

# Mortgage lending as a financial management tool

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## Abstract

This research investigates the development of the Kazakh press via different methods such as the examination and source analysis of the content of Kazakh newspapers from 1917 to 1925. As a result, distortion of the Kazakh language and Kazakhization prospects were identified as the most prominent issues in the studied samples. In conclusion, the analysis of the informative and stylistic content of 14 issues of Kazakh newspapers of that time shows that the most topical issues included the integrity of Kazakh lands, distortion of the Kazakh language, and the prospects of Kazakhization.

**Keywords:** Soviet Propaganda, Kazakh Press, Language.

## *Préstamos hipotecarios como herramienta de gestión financiera*

## Resumen

Esta investigación investiga el desarrollo de la prensa kazaja a través de diferentes métodos, como el examen y el análisis de la fuente del contenido de los periódicos kazajos de 1917 a 1925. Como resultado, la distorsión de la lengua kazaja y las perspectivas de kazakización se identificaron como los temas más destacados en Las muestras estudiadas. En conclusión, el análisis del contenido informativo y estilístico de 14 números de los periódicos kazajos de esa época muestra que los temas más importantes incluían la integridad de las tierras kazajas, la distorsión de la lengua kazaja y las perspectivas de kazakización.

**Palabras claves:** La propaganda soviética, la prensa kazaja, lenguaje.

## **1. Introduction**

Authors of various works in the field of journalism studies argue that Kazakh periodicals in the 1920s, fully encouraged the ruling Soviet ideology, which is why the issues of national interests were not covered in the press (Lewis, 1983; Wheeler, 1954). This assessment is correct, to some extent. In fact, an objective assessment of printed media during that period was virtually impossible, because researches were under absolute control of the Communist Party. Moreover, Kazakh periodicals used the Arabic script until 1929; unfit printing machines made it impossible to comply with punctuation and grammar rules in the texts (Khalid, 1994). Some words were printed differently in different editions, making it difficult to identify and proofread the text. Newspaper files dating back to the 1920s can be found only in rare archives. In addition, such files are incomplete and inconsistent, which is why they do not constitute a single unified collection. For these and some other reasons, when analyzing periodicals of the early 1920s, many researchers rely only on available materials that have stood the test of time. It comes as no surprise that most of the stored articles maintained a Soviet orientation and were limited to the publication of official documents and party propaganda. Therefore, it is necessary to select actual and critical publications of the Soviet era and determine their stylistic and genre-specific features, as well as the peculiarities of material presentation.

### **1.1. Kazakh periodicals in 1917-1925: socio-political context**

The Soviet press was regarded as the main tool for building the socialist system (Lewytzkyj, 1974). Therefore, in December 1917, a special decree instructed to close down all bourgeois periodicals. After that, the task of the ideological machine was to drive out the Kazakh press that adhered to national-democratic principles and to form real Soviet press instead. As a result, the Ushkyn (ҰШҚЫН) newspaper was published according to a decree dated December 10, 1919, which became the printed media outlet of the Kyrgyz (Kazakh) Revolutionary Committee. The objective and purpose of the Ushkyn (ҰШҚЫН) newspaper were to keep the population up to date, describe the life of peasants, cover various events, and publish edicts and decrees of the Committee. The periodical performed these tasks in full and even boldly highlighted the problems of national interests. After all, the newspaper was managed by figures of the Enlightenment period that dated back to the old bourgeois system. In this newspaper, Baitursynov, M. Seralin, and M. Turganbaev Aubakirova et al. (2016) closely interwove the interests of the Kazakh peasants with national interests and the will of the certain strata with the will of the people, developed their judgments, and continued to publish relevant articles that were once published in such newspapers as The Kazakh (Қазақ) (1913-1918) and Aikap (Айқап).

