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POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS STRUGGLE OF ISLAMIC SCHOLAR MUBASHIR AT-TARAZI IN EGYPT IN THE 50s OF THE XX CENTURY

Abu Nasyr Mubashshir at-Tarazi (1896–1977) fought against the anti-religious policy of the Soviet government in Auliata (present-day Taraz). In 1930, to escape repression he had to flee abroad. In Afghanistan and Egypt he became a leader of the emigrants' movement for the liberation of Turkestan. Mubashshir at-Tarazi was a religious educator, politician, publicist and fiery poet with proficiency in Turkish, Arabic and Persian. The life path, worldview and works of the outstanding personality, who devoted his life to the struggle for independence, remain unknown and unexplored. The purpose of the article is to show by example his active political and religious struggle and public works in Egypt during 50s of the twentieth century. The materials from the personal fund of the scientist, transferred to the State Central Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan, were used to write the article. His political ideas and views, positions, various works will be analyzed in the context of the geopolitical processes of that period based on historical and systematic methodology. The value of the article lies in the study and analysis of the political and religious activities of Abu Nasyr Mubashshir at-Tarazi based on accurate and new information. The practical value of the article lies in the fact that the latest information herein will help studying a role of representatives and emigrant figures of Muslim movements in the struggle for the independence of Kazakhstan, political views of religious personalities and development of domestic Islamic institutions.

Key words: Emigration, Pilgrimage, Turkestan, Muslims, Islam.

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Ислам ғұламасы Мубашир ат-Таразидың ХХ ғасырдың 50 жылдарындағы Египеттегі саяси және діни күресі

Әбу Насыр Мубашшир ат-Тарази (1896–1977) Кеңес үкіметінің Әулиеатада (қазіргі Тараз) дінге қарсы күресіне қарсы тұрды, 1930 жылы қуғын-сүргіннен аман қалу үшін амалсыз шет елге қоныс аударады. Ауғанстанда, Мысырда эмигранттардың Түркістан азаттығы жолындағы қозғалысының жетекшісіне айналды. Ол дін оқымыстысы, саяси қайраткер, түрік, араб және парсы тілдерінде еркін жазған қаламы жүйрік көсемсөзші-қаламгер, жалынды ақын болды. Тәуелсіздік жолында жан аямай күресіп өткен осы бір аса көрнекті тұлғаның өмір жолы, көзқарасы, еңбектері елімізде әлі де беймәлім, ескерусіз күйде қалуда. Мақаланың міндеті – ғұламаның ХХ ғасырдың 50 жылдары Мысырдағы атқарған белсенді саяси-діни күрескерлігі мен қоғамдық жұмыстарын мысалдармен дәйектеп көрсету. Мақаланы жазу барысында ҚР Мемлекеттік Орталық мұрағат қорына өткізілген оқымыстының жеке қорындағы материалдар басшылыққа алынды. Ат-Таразидің саяси-идеалық көзқарасы, ұстанымы, көтерген мәселелері, түрлі жұмыстары сол кездегі геосаяси жағдаймен, үдерістермен байланыста тарихи және жүйелеу әдіс-тәсілдері қолданыла сараланады. Мақаланың құндылығы – Әбу Насыр Мубашшир ат-Таразидің саяси-діни қайраткерлігі нақтылы мол мәлімет, тың мағлұматтар негізінде сарапқа салынып, зерделенуінде. Мақала нәтижелерінің практикалық маңыздылығы сонда келтірілген сонғы деректер Қазақстан егемендігі үшін күрестегі мұсылманшылық қозғалыс өкілдері мен эмигрант қайраткерлердің орнын, діни тұлғаларының саяси көзқарастарын, еліміздегі ислами институттардың даму жолдарын зерттеуге септеспек.

Түйін сөздер: Эмиграция, қажылық, Түркістан, мұсылмандар, Ислам.

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Политическая и религиозная борьба исламского ученого Мубашира ат-Тарази в Египте в 50-е годы XX века

