justice. Here, it is not the law that prevails, but rather the trade of judicial decisions. It is impossible to restore the function of the Kyrgyz-Kazakh people's court. For example, a river does not flow backward, the dead do not come back to life, and what is extinguished cannot be rekindled. Therefore, there is only one solution: abolish this court and replace it with a new one. What kind of court should that be? In our opinion, introducing the institution of elected conciliator-judges would be the most appropriate. They should be given the opportunity to convey justice in the native language of the people, just as the state does, and they must be guided not only by state laws but also by the Kyrgyz-Kazakh customary laws that have formed over the years. Improving governance is possible only by establishing zemstvo-type institutions in the steppe regions. We hope these institutions, compared to general-governorate administration, will bring this region closer to the heartlands of Russia. Zemstvo institutions, as the authorities closest to the people, will essentially work for the needs of the steppe population. In turn, the steppe population will understand that the state power is interested in improving their wellbeing and living conditions. The influx of settlers from Inner Russia to the steppe areas has brought these ideas to us."

At the age of 23, Zhakansha Dosmukhamedov's conclusion in his scientific research has been realized in today's independent Republic of Kazakhstan, and we bear witness to it [13].

In 1910, on March 4, after graduating from the Faculty of Law at Moscow University and receiving his diploma, Zhakansha Dosmukhamedov returned to his homeland. In 1911, he joined the statistical commission under the "Resettlement Administration" established in the city of Oral (Uralsk). This administration was engaged in collecting summary data on farming economies (kyrgyz (Kazakh), Akmola, Torgay, and Oral areas). While involved in this work, in January 1911, three issues of the *Uralskiy Listok* newspaper (Nos. 9, 14, 20) featured his article, "A Few Words about Kyrgyz Customary Law and the People's Court." This article can be seen as a continuation of the research he had presented at the university. It suggests that local





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legal practitioners and court officials should, when necessary, consider applying the traditional customs and teachings of the Kazakh people's longstanding practices in criminal and civil cases. Thus, it is clear that Zhakansha remained actively engaged in studying and mastering legal science.

In his work, Zhakansha effectively and concretely presents the material he observed, heard, and investigated. He refutes the colonial view of that time, which claimed that "no laws regarding governance existed in the Kazakh steppe because there were no data on state structure and the Kazakh lands were supposedly ownerless." He countered by referring to historical schools of thought, such as the 18th-century Savin's historical school on stable (customary) law, as well as theoretical lectures by Korkunov on "common law" and Yakushkin's research on folk law. Zhakansha argued that prior to Russian colonialism, the Kazakh people had developed their own customary legal system. As evidence, he cited notes from several research expeditions conducted on Kazakh lands. For example, he mentioned Levshin's records and General Kryzhanovsky's comparative notes on the "Kirghiz" (Kazakh) people, which wrote that Kazakh territory stretched from the Altai to the Volga. These sources indicated that Turkic tribes lived here, and at one time, it was even the capital region of the Mongol state. He concluded that the Oral region was like a western gateway to the Kazakh lands. During the Jungar invasions, the Oral area served as a second gateway of resistance, as he put it.

Furthermore, he pointed out that Kazakh customary law had been clearly outlined in Tauke Khan's "Zheti Zhargy," according to Levshin's research. In issue No. 20 of *Uralskiy Listok*, he delved into Tauke Khan's "Zheti Zhargy" in detail and explained the concept of blood money (compensation for wrongdoing), as well as the differences between men's and women's rights. He thus proved that before Russian interference, the Kazakh steppe had its own customary legal system ("khalyptyk kuky"). Consequently, it becomes clear that the Kazakh lands had also maintained their own form of statehood. However, Zhakansha's work on this topic remained unfinished. In this piece, he mentions that his practical experience was still limited, and that he intended to carry out more extensive research on legal laws in the future, after which he planned to complete his work [14].

It seems the government officials of that time did not appreciate Zhakansha's sharp critiques. Before long, in order to isolate him from the people and the country, he was forced to leave the Oral region.

