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## Socio-political life of Kazakhs abroad in the 20th century

The article underscores that the socio-political life of Kazakhs abroad in the 20th century was intimately connected with the collective destiny of the Kazakh populace. Kazakhs overseas, dwelling in emigration, waged their struggle for the reinstatement of statehood. Throughout the era of Soviet authority, Kazakh public associations persisted in playing a significant role in conserving national culture and language. During the period of restructuring and the dissolution of the USSR, Kazakh public organizations took the lead in the battle for the independence of Kazakhstan. The socio-political life of Kazakhs overseas exerted a noteworthy influence on the progression of Kazakhstan, facilitating the preservation of the national identity of the Kazakh people, their resurgence, and development.

*Key words:* Kazakhs abroad, the 20th century, socio-political life, national movement, diaspora, independence, Hasan Oraltay, emigration, Türkeli.

### Introduction

The 20th century marked a pivotal moment in the Kazakh people's history. In this era, they encountered a succession of compelling occurrences that wielded a noteworthy influence on their socio-political existence. The historical incidents of the preceding century resulted in a segment of our population being compelled to depart from their ancestral territories. The journey of emigration proved arduous and came with substantial setbacks. The countries of their residence included Afghanistan, Iran, India, Pakistan, Turkey, Germany, France, and others.

The exploration of Kazakhs abroad in research remains inadequately examined to the present day. The bulk of modern investigations predominantly emphasize ethnography. Within domestic historical studies, the political entities of Kazakhs overseas, both in Europe and on a global scale, continue to be extensively uncharted. Furthermore, the identities of those individuals who played a role in the socio-political structuring of Kazakhs, assuming leadership roles with a distinct perspective on the future of their people, remain obscure to a considerable extent.

The socio-political life of Kazakhs overseas in the 20th century evolved within an intricate and paradoxical framework. It's also worth noting that the socio-political movement of Kazakhs abroad in the 20<sup>th</sup> century was closely associated with the idea of a unified Turkestan, which was adhered to by Mustafa Shokay [1; 72]. The first public and political organizations did not have a clearly defined national character in the modern sense of the word, and tried to achieve their goals by uniting all the natives of Turkestan. And the main goal of their activities was seen in the independence of the entire Turkestan [2].

It's worth noting that the study of the socio-political life of Kazakhs overseas, especially in Europe, has its own peculiarities, and chronologically it can be divided as follows:

- 1900–1940s — the time of the formation of the Diaspora, as well as their political organizations. A prominent representative was Mustafa Shokay, who for a long time determined the future of not only the Kazakh, but also the entire Turkestan movement, including all the peoples of Central Asia (Kyrgyz, Uzbeks, Kazakhs, Turkmens, Tajiks, Karakalpaks). With the death of Mustafa Shokay, Turkestanis are deprived of a leader who tried to unite all Turkestanis [3; 495].

- 1950–1960s — several competing political centers are formed, attempting to unite all Turkestanis. They also accuse each other of betraying the common Turkestan cause and conspiring with the adversary. As a result, in the absence of a clear perspective and an authoritative leader of the scale of Mustafa Shokay, the Turkestan post-war emigration fell apart into three parts: Kazakh, Tatar-Bashkir and Uzbek [3; 501].

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- 1970–1980s — the time of gradual realization of the independent national path of the Kazakhs abroad. It is during this time that Kazakhs, along with other peoples of Turkestan, choose their own path. However, it is worth noting that this was not the end of the idea of “United Turkestan”. In our opinion, during this time, the concept of “United Turkestan” loses its political significance but retains its cultural and humanitarian importance. This can be observed in the activities of public organizations as well.

The early 1990s had a significant impact on the socio-political landscape of Kazakhs abroad. The attainment of independence by Kazakhstan was widely seen as the realization of the primary objective of their movement [4]. Subsequently, they actively engaged in fostering economic cooperation between Kazakhstan and other nations.

This study will delve deeper into the socio-political life of Kazakhs in Turkey and Europe, and the rationale for this focus is as follows:

- 1) These countries served as primary hubs for attracting educated and politically active individuals;
- 2) The state policies of these countries also played a role in their selection and political consolidation.

Kazakhs residing abroad encountered new challenges and difficulties. They had to adapt to unfamiliar living conditions, safeguard their culture and traditions, and advocate for their rights and interests.

#### *Research methods*

The methodological foundation of the research was based on the principles of historicism and objectivity, a systematic approach enabling the combination of various methods of analysis and synthesis. The study employed descriptive-narrative, biographical, comparative-historical, retrospective, and other methods of scientific research [5]. The utilization of these methodologies will enable a comprehensive and in-depth comprehension of the socio-political existence of Kazakhs abroad during the 20th century.

