

I devoted my life to the party, and it turned against me (a serious challenge in Kemel Tokayev's creative path)

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Abstract. *The article examines the creative path of Kemel Tokayev, one of the founders of the detective genre in Kazakh literature. The author draws attention to the peculiarities of developing a new literary trend and creates a connection with the writing activities of the person under study. In the study, the author primarily describes a brief biography of the person, the war period and difficulties in the creative path. It shows that the writer worked on writings with historical overtones in the detective genre, using secret documents. As a result, they emphasized that representatives of the higher leaders of government agencies persecuted him. When studying the topic, using Kemel Tokayev as an example, one can see that there are specific problems in the society and power structures of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic, despite the cultural boom and communist ideology. The author provides new information about the writer's life, based on Kassym-Jomart Tokayev's memoir work and personal correspondence between his father and son. The article uses archival documents, photos from the private fund of Kemel Tokayev of the Central State Archive and the National Academic Library, and materials from the periodical press of Independent Kazakhstan. The scientific work pays special attention to the significant contribution by Kemel Tokayev to Kazakh literature. It evaluates him as a worthy representative of the liberal community of his people, who deserves a decent place on the pages of a challenging test history. The author concludes that the emergence, formation and development of a new adventure genre in Kazakh literature are directly related to the name of Kemel Tokayev.*

Keywords: *Kemel Tokayev; writer; detective genre; Kazakh literature; Kazakh SSR; war; ideology; personality.*

Introduction. Historical and socio-political events certainly imprinted creativity and literature in all countries and peoples. Passing through complex societal transformations also influenced the literature development and structure in the KazSSR. In connection with specific processes, such as the colonization of Kazakhstan by the Russian Empire, Kazakh literature, which had an oral form for a long

time, is gradually moving to the written plane. With the establishment of Soviet power on the republic's territory, the situation in all aspects of the population's life is changing dramatically, which is further reflected in the creative plan.

Literature in the space of the USSR states, being a part of world literature, developed by ideological characteristics. Gradually,

total control over all cultural activities and strict censorship of everything that goes to the masses are introduced. Kazakh literature, developing in parallel with Russian, is no exception.

The detective genre appeared and developed in Kazakh literature in the 50s-the 60s of the twentieth century, much later than in Russian. The big difference in the late appearance of the detective genre, in contrast to world and Russian literature, is due to several factors that do not create favourable conditions for the emergence of this direction. The significant factors that did not contribute to the genre's development in Kazakh literature are the late urbanization, the high romanticisation of fiction, and the small number of pre-requisite works for the gradual development and formation of the genre.

A brief biography of Kemel Tokayev. "Kemel Tokayev was born on October 2, 1923, and died on October 6, 1986. Member of the Great Patriotic War, holder of the 1st and 2nd Class Order of the Patriotic War, has "For Courage" medals and others. Graduate of the Journalism Department of the Philological Faculty of Kazakh State University named after S.M. Kirov (1948). He is a writer, editor, publicist, and playwright. Author of novels about the work of law enforcement agencies. Winner of the prizes of the Union of Writers of the Kazakh SSR (1956, 1972, 1978, 1980) for the best work on the activities of police officers and the Cheka. He is a writer of play scripts. He supervised the editorial offices of the republican newspapers *Leninshil Zhas*, *Kazakhstan Pioneers*, and *Socialistic Kazakhstan*. From 1960 to 1977, he was the editor-in-chief of *Vedomosti of the Supreme Council of the Kazakh SSR*. From 1980 to 1984, he was a literary consultant for the Writers' Union of Kazakhstan (Mukanova, 2018: 4).

Materials and methods. Historiography on the topic of this research is extremely limited. Among the weighty works with the use of a sufficient number of archival materials, only a few can be noted. Among them is the book of memoirs by Kassym-Jomart Tokayev, *A Word about the Father* (Tokayev, 2005), published in 2005, and the bibliographic collection of 2021, developed by the research team of the National Academic Library of the

Republic of Kazakhstan. The main problem of the study is the need for more in-depth historical works concerning this person. The name of the writer is more often mentioned in articles dedicated to anniversary birthdays, published by contemporaries, journalists, and literary reviewers—for example, K.Kaysenov (Kaysenov, 1999), Kh. Alzhanov (Alzhanov, 2000), K. Sarsekeyev (Sarsekeyev, 2001), B. Mukay (Mukay, 2003), B. Ramazonova (Ramazonova, 2006), K. Myrza Ali (Myrza Ali, 2009), A. Arin (Arin, 2013), et alia wrote about the years of war, creativity, personal qualities, and excerpts from the life of Kemel Tokayev.

After achieving the longed-for independence, the Republic of Kazakhstan had the opportunity to study its history, expose its distortions, study the difficult periods experienced by the Kazakh people from the perspective of the national narrative, honor well-known personalities and give due value to its citizens. Citizens who are active in society leave a particular mark behind them due to their activities, scientific research or creativity. The next generation will evaluate the importance of the result of that action. In this regard, it is reasonable not to forget the writers who contributed to Kazakh literature as an integral part of the culture.

The writer's personality still needs to be studied and is described mainly in the memoirs of his contemporaries. The relevance of the topic of the article lies in the fact that there is no in-depth scientific research using archival materials. The active process of evaluation and study of prominent figures in the socio-political and cultural life of the people of Kazakhstan, which was carried out after gaining independence, nevertheless touched on the personality of Kemel Tokayev insufficiently. Moreover, the event experienced by Kemel Tokayev exposes the vulnerability of the system, arbitrariness in the field, abuse of power of specific individuals, organization of harassment and persecution using the levers of power, writing unfounded denunciations, which is not an integral part of the policy of the Communist Party. Speaking of frustration with the party can assume that the writer expressed dissatisfaction with the actions of specific people in power.

The article used documents from the private fund of Kemel Tokayev in the Central State Archive, the National Archives, and the memoirs of Kassym-Jomart Tokayev. In addition, articles by many other authors were published during the mentioned years. Some authors focus on his personal qualities, second authors focus mainly on his creativity, and third authors concentrate on his work in literature and his psychological portrait.

Research methods such as historicism and a new biography disclosed the theme of the article. The importance of using the form of historicism lies in describing the influence of those or other historical events of the Soviet period in the movement of Kemel Tokayev's life and the reasons for choosing a particular literary direction. The research used personal archival documents, diary entries, and letters of the person studied due to the choice of the method of a new biography in an attempt to show the writer's interaction at the level of various social groups. For example, in this case, colleagues and party elite representatives represent the relationship with his children, contemporaries or power structures.

Discussion. For a long time, a nomadic, semi-nomadic lifestyle was preserved on the territory of modern Kazakhstan, and there were few cities and settlements with a large population. As in any society, of course, crimes of various types and natures were committed in the steppes. During the existence of institute of steppe courts, crimes were investigated, and punishments were imposed on guilty arbitrators, who were called "biy." Judicial precedents were not documented in writing. However, the most resonant of them were passed from mouth to mouth, and some became overgrown with legends and became the plot basis of some works of oral literature.

