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## **Perception of Soviet Kazakhstan in emigrant publicism: an analysis of the works of Hasan Oraltay**

This article is an analysis of the discourse of Soviet Kazakhstan in emigrant journalism. The main source is the works of Hasan Oraltay, a prominent Kazakh scientist and public figure. H. Oraltay had a deep knowledge of political and social processes in Kazakhstan and conducted systematic research into the issues of ethnicity and power in the republic throughout the 20th century. The proposed study, based on the works of Hasan Oraltay, examines the pivotal events and developments that shaped the history of Kazakhstan in the 20th century. The study focuses on the formation of the Kazakh national identity, the development and evolution of the autonomist movement, the rise of the Bolsheviks and the subsequent consolidation of Soviet power in the republic. Particular attention is paid to the role of the Kazakh intelligentsia, the Alash Party and the Alash-Orda government in the context of these historical events. The study enables an analysis of the stance adopted by Kazakh political elites towards Soviet power and an evaluation of the influence exerted by these processes on the subsequent evolution of Kazakh society.

*Keywords:* Kazakhs abroad, Kazakh intelligentsia, Alash, Hasan Oraltay, Soviet Kazakhstan, Soviet power, emigration, national identity.

### *Introduction*

The issue of the formation of national identity and statehood in the Soviet republics of Central Asia remains a pertinent topic within the field of historical science. In this context, Kazakhstan occupies a distinctive position, with its history in the 20th century characterised by intricate processes of modernization and nation-building. The present study is devoted to an analysis of the formation of the image of Soviet Kazakhstan in the consciousness of Kazakh emigration, with the works of the outstanding public figure and publicist Hasan Oraltay serving as a case study.

The history of Kazakhstan during the Soviet era has been extensively studied within the field of national historiography. However, the issue of how the Soviet reality was perceived by the Kazakh diaspora remains an area of insufficient research. Conversely, an examination of emigrant sources enables the identification of alternative perspectives on the processes occurring in Kazakhstan, facilitating a more nuanced and multifaceted understanding of their inherent complexity and contradictory nature.

The novelty of this study lies in its comprehensive analysis of the works of Hasan Oraltay, which represents the first attempt to reconstruct the image of Soviet Kazakhstan in the minds of Kazakh emigrants [1]. In order to provide a more complete picture, the authors draw on a wide range of sources, including journalistic articles, memoirs, letters and other documents.

The objective of this study is to conduct a comprehensive analysis of the works of Hasan Oraltay in order to identify the principal characteristics of the image of Soviet Kazakhstan that was formed in the emigrant environment, as well as to analyse the factors that influenced its formation.

The subject matter of emigrant journalism was inextricably linked with the acute problems of the era. The authors addressed a range of pressing issues, including political repression, famine, collectivisation, and the challenges associated with adapting to a new life away from home. Their works reflected an endeavour to identify strategies for the preservation of national identity, cultural traditions and political activism in the context of emigration. The following examples illustrate this point:

1. The relationship between the Soviet regime and emigration: A substantial corpus of emigrant publicists has analysed the political, social and cultural aspects of Soviet rule, repression and mass emigration.

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2. The concept of national identity is a complex one, encompassing a multitude of factors and nuances. The objective of this study is to examine the perceptions of homeland, national identity and cultural roots in the context of emigration.

3. Economic and social issues: The discussion will encompass the economic challenges faced by migrants, the processes of adaptation to the new environment, the dynamics of social integration, and the difficulties encountered.

4. The field of literature and art is a rich and multifaceted area of study. The review of published works, cultural events, and the analysis of literary and artistic trends in Soviet Kazakhstan.

5. The field of History and Politics encompasses a range of disciplines, including the study of historical events and processes, as well as the analysis of political developments and their impact on societies. An examination of historical events and political processes, and their impact on the emigrant community.

6. The following section presents a series of personal accounts. The examination of the experiences of individuals, including their successes and failures, and the circumstances that shaped their lives.

These represent merely a fraction of the subjects that preoccupied emigrant publicists. Each author selected a distinct perspective, collectively contributing to a substantial corpus of émigré literature.