#### *Discussion*

During the 20th century, political developments in Kazakhstan triggered widespread emigration among Kazakhs. Kazakh refugees found various destinations. Those escaping famine and oppression sought refuge in Afghanistan, Iran, and China. Meanwhile, individuals from the intelligentsia and political elite, harboring aspirations for the independence of Turkestan, relocated to Turkey and Europe [3; 483].

Turkey emerged as the principal choice for educated individuals among the Kazakh emigrants who aligned themselves with the Turkestan concept. This can be elucidated by the consistent independence and relatively advanced status of Turkey as a Muslim country, situated in close proximity to Europe. Moreover, Turkey was viewed as a transit hub for emigrants intending to proceed with further relocation to Europe. Since 1925, Istanbul has served as the residence for the leadership of the Turkestan National Society (TNS), with the exception of Mustafa Shokay [3; 484]. In the ranks of the TNS there were well-educated Kazakhs, Bashkirs, Tatars and more traditional Uzbeks, Tajiks [3; 485].

A number of scientific works have been written about the political activities of Mustafa Shokay. The research was conducted not only by domestic scientists, but also by foreign ones. The activities of Mustafa Shokay had a great influence on the development of the national liberation movement in Turkestan. His activity contributed to the awakening of the national consciousness of the Kazakh people and other peoples of Turkestan. After Mustafa Shokay's death, the activities of the TNS ceased to be active. Veli Kayyum Han appears on the political scene. He founded the organization the National Committee for the Unification of Turkestan (NCUT), which was supposed to ensure interaction between the legionnaires and the German command [3; 495]. Cooperation with Nazi Germany compromised Kayyum Han and his organization. After the defeat of Germany, the NCUT members were prosecuted, and the soldiers of the Turkestan Legion began to be transferred to the Soviet Union [3; 496].

By the end of the 1940s, the former allies began to see each other as a threat. Immediately after the end of the war, the Soviet Union created communist regimes in Eastern Europe, made territorial claims to Turkey, put forward political and economic demands to Iran, became active again in China, and even Korea did not stand aside [6; 6].

In this context, the United States and Great Britain, countries that historically maintained an isolationist stance toward Central Asia, adjusted their positions following the October Revolution in Russia. Concerned about the potential spread of communism in those regions, they started backing anti-Soviet forces and organizations. Simultaneously, there was a growing interest in Central Asians who could prove beneficial in the opposition against the USSR [3; 500].

The USA, as the main adversary of the USSR, approached this topic with full responsibility. Work on the transfer of Soviet prisoners of war to the Soviet side was suspended. The Americans are trying to create a common anti-communist front, which should have included all national organizations stationed in Europe. To this end, the United States has established contacts with people from the Central Asian region (historical name — Turkestan). These were the people who had to stay in Germany after the Second World War [7; 124]. They were also well acquainted with the idea of a unified Turkestan by the famous Turkestan figure Mustafa Shokay.

Already in 1947, the Central Intelligence Agency of the United States (hereinafter — CIA) (eng. — CIA) was attempting to establish relations with the organization of Wali Kayumkhan. He, in turn, put forward, one might say, ultimatum conditions. His demands were:

- obtaining guarantees of the independence of Turkestan;
- to recognize the NCUT, of which he himself was chairman, as the sole representative of the whole of Turkestan [3; 500].

The Americans did not accept his terms. And the personality of Veli Kayyum Han's personality was controversial for them. Neither his organization nor he himself enjoyed great support of all Turkestanis. And many Kazakhs abroad categorically refused to join his ranks. There were several reasons for this: Kayumkhan planned to make Chagatai-Turkic the official language of Turkestan, which caused resistance from many, including the Kazakh intelligentsia group. The Kazakh group also suspected him of involvement in Shokay's death [3; 495].

In the early 1950s, the main part of the Kazakh group of Turkestanis was concentrated in different cities of Germany. On March 20, 1950, the “Turkestan National Committee” was established in Munich — Türkeli (auth. — Country of the Turks)” (TNC). Karys Kanatbay was the first head of the committee [8; 224]. Karys Kanatbay was a mining engineer by profession. Among the Kazakhs overseas he had a great influence. And some of them perceived him as the second person after Mustafa Shokay [9; 174]. The political activities of Karys Kanatbay had a great influence on them. In fact, the organization headed by him was perceived by the Kazakhs overseas as a government in exile [9; 175].