## 2. Main Part: The Positions Held by Zhakansha Dosmukhamedov

In 1912, while working at the Oral District Court, Zhakansha Dosmukhamedov remained under surveillance. Later, he served as a judge in the 10th district of the Barnaul uezd (county), which fell under the jurisdiction of the Omsk Judicial Chamber. In 1913, he was transferred to serve in the 1st district of the Zmeinogorsk uezd. In the fall of that same year, he was summoned to the city of Barnaul and appointed as an assistant prosecutor. In March 1914, he was appointed deputy prosecutor ("zholdas-prokuror") of the Tomsk District Court, overseeing the Kainsk uezd. While working as a deputy prosecutor in the Tomsk District Court, he supervised political prisoners. At that time, Zhakansha's military rank was that of a "General of Justice." He held this position until 1917. He never forgot his duty to his native land and people. The fact that





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the vast majority of Kazakhs remained in ignorance, unaware of social and political currents, greatly troubled the young lawyer Zhakansha.

Zhakansha was the first Kazakh to serve as a prosecutor. Scientific research has been conducted on this fact. For example, D.A. Amanzholova's "V.V. Ryskulov, Chairman of the Western Branch of Alash-Orda D.D. Dosmukhamedov and the Fate of Kazakh Intellectuals during the Stalinist Repressions" [15], Sh. Zabikh's "The Return of Zh. Dosmukhamedov" [16], and R. Mazhitov's "Zhakansha Dosmukhamedov" [17, p.110] have all been published.

Zhakansha Dosmukhamedov adhered to the following principles in carrying out his legal work: – Valuing human destiny above all, seeking truth and, when passing judgment, relying not solely on what is written in laws and books, but also on one's own foresight and experience; – Demanding the offender to ask for forgiveness, and if a person has committed a punishable offense, imposing a penalty proportionate to the severity or slightness of their guilt; – Considering punishment from the height of reason and intellect, not being overly harsh but showing mercy, kindness, and compassion.

While in the city of Tomsk, he met Olga (Yanga) Kolosovskaya, daughter of Konstantin Kolosovsky, a zemstvo chief under the retired General Chernyaev (Shymkent region), and took her as his wife.

The February Revolution of 1917, with the overthrow of the Tsar, had an enormous impact on the awakening of national movements among the peoples of the former Russian Empire. The Kazakh intellectuals, as leaders of their nation, clearly understood that the time had come to build a new society, and so they embarked on a path of political struggle in this new environment. The victory of the February Revolution in 1917 gave all Kazakh intellectuals the opportunity to unite in one place. During April-May 1917, numerous regional Kazakh congresses were held in provincial and county centers, and Kazakh committees began to form. Representatives of Oral were included in the provincial and county executive committees, which served as local branches of the Provisional Government. Kazakh congresses were held in Orenburg (Torgay provincial), Oral (Oral provincial), Semey (Semey provincial), and Omsk (Akmola provincial) in 1917. Prominent intellectuals such as Ä. Bokeikhanov, M.Dulatov, Zh. Akbaev, Ä. Ermekov, Kh. Gabbasov, R. Marsekov, A. Baitursynov, Kh. Dosmukhamedov, and Zhakansha Dosmukhamedov actively participated in organizing these congresses.

The Oral Provincial Kazakh Committee was formed as an executive body to govern the Kazakh villages located on the left bank of the Ural (Zhayyk) River. In the midst of these historical events, Zhakansha Dosmukhamedov emerged and clearly defined himself as a public figure. He spoke to his people about the management of their country, their future destiny, the education and upbringing of the younger generation, and the necessity of organizing a "militia" to protect the nation. Hence, the significance of the first Kazakh congress of the Oral region after the Tsar's abdication lies in outlining new directions for governance and ensuring that land and property would not be lost to disorder, but instead be safeguarded until a new governmental authority was established.

In December 1917, immediately after returning from the Second All-Kazakh Congress in Orenburg, Zhakansha and Khalel Dosmukhamedov set about creating a





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government for the western Kazakh region. To this end, a provincial assembly (quriltay) was planned, and Karatobe was chosen as its location. This was deemed more convenient than KyzyluI for delegates coming from Oiyl, Mangystau, Uyshik, and Aktyube in winter conditions. The time was late February 1918. The Karatobe Congress became a prerequisite for the establishment of the "Oiyl Ualayaty" Provisional Government, although at that particular congress, the issue of forming a government was postponed.

