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SOVIET MUSLIM EMIGRES
IN THE REPUBLIC OF TURKEY

Lowell Bezanis

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The experience of Turko-Tatar and North Caucasian Muslim refugees from the USSR in the Republic of Turkey is the subject of the following report. This work and the bibliographies appended to it were prepared prior to the disintegration of the USSR. When it was initiated, the project aimed to shed light on a very poorly understood and then inaccessible region, the former Soviet Muslim East.

Although events have rendered this approach unnecessary, the findings and raw data which have been generated remain useful. In particular, a wealth of information on the leading personalities, organizations and publications of these groups emerged from the research undertaken. This provides analysts with previously untapped sources on the history, culture and early political objectives of peoples which today are in the process of being integrated into the international community. Such information is of interest to analysts concerned with the larger Muslim East and Commonwealth affairs. Increasingly, these sources are also becoming available to former Soviet Muslims who will find it useful in restoring their lost history and defining their identity. ←

As the parameters of the study precluded a discussion of the important role played by Russian Muslim émigrés in the late Ottoman period, or the dynamic struggle of émigrés outside of Turkey, the strict treatment of Soviet Muslim émigré activity in Republican Turkey can be considered only one aspect of a much larger subject. In other words, the analysis and findings refer almost exclusively to the case of modern Turkey. This is important in light of Turkey's growing involvement in the former Soviet Muslim republics, but should not obscure the fact that pre-Soviet ties binding the Turko-Tatar world and Soviet Muslim émigré activity in Europe, Iran, Afghanistan, and the Far East are important subjects outside the purview of this report.

While the descendants of Muslim refugees from the Russian Empire constituted an important part of the demographic nucleus from which the Republic of Turkey emerged, large scale emigration to Turkey from the Volga-Ural, Crimea, North Caucasus, Transcaucasia and Western Turkistan did not occur in the aftermath of the Bolshevik Revolution. In relatively small numbers, political refugees and other emigrants from these regions found a safe haven in Turkey and several other countries.

Key figures associated with the short-lived national governments established in Azerbaijan, the Crimea, North Caucasus, Idil-Ural and Central Asia did congregate in Turkey after 1920, if only temporarily. Politically active Soviet Muslim émigrés were involved in anti-communist, separatist publishing and organizing in Turkey in the years 1923-31. Due to growing Turko-Soviet amity and the character of one party rule, the most overtly anti-Soviet elements were encouraged to abandon Turkey or accept de-politicization. While some figures did depart for Europe, others remained in Turkey

and were involved in defining Turkish culture and building a strong Turkish national consciousness among Turkey's ethnically heterogeneous population.

By the mid-1930's the organizations and publications earlier established by Soviet Muslim émigrés had entirely disappeared, only to resurface following the onset of Democratic Party rule in 1950. Lacking cadre, funding and given the political parameters of the day, the organizations and publications which persisted throughout the post-war era were respectively folkloristic and cultural in character. The organizations each group established primarily served intra-community interests, they did not represent influential lobbies.

Although these groups commonly demonstrated a Pan-Turkist orientation, each of them were concerned mainly with their own cause. A vibrant common front did not emerge despite modest attempts by the Turkish authorities to harness the talents of an ever-shrinking pool of knowledgeable émigré activists. With some notable exceptions, the Pan-Turkism of the émigrés was avowedly cultural as opposed to political in nature.

In general, the centers of the émigré groups were isolated both from the Turkish mainstream as well as their constituents. Neither the old Soviet Muslim émigré elite nor their successors, often former legionnaires who fought with Germany against the USSR in WWII, succeeded in mobilizing the mass of largely assimilated descendants of Muslim refugees from Russia. Today, genuine Soviet Muslim émigrés have almost disappeared from the Turkish scene.

The centers of so-called Soviet Muslim émigrés in Turkey have demonstrated a revival with the liberalization of Turkish life since 1985, yet most of the groups are quite weak. The long history of these groups suggests, however, they will remain a constant feature of the Turkish cultural scene. Their potential impact on Turkish political life is quite limited although the disintegration of the USSR, Ankara's decision to expand its influence in the former Soviet Muslim East, and a growing appreciation for ethnic diversity in Turkey suggests these groups could take on a higher profile than they have demonstrated heretofore.

Today, several groups dwelling in the eastern provinces of Turkey or disbursed throughout the larger Turkish polity have a unique, albeit distant relationship to Turko-Tatar and North Caucasian Muslims in the former USSR. Though these groups are increasingly becoming aware of their heritage and relationship to those in the Caucasus and Central Asia, it is due as much to events in Turkey as the USSR.

Preface

The purpose of the following report is to analyze and describe the history and current status of Soviet Muslim émigré communities in the Republic of Turkey, including their organization and major institutions. In important respects, the historical experience and contemporary situation of these groups is quite similar, hence, this report treats them as a unit.

Specific details about each of the communities in Turkey from Azerbaijan, the Volga-Ural, Crimea, West Turkistan and North Caucasia are to be found, along with bibliographic guidance, in appendices 1-5 attached to this report. Each appendix contains at least four sub-sections briefly described below.

(1) a summary providing information about the community in Turkey, their organizations and publications and the current status of their publication outlet;

(2) a description of the serials issued by the given group in Turkey;

(3) an annotated bibliography of the books, articles and pamphlets published by the émigrés in Turkey (or to a lesser extent in Europe), along with necrologies of important community activists;

(4) a general reference section listing widely available English or German-language sources treating the modern history of the group in question, as well as any Western studies of their life in emigration.

A general bibliography containing sources about Pan-Turkism, Turkish nationalism, the Committee of Union and Progress, Turko-Soviet relations, the Turkish press and other matters relevant to this study can be found in Appendix 6. For reference purposes a glossary and several maps are also available to the reader.

To promote accessibility and because Turkish language titles are often quite descriptive the sources cited in the bibliographies appear both in Turkish and English. Whenever possible, an attempt has been made to alert readers to important individual activists by means of brief comments contained in the annotations of their work and by listing known sources, such as obituaries, which describe their life and output.

A note on the availability of the sources cited in this report and the appendices is warranted. The treasure-trove for these materials is, of course, in Turkey itself. Outside the private collections of activists, the National and Turkish Historical Society Libraries in Ankara, as well as the H. Tarik Us Library in Istanbul possess collections of émigré serials, books and pamphlets.

The most important concentration of these materials in the United States, particularly the oldest and most valuable serials issued in Turkey and Europe, are part of

the Dagdiveren Collection at the Hoover Library. In addition, useful but scattered materials can be located at the Butler Library at Columbia University, the Research Libraries of UCLA, Berkeley, and Universities of Indiana and Wisconsin. However, it must be stressed that many sources cited in the bibliographies are simply unavailable in the United States.

The paucity of published information on the character and activities of many of the groups treated in the following report, as well as other matters discussed therein, necessitated field research and the use of informants who requested that their identities be protected. Whenever possible, multiple sources served as confirmation of the data gathered. For this reason, a journalistic approach has been adopted and citations in the footnotes periodically appear simply as "Private interviews."

Although Constantinople officially became known as Istanbul only in 1937, the latter designation for this historic city has been used throughout the report and appendices irregardless of the date under discussion. The commonly known English rendering of the city's name, Istanbul has been utilized in favor of the proper Turkish form, İstanbul.