Former legionnaire Karys Kanatbay, a long-time rival of Kayyum Han, who with his supporters had split from the party even earlier, with the help of Togan, established the Turkestan National Committee, also known as the “Türkeli Committee” or the “Committee for the Liberation of Turkestan”. The Türkeli Committee cooperated with the Americans, which angered the NCUT and its leader Kayyum Han, who called Kanatbay “a whiteguard and a traitor”. As a result, in the absence of a clear perspective and an authoritative leader of the scale of Mustafa Shokay, the Turkestan post-war emigration fell apart into three parts: Uzbek, Tatar-Bashkir and Kazakh. The Kazakh Türkeli Committee, supported by Turkmens and Bashkir Togan, and the Uzbek Kayumkhan's NCUT entered into a confrontation for the right to be called upon by the main organization of Turkestan and thereby close all financial channels. Both organizations were located in Allied-occupied Germany [3; 501].

The Türkeli Committee faced difficulties in uniting all Turkestanis. According to some researchers, there were no Turkmens, Tajiks, or Uzbeks in the committee [10; 150]. However, Azamat Altay, one of the committee members, a Kyrgyz by origin, gives the following facts regarding the work of the committee: in gathering Turkestan citizens in Europe (Munich c., 03/20/1950) about 200 people took part. Among them were Uzbeks, Turkmens, Kyrgyz, Kazakhs, and Tajiks. At this general Kurultai of Turkestanis, a Kazakh (auth. — Karys Kanatbay) was elected head, an Uzbek (auth. — Uali Zunun) became his deputy, and I was elected editor of the Committee's periodical [11]. In addition, among the persons who headed the Turkestan National Committee in different years was a representative of the Turkmen people — Aman Berdymurat [8; 226]. Most likely, despite the fact that the committee tried to provide all Turkestanis with equal conditions for joining the organization, the Türkeli Committee was unable to unite everyone. But in its ranks were representatives of all the peoples of Turkestan. But we do not exclude the possibility that Kazakhs were the majority in this organization. After all, some recognized the Türkeli Committee as a Kazakh political organization [3; 501]. The Türkeli Committee recognized that the future state of Turkestan would be a federation and acted in this direction [9; 176]. Since its establishment, the Türkeli Committee has established close ties with the CIA. CIA funds were allocated for the work of the committee [8; 224].

Considering the above, we can see the following picture. By the early 1950s, several Turkestan centers were functioning in Europe. One of them, the National Committee for the Unification of Turkestan, headed by Veli Kayyum Han was located in the city of Minden (Westphalia, Germany). NCUT has resumed the publication of the magazine “Milli Türkistan (auth. — National Turkestan)” [3; 501]. The second center of

Turkestanis — Türkeli Committee was headed by Karys Kanatbay. His headquarters were located in Munich (Bavaria, Germany). The periodical was a magazine “Türkeli” [8; 224].

The first editor of the magazine “Türkeli” was Azamat Altai (real name Kozhamberdy Kudaibergen). The main audience of the magazine was Turkestanis of Europe (Kazakhs, Karakalpaks, Kyrgyz, Uzbeks, Tajiks, Turkmens). Information about Alash-Orda and Turkestan mukhtoriyat was published on the pages of the magazine. The works of the repressed intelligentsia of Turkestan, including the Kazakh intelligentsia, were also presented to the attention of readers. Among the authors of the articles were well-known members of the TNC, such as Maulykesh Kaiypaldyuly, Mazhit Aitbaiuly, Murat Tashmurat and others. They published their articles under certain pseudonyms. M. Kaiypaldyuly used the name “Asan Kaigy” in his works, and Mazhit Aitbaiuly used the name “Kobyzshy Korkyt” [12; 51]. Taking into account the historical as well as mythical role of such personalities as Korkyt and Asan Kaigy in the Kazakh worldview, we can imagine their desire and goals. Another author Murat Tashmurat was known as “Erkin (A free)” [8; 228].

In September 1950, another Kurultai of the Türkeli Committee was held in Munich, where they adopted the principles of preventing ethnicization and accustoming Turkestanis to a common language based on the languages (in their opinion, dialects) of the peoples of Turkestan [9; 176].

Both of the above organizations competed with each other. The competition was expressed in gaining broad support among Turkestanis, as well as among Western countries. The Turkestan National Committee has established close relations with the United States and even received funding from the CIA [8; 224]. In turn, the NCUT concluded an agreement with the British Foreign Office (Foreign Office). In exchange for the actions of organizations against the USSR and conducting anti-communist propaganda in the East, the British agreed to provide financial assistance to the NCUT [3; 501].