The Soviet authorities were forced to give the former leaders of the Alash Orda access to Kazakh press administration and, hence, to a powerful tool of ideological work during the establishment of the Soviet regime. Firstly, there were no other well-educated and enlightened citizens except for them (Tanabuga, 1920). Secondly, leaders and fighters for independence were considered credible among the people since the days of the imperial government and were often perceived as the leaders of the nation. In addition, the main purpose of the Alash representatives was to serve the people, making use of all the opportunities provided by the Soviet authorities. During that period, Alash representatives could not be very straightforward in spreading their ideas of freedom; however, their principles and aspirations remained intact. They had good state management practice and were notable for an analytical and balanced approach in all affairs. They did not take pleasure from the

sweet dreams of communism and did not cast aspersions on the past. Many people that were engaged in building the Soviet state sought their advice. However, they were constantly reproached for nationalistic views and made to understand that their time had passed.

Although it was forbidden to publish articles of Alash Orda members in periodicals, the Soviet literature had not yet been established in the form envisioned by the central government. This issue was still a matter of debate. Therefore, printed literary works were extremely rare during that period. However, articles that covered such issues as education, economy, changes in the alphabet, and the scope of application of the Kazakh language, and equal rights for women were published on an almost daily basis. While accusing and casting aspersions on the bourgeois literature, the Soviet ideologists could offer nothing to replace it with. However, the Communists did not pay much attention to this problem. Their top priority was to fight internal enemies, which implied the elimination of the influence of well-educated Kazakhs, who realized the essence of the Soviet political and ideological work. One could call the 1923-1924 period the calm before the storm. During these years, the harsh reforms of F. Goloschekin did not affect Kazakhstan. The name of the nation was restored thanks to the efforts of Kazakh enlighteners. The state was now called the Kazakh ASSR instead of the Kyrgyz state. Several resolutions were adopted that concerned paperwork management in the Kazakh language and the development of the Kazakh language at the state level. Moreover, upon the initiative of the Kazakh intelligentsia, a decree of the People's Commissariat for Labor of the Kazakh ASSR on Dismissal of Employees Who Do Not Speak the Kazakh language and Are Unable to Prepare Paperwork in the Kazakh Language in Connection with the Introduction of Paperwork Management in the Kazakh Language was issued on July 21, 1924. This favorable period lasted until the fall of 1925. What commenced afterwards was a manhunt against enlighteners that demanded justice; such people were labeled nationalists after the rise to power of F. Goloschekin. Therefore, one can call this period the last echo of the national spirit.

## **1.2. The integrity of Kazakh lands as a relevant topic in printed press**

Territorial integrity of the state was one of the top-priority issues raised by the Ushkyn newspaper. The articles titled *The Kostanay Uyezd, On the Kazakh land, Land Problem Project Aitiev (1920)*, *past days Sadvakasov (1920)* and other materials condemned the attempts of the Chelyabinsk government to separate the Kostanay Uyezd from the Kazakh state and annex it to the Chelyabinsk region. The newspaper showed how a group of public officials headed by A. Baitursynuly and M. Seralinov held negotiations, but the authorities of Chelyabinsk did not want to miss the opportunity to seize this beautiful land. No matter how vocal the slogans of the Bolsheviks were (*Every nation has the right to establish its own republic, Farmers should be the masters of their land*), in fact, they were nothing but empty words.

In the article titled *On the Kazakh land*, which was published in 1920 in Ushkyn (ҰШҚЫН) issue No. 20, Tanabuga expressed the idea that there are no rich or poor men among the Kazakhs. Even if there are, they are not that different from those of other nations. Publication of such assertions that contradicted the Soviet policy of using the press as a tool of the peasant class showed the profound antagonism between the national interests and the Soviet government in 1920s. Land-related issues were also very relevant to the *Enbektuy (Еңбектуы)* periodical. For Kazakhs, who were forced to leave their fruitful homeland, exile to the wasteland as a result of the inhumane policy of czarist autocracy was the worst tragedy.

Other topical issues that were high on the agenda included the establishment of autonomy and subsequent statehood of the Akmola and Semey regions, which remained under Siberian government. These reasons became the fundamental fact for the actualization of land-related topics in the newspaper. In an article titled *The Autonomy and Two Regions* published in *Enbektuy* (Еңбектуы), issue No. 5, the author named Kartai addressed the need to annex the two regions (Akmola and Semey), which the Siberian government did not want to lose control over, to the Kazakh state. The author criticized the Siberian government, which was in no hurry to concede the rights to these areas, and accused them of violating the Soviet policy.

