

PUBLICISTIC CREATIVITY OF GAYAZ ISKHAKI IN EMIGRATION

Vasil Z. Garifullin, Lyailya R. Sabirova

Kazan Federal University, Kremliovskaya str, 18, 420008, Kazan (RUSSIAN FEDERATION)

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ABSTRACT

In article publicistic activities of the outstanding organizer of the Tatar periodicals, writer, playwright and public figure Gayaz Iskhaki during his living outside the Soviet Union are analyzed. The rich creative heritage of Iskhaki became available to regimern researchers only after democratical changes in Russia at the end of the XX century in spite of the fact that he left a bright mark in the history of social and political life of pre-revolutionary Russia: more than two dozens novels and dramatic works, he was one of the leaders of the Tatar social revolution in the days of the first Russian revolution, a founder of the first newspapers in Tatar, the author. Due to the principled stand directed against saregimerzhdavny system in Russia and its imperial policy, Gayaz Iskhaki was constantly exposed to prosecutions from the imperial government. After the October revolution of 1917, he actively expressed disagreement with policy of Bolsheviks for what he was forced to emigrate from Russia. In the years of emigration he continued the literary and journalistic creativity, organized several newspapers and magazines in Tatar around which the national intellectuals from among emigrants united. Publicistic creativity of Gayaz Iskhaki in the conditions of expatriation is characterized by a sharp polemic character and strong criticism of the Soviet regime actions.

Studying creative heritage of G. Iskhaki is urgent for completion of white spots in the history of the Tatar journalism.

Key words: Gayaz Iskhaki, Tatar journalism, journalism history, periodicals, emigre press

1. INTRODUCTION

The periodicals of the XX century are one of the most important components of spiritual life of the Tatar people. In it topical issues of all parties of social and political and social and economic life were brought up. It was created by the talented journalists and writers betrayed to the people. Unfortunately, the role and the place of these persons in formation and development of the Tatar journalism still remains unexplored. Meanwhile studying of a role of individuals in creation of system of the Tatar periodicals in Russia and abroad, the analysis of their creativity allows to recreate a complete picture of origin, formation and evolution of system of national media in general.

The writer, the playwright and public figure Gayaz Iskhaki who became the initiator of the edition over ten Tatar newspapers and magazines during the first half of the XX century was one of outstanding organizers of the Tatar periodicals. Gayaz Iskhaki's activities as organizer of periodicals, editor and publicist still are in full not studied that confirms need of system, evidence-based development of this subject.

2. DATA AND METHODS

The rich heritage of Gayaz Iskhaki became available only in the 90th years of the XX century, after disappearance of artificial barriers on the way of studying of the works which aren't corresponding to ideological installations of the former Soviet country. The famous literary critic, professor of the Kazan university Ibrahim Nurullin has undertaken spiritual rehabilitation of Gayaz Iskhaki by one of the first [1]. This work has been continued by scientists H. Y. Minnegulov [2], F.M. Musin [3], A.Z.Sakhapov [4], etc. In recent years the dissertations devoted to various aspects of literary creativity of Gayaz Iskhaki [5-17] have been defended. In the majority of researches generally literary creativity of Iskhaki is analyzed. At the same time it is often mentioned also his rich publicistic heritage. So, in researches H.Y. Minnegulova not only works of art of Iskhaki, but also the publicistic works published in the Millie of Spinning Tops magazine are analyzed ("A way of the nation", Warsaw), the characteristic of the Tatar emigrant periodicals of the first half of the XX century is given, at the same time Gayaz Iskhaki's role in the organization of this system [2] is especially allocated. There is a number of articles devoted to systematization of his journalism [18, 19]. In L. Usmanova's monograph "the Turk-Tatarsky diaspora in northeast Asia" is also emphasized an outstanding role of Gayaz Iskhaki in the organization of the emigrant press [20].

When writing this article except works of above-mentioned authors, Gayaz Iskhaki's works published in collected works in fifteen volumes have been attracted, the system approach including as general scientific (observation, a comparative and comparative method), and the private methods of a research peculiar for the

analysis of texts of mass media has been used (typological, comparative, problem and chronological, logical, the content analysis).