We talked about the failed attempt by the United States to establish ties with the NCUT above. TNC's cooperation with the American administration has given it great opportunities. The Americans attempted to create a unified body of representatives of the various peoples of the Soviet Union by promising to give them a radio station [10; 150]. The radio station was a powerful propaganda tool at the time, and would allow national organizations to be productive in achieving their goals. At the initiative of the “Free Europe” corporation (“Free Europe, Ink”), which was established by the CIA in 1949, was founded by the “American Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia” (1951). From its very inception, the American Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia immediately stated that its purpose was to assist emigration from the USSR in the struggle to overthrow the Bolshevik regime and liberate their compatriots. In order to correct the disunity among the emigrant organizations, the following tasks were identified:

- to promote the unification of all national emigrant organizations, which will give them effectiveness and coordinating leadership, as well as a symbol of resistance to the totalitarian regime;
- to provide the moral and material support that will enable it to firmly declare, on behalf of its peoples, the truth about living conditions in the Soviet Union. At the same time, this organization must convey to its compatriots a desire to help them in their struggle for freedom [13; 1064].

In November 1951, a conference was organized in Wiesbaden (Hesse, Germany), which lasted several days [12; 43]. The main purpose of this event was the creation of a government in exile, as well as the transfer of an anti-communist radio station equipped with modern technology into their hands [10; 150].

The conference was attended by national political organizations of Turkestan, the North Caucasus, as well as Azerbaijani, Armenian, Belarusian, Georgian, and five Russian organizations [12; 43]. There are 11 national political organizations in total. Everyone had a common goal — the fight against the Soviet regime. However, there were contradictions between them on the national issue. Therefore, they had no practical contacts with each other [13; 1064]. All this made the work of the American Committee difficult. It was even difficult with Russian political organizations. Before Wiesbaden, several conferences were organized in the German cities of Fussen and Stuttgart [13; 1066]. In some of them, Ukrainians categorically refused to cooperate with Russian organizations until they recognize the independence of Ukraine as an established fact [13; 1067]. Also, one of the demands of the head of the NCUT, Veli Kayyum Han, was to obtain guarantees of the independence of Turkestan [3; 500]. All this led to the fact that the Wiesbaden conference was held without the participation of political organizations of Ukrainians and NGOs. Nevertheless, Turkestanis were not left without representatives in the conference. The interests of the peoples of Central Asia were represented by the Türkeli Committee headed by Karys Kanatbay. The delegation of the Türkeli Committee showed itself to be relatively “moderate” [10; 150].

Despite the fact that the participants agreed to certain compromises, the Wiesbaden conference was very tense [12; 43]. National delegations expressed their position, which often did not correspond to the

views of Russian political associations. The discussion began with the very name of the new future organization — “The Council for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia”. It was suggested that the word “Russia” be replaced by “USSR” or “Soviet Union” [13; 1068].

The delegation of Türkeli did not stand aside either. Karys Kanatbay stated: “For us Turkestanis, the name Council for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia does not fit... Because Turkestan is a definite concept. And our people say: when we say “Russia”, Turkestan automatically becomes part of Russia” [10; 150]. With these words, Karys Kanatbay showed his vision of the future of Turkestan. He wanted to determine the future position of Turkestan from the very beginning.

After the collapse of communism, it was supposed to create a union state, the fate of which will be decided by the convened All-Russian Constituent Assembly. Regarding this, K. Kanatbay said the following: “In this case, the people of Turkestan cannot determine their own fate. They should choose their delegates and send them to Moscow or somewhere else for a meeting. After the overthrow of Bolshevism, the fate of our peoples (meaning Kazakhs, Uzbeks, Kyrgyz, Turkmens, Tajiks) will be decided by our people at home...” [10; 150].

The Georgian delegation proposed to supplement a separate paragraph to the text: “Free people who lost their independence as a result of the occupation of Soviet power, after the liquidation of this power, restore their independence automatically” [13; 1068].

Among those who did not connect the future of their people with Russia were both Azerbaijani and North Caucasian delegations. This led to a very tense meeting in Wiesbaden. Because Russian organizations considered post-communist Russia within the borders of the USSR. And the future of the peoples inhabiting this land was connected only with Russia [14].

After that, each group met separately in search of a compromise and was able to reach an agreement. The final text stated that the national organizations would join the new organization and that all peoples living on the territory of the USSR were guaranteed the unconditional right to choose their own destiny in the future [13; 1068].

On November 7, 1951, the participants of the Wiesbaden conference came to an agreement and adopted a declaration. “We, representatives of five Russian political organizations, as well as political organizations of the Georgian, Belarusian, Armenian, Azerbaijani, North Caucasian and Turkestan peoples, urge:

- to unite efforts in the struggle for liberation from the Bolshevik dictatorship of all the peoples of the Soviet Union;

- to grant the right to self-government;
- to decide their own fate democratically” [12; 43].

The Wiesbaden Conference could not overcome the differences between the national political centers. After the conference, representatives of Russian political organizations accused the Americans of financial pressure on emigration [13; 1069]. The majority of Turkestanis, being scrupulous about national self-determination, did not want to become a single anti-Bolshevik bloc. They didn't care about the liberation of Russia, much less the restoration of the empire. The Americans did not want to delve into the complexities of the relationship between Russians and Central Asian migrants. They needed a force capable of resisting communism and the USSR. The squabbles between the emigrants began to annoy them, and the Americans and the British gradually curtailed support for both the NCUT and the Türkeli Committee [3; 501-502].