## 2.1. The Formation of the "Oiyl Ualayaty"

After this, the Fourth Oral Provincial Kazakh Congress of the Oiyl region took place on May 18, 1918, in the village of Zhympity (now the administrative center of the Syrim district), located southeast of the city of Oral. Following the decision of the congress, Zhakansha and Khalel Dosmukhamedov established the "Oiyl Ualayaty" Provisional Government. It included areas inhabited by Kazakhs from the Ilbishin, Oral, Atyrau, Aktyube, and Yrgyz uezds, as well as Mangystau, Oiyl, and Bokei uezds. The authority of the Provisional Government formed in 1917 now extended over this region. In other words, this action represented the implementation of the decision of the Second All-Kazakh Congress on establishing a national-territorial autonomy over a significant part of Western Kazakhstan.

The "Oiyl Ualayaty" Provisional Government was a state-autonomous entity established in the early 20th century in the Zhayyk region. It was formed at the end of May 1918 by a resolution of the Fourth Oral Provincial Kazakh Congress in Zhympity. Regarding the name "Oiyl Ualayaty," N. Martynenko writes in the documentary collection "Alashorda": "The government that was formed was located beyond the Zhayyk River, where the population was entirely Kazakh. This territorial unit belonged to the Oiyl region, and so the government was named 'Oiyl Ualayaty.'" [18, p.42]. G. Änes and M. Taj-Murat note: "The 'Oiyl Ualayaty' Provisional Government did not separate from the central Alashorda, nor did it seek to rule all of Kazakhstan. Structurally, it was an object of a federation, and in terms of legal and political autonomy, it stood at the level of a canton, state, or region within an autonomous republic." [19, p.234]. S. Suyinov, in his book "Bokei Orda," lists the composition of the "Oiyl Ualayaty" government as follows [20, p.168]: Seven people were elected: Zhakansha Dosmukhamedov, Khalel Dosmukhamedov, Dauletshe Kusepkaliyev, Salyk Omaruly, Kaldybay Asanov, Ghabdol-Ghalym Kuanayuly, Sabyr Sargozhin.

Led by Zhakansha, the "Oiyl Ualayaty" Provisional Government settled in the school building in the small town of Zhympity. Wealthy locals and supporters provided substantial financial backing to the newly formed government, and Zhakansha and Khalel expressed their gratitude. The "Oiyl Ualayaty" quickly organized governance: it established its own authorized government, army, militia, and financial resources. Under the administrative-territorial jurisdiction of the "Oiyl Ualayaty" Provisional Government were the following entities located on the Buhara (western) side of the Zhayyk: the Shyngyrlau, Borli, Terekty, Khankol, Kosatar, Uyrektykol, Zhezbuga, Zhympity, Sabyndykol, Taldy, and Karatobe volosts, as well as in the Oiyl and Taisoygan regions – Qiil, Karagandy, Qulyndy, Zhetikol, Zheken, 1-Oiyl, 2-Oiyl, Qazbek, Akshtau, Taisoygan, Aqzhal, Bestepe, Qarashagyr, Zhirenqudyq, Yesbol, Kermeqas, Bulan, and Zharypshyqqan volosts. Later, five "karasheppen" (Russian and





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Ukrainian settler) volosts were added. Researchers note that at that time, the Bokei Horde, Mangystau, and Aktyube areas were not yet under the jurisdiction of the "Oiyl Ualayaty" [21, p.101]. Within the Provisional Government, there was a special council of 10 respected, affluent individuals, including religious figures such as Quanay Haziret (possibly Hasan Haziret Nurmukhamedov), Maulimberdi Ishan, Änzhan Zhubanälin, Isa Kopzhasarov, and others.

The "Oiyl Ualayaty" was structured with a highest body (Ualayat Quriltay), a zemstvo administration elected by the people, and a Council as a state organ. This Council formed the Provisional Government as the executive body. Local self-governance consisted of a system of village, volost, and uezd zemstvo committees. To maintain legality and order within the ualayat, zemstvo assemblies elected competent bodies—uezd courts and local militia. The ualayat was divided into several uezds. From available data, the Zhympity uezd (with zemstvo board chairman, the highly educated veterinarian Bizhan Zhankadamov) was established; Zhympity served as the ualayat's center, while Oiyl was also considered a city of ualayat-level importance. Conferences, such as congresses, were held in Karatobe, conveniently situated between these two centers.

