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**THE ROLE OF NATIONAL INTELLIGENTSIA
IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE FIRST KAZAKH NEWSPAPERS**

The article analyzes the publications and speeches of representatives of the Kazakh intelligentsia on the pages of the first Kazakh Newspapers. Mukhamedzhan Seralin, Zhusupbek Aymautov, Mirzhakyp Dulatov, Akhmet Baitursynov, Alikhan Bokeikhanov, Spandiyar Kubeev, Sabit Donentayev and others raised one common theme – education and literacy of Kazakhs. In some speeches, the national intelligentsia speaks about the need for education in General, in others about the need to teach Russian literacy. Noteworthy is the difference in points of view and approaches to solving development issues in Kazakhstan education in the speeches of the representatives of the Kazakh intelligentsia, published in the Newspapers “Turkistan ualayatyryn Gazeti”, “Dala ualayatyryn Gazeti”, the Kyrgyz steppe newspaper”, “Ai qap”, the journal “Kazakh”. These first Kazakh Newspapers and magazines tried to acquaint wider circles of readers with the Kazakh steppe, to promote mutual understanding and gradual rapprochement of the people, whenever possible to counteract Imperial policy. The Kazakh people were not isolated from the culture of other Nations. From fairy tales, legends, legends, from the works of Shokan Valikhanov, the first Kazakh, acquainted with the world civilization, and Abai Kunanbayev, thanks to which Western classics spoke in the Kazakh language, he learned about the culture of a number of European Nations.

Key words: Kazakh intelligentsia, “Ai qap”, “Turkistan ualayatyryn Gazeti”, “Dala ualayatyryn Gazeti”, Kyrgyz steppe newspaper”, “Kazakh”.

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Ұлттық интеллигенцияның дамуына үлес қосқан алғашқы басылымдар

Ұсынылған мақалада қазақ зиялыларының газет беттерінде жарық көрген алғашқы жарияланымдары мен баяндамалары талданады. Мұхамеджан Сералин, Жүсіпбек Аймауытов, Міржақып Дулатов, Ахмет Байтұрсынов, Әлихан Бөкейханов, Спандияр Көбеев, Сәбит Дөнентаев сынды зиялыларымыз қазақтардың білімін және сауаттылығын арттыруға бағытталған тақырыпты алға тартып, халқымыздың сауатын ашуға көп еңбек етті. Ұлттық интеллигенцияның кейбір жарияланымдарында қарабайыр халыққа жалпы білім беру қажеттілігіне, соның ішінде орыс тілінде сауаттылыққа үйрету қажеттілігін де көтеріп жүрді.

Осы тақырып аясында «Түркістан уалаяты газеті», «Дала уалаятының газеті», «Қырғыз дала» газеті, «Айқап» және «Қазақ журналы» газеттерінің беттерінде қазақ интеллигенциясы өкілдерінің мақалалары жиі жарияланып тұрды. Бұл алғашқы қазақстандық газеттер мен журналдар оқырмандарға еліміздің кең байтақ даласын таныстыруға, халықтардың бір-біріне деген көзқарасын өзгертіп, жақындай түсуіне және патшалық саясатқа қарсы тұруға жол ашты. Сонымен қатар, батыс классикасын қазақ тілінде сөйлеткен Абай Құнанбаевтың арқасында, әлемдік өркениетпен танысқан алғашқы қазақстандық Шоқан Уәлихановтың шығармаларынан, әңгімелерінен, аңыздарынан еуропалық елдердің мәдениеті туралы білді. Қазақ халқы басқа ұлттардың мәдениетінен оқшауланған жоқ.

Түйін сөздер: қазақ интеллигенциясы, «Айқап», «Түркістан уалаятының газеті», «Дала уалаятының газеті», «Киргизская степная газета», «Қазақ».