It became clear that it was necessary to hold another conference. So on June 21, 1952, delegations of four Russian and six national organizations from emigration gathered in the city of Starnberg (Bavaria, Germany). The representative of the American side, Isaac Levin, informed the participants about the upcoming opening of the emigrant radio station. “We will provide you with an excellent and powerful radio station ... if emigration meets us halfway and joins in the implementation of this very important task», said I. Levin [13; 1069]. Formally, the conference in Starnberg was a success [13; 1070].

In the same year, a radio commission was established under the leadership of former U.S. Ambassador to the USSR Admiral Alan Kirk. The specialists needed for radio were supposed to be sought among representatives of the national emigration. It was planned to open training courses for editors, correspondents and announcers. Also, a lot of financial support was not ignored. On March 1, 1953, “Liberation” radio station was established (Radio Liberation), and in 1959 it was renamed “Radio Liberty” [15; 10].

The radio station's capabilities were also available to Turkestanis. The members of the Turkestan National Committee — Türkeli made a great contribution to the organization of the Turkestan edition of “Radio Liberty” [16; 11]. It is known that at first Karys Kanatbay advised the work of the radio station. Guided by the ideas of Mustafa Shokay, he proposed to create a single editorial office for all the peoples of Turkestan,

which was supposed to disseminate general information in Kazakh, Kyrgyz, Uzbek, Turkmen, and Tajik languages [15; 12]. Thus, the head of the TNC envisioned the following:

- he was unwilling to recognize the policy of the communist system to dismember Turkestan and alienate related peoples [8; 224];
- The Türkeli Committee conducted its activities within the framework of the unity of Turkestan and wanted to continue it at the radio station;
- There were few people with the necessary competencies among the Turkestan emigration;
- Having united into a single editorial office for the whole of Turkestan, they hoped that their weight on the radio station would be significant [16; 9]. It is worth noting that there was a shortage of trained authors and editors in the Russian service [13; 1070].

The administration of Radio Liberty accepted Karys Kanatbay's proposal. Thus began the creation of the editorial office "Turkestan" and the organization of its work. In our opinion, all this made the editorial office special. On the occasion of the beginning of broadcasting of the Turkestan editorial office of Radio "Liberty" in the third issue of Türkeli magazine was published a message, where it was said that the radio programs in the Turkestan language began on March 1, 1953 and will be transmitted every day at 9:20 Central European time at 31–49 meter short wave frequencies [8; 226].

K. Kanatbay's proposal led to unexpected difficulties. TNC hoped that by creating a unified Turkestan editorial office, numerical superiority would be on their side. They represented the editorial staff of 25 employees. However, according to the internal order of Radio Liberty, each editorial office had to employ only 5 people. Thus, the Turkestan radio editorial office became the only one that broadcasted radio programs in several languages and had to share airtime among themselves, having the same number of employees as the others. Hopes that in this way they would dominate the radio did not materialize. This made it difficult for the newsroom to operate. This situation continued until the late 1960s [8; 225].

Karys Kanatbay also made a suggestion regarding future radio employees [12; 12]. The radio executives also accepted his staff proposals. Thus, the first employees of the Turkestan radio service were members of TNC. The first editor was Maulykesh Kaiypaldyuly (Kazakh), who was known in the literary community as Asan Kaigy. His deputy was Abdullah Tolegen (Uzbek), who was known as Ali Zunun. The correspondents were: Kozhamberdy Kudaibergen (Kyrgyz) wrote under the pseudonym Azamat Altai, Amman Berdymurat (Turkmen) wrote under the pseudonym Geoktepe [17; 48]. The third correspondent was Kemal Altai (Tajik) [18; 44]. All five employees were responsible for preparing radio broadcasts in their national languages.

Since the founding of Radio Liberty, all conditions have been created for the life and work of employees. Radio employees are guaranteed U.S. citizenship [18; 43], high salaries, free housing, etc. [8; 247].

In March 1954, the radio consisted of 6 editorial offices and broadcast 7 hours a day in 11 languages [18; 28]. Including the editorial office of Turkestan, which itself broadcast in several languages. The messages for the Soviet listeners of Central Asia had their difficulties in preparing from only one edition. Each of the five employees prepared only 5 minutes of messages in their own language [16; 9]. With the joint calculation of all information in Kazakh, Kyrgyz, Karakalpak, Uzbek, Tajik, and Turkmen languages, the editorial broadcast was 30 minutes [17; 48]. As an example, let's take a broadcast in the Kazakh language, which, according to the operating mode at that time, broadcast 20 minutes a week (four days of the week for 5 minutes). There was even a time when information in the Kazakh language was not broadcast [8; 248]. The editorial staff's messages in other languages were at the same level. These broadcasts were no more than five minutes long and contained only international news and political information [15; 11]. Also, the radio hosts demanded to focus only on topics that are interesting to listeners of Western countries [18; 101].