The new national government placed special emphasis on forming a military force. In 1998, the direct grandson of Zhakansha Dosmukhamedov's line, Qudess Quanyshaliev, erected a commemorative stone at the site where the "Oiyl Ualayaty" troops had once been stationed. In July 1918, a school for ensigns (praporshchiks) was opened in Zhympity, and a school for cadets (yunkers) was opened in Oiyl. The military contingent, planned to reach 2,000 men, was called the "National Militia." It recruited Kazakh men aged 18–30, mainly those who had returned from front-line labor duty in 1916. Their uniform included a short Tatar overcoat, high boots, a pointed hat with a round brim, and shoulder boards displaying their hundred's number. Troops marched under a white flag, demonstrating that this ualayat militia was part of the overall Alashorda armed forces. Sabyr Sarygozhin and Nadirsha Sultangereiyuly Yesimkhanov commanded the ualayat's troops, and the chief intendant was Berkingali Atshybaev. Among the officers of the ualayat's army were the son of B. Karataev, Horunzhiy Murat Karataev, and Praporshchik Ghubaydolla Mukhitov, a grandson of Mukhit Meraliuly.

However, the "Oiyl Ualayaty" Provisional Government, established by the Fourth Oral Provincial Kazakh Congress's decision, encountered opposition from various sides: the Orenburg Cossack military government, the Komuch (Committee of Members of the Constituent Assembly, formed in Samara in June 1918 after the Bolsheviks dispersed the All-Russian Constituent Assembly), and even the central Alashorda government.

The complex political situation of 1917–1918 undoubtedly pushed the Alash intellectuals toward immediate efforts to establish a national autonomy. The unification of Kazakh lands into the Alash autonomy was carried out very competently, at a high political level, and by constitutional means. However, the process was not easy. Local Russian peasants and settlers strongly resisted. Determining Kazakh lands and incorporating them into an autonomous government was a highly challenging task at that time.





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After the start of the Civil War, Soviet power was being overthrown in various regions of Russia and in parts of Kazakhstan. As a result, new governmental structures emerged near Kazakhstan's borders. They included:

- 1. The Komuch (Committee of Members of the Constituent Assembly) formed in Samara in June 1918:
- 2. The Siberian Government (Provisional All-Russian Government) formed in Omsk:
- 3. The "Ufa Directory" (Ufimskaya Direktorija) established in September 1918.

Therefore, the creation of the Alashorda government on Kazakh territory was a legitimate process, and the formation of the Oiyl Ualayaty Provisional Government in Zhympity was a timely decision dictated by the political realities of that era.

Actions Carried Out by the "Oiyl Ualayaty" Provisional Government: — It abolished private land ownership and declared land to be the property of the people. — The people-elected ualayat and uezd courts began their work. — A monetary-financial system was established. — A newspaper was published to convey and explain the government's policies to the people. (Its editor was Akhmet Mämetov, the father of M. Mämetova, one of the prominent Alashorda figures.) — Many decrees and resolutions were adopted on land use, taxation, religion, the court system, education, and military matters.

On December 20, 1919, the achievements of the Western Alashorda government led by Zhakansha Dosmukhamedov were summarized at a specially convened Council of public organizations and officials. The summary stated:

- 1. The right of the Kazakh people to self-governance was implemented.
- 2. Amid the chaos of civil war, when two opposing political currents were clashing, the government took active measures to protect the Kazakh population from lawlessness and plunder [22, p.66].
- 2.2. The **Formation** of the Western Division of Alashorda The "Oiyl Ualayaty" Provisional Government, established on May 18, 1918, existed until September 8, 1918. On September 8, 1918, a congress of anti-Soviet governments took place in Ufa, resulting in the formation of the Ufa Directory, a state structure headed by N. Avksentiev. Under Avksentiev's Directory, the first matter of concern was to disband the Alashorda government. The All-Russian Provisional Government (the Directory) decided that Alashorda would be dissolved and replaced by a "Chief Representative on Alash Affairs" who would oversee the cultural, domestic, and economic needs of the Kazakh-Kyrgyz population [23, p.50]. Alashorda's local bodies were to be temporarily preserved but would henceforth be subordinate to the institutions of the All-Russian Provisional Government where appropriate.