#### *Research methods*

The study was based on the principles of historicism and objectivity, as well as a systematic approach, which allows for the combination of various methods of analysis and synthesis. The work employed a range of scientific research methods, including descriptive-narrative, biographical, comparative-historical, retrospective, and other approaches. The aforementioned methods will assist in gaining a more profound understanding of the perception of Soviet Kazakhstan in emigrant journalism and the role of Hasan Oraltay in this process.

The paper presents an analysis of the works of Hasan Oraltay as presented in periodicals, his speeches on the radio station Azattyk, and his memoirs. The historical sources pertaining to Hasan Oraltay's radio appearances were obtained from his personal archive, which is housed at the National Academic Library of the Republic of Kazakhstan (Astana).

#### *Discussion*

The 20th century was a period during which significant migratory processes affected the Kazakh people. Forced to leave their historical homeland as a result of repression, famine and political persecution, thousands of Kazakhs sought refuge elsewhere. Notwithstanding the geographical remoteness and political barriers of the "Iron Curtain", emigrants, who were primarily located in Europe and Turkey, made significant efforts to maintain contact with Kazakhstan. Letters, clandestine meetings and radio communication constituted the sole means of maintaining contact with their homeland.

The formation of Kazakh foreign countries occurred in several stages and was linked to historical events of the past. It is also possible to divide them into several groups based on their origin. The majority of Kazakhs abroad originated from two historical regions, which they perceived as parts of the unified Greater Turkestan. One group originated from the territories of modern Kazakhstan, which was historically known as West Turkestan. The second group originated from East Turkestan (modern XUAR, China) [1; 12].

The primary motivation for emigration among representatives of both groups was the presence of communist regimes in their countries of origin. Accordingly, their activities abroad were predominantly anti-communist in nature. Some even entertained the possibility of returning to their homeland in the event of the collapse of Soviet power. The Communist Party was perceived as an external force that had invaded their homeland [2; 283].

Having emigrated to European countries and Turkey, they sought to demonstrate their anti-communist sentiments in a multitude of ways. They established cultural and political organisations, published newspapers and magazines, and contributed articles to foreign publications. Furthermore, they collaborated with foreign intelligence services [3; 501].

Once in exile, the Soviet authorities regarded them as "traitors to the motherland". Their view of Soviet Kazakhstan was also ambiguous. They perceived Soviet power, as embodied by the Communist Party, as a force that deprived them of their homeland. For example, in 1932, the poem "Dombyrama kulak sal" (Listen to my dombra) was published in the magazine "Yash Turkistan" [4; 169]. The author of this verse, whose identity is unknown, conveys the idea that the "freedom" promised by the communists is merely a trap, and that the concept of equality among all as "comrades" is a deception of the people [4; 170].

For some representatives of the Kazakh diaspora, life abroad was perceived as a loss of homeland. In this context, one of the most prominent figures of Kazakh emigration in Europe, writer and poet Maulikesh Kayypaldyuly, articulated this sentiment as follows:

“...Zholaushy menen surasa:  
Zhureginde kandai shok?  
Kaita almainyn uiime  
Endi mende Otan zhok!..” [2; 51].

The following is a proposed translation of the text: “If a traveller were to inquire of me: What affliction is troubling you? I am unable to return to my place of origin. “I am currently without a homeland”.

Maulikesh Kayypaldyuly, who wrote under the pseudonym Asan Kaigy, received a rigorous philological education, including translation courses in Berlin and the study of German and English philology in Frankfurt. He was immersed in a German-speaking environment, during which time he published extensively in local journals. His novel, *The Voice of Help from Paradise*, is regarded as one of the most colourful works of Kazakh literature written in German [1; 181]. In addition to his literary pursuits, M. Kayypaldyuly played a pivotal role in the advancement of Kazakh journalism, serving as a founding member of the Turkestan editorial office of Radio Azattyk [5; 13].

The Kazakh diaspora abroad consistently opposed the Soviet regime, characterising it as a colonial system. The emigrants were actively engaged in the anti-communist struggle. The objective was twofold: firstly, to draw global attention to the repression of Kazakh intellectuals and, secondly, to contribute to the destabilisation of the Soviet regime from outside. Additionally, while residing abroad, they sought to disseminate information regarding the political repression of local political elites to the general public in their host countries [6; 516].

