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History of the Alash Movement in the Research of Hasan Oraltay

This article is devoted to the analysis of the scientific and publicistic legacy of Hasan Oraltay, a prominent representative of the Kazakh diaspora, regarding the history of the Alash national liberation movement. The relevance of the study is determined by the necessity to introduce into scientific circulation alternative historiographical sources that countered the distortion of national history under the Soviet totalitarian system and ideological censorship. The authors comprehensively examine Hasan Oraltay's activities at Radio Azattyk (Munich) and his works published in Turkey and Europe within the context of the ideological confrontation of the Cold War era. The research methods employ comparative-historical, problem-chronological methods, and content analysis. This approach enabled the identification of fundamental contradictions between official Soviet historiography and the diaspora narrative presented by H. Oraltay. The results of the study reveal H. Oraltay's specific contributions to Alash studies: relying on European archives (Helsinki, London), he debunked the Soviet myth regarding the alleged hostility between the "Aiqap" magazine and the "Qazaq" newspaper, demonstrated the continuity between the Alash Orda government and the Turkestan (Kokand) Autonomy, and promoted the legacy of repressed intellectuals like Magzhan Zhumabayev internationally. Furthermore, the article highlights his role in integrating the Alash topic into Western academia through publications in the prestigious "Central Asian Survey" journal. The article concludes that Hasan Oraltay's works serve not merely as historical records but as a significant mechanism for intellectual decolonization and the preservation of national memory. His research provides a crucial resource for modern Kazakhstani historiography, facilitating an objective understanding of the 20th-century political struggle of the national intelligentsia and bridging the gaps created by Soviet-era historical amnesia.

Keywords: Alash movement, Hasan Oraltay, historiography, Kazakh diaspora, radio Azattyk, historical memory, ideological struggle, totalitarianism, intelligentsia.

Introduction

The history of the Alash movement and the Alash Orda government constitutes the most significant and complex period in early 20th-century national history. Beyond being a mere record of political struggle, this era signifies the zenith of the Kazakh society's spiritual renaissance and represents a fundamental subject within domestic historiography. It is well established that the opportunity for unrestricted scholarly inquiry into this subject emerged only after Kazakhstan attained independence. While domestic scholars have since illuminated previously obscured aspects of Alash history through fundamental studies, the residual effects of the totalitarian "politics of oblivion" remain perceptible despite the rapid development of contemporary historiography.

The communist ideology that dominated the Soviet Union systematically marginalized the legacy of Alash intellectuals by labeling them "bourgeois nationalists", "class enemies", and "enemies of the people", thereby deliberately excluding them from scientific circulation. The political persecution of historian E. Bekmakhanov for his objective academic treatise exemplifies the severe pressure exerted on scholarly thought during that era [1]. The historiographical myth characterizing Alash as a "reactionary movement" persisted even during M. Gorbachev's policy of Glasnost. As noted by Academician Manash Kozybayev, Soviet ideology endeavored to diminish the status of the Kazakh national liberation movement while artificially exaggerating the significance of the proletarian struggle [2; 34].

In this context, the scientific and journalistic activities of Kazakh intellectuals in emigration — behind the "Iron Curtain" — possess unique historiographical value. Amidst the ideological confrontations of the 20th century and the Cold War, the mission of preserving the Alash idea and conveying it to the global community fell to the Kazakh diaspora. Among these figures, the prominent public figure and historian-publicist Hasan Oraltay, who was active in Turkey and Europe, occupies a distinct and significant position.

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Regarding relevant literature, Gulnar Kendirbaeva's scientific article warrants particular mention. Her work, "We are the Children of Alash...", analyzes Alash history free from Soviet ideological constraints, utilizing European scientific methodologies. The study posits that the Alash intellectuals' concept of "Kazakhness" was not merely a nostalgic retrospective but a comprehensive political and cultural program based on modern education, a reformed native language, and a rich historical heritage. This program became the primary guarantee for the survival of the Kazakh people as a nation during the global transformations of the early 20th century [3].

Justin Jacobs research on the collective memory of the Kazakh diaspora abroad is also significant. He argues that the diaspora's collective memory is a unique phenomenon synthesized by external influences and internal national aspirations. For the Kazakh diaspora, the struggle for independence occupies a central place in this collective memory. For instance, diaspora writings successfully transformed Ospan Batyr from a local nomadic leader into a global national symbol, integrating this figure into the historical consciousness of modern Kazakhstan [4].

Scholar Işık Kuşçu, the author of fundamental studies on the Kazakh diaspora, demonstrated that H. Oraltay's works characterized the Alash idea as a symbol of freedom not only for Kazakhs but for all peoples of historical Turkestan region. Generally, the scholar highly valued the scientific inquiries of H. Oraltay and H. Altay in preserving the identity of the Kazakh diaspora in Turkey and Europe. The author asserts that H. Oraltay's ideas and publications significantly influenced the diaspora's self-identification [5].