The Directory's decision to dissolve Alashorda came as a sudden and unexpected move for Alikhan Bokeikhanov and his colleagues. In this regard, Alashorda's government released a statement in the "Rabochiy den" newspaper, declaring: "Our attitude towards the Directory is determined by our participation in all the sessions of the Ufa assembly and the formation of a common government. We support the Directory insofar as it strives to implement the platform adopted at the State Assembly. We remain in favor of a federative Russian Republic. We wish for our autonomy to exist as part of a single, unified Republic" [24].





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The Alash leaders opposed these terms. Therefore, on September 11, they convened an extraordinary session of the Alashorda government, chaired by Alikhan Bokeikhanov, and attended by Alashorda government members: Zhakansha Dosmukhamedov, Khalel Dosmukhamedov (from Oral), Baktygerey Qulmanov, Ualitkhan Tanashev (from the Bokei Horde), Saghyndyk Doszhanov (Orenburg), Yesengali Turmukhamedov, Bizhan Zhankadamov (Aktyube), Akhmet Birimzhanov (Torgay), Älimkhan Yermekov, Mukhamedzhan Tynyshbaev (Zhetysu), and others. The main issue discussed was the system of local governance of the autonomy. It was decided to dissolve the former "Oiyl Ualayaty" Provisional Government and to establish, in its place, the Western Division of Alashorda. The main resolutions adopted at the meeting were:

- 1. The commissioners of the Western Division of Alashorda are subordinate to the central Alashorda government.
- 2. Alashorda is the sole governing body on the territory of the Alash Autonomy.
- 3. Local governance is carried out by local and municipal self-government bodies as well as Alashorda commissioners.
- 4. The zemstvo (local self-government) and municipal self-government systems are implemented based on the laws issued by the Provisional Government in 1917, but the resolution of main issues is guided by the decisions of the central government and Alashorda.
- 5. Provincial and uezd commissioners are appointed by Alashorda and temporarily exercise the rights defined by the laws of the 1917 Provisional Government.
- 6. The regions that include the Bokei Horde, Oiyl Ualayaty, Mangystau uezd, Zakaspiy region, Aktyube and Yrgyz uezds, and Torgay oblast form the Western Division of Alashorda, known as the Western Part of the Alash Autonomy.
- 7. This western division of Alashorda will implement important and fundamental instructions from the Alashorda government within the indicated territory of the autonomy.
- 8. The Western Division of Alashorda, in its relations with local zemstvo and municipal self-government bodies, may exercise the authority of the Alashorda government.
- 9. In emergencies or when communication with the central Alashorda is interrupted, the Western Division has the authority to make decisions on a fully legal basis.
- 10. The Western Division of Alashorda includes: Zhakansha Dosmukhamedov (Member of the Constituent Assembly, Oral oblast), Khalel Dosmukhamedov (Member of the Constituent Assembly, Oral oblast), Baktygerey Qulmanov (Member of the Constituent Assembly, Bokei Horde), Idres Turmukhamedov (Member of the Constituent Assembly, Turkestan oblast).
- 11. The composition of the Western Division of Alashorda may be supplemented by two more individuals from non-Kazakh-inhabited territories, representing other nationalities, based on local population proposals [25, p.182].

This structure was officially named the "Division for the Administration of the Western Part of the Alash Autonomy," and Zhakansha Dosmukhamedov was elected chairman. The protocol of that meeting explained the reasons for establishing the Western Division of Alashorda:





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- 1. Due to the wartime conditions in the country, the territory of Kazakhstan was effectively split into two major parts.
- 2. The Samara-Tashkent railway lines were seized by Cossack troops, blocking transit routes.
- 3. The poor and distant transport connections made centralized governance impossible; therefore, the Western Division included the Bokei Horde and Torgay territories. The Western Division of Alashorda could legally function on the basis of the central Alashorda government. It was decided that documents issued by the Western Division would be considered documents of the entire Alashorda government.
- 4. The justified proposals by Khalel and Zhakansha Dosmukhamedov and the pressure exerted by the White Guards, Cossacks, and nationalists complicated the situation. After discussing the system of local governance of the Alash autonomy, it was decided to dissolve the former "Oiyl Ualayaty" Provisional Government and establish in its place the Western Division of Alashorda.