From the beginning of the colonization of Kazakhstan by the Russian Empire, the active construction of cities and the forced transition of the way of life of the tribes from nomadic to settled began. With the construction of cities, the dynamics and nature of the crimes committed are changing for the worse. The active process of population growth in cities continued with the establishment of Soviet power. The creation of investigative bodies, documentation of investigations and

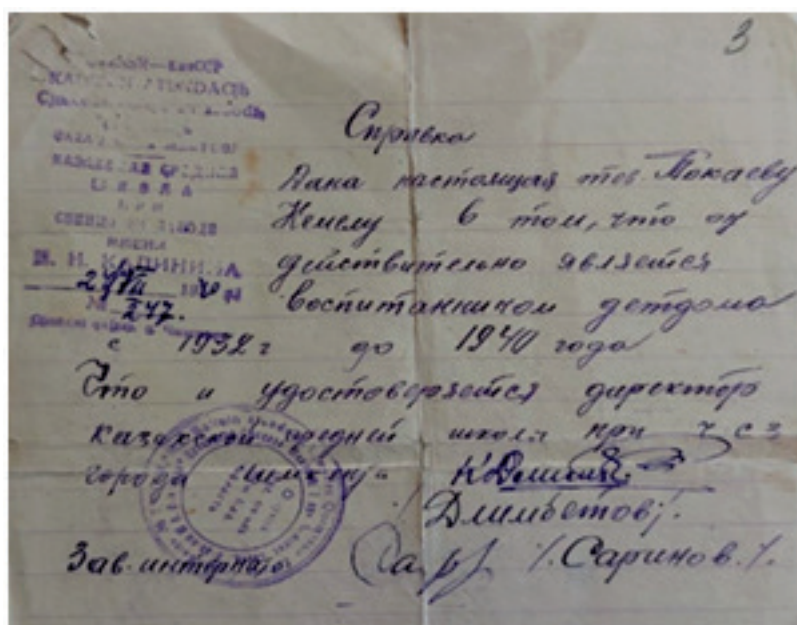
court decisions, urbanization, and the rapid development of written Kazakh literature created favourable conditions for the development of the detective genre. However, in turn, all these changes were accompanied by tragic events for the people of Kazakhstan.

The beginning of the 30s of the twentieth century turned out to be a difficult test for the indigenous population of Kazakhstan. Due to the political and economic course of the Soviet government and local excesses, people were deprived of their main source of livelihood in the form of livestock. As a result of artificially provoked famine in the Kazakh steppes, the population rapidly decreased by almost half due to starvation and mass emigration to neighbouring countries. "The migration of Kazakhs from one region to another and outside of Kazakhstan, which began at the end of 1931, with the return of part of the migrants (thanks to the measures taken) in the summer of 1932, is now intensifying again. Mortality due to famine and epidemics in several Kazakh regions and among nomads is now taking on such proportions that urgent intervention by the central authorities is needed. There is no such situation, which has now been created in Kazakhstan about a certain part of the Kazakh population, in any other region or Republic" (Takhayeva, 2010: 245). This letter of politician Turar Ryskulov, written to Stalin, describes the full extent of the disaster of that time. The tragic event on the pages of the history of an entire nation took place during the childhood of Kemel Tokayev and radically influenced the family of the future writer.

According to the memoirs of Kassym-Jomart Tokayev in the book *A Word about the Father*, Kemel Tokayev's father transports his family to the city of Frunze to wait out the famine. However, in 1932, due to an accident, the life of an entire family collapsed in one day. "As I had already wrote, on that tragic day, a grandmother with her little daughter remained in the house. My father's sister played by the stove to keep warm - it was already very cold. At some point, she stumbled and ended up in the fire of that same ill-fated furnace. The paralyzed mother could not help the child in any way; she could only watch with horror how her child burned in the fire. A few minutes later, she, too, died from the horror

she experienced. Sensing trouble, grandfather and Yakov ran into the hut. Horrified by what he saw, the grandfather burst into tears and, exhausted, knelt at the head of his wife, asking her forgiveness. Meanwhile, Jacob filled the stove with water and pulled out the charred body of the girl from there (Tokayev, 2005: 12). At the same time, Kemel Tokayev and his elder brother were taken by force from the street to an orphanage, and their father goes missing after the experience. Later, orphans were

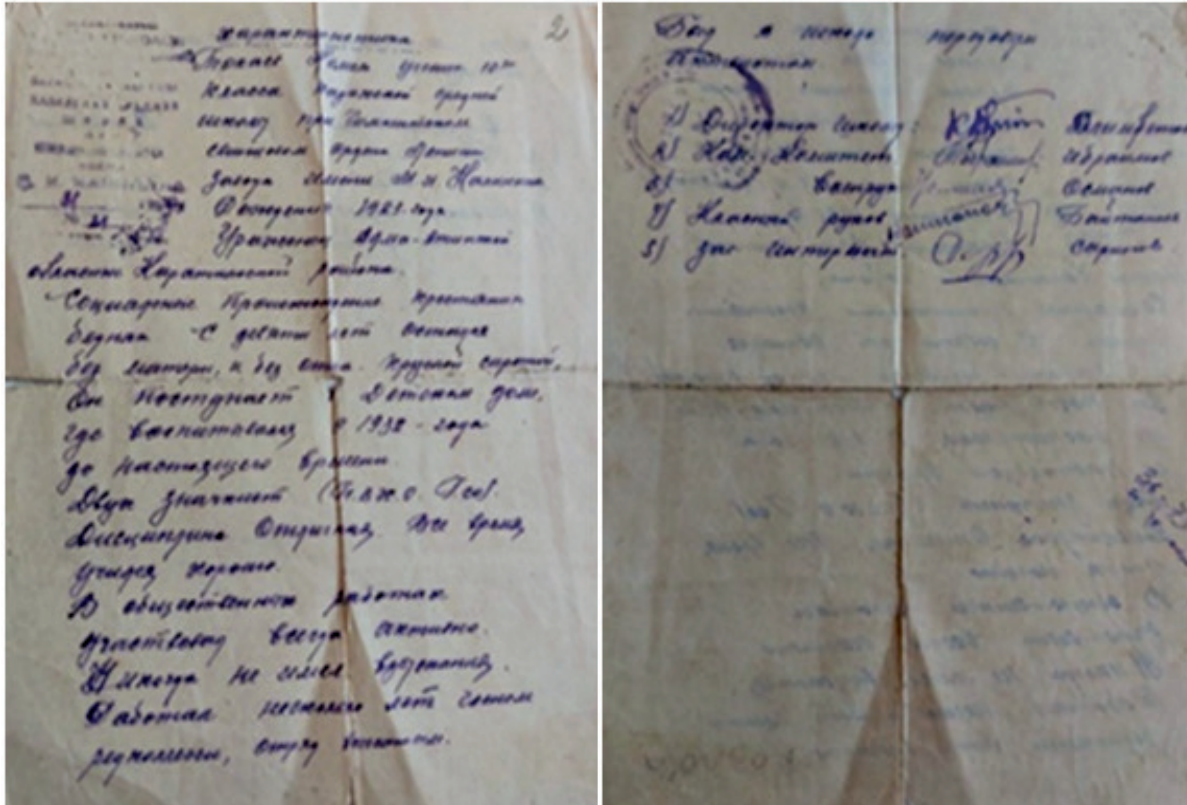
transferred from the orphanage in Frunze to the orphanage in the city of Shymkent. The archival document provides some data: "July 24, 1940. No. 247. The certificate was given to Comrade Kemel Tokayev, who was a foster-child of the orphanage from 1932 to 1940. Which is confirmed by the director of the Kazakh secondary school of the city of Shymkent K. Dlimbetov" (CGA RK, 1038: 3). Subsequently, the siblings started a difficult and complex life without parents.