Абу Насыр Мубашшир ат-Тарази (1896–1977) боролся с антирелигиозной политикой Советского правительства в Аулиеата (нынешний Тараз). В 1930 году чтобы спастись от репрессий, ему пришлось бежать за границу. В Афганистане и Египте он стал лидером движения эмигрантов за освобождение Туркестана. Мубашшир ат-Тарази был религиозным просветителем, политическим деятелем, писателем-публицистом и пламенным поэтом, свободно разговаривавшим на турецком, арабском и персидском языках. Жизненный путь, мировоззрение и труды выдающейся личности, посвятившему свою жизнь на борьбу за независимость, до сих пор остаются неизвестными и неизученными. Задача статьи заключается в том, чтобы на примере показать его активную политически-религиозную борьбу и общественные работы в Египте в 50 года XX века. Для написания статьи были использованы материалы из личного фонда ученого, переданные в Государственный центральный архив РК. Его политические идеи и взгляды, позиции, различные труды будут анализироваться в контексте геополитических процессов того периода на основе исторической и систематической методологии. Ценность статьи заключается в изучении и анализе политической и религиозной деятельности Абу Насыра Мубашшира ат-Тарази на основе точных и новых сведений. Практическая ценность статьи заключается в том, что приведенные в ней последние сведения помогут в изучении роли представителей и деятелей-эмигрантов мусульманских движений в борьбе за независимость Казахстана, политические взгляды религиозных личностей, пути развития отечественных исламских институтов.

Ключевые слова: Эмиграция, полонничество, Туркистан, мусульмане, Ислам.

Introduction

The article is providing and analyzing specific information, data about Abu Nasr Mubashir at-Tarazi's political and religious activities. The documents and data concerning Mubashir at-Tarazi's life has not been studied and researched. To know more details about his life and versatile activity we think that we have tough work ahead – gathering publications from Egyptian mass media concerning the topic, requesting documents kept archive of the Soviet Union Intelligence Service.

Islamic scholar Abu Nasr Mubashir at-Tarazi al-Husseini was born in Taraz (1896-1977). He lived in his country for 34 years and 47 years in the emigration. In 1917 during political turmoil and existence of double government he was actively engaged in the politics in Tashkent as a member of political movements. During 1920s he focused on religious matters while living in Aulieata and was jailed several times for opposing when the government launched anti-Islamic campaign.

Justification of the choice of articles and goals and objectives

It is necessary to study life of individuals who fought for the independence of Kazakhstan. This

field has not been researched yet. Even muslim movements are a prohibited topic due to Soviet anti-religious policy. For this reason, it is important to bridge this gap by studying and evaluating what Muslim activists contributed to struggle for independence of Kazakhstan, their religious views from different perspectives. In 1978 an Orientalist-Islamic conference was held at Ain Shams University, Cairo. The conference papers were published – 10 of them were dedicated to life, struggle and books of Abu Nasr Mubashir at-Tarazi. However, this prominent figure's biography, views and books are still unknown in our country. Mubashir at-Tarazi marked a place for himself in the history of struggle for independence of Kazakhstan. It is of high importance to study certain periods of his life and struggle, bring to light versatility of his personality, scientific works and legacy. That is why, we initiated special research, gathered a rich collection of documents. This article is part of this research and highlights a certain period of life of Abu Nasr Mubashir at-Tarazi. His biography, scientific works, political and religious views, struggle have not been researched in detail. The materials, books and manuscripts on those themes are written in Arabic, Persian and old Shagatai languages, kept in several countries which makes difficult to request, take and use them for detailed research. The article will highlight specifical-

ly life of Mubashir at-Tarazi in Egypt. His political, social, religious activities and struggle during 1950s in Egypt will be analyzed and evaluated in this article.

Scientific research methodology

The documents and papers about Abu Nasr Mubashir at-Tarazi's Arabic, transferred to State Central Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan, were used to write this article. The historic method is research method in this article to study important events considering political situation of that time. Our aim is to research Abu Nasr Mubashir at-Tarazi's political ideas, stance and purposes, his various activities in battle for Turkistan nations' independence and self-determination in the context of geopolitical and historical situation in Egypt. We applied systematization approach to analyze Abu Nasr Mubashir at-Tarazi's activities considering political environment in Egypt and Soviet Union's anti-religious policy during that period. The documents and papers gathered by the author will be studied, researched, analyzed and brought to scientific circulation.

The practical significance of our research results –the article will add new facts and data to research of role of Muslims movements and religious public figures, their political views and history of Islamic institutions in Kazakhstan.

Main part

Abu Nasr Mubashir at-Tarazi worked as a teacher and official under Shah's regime in Afghanistan during 1930-1943. In 1943 he and his companions were imprisoned in Kabul after Soviet Union sent a note of protest for preparing an armed offense against it (Kerim, 2021: 104-111).

After being released from prison in 1949 his life was menaced and he fled to Pakistan, then to Egypt, where he managed to receive a residence permit, enroll his children to Al-Azhar madrassahs. Egyptian government granted Mubashir at-Tarazi a status of political assylum, treated him with honor, paid him a salary. On January 16, 1950, he had all his family members moved to Egypt. This news was circulated by Egyptian newspapers and magazines such as "al-Ahram", "al-Mysri", "al-Zaman", "al-Musawwar", "al-Isnain". They also published articles on his several activities (Abi in-Nasr-Muvaççır it-Tarazi, 1987: 25-28).