The administrative jurisdiction of the Western Division of Alashorda included the territory of the former "Oiyl Ualayaty," plus the lands of the Bokei Horde, Aktyube, and Yrgyz uezds (Torgay oblast), as well as the Mangystau uezd (Zakaspiy oblast). After the Ufa assembly's decision, the territory of the former "Oiyl Ualayaty" doubled, and its total population reached about 1.5 million people.

There are claims that the Western Division's activities were "separatist" in nature, but these are incorrect. Allegations that it separated from the central Alashorda, strove for unlimited power, or aimed to control the entire government of Kazakhstan are unfounded. The Ufa assembly's decision emphasized the necessity of establishing a Western Division of the autonomy due to the deteriorating wartime conditions and transportation difficulties, to ensure effective local governance. It was also noted that the Western Division would manage the Western Kazakhstan region based on essential and principal instructions from the central Alashorda government. In emergencies, or if communication with central Alashorda was lost, it would assume governmental powers. The formation of the Western Division occurred during a period when the Civil War intensified in the Zhayyk region, and the fate of the land swung back and forth between opposing forces. During this tumultuous time, the Western Division of Alashorda engaged in various negotiations and agreements to protect the people from harm.

Zhympity was chosen as the center of the Western Division of Alashorda. Because telegraph and telephone lines were available there, all communications had to pass through Zhympity. Zhangozha Mergenov was appointed commissioner of the Western Division of Alashorda. Therefore, all orders arriving in Oral oblast were to be forwarded to the oblast commissioner, Zhangozha Mergenov, in Zhympity. This order bore the signature of the chairman of the Western Division of Alashorda, Zhakansha Dosmukhamedov [26]. The leaders of the Western Division of Alashorda worked to protect the general populace following them from needless bloodshed and armed conflicts.





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2.3. Activities of Zhakansha Dosmukhamedov During the Soviet Era

On January 11, 1920, the last council of the Western Division of Alashorda was held in Qyzylqoga. Thus, the "Oiyl Ualayaty," established on May 18, 1918, and subsequently transformed into the Western Division of Alashorda, ceased its activities after existing for 18 months and 3 days.

In April 1919, a telegram from the Central authorities was sent to Mukhamediyar Tunganshin, a member of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee in Orenburg. The telegram stated that the Kazakh people were granted freedom as part of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic and had the right to establish their own government. This historical governmental measure was to be publicly announced to all Kazakhs. It also instructed that Alashorda representatives be informed that, henceforth, there would be no persecution by the Soviet authorities for their past actions [27, p.82].

However, by the autumn of 1919 and early 1920, the Soviet government began to renege on its promises. Alikhan Bokeikhanov was arrested in Semey, and Zhakansha and Khalel Dosmukhamedov were arrested in Oral. They were soon released thanks to the intervention of Kazakh intellectuals such as M. Auezov, S. Qapanov, T. Rysqulov, and S. Mendeshov.

In 1920, a secret directive was issued to ensure that the former Alashorda leaders would not remain in their native regions but be transferred elsewhere. Thus, in February 1920, on M. Frunze's orders, the leaders of Western Alashorda were isolated from the people, and the most influential five, including Zhakansha Dosmukhamedov, Karim Zhälenov, Khalel Dosmukhamedov, Isa Qashqynbaev, and Berkin Atshybaev, were sent to Orenburg [28, p.120]. In mid-March of the same year, officially termed as a "delegation," this group arrived in Moscow under the leadership of Kirrevkom chairman Peskovsky. They stayed in a hotel on Petrograd Street and prepared a "Report on the Activities of the Western Alashorda Government" [29, p.85]. Zhakansha personally handed this report to V.I. Lenin, I.V. Stalin, and L.D. Trotsky. Based on this report, the All-Russian Central Executive Committee adopted the "Resolution of July 3rd" to utilize the Western Alashorda leaders in government service. As a result, Zhakansha Dosmukhamedov secured a position as an inspector in the wool department of the Chief Textile Industry Administration.

In late September 1920, with a referral from this department, he was sent to Tashkent to head the wool division of the Turkestan Republic's Central Council of National Economy, concurrently serving as the secretary of the Kazakh section of the Turkestan Republic's Central Executive Committee. In 1921–1922, during the harsh famine (the Mishin-Tauyq Zhut), he traveled to Qaracol (Przhevalsk) city on instructions from the Turkestan Executive Committee to collect and dispatch food aid to the starving populations of the Western and Northern regions of Kazakhstan.

