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ІДЕЯ НЕЗАЛЕЖНОСТІ І СВОБОДИ В ДІЯЛЬНОСТІ ХАСАНА ОРАЛТАЯ

Анотація. *Хасан Оралтай – казахський діяч за кордоном, дослідник національно-визвольного руху, історик, публіцист, автор творів турецькою, казахською, англійською, німецькою та іншими мовами, почесний професор Міжнародного казахсько-турецького університету. Усе своє життя він присвятив служінню на благо казахського народу. У 20 столітті казахи Східного Туркестану вели визвольну боротьбу за свою свободу та незалежність. Хасан Оралтай написав хроніку життя казахів, переслідуваних тоталітарною комуністичною системою на їхній батьківщині і здобувши свободу на Заході. Його твори висвітлюють історію національної інтелігенції алашів та всі нагальні проблеми Казахстану. Наукова новизна дослідження визначається тим, що у статті йдеться про письменницьку та, як відомо, історичну роль Хасана Оралтая, з точки зору того, що казахи Східного Туркестану, вибравши перо, оголосили першу ластівку національно -визвольної боротьби світу. Півстоліття тому в турецькому місті Ізмір вийшла його перша книга «На шляху до свободи. Казахські турки Східного Туркестану». До останнього періоду його життя всі твори, написані та організовані ним, були присвячені нагальним проблемам, що стосуються казахського народу, для казахського минулого та майбутнього. Радіо «Азаттик» (RL/RFE) першим заговорило про повстання казахської молоді проти радянської системи в грудні 1986 р. Пізніше Хасан Оралтай опублікував у західній пресі різні статті про грудневі події, збірки та книги, в яких він оцінив настрої протесту в радянському Казахстані. Практична значимість дослідження визначається тим, що за 27 років служби в Азаттику Хасан Оралтай постійно порушував нагальні проблеми казахів у Радянському Союзі. Дослідження збило всю інформацію про ідеї незалежності*

Ключові слова: *національна ідея, діаспора, визвольний рух, біженці, радіо Азаттик*

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THE IDEA OF INDEPENDENCE AND FREEDOM IN THE ACTIVITIES OF HASAN ORALTAY

Abstract. *Hasan Oraltay is a Kazakh figure abroad, researcher of the national liberation movement, historian, publicist, author of works in Turkish, Kazakh, English, German and other languages, honorary professor of the International Kazakh-Turkish University. He devoted all his life to serving for the benefit of the Kazakh people. In the 20th century, the Kazakhs of East Turkestan waged a liberation struggle for their freedom and independence. Hasan Oraltay wrote a chronicle of the life of the Kazakhs, persecuted by the totalitarian communist system in their homeland and gained freedom in the West. His writings highlight the history of the Alash national intelligentsia and all the pressing problems of Kazakhstan. The scientific novelty of the research is determined by the fact that the article deals with the writer's and, as is known, the historical role of Hasan Oraltay, from the perspective that the Kazakhs of East Turkestan, picking a pen, declared the first swallow of the national liberation struggle to the world. Half a century ago, his first book was published in the Turkish city of Izmir "On the way to freedom. Kazakh Turks of East Turkestan". Until the last period of his life, all works written and organised by him were devoted to urgent problems concerning the Kazakh people, for the Kazakh past and future. Radio Azattyk (RL/RFE) was the first to speak about the uprising of Kazakh youth against the Soviet system in December of 1986. Later, Hassan Oraltay published in the Western press various articles about the December events, collections and books, in which he assessed the protest mood in Soviet Kazakhstan. The practical significance of the study is determined by the fact that for 27 years of service in Azattyk, Hasan Oraltay constantly raised the urgent problems of Kazakhs in the Soviet Union. The study collected all information on the ideas of independence*

Keywords: *national idea, diaspora, liberation movement, refugees, radio Azattyk*

INTRODUCTION

In the past few decades, there has been a growing interest in diasporas as a subject of study in the social sciences. The growing popularity of this topic has led to a change in the use of the term "diaspora" to refer to any population that has moved from one country to another. This trend is also observed among immigrant groups who define themselves as a diaspora [1]. James Clifford explains that migrants increasingly define themselves as a diaspora because the term has positive connotations. The frequent use of the diaspora is not limited to academia and immigrant groups; it is also frequently used in the media and popular culture [2].

In his 2005 article "The Diaspora", Rogers Brubaker explains this recent phenomenon in detail. According to him, the term "diaspora" is overused to describe any group that moves from one place to another [3]. Brubaker, criticising such a popular use of the concept, argues that "the term loses its distinguishing power, its ability to distinguish phenomena, to make distinctions. The universalization of the diaspora, paradoxically, means the disappearance of the diaspora" [4]. According to Brubaker, the problem lies in the perception of the

diaspora in substantial terms, as a limited identity, not an idiom, position and statement [5]. Instead, he suggests looking at the diaspora primarily as a category of practice. For Brubaker, “as a category of ethnic practice, the diaspora is used to make claims, formulate projects, formulate expectations, mobilise energy, and appeal to loyalty” [6].