L. A. Bezanis
October 25, 1991

I. INTRODUCTION

Turko-Tatar and North Caucasian Muslims who took refuge outside the territorial boundaries of the Russian Empire in the aftermath of the Bolshevik Revolution have been designated "Soviet Muslim émigrés" for the purposes of this report. These emigrants and political refugees came from disparate regions including the Volga-Ural, Crimea, Central Asia, the Northern Caucasus and Transcaucasia.

Depending on factors such as: (1)proximity to ethnic or religious brethren; (2)political conditions in adjacent territories; (3)traditional trade patterns; (4)prospect of material or diplomatic support, these groups took refuge in China (Manchuria), Japan, Finland, various Central and Western European countries, Iran, Afghanistan and the Republic of Turkey.

Of the countries which hosted Soviet Muslim émigrés, the Turkish case is unique. For historical and contemporary political reasons more than demographic ones, this case is of particular interest to analysts.

As the preeminent Islamic power of its day, the Ottoman Empire bequeathed to the modern, national and secular Republic of Turkey a tradition of accepting refugees from various parts of the world. Although asylum was given primarily to Muslims in the Ottoman period, Jews and Christians also enjoyed Turkish hospitality. This tradition continued in the Republican period although considerations of ethnicity and language were substituted for religious and other imperatives which earlier guided state immigration policy. Hence, over the last seven decades Turkey has given refuge mainly to Turkic-speaking Muslims, particularly those facing persecution in their homelands. Turkish hospitality toward such groups has been substantial, despite the economic burden integration involved.¹ Large numbers of refugees from such disparate regions as the Balkans, the Caucasus, Sinkiang Province (China), and Afghanistan have been settled en masse in Turkey.² Smaller numbers have been accommodated from other regions as well.

Aside from this tradition, concern for what Turks term "Outside Turks" (Dış Türkler) has long been an important feature of right-wing Turkish nationalist rhetoric. It can be argued that the very formulation "Outside Turks," which began to be popularized in the 1950's, betrays a subtle irredentism suggesting that these groups await deliverance and that Turkey is the natural protector of their interests.

Both the tradition of accepting Turkic refugees and the big brotherly interest in the welfare of "Outside" Turks, sometimes also termed "Captive Turks" in conservative circles, has long roots with a sincere as well as calculated dimension. The Turkish sense of duty toward displaced or persecuted Turks has taken several forms. Physical accommodation for such groups on Turkish territory and diplomatic intervention have been the most common policy responses to date.³

A more aggressive approach, underpinned ostensibly by ethno-religious considerations, has rarely found expression unless rather obvious strategic interests existed and the international political climate was conducive to such an undertaking. This was the case with the 1939 incorporation of the Republic of Hatay by Turkey.⁴ More recently, military intervention was undertaken to protect the welfare of a Turkic-speaking community outside of Turkey (Cyprus, 1974). Again, a confluence of factors, including the onset of detente, standing geo-strategic interests, the aggravated nature of the dispute as well as stated moral obligations were involved.⁵

Up to the present, Ankara has demonstrated a greater willingness to confront smaller regional powers than to assail the Soviet Union or China on the subject of their Turkic minorities. This is in keeping with the pragmatic and conservative traditions of Turkish foreign policy which seeks primarily to maintain the territorial integrity of the state. It is also a function of the closer geographical, historical and perhaps linguistic ties the Turks of Anatolia have with the descendants of Turkish-speaking Ottoman Muslims in the Balkans, and Cyprus.⁶

However, the specter of the complete dissolution of the USSR creates both new dangers and opportunities for Ankara. Prolonged instability and the threat of greater chaos on Turkey's border with Transcaucasia represents a particularly serious problem. Understanding some of the domestic pressures and interests at work may provide needed insight into the foreign policy goals Ankara could advance in the face of the USSR's disintegration.

One potential source of information on these regions and resurgent nationalist groups there, are the Azeri, North Caucasian, Turkistani, Crimean and Kazan Tatar immigrant communities in Turkey. Aside from being a unique window onto the nationalities scene in the Volga, Central Asia and Caucasus, they theoretically represent groups which can apply pressure on Ankara for the initiation of a more active policy toward these 'Outside Turks.' Conceivably, as in the Young Turk period, they might even serve as a conduit for undertaking such a policy, if it was initiated.⁷

Hence, the nature and history of these communities, how they are reacting to the collapse of the USSR, their organizational structure, publication outlets, relationship to official and unofficial groups in Central Asia, the Volga and Caucasus, as well as to the Turkish government, are matters of contemporary interest to analysts of Soviet affairs.

In addition, the gradual "rediscovery" of these lost brethren by nascent Turko-Tatar Muslim nationalists in the USSR makes the history and current status of these immigrant groups in Turkey especially important to understand. The question may legitimately be asked: Are these groups influencing each other? If so, how?

This study does not purport to fully address all these questions. It is designed to arm analysts with essential background and provide them with a wealth of new sources. By looking at one aspect of a complex problem which is in a state of constant flux, analysts will be better prepared to assess the pressures facing Ankara, to evaluate the degree of interaction occurring between the diaspora communities and their brethren in Central Asia, the Caucasus and Volga, and to determine the utility and limitations of these groups as a conduit for information on the internal affairs of these regions.

II. OVERVIEW

The largest Muslim refugee movements into Anatolia from the Volga, Caucasus, Crimea and Central Asia took place long before the Bolshevik Revolution. Soviet Muslims per se, have taken refuge in the Republic of Turkey on only a very limited scale. It must be appreciated that thousands of refugees from Tataria for example, took up residence in the Far East, Central Asians poured into Afghanistan while Azeri took refuge predominantly in Iran. In other words, Turkey was not the only, or even main host for these groups. Nevertheless, politically active Soviet Muslim émigrés did tend to congregate in Turkey after 1920, if only temporarily.

Precise information about the groups and numbers which came to Turkey from the USSR, especially in the period immediately after WWI, is unavailable due to the turmoil which characterized this era. Although Soviet Muslim emigration to Turkey is not directly addressed, a recently published handbook with village listings and an extensive bibliography provides analysts with an unrivalled source of information on forty seven ethnic groups in Turkey, including groups that emigrated from Central Asia, the Crimea and Caucasus.⁸

i. Soviet Muslim Emigration to Turkey

Small contingents of North Caucasians and Crimean Tatars were among the circa one hundred thousand Slavs which took refuge mainly in Istanbul during the Russian Civil War.⁹ When General Wrangel was evacuated from the Crimea, Muslim groups, comprising both combatants and civilians, came to Turkey. The ultimate fate of these people is unknown, although the Istanbul Circassian Women's Mutual Aid Society (İstanbul Çerkes Kadınları Teavun Cemiyeti) was involved in integrating the North Caucasian refugees in 1922-23.¹⁰

Today, the largest identifiable group of Soviet Muslims in Turkey are Azeri Turks. They were settled in the eastern provinces of the country near the Soviet border following population exchanges with Soviet Armenia in the years 1918-25. In 1963 this community was estimated to be 25,000 strong and was settled mainly in the province of Kars.¹¹

During the period of collectivization in the Soviet Union Azeri peasants also came to eastern Turkey, but no estimates are available as to how many were involved.