Later, from 1922–1924, working under the "Talas" cultural-educational association organized by Kazakh intellectuals of the Education Commission in Tashkent, he prepared the first Soviet Criminal Code in Kazakh called "Zhauyzdyq Nizam." During this time, Zhakansha's wife Olga's elder sister, Nadezhda Konstantinovna, married Turar Ryskulov.

From November 1927 until 1929, Zhakansha Dosmukhamedov served as a legal advisor at the Kazakh Agricultural Bank in Qyzylorda. In 1928, he became a member of





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the Bar Association. When the capital moved from Qyzylorda to Almaty, he remained in Almaty until the early 1930s (this information is provided according to Khalel Dosmukhamedov's daughter, Qarashash, as stated by the author D.S.). In February of that year, Zhakansha Dosmukhamedov moved with his family to Moscow for work. In October 1930, while employed at the "Skotovod" administration, he was arrested at his home on Shabolovka Street in the Zamoskvorechye district and taken to Butyrka prison, later transferred to Almaty for interrogation.

On April 20, 1932, the Kazakhstan OGPU troika (a special three-member tribunal) charged him with "forming a secret organization with M. Tynyshbaev in Tashkent in 1921 and engaging in anti-Soviet activities in the 1930s." He was sentenced to five years of exile in Voronezh. He lived on January 9 Street in Voronezh, and that house still exists today. While in Voronezh, he taught in higher education institutions.

Information about the last period of Zhakansha Dosmukhamedov's life comes from a copy of an archival reference obtained from the State Archive of the Russian Federation (GARF, F.10035, Inventory 1, D. P-50151, L.3–76), received from Moscow on August 7, 2003 [30] (author D.S.). This reference states that Zhakansha Dosmukhamedov lived in Moscow at Havsko-Shabolovskiy Lane, Building 11, Apt. 265. It gives details about his family: his wife, Olga Konstantinovna Dosmukhamedova, aged 40; Olga Fyodorovna Pushkareva, 72, the mother of Olga Konstantinovna; and their adopted nephew Kadiya (Qades) Dosmukhamedov, aged 26. The document also reveals that, by the decision of the Moscow Regional NKVD troika on July 16, 1938, Zhakansha Dosmukhamedov was sentenced to death. The sentence was carried out on August 3, 1938. Furthermore, the July 16, 1938 decision of the Moscow Regional UNKVD troika was annulled by the Moscow City Court on December 2, 1957, and the case against Zhakansha Dosmukhamedov was closed.

A document obtained from the Moscow archive dated April 17, 1997, under case No. 1811/57 states: "Zhakansha Dosmukhamedov was fully rehabilitated as a victim of political repression" [31].

A document obtained from the Department of the National Security Committee of the Republic of Kazakhstan for Almaty City and Almaty Oblast, dated August 28, 2001, states: "The ruling of the Troika on April 30, 1932, against Zhakansha Dosmukhamedov was annulled by the Supreme Court of the Kazakh SSR, and the case against him was closed. By the decision of February 28, 1958, he was rehabilitated" [32].

## Conclusion

This study provides a comprehensive biography of Zhakansha Dosmukhamedov, the leader of the Western Division of Alashorda.

The introduction describes his childhood and student years. The main body is divided into three parts, documenting his activities during the early 20th century—an era of intense political struggle for the future of the Kazakh state and people, and his efforts to establish a Kazakh autonomy. Thus, the lawyer and head of Alashorda's Western Division, Zhakansha Dosmukhamedov, fought for his people's future until the end of his life, never straying from the path of independence for the Kazakh nation.

The novelty of this research lies in several points:





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- 1. The inclusion of information about Zhakansha Dosmukhamedov's 1910 candidate thesis into historical circulation.
- 2. Discovery of receipts for the examination fees and the financial gifts paid to professors at Moscow University.
- 3. The preservation of a beautiful photograph of Zhakansha Dosmukhamedov for 114 years.
- 4. The excellent and systematic preservation of documents for over a century in the Moscow Central State Archive (TsGA). This archive contains numerous documents related to all nationalities who studied in Moscow, but due to time constraints, not all materials could be examined. Another noteworthy point is the courtesy and assistance provided by the archive staff.