We have already mentioned that the first head of the Turkestan editorial office was Maulykesh Kaiypaldyuly. He was also a member of the Türkeli committee. This man also possessed poetic talent. During his stay, he published works in Kazakh and Russian languages in magazines in Kazakhstan and Russia. He graduated from the Faculty of Philosophy of Leningrad State University. Maulykesh was also a translator of the famous Kazakh poet Zhambyl Zhabaev. He had good friendly relations with poet-writers I. Baizakov, K. Amanzholov, N. Manashev, G. Slanov, A. Zhumagaliev [12; 51].

During World War II, he was enlisted in the Red Army and sent to the front. It is known that the war of the Soviet Union with Nazi Germany was initially unsuccessful for the Soviets. Captured soldiers and officers of the USSR filled the fascist camps. Stalin's recognition of prisoners of war as "traitors to the Father-

land” was a strong blow to such citizens as Maulykesh. For them, returning to their homeland was dangerous [12; 51].

He was forced to stay in Europe. He was involved in the case of the Türkeli — Turkestan National Committee, established in Munich. He published poems and articles in the magazine “Türkeli” under the pseudonym Asan Kaigy. He graduated from a translation course in Berlin. He then studied German and English philology at the University of Frankfurt am Main. He published literary works in German-language magazines published in Germany. The author of the novel “The Voice of help from Paradise” (German — Hilferuf aus dem Paradies), published in German [9; 181]. Since 1953, he headed the Turkestan Radio service. The name “Asan Kaigy” was According to acquaintances, was a very reserved man. “He was characterized by an original style. He wrote very sharply. He spoke Kazakh and Russian”, recalls former radio employee Talgat Koszhigit [19]. M. Kaiypaldyuly did not stay long as the editor of the Turkestan service. After leaving the position of editor, he was a freelance employee for the rest of his life. In 1969, his lifeless body was found along a railway on the outskirts of Munich. His death was not disclosed by the German police. The cause of death remained a mystery [15; 13]. Such mysterious deaths among members of a national political organization were not uncommon [18; 55].

Another member of the Türkeli Committee was Daulet Tagyberli, who also worked for Radio Liberty. He lived in the south of Kazakhstan before World War II. During the war he became a prisoner of war in Germany. After the war he remained in Germany. In the literary environment and on the radio he used the pseudonym “Manas” [12, 52]. Those who criticized Radio Azattyk suggest that Karys Kanatbay developed the concept of radio broadcasting of the Turkestan editorial office together with Daulet Tagyberli [20; 46]. Due to health reasons, Daulet Tagyberli retired in 1975. Then he emigrated to the USA and spent the rest of his life there [15, 13]. After his death he was buried in Berlin, where Mustafa Shokay rests. Next to Daulet Tagyberli are the graves of other TNC members, including Karys Kanatbay and Maulykesh Kaiypaldyuly [21].

Another well-known member of the Türkeli committee was also Zhakyn Bapysh. He was born in 1922 in the Karmakshinsky district of the Kyzylorda region of Kazakhstan [15; 14]. After the second year of study at the Kyzylorda Pedagogical Institute, in 1940, an 18-year-old boy was drafted into the army. While studying at the junior officers course, the war with Germany began, and he went to the front [12; 53]. During the war, Zhakyn Bapysh is taken prisoner by the Germans. The time spent in Nazi camps undermines his health. At the beginning of 1945 he escaped from the camp. Having fallen ill with tuberculosis, he was treated in hospital for a certain period of time. For this reason, he was unable to participate in the initial activities of the TNC, but maintained relations with Karys Kanatbay. After recovery, he entered the Radio Engineering Institute in Nuremberg (Bavaria, Germany) [15; 14]. His enrollment could have been facilitated by K. Kanatbay.

In 1955, he was hired at Radio Liberty. He worked there for 31 years and was one of the longest serving employees. In 1975 he was appointed head of the Kazakh department of the radio. During the years of his leadership, the number of employees in the Kazakh editorial office reached seven people. And the editorial staff prepared 30 minutes of new message every day [8; 248].

