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FROM IDEOLOGICAL COLONIALISM TO NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS: NATIONAL AWAKENING EFFORTS IN THE KAZAKH PRESS IN THE 20TH CENTURY

The media has a crucial role in shaping political, economic, and diplomatic relations, as well as raising national consciousness. In the early 19th century, the Kazakh press played a vital role in awakening the national consciousness of society against ideological colonialism. Propaganda, whether in favor or against, can be effectively conveyed through poetry, stories, epics, and newspapers. These messages, even when subtly delivered, have a strong impact on people and the public conscience of society.

Whether in favor or against, propaganda through poetry, stories and epics, as well as through newspapers, is very important. The messages with hidden power, have a very strong effect on people and the public conscience of the society.

The future of a country is a continuation of its past, and recognizing and accepting the past can enhance people's consciousness. Periodicals are an important aspect of Kazakh journalism worth studying. Many publications in the development of national journalism were enlightening, national-oriented, and promoted the spiritual wealth of Kazakh people, earning the country's respect. Periodicals that focused on the future of the nation created the preconditions for the Kazakh society's awakening in the early 20th century, leading to the national liberation movement.

Key words: nation, Alash, press, periodicals, journalism, Kazakh, national movement, Periodicals.

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Идеологиялық отаршылдықтан ұлттық санаға: XX ғасырдағы қазақ баспасөзіндегі ұлттық ояну әрекеттері

Саяси, экономикалық және дипломатиялық қарым-қатынастарды қалыптастыруда, сондай-ақ ұлттық сананы көтеруде бұқаралық ақпарат құралдарының рөлі зор. 19-ғасырдың басында қазақ баспасөзі идеологиялық отаршылдыққа қарсы қоғамның ұлттық санасын оятуда маңызды рөл атқарды. Үгіт-насихат, мейлі ол жақтаса, мейлі қарсы болса да өлең, әңгіме, дастандар, газет арқылы әсерлі түрде жеткізуге болады. Бұл хабарламалар, тіпті нәзік түрде жеткізілсе де, адамдарға және қоғамның қоғамдық санасына қатты әсер етеді.

Қолдай ма, қарсы ма болса да, өлең, қисса-дастан арқылы да, газет арқылы да насихаттаудың маңызы зор. Жасырын күші бар хабарламалар адамдарға және қоғамның қоғамдық санасына өте күшті әсер етеді.

Ел болашағы – өткенінің жалғасы, өткенін танып, қабылдау халықтың санасын арттыра түседі. Мерзімді басылымдар – қазақ журналистикасының зерттеуге тұрарлық маңызды саласы. Ұлттық журналистиканың даму жолындағы көптеген басылымдар ағартушылық, ұлттық бағыттағы, қазақтың рухани байлығын насихаттап, ел құрметіне бөленді. Ұлт болашағын көздеген мерзімді басылымдар 20-ғасыр басындағы қазақ қоғамының оянуына алғышарт жасап, ұлт-азаттық қозғалысқа жетеледі.

Зерттеудің негізгі қорытындылары сипаттамалық, салыстырмалы-тарихи, тарихи-салыстырмалы, қарама-қарсылық, диахрондық-синхрондық, лингвистикалық және мәдени-танымдық әдістерді қолдану арқылы алынды. Бұл зерттеу әдістерін қолдану өткен ғасырдың басындағы қазақ баспасөзінің ерекшелігін көрсетеді.

Түйін сөздер: ұлт, Алаш, баспасөз, мерзімді баспасөз, журналистика, қазақ, ұлттық қозғалыс, мерзімді басылымдар.

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От идеологического колониализма к национальному сознанию: национально-пробуждающие усилия в казахстанской прессе XX века

Пресса играет решающую роль в формировании политических, экономических и дипломатических отношений, а также в повышении национального самосознания. В начале 19 века казахская пресса сыграла важнейшую роль в пробуждении национального сознания общества против идеологического колониализма. Пропаганда, за или против, может эффективно передаваться через поэзию, рассказы, эпосы и газеты. Эти сообщения, даже если они доставлены тонко, оказывают сильное влияние на людей и общественное сознание общества.

Независимо от того, за или против, пропаганда через поэзию, рассказы и эпосы, а также через газеты очень важна. Сообщения, обладающие скрытой силой, оказывают очень сильное воздействие на людей и общественное сознание общества.