Certificate from the secondary school issued at the place of study (CGA RK, 1038: 3)

From childhood, the future writer showed a craving for knowledge and activity in public life. This is evidenced by a document from the personal fund of Kemel Tokayev, an excerpt of which runs as follows: "Characteristic. Kemel Tokayev, a student in the 10th grade of the Kazakh secondary school named after M. Kalinin of the city of Shymkent. Date of birth: 1923. Place of birth: Karatal district, Alma-Ata region. Social origin: peasant, poor. From the age of nine, he lost his mother and

father. He is a full orphan. He was enrolled to the orphanage, where he was brought up from 1932 to the present. The discipline is great. He studied well all the time. He has always actively participated in public activities. There have never been claims against him. For several years he worked as a member of the editorial board and a squad leader. He has always been a leading activist. Signatories: Dlimbetov, Ibraimov, Osmanov, Baitanaev, Sarinov" (CGA RK, 1038: 2).



Characteristics of Kemel Tokayev given by Shymkent School (CGA RK, 1038: 2)

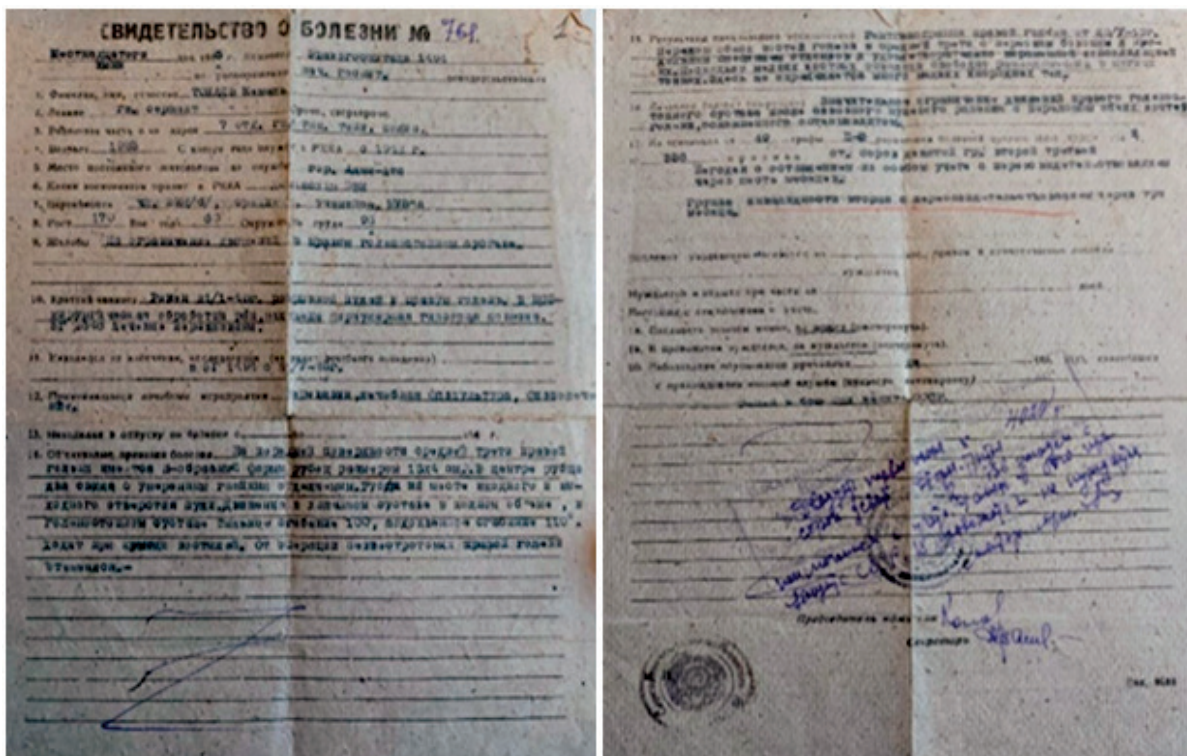
The elder brother Kasym Boltayev was the first to graduate from the school and leave the Boarding School, which imposed certain difficulties on Kemel Tokayev, who always used to have a reliable shoulder nearby. "After graduating from the Boarding School and a paramedic school, Kasym was sent to Sverdlovsk, where he underwent short-term training courses for young officers " (Tokayev, 2005: 16). At the beginning of the war, in 1941, Kasym Boltayev was one of the first to be called to the front, with the rank of junior lieutenant to the post of a political instructor of the transport company of the 290th rifle regiment of the 186th rifle division. In 1942, Kemel Tokayev received a telegram about the death of his brother; that period remained in the memory of the person as the most difficult moment in life. As a result of searching for the place and circumstances of the death of Kassym Boltayev after Kazakhstan gained Independence with the intervention of diplomatic departments, the details of the tragedy were clarified, which were described in the book of memoirs about

the father of Kassym-Jomart Tokayev. "He found his last shelter on earth in a mass grave located in the village of Trubino, Rzhevsky district, Tver region" (Tokayev, 2005: 23). Thus, Kemel Tokayev loses all family members, and a few months after the death of his brother went to war.