The notion of the Soviet regime as colonial in essence gained further traction in the 1970s and 1980s. This was a period during which geopolitical opponents, having formally relinquished their own colonies, increasingly directed their attention towards the Soviet peripheries, including the so-called Muslim regions. Consequently, the USSR itself undertook a range of initiatives with the objective of demonstrating the non-colonial and even anti-colonial nature of the country and its society.

The notion of a colonial character to Soviet power, particularly in relation to its peripheries, gained increasing currency in the international arena during the 1970s and 1980s. This was driven by the USSR's geopolitical rivals seeking to highlight its parallels with former colonial powers and discredit the Soviet model of development. In response to these accusations, the Soviet Union employed a strategy of propaganda to shape the image of the USSR as a multinational state engaged in the fight against colonialism and imperialism [7; 29].

It can be argued that the formation of the Soviet regime as a colonial system was shaped by the emigrant environment, particularly the influence of Kazakh emigration. For instance, Kazakh emigrants in Turkey were engaged in a range of activities, including political, cultural and educational pursuits. In Turkey, they established the Turkestan Cooperation Organisation and engaged in collaboration with other organisations. The city of Izmir constituted the primary hub for their activities. In this environment, they published the newspaper *Komünizmle savaş* (War against communism), *Büyük Türkeli* (Great country of Turks), and others. One of the most prominent figures among Kazakh emigrants in Turkey was Hasan Oraltay. He was born in 1933 in East Turkestan. For political reasons, he was compelled to seek exile abroad. In the early 1950s, his family, along with numerous other Kazakh refugees, was granted asylum in Turkey [6; 538].

In the autumn of 1957, Hasan Oraltay and Ozdemir Atalan published a series of articles in the newspaper *Ege Ekspres* entitled “*Himalaya destanı* (Saga of the Himalayas)”. These articles detailed the reasons for the abandonment of their homeland. This indicated the position of the Kazakh refugees with regard to communism, namely that “the destiny of Kazakhs under communism is to be people deprived of all their rights”. Communism represents the epitome of atrocity. Communism can be defined as a system of government that enslaves its citizens. Communism is a dishonourable ideology [8].

In this article, Kazakh refugees provide a first-hand account of their experiences, as follows: “It is a widely acknowledged fact that Central Asia is the collective homeland of all Turkic peoples. In Turkestan, the golden cradle of this world, a number of Turkic peoples, including Kazakh, Kyrgyz, Uzbek, Turkmen, Bashkir and Uyghur Turks, continue to reside. It is regrettable that the communist regime does not acknowledge the right to freedom of expression or the material and spiritual autonomy of the 24,596,000 Turks residing in this expansive region. Those in power have failed to acknowledge the Turkestan people as a nation, denying them the recognition and rights afforded to other nations. They have also appropriated the potential

and possibilities of the Turkestan people, a practice mirrored in their treatment of other subject peoples. Accordingly, numerous puppet republics have been established in Turkestan, the ancestral homeland of the Turkic peoples, in accordance with the aforementioned policy. This is done in order to disseminate the most favourable propaganda against foreign countries and to exert control over these puppet governments with the assistance of their communist forces” [8; 3].

The text presents a portrayal of the situation in Central Asia as one of colonialism, wherein the rights and freedoms of the indigenous people are subjected to significant violations. This text exemplifies the characteristics of political propaganda, which is designed to mobilize national sentiments and construct an image of an external adversary. The text is evidently imbued with an underlying ideology, wherein pan-Turkism, anti-communism, and the aspiration for national self-determination and independence of the Turkic peoples are particularly prominent.

Additionally, the missive of Kalibek Hakim (father of H. Oraltay) to the American parties involved explicitly demonstrates the profound dedication of Kazakh emigrants to the anti-communist ideology. The letter makes reference to the direct participation of the signatories in armed clashes in Tibet and emphasises their readiness to oppose the communist regime in both word and deed [9; 161]. This document serves as a crucial testament to the global dimensions of the Cold War and the active involvement of Kazakh emigrants in the anti-Soviet resistance movement.

Anti-communist sentiments among Kazakh refugees abroad were a deeply entrenched phenomenon, shaped by a complex interplay of historical, political, and social factors. These sentiments constituted a significant factor in the formation of their identity and political views. For a considerable number of Kazakh migrants, Islamic beliefs and practices constituted an influential factor in the formation of anti-Soviet sentiments. Additionally, the dissident movement in Kazakhstan had an impact.