Будущее страны является продолжением ее прошлого, а признание и принятие прошлого может повысить сознание людей. Периодические издания являются важным аспектом казахстанской журналистики, заслуживающим изучения. Многие публикации в развитии отечественной журналистики носили просветительский, национально-ориентированный характер, пропагандировали духовное богатство казахского народа, завоевывая уважение страны. Периодические издания, посвященные будущему нации, создали предпосылки для пробуждения казахского общества в начале XX века, приведшего к национально-освободительному движению.

Ключевые слова: нация, Алаш, пресса, периодическая печать, журналистика, казах, национальное движение, периодика.

Introduction

Prophet Muhammad Mustafa stressed the significance of poetry and rhetoric as the most valuable tools to influence the people of his time. He believed that speech held a certain magic. Even today, the impact of rhetoric and poetry on people through media such as newspapers remains strong. Turkish culture in Central Asia was heavily influenced by oral literature, with poetic epics and stories being transmitted orally from generation to generation. Some of the most important epics of Turkish culture, such as *Manas*, *Alpamish*, *Edige*, and *Korkyt Ata* stories, have played a crucial role in preserving traditions. Despite this, oral literature has been more effective in preserving the tradition and transferring it to future generations. However, the press has a crucial role to play in political, economic, and diplomatic affairs, as well as in awakening national consciousness. Therefore, the Kazakh media of the early 19th century, the main subject of this study, played a vital role in society and helped awaken national consciousness against ideological colonialism (Sak 1, p 3).

Propaganda is a powerful tool that can be conveyed through various means such as poetry, stories, epics, and newspapers. These mediums have a magical influence on people and society, creating a strong impact on their thoughts and beliefs. It's

important to understand the concept of propaganda, which is defined in Casey's book.

"... When used in its broadest sense, as social psychologists have done in defining it, simply refers to an attempt to influence ideas and opinions, encompassing all communication, education and publicity. In its narrower sense, propaganda is the name given to all systematic efforts to influence the beliefs, attitudes or actions of individuals and groups by means of symbols and symbols in order to influence society. It is necessary to evaluate propaganda in a contemporary context free from value-laden definitions. In making such an assessment, it aims to achieve three objectives: (1) to make a concise analysis of the concepts of propaganda and persuasion, (2) to examine the role of propaganda as a sub-branch of communication studies, (3) to analyze propaganda as a part of social, religious and political systems in the historical process and in the modern era" (Casey 2).

Propaganda is a deliberate effort to influence, alter, or control the opinions, perspectives, and behaviors of others through individuals and groups in accordance with the desires of the propagandist by means of communication (Casey 2, 2-3c). It is an organized action carried out through verbal, written, symbolic, or demonstrative means of communication aimed at introducing an ideology, thought, belief, or similar idea to others, with the goal of per-

suading them to adopt it or win them over. When defining propaganda, it is important to consider its opposite. In this context, an organized action that aims to destroy an ideology, thought, or belief, dissolve an organization, and disperse its sympathizers through speech, writing, symbols, demonstrations, and similar means of communication is also referred to as propaganda. Although propaganda uses means of communication to appeal to the eyes and ears, it goes beyond being an intellectual action by occasionally resorting to 'coercion' and 'benefit-seeking'. Our recent history is replete with vivid examples of this. For instance, after World War II, when Europe lost its colonial power in the political sense, the USA assumed a supranational position by intervening in the policies of every region of the world. While America's interventionist world policy led to the formation of opposing voices in many countries, new balances in the world began to be transferred to economic and cultural fields, with art products becoming the fundamental element in cultural diffusion policies. Art forms like newspapers (press), cinema, literature, music, and painting have been used to impose American lifestyle, consumption, and entertainment habits on the whole world (O'Shaughnessy 3, p 41).

While America exports its ideology to the whole world through Hollywood films, these films highlight the superiority of American national values over those of other nations, its greatness, wealth and the magnificence of its military power.

According to Lasswell's book, "Propaganda Tactics in the World War," the term propaganda originated from the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, which was created by the Catholic Church in 1622. During this time, the Church was challenged by Galileo's claim that the Earth revolved around the sun, which was considered a forbidden proposition. In 1663, Galileo was convicted and forced to abandon his claim. "To defend its righteousness, the Church resorted to various means, which eventually gave rise to the term propaganda. Therefore, propaganda emerged as a result of the Church's defense of a situation that could be scientifically proven wrong." (Lasswell 4, p 77-82).

Propaganda has been a powerful tool for over a century, particularly through the media. In the 20th century, Kazakh media played an important role in enlightening and raising society's awareness.