Based on Brubaker's concept, the authors will consider Kazakhs living in Turkey and Europe as a category of practice [7]. The Kazakhs of East Turkestan (Xinjiang) were forced to leave their homeland as a result of political events in the region in the middle of the 20th century. Then the Kazakhs were forced to live for some time as refugees in neighbouring countries, until they were finally accepted into Turkey as permanent settlers [8]. During this period, Kazakhs experienced seemingly insurmountable life events. Their first decades of living in Turkey were also not easy, despite the fact that citizenship and additional benefits to facilitate their assimilation and integration were provided upon arrival [9; 10]. They were first housed in refugee camps in Istanbul, and then the Turkish government resettled them to the main settlement areas [11]. Over the years, some Kazakh families left these primary settlements and moved to large cities, in particular to Istanbul. As part of labour migration agreements between the Turkish government and European countries, Kazakhs from Turkey have migrated to Europe as workers with Turks since the 1960s [12].

As soon as the Kazakhs adapted to the new life in Turkey, and then in Europe, they began to participate in actions aimed at preserving the borders of their group. Studying these acts and related discourses, it was examined how Kazakhs formulated and reformulated their identity and loyalty in their host states [13]. Many Kazakhs in Turkey and Europe came from Xinjiang (East Turkestan) in China and considered this region their homeland. However, with Kazakhstan's independence after the collapse of the Soviet Union, they began to reformulate their identity and loyalty to Kazakhstan as a new homeland. Therefore, an analysis will be conducted in relation to two periods: namely, before and after Kazakhstan gained independence [14].

1. MATERIALS AND METHODS

This article is based on publications (books and magazines) of Kazakhs in Turkey and Europe, newspaper articles, public statements, and websites of Kazakh organisations in host states [15]. Field studies conducted in Turkey, Germany, France and the Netherlands were taken from interviews with leaders of Kazakh diaspora organisations and other members of the diaspora. Observing the participants of the European Kazakh Kurultai (assembly) in Paris in May 2013 also allowed to better contextualize this issue.

In the next section, the basic elements of the concept of “diaspora” were first examined before proceeding to analyse the Kazakh diaspora as a category of practice. Further, the process of migration of Kazakhs to Turkey and Europe was considered [16]. The practices and discourses of the Kazakh diaspora before and after Kazakhstan gained independence in 1991 were analysed. This section described the activities of Kazakhstani associations abroad, as well as considered the main discourses among prominent leaders of the diaspora [17]. Through this analysis, the Kazakh diaspora was viewed as a category of practice (and not as a limited identity) and, in doing so, the changes taken place over the various generations of the Kazakh diasporas were explained [18]. Before the Russian conquest of the 18th-19th centuries, the state formations of Central Asia were based on a territorial, civilizational and confessional community, the population of which did not have a pronounced national identity [19; 20]. Despite the fact that many activities of the central government (both in the Russian Empire and in the USSR) were aimed at eradicating local norms of political, social and cultural life, all countries of the Central Asian region retained their way of life, religious customs and structure of relations [21-23].

The study of the history of the formation of the Kazakh diaspora should be considered in conjunction with the diasporas of other Central Asian countries. Since all of them, first of all, positioned themselves as immigrants of Turkestan, and called themselves “Turkestani”. In addition, the reasons and consequences of their emigration abroad were very similar. It is also appropriate to consider their action as a socio-political, and at the same time, religiously motivated action [18]. For example, Kazakh refugees, having arrived in Pakistan, India and further Turkey, tried in every possible way to link their emigration with the “hijra”. That gave its fruits. In the above-mentioned countries, in addition to receiving the status of “refugees”, they were recognised as “muhajirs”. As S. Panarin notes, the space of the new Central Asian states “seems to be torn apart by factors of economic, ethnic and cultural attraction outside the national territory.” In Central Asia alone (without Kazakhstan, Northern Kyrgyzstan, Central and Southern Turkmenistan), five independent historical and cultural zones can be distinguished – Horezm, Northern Tajikistan, Samarkand with the adjacent territory, Southern Tajikistan and the Fergana Valley [24]. Characterising the specificity of Central Asian societies in the formation of a national idea, one should first of all note the presence of regional clan ties in their life. These ties are based on community unity and are structured in a certain way at all levels of social relations. For

centuries, “Valley” (“oasis”) patriotism has played a key role in the processes of socialization and identification of people.

2. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

2.1. Analysis of the social reality of the transition period in Kazakhstan

The 20th century in Kazakh history is characterised by complex and ambiguous processes that took place in all spheres of society without exception, which gradually changed its appearance. As a result of the political games of the Soviet Union and the repressive policies of the Chinese communists in East Turkestan (modern Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region), many representatives of the indigenous people (Uighurs, Kazakhs, etc.) were forced to flee the country. For refugees, the only way to escape, as well as gain freedom, lay through the Himalayas to India. Nobody was waiting for them. Kazakh refugees arrived in India and Pakistan between 1941-1951.