The process of adapting to a new life in a foreign country was a challenging one for Kazakh refugees. They were compelled to commence anew, relinquish their customary mode of existence, and assume unfamiliar forms of employment. Consequently, Hasan Oraltay was compelled, together with his father, to become proficient in the art of trade. Hasan Oraltay offers the following recollection: “My father, who was the leader of his people, once experienced significant challenges in the sale of fur and sheepskin coats in the market. It was not a straightforward process for my father, and the same can be said of other Kazakhs” [9; 170].

The history of Kazakh refugees is replete with instances of profound tragedy. The loss of loved ones, as exemplified by the case of Hasan Oraltay's family, where five children perished, has resulted in an immeasurable anguish for numerous individuals [10]. These occurrences, transmitted from generation to generation, constitute the collective memory of a people. A traumatic event represents a significant disruption to an individual's subjective experience, resulting in a sense of insecurity and a disruption to their sense of self. Such experiences transcend the ordinary, challenging our perceptions of reality. As A. Mustoyapova posits, throughout the 20th century, Kazakhs encountered a multitude of traumatic events, each of which transgressed the boundaries of the imaginable, endangering the loss of both the individual and the collective. The nation endured a considerable number of traumatic experiences over a relatively brief period, spanning several generations. When traumatic events occurred in rapid succession, individuals lacked the capacity to comprehend the ramifications [11; 249]. The historical trauma of Kazakh refugees represents a significant gap in the existing academic literature, necessitating an interdisciplinary approach to its investigation.

A substantial corpus of articles on the topic of Kazakh refugees, as well as personal memoirs by Kazakh individuals, can be found in the Turkish-language periodicals of the last century. These materials present a significant opportunity for further research. Hasan Oraltay served as both the publisher and editor of the magazine *Büyük Türkeli* and the newspaper *Komünizmle Savaş*. Both periodicals were characterized by an anti-communist stance. In his article “National Cause Above All” in *Büyük Türkeli*, H. Oraltay sets forth his vision of the future of Turkestan. He refutes the Soviet demarcation of national frontiers in Central Asia, characterising it as a Machiavellian stratagem by the councils to partition Greater Turkestan. He further deems it a colonial policy [12; 8]. His thoughts are inextricably linked with those of M. Shokai. Similarly, H. Oraltay perceived the future of the region to be one of Turkestan consolidation.

An analysis of the political views of Hasan Oraltay can be conducted through an examination of the following statements: “The Turkestanis are not solely opposed to communism. We are opposed to any form of imperialism that impedes the independence of Turkestan” [9; 200].

The second issue of *Türkeli* magazine, published in 1968, included an article by H. Oraltay on the topic of “Pressure on Kazakh Historians”. In this article, the author offers a critical analysis of the policy of the

Soviet authorities in Kazakhstan, particularly in relation to the treatment of the country's intellectuals. The article dedicates significant attention to the case of Kazakh historian E. Bekmakhanov, who was subjected to repression for his scientific work [9; 197].

Information about Kazakhstan was disseminated to Kazakhs abroad by three principal channels: the Soviet press and radio, Soviet tourists and business travellers, and the media of their home countries, which were frequently geopolitical rivals of the USSR [9; 282].

Another source was the group of Soviet dissidents who emigrated to Europe. One such individual was Makhmet Kulmagambetov, a Kazakh dissident who subsequently assumed a role within the Kazakh editorial office of Radio Azattyk, working alongside Hasan Oraltay in Munich. In his broadcasts, he openly discussed the violence perpetrated by the Soviet authorities against his fellow citizens [13; 52]. His thoughts and memories were of particular significance not only within the context of the Kazakh diaspora, but also within the broader global community. He addressed a range of pivotal issues, including the utilization of the labour of political prisoners in the construction of the gas pipeline to Europe, the fate of returnees in the USSR, and so forth [13; 141].