3. RESULTS

Journalism of Gayaz Iskhaki begins after when after the known imperial manifesto of 1905 guaranteeing certain rights and freedoms to the small people to it allow to issue own newspaper. As a result the *Тан йолдызы* newspaper ("A morning star") was born. Being the actual editor, Gayaz Iskhaki is the author of the most important and serious political articles in it. Iskhaki urges people to unite around the newspaper, putting forward the militant slogan: "Only in a cruel fight you will find the right!". The newspaper became a loud-hailer and the propagandist of the ideas of social revolutionary. Iskhaki believed the main obstacle for the Tatar people on the way to democracy autocracy. The political program of the newspaper included slogans of social equality and all-civil political freedoms, support of the simple people, was directed against prosperous sectors of society, officials and religious figures who were on the party of the imperial government. The newspaper attentively monitors revolutionary movement in the country, work of the Duma, actively discusses national and cultural problems, propagandizes friendship of the people. It considers guarantee of peaceful prosperity of the country availability of the equal civil rights and freedoms of all people and nations.

In days of the first Russian revolution Gayaz Iskhaki becomes the active participant of those rough events, gets under strict observation of gendarmierie. During the period since the end of 1906 on 1913 it is put several times for a lattice, sent into exile. On the occasion of the tercentenary of a dynasty of Romanov on April 4, 1913 Iskhaki was released from political exile, but he is forbidden to live in Kazan and he comes to St. Petersburg. There its own newspaper *Ил* ("Country") is published. In spite of the fact that the newspaper calls itself the edition which is taking up land and economic questions, problems of preservation and cultural development and science of the Tatar people remain the main subjects always. Articles calling the people for fight for the rights, for freedom of thought are often published in the newspaper. Therefore some issues of the newspaper it is seized, and then the newspaper admits politically harmful at all is closed. Carrying on traditions of the *Ил* newspaper, in Moscow Gayaz Iskhaki issues the *Сүз* newspapers ("Word") (1915-1916), *Безнең юл* ("Our way") (1916-1917). In them Iskhaki exposes the injurious nature of imperialistic war which first of all is dangerous to the small people. G. Iskhaki's outlook underwent essential changes by this time: having doubted the ideas of class fight, he is drawn towards nationalism, that is begins to protect the point of view according to which for achievement of national freedom it is necessary to fight, having united various social groups.

After the October revolution rigid prosecution of the various national organizations and their publications begins. In 1918 according to the decision of Bolsheviks the national and patriotic newspaper "*Ил*" stops the existence. In similar conditions it isn't necessary to speak about freedom of speech, existence of any organizations protecting national interests. To Gayaz Iskhaki to live in the country becomes it is unsafe, and then in his life a new era – the emigration period begins. In 1919 Gayaz Iskhaki as the representative of the state Volga-Urals goes to the Versailles peace conference and doesn't come back to Russia any more. At first he goes to Harbin, then moves to Europe, lives in France, Germany, Poland. Everywhere acts, issues the Tatar newspapers, creates the political organizations, unites emigrants of different nationalities in the organization of an anti-Stalin orientation. During the stay in the Far East where then a considerable part of Tatar emigrants lived, Iskhaki has organized the edition of the *Милли байрак* newspaper ("A nation banner") which was continuously published in the city of Mukden prior to the beginning of August, 1945. In total it has been printed about five hundred numbers. The newspaper extended in Finland, Germany, Japan, China, Egypt, Saudi Arabia and other countries. The *Милли байрак* magazine became the central edition of all Tatar emigrants. Fight against Bolshevik Russia became the main subject of the magazine. The majority of materials have been written by Gayaz Iskhaki's feather and devoted to problems of the present and future Tatar people in the conditions of government of Bolsheviks.

In 1928 Iskhaki has begun to issue the *Милли юл* magazine ("A way of the nation") in Berlin, later has renamed it in *Яңа милли юл* ("A new way of the nation") which has been closed in September, 1939 by the order of the German government. According to professor H. Y. Minnegulov, the *Яңа милли юл* magazine is the central edition of all Tatar emigrant press, a peculiar encyclopedia of the Tatar people, the chronicle of his history [2, page 5].