To get acquainted with the living conditions of Kazakh refugees, there is the example of Eliskhan Taiji's group in India and Pakistan in 1941-1952. In September of 1941, a group of Kazakh refugees from Xinjiang, led by Eliskhan Taiji, arrived at the Indian border through Tibet. According to the Altai Khalifa, after the fighting in Tibet, about 1000 families, consisting of 3039 Kazakhs, came to the Indian border. This figure is also given in the monograph by I. Svanberg, taken from the monograph of Altai Khalifa “Anayurttan Anadolu'ya” and confirmed during interviews with Kazakhs – participants in this transition. India at that time was under British rule, and arrivals were not immediately allowed into its territory. On September 25, 1941, the Kazakhs created a group to represent them, which began negotiations with the British authorities to obtain permission to cross the Indian border. The delegation included: Karamolla Okur (Seitkan Shoishhibayuly), Sauytbay Zhan Sadyr-uly, Hamza Inan Yahyauly, Sadei Sydyk Chalyskan, Osmanuly and Alpys Doganuly. Only in the course of lengthy negotiations the British authorities allowed people to cross the border, disarmed them and took them under armed guard to Ladakh, a provincial town in Kashmir, where they made lists and placed them in the Muzaffer Abad refugee camp cordoned off and guarded from all sides by troops.

The process of climatic, economic, social and cultural adaptation of the Kazakhs in India was slow, with enormous difficulties. This was explained, first of all, by the fact that cataclysms occurred in the life of the Kazakhs of Xinjiang in a short time, the results were the loss of their homeland, isolation from traditional farming, the death of relatives and friends when crossing Tibet, the sands of the Lop Nor and Takla-Makan deserts, after which it was impossible to immediately recover either mentally or physically. As well-to-do members of society in Xinjiang, some of the Kazakhs came to India after a year-long war with the Tibetans in an almost pauperized mass. Foreign climate, restriction of freedom of movement, lack of opportunity to work, lack of knowledge of English and the languages of the peoples of India – all this aggravated the situation of the Kazakhs who were housed in a tent camp in Muzaffer Abad, where 10-15 people died every day. The remaining cattle were dying from lack of food. In this camp, Kazakhs received medical assistance on very rare occasions. All these circumstances prompted the Kazakh refugees to ask the authorities to move them to another place. Seeing the suffering of his relatives, Eliskhan Batyr, who brought people to India and considered himself responsible for their fate, decided to take a very risky step. In March 1942, Eliskhan Batyr, Ahmet Ali Molla Mardan and Saday fled the camp late in the evening and reached Punjab, where they stayed at the house of Mr. Aslam Khan, with whose help they asked for an audience with the British governor. Sir Fireyzer received Eliskhan Batyr, listened to him and gave permission to move from Muzaffer Abad to a camp in Punjab.

In April 1942, the British authorities transported the Kazakhs by truck to the village of Ternava near Rawalpindi. The infectious diseases that began in Muzaffer Abad continued to haunt people in the refugee camp located near the village of Ternava: they died from jaundice, tropical fever and an unusual climate. According to the data cited by Hasan Oraltay, 15 to 20 people died every day. Due to the constant heavy rains, it was difficult to bury the dead. Therefore, the Kazakhs filed a petition to leave Ternava. According to the Altai Khalifa, the number of refugees dropped from 3000 to 1200 in less than a year. In the first years of life in India, the Kazakhs did not have children, which was confirmed in their interviews by the direct participants in the transition through the mountain peaks of Tibet, who survived, that is, no natural increase in the group headed by Eliskhan Batyr occurred during this period, human losses were significant. The authorities allowed them to leave Ternava and offered the Kazakhs to move to Hyderabad or Bhopal. According to the recollections of Khalifa Altai and Jalil Hamzauli Inan, before leaving the camp, the refugees sent Osman Zaipuly, Hamza Yahya-uly Inan, Chakmak Tasekeuly and Kumar Kazanbasuly to look for places for possible resettlement. Ultimately, in March of 1943, 450 Kazakhs left for Bhopal, located in Central India. Among them were the aqsaqals Osman Tashtan, Hamza Inan, Sautbay Zhan, Chakmakbai, Muttalip, Khojan, Suleiman, Kabilbek, as well as Osman mullah and Idris mulla. About 700 people went north to Abbottabad,

Suwat and Chitral. This group included Eliskhan Batyr, Mardan Bek, Sadei, Karamolla, Kumar, Rakady, Akhmet Ali Molla and others.

For about two years, Kazakhs lived in Bhopal, in the area that was later named Kazakhabad, where they were engaged in sewing hats and clothes, since they were denied a monthly allowance, which they initially received from the authorities. In Bhopal, they were allowed to establish a “Kazakh Center”; a Kazakh school was opened, for the functioning of which preparatory courses for teachers were initially held. Kazakh, Arabic and other languages were taught at this school. In 1944, five Kazakh children – Kalima, Ghaffara, Sherifa, Azizs and Abdulkhaks – were sent to continue their education in colleges located in Delhi. It is historically known that there were several waves of refugees from East Turkestan. In September 1951, the last wave of Kazakh refugees, led by Kalibek Hakim, arrived at the borders of India. According to the memoirs of Hasan Oraltay, 174 people, including him, crossed the border. They were stationed in the city of Srinagar, in Kashmir. Here they also received some assistance from the Government of India. Despite the fact that living conditions were rather difficult, there was great hope for the future among the refugees. They stopped being afraid and running.