Hasan Oraltay was presented with a distinctive opportunity to broaden his professional scope and amass priceless experience in the domain of journalism through his tenure at Radio Azattyk. In his broadcasts, he addresses a range of subjects pertaining to Soviet Kazakhstan. At times, it was the sole dissenting voice amidst the prevailing Soviet propaganda in Kazakhstan. Consequently, he offers a critique of the press organs in Soviet Kazakhstan. As is the case in other Turkestan republics, the press organs operating in Kazakhstan are not national press organs, but rather state organs that espouse the tenets of the Communist Party's colonial policy. In particular, the press organs and radio stations in the country do not serve the national interests of their people; rather, they serve the interests of the Moscow-based authorities who maintain our country under colonial oppression. The history of the national press of our country does not originate with the Soviet era, but rather extends further back in time. Therefore, during the period between 1905 and 1920, and more specifically prior to the establishment of the Soviet regime in Kazakhstan, a number of newspapers were published, including "Serke", "Kazakhstan", "Uran", "Kazakh", "Saryarka" and "Alash", as well as a number of magazines, such as "Aikap" and "Balapan" [14; 26].

Additionally, Hasan Oraltay devoted considerable attention to the study of national history. The subject was frequently addressed in radio broadcasts. "The national history of our people is written in a manner that serves the interests of the Communist Party. The actual historical events of our nation are misrepresented and presented in a negative light, and at times, they are entirely omitted" [15].

The methodologies employed in the historical study of the region were subjected to rigorous scrutiny on the programme Radio Azattyk. By way of illustration, the experience of writing the history of Soviet Kyrgyzstan may be usefully considered. The criticism can be summarised as follows:

"- given the considerable overlap in our respective areas of expertise, it would be beneficial for scholars of other Turkestan nationalities to contribute to the historical discourse on Kyrgyzstan. It is regrettable that no Kazakh or Uzbek scientists were involved in this project. However, scientists from Moscow and Leningrad were involved in this project. Even among the authors, the proportion of Kyrgyz scientists is relatively small [16; 1];

- nevertheless, the coverage of the history of Kyrgyzstan is assessed by Soviet critics as "fraternal help of the great Russian people" and "a fruit of the October Revolution".

- additionally, the collective work posits that both Kyrgyzstan and Turkestan as a whole were "voluntarily incorporated" into Russia and exhibited a "progressive character".

- from an objective historical perspective, it was essential to demonstrate that our people engaged in an unequal struggle against the Tsarist Russian policy of conquest and colonisation of Turkestan.

- in addition, we want to draw the attention of the listeners in this situation. Although Kyrgyzstan is considered a sovereign and equal republic and Kyrgyz is the official language, the History of Kyrgyzstan was written in the language of "big brother". This reflects the essence of the national policy of the communist dictatorship not only in Kyrgyzstan, but also in the region" [16; 2]. In the author's opinion, the right way to eliminate such shortcomings is to give creative freedom to historians. And this is possible only in the case of getting rid of the Soviet power [16; 2].

It would be reasonable to suggest that the criticisms outlined here also apply to the history of Kazakhstan written during the Soviet era. The evolution of historical scholarship on Kazakhstan illustrates that criticism of Soviet historiography represents a natural and inevitable stage in the development of historical re-

search. Similar observations were made in the diaspora, but in the post-Soviet era, they have become more pervasive and have been subjected to more rigorous scientific scrutiny.

H. Oraltay, an employee of Radio Azattyk, was intimately familiar with the content of Soviet periodicals. In his radio broadcasts, he posed questions to the Soviet publications Pravda, Zhuldyz, and others, and responded to their critiques. He advanced a series of critiques of Soviet historiography, particularly with regard to the concept of "Kazakhstan and Middle Asia". His stance is predicated on two fundamental tenets:

- The threat to the unity of Turkestan H. Oraltay posited that the partitioning of the region into discrete republics (Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, etc.) serves to erode the historical unity of the Turkestan region.

- From his perspective, this demarcation was a construct that served the interests of the Soviet Union's colonial policy [17; 2]. In doing so, he advanced an alternative interpretation of the region's history, which emphasized the shared past of the region's constituent republics, rather than the individual histories of the republics themselves.

