

## Publishing organ of Alashorda government and its editor in revolution period

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**Abstract.** This article is about social and political potentation of “Kazakh” newspaper which was the publishing organ of Alashorda government (1917-1920). Also the creativity of alash activist Zh.Zhanibekov who was at the head of “Kazakh” newspaper in post revolutionary years was studied. Historical manuals and archive materials written after Republic of Kazakhstan got independence used in original version in the scientific article.

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### Introduction

The 1730s saw the start of colonization of the Kazakh steppe by the Russian Empire, and it was from this period that the question of the relationship with the Russian administration and attitude toward its reforms would become a fundamental problem for the Kazakh ruling elite [1].

Political elite has formed from great representatives of depressed Kazakh nation. After falling of tsarist authority in 1917 Kazakh intelligentsia has established “Alashorda” government in order to create national country.

“Kazakh” newspaper was the publishing organ of Alashorda. Alash citizens who worked for “Kazakh” suffered enough both from tsarist authority and totalitarianism system. Three editor of “Kazakh” A.Baitursynov, M.Dulatov and Editor in bolshevism period Zh.Zhanibekov got under Stalin’s repression.

Systematical research of the heritage of Alash figures started after reaching the independence. The government has provided support in investigation of finding unknown works of Alash. N.A.Nazarbayev wrote the importance of heritage of Alash figures in his “On the wave of history” book, chapter “Alash heritage and nowadays”: “The forming of national political organization hasn’t deeply researched in our home history. Many theories suggested by leaders of “Alash” party still have the biggest importance nowadays”[2].

Alash Orda was the name of the provisional Kazakh government between 13 December 1917 and 26 August 1920.

The Alash Party proclaimed the autonomy of the Kazakh people in December 1917. The provisional government consisted of 25 members (10 positions reserved for non-Kazakhs) and 15 member candidates. They formed a special educational commission and

established militia regiments as their armed forces. They issued a number of legislative resolutions [3].

The historical facts of last century’s “Alash” party and “Alashorda” government have been researched in international level. The legacies of A.Baitursunov and M.Dulatov who managed “Kazakh” were systematized and published as volumes.

After waiting a long time to be studied, the legacy of the last editor of “Kazakh” newspaper Zhanuzak Zhanibekov has finally started to research. His religious-educational work “Aina” miscellany that was published in Kazan in 1908 has translated from Arabic character for the first time. As the result of scientific-research methodology it was included in domestic scientific turn. Only couple articles were known to be published in “Kazakh” newspaper for now. As the result of scientific research unknown articles of Alash activists were translated. Their scientific value was researched.

### Main body Publishing organ of Alashorda government.

In the beginning of the second quarter of the XX century the tsarist Russian empire was close to collapse. After the World War I social and political situation of people has diminished and there was no peace in people’s mind. It was time when the system of authority has changed to new format and influential groups holding to different political directions started to act. This situation has also affected Kazakh society.

After February and October revolution of 1917 in Russia educated and intelligent citizens of Kazakh nation had the feeling of readiness to get the independence. Kazakh nation tried to get the power back after being more than two centuries under the Russia authority.

For this purpose from 5 to 17 December 1917 was held II Kazakh-wide congress in Orenburgcity. According to congress decision on 13<sup>th</sup> of December Alash autonomy was established. Nation council of Alash autonomy named Alashorda, direct heir of Ghenghis khan Alikhan Bokeikhanov was elected for the presidency with the most of votes.

The majority of members of “Alash” party entered into Alashorda government. “Alash” party was the first Kazakh party that was established on the First Kazakh-wide congress from 21 to 28 July 2017.

The president of government A.Bokeikhanov explained the purpose of creating Alashorda – Kazakh Autonomy: “This decision of congress conceived from prevention anarchy in the territory where Kazakhs lived and from the interests of not giving the right to develop (Kazakhs are alien to division into classes) bolshevism on the land”.

Kazakh Alashorda, the government that was born from disagreement to bolshevism power in Russia.

“Kazakh” newspaper (1913-1918) that was “the eye, the ear and the tongue” of Kazakhs in tsarist Russia period now becomes the publishing organ of Alashorda government.

The important mark in the annals of Kazakh journalism is occurrence of the political newspaper "Kazakh" (1913-1918), being the political centre of advanced Kazakh intelligentsia. The newspaper, expressing interests of Kazakh people, was their tribune, defender of their rights. The period of revolution in 1916 objectively covered all process and called people for rallying and unity. Just the newspaper was in the greater measure the organiser of political work of progressive national intelligentsia, the result of it was the development of tactics and strategy of struggle for independence. The newspaper had party orientation. The national party "Alash Orda" was formed under the influence of ideas of the newspaper "Kazakh".