Hasan Oraltay's father, Kalibek Hakim, from the first days of entering the territory of India, tried to establish relations with the government of India, as well as establish contacts with representatives of Western countries, including the United States. His group attempted to establish contact with Kazakh refugees in Pakistan and the Kazakh diaspora in Europe represented by the head of the Turkestan Liberation Committee – “Türkeli” Karys Kanatbai. In addition, a stable correspondence was established, which grew into friendship, with an outstanding Bashkir intellectual in exile Zaki Validi Togan. Later Z.V. Togan several times gave advice to Kazakhs to emigrate to Turkey. Of course, the Kazakhs themselves felt a kinship with the Turkish people. It is to this group of Kazakh refugees that the world community drew attention.

All the events listed above contributed to the personal growth of the young Hassan. He, as the son of one of the leaders of the Kazakh people – Kalibek Hakim, witnessed many important events. From the national liberation movement in East Turkestan to the formation of the Kazakh diaspora in Turkey. Also, these events had a great influence in the further activities of H. Oraltay. Considering that Kazakhs consist of tribal associations and zhuzes, it is worth noting that the Kazakh diaspora in Turkey and Europe consists of the Kerei and Naiman tribes. Even in the modern period, most of the Kazakhs of Europe, considering themselves part of the large Kazakh people, retain their tribal identity. As is known, the efforts of the Soviet government, in particular, were aimed at eliminating such a phenomenon as clans, which survived, and from the mid-90s their influence on domestic politics began to manifest itself more clearly. Recently, there have been many works devoted to the study of the role of informal institutions. For example, K. Collins in his book “The Logic of Clan Policy in Central Asia” puts forward four theses regarding clan dynamics (Fig. 1).

1) Clans can exist in strong states, especially if they are organisations of passive resistance to the state, which repress them, but does not destroy, giving them opportunity to survive

2) In the event of an external threat, clans conduct informal agreements, which strengthens the stability of the regime, especially in transitional states, but does not generate democratic changes

3) These agreements and followed transition models, ideological orientations of leaders, formally new political institutions have a rather limited, short-term influence on political trajectories

4) Formal regimes increasingly absorb informal clan politics. So clans become the primary source of political and economic power as informal ties and clans penetrate the institutions of the regime. Clan politics prevent the consolidation of both democratic and authoritarian regime and can undermine them

Figure 1. Four theses of clan dynamics

A clan is an informal organisation that includes a group of individuals united by family ties. The latter defines the identity and obligations of the organisation. These obligations are vertical and horizontal, linking the elite and non-elite, the real and fictitious relationship. It is difficult for an individual to enter or leave a clan, although the size of the clan changes. In Central Asia, according to local journalists, they range from 2000 to 200000 people. In rural areas they are led by the elders, in urban areas – by the richest and oldest, “moreover, clans cross class boundaries”. The clan elite uses clan ties to achieve their goals in the political or

economic system. Ordinary members need its help to get a job and an education. In other words, it is difficult to survive outside a clan.

In this regard, it can be said that not only national identity but also clan-regional identity is of great importance for the Central Asian ethnic groups. Regional disunity in sovereign Kazakhstan is due to the historical characteristics of the past nomadic life, when the Kazakhs were divided into three tribal associations (Senior, Middle and Younger zhuzes). The basis of this division was the specificity of the economic, cultural and historical process that took place in three areas, which arose in connection with the natural distribution of the territory of Kazakhstan into three geographical parts: Semirechye, Western and Central (including Northern and Eastern) Kazakhstan. The political life of modern Kazakhstan is largely determined by zhuz, tribal and clan-family relations. It is “determined by the power struggle among representatives of three large tribal associations – zhuz: Senior “Uly” (southern and south-eastern Kazakhstan); Middle – “Orta” (northern, central and eastern Kazakhstan) and Junior – “Kishi” (western Kazakhstan). And although by historical standards zhuzes were formed recently, at the beginning of the 17th century, the contradictions between them are firmly rooted in the mentality of the Kazakhs. The first President of Kazakhstan N. Nazarbayev noted in one of his publications that “regional affiliation has always played a significant role in the political structure” of the Republic. At the same time, he himself “categorically rejects the traditional political ideology, which is based on the restoration of archaic forms of social structure, tribal psychology.” For Kazakhs, zhuzes are both abstract and real. Many Kazakhs are generally indifferent to their zhuz affiliation, and sometimes they do not know it. But zhuz kinship can be a tool in the struggle for power, thanks to strong corporate ties.

Nevertheless, in recent years, inter-zhuz, generic traditions and values have been developing in Kazakhstan. Today, family ties help many families to survive, which, incidentally, concerns not only Kazakhstan, but all the republics of Central Asia. The problem of clan-tribal relations in modern Kazakhstani society and its influence on the formation of modern statehood, the formation of the economic system is in the centre of attention of many scientists. Professor A. Nisanbayev noted in this regard that “in the context of the implementation of privatization and the formation of national statehood, the problem of tribalism as one of the types of intra-ethnic disintegration of the Kazakh ethnos, a brake on the path of consolidation of the entire Kazakh modernization of the Kazakh society, escalated”.