S. Sadvakassov was more active in this respect. In his article titled *On the Siberian Kazakhs*, he analyzed the problem of annexing the Akmola and Semey regions, which belonged to the Siberian Revolutionary Committee at that time, to Kazakhstan and furiously accused the illegal actions of said Committee, which hindered the annexation of these lands. In the article titled *On Siberian Regions Tanabuga* (1920b), the author also argues in favor of annexing the Akmola and Semey territories to the Kazakh autonomy. Thanks to the efforts and decisive actions of the group of leaders headed by Sadvakasov (1920), these two areas were returned to Kazakhstan from under the rule of the Siberian Government. The return of Kazakh lands from the Turkestan Republic to Kazakhstan was high on the agenda as well. Government leaders proposed to declare the city of Tashkent, where Kazakhs were in the majority, and the capital of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic. A lot of explanatory work was done in order to clarify the situation; precise statistics on the population was provided. As a result, the South Kazakhstan regions were returned to Kazakhstan; the area was expanded and the population grew by several times. However, Tashkent, which was considered indigenous Kazakh land, did not become the capital of Kazakhstan.

The land problem was one of the most relevant topics in the *Ushkyn* (ҰШҚЫН) and *Enbektuy* (Еңбектуы) newspapers in 1923-1924, when the Soviet government was gathering momentum. The Kazakh enlighteners fought with their gloves off on the pages of newspapers and magazines for the Akmola, Semey, Omsk, Kokchetau, Petropavlovsk, and Uralsk regions, which the Siberian government did not want to cede. Furthermore, the Syr Darya, Semirechinsk, Fergana, and Trans-Caspian regions remained part of the Turkestan Republic. The Kazakh intellectuals led by A. Baitursynov, M. Turganbaev, and Sadvakasov (1920) not only indignantly outlined the problem in the newspapers, but also held active negotiations with the Russian government and the heads of provinces. In general, the issue was discussed in the Kazakh Congress; it was claimed that the land should have been under the jurisdiction of the Kazakh state. Another article that raised this relevant actual problem was titled *On the Kazakh Land*. According to this article, peasants perceive the Kazakhs as loot, especially in the form of land. Peasants leave their fertile lands intact and buy up Kazakh lands. This is not due to the excess of Kazakh lands, but due to the helplessness of the Kazakhs themselves: farmers buy not only Kazakh land, but also the work of Kazakhs. Farmers buy from Kazakhs not only virgin, but also fertile lands, ploughed by the Kazakhs. It is clear to both peasants and Kazakhs how much benefit the peasants gain and how much Kazakhs lose. After giving their plowed lands to peasants, Kazakhs have to reclaim and plow virgin lands in order to continue to live a sedentary life. By reclaiming virgin lands, Kazakhs lose grazing lands and harm animal husbandry.

Thus, Kazakhs deteriorate both agriculture and cattle breeding by selling their land to peasants. If the Kazakhs continue selling their fertile land to peasants, they will lose the opportunity to sow wheat and keep cattle; by plowing and selling virgin land, they will become proletariat; once they lose their farming tools they will become a real proletariat (Sadvakasov, 1920). The author of this article hints at the idea that the main potential threat to Kazakhs comes not from rich people, but from the

neighboring country with colonialist and imperious intentions, a country that was breaking offhandedly into the Kazakh land and plundering it. Interestingly, the Ushkyn (ҰШҚЫН) newspaper, which was the voice of the Revolutionary Committee, allowed the publication of such critical and frank opinions about the fate of the nation. Of course, it would be no exaggeration to say that this situation resulted from the fact that the Revolutionary Committee was headed by such patriots of their country as A. Baitursynuly.