In Cairo Abu Nasr Mubashir at-Tarazi spent 27 years of his life. His life in Egypt can be divided

into 2 periods. The first period includes his political activity during 1950- 1960, while the second period is comprised of his dedication to writing religious activity, when he wrote his notorious works in the field of theology. In his political statements and works Abu Nasr Mubashir at-Tarazi was mentioned with following titles: ulamah, struggler, Cairo-based Turkistan leader.

Mubashir a-Tarazi's move to Egypt coincided with evolvment of national liberation movements across Asia and Africa after World War Two, new level of active battles against western imperialism and colonialism, tectonic changes in regional geopolitics. 60 countries gained their independence in Asia and Africa thanks to decolonization campaign during 25 years after World War Two. In July of 1952 Free Officers secret organization arranged a coup d'état in Egypt and toppled its King Farouk I (1920-1965). This resulted in abolishment of the monarchy and Revolution Council coming to the power. In 1956 the New Consitution of Egypt was adopted with Gamal Abd Nasr (1918-1970) being elected as the president of the country. During 1950 Egypt turned into powerful state in the Arab world and leader in the political and ideological struggle for independence in the Middle East. Egypt provided support to the Algerian revolution and assistance to countries that decided to end colonial regime. Egypt also initiated establishment of the African Union. Besides, it actively promoted ideas of the Arab Union. The socialism system went beyond USSR and began to spread across other continents (Rami Ginat, 1991: 450; Mohamed Abd El-Wahab Sayed-Ahmed, 1987: 287-289).

Ulama Mubashir at-Tarazi was actively engaged in religious life of Egypt immediately after moving. He was in close relation with religious officials and Islamic scholars. For instance, in late 1950 he did not fear to criticize the Grand Mufti of Egypt Allam Nassar for his fatwa prohibiting the divorce and polygamy. The fatwa, that sparked a scandal, was published in al-Ahram newspaper on November 25, 1950. This controversial fatwa, contradicting Shariat, caused anger of the religious scholars across Arab world, even in Pakistan and Iran. The Egyptian, including some al-Azhar scholars also reacted to Allam Nassar's fatwa. In Minbar ash-Sharq (Easter Tribune) newspaper dated December 15, 1950, Mubashir at-Tarazi wrote an article "Do not prohibit what Allah permitted!", announcing his disagreement with this fatwa and asked Grand Mufti of Egypt to cancel it. Despite that Grand Mufti Allam Nassar did not change his stance. This fatwa

and campaign against it turned into a mess which made Mubashir at-Tarazi to write an article "My last words to Grand Mufti Allam Nasr" in *Minbar ash-Sharq* (Eastern Tribune) newspaper. The article was published in the newspaper on February 26, 1951, calling Grand Mufti to annul his fatwa and return to the truth. Grand Mufti of Egypt Allam Nasr worked simultaneously for Interior Affairs Ministry and taking advantage of this he filed a complaint over Mubashir at-Tarazi. Consequently, Migration Police noticed Mubashir at-Tarazi of its requirement to leave Egypt. During preparation for deportation, which gave an asylum to him and his family members, Mubashir at-Tarazi's Egyptian reputable friends solved the problem using their connections and resources. Mubashir at-Tarazi was unaware of the situation. Finally, Mubashir at-Tarazi was not deported and stayed in the country.

Mubashir at-Tarazi permanently had close relations with al-Azhar professors and scholars at Dar-al-Ifta al-Misriyyah. Since settling in Egypt his opinions were periodically published in mass media. In addition, Mubashir at-Tarazi would express his warm wishes to al-Azhar teachers and religious scholars calling them for brotherhood and unity, be a model educational institution for the Islamic world.

For instance, when difference of opinion sparked among al-Azhar scholars before the revolution, Mubashir at-Tarazi wrote an article "Unfortunate story", in which he urged them for solidarity (Noshokaty, 2021; Sara Ahmed, 2018).

In his article Mubashir at-Tarazi wrote: «I feel very upset when I heard that al-Azhar scholars are quarrelling with each other because of wealth, career and difference of opinion. If it is true, the situation would shock every Muslim who admired al-Azhar. Each al-Azhar scholar is its mirror, his actions advertise al-Azhar. The good deeds portray al-Azhar in positive manner, while bad deeds have negative impact on its image. Such behavior is shameless for al-Azhar scholars considering their religious status and fact that they preach people to do good deeds. Islamic scholar is the prophet Muhammad's successors and offspring of pious Muslims. Quran says about them in the following way: "Indeed people of knowledge fear of Allah". Then he continued his words calling for unity: "It is so sad and bad this conflict occurs when colonialists endanger Egypt. You were chasing this world, forgetting that the communism is coming close to Egypt. Turkistan and Bukhara, left in hands of occupants, should be a good lesson which you should think of" (Abdel Nasr, 1955: 200-210).