"After completing sergeant courses at the Frunze Infantry School, my father was sent to a military unit that was part of the Stalingrad Front. Military instructors recommended a Kazakh guy for the post of squad leader of the 226th Infantry Division. After three months of participation in the battles, he was wounded and sent to a military hospital. The young fighter did not lie down and soon asked to be sent to the active part. So he ended up in the 7th Guards Tank Regiment of the breakthrough, which was part of the First Ukrainian, and then the Second Belorussian Fronts" (Tokayev, 2005: 25). As part of the unit performing complex combat missions, he was awarded two "For Courage" medals. The description of the award certificate of the "For Courage" medal

provides data on the actions of Kemel Tokayev in the battles: "Date of document: 1943.09.01. Unit order: no:8/n of: 1943.09.01. Issued by: 7 GTP of the Southern Front. The commander of the section of automatic riflemen, sergeant Kemel Tokayev, was earlier awarded medals "For combat services" and "For the Defense of Stalingrad". During the time of front-line actions, he was always in front-line positions. He kept foot contact with tanks in tough situations under continuous bombardment and shelling. During the battle, when it was required to force a water line quickly, he quickly found a ford and led the tanks through the obstacles to the order of the command. The reward document contains the following information: "Date of the feat: 1945.01.21. The order of the unit: №:2/n of 1945.01.30. Issued: AF 49 A. Issued: On behalf of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, for the exemplary performance of combat tasks of the command at the front against the German invaders and displaying bravery and courage in doing so. The Order of World War II is awarded to: Guards Sergeant Kemel Tokayev - commander of the submachine gun squad" (Munalbayeva, Tashimova, 2021: 5). Having

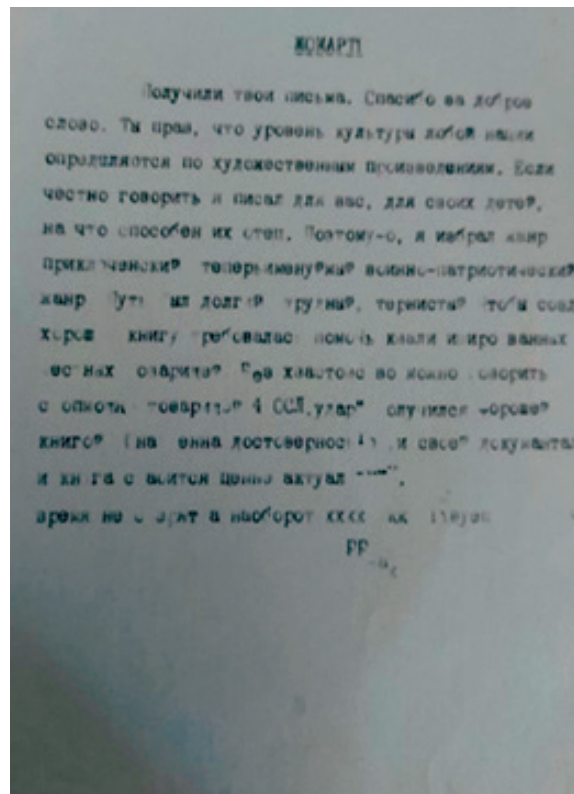
been in fierce battles, such as the Battle of Stalingrad and on other fronts, having received a severe wound in leg, by decision of the military medical commission, he becomes unfit for military service. In the extract from the certificate of illness No. 761 dated June 16, 1945, from the personal archival fund, the following clarifications were given: "Commission evacuation hospital 1494. Name of the disease: significant limitation of movements of the right ankle joint after a through bullet wound with a fracture of both bones of the lower leg, complicated by osteomyelitis. Treatment: physiotherapy, bandaging. Based on Article 49, columns II-III of the schedule of illnesses of the order of the NCO of the USSR of 1942 No. 386, it was declared unfit for further military service, leaving it on special registration with re-examination for six months. Disability group - two, with re-examination in three months. Can't follow on foot. Can walk on his own. The disease is due to being wounded in battle while defending the USSR (CGA RK, 1038: 1). Kemel Tokayev, having passed through the very inferno of the war, returns to his homeland as a hero, where an interesting life awaited him in creative circles.



Certificate of Kemel Tokayev's illness (CGA RK, 1038: 1)

After the end of the war, the veteran entered Kazakh State University named after S.M. Kirov, to the Faculty of Journalism, which was a big step forward and determined the further activity of the person under study. It is important to note that Kemel Tokayev fit several parameters for preferential admission to higher education institutions. "The post-war and peacetime of the USSR (the period of restoration of the national economy, strengthening the power of the Soviet state, etc.) is characterised by the paternalistic model of the state social policy. New tendencies and features of social protection of participants and invalids of war were revealed" (Bistyaykina, 2013: 83). Thus, a veteran and disabled person of the 2nd group, a full orphan without close relatives with the support of the state, got a chance for higher education. Then, after graduating from the University, he gained experience in various positions in regional and republican newspapers. Journalism and editorial work probably allowed him to develop useful skills, which gave the writer the confidence to embark on a literary path. "At first, he wrote for himself, "on the table", then he gathered his courage and published the first collection of stories", "Star Trek" (1954). A year later, the story "Winter Swallow" (1955) was published, and in the same year, Zhazushy Publishing House published the story titled "The Mysterious Trail." It was too late to retreat, and he was not going to take a step back. Like in a battle, the former front-line soldier entered the path of the writer and remained faithful to the chosen genre forever (Mukanova, 2018: 4). The first works of the writer were written in the children's adventure genre. Kemel Tokayev described his coming to creative activity in his letter to his eldest son Kassym-Jomart Tokayev. "Jomart! We received your letters. Thanks for the kind word. You are right that the level of culture of any nation is determined by works of art. To be honest, I wrote for you, for my children, so that they know what their father is capable of. Therefore, I chose the adventure genre, now called the military-patriotic genre. The path was long, difficult, and thorny. The help of qualified, honest comrades was required to create the book. Without boasting, one can say that with the help of his comrades,

The Last Strike turned out to be a good book. It is valuable for its authenticity and its documentary nature; such a book becomes more valuable and relevant" (CGA RK, 1038: 115).



The letter from Kemel Tokayev to his son
Kasym-Jomart Tokayev
(CGA RK, 1038: 115)

Starting his creative path with literature for children, later Kemel Tokayev moved to the detective genre. Combat and intelligence experience during the Great Patriotic War, long and painstaking editorial work, cooperation with the national security and internal affairs agencies, giving access to secret archival materials gave me all the tools to write works in this direction.

"Detective is a genre of literature based on the description of the history of the commission and exposure of the crime, the identification of the criminal" (Kupina et al., 2010: 107). In the middle of the 20th century, the detective genre, which already had a long history of its development and overgrown its subgenres, was still an innovation for Kazakh

literature, the foundation of which was laid by Kemel Tokayev.

The history of Kemel Tokayev's creative activity is the history of the introduction, consolidation, and development of a new direction in the literature of Kazakhstan during the Soviet period. The writer's works were written under the ideological line of the Communist Party, which corresponded to the flow of that time.