Pete Rottier in his “Kazak Intellectuals’ perceptions of Russians in Late Imperial Russia” research writing that representatives of Kazakh intelligentsia obeyed achievements of Russians in education sphere in their positions, said following: “This connection between two societies, i.e. kazakh nation and empire that ruled it shows global opinion and intelligence of Kazakh intelligentsia”.

Pete Rottier added Adeeb Khalid’s point of view in his book, and we can agree with it. “Kazakh intelligentsia who expressed their social-political positions through “Kazakh” and “Aikap” newspaper in the beginning of the XX century evaluated progress and achievements in Russia deserving of foremost society” [4] wrote Adeeb Khalid.

“Kazakh” newspaper started to publish during the Nicolay II rule of Russian empire in Orenburg once in a week during the five years, then twice in a week later. The newspaper’s circulation was more than 3 thousand, distribution territory was Kazakhstan and the far and the near foreign countries. Cities of Samarkand, Ufa, Kazan, Tomsk, Orenburg, Petersburg, Moscow, and Istanbul had their own readers. Also subscribers of newspaper were registered from neighboring China and Caspian land. The circulation of newspaper’s special numbers reached 8000.

According to the order of Orenburg governor to High press administration, newspaper published in the following directions: 1. Orders and commands of government. 2. The work of state Council of State Duma. 3. Intestinal and foreign news. 4. The history and life of Kazakhs. 5. The questions of ethics, history, ethnography and culture. 6. Economics, trading, craft, plough, animal husbandry. 7. The questions of education, school, madsarah, stylistics and literature. 8. Purenness, health and veterinary. 9. Feuilleton. 10. Reports and telegrams. 11. Local news. 12. Pictures. 13. Mails (letters). 14. Announcements.

Leading and advanced citizens, political figures and representatives of intelligentsia have joined “Kazakh” newspaper.

“Kazakh” newspaper is the reflection of its time, witness of Bolshevik managing system and tsarist-police authority. On that time all the most important critical questions were boldly published on the pages of newspapers. Land problems that turned to suffering of nation uninterruptedly brought up on “Kazakh”, articles about education, religion, art and culture were also published. They told about all grief and complaint on the pages to High authority. They dreamed about fairness and equality, and wanted to own their power. They summoned Kazakh people to work in the way of art, education and science to achieve the goal.

Two hundred and sixty five pages of the newspaper were published during the tsarist Russia period. The publishing the rest of the numbers contemporize with Bolshevism power. In the space between 1913 and 1916 years newspaper was shut 26 times, for some publications that caused negative reaction from authority the editors were fined couple times, editor A. Baitursynov was arrested several times and sent to prison.

After two revolutions when Bolshevism started to establish in Russia, the aim of “Kazakh” newspaper, the publishing organ of Alashorda government, became more important and dangerous. Alash figures who wanted to create national country expressed their social and political principles and positions through this newspaper.

The Soviet government didn't recognize Alashorda government. Next demand of Alashorda excited the revulsion of Soviet government: "Alashorda will be the government which will pass the laws in Alash autonomy, local councils will assist to Alashorda, also according to Kazakh-Kirgiz wide congress (December 1917) Alash military must be created".

Disclaimed Alash autonomy has stopped its existence in 1920. Even the managing key was in hand, but Lenin's Marxism system was afraid of Alash figures. Their every single step was constantly observed by organs.

President of the Republic of Kazakhstan Nursultan Nazarbayev in his book named "On the wave of history" wrote following on the 230 page about Alash figures who led Kazakh nation to independence: "Kazakh state figures were very cautious for totalitarianism regime because they didn't want to renew old political structure, they could have built a state of new era".

This is fair assessment given to representatives of Kazakh intelligentsia established in the beginning of twentieth century.

The government of Alashorda was against to Bolshevism power, Turkish reformer Kemal Ataturk got the Turkey far away from bolshevism, either. We can find some resemblance in political ideas between Mustafa Kemal, who came to power and Alashorda figures.

We know that there was Turk idea that collected unity if Turkish nations in Middle Asia in the beginning of XX century. This political point of view is obviously shown in Turkistan government established by political activist Mustafa Shokay.

The great figure of Turkish nation of its time Mustafa Kemal Ataturk with political sagacity said following: "The countries under the control of Soviet government wouldn't be together like they are now, when time comes the countries will declare their independence".

However, Kazakh intelligentsia who was greedy for independence strangled in the hands of Marxism in the fight with no compromise against bolshevism. In Stalin's totalitarianism regime Alash figures flickered out, suffered political repression, caught with no guilt and were shot down.