Mubashir at-Tarazi's brave action and public reaction angered some people who did not recognize him. There were individuals who insulted him. In *Minbar ash-Sharq* (Eastern Tribune) newspaper, issued on September 19 of 1952, Mubashir at-Tarazi claimed that he accepted Egypt as his motherland, worried about Muslim community and again urged al-Azhar scholars to stop conflict and be united: "Indeed all Muslims are brothers, Islamic country is for all Muslims, Islam does not divide people into nations. Each Muslims is a brother to grand imam, grand mufti, each al-Azhar scholar. What concerns me most of all is solidarity of Muslim community. Al-Azhar scholars, being responsible for Allah's religion, must make a special focus on solidarity and unity of Muslims".

On September 16, 1953, Mubashir at-Tarazi communicated his crucial opinions on al-Azhar to the Imam al-Akbar sheikh Muhammad Hidr al-Hussein.

On December 11, 1954, Islam Propoganda Organization was established. Having heard of this news, Mubashir at-Tarazi wrote a letter to its head, professor, ex-mufti, sheikh Hussein Muhammad Mahluf, expressed his congratulations and wishes to him and its members. In his letter he wrote: "I hope this organization will play an important role. Such work requires big finances and in-depth research, continuous struggle. I and other individuals, concerned for Islam, strongly believe this organization will flourish, pray Allah to bring success to its work, transfer Islamic knowledge to next generation. Victory from Allah" (Mohi El Din, 1987: 85-88).

In a letter dated December 26, 1952, Mubashir at-Tarazi was appraised for contribution to Islam science, raising prestige of al-Azhar University.

Abu Nassr Mubashir at-Tarazi had never stopped his struggle for freedom of Turkistan. That was an initial and main goal of his struggle. On the banks of the Nile River his struggle received a second wind and reached a new level.

The move of Mubashir at-Tarazi, famous freedom-fighter, to Egypt gave stimulus to Turkistan diaspora members who arrived here earlier. Mubashir at-Tarazi managed to unite them and revive political battle. Turkistan people, having settled in Egypt long before Mubashir at-Tarazi, attempted to create a common union. In his book concerning struggle for Turkistan independence Ahat Andijan had shown a photo of a group of Turkistan movement in Egypt dated November 21, 1936 (Ahat, 2013: 7-8). Mubashir at-Tarazi was on that photo. Charter of Turkistan Endowment Fund, established in 1944, is

still kept in Mubashir at-Tarazi's personal archive (Kostanai Region Archive, row 2300, line 1, case 297). Mubashir at-Tarazi took the struggle for independence to the political level, making it more active (Ketchley, 2017: 12-13).

In 1950 along with other emigrated Turkistan freedom-fighters Mubashir at-Tarazi created a *Itihad Turkistan* (Union of Turkistan republics). He made arrangement to publish one newspaper *Sawt at-Turkistan* (Voice of Turkistan) in Arabic and another newspaper *Azad Turkistan* (Muhammad Amin Islamic being a chief editor) in Turkish. *Sawt at-Turkistan* (Voice of Turkistan) was first published in February 1953, with final edition published in June 1959. This Arabic language newspaper was headed by Ibrahim Wasil, Sagutdin al-Waqyya being chief editor. In its first edition a chief editor wrote a welcome column "Behind Iron Curtain", then followed articles "Voice of Turkistan" by former head of East Turkistan Said Muhammad Amin Bugra, "To blessed new era" by Ibrahim Wasil, "Sawt at-Turkistan" by Mubashir at-Tarazi, "Turkistan in Islamic history" by Egyptian Ambassador to Italy Ahmad Ramzi. In addition, *Sawt at-Turkistan* newspaper published a complaint that Mubashir at-Tarazi and several other public figures sent to General Secretary of the United Nations Organization. In the complaint letter it was claimed that the Soviet government violated human rights of Turkistan nations, restricted their religious freedom. The first and second editions of *Azad Turkistan* newspaper were dedicated to "independence in context of Islam".

On December 3, 1951, Cairo-based Islam-Arab Conference sent a letter to Mubashir at-Tarazi notifying him about meeting of Muslim and Arab political leaders and its decision made at the meeting on November 28, 1951, and called him to join as a Turkistan representative. This organization was renamed as Islamic Nations Liberation Organization on March 26, 1952.