The process of strengthening the Soviet ideology was accompanied by painful events in the entire space where it spread. The top party leadership took increasingly stringent measures to prevent dissent and cultural self-determination of the population. B. Stepanov's article titled "On the ideological mistakes of workers in the social sciences of Kazakhstan", published in the journal *Bolshevik of Kazakhstan*, discretely showed the whole picture of what was happening in support of the above. And the arts selflessly served the people, fought for the best, noble ideals of communism, and carried the immortal ideas of the party of Lenin-Stalin to the masses with all the Bolshevik passion. Everything that was unideological and apolitical that did not mobilize the Soviet people for the struggle for the realization of the ideals of the party had to be eliminated. The upbringing of the working masses, the upbringing of the youth in the spirit of indifference to Soviet politics, in the spirit of indifference and lack of ideas led to ideological confusion, belittling the socialist ideology, creating soil for a bourgeois ideology hostile to us (Stepanov, 1947: 48). Further, the article stated that, for reasons understandable only to the party leadership, Soviet literature, which corresponded to the political interests of the state, was the most advanced one in the world. Such a statement was described as follows: "The strength of Soviet literature, the most advanced literature in the world," said that historic decision, "is that it is a literature that does not and cannot have other interests of the people, the interests of the state" (Stepanov, 1947: 49).

The central authority periodically adopted resolutions, each time tightening and filling the gaps in controlling everything that went to the masses. One of the resolutions was mentioned in the article by M. Silchenko and N. Smirnov as

follows: "In 1947, the Central Committee of the Communist Party (b) of Kazakhstan revealed serious ideological and political mistakes: the idealization of the Feudal-Khan Middle Ages and its singers, the denial of the class struggle in the pre-revolutionary Kazakh village, the dragging of bourgeois-nationalist authors into the history of Kazakh literature as folk and others. In its resolution of January 21, 1947, the Central Committee of the Communist Party (b) of Kazakhstan, qualifying these mistakes as a departure from Marxism-Leninism, demanded that the workers of the literary front correct all mistakes and raise all work to the proper ideological and theoretical level" (Stepanov, 1947: 50).

In a difficult period of connected creative hands of cultural and art figures, when it was difficult to improve what already existed, it was an extremely difficult task to introduce and develop a completely new one. "In Soviet literature, the criminal plot was often based on the class confrontation between villainous bourgeois and workers. In the 1930s-1950s, the creation of detective stories in the USSR was not only unwelcomed, but books of this genre were partially removed from libraries and were not included in recommended reading lists. This was largely due to the fundamental feature of the detective genre: a lone detective - a defender of private property - solves the crime" (Kupina et al., 2010: 115). The foregoing explains the hostile attitude of the authorities towards this literary trend. A policy that educates the population about singleness and collective work for the benefit of the state's prosperity, which does not tolerate dissent, originality, and critical thinking, which is in abundance in the detective genre, could not be left without proper attention from party ideologists.

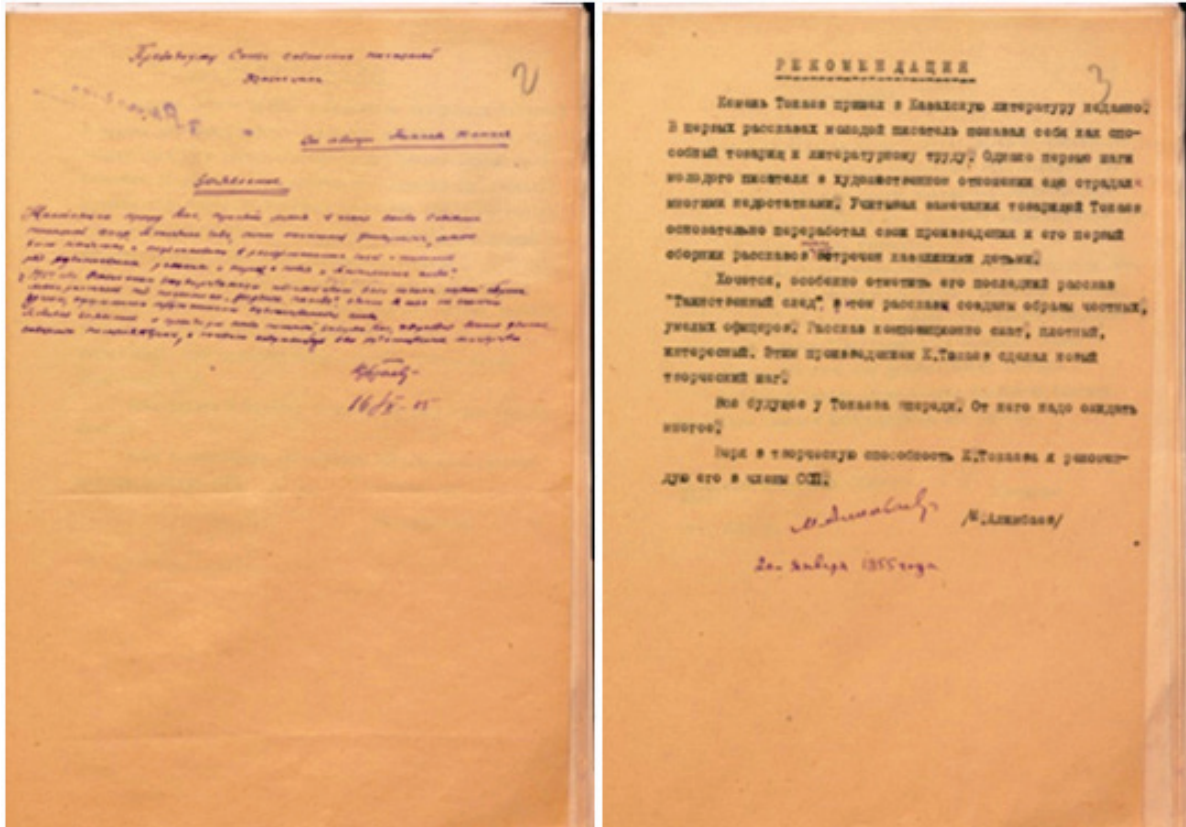
After the death of Joseph Stalin, the top leadership that replaced him pursued a softer policy and relieved totalitarian tension in the state. During the "thaw", detectives again began to appear in print (I. Lazutin, A. Adamov, L. Shapovalov, L. Sheinin). The number of translations of detective works was gradually increasing, and their publication in magazines helped the editors to keep circulation. In the 1960s and 1970s, a constellation of detective authors worked actively: Arkady Adamov,

brothers Grigory and Arkady Vainers, Yulian Semenov, and others (Kupina et al., 2010: 115). The so-called “thaw” gave an opportunity not only to Russian writers to work on detective novels but also to figures of other nationalities of the vast country.