Professor A. Nisambaev described the regulation of intertribal and inter-zhuz relations in modern Kazakh society in the following way: “One of the principles of the functioning of power in Kazakh society is an orientation towards compromise and political balancing. In other words, the activities and rivalry of various political groupings for personnel positions in the highest echelons of state power, as a rule, takes place in an atmosphere of complete secrecy through the compromise thinking of the subjects of power themselves, which, in turn, pushes the participants in the political process to reach a consensus or to sign a certain “gentlemen's agreement”, which clearly defines the rules of conduct for each “player”. Therefore, in order to better understand the nature of power in Kazakhstan, it is first necessary to study the traditional political culture of Kazakhs, the hierarchy of their values, political traditions and their role in the life of modern Kazakhstan.” Thus, the social reality of the transition period in Kazakhstan “is formed under the influence of three multidirectional and at the same time interrelated factors: the traditional clan-tribal structure of the Kazakh ethnic society; the consequences of the Soviet socio-political system, the new realities of the post-Soviet development of the republic”.

2.2. The role of historical heritage in the formation of the modern national idea in the countries of Central Asia

The second factor directly influencing the formation of the modern national idea in the countries of Central Asia is the active use of the historical heritage, in which they strive to “find” ideas, traditions of national statehood and culture. However, its interpretation may be speculative. According to D. Zhetpisov and T. Khabiev, the past is dressed in emphasised national clothes. But it was made by modern designers; in the real past it was hardly worn. The mythological pictures of history that arise as a result of this sometimes take on completely bizarre forms, but behind them are the real interests and needs of people, their fears and hopes. In Kazakhstan, in order to overcome the problems of zhuz disunity in history, the activities of Tauke-Khan (who headed the Kazakh Khanate at the end of the 17th – beginning of the 18th century) and Ablai-Khan (the khan of the three Kazakh zhuzes in the middle of the 18th century) are “hymned”, under which Kazakh society reached the greatest success, especially in terms of strengthening the centralized state. For example, Professor B. Mailibayev considers “... the institution of the Kazakh president is the historical heir to the khan's power, which, in turn, had enormous democratic potential.” In relation to the elite, B. Mailibayev sees the difference between the khan and the president in the fact that “the khan is the result of an elite consensus, the president himself forms and regulates the interaction of the elites”. Also, considerable attention is paid to the historical heritage of Abai Kunanbayuly and his followers, represented by the Alash intelligentsia.

At the same time, the leadership of Kazakhstan is developing the doctrine of state ideology to unite various ethnic communities. Since the beginning of the 20th century, 5 million 600 thousand people have been resettled to Kazakhstan, on the other hand, about one and a half million Kazakhs have died. Many Kazakhs had to flee to other countries, and thus form the modern Kazakh diaspora. So, in the official statement of 1996 it is said about the need “to support in society the idea that Kazakhstan is a common homeland. The obligation of every citizen, regardless of nationality, to help create an atmosphere of friendship, peace and harmony.” At the same time it is said that “Kazakhstan is the ethnic centre of Kazakhs; they have nowhere else in the world a state that cares about the preservation and development of Kazakhs as an ethnic group, about their culture, language and traditions.”

In the created historical concepts, the role of the periods of existence within the framework of the Russian Empire and the USSR in the “development of statehood” was minimized, moreover, this time was assessed mostly negatively. “In fact, for the entire 70-year period of the Soviet empire, we tried to get out of the grip in which we were tightly squeezed ...”, says one of the Uzbek researchers. The first president of Turkmenistan, S. Niyazov, described the Soviet period as “... 74 years of longing, dependency, and unbelief in tomorrow!” Thus, the official ideology of the Central Asian states is characterised by the following general features: they are secular, moderately nationalistic, conservative, closely related to the face of their creator – the leader of the state.

2.3. Religion as a factor in the formation of a national idea

The third component of the formation of the national idea is the strengthening of the religious factor in the countries of Central Asia. Since the end of the 80s of the 20th century the re-Islamization of the region began. For the leadership of all Central Asian countries, the primary task is national unity, and, naturally, they use the combining role of Islam to strengthen their states. Both statesmen and Muslim clergy speak about the role of Islam in the formation of national unity. At the same time, the constitutions of almost all countries declare the secular nature of the state (there is no such definition in the latest edition of the Constitution of Kyrgyzstan), religious life is controlled by the relevant committees.

The politicisation of Islam can create conditions for its transformation into an independent political force. “The rise of modern Islamism, or political Islam (Islamist ideologists define this phenomenon using the concept of “*Nahda*” – Islamic revival) is due to a complex of reasons. Along with the socio-economic factor, which acts differently in each individual country, and the foreign policy factor caused by the new alignment of forces in the international arena and the strengthening of the globalization process, socio-cultural, ethno-confessional and civilizational moments also affect. However, for example, the Australian researcher of political Islam Sh. Akbarzadeh came to the conclusion that in Kyrgyzstan and Turkmenistan this process is slowed down, firstly, due to the prevalence of low Islam characteristic of nomads, as well as isolation from the Muslim world during the years of Soviet power, and second, authoritarian pressure is exerted on representatives of the clergy. British political scientist G. Tazmini generally rejects the possibility of radicalization of Islam in Central Asia. In his opinion, the spread of radical forms of Islam is impossible for the following reasons (Fig. 2).