In his article titled On Siberian Kazakhs, S. Sadvakassov wrote the following: The need for autonomy is rationalized as follows: every nation has its own language, its own traditions (way of life). In order to achieve human happiness, every nation should be the ruler of their own culture in their own language and run their households in accordance with their lifestyle. Could the above-mentioned fundament be provided properly if one ties one half of the Kazakh people to one wagon and another half to another one? If the people with one native language and one common household are divided, how they will develop their culture, change the economy, join a laboring group or become a humanist?.. They say the Kazakh people are ferocious, ignorant, unthinking, silent, and unaware. Therefore, they can do anything. By no means! The time of such judgments has passed. The working people have already awakened. The all-seeing eye is vigilant. The Kazakh people are not as lonely as they used to be, we have plenty of good-natured and warlike heroes. They became Communists not to turn Kazakh people into slaves, but to turn them into good citizens. The Kazakh people will not be suppressed like before. They can improve their lives and join the working masses. Suicide is not tempting to us. Thus, the Kazakh workers want unity, prosperity, and good health.

The problem raised in this article will always be relevant. The expression of such an idea at that time could be considered desperate heroism. This heroic deed was done by Smagul Sadvakassov. Through the articles of A. Baitursynuly, M. Seralin, and the younger generation of Alash Orda members, such as S. Sadvakassov, one can see the real picture of that period. With these articles, the outstanding figures of the Alash Orda faithfully served their people until the Bolshevik regime deposed them. They boldly wrote about and directly addressed political and social issues. Thus, enlighteners and leaders of the Kazakh people succeeded in saving their compatriots from many losses.

Due to the bold articles written by leaders of the people and their brave struggle, the Kazakh land was reunited with the territory of the state, though not entirely.

## **2. Discussion and results**

The newspapers often addressed the issue of the Kazakh language as one of the most urgent ones. This problem was one of the main topics of articles published in the Enbekshi Kazak (Еңбекші қазақ) newspaper when S. Seifullin was editor (from late 1922 to April 1924). The problem was discussed in such articles as Information on Paperwork in the Kazakh Language, On the Introduction of the Kazakh Language, and Introduction of Paperwork in the Kazakh Language in Institutions, through which S. Seifullin showed an example of honoring the native language. S. Seifullin made an enormous contribution to the struggle for changing the concept of Kyrgyz to Kazakh. In 1921, he publicly protested against the decree signed by Bolshevik R. Zenkovich and commented as follows: All the offices of local and provincial institutions and the offices of uyezd agencies manage their paperwork work in Russian.

In his main article titled One Should Manage Paperwork in the Kazakh Language, Seifullin wrote that the twelfth meeting of the Communist Party raised the question of language as one of the main issues. This appeal was addressed directly to the Communists of Kazakh decent. While discussing

the article On Government Paperwork Management in the Republics in the National Language and making decisions in this respect, S. Seifullin suggested paying attention to the mentality, way of life, and the main problems of the Kazakh people. This decision was well received by the Kazakh communists, who considered it their duty to commence performing their functions without further delay (Landau & Kellner-Heinkele, 2001). The article criticized the distortion of the Kazakh language by the educated comrades and their habit of mixing the Kazakh language with foreign languages. In 1923, the struggle began, the purpose whereof was to defend the right to use the state language when the issue of the Kazakh language development was high on the agenda. In the *Aikap* (Айқап) magazine, Sultanmahmut Toraigyrov called to preserve the purity of the Kazakh language, without any additions from the Bukhara and Arab accents, as well as without wanton religious dialects.