Every country has a rich history, and the future of a nation is built upon its past. Therefore, it is important to have a clear and unbiased understanding of our history. By studying our past and learning from it, we can better address the challenges of to-

day and shape a brighter future for ourselves. It is crucial to preserve our historical lessons and view them from a national perspective to understand who we were, who we are, and where we are heading (Gökdemir 5, 27-56 c).

Periodicals are a crucial aspect of Kazakh journalism that requires special attention and research. The main objective of journalism is to document a historical chronicle of a particular period by narrating a daily sequence of real events and phenomena. In the development of national journalism, numerous publications were enlightening, national-oriented, and promoted the spiritual wealth of the Kazakh people, earning the respect and recognition of the country. The periodicals dedicated to the future of the nation created the preconditions for the awakening of the Kazakh society's consciousness in the early 20th century and paved the way for the national liberation movement.

Material and Methods of the Research

Our study aimed to provide an unbiased overview of the Kazakh press during the early 20th century. We utilized several research techniques including descriptive, comparative-historical, historical-comparative, contrastive, diachronic-synchronous, lingual cultural, and cognitive methods to obtain key findings. Our choice of research methods was based on the specific nature of the Kazakh press during the early 20th century. To conduct our research, we analyzed several newspapers including "Turkestan province newspaper", "Steppe province newspaper", "Serke", "Kazakh", "Tirshilik (life)", and "Akzhol".

Discussion and Result

The Power of Writing: The Growing Influence of Kazakh Newspapers (National Awakening Efforts in the Kazakh Press in the 20th century)

It is not surprising that journalism has evolved to meet the needs of the times. The work of a journalist is an important branch of the art of communication. A publicist's work should first capture the reader's attention and then influence them. The emergence of journalism as a genre is closely linked to the first Kazakh newspapers published in Kazakhstan. The process of developing journalistic genres took many years (Shyndaliev 6, p 8).

Akhmet Baitursynuly was a notable public figure who made significant contributions to the formation and advancement of Kazakh journalism, both in practice and in the word system. In 1913, he wrote,

“Newspapers are the eyes, ears, and tongue of the people. A person needs newspapers just as they need eyes, ears, and a tongue. A person without a newspaper is like a blind man without eyes, deaf without ears, and mute without a tongue. Without newspapers, one cannot see, hear, or express what is happening in the world.” Hence, this great public figure recognized the importance of newspapers in human life («Kazakh» 7, 1913, № 17).

The development of Kazakh press started in the 19th century with the publication of Kazakh newspapers. Some of the notable ones were the “Turkestan province newspaper”, “Steppe province newspaper”, “Serke”, “Kazakh”, “Tirshilik (life)”, and “Akzhol”. While these publications were initially created to promote the independence of the Kazakh nation, they also played a crucial role in highlighting the issues faced by the Kazakh people.

The press plays a crucial role in shaping public opinion and influencing cultural and literary perspectives. As periodicals became more prevalent, the practice and theory of journalism in Kazakhstan began to take shape. This is evident in the publicistic writings of Alash activists that have recently been published.

In the article “The Foundation of Turkestan’s Affiliation,” which was published in the first issue of the newspaper “Akzhol” on December 7, 1920, the author argues that there are very few wealthy people and landowners in the large state. The author suggests that these individuals take advantage of the people’s ignorance and that their workers are opposing the progress of other nations (Esenkarakzy 8, p 37). The author also claims that the kingdom is built based on injustice and violence. Throughout the article, we see that capitalism has entered Kazakh land, and the workers have united to call for struggle.

Journalism has undergone significant changes over the years. In Kazakhstan, journalism has absorbed all the virtues of the native language and has become a chronicle of the country’s long journey. It has played a significant role in encouraging and motivating people during difficult times, awakening the spirit of honor, and setting out a bright path to conquer new heights. Thus, Kazakh journalism has become an integral part of the nation’s spiritual wealth. Its specialty lies in bringing to our attention a mirror image of specific events that took place during a particular period. Through journalistic works, we can find answers to questions such as what happened then, how it happened, who lived, and what actions they took. If you want to see the bridge of truth connecting the past to the present and the pres-

ent to the future, then it is the art of journalism that will help you (Zhakyp 9, p 4).

In the early 20th century, Kazakh intellectuals recognized that the only way to overcome the struggles faced by the Kazakh people, who were exhausted from conflicts and internal disputes, was to become literate. The Alash leaders empathized with the plight of the Kazakh-Kyrgyz people and, to achieve this aim, they established various press outlets including newspapers and magazines.