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Роль национальной интеллигенции в развитии первых казахских газет

В предлагаемой статье дается анализ публикаций и выступлений на страницах первых казахских газет представителей казахской интеллигенции. Мухамеджан Сералин, Жусупбек Аймаутов, Миржакып Дулатов, Ахмет Байтурсынов, Алихан Бокейханов, Спандияр Кубеев, Сабит Донентаев и другие поднимали одну общую тему – образование и грамотность казахов. В отдельных выступлениях национальная интеллигенция говорит о необходимости образования в целом, в других же – о необходимости обучения русской грамоте. Обращает на себя внимание различие в оценках и подходах к решению вопросов развития образования в Казахстане. В выступлениях представителей казахской интеллигенции, опубликованных на страницах газет «Туркістан уалаятының газеті», «Дала уалаятының газеті», «Киргизская степная газета», «Айқап», журнала «Қазақ», представлен качественный анализ проблем образования. Эти первые казахские газеты и журналы пытались поближе познакомить читателей с казахской степью, содействовать взаимопониманию и постепенному сближению народов, по возможности противодействовать царской политике. Казахский народ не был изолирован от культуры других народов, из сказок, легенд, преданий, из произведений Шокана Валиханова, первого казаха, познакомившегося соотечественников с мировой цивилизацией, народ получал необходимые знания. Также высока роль Абая Кунанбаева, благодаря которому западные классики заговорили на казахском языке, а казахский народ узнал о культуре народов Европы.

Ключевые слова: казахская интеллигенция, «Аi қар», «Туркістан уалаятының газеті», «Дала уалаятының газеті», «Киргизская степная газета», «Қазақ».

Introduction

The relationship between colonization and the Kazakh intelligentsia development during the nineteenth century is crucial to understanding the dynamic forces that shaped the intelligentsia's socio-political agenda in the last decade of the tsarist empire. While it is difficult, and indeed precarious, to characterize the nature of a group bound more by its national identification than shared ideology, certain particulars do surface which permit some meaningful analysis of this specific social group.

Material and Methods

The methodological and theoretical basis of the paper consists of scientific works of foreign and domestic scientists, a complex of general scientific and special methods that allow scientific and objective approach to the study. The research consistently used the general scientific methods of retrospective and comparative research of historical material. The research methodology is based on the concepts of domestic and foreign researchers of the XIX century and modernity, which have a scientific platform, tested by time and based on the principles of objectivity, historicism and concreteness.

In the preparation of the research used the work of the following authors: Kendirbaeva G. (Kendirbaeva, 1997, 1999); Peter Rottier (Rottier, 2004); Tomohiko Uyama (Uyama, 2000); Peter Burke

(Burke, 1978); Lewis A. Coser (Coser, 1965); Kudaibergenova Diana (2013); Bravna (1996); Nurtazina N. (Nurtazina, 1993, 1998); Olcott M.B. (Olcott, 1987, 2002, 2005).

The term intelligentsia, introduced into the Russian language only in the 1860s, designated not only the revolutionary opposition to the tsarist regime in whatever manifestation, but independent thinkers, often of aristocratic background, who by virtue of their intellect felt separated from the ordinary, typically uneducated, masses. In Soviet parlance the term came to designate simply someone who toiled with their mind rather than their hands (Martin M., 1961). To describe the Kazakh intelligentsia with such clarity – such as a group with a distinct social identity, or as an element of society that would, or did, designate itself as the ‘intelligentsia’ – is impossible. They almost never referred to themselves in such a way. They did occupy a distinct position in both Kazakh and tsarist society, yet they neither represented nor conformed to any of the social or economic categories often reserved for intellectual groups. Although in the nineteenth century, the Kazakh intelligentsia operated between the two societies and cultures, by the twentieth century, representing only a small segment of Kazakh society, they sought to mediate between the state and its subjects and to preserve and advance the cultural and economic development of a people who were steadily becoming subjugated and impoverished. Thus, those individuals referred to in this chapter as the ‘Kazakh intelligentsia’ were in

fact Kazakhs trained by the Russian government initially to be translators, scribes, educators, scientists, or others who, by virtue of their economic well-being, sought to enhance the economic and social status of the Kazakh people through education and literacy. Their efforts involved two gradual stages. The first required introducing the customs, history, language, social structure, etc. of the Kazakhs to the Russians. The second was participatory, in that Kazakh intellectuals were teachers and scientists and by the twentieth century also journalists and politicians, working in the tsarist system to influence the colonial relationship.