All articles of Gayaz Iskhaki published during emigration contain sharp criticism of the Soviet power, the idea of injustice of the government of the USSR, his unscrupulousness and inconsistency in the expressed slogans stands out. One of sign publicistic works in this direction is the article "New Ideological Current among Russians", published in the May issue of the *Турек йорты* ("The Turkic house") of 1925 in which Gayaz Iskhaki analyzes the reasons of a victory of Bolshevik ideology in Russia. "After the Russian nation tired of war was exhausted, there was convenient a distribution of the ideas of the Bolshevism in the environment of this sick nation, – he writes. – The Bolshevism is a result of a chain of the made mistakes, it is the reason of the wrong organization of national education and national policy" [21, page 301].

In further creativity of Gayaz Iskhaki of the critic of an ideological system of the USSR more and more amplifies and becomes the central theme that is quite clear. He analyzes defects of board of Bolshevik ideology from the point of view of further development of the Tyurk-Tatar people: "The system of government of Bolsheviks is ready to offer all reasonable things for the sake of the Russian public and own profit. This policy though amplified, but also didn't decrease. Secondly, still the disease of "tribness" interpreted by red

Moscow Russians in a different way in the period of Bolsheviks, which came to the arena as the class separation which is thought up by imperial Russia with the purpose to separate from the Turk-Tatar people from each other didn't disappear. [22, page 59].

The anti-Bolshevist subject in Iskhaki's creativity is a peculiar continuation of anti-imperial subject in the conditions of imperial Russia. On its statement, the policy of Bolsheviks directed to liquidation of the small nations is direct heritage of policy of imperial autocracy. This thesis is most brightly shown in a series of its articles under the general name "Future of Russia" published in a number of the journal numbers "Millie of Spinning Tops" of 1929. Here what is written by G. Iskhaki in one of articles of this cycle "Future of Russia (Volga-Urals)" published in the fifth number: "If to consider our 370-year history oppressed under Russians, it is difficult to find time when Turk-Tatar could live absolutely quietly. In the conditions of change of tsars and politician's ministers in relation to Tatars though I changed, however all this was only change of old methods of violence and mockeries on new, more effective. In all this there is a main objective - it is extermination of the nation of our people, russification. All saw a way to it differently: Ivan the Terrible and Alexey Fedorovich – in a baptism, Alexander III – in destruction and counteraction to development of national wealth of our people [22, page 50].

In the majority of articles of Gayaz Iskhaki published in the Millie of Spinning Tops magazine from a critical point social and political and economic life of the Soviet Russia is analyzed. In this regard the article "In Tataria Continuous Collectivization Is Held" published in No. 2 of 1930 is most indicative. The author negative sides of collectivization reveal. Analyzing plans of Bolsheviks, Iskhaki predicts tragic consequences of such urgent collectivization held by Bolsheviks under good slogans: "Our emigrants absolutely tired of advertizing slogans of Bolsheviks with the words "plans for the future", "future construction" not absolutely understand an essence of these intentions. They don't think, don't know how dangerous tragedies are hidden under this short phrase "continuous collectivization" [22, page 108]. Then the author shows high rates of collectivization through specific figures. G. Iskhaki continues operates with figures which prove inefficiency of collectivization in increase in productivity of agricultural industry. And, all data are given from the report of the representative of the government of Tatarstan Ismayev in a congress of Councils. Author's conclusion unfavorable: "If to penetrate into these figures, then unless it isn't clear that the agricultural industry of Tatarstan in case of government of Bolsheviks becomes poorer, the number of the agricultural equipment, quantity of horses and other living creatures providing fertility of lands decreases day by day?. Unless it doesn't prove that its economy became many times weaker than amounts of 1880 when it didn't know neither about a sowing campaign, nor about the harvest equipment?"

Final part of the work contains a conclusion about inevitable crash of system of agricultural collectivization which contradicts all traditions and logic of development of economy. At the end of the work the publicist designates crash of system of collectivization in the future which really came six decades later after publication of this article.

G. Iskhaki is firmly convinced that the Soviet system in Russia will hold on not for long and in this case the question of self-determination of the small nations living in the Soviet country will become urgent. It begins the editorial "Pressing issue" devoted to need of consolidation of all Turk-Tatar for fight against the Bolshevik power with words: "The same as most of the non-Russian people living in Russia understood that further accommodation with Russians as well the people inhabiting neighboring states realized that inseparable big Russia can't be born anew is impossible" [22, page 59].