The newspapers *Enbekshil Kazak* (Еңбекшіл қазақ) and *Enbekshi Kazak* (Еңбекші қазақ) also opposed the inappropriate introduction of the Russian language and the imposition of foreign words. This was the beginning of the Kazakh intellectuals' struggle against the imperial policy of forced russification of the Kazakh language. Unfortunately, this struggle continues to this day and remains an unsolved problem of the modern society. When studying the files of that time, one cannot ignore the illiterately composed decrees and orders, and poor translations from the Kazakh language, which forced the Kazakh intellectuals to pick up the pen (Lewis, 1983; Madiyar, 1925). For instance, M. Dulatov in his article noted that the requirement to introduce paperwork management in the Kazakh language was not actually fulfilled and that people only made a semblance of fulfilling said requirement. The author indignantly reveals the intentional crime against the Kazakh language by showing the order of the Internal Commissariat with questionable and incomprehensible content. This governmental order with entirely incomprehensible content caused a protest: Is this in Kazakh? It would be better to leave it in Russian rather than to translate it into the Kazakh language in this manner. This order will be distributed throughout Kazakhstan. Moreover, I admit that this is not the only order in the Kazakh language and that such orders are being prepared right now. Consequently, the Commission on the introduction of the Kazakh language or other institutions should keep an eye on this process, because eventually there will be those who will tell us if this is the Kazakh language, then I would rather be Russian! These words serve as proof of the writer's true patriotism and reveal his deep distress for his people. Nevertheless, even after the Kazakh language became the state language, this issue persisted and newspapers continued to publish articles that sharply criticized the secondary importance of the Kazakh language.

The newspapers did their historical duty – they showed the shortcomings in the development of the native language, drew attention of the executive power to this issue, and thus contributed to the taking of certain measures. This disproves the popular belief that the Soviet press was just an ideological tool of the party power. In reality, everything was different. When it comes to the original course of development of Kazakh periodicals, it is worth noting that Soviet journalism had its own features, ideas, and contradictions, especially in the 1920s. An unbiased systematic study of this problem and its objective assessment is the duty of the current generation. To underestimate this fact would be to neglect the work of public officials, who made a considerable contribution to the development of national journalism.

In addition to public figures and their stance on the language issue, it is also worth mentioning the views of Turar and Gabbas, who supported the Soviet ideology. This is seen from an article published in 1926 in the *Enbekshi Kazak* (Еңбекші қазақ) newspaper issue No. 253 titled The Kazakhization of Kazakhs. This article was published on the front page and read as follows: To be a Kazakh without knowing or forgetting the Kazakh language is disgraceful and dishonorable. This is especially true as

regards to the leaders of the Kazakh working society, the Kazakh Communists, who are political leaders. Kazakh party officials and administrators who despised their native language were criticized. The author wrote: We should not teach Kazakh workers in Russian. It is impossible to form the Kazakh literature through translation works only. In addition, the formation of the Kazakh consciousness through copies of book is impossible. We cannot create the Kazakh culture relying only on textbooks of Ahmet and Eldes. Perhaps common people are unable to evaluate the problem, but the Kazakh communists who consider themselves leaders of the Kazakh workers should understand the situation clearly. Therefore, the Kazakhization trend should be managed by Kazakh communists and they should start with themselves. The editor, Togzhanuly, deserves recognition for raising the language issue. Unfortunately, the problem raised in his article remains unsolved and urgent. Another aspect of the language problem is what language should be used in schools? In the article titled Problems of Public Education, published in Enbekshi Kazakh (Енбекшіқазақ), the author considered the preparation of schoolbooks and the choice of the teaching language in school as the main problems. As regards language teaching, he wrote the following: The Kazakh language should be taught only in primary schools. However, one-fourth of the lessons there should be held in Russian. Otherwise, Kazakh children will not be able to receive a full education. This situation was actually more complicated than it seemed. For instance, in 1925, the Enbekshi Kazakh (Енбекшіқазақ) newspaper in its issue No. 221 provided the following statistics: There are 2,632 first and second grades in Kazakhstan. The total number of students in these schools is 197,670. Six hundred eighteen schools among them teach in the Kazakh language and the number of pupils there is 29,227. These figures clearly indicate how the colonialist policy started. The number of Kazakh schools was 4.5 times smaller than that of Russian schools, while the number of Kazakh-speaking students was seven times smaller than that of Russian-speaking students. It was high time to sound the alarm.