During his leadership in the organization, Mubashir at-Tarazi sent several official letters to General Secretary of the United Nations Organization requesting to issue a decree which would demand the Soviet Union to grant independence to Turkistan, respect human rights of Turkistan nations, their aspiration for independence and freedom, give them choice of self-determination. Numerous famous public figures had signed those letters of political nature. Through the United Nations Organization Mubashir at-Tarazi sought to call the Soviet government to respect human rights of Turkistan nations.

This official letter was translated from English into Arabic and published in the first issue of *Sawt at-Turkistan* newspaper dated February 1953. In solidarity, other Egyptian newspapers published it.

Mubashir at-Tarazi sent a statement in English and Arabic on behalf of West Turkistan to the conference of Asian and African states held during April 18-24, 1955, in Indonesian Bandung. Its summary was published in *Minbar ash-Sharq* (Eastern Tribune) in its 3rd issue on April 22, 1955. The newspaper wrote a headline to "Statement about West Turkistan" as follows: leader of Turkistan al-Husseini known as Mubashir at-Tarazi, living in Cairo, sent an important statement about West Turkistan to the conference of Asian and African states. In his statement Mubashir at-Tarazi wrote: the world stays silent and blind on the genocide Soviet government is committing in Turkistan, that is why its nations need protection. He strongly condemned the communists' oppression of Turkish Muslims which was lasting for forty-seven years, accused them of extreme brutality and violence. Mubashir at-Tarazi claimed the Soviet government violated human rights, oppressed personal and social freedom, freedom of speech and expression, did not respect religions, cultures and traditions of people inhabiting its territory, conducted anti-Islam campaign, assassinated, jailed and exiled Muslim activists, tortured them in prisons.

To be short, the communist power conducted discriminatory policy towards its Muslim population, restricting their religious freedom in a very aggressive manner.

The conference in Bandung, Indonesia, ended successfully – for the first time Asian and African states united in struggle against imperialism and colonialism, discussed their common issues and ways of their solutions. The situation in the Soviet Union was one of major discussion themes concerning the imperialism. At this conference participants referred to the Charter of the United Nations Organization, declared that every nation had right for self-determination and their support for human rights (Abdel Nasr, 1955: 203).

In 1952 at meeting of Journalists Union there was a lecture on "Muslim situation in Soviet Union", which was further published and disseminated for free by Muhammad Youth Union.

On April 22, 1955, in its 26 issue *Minbar ash-Sharq* published an article "Attempted assassination of Turkistan leader failed". The secret source from the police informed the newspaper about detention of a young guy on March 9 on charges of attempted

murder of Wali Kaim-khan. According to received information, the young guy arrived from East Germany to the West Germany, settled in basement of house where Turkistan leader resided, used a key to open a door of his apartment and had a photo of Turkistan leader found in his pocket. In the article Wali Kaim-khan claimed he was doing his best to free his motherland Turkistan from Russian invasion, agreed he had similar goals as Cairo-based leader of Turkistan Mubashir at-Tarazi did – to free Turkistan, rule it base on Islamic principles. He also claimed that he had been in permanent connection with Said at-Tarazi. The newspaper wrote that Wali Kaim-khan was guided by Mubashir-Tarazi's preach and opinions, both leaders share similar positions in their struggle. That means, Mubashir at-Tarazi had connections with Wali Kaim-khan (1904-1993), mastermind of Turkistan legion, leader of anti-communist nations league.

On January 14, 1956, Ibn Balad newspaper reported a meeting with one of great Turkistan leaders and former General Secretary of East Turkistan Isa Yusuf Alyptegi at one of Cairo hotels. Isa Yusuf Alyptegi (1901–1995) was a member of Uighyr freedom fighter movement, antic-ommunist and General Secretary of National Council of Islamic Republic in East Turkistan during 1933-1934. In 1949 after the communists gained the power, he fled to Kashmir, then to Turkey, where he received citizenship and lived until his death. The article informed that one of speakers at the meeting notified about the soviets' oppression and torture of millions of Muslims in different parts of the Soviet country. The article also had photo of Alyptegi, Mubashir at-Tarazi and Egyptian religious scholar among other photos made during additional meetings.

In addition, Mubashir at-Tarazi had close relations with Saudi Kings Abdulaziz as-Sawd, Faisal and Halid. During each official and unofficial trip to Saudi Arabia, he received warm welcome and treatment from Saudi kings, shared his opinions and suggestions with them, asked the Saudi kings to help those who emigrated from Turkistan and Bukhara and live in the holy land.

On February 24, 1950, as a chairman of Egypt-based Turkistan Nations Union Mubashir at-Tarazi signed and sent an official letter to Saudi Arabia king. In his letter Mubashir at-Tarazi reported a condition of the emigrants. This news was circulated by al-Ahram and other Egyptian newspapers on February 27, 1950. On March 23, 1950, Egyptian newspapers informed that Mubashir at-Tarazi visited Government House to handed over a letter through

Kazakh community to the Saudi King, in which he asked to provide support to his fellow counterparts in the holy land.