By 1928 Turkey and the Soviet Union had signed various conventions governing the frontier zone.¹² Controls were established but no mechanism for sizeable population transfers was enacted or seemingly requested. Hence, it is unsurprising that those Azeri (especially the politically active) which did come to Turkey often came via Iran.¹³ Their case is analogous to that of Central Asians who took refuge in Afghanistan during collectivization. They established themselves in areas that were already settled by their religious and ethnic kin and were easily assimilated into their new milieu. Parenthetically, a segment of this latter population, some of which had been imprisoned by the Afghan authorities for allegedly collaborating with the Germans during WWII, eventually came to Turkey in the early 1950's and 1960's.¹⁴

ii. Politically Active Elements

The number of Soviet Muslim émigrés who arrived in Turkey after 1917 and were politically active was extremely small. Though a trickle of defectors and intellectuals has long persisted, active émigrés can be divided into two main groups: (1) those Muslim nationalists connected to the short-lived independent Turkic and North Caucasian republics established during the Russian Civil War who came to Turkey in the early 1920's; (2) those former legionnaires who served with Nazi Germany before settling in Turkey after 1948.¹⁵ Of these two groups only a tiny fraction were involved in nationalist agit-prop or organizing activities.

The first group constituted the elite. These "old" émigrés often were born in the Russian Empire of the 1870's, 1880's or 1890's. All male and by profession journalists, teachers, lawyers, scholars or clerics, they were directly involved in educational and social reform movements among the Muslims of Russia before forming part of the cutting edge of nationalist and separatist movements in their respective homelands. Politically they were progressives, often connected to Russian socialist parties and at odds with traditionalists in their homelands. Overcome by the Whites and Bolsheviks, these men took refuge initially in the Far East, Finland, Afghanistan and Turkey. Those that had not gone to the Paris Peace Conference converged on Istanbul in the 1920's. Subsequently, the most overtly active stratum joined their comrades already established in Europe. Between the mid-1950's and early 1960's they had largely passed from the scene having spent their lives in emigration--in various countries--fighting against Bolshevism and for their respective national causes as well as Turkic solidarity.

Most of the important disciples of the key figures, often born around the turn of the century, died in the mid-1960's and 1970's. Though there were others as well, this

group consisted mainly of a tiny core (circa two hundred individuals) which had originally been sent by the national governments of Azerbaijan or the Republic of Bukhara to Berlin or Paris (and to a lesser extent to Turkey) for educational purposes.¹⁶ Few returned to the USSR, most went on to Turkey with the onset of WWII, while others collaborated with the Germans.¹⁷

The second group, or "new" émigrés, were mainly former soldiers in the Soviet military who defected to or were captured by the Nazis. Often, they served in special eastern legions which fought against the USSR or, periodically, on other fronts.¹⁸ Not all of these new émigrés, who were often born in the 1920's, saw combat duty with their legions. This group was educated in the Soviet period and often underwent a nationalist conversion after having been exposed to the thinking of the "old" émigrés and German propaganda. As common foot soldiers they were not particularly sophisticated. Between their youthful experience in the USSR and the nationalist education they received in emigration they were very staunch anti-communists. Being in their seventies today, what is left of this group is rapidly dying out.

As both groups combined constituted at most seven or eight thousand individuals¹⁹ and from the standpoint of age, gender and profession were exceptionally undifferentiated, it is difficult to identify them as a community in the commonly used sense of the word. Women, various age groups and professions were greatly underrepresented in the composition of these groups. The main exceptions to this were the groups coming out of Soviet Armenia (1918-25), peasants from Azerbaijan or the trickle of Tatar émigrés who came to Turkey after WWII.*

iv. Descendants of Muslim Refugees From Russia

Aside from the exceptions mentioned above, there are several groups in Turkey which have some unique connection to Muslims in the USSR. As shall be demonstrated, it would be inappropriate to designate them Soviet Muslim émigrés, however.

The first such group are Muslims—often Azeri-speakers—who became Turkish citizens with the absorption of Kars province by Turkey following WWI. Kars came under Ottoman rule in the early XVIth century. Besieged by the Russians in 1828,

*This latter group left the Volga region for Manchuria in the early 1920's before coming to Turkey. Today, much of this group and their descendants, has finally settled in San Francisco or the New York-New Jersey area.²⁰

1855 and 1877, this region, as well as Ardahan and Batum, was ceded to Russia in 1878. Following several decades of Russian administration, Kars was returned to Turkish rule in accordance with the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk (3 March 1918). After fierce fighting and considerable population displacement this new territorial status quo was recognized successively in the Treaties of Gümrü (Alexanropol) (2 December 1920), Moscow (16 March 1921) and Kars (13 October 1921).²¹ In other words, the Muslims of Kars which were affected did not emigrate per se, nor did they ever have any experience with Soviet rule.

Nevertheless, some of the inhabitants of Turkey's eastern provinces, especially concentrated in a belt along the Ardahan-Kars-Iğdır line, do have a linguistic, historical and sometimes religious tie to the largely Shia population of Soviet Azerbaijan.

A prominent example of this are the Karapapak of Kars, who are believed to have emigrated from northern Azerbaijan to Kars following the 1828 Treaty of Turkmenchai. They, as well as smaller Shia groups, represent a significant percentage of the province's population. A published estimate suggesting that Karapapaks constitute 15% (ie 106,000 in 1975) of the province's population is considered conservative.²² As mentioned, Kars province is also home to Muslims from Soviet Armenia settled in the years 1918-25.

The case of Turkey's eastern provinces, especially Kars and its inhabitants, is unique. This region's distance from the nation's cultural centers, its traditional and impoverished rural way of life, relatively underpopulated character and the presence of significant number of non-Turkic groups, like the Kurds and Yezidis, permits a special milieu to persist. In character it is both east Anatolian and Transcaucasian, and habits of speech, thought, and religion have been rather easily preserved. In this way the Azeri of the east are decidedly less analogous to the other descendants of Muslim refugees from Russia, such as the Crimean Tatars or Circassians of Turkey. It should be remembered, however, that most of the three to four million Azeri claimed by activists in Ankara are disbursed among the larger Turkish population. They, like the other groups discussed below, can claim only a distant tie to homelands in the USSR, and have largely lost the distinguishing characteristics of recent refugees.

As mentioned, the Ottoman Empire provided haven to Jews, Christians and particularly Muslims facing displacement or persecution in their homelands. Muslim refugees from Russia began to arrive in Ottoman lands in a series of dramatic waves

beginning in the XVIIIth century. In particular, the 1783 annexation of the Crimea by Russia represents a watershed date in this process as Tatars abandoned their homeland for Ottoman lands in Rumeli and Asia Minor. As Russia continued to expand and some Russian Muslims gained the right to engage in trade, other Turco-Tatar and North Caucasian Muslims were pushed out of their homelands or in some cases willingly emigrated for economic reasons. After 1783 this century long process was punctuated by the Treaty of Turkmanchai (1828), the subjugation of Dagistan and Chechenia(1859), the final "pacification" of the Northern Caucasus (1864) and the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-78.

The groups involved, primarily North Caucasians and Crimean Tatars, possessed a religious rather than a national identity. They took refuge as Muslims as opposed to Circassians or Crimean Tatars. Such refugees strengthened the Ottoman Empire from both a demographic and military standpoint. Their descendants, along with a large number of refugees from the Balkans, constituted an important part of the demographic nucleus from which the Republic of Turkey emerged.