A. Bokeikhanov, A. Baitursynov, M. Dulatov, and S. Kozhanov played a crucial role in the development of the press. Sultanbek Kozhanov was the first editor of the “Akzhol” newspaper in Tashkent. “Akzhol” was published three times a week in Tashkent as an organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. The publication was continuously published from December 7, 1920, to 1926.

In the first issue of the newspaper, which was published on December 7, 1920, the authors addressed the hard-working Kazakh-Kyrgyz people and highlighted the ongoing conflict between the working class and the landowners across the world (Esenkarakzy 10, p 25). The oppressed workers and peasants who had been enslaved for centuries are now uniting to overthrow their oppressors. The working peasants led the revolution against the government in Russia and chanted slogans for the workers of the world. The article was written by the head of the Kazakh-Kyrgyz department at TurCIC, Nazir Torekulov, along with members Georgy Safarov, Sultanbek Kozhanov, and Sanzhar Aspandiyarov. The Alash public figures shed light on the exploitation of the local population by the landlords and raised crucial issues of anger, resentment, and the pursuit of freedom and liberty.

Based on the article, it is evident that a country that values freedom is willing to fight for its national liberation. Professor T. Amandosov argued that the article discusses more complex and territorial issues as opposed to the theoretical aspects of social development laws, the country’s internal and external life, and the national economy (Amandosov11, p 121). The article is categorized as problematic due to its focus on important social and political events and phenomena, which it presents as social issues. In conclusion, the author addresses a complex and significant topic.

According to the article, “the tsarist government aimed to decrease the resentment among peasants and provide them with comfort. To achieve this, they implemented a policy of relocating landless and waterless peasants to remote provinces. These provinces included the steppes of Turkestan and Ka-

zakhstan, which were not capable of withstanding the violent actions of the government, particularly in lands like Zhetisu.” To distribute fertile lands to the entrants, the tsarist government solved the problem. However, the colonial authorities took away the land used by the local population and gave it to resettled officials, which ultimately angered the population further.

The escalation of land issues in the Kazakh steppes during the early 20th century can be attributed to the emphasis on land disputes by the Kazakh people. The preservation of the great steppe, a rich ancestral heritage, became a pressing issue towards the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century. Alash journalism sheds light on the reasons behind this escalation (Sak 12, p 3).

The theme of land and the history of Zhetisu are recurring topics in the works of tsarist officials and Russian researchers. These works were published in the second half of the 19th century and early 20th century. They describe how “hundreds and thousands of officials displaced the former owners of the most beautiful Kazakh-Kyrgyz soil, trees, and wetlands. The officials then settled expelled foreigners from Russia on the land, leading to their weakening. As these foreigners became richer, they became more dominant over the local population.” (Koigeldiyev 2004: p 4). The works also focus on the efforts of the colonial authorities to address land issues. From these writings, it is evident that the land issue was of paramount importance during that time.

In the early 20th century, Russian researchers addressed the topics of immigration and land ownership.

The following is an excerpt from A. Kaufman’s book “Resettlement and Colonization” published in 1905. According to Kaufman, the development of Russian colonization in Turkestan is remarkably weak due to legal obstacles. The land for Russian settlements was acquired from the Kirghiz through “voluntary” concessions, which failed to protect the interests of both the Russian colonization and the needs of the Kirghiz people. In Semirechye, research and land allocation work is being done to find free land surpluses. However, the future results of this work are uncertain, as the interests of the peasants who want to settle in the region may clash with those of the local Cossack army.” (Kaufman, 1905: 14, p 261). Kaufman’s article supported the immigration policy of the Tsarist government and assessed the level of local authorities’ “activity” in implementing this measure. Nonetheless, local authorities could not resist the confiscation of Kazakh land by immigration officials but showed goodwill.

On January 2, 1921, a party meeting named Ortakshyl in Turkistan with 250 representatives was announced in the Ak Zhol newspaper.

The following issues are to be discussed at the upcoming meeting:

1. The report of the Central Committee of the Ortakshyl Party of Turkestan.
2. The report of the Second Bureau of Turkey.
3. The report of the Consultative Congress.
4. Economic measures to rectify any issues.
5. Turkestan’s land policies.
6. Ethnic concerns.
7. Party development.
8. The party’s responsibility to spread propaganda and raise public awareness.
9. Local elections will also be discussed (Esenkarakyzy, 2020: 15, p 133).

The author of the article is a member of the Party Central Committee. These topics show that the party is addressing important and complex political issues related to the economy, land, ethnicity, education, and local elections.