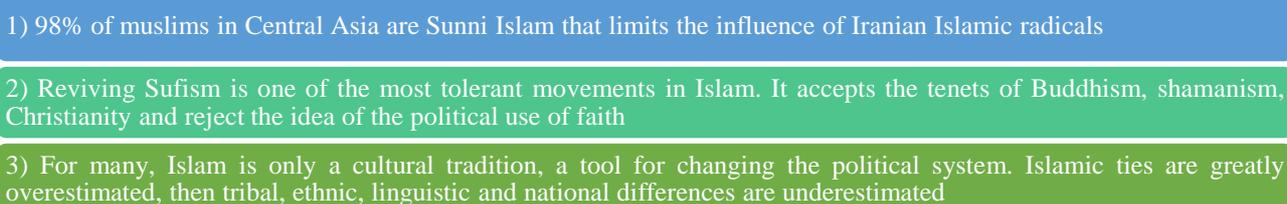
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- 1) 98% of muslims in Central Asia are Sunni Islam that limits the influence of Iranian Islamic radicals
 - 2) Reviving Sufism is one of the most tolerant movements in Islam. It accepts the tenets of Buddhism, shamanism, Christianity and reject the idea of the political use of faith
 - 3) For many, Islam is only a cultural tradition, a tool for changing the political system. Islamic ties are greatly overestimated, then tribal, ethnic, linguistic and national differences are underestimated

Figure 2. Reasons for the spread of radical forms of Islam

These disagreements do not necessarily block the path of joint Islamic activity, but they significantly slow down or even impede the development of the radical Islamic movement, G. Tazmini says, a scientist at the University of Kent in the UK. In the 90s, the governments of Central Asian states began to support traditional official Islam and clergy loyal to the government (mosques and madrassas were opened), but at the same time pressure on representatives of the so-called unofficial Islam, who in many cases were forced to act illegally, increased. Opposition Islam to a certain extent was engendered and, of course, intensified by the economic crisis and the impoverishment of the population, especially the rural population. E. Abdulaev calls the combination of Islam with the Soviet form of authoritarian rule the most characteristic feature of the decade of independence of the Central Asian states. However, he uses the terms “oppositional Islam”. E. Abdulaev argues that in Central Asia, Islam is characterised not so much by national-state differences as by the difference

between Islam itself. The researcher divides it into 1) steppe (nomads and semi-nomads); 2) oasis (large cities); 3) mountain valleys (Tajikistan, Fergana Valley). In general, the issue of Islam in Central Asia is a complex and important issue that requires a separate thorough study.

Re-traditionalizing, which has affected to one degree or another all the states of Central Asia after the collapse of the USSR, has ambiguous consequences. The strengthening of clan, family, mahalla (community, neighbourhood), compatriot ties was caused not so much by the search for identity as by socio-economic reasons – they support large families, make it possible to raise children in the absence of parents, alleviate the consequences of the inevitable change in role functions in the family, mitigate the extremely heavy psychological blow for men who are used to feeding and providing for their loved ones. At the same time, traditional ties mean a significant decrease in the role of an individual, the dominance of collective values and the unconditional submission to the authority of older people or more successful and influential people. The study of the processes of socio-political development in the countries of Central Asia, understanding the background of these processes will make it possible to realistically assess and respond to events of both internal and external nature. The name of Hasan Oraltay is very closely connected with the concept of “independence” and “freedom”. In fact, the name of Hasan Oraltay fully complements independence. He treated any issue concerning the Kazakh people from the point of view of national interests and tried to implement it. Until the last period of his life, all the works written and organised by him were devoted to urgent problems related to the Kazakh, with the Kazakh past and future, which were useful for the Kazakh people. The problem of independence, freedom was eternal, not left in the memory for a moment.

Hasan Oraltay is the former head of the Kazakh branch of Radio “Azattyk”, a well-known writer, journalist, historian, translator, editor, an outstanding representative of the Kazakh diaspora, a public figure known to the Turkic world, author of fifteen books, hundreds of articles. Hasan Oraltay is a great man who deeply understands the power of the Kazakh language, who knows its properties, facing no matter what difficulties he did not stop, he tirelessly fought for complete independence and genuine independence of the bright future of the Kazakh people. Born in 1933 in Maylyzhayr, Tarbagatai district of the modern People's Republic of China. He witnessed the people's liberation movement of the peoples of East Turkestan. His father, Kalibek Raiymbekuly, was a loyal ally of the outstanding fighter for the freedom of Kazakhs Ospan batyr. As a result of the defeat of the liberation movement, the local population was forced to emigrate. This was written above [25; 26].

Young Hasan, in a group of Kazakhs led by Kalibek Raiymbekuly, paved their way to freedom through extreme lands – the Taklamakan desert, Tibet, the Himalayas. The Chinese troops pursuing on their heels did not allow to go to less dangerous places. Kalibek had 8 children. Of these, only two – Hasan and Bilal were able to reach the borders of India. Many refugees have lost their loved ones. Between 1951-1954 they lived in Kashmir. In Kashmir, Hassan Oraltay studied English and met National Geographic reporter Milton J. Clark, who came to Kashmir to write an article about Kazakh refugees. Later he wrote his doctoral thesis on “Leadership and Political Allocation in Sinkiang Kazak Society”. The authors assume that his acquaintance with the American reporter gave impetus to his writing career.