The weakening of totalitarian policies and the cultural stifling from the center created favourable conditions for the disclosure of the creative potential of Kazakh artists. The cultural upsurge from the middle of the twentieth century nurtured the constellation of outstanding personalities who left their mark on history. “Writer M. Auezov played an outstanding role in the development of literature with his four-volume novel *The Path of Abai*, which he completed in the 1950s. In 1959, this work was awarded the Lenin Prize. Nurpeisov’s novel trilogy *Blood and Sweat* and the works by J. Moldagaliyev were awarded the State Prize. An important place in the Kazakh literature of this period occupied the works on historical subjects, primarily the novel-trilogy *Nomads* by I. Yesenberlin and the works by A. Alimzhanov, S. Mukanov, S. Markov, D. Snegin and M. Simashko” (Kultura Kazakhstan v 50-80-e gg. Razvitie sistemy obrasovaniya, URL: <https://elimai.kz/kultura-v-50-80-e-gg.html>). The creative path of Kemel Tokayev began in that very favourable period.

The first detective novels and stories of the writer turned out to be a discovery for Kazakh literature and were warmly welcomed by readers. Thus, Kemel Tokayev is recognized not only as a writer but also as the founder of a new literary direction. The release of several detective novels and stories, such as *The Stream* and *The Mysterious Trail* in 1955, allowed him to apply for membership in the Union of Soviet Writers of Kazakhstan. In the personal fund of Kemel Tokayev, an application for joining the above association was found. The statement run as follows: “I hereby ask you to accept me as a member of the Union of Soviet

Writers of the USSR. In recent years, after graduating from the university, I have written and published in republican newspapers and magazines several fictional stories and essays, including the story *The Mysterious Trail*. In 1954, the Kazakh State Publishing House published the first collection of my stories called *Star Trek*. However, I do not consider myself a mature, well-formed worker in the artistic world. By applying to the Presidium of the Writers’ Union, I assure you that you will justify the high title of a Soviet writer by constantly improving your artistic skills” (CGA RK, 1778: 2). The admission procedure required a detailed questionnaire regarding the absence of anti-party activities in the past and recommendations from the permanent members of the Writers’ Union. A letter of recommendation from the poet and children’s writer Muzafar Alimbayev was also found in Kemel Tokayev’s personal file. In the recommendation, the poet gave positive reference to Kemel Tokayev, which is shown by an excerpt from the document, which runs as follows: “Kemel Tokayev has recently come to Kazakh literature. In the first stories, the young writer showed himself as a comrade capable for literary work. However, the first steps of the young writer in artistic terms still required many improvements. Taking into account the comments of his comrades, Tokayev thoroughly revised his works, and his first collection of stories was warmly welcomed by Kazakh children. I would like to especially note his last story, *The Mysterious Trail*. In this story, the image of honest, skillful officers is created. The story is compositionally compressed, dense, and interesting. With this work, Kemel Tokayev took a new creative step. Tokayev’s whole future lies ahead. Much is to be expected from him. Believing in the creative ability of K. Tokayev, I recommend him as a member of the Union of Soviet Writers “ (CGA RK, 1778: 3).



Archival documents from the personal file of the Union of Writers of the Kazakh SSR
(CGA RK, 1778: 3)

Kasym-Jomart Tokayev, in his memoirs about his father, pays special attention to the novel *The Last Strike*, which describes the events on the territory of Kazakhstan during the years of the civil war. Earlier, in the film about the liquidation of Ataman Dutov, some historical moments were distorted, and quite a few criticisms were voiced about it. The memoir book contains the following excerpt, showing the results of the writer's work: "I would especially like to dwell on the novel *The Last Strike*. I remember that literary criticism rated it positively, emphasizing that this is a real detective novel. Frankly, when my father started working on the book, I was overwhelmed with doubts: "What will come of this?" The film *The End of the Ataman* is already on the screens, and the plot is known. "I am glad that I was mistaken in my doubts since the printed version of the events associated with the liquidation of Ataman Dutov exceeded all expectations" (Tokayev, 2005: 77). As a rule, in

the Soviet period, works about the high-profile victories of the Bolsheviki were warmly welcomed, both by authorities, media, and ideologically savvy readers. Therefore, it is not surprising that the work also had a great resonance in society.

It is worth noting that Kemel Tokayev often asked his four children for opinions about his works, especially his eldest son Kassym-Jomart Tokayev. In the book *A Word about the Father*, it is worth noting an excerpt from the memory where the father and son exchanged thoughts about the recently published book. "I was working in Singapore at the time. After reading the novel *The Last Strike*, he considered it necessary to write to his father and praise his work. I remember I even said that the book was the best of all his works. The father was delighted with such an assessment, emphasizing in a response letter that he had invested a lot of effort into the creation of that novel (Tokayev, 2005: 77). One of those letters

was found in the personal archival fund of Kemel Tokayev. It was written by Kassym-Jomart Tokayev while studying in Moscow. The text of the letter was written as follows: "Hello, dad! How is your health? I hope everything is ok. I received your book and have already read half of *Murder before Sunset* and *Night Shot*, unfortunately, I do not have time since now there is a test session, and there is not enough time. I'm going to finish reading it in the exam session after the new year. Judging by the first book, we can say that the whole book was a success. This applies to both the plot and the external side of the work – I mean the translation into Russian" (CGA RK, 1038: 91). Kassym-Jomart Tokayev expressed his opinion separately regarding the translation and the quality of the content of his father's book in the continuation of the letter: "It seems to me that this time the translation turned out to be much more successful than it was in 1967, it seems with the Special Assignment. When you read a book, you must not forget that this is a translation of how well the style of the story is presented. As for the content, then, apparently, no comment is needed. The plot of the book is extremely interesting, most importantly - original and not banal (CGA RK, 1038: 91).

In some of his works, Kemel Tokayev tried as much as possible to convey historical reality, using information from documents and building a storyline. Such a literary style turned out to be a great shock to the writer after the publication of a fragment of the future story in *Zhalyn* magazine. The period of disgrace in the life of the person under study and its cause are described in more detail by a close friend of Kemel Tokayev, a veteran of foreign intelligence and the KGB, Khamit Alzhanov, in his memoirs: "He began to write about the uprising in the wintering Marinovka, Akmola region. As is known from the pages of history, Soviet power was established in 1919, but the White Guards, with the support of Kolchak's associates, organized a coup and shot 3,000 people on the side of the Soviets, including 36 Bolshevik leaders. The rebels, without trial and investigation, shed a lot of blood and burned their houses. Among those innocently shot was a prominent person, Adilbek Maikotov. In the book, written based on archival materials, one

of the main characters was the father-in-law of the first secretary of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan, Dinmukhamed Kunaev, one of the active builders of the Soviet government in Atbasar (Alzhanov, 2000: 4). The story published by Kemel Tokayev in a magazine mentioned the name of Sharip Yalymov, the father of Zukhra Sharipova, who in turn was the wife of Dinmukhamed Kunaev. The story described the unfriendly actions by Sharip Yalymov towards Saken Seifullin, a prominent public figure and writer of his time. After denunciations from colleagues from the office of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the Kazakh SSR, in which the author of the work worked in 1960-1977, the reaction from the political elite and party functionaries was not long in coming, and the persecution of Kemel Tokayev began.