The descendants of Muslims that emigrated from Russia to the Ottoman Empire should not be confused with genuine Soviet Muslim émigrés in Turkey. Very roughly estimated, the former group is in excess of seven million people while the latter (including their offspring) is perhaps in the range of fifty to seventy thousand.²³ As described above, large scale emigration from the USSR to Turkey did not take place with the minor exception of those Azeri from Armenia settled in Kars in the years 1918-25.

On the contrary, an unconfirmed but reliable source has indicated that the proposal of a Turkistani émigré leader to bring large scale emigration from Central Asia to Turkey was rejected by Mustafa Kemal in the 1920's.²⁴ The trauma suffered by the Azeri under Soviet rule, especially in the 1930's resulted in their departure for Iran, not Turkey. As for the Crimean Tatars and North Caucasians, their population had been so depleted through war and earlier exoduses that only a demographic "toe-hold" remained in their traditional homelands while the Tatars of the Volga-Ural followed old trading routes into the Far East.²⁵

In short, to consider the descendants of Muslim refugees from Russia in Turkey today "Soviet Muslim émigrés" considerably distorts the historical facts. Moreover, unrealistic assessments of the size, influence, degree of assimilation and political orientation of both groups can be engendered by uncritically combining them.

v. Assimilation and Policy²⁶

Although the Turkish government has traditionally denied the diverse ethnic character of Turkey's population, the popular view of ethnicity in Turkey is quite realistic in the opinion of this author. People recognize the different heritage of their neighbors, identifying them as Circassians, Tatar, Kurdish or Laz, with little tension arising. This does not translate into highly mobilized special interest groups based on ethnicity as can be found in Western Europe or the United States however.

Muslim groups in Turkey that are the descendants of refugees from Russia are largely assimilated and consider themselves Turks rather than Kazan or Crimean Tatars, or Circassians, for example. Aside from some of the Azeri of Kars, this is the case for the Azeri in Turkey as well. While many do recognize a distant heritage in lands ruled by St. Petersburg and subsequently Moscow, a national consciousness per se is not widespread nor is interest in their brethren in Central Asia, the Volga, or Caucasus particularly strong.

While a distinct Dagistani, Tatar or other identity has been preserved thanks to the isolation of a given village and a strong sense of tradition among these people, increasingly rapid modernization and urbanization has greatly undermined such ways of life for more than thirty years. Moreover, such isolated communities as have been preserved are largely curiosities for anthropologists, ethnologists and linguists. They have not possessed an intelligentsia which published and organized of its own initiative. This they only belatedly learned from Soviet Muslim émigrés in the post war period.

Consequently, the great mass is only dimly aware of developments in the homelands of their forefathers. With the exception of some intellectuals, even sensitized elements demonstrate little more than a strong antipathy for communism and the "Russians" and a general sympathy for the "Captive Turks" of the USSR which often amounts to little more than romantic Pan-Turkism.²⁷

These circumstances can be attributed to natural assimilation processes over several generations and the longstanding policy of the Republic of Turkey to promote a Turkish identity and sense of national unity among an ethnically heterogenous population. A strong separate identity, let alone a political agenda could not flourish among these groups due to the twin pressures of time and official policy.

Governmental policy throughout the life of the Republic has aimed at the homogenization of the population of Anatolian based on Turkish cultural and linguistic coordinates. For Kemalists this approach was crucial to the survival and long-term viability of the nation state. Ottoman history demonstrated that external powers exploited minority and nationality questions to advance their expansionist foreign policy goals. To avoid this problem a new identity had to be created and disparate elements made to cohere.

For this reason, laws forbidding separatist activity, enshrining Turkish as the exclusive language of the Republic and identifying all citizens of Turkey as "Turks" have been standard features of the state Penal Code and successive Turkish constitutions.²⁸ The framework adopted and enforced was narrow by definition and intentionally so.

Beyond these constraints the government actively attempted to erode non-Turkish identity, especially in the one party period (pre-1946). Although harsher tactics did come into play, the main tools in this process were education and the press. For example, children were long encouraged to believe that the speaking of a foreign language in public was unpatriotic. Service in the Turkish armed forces also helped build a Turkish national consciousness in successive generations of young men. Sloganeering that proclaimed that Tatars, Circassians, Laz and Kurds did not exist, but Turks did, extended into all walks of life, including the world of scholarship. Things Turkish were lauded while other traditions and languages were carefully downplayed. In this largely successful process the distinction between the ethnonym Turk and a citizen of the Republic of Turkey was blurred.

The descendants of Muslim émigrés from Russia were not exempt from these legal and propaganda pressures. Education or publishing in Turkic dialects, let alone Circassian or Chechen has constituted illegal separatist activity throughout the history of the Republic. It has been undertaken so rarely as to be inconsequential. To prosper in society it was important that an obvious non-Turkish identity be suppressed especially in the first five decades of the life of the Republic.

This assimilation process was not only induced, it was embraced by the groups in question. In other words, Turkey was both a crucible and melting pot for various minority groups, including the offspring of Muslim refugees from the Russian Empire. Villagers feared being associated in any way with Russia, a traditional Turkish foe widely seen as particularly insidious in its communist incarnation. More significantly, rural to urban migration and the tendency to inter-marry with the Turkish Sunni

majority have played a key part in the assimilation process. Youths fail to develop their knowledge of the Turkic or North Caucasian languages of their forefathers, long gravitating instead to the prestige language of the state, Istanbul Turkish. Hence, today it is most common to find a young Circassian or Crimean Tatar, who like a fourth generation German American knows little of the language or culture of the "old" country.

Taken together, the very age of the communities in Turkey, the policy of the government and social pressures combined to form a strong incentive for the assimilation of these groups into the Turkish mainstream. It is therefore unsurprising that in general the descendants of Muslim refugees from Russia lack cohesion, a distinct political agenda, strong organizations, institutions, or vibrant publishing history.

Though more than seven million citizens of the Republic of Turkey can claim some portion of their heritage lies in the Caucasus, Crimea or Central Asia, genuine activists involved in isolated cultural organizations and publications discussed in this study number in the hundreds. Descendants of Muslim émigrés from Russia in Turkey who are sympathetic but poorly informed about the cause of the "captive Turks" in the USSR might perhaps be in the range of 200,000-400,000 people. Possibly half of them, often dwelling in the eastern provinces of Turkey, are concerned with Azerbaijan alone.

A "thumb-nail" sketch of activists among these groups shows that in sophistication the descendants of Crimean Tatars outstrip the others and possess a tiny intelligentsia of their own. The Azeri also possess an intelligentsia, appear to have the biggest constituency, a penchant for clandestinity stemming from the "hot" position of their cause and a somewhat more pronounced Pan-Turkist orientation due to geographic realities. The energy of North Caucasian activists is directed to countering the further Turkification of their community while the numerically small and ethnically divided Turkistanis are in the process of firmly establishing themselves. Though isolated intellectuals of Kazan Tatar heritage are to be found, the tiny Tatar community in Turkey has no organization or voice at present. Again, it must be stressed that aside from a couple individual exceptions these activists cannot be termed Soviet Muslim émigrés.

vi. Organizations and Publications²⁹

Such organizations and publications as did surface in Republican Turkey were the product of genuine Soviet Muslim émigrés. These men were active in Turkey in the

1920's before they were drawn to the greener pasture that Western Europe represented. Aside from a brief surge in Pan-Turkist activity that Soviet Muslim émigrés were involved in during WWII, the Turkish scene, from the standpoint of organizing and publishing progressively waned until the onset of Democratic Party rule in Turkey (May, 1950). Subsequently, the organizations and publications that surfaced were quite weak.