The issue of teaching Kazakh children in Russian was raised in 1925 and remained only in a discussion format. In 1927, the problem transformed into an open collective struggle. The followers of K. Kemengeruly's views clashed with the Soviet fraction led by Kabylyuly. When asked what language should be used in school? Kemengeruly mentioned the shortage of teachers for Kazakh classes, the lack of Kazakh textbooks for higher educational institutions, and said that it was impossible for graduates of Kazakh schools to enter universities, while also arguing against Russian secondary schools. Kemengeruly argued that if children were not taught in the Kazakh language, it would unnecessary to publish textbooks in the Kazakh language, which should not be allowed. Personnel training would be impossible if the books on respective subjects were not translated into the Kazakh language. Consequently, it would be impossible to develop the national school or national culture. While other Turkic peoples provide secondary education in their native language, the Kazakhs abandon their own language. The advancement and development of Kazakh schools will gradually lead to the establishment of Kazakh departments in universities (Kabylyuly, 1927).

I. Kabylyuly later contradicted the aforesaid in his article titled it is Essential to Seek Knowledge. As regards the question can the Kazakh language become the language of knowledge? The author responds: If the Kazakh language continues to rely on Russian as it does today, it can be taught only at the level of primary school. According to Kabylyuly, the Kazakh language was exposed to pressure since the tsarist times, which led to the absence of Kazakh schools. Education in schools was provided only in Russian and Arabic. Textbooks were also published in Russian and in Arabic. The Kazakh language has never been the language of knowledge. For this reason, the author concludes: the goal of being educated through the Kazakh language is not obligatory, there are other ways. We need to find a short and useful way to achieve knowledge. Nowadays, the Kazakh language cannot serve as

the main instrument of education. Therefore, in my opinion, we should use the Russian language. Russian is the language of education in the Soviet Union. In this endeavor, he showed distrust and alienation as regards his mother tongue. Kabylyly then proceeded to accuse nationalists. The author attempted to discredit his compatriots by saying: Those who require school education in the Kazakh language, in fact, protect the national consciousness. This pursues not the goal of education, but that of teaching in the Kazakh language, with the view of gaining independence. This idea is peculiar to the minority of people with chauvinistic views, who were expelled from the party, from the Soviets, and from the working class. Unfortunately, this struggle between the Kazakh intelligentsia and the classes was orchestrated by the Soviet power. While allowing such conflicts to happen, high-ranking party members played the role of observers. They invented different groups and set them against each other to commence a systematic elimination of the intelligentsia. By eliminating all national leaders and speakers, the Soviet government adopted a ruling On Compulsory Education in the Russian Language in National Republics and Regional Schools. Thus, started the unhindered justification.

The regulation On Compulsory Education in the Russian Language in Kazakh Schools actually pursued the goal of destroying the Kazakh mentality. Then the Restoration of National Schools enabled chauvinists to close Kazakh schools and to establish full-scale training in Russian. Thus, the step-by-step policies aggravated the already precarious status of the Kazakh language. Unfortunately, at that time, when the assumption of Kemengeruly that teaching in the Kazakh language in secondary schools will gradually result in Kazakh language teaching in universities was crushed by Soviet power, the assessment of Kabylyly that the Russian language is the language of education in the Soviet Union was spread far and wide without any hindrances. As a result, there were party officials who supported single-language policy and publicly stated that a solid Russian secondary education ensured higher education and offered great opportunities for young people. By the end of 1920s, the Bolshevik regime that took control of the press began to change its national policies. It became clear that the Soviet Union hid the policy of assuming control over everything under the guise of national guardianship. For instance, before the separation of the regions in the Almaty district, the Kazakhization of institutions reached 33 percent; after the separation, this figure dropped to 12 percent. In Uralsk, these figures were similar: the number of Kazakh institutions dropped from 34 to 10 percent. These developments did not allow real patriots to stay indifferent.