On January 14, 1951, Mubashir at-Tarazi sent letters about situation of West Turkistan emigrants to the first Prime Minister of Pakistan Yaqit Ali Khan (1896 – 1951) and Prime Minister of India Jawaharlal Nehru (1889 – 1964) via their embassies in Cairo.

On March 26, 1954, Minbar ash-Sharq (Eastern Tribune) newspaper informed that Mubashir at-Tarazi expressed his gratitude to the Saudi King for supporting Turkistan people in the holy land during visit of the diaspora to Egypt. It was also reported that Mubashir at-Tarazi earlier congratulated the Saudi King on crowning and received a letter via Cairo-based Saudi embassy concerning his request for help to Turkistan refugees.

It should be noticed that in Islamic Nations Liberation Union and Arab-Islam Movement Mubashir at-Tarazi contributed to anti-colonial struggle by making inspiring speeches, writing critical letters of request and declarations. From podiums of the international community Mubashir at-Tarazi aimed to make the whole world be aware of the Soviet Union's oppression of Turkish nations and violation of their human rights, their brutality.

In its third issue dated March 14, 1956, a reporter of al-Jamiyyat al-Arabi (Arab League) wrote he had opportunity to interview an Arab League delegate Mubashir at-Tarazi. In his article the reporter portrayed him as a prominent Turkistan scholar with in-depth knowledge of Islam. During short interview Mubashir at-Tarazi told the reporter about his struggle and was silent when being mentioned about his unsuccessful military operation against the soviets in Afghanistan. The reporter wrote Mubashir at-Tarazi had taken a deep breath and finished his speech with the following words: "Evil will lose, truth will win. Allah is with us!".

During his life in Egypt Mubashir at-Tarazi was sympathetic to idea of creating Islamic Union. For this objective, at meetings with leaders of Arab countries, Arab League, in his letters and speeches he always suggested to broaden Arab Unity notion to Islamic Unity. In his opinion, Arab and Islam are interrelated notions and should not be considered separately. That is why Mubashir at-Tarazi supported establishment of Islamic Congress in Egypt in 1951. On September 27, 1954, he met with its General Secretary Muhammad Anwar Sadat (1918-1981) (President of Egypt during 1970-1981), congratulated him, shared his views and suggestions.

Afterwards he was in close relations with Anwar Sadat, constantly wished the organization to flourish, provided his assistance in implementing its plans. In this regard, Mubashir at-Tarazi wrote an article "About Islamic Congress", which was further published by *Minbar ash-Sharq* (Eastern Tribune) in early October of that year. In his article he wrote the following: among Islamic scholars I was probably the happiest about that great news. I have been urging Muslims and Islamic states for unity over thirty years". Then he continued: "witnessing creation of congress of my dream, I see result of my work and feel glad to be one step closer to achieving our common purpose". Mubashir at-Tarazi shared all these his opinions at the meeting attended by General Secretary, Arab and Islamic world countries on October 4, 1954 (Mohi El Din, 1995: 255).

When a "Rabitat al-Alam al-Islami" (World Islam League) was established, Mubashir at-Tarazi contacted its chairman, expressed his opinion and support, sent an official letter. He also had several meetings with its chairman in Makkah, in newspaper of the World Islam League Mubashir at-Tarazi wrote articles calling Islamic world for unity, solidarity and cooperation. This organization highly evaluated his opinions and took his suggestions into consideration. This organization even published Mubashir at-Tarazi's book titled "Islam is an eternal religion" in two volumes. Before that, that book was published by Haniki bookshop in Cairo.

Al-Ahram newspaper (March 15, 1956) published Mubashir at-Tarazi's idea and suggestions on creating the Arab Union in its April issue. Besides, Mubashir at-Tarazi sent a Ramadan congratulation letter to the leaders such as Jamal ad-Din, Abdun-Nasr, Sugud King and Shukri al-Qutuli. In his letter Mubashir at-Tarazi expressed his support of establishment of Arab League under their initiative, hope that in future it would transform into Islamic Union. Mubashir at-Tarazi sent a letter to Afghanistan King Muhammad Zahir Shakh calling him to join the union. On February 24, 1957, he sent a congratulation letter to the fourth division of the Arab League urging for Islamic unity, received an invitation to the World Islam Conference in Makkah. The similar letters had been sent to Islamic scholar Seit Abdhalyq Hasuna al-Amin and Egyptian Interior Affairs Minister Muhammad Fawzi.