Domestic historiography also highly esteems H. Oraltay's role in researching the Alash movement and political emigration. Scholars such as M. Koigeldiev [6] and K. Nurpeisov [7] described the author's works as unique research based on historical truth, written in opposition to the distorted historiography of the Soviet period. Furthermore, Academician R. Nurgali recognized H. Oraltay's work on the Alash theme as a "mini-encyclopedia" and a scholarly feat, accomplished using limited archival data and documents available abroad [8].

The phenomenon of Hasan Oraltay's research lies in his utilization of foreign archives and data — specifically funds in Turkey, the United Kingdom, and Finland — that were inaccessible to Soviet scholars, thereby establishing an alternative discourse regarding Alash history. He was among the first to examine the history of national liberation struggles in their historical integrity and interconnection. A prime example of this approach is his perspective on the writing of the history of the Alash Orda and the Turkestan Autonomy.

The objective of this article is to analyze the historiographical aspects of the Alash movement in the works of Hasan Oraltay, to define his methodologies in refuting Soviet myths, and to evaluate the scholar's role in promoting national history at the international level.

Materials and Methods

The documentary basis of this research comprises the works of Hasan Oraltay published in Istanbul, Izmir, and Munich. Notably, this includes *The Great Turkist Magzhan Zhumabayuly* (1965) [9] and the monograph "Alash — The National Liberation Slogan of Turkestan Turks" (1973) [10], alongside various articles published in Turkey and Europe. The source base also incorporates the journal *Büyük Türkeli*, which was self-funded and published by H. Oraltay.

A unique primary source for this study consists of the texts and transcripts of radio broadcasts aired by the Kazakh service of Radio Liberty (Radio Azattyq) in Munich between 1968 and 1988. Preserved within the archival funds of the Kazakh diaspora, these materials constitute unique historical documents produced beyond the reach of Soviet censorship. Furthermore, the study examines H. Oraltay's English-language publications in the prestigious UK-based journal *Central Asian Survey* [11].

Methodologically, this research is grounded in the comparative-historical approach. This method facilitated the identification of contradictions between official Soviet historiography and the diaspora historiography reflected in H. Oraltay's works. Content analysis was employed to examine the substance of the radio broadcasts. Additionally, the study was guided by the paradigm of Memory Studies. Within this framework, historiography is viewed as a specific, scientifically grounded form of cultural memory that shapes a social group's relationship with the past. The methodology of Memory Studies focuses on analyzing the "afterlife" of past events, examining how they evolve over time and how they are utilized for societal self-identification [12].

Results

The study identified five key findings delineating Hasan Oraltay's contributions to Alash historiography:

1. **Formulation of Alash Terminology.** One of H. Oraltay's primary achievements was the establishment of scientific definitions for Alash concepts specifically tailored for foreign (particularly Turkic-speaking) audiences. In his *Kazakh-Turkish Dictionary*, published in Istanbul in 1984, he presented definitions devoid of Soviet ideological clichés. The author defined "Alash" as the ancient common ethnonym of the Kazakh, Kyrgyz, and Tatar peoples, and "Alash Orda" as the national government of Kazakhstan that existed from 1917 to 1919 before its dissolution by Russia in 1920 [13; 13].

Significantly, H. Oraltay revised the 1959 dictionary issued by the Academy of Sciences of the Kazakh SSR; he expunged Russian loanwords and reintroduced terms prohibited by Soviet authorities, such as "Alash Orda", "nationalist", and "exploitation" [14; 208]. This editorial intervention constitutes an early instance of linguistic decolonization.

2. **Dissemination of the Alash Legacy via Radio Liberty.** Commencing his tenure at Radio Liberty in 1968, H. Oraltay effectively utilized the broadcast medium as a platform to convey historical truths to Soviet audiences. He systematically commemorated the founding anniversaries of the Alash Orda and the Turkestan Autonomy. Notably, he provided a critical analysis of the Soviet press's "silence" regarding the 50th anniversary of these governments [15].

In his broadcasts, H. Oraltay detailed the history of the national government's destruction by the Bolsheviks. He framed the relentless Soviet attacks on Alash figures as evidence of their enduring historical significance [16], [17]. Furthermore, he posited the conceptual framework that the Alash Orda and the Kokand Autonomy were "twin governments of a single country, established for a unified purpose" [17; 2].

3. **Refutation of Soviet Historiographical Distortions.** A critical finding of the research is H. Oraltay's scientific deconstruction of Soviet myths regarding the history of the Kazakh press. Soviet historiography traditionally juxtaposed the *Aiqap* journal (characterized as progressive and pro-Soviet) and the *Qazaq* newspaper (labeled as nationalist and bourgeois) as antagonistic publications. By locating and analyzing original issues of *Aiqap* in the Helsinki University Library archives [18], H. Oraltay demonstrated in a comprehensive August 1978 radio series that both publications shared common objectives and authors. He proved that the alleged hostility was a Soviet construct engineered to fragment the national intelligentsia [19].