During the Soviet period, three individual Kazakhs – Chokan Valikhanov, Ibray Altynsarin, and Abai Kunanbaev – were regarded as the pillars, or ‘democratic-enlighteners’, of the nineteenth-century Kazakh intelligentsia. Martha Olcott referred to them as the leading ‘secular elite’, influenced by Russian liberal exiles as well as Western literature (Martha O., 1987). These descriptions, however, diminish their attention to Islam, which was an important, but not dominant, facet of their lives. Many of the other Kazakhs, poets and those educated predominantly in the *mekteb* or *medrese*, did not fit into Soviet interpretations due to religious themes in their work and were consequently ignored by scholarship. There existed a conflict between what Thomas Winner called the ‘nationalist traditionalists’ and the ‘Westerners’. This struggle manifested itself in many ways, but most notably in literary and educational initiatives. For Soviet scholars, many of the traditionalists were *aqyns*, or bards, whose works influenced many of the intelligentsia, but due to a reliance upon Islamic themes lacked the ‘new attitude’ necessary to be designated as a member of the ‘intelligentsia’. Some were scholars, similar to Valikhanov, but whose contributions to our understanding of Kazakh history and culture has been mysteriously neglected (Sabol. S., 2003).

“Beginning in 1870, however, the tsarist government sponsored the first of two newspapers that had notable influences on the development of a Kazakh intellectual community and the advancement of a written Kazakh language. The first, Turkistan ualaitynyng gazeti (The Turkistan Regional Newspaper) (1870-1882) was published in Tashkent in both an Uzbek and Kazakh edition using the Arabic script. Often regarded by Soviet scholars as an instrument of the government and an obstacle to nationalist movements, native Kazakhs, Uzbeks, Tatars, and others nevertheless contributed frequently to its pages. The second important newspaper, Kirgizskaia stepnaia gazeta (the Russian language

title), also known in Kazakh as Dala ualaitynyng gazeti, was published as a weekly from 1888 to 1902 in Omsk. Appearing simultaneously in both Russian and Kazakh (using an Arabic script), it published works by many notable Kazakhs, including Altynsarin, Abai Kunanbaev, Spandiiar Qobeev, and Alikhan Bokeikhanov. It is credited with efforts to standardize literary Kazakh and for being one of the first forums advocating Kazakh women’s emancipation. It also published many articles opposing the forced sedentarization of Kazakh nomads, while simultaneously publishing articles that urged Kazakhs to learn trades and take up farming (Sabol. S., 2003., 60 p)”.

Under the initiative of Mukhamedzhan Seralin, a leading intellectual and educator, in 1907 Kazakhs in Troitsk started the newspaper *Kirgizskoi gazeti* (Qazaq Gazeti). It was closed by the authorities after only one issue (Zimanov S. E., Ibriso. K., 1962). Similar to earlier government sponsored publications, this paper appeared in both Kazakh and Russian. Another venture, Sirke (Vinegar), led by Duma deputy Shaiherden Qoshchyghulov, appeared only once and as an appendix to the Tatar newspaper Ulfat (Seralin. M., 1911). Seralin, writing in 1924, believed that despite the ‘glimmer’ of hope offered by the 1905 revolution, Kazakhs were unorganized and therefore unprepared to ‘profit’ by its results.

Results and discussion

Kazakh book and pamphlet publishing after 1905 swelled and temporarily became the primary vehicle for Kazakhs to share ideas and express their deepening alarm with government policies in the steppe region. Much of this expanded activity continued to remain oriented toward poetry, translations, and textbooks (Allworth. E., 1965). Indeed, the poetry followed traditional tales of heroes (batyr) and the like, or showed Western influences in style and subject (Zhirenchin. A. M., 1987). The first novels and satirical works also appeared in this period, such as Sabit Donentaev’s disparaging *Ultshylgha* (For the nationalist) and *Zaman kimdiki?* (Whose time is it?) and Spandiiar Qopeev’s novel *Qalym* (Bride-price), which criticized the practice of the title. There was an explicitly sharper political edge to many of the new publications, for example Mashgyr-zhusup Qopeev’s *Khal-ahkuali*. Qopeev was highly critical of the oppressive Russian administration and local Russian authorities, as well as native leaders, and advocated political and spiritual freedoms for Kazakhs, eliminating poverty, opening Kazakh schools, and freedom of speech and press.

It is a small work, only twenty pages, but influential enough to be republished in 1912, five years after the first edition (Sabol. S., 2003).