Paying attention to the long period of holding a top post, Kemel Tokayev successfully combined creative activities with his official duties. In the memoirs of Bijamal Ramazanova, a colleague in the civil service, it is mentioned that the public figure and writer contributed to the development of society. For example, "Besides office work, we were engaged in working out reports of sessions of the Supreme Soviet, translation of reports into Kazakh, simultaneous translations, conducting complete verbatim record books of sessions, translation of monthly resolutions and the issue of the 'Bulletin' of the Supreme Soviet of the KazSSR. In the mid-1960s, the Civil Code, the Code of Civil Procedure, the Code on Marriage and Family, and the water and land resources laws were adopted. The department redrafted all crucial laws under the leadership of Kemel Tokayev, together with prominent legal scholars. (Ramazanova, 2006: 161) However, as described above, the situation changed dramatically after the denunciation, and all merits were not considered.

It is worth dwelling separately on the definition of denunciation, which has influenced a single individual's life history. V.A. Nehamkin's article titled "Denunciation as a socio-psychological phenomenon" describes important points of the concept of denunciation and under what conditions it can manifest itself in society. From the scientific point of view, denunciation is a

multidimensional phenomenon. It combines different facets of personal and social relations. Firstly, informational, for its essence, boils down to transferring information about an individual or a group, which he (they) seeks to conceal, to other people or some state structures. This information must be processed in a certain way and presented appropriately so that action can be taken on it. Secondly, psychological, the person must be internally prepared to become a snitch. For this, it is not only a "personal" disposition. Society requires an appropriate microclimate, which encourages this phenomenon and its constant stimulation through ideology and collective action. For example, in the totalitarian societies of the twentieth century, the concept of one's country as a "fortress" besieged by enemies, which must be defended by all available means, without regard to even family ties, was widespread.

An immediate reaction from above to denunciations, often unfounded, very often led to tragic events since the authorities, both the tsarist and the Soviet period did not stand on ceremony with the guilty. From time to time, denunciations were massive, for example, during the Stalinist repressions of 1937-1938, which wiped out almost the entire liberal community of Kazakhstan. Thus, denunciations have become a convenient tool for authorities to identify those who disagree and for individuals to eliminate competitors and personal enemies.

The writer, who wrote several works about the high-profile victories of the Communist Party, came under pressure for personal reasons from the leaders of the same party, fighting for the equality of workers. The consequences of the persecution of Kemel Tokayev were also mentioned in the book *A Word about the Father*: "An order came from the Central Committee of the Party to withdraw the circulation and replace it with another edition of the magazine with the same issue, but, of course, without excerpts from Kemel Tokayev's novel. The father was forced to pay a "forfeit" for the used paper for a huge amount of 1000 rubles at that time, which caused significant damage to the family budget. But this damage meant nothing compared to the moral consequences of an exorbitantly inflated scandal" (Tokayev, 2005:

92). According to the memoirs of the writer's son and contemporaries, the events took such a serious turn that the question of expulsion from the party was raised as politically unreliable, discrediting the leadership of the KazSSR. Later, the intervention of a group of officials cost them removal from office and dismissal from public service. It is worth noting that Khamit Alzhanov and Kassym-Jomart Tokayev do not mention the name of Kemel Tokayev's work, which caused upheavals, and a close friend from the time of the Great Patriotic War, Izgilik Dabayev, erroneously mentioned the word "Special Assignment", the plot of which is based on other events of the military time - 1941-1945.

The fund of Kemel Tokayev of the Central State Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan have preserved personal notes from the diary, which narrates the events mentioned above. The writer begins his notes with the following words: "July 6, 1977 (Wednesday). These days, withdrawing into myself, I am saddened by the fact that there is no truth and justice in life" (CGA RK, 1038: 26). Further, continuing his record, Kemel Tokayev consistently describes all the circumstances that are given below in this article. "The State Security Committee under the Council of Ministers of the Kazakh SSR instructed to write a story dedicated to the 60th anniversary of the Great October Revolution. In connection with the anniversary date, having worked through a large number of archival materials, he completed work on the story *Marked Gold*. In 1918, people of Alash Ordaparty, together with Russians and Cossacks, actively participated in the overthrow of the Soviet government of the Akmola region. Among them was Sharip Yalymov. An excerpt from the story was published on April 29-30 this year in the republican newspaper *Socialistic Kazakhstan* (CGA RK, 1038: 27). It is noteworthy that in the book *A Word about the Father*, Kassym-Jomart Tokayev and Khamit Alzhanov, in their article, write about the same work published in the journal *Zhalyn*, which was scandalously recalled. And also, in the memoirs of Kassym-Jomart Tokayev, the date of publication of the story is given as 1978. However, Kemel Tokayev, in his diary, indicates the date of publication as April 29-30, 1977, and the name of the newspaper is

Socialistik Kazakhstan. In the continuation of the diary, the writer reveals some moments of the artificially inflated situation due to the denunciation: "Yesterday Sabyr Bilyalovich Niyazbekov called me to him and asked:

"How are things at work?" he asked, colder than usual. Interested in my work? In the end, he said:

– Kemel, we have been working together for 12 years. You know what I think of you. I always supported you as best as I could. We worked productively together. But for the past three days, my ears have been restless. Trying to understand the essence of the matter, I called and asked Abdymanap Tleuliyev. It turns out that Sharip Yalymov is Kunaev's father-in-law. He seems to be very offended by Tleuliyev as well. Who knew that Yalymov was the father of his wife? A persistently demanding person does not want to hear that this is a misunderstanding. In a word, what do you think about switching completely to a creative activity?" (CGA RK, 1038: 28). It is important to note the fact that Kemel Tokayev had worked as the editor-in-chief of *Vedomosti* of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the Kazakh SSR for 17 years, performing his official duties for a long time.

Kemel Tokayev, perplexed by the ongoing events, cited an excerpt from the novel *The Thorny Path*, which tells the moment of the capture of Saken Seifullin by Sharip Yalymov: "Finally, we were driven to a half-burnt barn and locked there. The Kazakh and Tatar bais were especially pleased. Drunk Sharip Yalymov swaggers among them, brandishing a revolver" (CGA RK, 1038: 28). Mentioning fragments from Saken Seifullin's novel concerning Dinmukhamed Kunaev's father-in-law, which was published long before the publication of the novel *Marked Gold*, Kemel Tokayev emphasized that he repeated a well-known fact.

As a result of the pressure exerted by party leaders, the founder of the detective genre received a heavy moral and reputational blow. The writer also mentioned with special attention that the words "Alash-Orda" were cut out of his work, which indicated a repeated censorship analysis of his work. Writing down his thoughts on what was happening, Kemel Tokayev expressed his disappointment in the

party with the following words: "I have been a member of the party for 33 years and have always served it faithfully. Never neglected her devotion. But the party turned its back on me..." (CGA RK, 1038: 29).