4. **International Promotion of the Alash Legacy** Hasan Oraltay expanded the discourse on Alash beyond the Turkic world, integrating it into Western academic circles. He served as a vital conduit between the diaspora and Western academia. His article "The Alash Movement in Turkistan", published in 1985 in the prestigious *Central Asian Survey* [11], systematically conveyed the ideas of Mustafa Shokay, Alikhan Bokeikhanuly, and Akhmet Baitursynuly to Western scholars. He directly challenged the Soviet regime, posing the question: "If the Alash program is contrary to the people's interests, why is there a fear of publishing it? Why is the public not permitted to read and evaluate it for themselves?" [11; 3].

5. **Discernment of Historical Truth in Soviet Literature.** While acknowledging the inevitability of ideological distortions in Soviet literature, H. Oraltay adopted a nuanced approach. He argued that fragments of historical truth regarding Alash figures could be extracted even from censored works. Generally, H. Oraltay's works exhibit empathy rather than condemnation toward domestic scholars, a sentiment clearly reflected in his radio broadcasts. It is posited that he sought to address topics that domestic scholars were precluded from discussing due to censorship. In this respect, his scholarship did not denigrate Kazakh historians but rather complemented their work, filling gaps created by the regime. A prime example is his 1977 analysis of Anuar Alimzhanov's drama *The Extraordinary Commissioner*. Despite its historical distortions, H. Oraltay assessed Alimzhanov's work as a significant initial step in portraying historical figures, noting that it was "worthy of congratulations as a precursor to future works based solely on truth" [20; 4]. This demonstrates H. Oraltay's application of a "reading between the lines" methodology to extract historical data from Soviet narratives.

These conclusions represented a revolutionary advancement for Kazakh historical science at that time.

Discussion

It is no exaggeration to assert that these figures played a paramount role in acquainting the global community with the data concerning the Alash movement and the Alash Orda government. Hasan Oraltay was

among the scholars who engaged in extensive research regarding the history, literature, culture, and daily life of the Kazakh people. Despite living in exile, the scholar remained constantly attentive to events unfolding in Kazakhstan and was perpetually engaged in research inquiries. In his memoirs, Hasan Oraltay noted: "...at that time, there was no substantial material or data in this field in the West. As for the Soviet publications reaching Western countries, they provided no information regarding the Alash movement or the Alash Orda government. If anything appeared occasionally, it was dedicated to denigrating the Alash movement and distorting historical truth" [14; 203]. Consequently, Hasan Kalibekuly selected the Alash movement as his primary object of research.

In the Dictionary of the Kazakh Language, compiled by Hasan Oraltay and published in Turkish in Istanbul, the term "Alash" was defined as the ancient common designation for the Kazakh, Kyrgyz, and Tatar peoples, while "Alash Orda" was described as the national government of Kazakhstan that existed between 1917 and 1919 and was abolished by Russia in 1920 [13; 13].

It should be noted that this work was a Turkish translation of the Explanatory Dictionary of the Kazakh Language produced by the Academy of Sciences of the Kazakh SSR in 1959. When translating this dictionary into Turkish, H. Oraltay excised Russian loanwords and independently inserted terms such as "Alash Orda", "exploitation" (qanau), and "compatriot" (qandas) [14; 208].

The years spent in Turkey were pivotal for Hasan Oraltay's personal and intellectual formation. He was in a state of profound inquiry. Kazakhs who had migrated from their ancestral lands to Anatolia were frequently confronted with questions such as "Are you Korean? Chinese? Japanese?" or "How close is the Kazakh language to Turkish?" [14; 207]. Consequently, introducing Kazakh history and literature to the Turkish public and promoting it among compatriots became an urgent imperative.

From 1962 onwards, residing in Izmir, Hasan Oraltay published a journal titled *Büyük Türkeli* (Great Turkestan) and a newspaper named *Komünizmle savaş* (War with Communism). These periodicals frequently published data related to the Kazakhs. For instance, in the 1965 issue (No. 2) of *War with Communism*, H. Oraltay's article titled "Week of Captive Nations" detailed the Kazakh people's suffering under the multifaceted oppression of communism [21].

In 1965, the book "The Great Pan-Turkist Magzhan Zhumabay" was published in Turkish [9]. The first section of this book addressed the condition of Turkic peoples globally, including the Kazakhs, and the brotherhood of all Turkic nations; the second section was dedicated to the great Kazakh figure, Magzhan Zhumabay. Furthermore, the book presented Magzhan's poems in the original Kazakh and in Turkish translation. By translating the poet's verses, Hasan Oraltay introduced the Turkish population to Magzhan's creative work and philosophical outlook.

Regarding this publication, Hasan Oraltay stated: "I attempted to introduce Magzhan Zhumabay to the Turkish public. Accordingly, I included Magzhan's poems and reflections such as "Fire" (Ot), "To the World" (Jer yüzine), "I Wish the World Were Flooded" (Jer yüzün topan bassa eken), "Who Am I?" (Men kim?), "I Missed" (Sağındım), "Dream" (Tüs), "Darkness is Thickening" (Qarañğılıq qoyulanıp keledi), "Deceptive Life" (Aldamşı ömir), "Who Remembers?" (Esine kim aladı?), "Turkestan" (Türkistan), and "To My Distant Brother" (Alistağı bawırma) into the book with Turkish explanations" [14; 186]. As the first book about Magzhan published abroad, it was received with great enthusiasm by the Turkish public.