Mubashir at-Tarazi would receive news about his motherland, that was situated on other continent, in various ways. He permanently read mass media, listened to radio. Based on available information

Mubashir at-Tarazi would analyze a religious situation in his motherland.

During the Great Patriotic War, the soviet government eased its religious policy. The communists even permitted the pilgrimage which was then suspended. Since 1953 planes, transporting pilgrims, flew from Moscow with stopovers in Cairo. The pilgrims stayed in Egyptian capital for several days. Except for official meetings they visited Mubashir at-Tarazi and other emigrants from Turkestan. The soviet government did not focus much on political image of the pilgrimage. Instead, it attempted to show illusion of religious freedom, conceal domestic religious situation, and prevented circulation of any negative news outside the country. Under the soviet regime only few Muslims were fortunate to perform pilgrimage. However, the pilgrims were under strict control of the communist power which sought to prevent its Muslim community from falling under influence of foreign ideology and negative information (Mukhtarova, 2007).

The pilgrims were not allowed to bring home foreign religious literatures with them. They were imposed strict restrictions. They soviet government strongly recommended and instructed its pilgrims to consult soviet consulate when being asked a tricky question by foreign mass media, prohibited to stay alone with foreigners (Ahmdaullin 2016: 54). The communist regime had a special test for those who wished to perform pilgrimage. The pilgrim's each action was controlled by its special services. For instance, the soviet pilgrims were recommended not to talk too much at meetings with emigrants and journalists, follow certain behavior rules. The annual meeting with Mubashir at-Tarazi in Cairo was in special focus of soviet agents, who reported every word (Ahmadullin, 2016: 135).

The security paranoia of the communist power gradually reached to the point, where it limited number of pilgrims to 20. One such quota was given to a soviet citizen from Zhambyl Oblast. 200 thousand people went to Makkah in 1955 – 10 thousand from India, 22 thousand from Egypt, 65 from Yugoslavia, 62 from China and only 20 persons from Soviet Union. After speaking to his counterparts, heading towards the holy land for pilgrimage, Mubashir at-Tarazi wrote: "Again twenty". The soviet spies, controlling the pilgrims' each step, reported his teasing words to their leadership (document of Central Asian Religious Affairs Administration about pilgrimage and foreign connections dated 2007; 206 Mukhtarova Galya Dianisovna. Islam in soviet Kazakhstan (during 1917 – 1991) (SADUM documents about pilgrimage and foreign relations).

Such tricky questions were asked by journalists and emigrants. All these and other cases were reported in detail in communiques to the senior leadership of the Soviet government.

Mubashir at-Tarazi discussed a religious situation in his motherland at meetings with his counterparts. Despite being far away, Mubashir at-Tarazi was worried about the sad religious condition in his motherland. He strongly condemned the Soviet Union for its oppressive religious policy. Mubashir at-Tarazi constantly told the truth about the Soviet state, accused it of lying about religious freedom to the international community, especially to the Muslim world.

In 1953 a group of 18 individuals from the European part of the USSR was sent to Egypt under the leadership of Chairman of Siberia Muslims Religious Administration Mufti Shakir Hiyaletdinov, Chairman of Central Asian Muslims Religious Administration Ziyautdin Khan Babakhanov (1908 – 1982). Their mission was to persuade Mubashir at-Tarazi that the Soviet Union ensured religious freedom. However, they failed to make Mubashir at-Tarazi believe their words because he had experienced oppressions on religious background under the communist regime. As evidence to our words we will quote a short part of a letter about pilgrimage sent to Deputy Chairman of the Ministers Council of the Soviet Union G.M. Malenkov, First General Secretary of the Central Council of the Communist Party N.S. Khrushchev, Foreign Affairs Minister of the Soviet Union V.M. Molotov in 1953: The pilgrims had many meetings with emigrants from former tsarist Russia and White Russian emigrants from the Soviet Union, some of them with loyal attitudes toward the Soviet state. Some emigrants did not believe the pilgrims' accounts of the good life of Muslims in the USSR and of the freedom of religion in the Soviet Union and regarded the pilgrims as agitators who were purposely sent to Mecca. One of the most influential White Russian émigrés whom the pilgrims met with in Cairo was Said Mubashirkhan, a Kazakh religious leader who emigrated from the city of Dzhambul in 1928. He is closely connected to the Muslim religious leaders of Cairo, is closely acquainted with the grand mufti of Egypt and is an active figure in the counterrevolutionary nationalist emigrant organization Milli Berlek Turkestan (National Association of Turkestan). He assured the pilgrims that Turkestan sooner or later would liberate itself from the Russians and a unified Muslim state would be established in its territory. Mubashirkhan asked the pilgrims to tell the people upon their re-

turn to Central Asia about the organization's activities and to help it in its difficult work to create a Muslim state in Turkestan (Central State Archive Republic of Kazakhstan).