By the late 1940's many of the "old" emigres who had spent the inter-war period largely in Europe returned to Turkey.³⁰ Shortly before their demise in the mid-1950's and 1960's they succeeded in spawning cultural associations based in Istanbul or Ankara. These associations or their successors are today extant in Turkey.³¹ They mainly serve the descendants of Muslim refugees from Russia and often have a former legionnaire at the top of the organization or perhaps someone who was connected to events in Europe before WWII. These associations in turn also spawned smaller satellite associations in provincial towns that have a sizeable Tatar or North Caucasian population, for example.

As minor ethnic clubs or charities go, they serve community purposes. Often they have a small library and a salon for annual fund raisers, the celebration of weddings or major holidays. Lectures are sporadically offered by such associations or their provincial satellites. A dance troupe that performs traditional dances from the Caucasus, Turkistan or the Crimea is an essential component of their work.

In general, it appears these associations are financially strapped and politically uninfluential. They perform no lobbying tasks, although an individual connected to an association might try to bring the attention of the government to special interests, opportunities or problems. Turkistani Mujahadin from Northern Afghanistan met with Prime Minister Özal, for example, due to such unofficial lobbying on the part of the president of the Turkistani association.³² Sometimes longstanding, if unsurprising connections can be discerned among these groups. One of the officers of the Azerbaijani association was a longtime representative in parliament for Kars, for example.³³ These cases are exceptional however and a thriving network can not be observed at this time. Important relationships that do exist are often outside an established institutional framework and are of a casual, personal character as opposed to a formalized one.*

*A modest exception to this situation can be discerned in the interest shown toward some "immigrant" groups by the Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism. This ministry, until recently headed by Namik Kemal Zeybek, a former member of the National Action Party, has been involved in publishing works such as the minutes of the First All-Russian Muslim Congress or about figures like Zeki Velidi Togan and Ismaili Gaspirali. According to sources, Zeybek arranged for the Turkistani Kurultay (general assembly) of December 1990 to be held at the Atatürk Center in Taksim Square,

Istanbul. This represents more of personal "fix" than an established policy of supporting such groups, nor at this time is there evidence of financial aid being funneled through the Ministry to immigrant groups. Zeybek is not a member of the new Mesut Yilmaz government.

The laws governing associations in Turkey deny them the right to political activity, restricting them to cultural, folklore or charitable activities. For obvious ideological reasons the political activities that they could and did undertake were in the realms of anti-communist agitation (something the authorities looked favorably on considering the threat perception they held of the Soviet Union) and cultural Pan-Turkist type propaganda. Their efforts were directed at the population of Turkey rather than their brethren in the USSR. Clandestine broadcasting or systematic distribution of anti-Soviet, separatist literature using Turkey as a base is not known to have occurred. Rather, the efforts that were undertaken aimed to spread an awareness and sympathy for the problems of the "Outside Turks," to immunize Turkey against leftist groups, and to build a strong, if not periodically chauvinistic, Turkish consciousness. The émigrés appear to have been a firm ally of Turkish nationalist and military circles, and simultaneously enough of a potential embarrassment or complication in Turkey's foreign relations that they were monitored and periodically muzzled.

Following the military intervention of 1980 the associations, satellites and publishing organs of these groups were closed down, with the exception of the journals Emel and Azerbaycan. In the mid-1980s the associations, satellites and publications began to revitalize to pre-1980 levels. This process is still underway and will be treated at greater length in Part VI below.

Both today and traditionally a particular immigrant group has a voice less because of good organization or available cadre than due to a single figure or small clique. At present such an individual might draw a few younger people to his side and begin to issue a newsletter or small journal. A successful leader intervenes on behalf of the association or its membership. Typically this involves raising money for a burial, locating a job or a lawyer for an association member facing unemployment or legal problems.

As the principal institutions of Crimean Tatars, North Caucasians, Turkistanis and Azerbaijanis in Turkey, these associations are legally insecure. Like all such associations in Turkey, they may be closed down upon the orders of the police or municipal authorities and their assets seized. For reasons of prestige and in order to protect themselves, these associations have a tendency to create foundations (evkaf, singular vakif).

Historically and from a legal standpoint the vakif is a more august institution than the association. It cannot be closed without a trial. To establish such a vakif a financial hurdle must be surpassed and an educational or social purpose demonstrated. The arbitrary seizure of the association's assets can be virtually prevented by transferring

Though all of the communities have one or two such foundations today, they have been established only in the last twenty years. In truth they are little more than inactive holding companies. Occasionally, they provide small scholarships on the ostensible basis of need rather than ethnic background.

The finances and activities of both associations and foundations are subject to government review on a regular basis, although this does not occur systematically. Symptomatic of the degree of control they operate under, associations must receive official permission for the holding of major conferences. Such conferences are often monitored by the authorities, and in one recent instance, the entire proceeding was filmed.³⁴

Essentially folkloristic and charitable in nature, the associations and their satellites have often issued ephemeral periodicals and newsletters that are more cultural and romantic than political in character (aside from their traditional anti-communist and Pan-Turkist endeavors). This stems from a lack of: (1)writing cadre; (2)funding; (3)information on developments in the USSR, (4)fear of transgressing nation-wide boundaries limiting political behavior.

Like the émigré press the world over, these publications were seldom of high quality. They did not equal in sophistication or content the short-lived émigré serials issued in Turkey in the 1920's which possessed writing cadre, a network of contacts in the homeland and diaspora and foreign (Polish) financial backing. Post WWII émigré serials in Turkey did not reach the qualitative level of journals published in Europe in the inter and post war periods either. Mainly, they were labors of love of small groups of elderly activists. Their readership has traditionally been elderly as well.

Nevertheless, all of the groups have maintained a constant presence in Turkey. Because they were funded by subscription (and often the salaries of activists) and were fundamentally amateur endeavors, they had a tendency to collapse. Only the Azeri and Crimean Tatars were able to maintain a single organ over more than a thirty year period.³⁵ The publishing activity of other groups was very volatile. Sometimes only a couple issues would appear in a year, and due to a lack of cadre the "golden scissor," as Turks term the reproduction of old articles, was often in use.

Attention was not given to monitoring developments or the press in the USSR as Soviet publications were not only unavailable, but were long prohibited in Turkey. (Though this is not the case at present, there are very few people among these groups

who can read or interpret such publications.) Biographies and obituaries (minus any controversial material) were regular features of these publications along with news of the organization and a review of the press (chiefly other émigré, anti-communist or Turkish nationalist publications).

Rather demagogic in nature, traditionally the old leadership was worshipped and the "black days" of the movement or the collapse of the short-lived republics that emerged in the Caucasus or Central Asia were the point of departure for lengthy anti-communist diatribes or poetic lamentation. The persecution of Islam in the USSR, the expansionist and colonialist character of Russian/Soviet rule and a very wide variety of historical, or cultural matters were taken up, so long as it had something to do with the homeland. Short stories, poetry, musical scores, genealogical trees, lists of clan names and the like were common features of these publications. The circulation of such publications has seldom risen over two thousand.