Edward Evans-Pritchard has described the segmentary lineage system as one containing a balanced opposition between tribes and tribal segments, that is able to preserve a fixed and self-regulated structure in the absence of a single centralized authority structure in a tribe (Edward E. Evans-Pritchard, 1969). The Kazakh clan-tribal organization, on the contrary, was highly fluid and resilient, as the pastoral nomadic life of the Kazakhs was dependent on their continued mobility in the face of challenges posed by the harsh climatic conditions and the outside world of settlers. Although numerous oral epics and aphorisms romantically portray the free-willed nature of the nomads and their love of an unfettered life style, pastoral nomadism was primarily a mechanism of survival in the arid ecology of the steppe in the absence of other means of livelihood. Nomads roamed about and engaged in livestock breeding not for the 'love for it', but because they had few other options for supporting themselves in a pre-technological setting (Briskin, 1929; Masanov, 1995).

The Kazakh nomads first experienced some form of administrative regulation and centralized political control with the introduction of tsarist institutions and laws. Though the new administrative units established in the Kazakh steppe from 1822 onwards were intended to coincide with the prevalent territorial divisions among the three clan-tribal agglomerations, they also interfered with the informal, albeit regularized migratory patterns of clans and auls. Similarly, the tsarist officials attempts to draw administrative boundaries on the basis of what they assumed to be the natural demarcation between the settled agrarian groups and the nomads did not take into account the continuing seasonal migrations across the newly drawn borders and the interdependence between the settled and nomadic groups (Dave, 2007). The Russian military conquest of Turkestan in 1865 and incursions into the emirates of Khiva, Bukhara and Kokand brought the Kazakh steppe under the direct control of the tsarist administration. In 1868, the steppe territories were divided into three separate administrative entities or governorates – Orenburg, West Siberian and Turkestan – which were subdivided into provinces, or oblasts.

In 1909 one of the most important works was published, one which had meaningful influence upon the development of Kazakh national identity and consciousness. Mirzhaqyp Dulatov's *Oian Qazaq!* (*Awake Kazakh!*), a small collection of poems, attempted to rally Kazakhs to oppose the increased

Russian migration to the steppe and its impact upon the nomadic culture and economy (Dulatov. M., 1909, reprinted 1991). For Dulatov and many other Kazakhs, the seizure of land came to symbolize colonial oppression and national humiliation. He wrote: Every year our lands and water become less; they become the property of the Russian peasants. The tombstones of our glorious ancestors are already to be found paving the streets of their towns. Thou, oh Russian peasant, thou dost not scruple to take the stones of these tombs to build thy house nor their timber to warm thee.

In 1911 Seralin started publishing *Ai qap* would also publish articles in Russian, vital forum in which Kazakh intellectuals could collectively articulate their growing social concerns. The journal provided like-minded national leaders that initial unifying medium and gave Kazakhs a channel around which they could coalesce and discuss the various issues confronting the Kazakh economy, culture, language, and national future (Bennigsen A. Chantal L-Q., 1920).

The first number appeared in January 1911 and continued uninterrupted until September 1915. It started as a monthly, publishing twelve editions in its first year, but in 1913 it increased to twice monthly. In its four and a half year existence *Ai qap* published a total of 88 numbers (Subkhanberdina.U., 1962). Never sufficiently capitalized, the journal finally succumbed to the material and economic pressures brought on by World War One. *Ai qap's* success was clearly due to Seralin, who gathered reformists and nationalists together as well as a host of diverse scholars, educators, politicians, writers, etc.

Ai qap devoted attention to a myriad of subjects during its existence. Education and land dominated, but other issues graced its pages. It published numerous articles about Kazakh history, a topic that Kazakhs often recorded in great historical epics, but had neglected in a scholarly monographic form. Another subject that received wide attention in the pages of *Ai qap* concerned the Kazakh diaspora in China, Mongolia, and other regions beyond Russia's borders. The journal's editors were strong proponents of female emancipation and published numerous articles advocating women's equality and education. Among the many articles, the theme of education for young girls was quite prominent. Indeed, as part of this commitment to women's issues, *Ai qap* published works by Kazakh women (Sabol. S., 2003).