Results and discussion

Despite the Soviet Union was a superpower at that time, Mubashir at-Tarazi strongly believed that it would eventually fall, and its Muslim population would return to their ancestors' religion. For this reason, he called his fellow counterparts to be ready for that day, take decisive actions. As for himself, Mubashir at-Tarazi sought and applied numerous ways of the struggle. Being caught between two fires, Ishan Babakhan had not responded to the letter, which is evidenced by historical facts. He had not dared to publish his answer in mass media and handed his letter over to Mubashir at-Tarazi through the Soviet pilgrims. In 1956 one of the Soviet pilgrims called Nuhman narrated that he and other four pilgrims Abdullah, Akhunov, Sattiyev and Burkhanov specially visited Kazakh descendant Mubashir at-Tarazi in Cairo to grant him a letter from Mufti Ishan Babakhan. After reading his letter, Mubashir at-Tarazi told he had received an answer to his last year's letter. Explaining why he wrote a letter to Ishan Babakhan, Mubashir at-Tarazi told he needed an answer of Ishan Babakhan to respond to emigrants' various questions. For instance, in his letter Mubashir at-Tarazi asked Ishan Babakhan why there were few mosques in the Soviet Union. In response Ishan Babakhan wrote that there were problems with mosques due to a decline in religiosity, but later the situation got better, and claimed there was no deficiency in mosques as the government built new mosques and renovated old mosques. Ishan Babakhan narrated: I am not an enemy of the Soviet Union, instead I think it is a protector of the Muslims. I always read Soviet newspapers, listen to the Soviet radio, especially Khrushchev's speeches and came to the conclusion that the communist power plans to grant more freedom to its population and autonomy to the republics under its supervision. But this was not true, and the Muslim republic stayed dependent in the Soviet Union. Ishan Babakhan, continuing his words, told Mubashir at-Tarazi that they arrived to perform pilgrimage only and distanced from any talks about politics. In addition, he finished his words saying that the Soviet republics were flourishing, its people were getting rich, Soviet republics were governed by its indigenous people. As an example, he mentioned Kamalov – Advisor of

Uzbekistan Ministers and Mukhitdinov – Chairman of the communist part in Uzbekistan. Mubashir at-Tarazi constantly addressed religious situation, oppression of the Muslim population and violation of their religious rights in his motherland. He provided specific evidence concerning hypocrisy of the soviet government, claiming their words on religious freedom was doublespeak and blamed them of making an illusion. During conversation with pilgrims, he noticed they felt constrained and were afraid of speaking their minds. Mubashir at-Tarazi's life Egypt can be divided into two periods – the first includes his active political struggle in early 1950, and the second period – he began distancing from the politics in late 1950. During 1960 Mubashir at-Tarazi became less political active, stopped making political agitations and appeals, publishing articles in *Minbar ash-Sharq* (Eastern Tribune), *Sawt al-Islam*, *Muslim* and other Egyptian newspapers, supporting any Islamic and Arab movements, delivering inspiring speeches. His political activity declined at backdrop of the geopolitical situation – Egypt converged to the Soviet Union by forging bilateral relations and building solid partnership.

Conclusion

During the research we defined: Abu Nasr Mubashir at-Tarazi, after settling in Egypt, continued his anti-communist campaign, joined those emigrants who shared his views, had close relations with his country's organizations, actively

attended various meetings on political issues. He frequently wrote and published analytical articles criticizing the Soviet Union's anti-religious policy, condemned their oppression of Muslims at meetings, attempted to draw the international community's attention to this problem. In his struggle for the independence and religion on the political scene Mubashir at-Tarazi applied different approaches and maneuvers given situation of that period, wrote articles and gave interviews for mass media. His activities can be characterized as follows: he established an organization, gathered sympathizers around himself, communicated various statements to renowned international organizations, built connections with state leaders, heads of unions, public figures, made inspiring speeches and bold claims at conferences, permanently wrote articles, shared his opinions on crucial events in mass media. During his activity he discussed oppression of Turkistan Muslims by the communist regime, freeing them from this oppression, sad religious condition of Muslims in the Soviet Union, violation of their religious freedom, disrespect of their culture and traditions, religious situation in Egypt, necessity, legitimacy and Sharia stance of the anticolonial battle in the Muslim countries, unity of Muslim community. Based on the international principles Mubashir at-Tarazi advocated for right of Turkistan Muslims for self-determination and self-governance. He claimed that such human rights are stipulated by Islamic law, provided evidence from Holy Qur'an and Hadiths.

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