It must be stressed that despite the problems these groups faced due to a lack of funding and cadre (typical difficulties associated with émigré life) their organs periodically published very interesting and useful material. The necrologies and short memoirs alone are indispensable for reconstructing the activities of these groups in Turkey and other countries. As well as being meaningful registers of émigré life, they offer considerable insight into a segment of the Pan-Turkist and larger anti-communist, nationalist scene in Turkey.

The old activists and their successors today have generally been well educated, professional people of a very idealistic character. Their struggle was to bring greater dignity and strength to Turkey and freedom to their brethren in the USSR or China. Of course, some activists were extremists and inclined to racism but many more abhorred street nationalism (sokak milliyetçiliği) for moral reasons. To indiscriminately band all the groups together and designate them radical right wingers and Pan-Turkists does them considerable injustice, because the very nature of the game they were engaged in was intellectual in character. Differences of opinion about the importance of race, methods, ultimate goals and other matters characterized their thinking.

The abstract and idealistic nature of their concerns and the educational level necessary for periodical publishing and pamphleteering meant that these groups were naturally but ironically quite remote, both physically and spiritually, from less assimilated Tatar, North Caucasian, and Azeri living in the villages of Anatolia.

III. EARLY ATTEMPTS TO COALESCE AND DEVELOP

The portrait of the organizations and publications which appeared in Turkey after 1952 is less than dynamic. The limited vitality they demonstrated continued to ebb with the passage of time due to a dearth in cadre. The volatility and weakness of these émigré associations and their organs is not atypical of the émigré experience in general. It is also an outgrowth of the tentative nature of democracy in Turkey and the failure of Soviet Muslim émigrés to really establish a firm foothold in Turkey in the inter-war period.

i. The Question of Taking Root

The émigrés of this period alone, due to their stature, could perhaps have reached the mass of Russian Muslim refugees already settled in Turkey and politicized them. This simply did not occur. Rather, the émigrés were prevented from doing so by the Turkish authorities. Those who did not accept de-politicization were encouraged to leave Turkey. At the same time, the process of homogenizing and Turkifying the population was stepped up, as described earlier. As a result little competent cadre was nurtured in Turkey.

Though conditions changed in Turkey with the election of the Democratic Party (1950) it was too late to create the organizational and cadre base necessary for dynamic publishing and agitation. Instead, it was a struggle to merely keep the flame of the Crimean, Idil-Ural (Volga-Ural), Azeribaijani, North Caucasian and Turkistani national movements alive in Turkey. With the demise of key émigré players in the mid-1950's intra-group unity, which was never strong, was further undermined.

Legitimacy was a key problem, and dissension was rife among "new" émigrés (former legionnaires), and the disciples of the old elite, for example.³⁶ Direct Western support for anti-communist émigré nationalists also played havoc with the Muslim émigrés. Competent cadre who might have attempted to widen operations in Turkey were instead drawn to Western Europe to join Radio Liberty, the Institute for the Study of the USSR, etc. The old elite was irreplaceable. Tertiary figures in Turkey based their claim to head an association on their proximity to the deceased elite, who had spent much of their active political life in Europe.

Today, by dint of age, strong anti-communist credentials, "recent" knowledge of the homeland and long involvement with the cause, the caretakers of the national flame for these various groups in Turkey are often former legionnaires. Today, they too are rapidly dying out. Though respected these men never enjoyed the prestige of the "old" Soviet Muslim émigrés.

Beyond great differences in educational level, the "old" émigrés based their claim to leadership on the historically significant role they played in their homelands. Having served as architects and ideologists for short-lived national governments in the Caucasus, Central Asia, Crimea and Volga regions, and having struggled on a full-time basis for the cause in emigration, they ignited the flame their successors sought to keep alive.

In brief, though conditions in Turkey were more suitable for anti-Soviet, Turkic and North Caucasian separatist organizing and publishing following WWII, the advanced age of the really prominent figures who returned to Turkey, the lack of cadre with the exception of a few former legionnaires, and the withdrawn, conservative orientation nurtured in the period of one party rule made post-war émigré organizations and publications quite unstable. Lacking a firm foundation, the edifice Soviet Muslim émigrés tried to erect in Turkey before their death was and has remained very weak.

The failure of Soviet Muslim émigrés to establish a firm foothold in Turkey in the early years of the Republic is a subject that warrants exploration.

Though much beloved as the only independent Turkic state in the world, Turkey represented a backwater for prominent or hardcore activists among Soviet Muslim émigrés. Operations centered in Europe attempted to maintain a branch of their movement in Turkey due to political conditions there. Because the period of one party rule remains a sacred cow for Turkish social scientists, it is difficult to fully assess the relative importance of foreign or domestic policy considerations in determining the basis for Ankara's policy toward the émigrés.

ii. Foreign Policy Considerations

It appears, however, that Turko-Soviet amity in the inter-war period made Turkey rather infertile ground for anti-Soviet, separatist activity. The basis for Turko-Soviet cordiality during the period of one party rule in Turkey is to be found in the weakness and isolation of both revolutionary regimes, especially in the years 1918-23.

After WWI all that remained of the Ottoman Empire was Eastern Thrace and Anatolia, which faced partition at the hands of the Entente. The Turkish position at this stage was particularly desperate because the nationalists lacked the materials necessary to repel a Greek expeditionary force that was advancing into the Anatolian heartland. As occupied Turkey was serving as the forward base for the re-supply of White armies by the Entente both Moscow and Ankara shared concrete interests.³⁷

Aside from the sympathy the Bolsheviks won in Turkish nationalist circles by their disclosure of the secret wartime agreements of the Entente³⁸ and the repudiation of exorbitant Russian claims on Turkey, critical material aid to fight the Greeks and diplomatic support were in the offing. The importance of the Straits question to Moscow made Turkish friendship particularly attractive, as did communist ideological imperatives of the day.³⁹

After several rounds of secret and official negotiations, a mechanism for providing the aid required by the Turks was established. Via boats across the Black Sea and a corridor through the Caucasus the Turks received gold, weapons and ammunition supplied by Moscow. In so doing, the Bolsheviks brought the Caucasus into their orbit with the approval and encouragement of Mustafa Kemal and thereby set the stage for an unsuccessful attempt to spread Bolshevism to Turkey and other parts of the Muslim east. The Turkish nationalists succeeded in defeating the Greek expeditionary forces and laid the groundwork for the emergence of Turkey as a modern nation state under the direction of Mustafa Kemal.⁴⁰

The new relationship between Ankara and Moscow was based on the coincidence of interests described above. The March 16, 1921 Moscow Agreement fixed the frontier and established friendly relations between Soviet Russia and nationalist Turkey.⁴¹ Seven months later, with the aid of Soviet mediation, the frontiers of Turkey, Armenia, Georgia and Azerbaijan were delimited in the Treaty of Kars (13 October 1921).⁴²

Although a chilling in relations took place at the time of the Lausanne Conference, Turko-British conflict over Mosul prompted a warming of relations that became manifest in the December 17, 1925 Turko-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Neutrality.⁴³