In 1967, Hasan Oraltay completed an internship at Radio Liberty (Radio Azattyq), and in 1968, he commenced his official duties there. The radio provided H. Oraltay with a significant platform: it allowed him, despite his exile, to broadcast the grievances of the Kazakh people to the global community and to Kazakhs worldwide. During his tenure at the Kazakh service of the radio, he prepared articles on various topics related to the Kazakh nation and voiced them on air.

Due to the diversity of topics addressed, his contribution to the national interests of the Kazakh diaspora, and his engagement in the Cold War context, Hasan Oraltay's broadcasts on Radio Liberty possess high significance as a source for the history of Kazakhstan. Noted documentologist O.M. Medushevskaya identifies mass media as a distinct historical source of the modern era. Specialists argue that objective historical evaluation of this source type is possible only when radio broadcasts are analyzed accounting for specific historical contexts, and radio gazettes are assessed as a system of targeted actions with significant political consequences [22; 841].

During his years at Radio Liberty, the history of the Alash movement and Alash Orda remained a central focus for H. Oraltay. Furthermore, scholars in the Republic of Turkey displayed immense interest in the Alash intellectuals. On one occasion, the prominent Turkish writer Galip Erdem requested him to write about Kazakh intellectual thinkers, the national party, and the government. Hasan Oraltay recalled: "I was already

considering it myself. But as the saying goes, “the coat is too short”—information was not just scarce, it was nonexistent” [14; 202].

The scholar labored extensively to identify data regarding Alash. Consequently, he published numerous articles and books on Alash Orda and the Turkestan Autonomy through Radio Liberty. He utilized the radio platform to share his research and that of other scholars on this topic, aiming to acquaint listeners with their national history. It is pertinent to cite some of the broadcasts transmitted over the airwaves.

On December 19, 1967, Radio Liberty broadcast H. Oraltay’s article titled “Notification in the Press of Brotherly Turkey on the 50th Anniversary of the Turkestan National Governments” [15]. The article was dedicated to the 50th anniversary of the founding of Alash Orda and the Kokand Autonomy. It explained that despite the establishment of the Alash and Turkestan autonomies being significant historical events, Soviet mass media remained silent due to Kazakhstan’s lack of independence. However, it was noted that the jubilee of Alash, ignored in Kazakhstan, was commemorated by Turkestanis abroad. As an example, a review was provided of Kyzyrbek Gairetullah’s article “Alash Orda: The National Government of Turkestan”, published in the newspaper *Yeni İstanbul* on December 11, 1967. This broadcast was repeated a few days later, on December 23.

On October 10, 1969, a broadcast titled “Attacks Continue Against Alash Orda, the National Government of the Turkestan People” was aired [16]. This article recounted the actions taken against Alash intellectuals in the Soviet Union. H. Oraltay concluded: “A particular point worthy of attention here is that the continuous defamation by Moscow’s henchmen in our country continues against Alash Orda — our national government, established 51 years ago by the will of our people and overthrown by the force of arms of Soviet red troops. This very fact proves that our national government, Alash Orda, occupies a very important place in the national history of our country’s people” [16: 3].

On December 10, 1972, a special broadcast was aired on Radio Liberty titled “The 55th Anniversary of the Establishment of Alash Orda and Kokand Autonomy, the National Independent Governments of the Turkestan People”. This provided information on the history of the establishment of Alash Orda and the Turkestan Autonomy (founded in Kokand), their leaders, their overthrow by the Bolsheviks, and the persecution of their intellectuals. Additionally, the policy of the totalitarian system in the Soviet Union regarding this issue was analyzed. For instance, the author analyzed distorted data concerning Alash Orda and the Kokand Autonomy presented in the 1967 book *The Establishment of Soviet Administration in Central Asia and Kazakhstan* [17]. H. Oraltay explained the total silence regarding the truth of Alash Orda and Turkestan Autonomy in the Soviet Union: “...the foreign colonizers ruling our country do not wish to provide information or narrate the truth about the national independent governments of the Turkestan people and their founders, or about the rights of our country” [17; 4].

In general, in his research works and articles read on Radio Liberty, Hasan Oraltay treated Alash Orda and the Kokand Autonomy in conjunction. The scholar studied these two governments in relation to each other regarding the history of the Kazakh nation. He formulated this view as follows: “The Kokand Autonomy and the Alash Orda government were, in essence, twin governments of a single country established for a single purpose... It is fully proven that the fundamental goals, ideals, and actions of the Turkestan people were unified” [17; 2]. This opinion reflects the “Greater Turkestan” idea held by national intellectuals like Mustafa Shokay. The reason is clear: the Pan-Turkestan ideas of M. Shokay, who left Kazakhstan and settled in Europe, remain relevant among the Kazakh diaspora abroad.