Most of the names of the members of the Türkeli committee are still unknown. The supporters of the Türkeli committee by the end of the 1960s in the city of Munich were Kazakhs named Kurbysh, Myrzabek, Sapi, Meiram, Zhumakan, Amirgali. Many were disabled. Besides them, Kazakhs also lived in the city of Ulm, Frankfurt and the vicinity of Mannheim. All of them remained in Europe after the war. After the war, dozens of Kazakhs moved to Turkey: Mazhit Ayapbek, Mazhali Zhundibay, Sabyrzhan Ozturk, Murat Shymkentli, Izbasar Turkestanly, Tlegen (Sultanbek) Atabek, Alim Almat. Another group of Kazakhs emigrated to America. All of the people who moved from Germany to Turkey and America were originally supporters of the Türkeli committee [8; 229].

The Türkeli Committee tried to establish contacts with all Kazakhs abroad. So on July 4, 1952, Karys Kanatbay, on behalf of the Türkeli committee, sent a letter to Kazakh refugees who arrived in Kashmir. In the letter, he spoke about the activities of the committee and asked about the condition of Kazakh refugees in India. He also sent several copies of the magazine “Türkeli”. It is known that the letter was received by Kazakh refugees. A reply letter on behalf of the refugees was written by refugee representatives Kalibek Hakim and Hamza Ushar on July 23, 1952 [8; 230]. They told about their difficult situation and asked for help in emigrating to other countries. The magazine “Türkeli” was distributed to refugees in India [8; 145].

Obviously, that the Kazakhs abroad were very hopeful about the Türkeli committee. For them, Kazakhs living in Europe were perceived as a political force capable of attracting the attention of the world community to the problem of the Kazakh people. The Kazakhs of Europe were educated and politically organized.

The members of Türkeli had university education, were engaged in literary and journalistic activities. Kazakhs living in Afghanistan, Iran, as well as Kazakh refugees from India and Pakistan did not have such a level of education [8; 230].

Between 1952–1954, Kazakh refugees from India and Pakistan emigrated to Turkey. They have established several organizations in Turkey [22; 141]. Some had connections with the Türkeli committee. One of them was Hassan Oraltay. He publishes a magazine in Izmir “Büyük Türkeli (The Big Türkeli)”. The magazine published materials on the problems of the Kazakh people. Also H. Oraltay writes articles in anti-communist newspapers and magazines in Turkey [8; 195]. Bashkir intellectual Z.V. Togan was among the authors of articles in the “Büyük Türkeli” magazine. The choice of the magazine's name is not accidental. The similarity of the content of the magazines “Büyük Türkeli”, published in Izmir and “Türkeli” published in Munich is obvious.

By the end of the 1960s, a new wave of Kazakh emigration from Turkey came to Europe. They brought novelty to the social and political life of Kazakhs in Europe. The composition of the Türkeli Committee was supplemented by Turkish Kazakhs. For example, Hasan Oraltay joined its ranks [8; 197]. At the same time, the staff of the Turkestan service of Radio “Liberty” was replenished with new employees. There were qualitative and quantitative changes in the work of the editorial office. Among the new specialists were: Talgat Koszhigit, Hasan Oraltay, Mukhabay Engin, Alikhan Zhanaltay, Abdykaim Kesiji, Abdukap Kara, Omirkhan Altyn, Nur Kemal Pynar, Gulkhan Gayretolla [12; 58]. For the most part, we are indebted to them for the existing material on the members of the Turkestan National Committee — Türkeli [9; 179].

As a member of the organization, Hasan Oraltay made a number of proposals on the work of the committee. Türkeli. With the consent of the committee members, the publication of the committee's magazine was moved to Izmir. Since 1968, the magazine “Türkeli” has been published in Izmir [8; 197]. On the initiative of Hassan Oraltay, in 1967 in Munich, the committee celebrated the 50th anniversary of the national government of Alash-Orda [8; 231].

On August 25, 1968, Karys Kanatbay called a meeting of the Türkeli committee. At this meeting Hasan Oraltay was elected secretary of the organization. Having participated in political organizations in Turkey, he acquired the necessary organizational skills [8; 231].

The Türkeli Committee played a role in attracting the global community's focus to the events of December 1986. Committee participants authored articles, addressed the public through radio broadcasts, and produced literature on the subject [8; 245].

Turkestan National Committee, known as Türkeli, holds a significant position in the historical narrative of the national quest for independence. They embraced the idea of Kazakhstan's independence with enthusiasm. The subsequent socio-political evolution of Kazakhs overseas follows an entirely distinct historical trajectory.

### *Conclusions*

The 20th century constituted a period of profound changes and tumult for the Kazakh people. Triggered by the October Revolution and the Civil War, numerous Kazakhs were compelled to depart from their homelands and relocate overseas. Faced with new circumstances, they had to reconstruct their lives and establish novel social and political organizations.

The socio-political existence of Kazakhs abroad in the first half of the 20th century remained intimately tied to events in Kazakhstan. Kazakh emigrants actively engaged in the national liberation movement, advocating for the independence of their homeland and participating in European political affairs. They championed the establishment of an independent Kazakh state.