The Kemalist regime was the target of harsh Soviet polemics, in part due to a general ideological reorientation in the USSR in 1928-29.⁴⁴ However, by late autumn of

1929 Turko-Soviet relations were on the upswing once again.⁴⁵ A commercial agreement in November was followed in early December by a visit to Ankara by Karakhan. This resulted in a Russo-Turkish protocol which renewed the agreement of 1925. High level contacts continued in both capitals in 1931 and 1932. Prime Minister İsmet İnönü traveled to Moscow in the spring of 1932 and arranged for an eight million dollar loan considered important for the industrialization of Turkey.⁴⁶ Again, Turkey's critical needs at difficult juncture (i.e. the depression), created the backdrop for close Turko-Soviet relations. In 1933 and 1935 high level contacts again took place.⁴⁷

Although Turkey normalized relations with the other great and regional powers of the day, Turko-Soviet amity remained the cornerstone of Turkish foreign policy until the Nazi-Soviet Pact of 1939 when Turkey established a formal, if not binding, security arrangement with Great Britain and France.⁴⁸

Relations between Ankara and Moscow remained 'correct' over a twenty year period. There was some chicanery on both sides regarding the mutual pledge to neither harbor nor support groups which sought to destabilize or threaten the territorial integrity of the other state.⁴⁹ Moscow worked to encourage communist activity in Turkey, which Mustafa Kemal dealt with firmly from as early as 1921.⁵⁰ In Turkey, Soviet Muslim émigrés, specifically, Azeri and Turkistani separatists were permitted to organize and publish initially, but the level of tolerance for such activities shrank dramatically over time. As Ankara and Moscow embraced, the émigrés were squeezed out of Turkey.

iii. Domestic Political Considerations

The other reason for Turkey's inhospitality toward Soviet Muslim émigré publishing and organizing in the inter-war period was likely domestic in nature. Some of the "old" émigrés had a history of close association with the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP).⁵¹ This party dominated Ottoman political life in the years 1908-18 and advocated political Pan-Turkism. It did not evaporate suddenly but was co-opted and absorbed while being purged of tendencies and individuals that did not fit with the new Kemalist order.⁵²

Though official Turkish histories tell a different story, it appears that a resurgence of the CUP was a real fear animating the thinking of Mustafa Kemal. As a pro-CUP group with tendencies toward political Pan-Turkism which had been repudiated by Ankara, Soviet Muslim émigré publicists were probably treated with tolerance initially out of consideration for the unconsolidated nature of Kemalist rule. Indeed, initially they

were probably seen as useful ideological allies as they were committed to nationalism, secularism and anti-communism. Once the personal dictatorship of Mustafa Kemal was consolidated with the outmaneuvering of the Second Group(1924), the liquidation of the Kurdish(1925) and communist questions and political trials (1926) of "conspirators" (who frequently had some connection to the CUP and its expansionist policy in the Caucasus),⁵³ stricter limitations on Soviet Muslim émigrés could be and were effected.

In short, based on the available evidence it appears the affiliation of Soviet Muslim émigrés with the discredited CUP party and its Pan-Turkist political agenda, along with foreign policy commitments undertaken by Ankara, made Turkey unwilling to tolerate for long Soviet Muslim émigré activity on its territory.

Given the character of the era, when political leaders in several countries felt that a society could be radically transformed through effective if autocratic leadership, and when the international political atmosphere was increasingly tainted by the fear of another outbreak of war, it is unsurprising that Ankara took such a position vis a vis these émigré groups.

iv. Tolerance Levels

In the years 1925 to 1938 tolerance toward Soviet Muslim émigré publishing and organizing in Turkey diminished sharply. Any lingering resentment over this, like Turkey's role in the Sovietization of Azerbaijan, has long been so muted as to be practically indiscernible.⁵⁴ Though there was some feeling that Turkey gave up too much to the Soviets—especially a key foreign policy interest in the Caucasus—the émigré activists apparently accepted with equanimity the position of the government in favor of better days to come.⁵⁵

Such émigré serials as appeared in the 1920's in Turkey appear to have been funded by the Polish government and were repeatedly suppressed, purportedly due to direct Soviet requests.⁵⁶ Polish pressure on Ankara to take a stiffer posture vis a vis the Soviets and support the émigrés was rejected.⁵⁷

The application of the Law on the Maintenance of Order (1925), passed ostensibly to deal with the Kurdish insurrection in the eastern provinces and pro-Caliphate segments of society, brought to bear considerable pressure on the press in Turkey. This was a retreat from the free press provisions of the 1924 Turkish constitution. Journals, which often had more room to maneuver in criticizing the government or advancing

"opposition," ideas than newspapers, were also suppressed.⁵⁸ In the still relatively tolerant atmosphere of the 1920's a suppressed serial merely reappeared under a new title.⁵⁹

However, after the passage of a restrictive new press law in 1931⁶⁰ émigré publishing operations—with one exception—were based entirely outside of Turkey.⁶¹ Measures enacted in 1932, 1933, 1934, and 1938 progressively clamped down on publishing that was deemed harmful to the internal or external policy of the state. In 1934, even the circulation of foreign emigrant publications (i.e. those produced in Europe) was prohibited. One amendment governing the press, Article 52 of 1938, specifically mentioned Turkey's tie to the USSR with the Moscow Friendship Treaty of 1921, indicated their mutual commitment to not undertake propaganda against the other party and prohibited publishing that harmed the internal and external policies of both states.⁶² As Jäschke has noted, following the death of Mustafa Kemal, the government of İsmet İnönü further distanced itself from the somewhat ambivalent posture of the Gazi himself toward Pan-Turkism.*

The initial passage of the press law of 1931 was part of the general clamp-down Turkish society underwent following the abortive attempt by Mustafa Kemal to launch a loyal opposition group in 1930.⁶⁴ The departure of the most active elements for Warsaw, Berlin, Paris and Helsinki at this time, is not surprising, especially since the main field of battle against Bolshevism was shaping up in Europe and direct financial support for these groups was available there.⁶⁵

Furthermore, special treatment for the émigrés on the part of Ankara was for domestic reasons probably inconceivable as it appears certain émigré elements demonstrated considerable solicitude for the "fresh winds" the Free Party (Serbest Fırkası) represented. One may suspect that the émigrés—especially Azeri activists—saw hope in the appearance of this party for their cause.⁶⁶

*As for the Pan-Turkism of the Gazi, he both rejected and embraced it. While terming Turanism a despicable idea, short-circuiting or harnessing its most influential proponents and implementing a less than fully considered reform of the language that made the search for Turkic linguistic unity even more remote by introducing new terms and usages, he simultaneously promoted it through historical conceptions he gave currency to through organizations like the Turkish Historical Society, for example.⁶³ Pan-Turkists in Turkey long have contended that the Gazi was crypto-Turanist with a wide-ranging agenda for the liberation of the Turks of Russia ('when the time is ripe') and their unification with the Turks of Anatolia. Others have forcefully demonstrated the strictly 'Anatolian' conception animating Mustafa Kemal's nationalism. There is simply no clear answer to this question at present, though it will likely emerge if the USSR disintegrates.