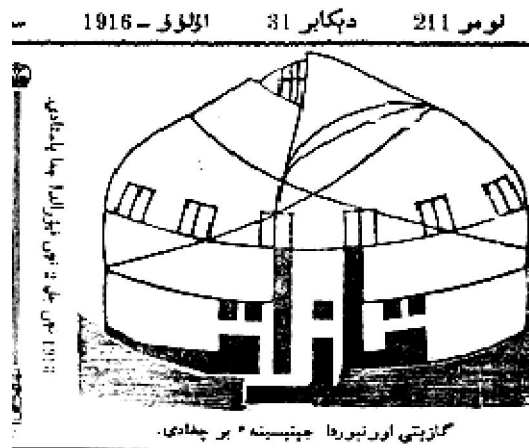
The dream of Kazakh nation about independence slipped away and got lingered. Predicted Independence Day by Ataturk has come to Kazakhstan only after seventy years.

During the political ruffle publishing organ of Alashorda "Kazakh" newspaper executed own commitments faultlessly.

"Kazakh" newspaper is the first nationwide social and political independent edition in the history

of Kazakh journalism. The "Kazakh" takes important place not only in the history of domestic journalism, but also in the history of Kazakh nation.

In the beginning of XX century encyclopedic "Kazakh" newspaper designed with following symbolic image [1-picture]: felt cover of the yurt opens from the west side. "Kazakh" is written on the door of yurt. The meaning is that knowledge and art of Europe come to Kazakh nation through this cover. The "Kazakh" newspaper is the door to culture and also the guard for its nation.



Picture 1. Symbolic image of "Kazakh" newspaper

"Kazakh" newspaper was the voice of its own time. Editors marked off the role and importance in society of the paper #1 number of 1913: "First of all, newspaper is the eye, the ear and the tongue of the nation. How much human needs eye, ear and tongue, thus people need newspaper" [5]. "Kazakh" paper was the eye, the ear and the tongue of Kazakh nation in the beginning of XX century and executed own commitments immaculately.

Kazakh scientist, academician A.Nysanbayev evaluated the paper saying:

"Kazakh" newspaper in such a short time was able to gather all Kazakh intelligentsia, could wake up fading spirit of nation like unceasingly ringing bell, and put together thousands of educated young people under the flag of independence. This paper also was the base of establishing national-democratic Alash party – the first big social organization in Kazakh history. During the ruffle times it saved Kazakh people from chaos, and it was the voice Alashorda government which wanted to reach nation to authority of autonomy country. But it couldn't resist to Soviet government who declared to recognize the rights of soul-sick nations by word of mouth, but followed different principle in actual fact...

However, "Kazakh" paper completely put through all tasks, and reached its goal. Its' voice that

exhorted to become independent will last through the generations with the continual chant”[6].

Tomas Winner in his research named “The Oral Art and Literature of the Kazakhs of Russian Central Asia”[7] wrote that Kazakh intelligentsia wanted to have modernization through educating people, and worked hard in this way.

The first editor of “Kazakh” newspaper was Akhmet Baitursynov(1873-1937).

On the 19<sup>th</sup> of February, 1910 Special Council of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Russia has made a decision to send him into banishment far from Kazakh land. According to this decision, A.Baitursynov has gone into banishment to Orenburg city on 9<sup>th</sup> of March, 1910, and decided to publish “Kazakh” newspaper in this city. When Bolsheviks had Orenburg in the end of 1917, political figures had to leave the city.

A.Baitursynov is political figure and important person who spent his conscious life thinking about interests of Kazakh nation. Activity life of A.Baitursynov was under the sight of first the tsarist, then under supervising organs of soviet authority system. He was arrested several times and sent to prison.

Alash activist A.Baitursynov was on the top of the black list of totalitarianism system. He suffered Stalin’s political repression and was innocently shot down in 1937.

M.Dulatov has taken the lead (1886-1937) of “Kazakh” newspaper after A.Baitursynov.

The miscellany of verses of M.Dulatov named “Wake up, Kazakh” was published in 1909. However, administrative organs of Russian empire expropriated all circulation of “Wake up, Kazakh” and prohibited to read it. The action of trying to wake up national consciousness of Kazakh people by nationalist citizen keep strangled.

M.Dulatov was under surveillance of observing organs of the king. Even on the period of Soviet government he was constantly under watching as a dangerous person. During Stalin’s political repression he was titled as “The enemy of nation” and was shot in 1937.

Numbers of “Kazakh” paper that appeared in 1918 were edited by Zhanuzak Alzhanuly Zhanibekov (1889-1937). It was the time when Bolshevik authority set to all Russian territory. In this year only couple numbers were published and the paper has stopped its existence.