The article “To Students” was published in the first issue of the newspaper “Ak Zhol” on December 7th, 1920. The author, in their writing, highlighted an important development in the society of Kazakh-Kyrgyz people, which was the emergence of newspapers and magazines over the last decade (Esenkarakyzy, 2020; 16, p 28). They noted that this new industry was a significant achievement for the people and encouraged them to continue producing quality publications. The author also discussed the low circulation of some newspapers and the need to increase readership. They emphasized the importance of newspapers in reporting on the revolution, world events, current lifestyles and providing guidance on what to do.

In the early 20th century, the Kazakh periodical press played a significant role in shaping public opinion. The emergence of the periodical press can be attributed to three reasons: serving economic needs, forming the majority opinion of interested social groups, and pursuing the ideology of the state. The “Ak Zhol” newspaper, which was published as a periodical at that time, serves as a clear example of this function.

In an article titled “The Missing Wrangel” within the “Kyzyl Maidan” (Red Front) column, it was narrated how our Red Army used their exceptional skills, energy, and strength to defeat Wrangel’s army during the war. Wrangel was a famous successor of Denikin who had previously captured French engineers. According to the latest reports, on Odessa 27, Wrangel’s wounded troops were heading towards

Istanbul. Unfortunately, most of them were lying on a bare board in front of a house, without being able to go to the hospital for treatment (Esenkarakyzy, 2020; 17, p.34). This entire incident paints a vivid picture in our minds. The content of the article is subject to review and is an international review.

M. Shyndaliev, a well-known scientist, discussed the genre of “review” in her textbook “Forms and Functions of Journalism Genres.” She explained that newspaper reviews began to develop in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. In a review, facts, events, and phenomena are not considered in isolation but are used as part of a larger whole. Reviewers look for data and use it as one of the main modes during the browsing process. The form and subject of reviews are not limited, and the selected data and indicators reveal the truth of the review. The reviewer’s ability to search for data, select it, systematize, and visualize the entire picture is a key feature of the review. Thoughts arise as data is collected. The author’s comment forms the main content of the review, which can be of two types – internal review (referring to the internal situation) and international review (providing information about international life). (Shyndaliev, 2012;18, p112).

The issue of national language was raised in the newspaper “Ak Zhol”. An article written by an author named Azamat caught our attention, as it highlighted a question that remains relevant even a century later. He stated that in the past, language problems were one of the biggest political issues for the people of Kazakh, Kyrgyz, Nogai, Bashkir, Uzbek, and Turkmen. During that time, the official language was Russian, and the law was taught in Russian. However, the old government was not satisfied with Russian as the national language and began to implement a policy of “whirlwinds” to suppress the language and religion of the nation. This shows that Russian as the national language and the precedence of legal language was one of the biggest problems at that time. Language issues have always been and will continue to be at the forefront of maintaining the integrity of the country. As a result, many people learned Russian not for education and skill acquisition but for identity and status. Even young students and adults wrote letters to each other in Russian and started to talk in Russian. Those who learned Russian became alienated from their people and be-

gan to suffer from a disease in which they did not respect their nation. This example teaches us a lot. (Esenkarakyzy, 2020,19, p 190).

The language issue that was first written about in January 1921 has been ongoing for a century, even after the country gained independence. In some areas, the Kazakh language, which is the official language of the sovereign country, is being suppressed and government paperwork is still conducted in Russian. In his State of the Nation Address on September 2, 2019, President of Kazakhstan Kassym-Jomart Tokayev stated that he believes the Kazakh language will become stronger and serve as a language of interethnic communication (Akorda 20). This suggests that he recognizes the importance of the Kazakh language not only for the country, but also for the future of society.

Conclusion

Periodicals are an essential aspect of Kazakh journalism, worth studying thoroughly. Journalism began as the recording of a daily sequence of real events and phenomena, creating a historical chronicle of a specific period. During the development of national journalism, numerous publications emerged, promoting the spiritual wealth of the Kazakh people, enlightening and national-oriented, gaining respect for the country. Periodicals that focused on the future of the nation played a significant role in awakening the consciousness of Kazakh society in the early 20th century, leading to the national liberation movement.

The primary goal of the people of Alash was to mobilize and inspire the people’s spirit for the benefit of the country, and this objective is reflected on the journal page. The newspaper “Ak Zhol” called upon people to receive education and literacy, thereby raising awareness. The most crucial national values, such as land, language, and education, were put on the agenda. At the beginning of the last century, the issues of the country’s future, national political structure, national culture, and science raised by the people of Alash did not lose their significance. In today’s era of globalization, it is the responsibility of our future generations to implement the major issues raised at that time as part of our spiritual life.

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