H. Oraltay was an erudite intellectual who endeavoured to rethink the history of his region and identify alternative narratives. His critique of Soviet historiography constituted a significant contribution to the advancement of historical scholarship in Central Asia. He was well-versed in the state of history education in Kazakhstan and devoted considerable attention to the acute issue of the dearth of textbooks on the history of Kazakhstan and the paucity of attention devoted to the study of the history of the Kazakh people. He highlighted the persistence of a colonial approach to the teaching of history in Soviet Kazakhstan. H. Oraltay, in analysing the situation, concluded that it was necessary for the younger generation to study the national history in depth in order to ensure the preservation of the historical memory of the people. Furthermore, he underscored the significance of the creation of history textbooks by Kazakh scholars that would provide an impartial representation of historical events [18; 3].

In a message broadcast by Radio Azattyk in 1977, H. Oraltay put forth a series of pivotal arguments concerning the necessity of rethinking the historical narrative in the Soviet Union, particularly in the context of the history of the peoples of Turkestan. The core tenets of this message can be summarized as follows:

- the inseparability of history and reality: it is emphasized that historical research should be closely linked to real events and should not be distorted by ideological attitudes;

- critique of ideological history: history created to achieve certain political goals has no genuine value;

- reassessment of the role of the October Revolution: a more critical view of the October Revolution and its consequences for the peoples of Turkestan is offered, pointing out the negative aspects of this event;

- exposing Soviet repressive policies: the author calls for an open discussion of the negative phenomena of the Soviet period, such as repression, famine and collectivization;

- rehabilitation of the Alash intelligentsia: the need is expressed to give a worthy assessment of the contribution of the Alash intelligentsia to the development of Kazakh culture and society [19].

This message reflected the opinions of a section of the Kazakh intelligentsia, who sought to de-ideologize historical scholarship and to evaluate the past in a more objective manner. This represented one of the initial steps towards the establishment of an alternative historical account that would consider the interests and experiences of the Kazakh people.

Additionally, he presented an alternative perspective on the commemorative dates observed in Soviet Kazakhstan. "While the achievements of socialism were lauded by the Soviet propaganda machine, the representatives of the smaller peoples bore the full brunt of the totalitarian regime. For us, the 50th anniversary of the USSR became a symbol of the loss of freedom and national dignity that we had experienced. It is not possible for us to participate in the general rejoicing, given that we recall the repression, famine and other misfortunes that our people endured" [20]. Hasan Oraltay's statements provide a compelling illustration of critical reflection on the Soviet reality within the USSR. Such statements reflect a profound disquietude with the policy of national discrimination and an aspiration for historical justice.

H. Oraltay articulated profound disquietude with the manner in which the Soviet authorities utilised historical figures and events for the advancement of their propaganda objectives. The image of Abai Kunanbayev and other national heroes is distorted in a manner that serves the political objectives of the Soviet authorities. "It is inappropriate to portray our national heroes, who dedicated themselves to the betterment of the people and the advancement of our national independence, as serving the objectives of the communist dictatorship" [14; 28]. As has been demonstrated above, he was profoundly invested in the protection and maintenance of national identity. The objective of the colonisers is known to us. It is therefore imperative that the historical memory of our people is not eroded and that they are not assimilated [14; 30]. Aware of the threat of loss of cultural heritage and national identity, he advocated for the active defence of historical

memory and the preservation of cultural traditions. He posited that national identity is not merely a collection of historical facts; rather, it is a dynamic entity that requires consistent nourishment and renewal.

The 1980s were a period of profound transformations in the Soviet Union. Alongside political and social transformations, considerable shifts also occurred in the economic sphere. Persistent issues within the Soviet economy resulted in a systemic crisis that impacted all segments of the population. The response from the Kazakh diaspora to these developments was nuanced and reflected the diversity of its political and ideological perspectives. For anti-Soviet emigrant groups, the economic crisis in the USSR served as a validation of the infeasibility of the communist system. Information regarding shortages, queues and low living standards was employed to discredit the Soviet system. H. Oraltay wrote on this topic as follows: “In the Soviet Union, which has made radical efforts to develop heavy industry since the 1930s, i.e. since the Stalin era, mass and high-quality production of items necessary for everyday life, consumed by the people, is still ignored” [21; 2]. In general, the economic difficulties of the USSR contributed to the growth of anti-Soviet sentiments among émigrés and to the formation of a negative image of the Soviet Union abroad.