Regarding censorship and distortion of the Alash issue in the Soviet Union, Hasan Oraltay stated: “...Why do the Soviet government and CPSU leaders pay no attention to the Turkestan issue? Why do they strive to evade the truth about Turkestan from the attention of the world community? This situation fully proves that both Lenin, his declaration published back in 1917, and the Soviet constitution are sheer hypocrisy” [17; 6].

Although working in Munich, Germany, far from the ancestral homeland, Hasan Oraltay was evidently well-acquainted with the situation within the country. On December 31, 1972, his article “Insulting Alash is Ignorance of One’s Ancestry” was presented to listeners on Radio Liberty [23]. In this article, he analyzed and evaluated the defamation of Alash in articles published in the periodical *Juldyz*, which was entangled in communist ideology: “...to curry favor with Soviet colonialism... they insulted Alash, which is considered the national slogan of our people. This, of course, indicates that the author is unfamiliar with national history or is compelled to do so under the pressure and supervision of the foreign villains currently ruling our country” [23; 2]. Furthermore, Hasan Oraltay expressed the opinion that the actions taken by the totalitarian system against Alash indicated their extreme fear of the name “Alash”.

In 1973, Hasan Oraltay's book *Alash: The National Liberation Slogan of Turkestan Turks* was published in Istanbul [10]. The book provided an overview of the centuries-long national liberation movement of the Kazakh people. It is considered one of the first works written outside the framework of communist ideology, approximating the truth about the Alash party and government, Kazakh intellectuals, and Kazakh periodicals. At that time, no objective works on Alash were being written in Kazakhstan; those that existed were solely dedicated to denigrating Alash.

It is a well-known fact that this book by Hasan Oraltay was subjected to severe criticism and condemnation in the Soviet Union. Articles frequently appeared in Kazakhstan's periodicals labeling Hasan Oraltay as "the Kazakh Solzhenitsyn" or referring to his work as "the muddy flood of bourgeois propaganda". H. Oraltay noted: "These articles, which appeared in the Kazakhstan press during the era of Soviet oppression, are evidence that the book *Alash: The National Liberation Slogan of Turkestan Turks* served as a catalyst for discussion about the Alash movement and the Alash Orda government" [14; 203].

When criticizing works written by scholars and writers in Kazakhstan during the totalitarian system, Hasan Oraltay attempted to view the authors predicament with understanding. He attributed the distortions and false information in works regarding the Alash movement not to the authors free will, but to the policies implemented by the Communist Party under Moscow's direction.

H. Oraltay stated: "Those who attempt to conduct research and produce works on the national political history of their own country and people are persecuted and blamed. That is why today, many areas of the Kazakh nation's national history remain unanalyzed by historians and are gathering dust" [20; 1]. He further noted: "A number of writers and historians shy away from historical themes, while some writers and historians limit themselves to presenting the issue to the reading public merely as legends and tales" [20; 2].

Articles critical of the Alash movement were also published abroad. The content of such articles tended to diminish or even deny the role of Alash intellectuals. While not frequent, such instances occurred. In this regard, it is worth noting Hasan Oraltay's words: "As for the Alash issue: this is a great issue that cannot be understood by those hiding behind the curtain. Attacks on Alash and insults against it are today being made by Russia and China, as well as by the enemies of all Turkic peoples" [24; 19-20]. This opinion was voiced in 1975, when the Cold War was escalating and the totalitarian system was at its peak power.

On July 1, 1977, a broadcast titled "Drama Regarding Alash Orda and Some Historical Truths" was aired. Here, Hasan Oraltay analyzed Anuar Alimzhanov's historical drama *The Extraordinary Commissioner*, criticizing the data regarding the Alash party and the Alash Orda government contained therein [20]. He offered his evaluation: "...regardless of how many distorted and obscured parts it contains, Alimzhanov's drama... regarding various fields of Kazakh history deserves to be congratulated as the beginning of future works based solely on truth" [20; 4].

On April 6, 1978, a discussion titled "April 11: One of the Tragic Days in Kazakh History" was broadcast [25]. In this program, Hasan Oraltay reported: "...the Alash party, organized in accordance with the demands of the people, was banned by foreign invaders on April 11, 1918. Therefore, April 11 is considered one of the heavy days in the national history of the Kazakh people that cannot be forgotten" [25; 2].

The periodicals of Alash, the newspaper *Qazaq* and the journal *Ayqap*, did not escape Hasan Oraltay's attention. A series of sequential broadcasts regarding this topic was aired on Radio Liberty over several days.

It is important to note that in the ideologically shackled Soviet Union, it was impossible to access the content of articles published in *Qazaq* and *Ayqap*. Proof of this lies in the fact that these newspapers and journals, which addressed urgent national issues, were collected and published by U. Subkhanberdina only after independence was attained. However, some issues of *Ayqap* and *Qazaq* could be found in foreign libraries. For instance, Hasan Oraltay acquainted himself with the content of *Ayqap* in a library in Helsinki, Finland [18; 1].