In July 1954, Hasan Oraltay arrived in Turkey with his family, received Turkish citizenship. It is worth noting here the policy of Turkey, which recognised all Turkic peoples living outside Turkey, as “dış türkler” – “outside Turks”. Kazakhs were also considered “outside Turks” and could count on all the benefits of the Turkish government. In Turkey, the Kazakhs tried to establish comprehensive relations, as well as preserve their national identity. The world community's interest in Kazakh refugees continued after emigration to Turkey. American, French and Turkish media wrote about them, books were published. So in 1956 in London the book “The Exodus of the Kazakhs” – “Kazakh exodus” by the writer Godfrey Lias was published.

From September 9 to October 11, 1957, in the daily political newspaper “Ege Ekspres”, Hasan Oraltay publishes, in collaboration with journalist Özdemir Atalan, a series of articles “The Himalayan Saga” – “Himalaya destanı”. This work is written in the first person and consists of 33 articles. Hasan Oraltay shared his memories of the past days for 33 days. From life in East Turkestan to emigration to Turkey. The work can be considered one of the first works written by Hasan Oraltay. In Turkey, Hassan Oraltay began to lead an active social activity, wrote articles, published newspapers and magazines. Here the formation of his worldview and principles ended. Analysing his works, one can trace in them patriotic, general Turkic, anti-communist, freedom-loving sentiments. He also supported and followed the ideas of Mustafa Shokai in every possible way [27]. In 1961 in the city of Izmir, a book by Hassan Oraltay was published on the theme “On the way to freedom. Kazakh Turks of East Turkestan”. The book is dedicated to the people's liberation movement in East Turkestan and the role of Kazakhs in it. In 1976, in Istanbul, the second edition of the book was published with additions. This book has received good reviews from the Turkish scientific community.

He published such periodicals as “Büyük Türkelî” – “The Big Country of the Turks” (1962), “Komünizmle savaş” – “War against Communism” (1965-1967). Articles of such prominent personalities as Zaki Validi Togan, Fakhri Findikoglu, Baimyrza Hayit, Nihal Atsiz, Iskender Oxuz, and others were published here. On the title page of the magazine “Büyük Türkelî” a howling blue wolf – “kök böri” was, looking at the Muslim symbol – the moon and star. The image of the wolf has always been featured in the “Komünizmle savaş” newspaper. The purpose of the newspaper was to familiarise the public with the state of the Turkic peoples enslaved by the communist ideology. The content of the newspaper and magazine touched upon the problems of the whole Turkestan, including Kazakhstan. Particular attention was paid to the unity of all Turkic peoples.

In 1965, the book “The Great Turkic Poet Magzhan Zhumabayuly” was published in Turkish. The first chapter of this book was devoted to the kinship of all the Turkic peoples and the history in which they found themselves, in particular the Kazakh people too. And the second chapter is devoted to an outstanding representative of the Kazakh intelligentsia – Magzhan Zhumabayev. In addition, in this book, the poems of Magzhan are presented to the public of Turkey for the first time. Thanks to the translation of poems into Turkish, Turkish readers also could read. Since 1968, Hasan Oraltay started working for Radio Liberty. Working in the Kazakh radio service, he was able to touch upon topical issues of the history and everyday life of the Kazakh people. While working on the radio, he wrote a lot of articles and voiced them live on the radio. He headed the Kazakh radio service for various years. As former employees of the Kazakh service of radio “Azattyk” admitted, Hasan Oraltay put the national interests of the Kazakh people above. He, without fear, aired programs of a national and religious nature, which led to conflicts with the leadership of the radio. He worked very hard. Sometimes he stayed up late at work. Among the minuses in character, former colleagues indicated a tendency towards an authoritarian management style.

In 1971, in Munich, Hasan Oraltay published the saga (dastan) “Abylai” with his opening speech. The authorship of this work belongs to Mazhit Aitbai. This work has a great historical and cultural heritage for the Kazakh people. The work was written in 1944, when he was a member of the Turkestan Legion. The only surviving copy was found in the Munich library by Hassan Oraltay. In 1973 one of the most important books on the history of the national liberation movement Alash, entitled “Alaş. Türkistan türklerinin millî istiklal Parolası” – “Alash. National Liberation Anthem of the Turks of Turkestan”. The book tells about the centuries-old national liberation struggle of the Kazakh people. This book is one of the first, which was written as close to the truth as possible at that time and regardless of the communist ideology. This is due to the fact that during that period of history in Kazakhstan, there were no practical studies on this topic, and those that were written could not escape the communist ideology and tried to denigrate rather than shed light on an unknown topic. Also, researchers may be interested in the work of the scientist on the topic “Some questions and answers of the history of East Turkestan”, published in 1975. This work provides information about the national liberation uprising in East Turkestan and the peoples living there.

Together with his radio colleague, Charles Carlson, he wrote an article on the topic “Kül Tegin: Advice for the future?” in the Central Asian Survey in English. Published in 1983, this article told about the outstanding commander of the Turkic Kaganate Kültegin and analysed the text of the monument of the same name, which contains relevant materials about the Turkic will for freedom. The authors of the article, analysing the sayings on the monument, compared the state of the Turkic peoples who remained under the rule of foreigners and came to the conclusion that the outstanding commander left a great advice for the future for his descendants. It is worth noting that this article was written as a response to a positive assessment and celebration of the 250th anniversary of the “voluntary accession” of Kazakhstan to Russia in the Soviet Union.