Three editors of “Kazakh” have lived through tough times. Stalin did everything to destroy young ones whose eyes glistened with fight for the land.

**Politically complicated times: Zh.Zhanibekov is antibolshevik.** It was hard time for Zhanibekov as a social activist when the authority of

Bolshevism started to rule. When Alash figures A.Bokeikhanov and A.Baitursynov had to leave Orenburg, all duties of editing “Kazakh” newspaper went with trust to Zh.Zhanibekov.

He was really disappointed when his nation suffered from tsarist time, raising his anticolonial point of view. When he ling was put down, Alashorda government was established. When everyone thought that time for independence finally has come, people heard clatter of bolshevism.

He published agitation article “Go ahead, Alash man!” in “Kazakh’s” #262,1918 [8].

“... You all know that Germans were enemies of Russia, since last October we have an enemy within. It’s Bolshevik”, - said author.

“Hey, Alash! Who are you? You are the son that has come to the place of brave Turkish warriors, your ancestors fought and died for you with the sword. They had Istanbul, wrecked the walls of Carpathian Mountains.

Brave sons of Turkish men, shake it out, be happy, and be ready to fight against your enemy!

Who is your enemy? Enemy is Bolshevik. Until you destroy the seed of bolshevism, Russia will have no peace. And if there is no peace you won’t be able to raise your voice”,

- said author explaining the meaning of political period and social-public direction.

He reminds that we are warrior heirs of Turks: “This time is about existence and death of nations.

...It is duty for Alash citizen to fight against mutual enemy - Bolshevik”.

We can see that the author of article couldn’t accept new type of authority through these sentences.

In the same number of “Kazakh” newspaper the article “Alash victims” was published. It is not possible to read this article with no sympathy. It is dominated by literary arts. The head of Alashorda militia Kazy Nurmuhameduly was innocently killed by Bolsheviks. Friends of the dead gathered for prayer the following day. They took two pictures of the first victim on the way of Alash in order not to forget him: in bloodstained position and in coffin. Alash activists swore on oath always remember 22-years old Alash victim Kazy Nurmuhameduly who died from the hands of Bolsheviks.

“After putting his body to the grave and reading Koran Alash elder Sh. Kudaiberdiev said following bringing tears to everyone who was there:

“Society! Do you know who lies there? This is the first one of Alash citizens who sacrificed his soul for nation. Today and later citizens that live for “community” showed their nationalism by actions, not words.

... Dear, Kazy, don't regret about death! You have no dream! You have special place in front of God and people.

Educated and young people! Don't dare to forget your friend. His family now is on you! There is a son left after him. It is all our duty to raise, bring up and make him a man. Don't be upset by this situation. I curtailed that God gave true Alash son. I didn't expect to see this happening at sixty. I have seen and now I don't need any dream to come true. Dear, Kazyzhan, forgive us if we showed not enough respect for you. Farewell, rest in peace!"

It seems that it wasn't easy to write it for author. He is angry to roughness of Bolsheviks.

Also he wrote about tormenting death of 28-years old officer Nugman Sarybopeuly caused by Bolsheviks:

"They whipped undressed Nugman, hit with the trimmings of the gun, and at the end they hit him with six guns and thought that he was dead. But Nugman was alive back then. After that tormentors went to his wife Ziyanatta Ramazanova and got all golden jewelry, money, except her underwear. On their way back they saw Nugman who was barely walking to his village. They got their swords and knifed his stomach, cut off the head, took eyes showing disgraced cruelty".

Author is upset and cries for disgraced death of Alash member.

"We don't need the third one in a row to join them", - concluded author.

All Kazakh intelligentsia was caught innocently. Of course, Alash activist Zh.Zhanibekov himself didn't feel this coming for him.

### Conclusion

Alash activists who craved for independence, equality and freedom held to viable direction when they established Alasorda government.

The direction of Alashorda government and political idea of alash activists to create independent country in XX century didn't lose the importance in XXI century. The national problems and the ways of their solution published in "Kazakh" newspaper still have topicality nowadays.

It shows potential and scientific-historical value of last century's "Kazakh" newspaper. All filings of "Kazakh" newspaper published during 1913-1928 years were delivered from Russia to our country. Some insufficient numbers are being researched in archives of St.Petersburg and Istanbul.

Conclusions. Alash intelligentsia formed in the beginning of the XX century has a great responsibility. Foremost representatives of this period called alash intelligentsia, alash activists in Kazakh history. They have adhered viable course in realizing their mission to modernize and update Kazakh nation who was under Russian empire [9]. The course of Kazakh intelligentsia held one century ago ensued in "Eternal nation" idea of president N.A.Nazarbayev in the XXI century [10].

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