In August 1978 (on the 3rd, 10th, 17th, 24th, and 31st), one of the broadcasts featured Hasan Oraltay's article "On Reading the Journal *Ayqap*". During the program, the life and work of Mukhamedjan Seralin, the "manager and publisher" of *Ayqap*, the reason for the journal's name, and the urgent issues raised in its pages were discussed [18].

Hasan Oraltay highlighted that *Ayqap* and *Qazaq* served a common interest, exposing and criticizing the false information prevalent in the USSR that "*Ayqap* had no relation to the Alash Orda movement... *Ayqap* conducted a struggle against the *Qazaq* newspaper". By analyzing articles in both publications, he proved that issues raised in *Ayqap* were presented with similar content in *Qazaq*. "The overwhelming majority of *Ayqap* correspondents and authors later worked at the *Qazaq* newspaper," H. Oraltay noted [26; 2].

H. Oraltay concluded: “The stratagems of the Soviet government and the Communist Party in distorting the history of the Alash movement or completely evading public attention are not fully successful. Despite all their malice, a number of facts regarding the Alash movement are repeatedly published abroad as separate books and substantial articles” [19, 3].

On December 8, 1984, a ceremonial meeting organized by the “Turkeli” committee was held in Munich, West Germany, to commemorate the founding days of Alash Orda, the Kokand Autonomy, and the East Turkestan Republic. During the meeting, Ismail Pinar, the head of the “Turkeli” committee, delivered a report on the 67th anniversary of the founding of Alash Orda.

Reports were heard from Turkestan youth attending the meeting: Nabi Ulsu on the Kokand Autonomy and Maryam Hakim on the East Turkestan Republic. Furthermore, poems by Alash intellectuals were performed with great emotion by the youth. Hasan Oraltay noted regarding this: “...in all the poems and songs performed by men and women under thirty, themes such as “Motherland”, “Nation”, “National Independence”, and the violence of invaders were frequently mentioned” [27; 3].

During his years at Radio Liberty, Hasan Oraltay collaborated with his colleague Charles Carlson to publish an article in the prestigious English-language scientific journal *Central Asian Survey* titled “Kultegin: Advice for the Future?” [28].

Published in 1983, this article discussed the famous commander of the Turkic Khaganate, Kultegin, and the relevant data regarding the freedom of the Turkic people inscribed on the memorial stone dedicated to him. The authors compared the words written on the Kultegin monument with the urgent issues facing contemporary Turkic peoples, evaluating them as advice from the commander to future generations. The article appeared to be written as a response to the positive articles in Kazakhstan’s periodicals regarding the 250th anniversary of Kazakhstan’s “voluntary accession” to Russia within the USSR.

A significant number of research works regarding Kazakhstan were published in *Central Asian Survey*, a journal of “The Society for Central Asian Studies” in the United Kingdom. Additionally, the journal engaged in reprinting works by national intellectuals that were banned in the Soviet Union. For example, the program of the Alash party and articles by intellectuals such as A. Bokeikhanuly, A. Baitursynuly, and M. Dulatuly were reprinted and presented to the world [29, 1].

In 1985, Hasan Oraltay’s article “The Alash Movement in Turkestan” was published in this English-language journal [11]. In the article, the author narrated the history of the concept of “Alash”, related legends about Alasha Khan, and the Alash movement and its representatives. Furthermore, he reported on the Soviet government and Communist Party’s habitual practice of slander” [11; 3].

Hasan Oraltay’s scholarly activities necessitate examination within the context of the Cold War and ideological confrontation. At a time when Soviet historiography stagnated under totalitarian pressure, diasporic historiography fulfilled the critical function of “preservation and transmission”.

When viewing Hasan Oraltay’s works through the lens of contemporary memory studies, his activity functions not merely as historiography but as a mechanism of resistance against the amnesia imposed by the Soviet totalitarian system. According to French historian Pierre Nora’s concept, when an environment of memory is obliterated by modernization or political repression, society relies on sites of memory to preserve its identity. While the physical and intellectual traces of the Alash movement were being erased in Soviet Kazakhstan, H. Oraltay’s broadcasts on Radio Liberty served as an intangible yet potent site of memory [12].

Furthermore, applying Jan Assmann’s theory of “cultural memory”, H. Oraltay’s works acted as a bridge spanning the rupture of the Soviet era [12]. Whereas the Soviet regime sought to rewrite the collective memory of the Kazakh people to align with the socialist narrative, H. Oraltay ensured the survival of the nation’s “foundational memory figures” by preserving the Alash legacy abroad. Consequently, his texts and radio broadcasts functioned as an external “storage device” for Kazakh political identity.