However, representatives of the Kazakh diaspora at that time considered a visit to Kazakhstan to be an unfeasible aspiration. “When individuals from Kazakhstan visited Western countries, they were influenced by nostalgia and considered going back to Kazakhstan to inquire about the country's current situation. It appeared that each piece of information and every word pertaining to our native steppes and mountains was of significant value to us” [9; 282]. They were keen to gain insight into the everyday life, culture and people who remained there. In these meetings, we were seeking not only information, but also a sense of identity and connection to our cultural heritage. “Every word spoken in our native language resonated in our hearts, serving as a reminder that we remain connected to our homeland”, H. Oraltay recalls [9; 282]. During such meetings, he engaged in discourse with artists, writers, and political figures of Kazakhstan. However, the Kazakh diaspora also experienced a sense of disappointment alongside their feelings of joy. H. Oraltay subsequently recalled one such meeting: “This was my inaugural encounter with Alexey, a Kazakh national who was unacquainted with his native language. This was a source of considerable distress for me” [9; 283].

For representatives of the emigration, such meetings with the “Soviet man” were, on the one hand, native and close to them, but at the same time, alien and incomprehensible. Representatives of the educated emigration saw how the Soviet system changed their kinsmen. It is worth noting that the Soviet people themselves saw this difference. In cases where Soviet citizens visited Western countries, these differences were very striking. This was a practice that had not been encountered before. No ideology had changed entire nations so much. Thus, Soviet ideology also influenced the Kazakhs. The emigrant environment tried to treat this with understanding. “... if (Soviet — authors) Kazakhstan were truly free, if there was no goal of complete Russification of the Kazakhs, then the official language of public life in Kazakhstan would be the Kazakh language” — summed up his thoughts on this H. Oraltay [14; 31].

It is also pertinent to consider the perspectives of the Kazakh diaspora on the leadership of Soviet Kazakhstan. Despite the negative perception of the Soviet government and the party apparatus among the emigrant population, certain individuals were held in high regard. One such figure was Dinmukhamed Akhmetovich Kunayev, whose name was widely recognized. Some members of the emigrant community held a positive view of him, citing his Muslim origins. However, emigrant journalism criticized him for his statements regarding the Alash intelligentsia. During his removal from office and the subsequent December events of 1986, they expressed support for him [9; 404]. In a written account, Hasan Oraltay offers the following observation regarding the individual in question: He occupied the most senior position in Kazakhstan for a quarter of a century. He was even a member of the Politburo, and it was here that he was fortunate to witness the independence of his country. Undoubtedly, this man, as a distinguished statesman, a scientist, and even as a sagacious elder of the Kazakh people, possesses a wealth of knowledge about the historical events of this pivotal period. His recollections should be presented to the people and the global community while maintaining historical accuracy [9; 405].

In the early 1990s, against the backdrop of Kazakhstan's independence, a transformation in national identity occurred among the Kazakh diaspora. Hasan Oraltay emerged as a pivotal figure in this process, engaging actively with his compatriots. Previously, the concept of Turkestan as a shared homeland had dominated the discourse among Kazakh emigrants. However, with the advent of an independent Kazakhstan, the focus shifted towards the nation-state. Similar developments were observed in other Turkic emigrant communities [3; 551]. From this point onwards, Turkestan became a social and humanitarian space within the context of the emigrant environment, uniting peoples with a common space, history and culture. The change in self-identification also had an impact on the citizens of the Central Asian countries themselves.

Hasan Oraltay provides the following information regarding his connections with independent Kazakhstan: “At that time, I was the only individual with Western ties who maintained regular communication with Almaty, several times a day, and possessed a comprehensive understanding of the country's daily developments. Individuals from the United States, England, and other countries who were aware of this, and intending to travel to Kazakhstan or writing about Kazakhstan, would contact me at the Kazakh section of Radio Azattyk to request pertinent information” [9; 368].

An analysis of Hasan Oraltay's publicism demonstrates the value of studying emigrant discourse as a means of comprehending Kazakhstan's historical experience. H. Oraltay's works present new avenues for interdisciplinary research at the nexus of history, sociology, and cultural studies. Further investigation in this domain will facilitate a more nuanced grasp of the transformations that Kazakhstan underwent in the 20th century.