Conclusion. It is no secret that when we study the works of the writer, then Kemel Tokayev's character traits are revealed, which many people do not notice, do not pay attention to at the time, and it seems that the image has something in common with new works. Kemel Tokayev is a famous soldier and writer. He made a great contribution to our spiritual treasury. The moral way of life, diligence and human qualities of the writer are worthy of imitation. And his works will become the property of the history of literature and the immortal heritage of Kazakhstan. We are not able to really appreciate the honest, selfless work of the people of the last century for the benefit of the country and Motherland. A person who has faced great difficulties in life and has not turned off the right path, retaining a human face and raising a worthy generation, is undoubtedly worthy of respect. Kemel Tokayev is one of these personalities. It would not be fair, from the point of view of the history of the young state, if the name of such a writer disappeared from the pages of national history. Kemel Tokayev is rightfully considered the founder of a new genre in Kazakh literature. On his creative path, having written several successful novels and stories of a new direction, the writer joins the ranks of the Kazakh liberal community. During the cultural upsurge since the middle of the twentieth century, a large number of prominent figures in literature, art, and science have been formed. Kemel Tokayev lived and worked in the city of Almaty, where Abish Kekilbaev, Kalmukan Isabaev, Kassym Kaisenov, Azilkhan Nurshaikhov, Takhaui Akhtanov, Berdibek Sokpakbaev, Gafu Kaiyrbekov, Muzafar Alimbaev, Tumanbay Moldagaliev, and others were in the social circle of the researched personality. All of these personalities were mentioned on the pages of national history thanks to their heritage left to the people of Kazakhstan. However, in the situation with Kemel Tokayev, it cannot be said that the life path of the figure was studied from a historical perspective in proportion to

his merits to society. Most likely, the problem is in the specifics of the detective genre, which, after gaining the Independence of Kazakhstan, stagnated to some extent in Kazakh literature, in contrast to Russian literature, where dynamic development was observed. Recently, the growing public interest in the works of adventure and detective nature has increased the relevance of the historical role of Kemel Tokayev as one of the authors of the first works of a new direction of Kazakh literature. Despite the persecution for personal reasons, Kemel Tokayev appreciated the huge contribution to the development of the Kazakh SSR of

Dinmukhamed Kunaev during his leadership, which is a strong point for the individual. He left his experiences and disappointments only in his notes in his diary. Furthermore, the event experienced by Kemel Tokayev exposes the vulnerability of the system, arbitrariness in the field, abuse of power of specific individuals, organisation of harassment and persecution using the levers of power, writing unfounded denunciations, which is not an integral part of the policy of the Communist Party. It can be assumed that by speaking of frustration with the party, the writer expressed dissatisfaction with the actions of specific people in power.

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Мен өмірімді партияға арнадым, ал ол менен теріс айналды (Кемел Тоқаевтың шығармашылық жолындағы ауыр сынақ)

Аңдатпа. Мақалада қазақ әдебиетіндегі детектив жанрының ізашарларының бірі Кемел Тоқаевтың шығармашылық жолы қарастырылады. Автор жаңа әдеби бағыттың даму ерекшеліктеріне назар аударып, оны зерттелетін адамның жазушылық қызметімен байланыстырады. Мәселені зерттеуде, алдымен, тұлғаның қысқаша өмірбаяны, соғыс кезеңі және шығармашылық жолындағы қиындықтары баяндалады. Оның ішінде, жазушының құпия құжаттарды қолдана отырып, детективтік жанрда тарихи астары бар шығармалар жазғаны көрсетіледі. Соның нәтижесінде жоғары билік өкілдері тарапынан қудаланғанына ерекше тоқталып кетеді. Тақырыпты зерделеуде Кемел Тоқаев мысалында мәдени өрлеу мен коммунистік идеологияға қарамастан, Қазақ Социалистік Республикасының қоғамы мен билік құрылымдарында белгілі бір мәселелердің бар екендігін көруге болады. Автор, Қазақстан Республикасының Президенті Қасым-Жомарт Тоқаевтың «Әке туралы ой-толғау» естелік еңбегі мен жеке хат алмасуларын негізге ала отырып, жазушының өміріне қатысты тың ақпараттар береді. Мақалада мұрағаттық құжаттар, орталық мемлекеттік мұрағаттың, Ұлттық академиялық кітапхананың Кемел Тоқаевтың жеке қорынан алынған фотосуреттер, сондай-ақ Тәуелсіз Қазақстанның мерзімді баспасөз материалдары пайдаланылды. Ғылыми жұмыста Кемел Тоқаевтың қазақ әдебиетіне қосқан елеулі үлесіне ерекше назар аударады және оны тарих беттерінде лайықты орын алған өз халқының зиялы қауымының лайықты өкілі ретінде бағалайды. Автор қазақ әдебиетіндегі жаңа шытырман оқиғалы жанрдың келуі, орнығуы, дамуы Кемел Тоқаев есімімен тікелей байланысты деген қорытындыға келеді.

Кілт сөздер: Кемел Тоқаев; жазушы; детектив жанры; қазақ әдебиеті; Қазақ КСР; соғыс; идеология; тұлға.

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Я посвятил свою жизнь партии, но она отвернулась от меня (тяжелое испытание на творческом пути Кемеля Токаева)

Аннотация. В статье рассматривается творческий путь Кемеля Токаева, одного из основателей детективного жанра в казахской литературе. Автор обращает внимание на особенности развития нового литературного направления и связывает его с писательской деятельностью изучаемого лица. При исследовании темы, в первую очередь описывается краткая биография личности, военный период и трудности на творческом пути. В ней показано, что писатель работал над произведениями с исторической подоплекой в детективном жанре, с использованием секретных документов. В результате подчеркивается, что его преследовали представители вышестоящих руководителей государственных органов. При изучении жизненного пути Кемеля Токаева можно увидеть, что в обществе и властных структурах Казахской Союзной Социалистической Республики были определенные проблемы, несмотря на культурный подъем и коммунистическую идеологию. Автор предоставляет новые сведения о жизни писателя, основываясь на труде-воспоминании Касым-Жомарта Токаева и личных переписках отца с сыном. В статье использованы архивные документы, фотографии из личного фонда писателя, Центрального государственного архива, Национальной академической

библиотеки, а также материалы периодической печати Независимого Казахстана. В научной работе особое внимание уделяется значительному вкладу Кемеля Токаева в казахскую литературу и оценивает как достойного представителя интеллигенции своего народа, который заслуживает достойное место на страницах истории. Автор приходит к выводу, что появление, становление и развитие нового приключенческого жанра в казахской литературе напрямую связано с именем Кемеля Токаева.

Ключевые слова: Кемель Токаев; писатель; детективный жанр; казахская литература; КазССР; война; идеология; личность.

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