The following table illustrates the fundamental divergences between official Soviet historiography and H. Oraltay’s research:

T a b l e

The Conflict of Historical Narratives: Soviet Historiography vs. H. Oraltay’s Interpretation

Historical Event / Figure	Soviet Narrative	H. Oraltay’s Interpretation (Based on Research)
Alash Orda	Labeled as “Bourgeois nationalists”, “traitors”, and “class enemies”. The fact of the government’s existence was erased from	The legitimate “National Government” of Kazakhstan. H. Oraltay evaluated it alongside the Turkestan Autonomy as a “twin government” established

	history textbooks or characterized as a reactionary force.	against colonialism [17].
National Press	Antagonistic relations. The <i>Ayqap</i> journal was depicted as fighting against the <i>Qazaq</i> newspaper, and was distorted as having no relation to the Alash movement.	A unified national front. He proved that both publications shared the same objectives and that the alleged “conflict” was a myth invented to divide the national intelligentsia [18].
Magzhan Zhumabayev	His name was erased from public memory, and his works were strictly banned under accusations of “Pan-Turkism.”	“The Great Pan-Turkist Poet”. H. Oraltay published Magzhan’s poems in Turkey and promoted them via radio, presenting him as a symbol of the spiritual unity of Turkic peoples [9].

Thus, Hasan Oraltay’s work extended beyond the restoration of historical truth; it contributed significantly to the process of decolonizing the consciousness of Kazakh society. He openly criticized the Soviet authorities’ policy of distorting national history as “hypocrisy” and “colonialism” [17; 6].

Ultimately, the history written by diaspora representatives in the 20th century retained a predominantly national character. The contributions of the Kazakh emigration in Turkey and Europe were substantial. Recognizing their rightful place in domestic historiography is a requirement of the times and a necessity for the current generation.

Following Kazakhstan’s independence in the 1990s, the historiographical paradigm regarding Kazakh emigration works, particularly those of Hasan Oraltay, underwent a fundamental transformation. His works transitioned from “banned literature” to essential sources for domestic historians. Prominent scholar Mambet Koigeldiev highlighted H. Oraltay’s unique contribution in his fundamental study of the Alash movement: “H. Oraltay’s work occupies a special place in understanding the fate of Alash figures, especially the lives and creativity of those forced to emigrate” [6; 19]. Similarly, Kenes Nurpeisov noted the exceptional value of H. Oraltay’s writings during a period when Soviet historiography failed to produce truth-based works [7]. Academician Rymgali Nurgali likened H. Oraltay’s 1973 monograph, *Alash — The National Liberation Slogan of Turkestan Turks*, to a “feat of heroism”, describing it as a “mini-encyclopedia” compiled from the scarce documents available abroad [8; 10].

Nevertheless, the integration of H. Oraltay’s legacy into contemporary Kazakhstani science was not devoid of critical analysis; it adhered to principles of academic objectivity. Domestic scholars identified certain methodological inconsistencies in his early works. For instance, M. Koigeldiev disagreed with H. Oraltay’s periodization of the Alash party history beginning in 1905 and his classification of the *Ayqap* journal and Kazakhstan newspaper as party organs. Contemporary historians argue that while these publications were the “voice of the national liberation movement”, designating them as organs of a specific political organization is unfounded [6; 19]. This critical approach demonstrates that post-Soviet historiography has moved toward a balanced historical reality, shedding both Soviet bias and blind acceptance.

Conclusions

A comprehensive examination of Hasan Oraltay’s scientific and journalistic legacy offers a critical avenue for addressing significant lacunae within the historiography of the Alash movement. In summary, the scholar’s works encompass valuable empirical data regarding Kazakh history, particularly concerning aspects that underwent distortion during the Soviet era. The historiographical significance of these contributions is primarily defined by their temporal and political context; composed amidst the global geopolitical tensions of the Cold War and ideological confrontation, these texts possess substantial documentary value. At a time when Soviet historical scholarship was constrained by partisan censorship, H. Oraltay’s research served as a conduit for alternative historical veracity.

Consequently, the critical analysis and appropriate historical evaluation of his oeuvre constitute a requisite direction for contemporary domestic historical science. As demonstrated in this study, H. Oraltay’s tenure at Radio Liberty and his contributions to foreign publications facilitated a multifaceted and objective investigation into the Kazakh national liberation movement aligned with the Alash ideology. He conceptualized the Alash movement not as an isolated phenomenon confined to the events of 1917, but as the logical continuation of a deeply rooted historical process. As noted by Academician M. Kozybayev, “The national liberation movement of the Kazakh people originated from the very day of their subjugation by Russia” [2; 35]. Maintaining this continuity, H. Oraltay interpreted the struggle of the Alash intellectuals as a qualitatively new 20th-century iteration of the path to freedom initiated by Kenesary Khan.

Furthermore, the research findings indicate that the aspiration for liberty and independence is an intrinsic mental attribute of the Kazakh people. This is underpinned by the etymological and historical semantics of the ethnonym “Kazakh”, which denotes a free and independent entity. This spiritual characteristic is observable not only in historical figures but also among the diaspora forced abroad by historical vicissitudes. The activities of Hasan Oraltay and the diaspora he represented serve as evident proof that this spirit of liberation was not extinguished by totalitarian suppression; rather, it was revitalized in a new modality as intellectual resistance.