The second half of the 20th century was a time of gradual integration of Kazakhs overseas into the life of their new countries. Kazakh emigrants began to create their own cultural and educational organizations, to deal with issues of preserving national identity.

The socio-political life of Kazakhs abroad in the 20th century showcased diversity and dynamism, reflecting both internal and external influences on the Kazakh people's development. Emigrants played a pivotal role in Kazakhstan's national liberation movement, contributing to the fortification of national identity and the unity of the Kazakh people.

The main directions of activity of Kazakh public organizations in the 20th century:

- Preservation of national culture and language;
- The struggle for the independence of Kazakhstan;
- To promote the development of economic cooperation between Kazakhstan and other countries.



Mustafa Shokay emerged as the principal ideological force and leader not only among Kazakhs but also among all Turkestanis residing in Europe during that era. His works do not lose their relevance in modern times. His views on Turkestan for a long time determined the political vector of all foreign Turkestanis. Even after a long time, the influence of the former remains palpable in Europe and Turkey.

The dissolution of the USSR in 1991 prompted emigrants to conclude their political activities, deeming their mission fulfilled [3; 507]. Presently, Kazakhs overseas continue to actively contribute to Kazakhstan's affairs, serving as a crucial factor in fostering bilateral relations between Kazakhstan and their countries of residence.

#### *Recommendations*

- Further investigation into this matter is imperative issue;
- Individual studies on the socio-political life of Kazakh refugees in their respective host countries are needed;
- It is worth investigating the periodicals of Kazakhs abroad separately, for instance, in domestic scholarship, there has been no analysis conducted on the journal *Türkeli* so far;
- it is essential to conduct efforts in searching for archival materials in Germany, Turkey, the USA, and other countries.

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## Шетелдегі қазақтардың XX ғасырдағы қоғамдық-саяси өмірі

Мақала XX ғасырдағы шет елдердегі қазақтардың қоғамдық-саяси өміріне арналған. Онда қазақ қоғамдық ұйымдарының қоғамдық-саяси қызметінің негізгі даму кезеңдері мен бағыттары, олардың ұлттық бірегейлікті сақтау үшін күрестегі рөлі, сондай-ақ Қазақстан тәуелсіздігіне қосқан үлесі қарастырылған. Авторлар XX ғасырдағы шет елдердегі қазақтардың қоғамдық-саяси өмірі қазақ халқының ортақ тағдырымен тығыз байланысты болғанын атап өткен. Шетелдегі қазақтар эмиграция кезінде мемлекеттілікті қалпына келтіру үшін күрес жүргізді. Кеңес өкіметі кезеңінде қазақ қоғамдық ұйымдары ұлттық мәдениет пен тілді сақтауда маңызды рөл атқарды. КСРО-ның қайта құрылуы мен ыдырауы кезеңінде қазақ қоғамдық ұйымдары Қазақстанның тәуелсіздігі үшін күрестің алдыңғы қатарында болды. Шет елдердегі қазақтардың қоғамдық-саяси өмірі Қазақстанның дамуына айтарлықтай әсер етті. Ол қазақ халқының ұлттық бірегейлігін сақтауға, оның жандануы мен дамуына ықпал етті.

*Кілт сөздер:* шетел қазақтары, XX ғасыр, қоғамдық-саяси өмір, ұлттық қозғалыс, диаспора, тәуелсіздік, Хасан Оралтай, эмиграция, Türk eli.

Б. Ақтайлақ, М. Ибраимова, Н. Пұсырманов

## Общественно-политическая жизнь казахов зарубежья в XX веке

Статья посвящена общественно-политической жизни казахов зарубежья в XX веке. В ней рассмотрены основные этапы развития и направления общественно-политической деятельности казахских общественных организаций, их роль в борьбе за сохранение национальной идентичности, а также вклад в независимость Казахстана. Авторы отмечают, что общественно-политическая жизнь казахов зарубежья в XX веке была тесно связана с общей судьбой казахского народа. Казахи зарубежья, находясь в эмиграции, вели свою борьбу за восстановление государственности. В период советской власти казахские общественные организации продолжали играть важную роль в сохранении национальной культуры и языка. В период перестройки и распада СССР казахские общественные организации выступили в авангарде борьбы за независимость Казахстана. Общественно-политическая жизнь казахов зарубежья оказала существенное влияние на развитие Казахстана. Она способствовала сохранению национальной идентичности казахского народа, его возрождению и развитию.

*Ключевые слова:* казахи зарубежья, XX век, общественно-политическая жизнь, национальное движение, диаспора, независимость, Хасан Оралтай, эмиграция, Türk eli.

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