In 1984, in Istanbul Oraltay translated into Turkish and published the “Explanatory Dictionary of the Kazakh Language” – “Kazak Türkçesi sözlüğü”. It should be noted that the original of this translation was published in 1959 by the Academy of Sciences of the Kazakh SSR. In the translated work of Hasan Oraltay, Kazakh words were transcribed into Latin and an explanatory translation was given in Turkish. On his own behalf, H. Oraltay added the interpretation of the Kazakh words “Alash”, “Alash Orda”, “Qanau” – “Oppression”, “Qandas” – “Consanguineous”, which were absent in the original. In 1984, the article “Travel to East Turkestan” was published. Here the author wrote about a trip to East Turkestan, where he was invited by the Institute of Languages of the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomy of China. Hassan Oraltay was last here in 1949, when he was only 12 years old. The author wrote in the article about the life of the inhabitants of the region in comparison with the middle of the last century. As the author writes, since then, the life of the Kazakhs, and the entire region, has changed dramatically.

In 1985, the Central Asian Survey magazine published an article on the topic – “The Alash movement in Turkestan”. In the article, the author talked about the concept of “Alash” and about the legend associated with it, as well as about the movement Alash and its prominent representatives. In addition, it is worth noting the great scientific value of his book-memoirs “Elim-ailap Otken Omir” – “Life passed for the sake of my

country.” The source value of the book is very high. Also, Hasan Oraltay, when writing works, widely used pseudonyms. Among them are “Kazakbalası” – “Kazakh son”, “Tarbağaraylı” – “From Tarbagatai”, “Kırbalası” – “Son of the Steppe”, “Türkistanlı” – “From Turkestan”. The works written under this pseudonym have the same scientific value as others. The use of these pseudonyms again proves his love for his people. On was forced to leave his homeland in his youth. But he kept his love for her in his heart.

The work “17-18 Aralık 1986 Kazakistan Olayları” – “Events of Kazakhstan in December 17-18, 1986” was published in Istanbul in 1988. The author intended to combine the data for December into one work. Hasan Oraltay dwelled on the historical manifestations of the century-old struggle of the Kazakh people for freedom and independence against Russian colonialism. At the same time, he gave a lot of valuable information. He tried to explain the reasons for the December events in this way. In this direction, in April 1987 in the 47th issue of the magazine “Türk Dünyası araştırmaları” – “Studies of the Turkic world”, published in Istanbul, a voluminous article by H. Oraltay “Kazakhstan – Kazakhs” was published. At the same time, America, France, Japan, Germany, England and other politicians and democrats from all over the world have collected a 4-volume book, which was generalised and distributed under the guidance of scientific centres, press centres around the world. At one time M. Shakhonov gave one of the versions of this collected 4-volume book. And it was Hassan Oraltay who was the first to proclaim the independence of Kazakhstan with his voice on the Azattyk radio. During his life, he was awarded the highest national award “Altyn Samruk” by the Kazakhstan Academy of Journalism. After he retired in 1995, H. Oraltay continued his active work. He wrote a lot and published articles in Kazakhstani and foreign editions.

CONCLUSIONS

In the history of science, there are individuals who, in spite of life's difficulties and hardships, walk an unbeaten path, thereby paving the way to true knowledge, and lead a whole generation of young and promising scientists. Hasan Oraltay was such a person. He had a chance to live and act in different historical times, in the conditions of sharp turns of social development, but always and invariably he showed his wonderful personal qualities – stamina, purposefulness, decency. Despite the difficulties, Hasan Oraltay did not stop his activities for a moment. He was one of the first abroad to publish various articles and books on the topic “Kazakh Turks”. Until 1973 in the West there was no information about “Alash”. This topic was briefly touched upon in the writings of Ahmet Zaki Validi and some articles by Mustafa Shokai. And in a situation where it was impossible to get information from Kazakhstan, heroism, words about “Alash”, “Alashorda”, the publication of books required painstaking work. However, Hasan Oraltay in 1973 published the book “Alaş. Türkistan türklерinin millî istiklal Parolası” – “Alash. National Liberation Anthem of the Turks of Turkestan”. This book tells about the history and meaning of the name “Alash”, about the Alash party and the government of Alashorda.

For 77 years of his existence, Hasan Oraltay devoted his life to the Kazakh people, to the Motherland – “elim-aylap atkızdı”. On April 14, 2010, he passed away. Buried next to his father and brother Bilal in the city of Salihli, Turkey. His father Kalibek is a hero of the national liberation struggle of East Turkestan. To some extent, Hasan Oraltay is the continuation of this struggle. While working for radio “Azattyk”, he very often touched upon the topic of the independence of the Kazakh people. He strongly criticized the issue of “voluntary” accession of the Kazakh people, as well as the entire Turkestan to Russia. In all his writings, he categorically denied this theory. Much has changed dramatically since the independence of the Republic of Kazakhstan. Contemporary Kazakh historiography is in many ways similar to the views of Hasan Oraltay. The view of the Kazakh diaspora in Turkey and Europe has changed from “traitors”, “enemies of the people” to the opposite “freedom fighters”, etc. And H. Oraltay himself is considered a national hero.

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