In conclusion, Hasan Oraltay represents a unique phenomenon in the preservation of national memory. The integration of his scholarly output into contemporary Kazakhstani historiography not only facilitates the restoration of the integrity of national history but also contributes to fostering a consciousness of statehood among the younger generation.

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Хасан Оралтай зерттеулеріндегі Алаш қозғалысының тарихы

Мақала Алаш ұлт-азаттық қозғалысының тарихын зерттеудегі қазақ диаспорасының көрнекті өкілі Хасан Оралтайдың ғылыми және публицистикалық мұрасын талдауға арналған. Зерттеудің өзектілігі кеңестік тоталитарлық жүйе мен идеологиялық цензура жағдайында ұлттық тарихтың бұрмалануына қарсы тұрған баламалық тарихнамалық деректерді ғылыми айналымға енгізу қажеттілігімен айқындалады. Авторлар «Қырғиқабақ соғыс» кезеңіндегі идеологиялық текетірес контекстінде Хасан Оралтайдың Мюнхен қаласындағы «Азаттық» радиосындағы қызметі мен Түркия және Еуропа басылымдарында жарық көрген еңбектерін кешенді түрде қарастырады. Зерттеу барысында салыстырмалы-тарихи, проблемалық-хронологиялық әдістер және контент-талдау тәсілдері қолданылды. Бұл әдістер кеңестік ресми тарихнама мен Хасан Оралтай ұсынған диаспоралық көзқарас арасындағы түбегейлі қайшылықтарды ашуға мүмкіндік берді. Зерттеу нәтижесінде Х. Оралтайдың Алаш тарихын зерттеудегі нақты үлесі анықталды: ол Еуропа архивтері (Хельсинки, Лондон) негізінде «Айқап» журналы мен «Қазақ» газеті арасындағы жасанды дұшпандық туралы кеңестік тарихнаманы жоққа шығарады. Сондай-ақ, Алаш Орда үкіметі мен Түркістан автономиясының сабақтастығын дәлелдеп, Мағжан Жұмабайұлының мұрасын халықаралық деңгейде насихаттады. Сонымен қатар, оның «Central Asian Survey» беделді ғылыми журналындағы жарияланымдары арқылы Алаш тақырыбын батыстық академиялық ортаға интеграциялағаны көрсетілген. Мақалада Хасан Оралтайдың еңбектері тек тарихи дерек қана емес, сонымен бірге отарсыздану және ұлттық жадыны сақтау механизмі ретінде бағаланады. Оның зерттеулері қазіргі Қазақстан тарихнамасы үшін маңызды дереккөз және XX ғасырдағы ұлт зиялыларының саяси күресін объективті түсінуге септігін тигізеді.

Кілт сөздер: Алаш қозғалысы, Хасан Оралтай, тарихнама, қазақ диаспорасы, «Азаттық» радиосы, тарихи жады, идеологиялық күрес, тоталитаризм, зиялылар.

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История движения «Алаш» в исследованиях Хасана Оралтая

Данная статья посвящена анализу научного и публицистического наследия Хасана Оралтая, видного представителя казахской диаспоры, в контексте изучения истории национально-освободительного движения Алаш. Актуальность исследования обусловлена необходимостью введения в научный оборот альтернативных историографических источников, противостоящих искажению национальной истории в условиях советской тоталитарной системы и идеологической цензуры. Авторы комплексно рассматривают деятельность Хасана Оралтая на радио «Азаттық» (Мюнхен) и его труды, опубликованные в Турции и Европе, в контексте идеологического противостояния периода «Холодной войны». В ходе исследования применялись сравнительно-историографический, проблемно-хронологический методы и контент-анализ. Данные методы позволили выявить фундаментальные противоречия между советской официальной историографией и диаспоральным взглядом, представленным Х. Оралтаем. В результате исследования определен конкретный вклад ученого в изучение истории Алаш: на основе архивов Европы (Хельсинки, Лондон) он опроверг советскую историографию об искусственной вражде между журналом «Айқап» и газетой «Қазақ», доказал преемственность правительства Алаш Орды и Туркестанской автономии, а также способствовал международной популяризации наследия Мағжана Жұмабаева. Особое внимание уделено интеграции темы Алаш в западную академическую среду через публикации в авторитетном журнале «Central Asia Survey». В статье делается вывод, что труды Хасана Оралтая являются не просто историческим источником, но и важным механизмом деколонизации сознания и сохранения национальной памяти. Его исследования служат ценным ресурсом для

современной историографии Казахстана, способствуя объективному пониманию политической борьбы национальной интеллигенции XX века и восполнению пробелов, созданных советской историографией.

Ключевые слова: движение Алаш, Хасан Оралтай, историография, казахская диаспора, радио «Азаттық», историческая память, идеологическая борьба, тоталитаризм, интеллигенция.

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