Ai qap addressed religious, linguistic, and economic issues in almost every issue. Akhmet Baitursynov wrote several articles about education and

orthography. In his article, ‘Zhazu tartibi’ (Writing sequence) Baitursynov strenuously argued for using the Arabic script, but one modified to correspond more closely with Kazakh vernacular. To that end, he published an alphabet primer in 1914, which was republished in 1991. In the newspaper *Kazakh*, his script was used and is more standardized. The written Kazakh in *Ai qap* lacks similar consistency. Both periodicals reflect a strong Arabic-Persian influence, particularly in vocabulary. For example, the word *khikaia*, originally Arabic, meaning story or tale, was used more frequently than the Kazakh *anggime* or *oleng*. Another word often encountered in *Ai qap* was the Persian word *shahar* (city), rather than the Kazakh word *qala*. While it is not surprising to see these words used, many Kazakhs objected to the inclusion of non-Kazakh words and argued for a standardized written Kazakh, free from Russian, Arabic, and Persian. Interestingly, Dulatov wrote an article about the artificial language Esperanto. While never advocating its use among Kazakhs, primarily because it is based upon word foundations common in European languages, he claimed that after only a few months it could be ‘similar to someone’s mother tongue’. He even provides an address in Warsaw where one could purchase textbooks for learning this ‘future’ language.

Except for the sporadic *Qazaqstan*, *Ai qap* had no rival in the steppe, until 1913 when a group of Kazakh led by Bokeikhanov and Baitursynov, as editor, started to publish the newspaper *Kazak*. In the first year of publication *Kazak* totaled 3,0000 copies per edition, easily surpassing *Ai qap* which never published more than 1,200 copies per issue at any time in its existence (Abdimanov. O., 1993). Indeed in 1914 *Kazak* published the geographic distribution of the newspaper: Turgai – 694, Semipalatinsk – 612, Akmolinsk – 586, Syr-Darya – 327, Ural – 301, Semirech’e – 57, Bukei Horde – 36. Interestingly, the newspaper was also received by subscribers in China and Turkey (10 and 5 respectively). Unfortunately, no subscriber list was published or appears to have survived.

Conclusion

According to Benedict Anderson, print-languages laid the foundation for ‘national consciousness’ (Anderson. B., 1991). It tied the language to antiquity, which, for the Kazakhs, formed a subjective idea of the nation based upon traditional oral tales and dastans. The social values, historical memories, and spiritual life of the Kazakhs were expressed through their oral traditions, and *Ai qap* and *Kazak* tried to

evoke the same emotional response through literary Kazakh.

After *Ai qap* ceased operations, *Kazak* was indisputably the most influential periodical among the Kazakh intelligentsia. Two other newspapers started publishing, *Alash* and *Saryarqa*. The newspaper *Alash* was the organ of the political party *Ush Zhuz* (Three Hordes) and *Saryarqa* editors came from Kazakh youth groups, such as *Birlyq* (Unity), and followed the editorial line of *Kazakh*. Following the February 1917 revolution, *Kazakh* became the official organ of Alash Orda and continued publication until September 1918 (although sporadically after April of that year). Throughout 1917 numerous other newspapers started operations, but all failed after a few editions (Sabol. S., 2003., p71).

Stiven Sabol write: Many scholars draw a distinction between ‘western-oriented intellectuals’, with *Ai qap* being their principal organ, and ‘nationalist-traditionalists’ and their publication *Kazakh* (Winner T., 1958). The contrast and distinction, however, are not that simple or accurate. *Ai qap*’s editorial board was comprised of many leaders of the future political parties *Alash Orda* and *Ush Zhuz* and it embraced ideas espoused by both. In addition to Bokeikhanov, Baitursynov, and other Alash Ordists, Turar Ryskulov, Saken Seifullin, Sabit Donentaev, Sultanmakmut Toraighyrov, Maghzhan Zhumabaev, and others contributed to both periodicals and participated in their intellectual and political maturation.

Ai qap and *Kazakh*’s contribution to early Kazakh nationalist thought lay less in their collective readership, or the variety of articles published (although this should not be underestimated), but rather in the assortment of individuals who contributed to their pages, who participated on their editorial boards, and who went on to influence subsequent Kazakh nationalist movements. But there is still a more obvious transition, or perhaps more correctly evolution, that occurred between, for example, Valikhanov’s thinking and that of Seralin or Baitursynov which demonstrates the maturation of the Kazakh intelligentsia. Valikhanov worked alone, as did Altynsarin, in his efforts to influence Russian policy and raise the level of education or even the national consciousness of the people. Both men functioned within the system, yet remained outsiders, without the recognition of their efforts and sacrifices by their fellow Kazakhs. There was not unity of action, only objectives. By the twentieth century action and objectives were united.

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