They used newspapers to spread the word that Kazakhization was not carried out properly. That was clearly seen in an article titled On the Seven Orders of Kazakhization, which strictly criticized the failure of the local government to comply with orders (Baitursynov & Seralin, 2009). On May 17, 1927, the Committee of the Soviet and the Union of Commissars of Kazakhstan issued a decree On the Kazakhization of All Districts and Uyezds Offices until January 1, 1928. Seven other regulations were adopted on the basis of this decree: No. 258 dated February 5, 1928, No. 363 dated 18 February, No. 865 dated 11 April, No.1000 dated 26 April, No.1120 dated May 8, and No. 1523 dated 18 June. However, the plans regarding the Kazakhization of ordinary agencies were not executed. The author stated the following: The orders and decrees On the Necessity of Kazakhization issued by the supreme authorities were ignored by local governments. Paperwork was still managed in Russian. Only one Kazakh-speaking clerk worked at each institution. It is impossible to kazakhizate the office work procedure having only one Kazakh-speaking employee. This should be addressed by relevant authorities.

The same question related to the Kazakhization of offices was raised in 1928 in issue No. 297 of the Enbekshi Kazak (Еңбекшіқазақ) newspaper. The author criticized the slow progress of Kazakhization and the passivity and indifference of party officials: If the Kazakhization continues at this pace, nothing will happen. This process should be taken under the control of the party and local



government. Now it is necessary to carry out the Kazakhization not in general, but individually. Each institution should be checked separately. One should find out on a case-by-case basis the reasons behind such nonperformance. Thus, we must punish workers for their carelessness and irresponsibility by taking Kazakhization-related activities of institutions under strict control and bringing them to the political and legal liability. In this endeavor, this author asked to punish the perpetrators, who disobeyed the law and the party. It was the last attempt made by patriots to raise the Kazakh people and protect the national values. Soon afterwards, Ryskululy became a victim of the Soviet prosecutorial system.

In the early years of the Soviet Republic, the Bolshevik regime did not dare to force the brave and educated leaders of the people out of political arena; however, in the late 1920s, when the training of Soviet specialists was complete, the government started to distance Kazakh intellectuals from education and publishing. S. Tokzhigituly, who was also concerned with national problems, opposed public enlighteners in his article titled *On Kazakhization: Literature is a vulnerable part of the Cultural Revolution*. Previously, it was used by people who were distant from us. Printing books was regarded as a benefit for the nationalists. They were key figures, especially in the field of art and knowledge. Schoolteachers were not Communists – they remained old nationalists. People like Ahmed remained devoted to their old beliefs and ideas no matter what. In his article, he called to fight this phenomenon and not to succumb to negative opinions. In conclusion, the author set forth the following demands: party books should be written by party members; it is necessary to enhance control over the work of the Party and Soviets; it is necessary to organize a special group of Kazakh communists in the editorial departments of Party committees with the right to publish articles and to introduce strict censorship of articles together with supervision over them. Thus, educated public figures, who believed that the press is the social mirror destined to correct the mistakes and to discover defects, were persecuted and forced to cease educational activities. After 1928, the occurrence of national themes reduced, as did the number of articles that expressed feelings about the fate of the Kazakh language. Instead, small memos and messages of local authorities were published. Thus, after the 1930s, articles praising the communist system and party achievements replaced discussion articles.

### **3. Conclusion**

During the Soviet period, the press was considered a tool of the party ideology. Firstly, it stemmed from the isolation of the intelligentsia from the publishing industry, secondly, the party power and the communist ideology kept the information environment under strict control. To that end, Soviet decrees of 1917 and 1919 were implemented. Until the end of 1920s, Kazakh newspapers criticized the past, with a view of building a new society. The analysis of the informative and stylistic content of 14 issues of Kazakh newspapers of that time shows that the most topical issues included the integrity of Kazakh lands, distortion of the Kazakh language, and the prospects of Kazakhization. Articles written by Alash Orda members that addressed the problems of education, economy, changes in the alphabet, and equal rights for women provided additional insight into the information environment.

The *Ushkyn* (Үшқын), *Enbektuy* (Еңбектуы), *Enbekshilkazak* (Еңбекшілқазак) and *Enbekshikazakh* (Еңбекшіқазақ) newspapers were unilaterally considered agents of the Bolshevik government. In fact, the authors not only struggled against the feudal system, but also actively discussed and raised the problem of statehood and nationalism. Therefore, this study presents a new objective review of the above publications.

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