This scholarly work also systematizes the article published in the Orenburg newspaper "Uralskiy Listok" in 1911, which was based on Zhakansha Dosmukhamedov's candidate thesis. It demonstrates how, at the age of 23, he thoroughly studied and explained the Kazakh society and its customary legal practices. Following the publication of his article, the Russian authorities heightened security measures, collected all copies of the newspaper from various regions, and sent them to the archive in Khimki, Moscow. I rediscovered these newspaper issues in Moscow in 2002–2003 and included them in my dissertation. Because of this article, Zhakansha Dosmukhamedov was forced to leave the Oral region.

A memorial plaque has been placed on the Moscow house where Zhakansha Dosmukhamedov once lived, listing his name and noting that he was a victim of political repression. On a marble board at the Butovo firing range in Moscow, it is recorded that on August 3, 1938, 120 people were executed in a single day, including Zhakansha Dosmukhamedov. It is our duty to honor and familiarize the younger generation with the distinguished citizens and historical figures who fought for the future of the Kazakh nation, to illuminate the blank pages of our history. Many Alash intellectuals have not yet been fully rehabilitated, and we need state support to bring their names into historical circulation. By weighing our past and correcting mistakes, we can ensure a clear future.

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# Даметкен Досмұханқызы Сүлейменова ЖАҺАНША ДОСМҰХАМЕДОВ – ТӘУЕЛСІЗДІК ЖАРШЫСЫ

Андатпа. Алашорданың Батыс бөлімінің басшысы Жаһанша Досмұхамедовтың туып-өскен жері, балалық шағы, білім баспалдақтары, Ататек тармақтары, Орал әскери-реалды училищесіндегі білім қортындылары, әзірлік курсы, Мәскеу қаласына император атындағы университеттің заң факультетіне оқуға түсіп, оны бірінші дәрежелі дипломмен аяқтауы, сонымен қатар Жаһанша Досмұхамедовтың өз қолымен жазып, қорғаған кандидаттық жұмысының Мәскеу қаласының Орталық мемлекеттік архивтен 114 жылдан соң көшірмесі алынып, тарихи айналымға қосылып жатқан жаңалығы, 23 жастағы Жаһаншаның ғылыми еңбегінің қысқаша мазмұны, жас Жаһанша сол кездегі отарлық езгінің салдары мен болашақта оны ауыстыру жолдары туралы шынайы ойларын ортаға салады. Сонымен қатар Жаһанша Досмұхамедовтың атқарған қызметі үш кезеңге бөліп көрсетіледі (1911-1917жж.), (1917-1920 жж.), (1920-1938 жж.).

**Кілт сөздер:** Алаш; Алашорда; Ойыл уәлаяты; Алаш автономиясы; Жымпиты; Алашорданың Батыс бөлімінің құрылуы; Алаш зиялалары; Қазақ сьездері; тарихы; тағлымы.

## Даметкен Досмухановна Сулейменова ЖАХАНША ДОСМУХАМЕДОВ – ПРОВОЗГЛАШАТЕЛЬ НЕЗАВИСИМОСТИ

Аннотация. Руководитель Западного отдела Алаш-Орды Жаханша Досмухамедов, он родился и вырос в Джамбейтинском уезде, его детство, ступени образования, ветви Ататека, итоги образования в Уральском военно-реальном училище, курс подготовки, он поступил в г. Москва на юридический факультет университета им. Императора и закончил его с дипломом первой степени, а также подготовил кандидатскую работу по теме «Основная постановления киргиз-казакского обычного права и народный суд, как орган их примерение», из Московского Центрального государственного архива через 114 лет были изъяты копии и добавлены в исторический оборот, краткое содержание научных трудов 23-летней Жаханши, молодой человек высказывает искренние мысли о последствиях колониального гнета того времени и путях его замены в будущем. Кроме того, деятельность Жаханши Досмухамедова делится на три этапа (1911-1917гг.).), (1917-1920 гг.)), (1920-1938 гг.).

**Ключевые слова:** Алаш; Алашорда; Уильский оляят; Алашская автономия; Джамбейта; создание Западного отдела Алаш-Орды; Алашские интеллигенты; съезды казахов; история; наследие.