Similar beginning the article "Rights of the Nations and Russian Chauvinism" opens ("Millie of spinning tops", 1929, No. 12): "Than more internal and foreign affairs of the USSR weaken, especially the people which are going to separate from Russia" become stronger [22, page 63].

For confirmation of existence of separatist sentiments among "foreigners" in the country of councils of Iskhaki quite often gives opinion of representatives of Russian intelligentsia in emigration. For example, in the article "Problems of the Nations on Pages of the Russian Emigre Press" published in the first issue of the magazine *Яна милли юл* for 1938 he gives opinion of the famous journalist Postnikov: "According to Postnikov, the question of separatism between the nations existing in Russia has passed from a number of nonfictional jokes into the serious current. Since 1928, this movement has gained organized character. Within the last ten years separatists accurately inform of the position through periodicals" [22, page 217]. Estimating separatist moods of "foreigners", and in particular Tatars, the Russian intellectuals note existence of support of these forces from the European states: "They have found assistants in the different states of Europe among enemies of the Russian Empire, they found support and the help and didn't consider it a sin" [22, page 218]. Besides, according to the Russian intellectuals, separatists in the majority with hostility treat the Russian culture: "They also looked at culture of Russians not friendly. Some in spite of the fact that took in the wife of Russians, didn't hesitate to show the hostility to Russians and during any opportunity criticized not only policy, but also culture of Russians. The course of separatism between the nations in Russia was serious".

However, judging by G. Iskhaki's materials published in Millie of Spinning Tops and *Ya* a Millie of Spinning Tops magazines, this aversion for Russians has been caused by the fact that Tatars and Bashkirs were oppressed on the national soil: "The chernosotenny policy pursued in the USSR isn't for us something unusual. We come under influence of this policy within 380 years since Ivan the Terrible's times" [22, page 441].

Iskhaki sharply condemns also oppression in the USSR for belief, acts as the defender of Muslims of Russia: "Prosecution of Muslims, closing of mosques, extermination of mullahs-muezzins has stopped being

the phenomenon of local value. This phenomenon became the general trouble of all Muslim world. It has accepted coloring of a human problem of all civilized community" [22, page 152].

Thus, G. Iskhaki rigidly criticized policy and ideology in the USSR on pages of the Millie of Spinning Tops magazine, and later "Яңа Millie of spinning tops". Any innovations in the Soviet Russia met to them extremely unfriendly.

One more feature of his publicistic works of the period of emigration is that some moments which haven't been covered in the Tatar periodicals appearing directly in the Country of Councils quite often found reflection in them. Among them and the analysis there are positions of various European powers of rather young socialist country, her ideology and disputes on her future.

From the point of view of journalistic skill of the edition, edited by Gayaz Iskhaki in emigration, are of great interest as they have inherited rich traditions of pre-October Tatar periodicals to researchers.

4. CONCLUSION

During the different periods of the creative life Gayaz Iskhaki became the initiator of the edition more than ten Tatar newspapers and magazines, has written hundreds of publicistic works which still don't lose the value. In journalistic works of Gayaz Iskhaki as in a mirror, very difficult and very contradictory process of survival of the Tatar people in the conditions of autocracy and totalitarian Soviet system is reflected. Despite rich creative heritage, his activity as the journalist and the publicist still wasn't a subject of special studying. Apparently from our research, Gayaz Iskhaki was not only the active organizer of the Tatar journalism, but also the bright publicist, his journalistic and publicistic works exerted a great influence on public consciousness of many people during all XX century and continue to have a certain value and today.

More than a half of the life of Iskhaki has been forced to wander in the foreign land where has continued the political, literary and publicistic activity. Under no circumstances he didn't forget about the homeland, about the brothers in faith, dreamed of bright future of the people. After many years of concealment by the Soviet power existence of such personality as Gayaz Iskhaki, his creative heritage has returned home and on his works the new generation is brought up.

All new and new aspects of volume and broad publicistic activity of Gayaz Iskhaki wait in the future for the researchers. His original publicistic heritage, along with rich literary creativity, expects further laborious studying for completion of white spots in the history of the Russian journalism.

Conflict of interests

The author confirms that the submitted data don't contain the conflict of interests.

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