### *Conclusions*

The 20th century presented the Kazakh people with a significant challenge. The revolutionary upheavals that occurred in the early 20th century compelled numerous Kazakhs to abandon their native lands and seek refuge in foreign countries. In these unfamiliar environments, they had to grapple with numerous challenges, adapt to new circumstances, and construct a future. For Kazakhs residing abroad, the Soviet presence in Kazakhstan represented an alien ideology and an infringement upon their national identity. They did not view it as a representative of the interests of the Kazakh people and perceived the developments taking place as an externally imposed model.

A critical analysis of Kazakh emigrant journalism from that era yields the following conclusions:

- anti-communist character. The communist ideology of the communist party was regarded as a usurper of power in Kazakhstan. And it was imposed.
- emigrant journalism had a clearly expressed national character.
- everything Soviet was assessed as colonial.
- the successes of Kazakh literature and culture were accompanied by certain losses.
- had an alternative view, sometimes radically opposite to the established view and position in Soviet Kazakhstan.
- condemned atheism, which was established in the country of the Soviets, and had religious content as well.
- also pointed to the country's economic problems and the issue of private property.
- a very negative reaction to the repressive policies of the Soviet government, the Holodomor, the murders of the Kazakh intelligentsia and other Soviet political campaigns of that time.
- after Kazakhstan gained independence, an evolution of national identity took place among the Kazakh emigration.

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## Кеңестік Қазақстанды эмигранттар публицистикасында қабылдау: Хасан Оралтай шығармашылығын талдау

Мақала эмигранттар публицистикасындағы Кеңестік Қазақстанның дискурсын талдауға арналған. Негізгі дереккөз ретінде қазақтың көрнекті ғалымы және қоғам қайраткері Хасан Оралтайдың еңбектері пайдаланылды. Қазақстандағы саяси және әлеуметтік процестер туралы терең білімі бар Х. Оралтай бірнеше жыл бойы XX ғасырдағы республикадағы этникалық және билік мәселелерін жүйелі түрде зерттеді. Ұсынылған зерттеу Хасан Оралтайдың еңбектеріне сүйене отырып, XX ғасырдағы Қазақстан тарихының негізгі кезеңдеріне терең бойлайды. Қазақтардың ұлттық бірегейлігін қалыптастыру процестері, автономистік қозғалыстың қалыптасуы мен эволюциясы, большевиктердің билікке келуі және кейіннен республикада кеңес өкіметінің шоғырлануы туралы айтылған. Осы тарихи оқиғалар аясында қазақ зиялыларының, Алаш партиясының және Алаш Орда үкіметінің рөліне тоқталған. Зерттеу қазақ саяси элиталарының кеңес өкіметіне қатынасын талдауға және осы процестердің қазақстандық қоғамның кейінгі дамуына әсерін бағалауға мүмкіндік береді.

*Кілт сөздер:* шетел қазақтары, қазақ зиялылары, Алаш, Хасан Оралтай, Кеңестік Қазақстан, кеңестік билік, эмиграция, ұлттық бірегейлік.

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## Восприятие советского Казахстана в эмигрантской публицистике: анализ трудов Хасана Оралтая

Статья посвящена анализу дискурса советского Казахстана в эмигрантской публицистике. В качестве основного источника привлечены труды Хасана Оралтая, выдающегося казахского ученого и общественного деятеля. Х. Оралтай, обладавший глубокими знаниями о политических и социальных процессах в Казахстане, систематически исследовал вопросы этничности и власти в республике на протяжении XX века. Предлагаемое исследование, опираясь на труды Хасана Оралтая, углубляется в ключевые вехи истории Казахстана XX века. В центре внимания находятся процессы формирования национальной идентичности казахов, становление и эволюция автономистского движения, приход к власти большевиков и последующая консолидация советской власти в республике. Особое внимание уделено роли казахской интеллигенции, партии Алаш и правительства Алаш-Орды в контексте этих исторических событий. Исследование позволяет проанализировать отношение казахских политических элит к советской власти и оценить влияние этих процессов на последующее развитие казахстанского общества.

*Ключевые слова:* казахи зарубежья, казахская интеллигенция, Алаш, Хасан Оралтай, Советский Казахстан, советская власть, эмиграция, национальная идентичность.

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