It was also at this juncture that the renowned Turkish Hearths (Türk Ocakları) were converted into the Peoples Houses (Halkevleri) and its old leader, long closely affiliated with Russian and Soviet Muslim émigrés in Turkey, Hamdullah Suphi, was sent into diplomatic exile as the Turkish Representative to Bucharest, Romania (appointed May 20, 1931).⁶⁷ Along with the departure of the Basbuğ, a term of Central Asian origin later utilized by Alparslan Türkeş, the organ of the Hearths, the Türk Yurdu (Turkish Homeland), was closed, according to Suphi, because the Soviets claimed it was spreading Turkish consciousness beyond Turkey's borders.⁶⁸

As mentioned, such weak émigré organizations as were extant in Turkey in the late 1920s and 1930's were a branch of operations often based in European cities like Prague, Paris, Warsaw and Berlin. Other branches, depending on the group in question, could be found in various cities in Finland, Manchuria, Japan, Syria, Afghanistan or Iran. With the departure from Turkey of key Soviet Muslim émigré activists in the years 1927-31/2 their small auxiliary youth and cultural associations were either liquidated or collapsed for internal reasons.

As a non-Turkic group the North Caucasians were effectively silenced as early as 1923, both from the standpoint of organizing and publishing. In that year the records of the CUP-connected Şimali Kafkasya Cemiyeti (North Caucasian Association) were seized and the cultural arm of this group, the Çerkes İttihad ve Teavun Cemiyeti (Circassian Union and Mutual Aid Association) was closed. Shortly thereafter the latter's building and library were lost in a fire. At the same time the residents of fourteen Circassian villages (ca. 10,000 people) in Western Anatolia were deported to the country's eastern provinces, though they were allowed to return subsequently.⁶⁹

Turkic groups did not suffer equally but they did not prosper either. Internal disputes and inactivity characterized the tiny Azerbaycan Talebe Cemiyeti (Azerbaijani Student Association) as early as 1928 though it carried on until circa 1933.⁷⁰ The more significant Turan Nesr-i Maarif ve Yardım Cemiyeti (commonly referred to as the Turan Association), which had a membership composed of different Turkic groups, was reportedly closed and its library seized sometime after İsmet İnönü went to Moscow (1932).⁷¹ The longest standing association of the period, Türkistan Türkleri Gençler Birliği (Turkistani Turk Youth Union) (1927-40) was closed and its library was also confiscated.⁷²

Indicative of the times, in a minor but symbolic crescendo one activist was tried and expelled from Turkey in 1938.⁷³ At this juncture several activists connected to operations based in Europe were deprived of their Turkish citizenship.⁷⁴ It is said that Soviet consular officials were on hand for the physical expulsion of these individuals from Turkey.

The restrictive 1938 Law on Associations, which was the first formal departure from the framework set up by the Young Turks in 1909, shut the door on any incipient political organizations in the country.⁷⁵

In short, it may be said that in the 1920's the anti-communist character of these émigré groups and their publications put them in good stead with the nationalist government as did their commitment to secularism and Turkish nationalism. The level of tolerance decreased with time, resulting in the departure from Turkey of overtly active elements, the suppression of their publications in 1931/2 followed by the collapse or closure of minor associations which persisted in the 1930's.

v. Co-Builders

Not all Soviet Muslim émigrés abandoned Turkey. A choice was made to fight overtly for the liberation of the occupied homeland outside of Turkey or to join the system, indeed help design it as "Turks" rather than Turkistanis or Tatars. Though harder to trace, it would appear that a larger number remained in Turkey than departed. The old émigrés were well educated and represented the needed stuff to help build the new Turkey. Therefore, they were encouraged to abandon politics and take a position in academe, the Turkish Language Association (Türk Dil Tedkik Cemiyeti), the Turkish Historical Society (Türk Tarih Tedkik Cemiyeti), the newly established Ankara Language, History and Geography Faculty, (Ankara Dil, Tarih ve Coğrafya Fakültesi), Turcology Institute (Türkiyat Enstitüsü), ministry of education, Turkish press or in the then unassertive Grand National Assembly. Though their number was not great, this group represented an important stratum of the intellectual community in Turkey at this time. Renowned figures often held multiple positions in politics, academe and the press or moved quickly from one to the other.⁷⁶

The trace this co-opted group of Soviet Muslim émigrés left in Turkey bears significantly on the very sense of identity that underpins Turkish nationalism. These men, and others who emigrated from Russia prior to the Bolshevik Revolution, helped draw the parameters of Turkish national culture by investigating its linguistic, musical, epic literary, religious and other social forms. Indeed, a significant element of Turkish scholarly output in the fields of history, Turcology, and anthropology at an early stage in the Republic's new intellectual life was generated by these émigrés, of course along with a numerically larger group of Anatolian Turkish thinkers. Their output is so extensive and widespread that it cannot be gathered or properly evaluated. Prominent figures wrote under countless pseudonyms, often penned dozens, if not hundreds of articles in addition to poetry or monographs.

It must be appreciated that generally, but not always, such émigré figures recognized the limits of the rein they enjoyed. In the main they were not involved in activities which sought to inflame the Turkish masses with irredentist hopes or plans for liberation campaigns against the USSR. Nor did they attempt to overtly politicize the descendants of Muslim émigrés from Russia who were settled in Anatolia. This simply was not tolerated. The government set the tone on political and foreign policy questions and any kind of political posturing or agitation at this time, from almost any quarter, was discouraged.

Such a low profile as was adopted implicitly accepted Turkey's weak predicament and the right to promote cultural Pan-Turkism only in so far as it strengthened the roots of Anatolian Turkish nationalism and steered clear of "adventurism" or political Pan-Turkism. Practically speaking, this meant that to be safe, hoary and arcane Turkic cultural matters were investigated which simply by their focus rather than express political statement, illustrated the authors' commitment to Turkic solidarity and belief in the superiority of a larger Turkic culture that transcended national boundaries.

This abandonment of the overt cause was done in favor of putting Turkey on her feet. It is likely the economic realities of the day played their part as well. Both the prestige and security offered by taking a privileged if quiet role in Turkey was easier to embrace than re-emigration. Contact with other parts of the Soviet Muslim diaspora was also possible from Turkey, indeed, the role of organizations and publications centered in Europe was essentially to knit together disparate communities and keep them informed and politicized. Publications issued in Europe circulated semi-clandestinely in Turkey, often with false covers and plaudits for Mustafa Kemal.⁷⁷

Whether co-opted or obliged to leave Turkey, it should be pointed out that Soviet Muslim émigrés played a noteworthy role in recent history. In terms of influence, prominent emigrants in all walks of life, but particularly in academe and journalism, played a crucial part in educating Turks, and for that matter many Western specialists, about general Soviet affairs, the nationalities problem in the USSR and related issues. The émigrés (in Turkey, the US and FRG) were the solitary source of information on the Muslim republics of the USSR before the native language press of these regions became available. As such, they played a productive role in both the establishment and legitimization of a field of inquiry that was previously *terra incognita*.

In conclusion, the crucial inter-war period in Turkey witnessed a temporary surge of overt anti-communist, separatist and nationalist Soviet Muslim émigré activism. These endeavors were increasingly limited by the authorities due to foreign and probably domestic policy considerations. Those unwilling to accept the offer to remain in Turkey and help build the new Republic, as many did, were encouraged to re-emigrate. Hence,

from the standpoint of organizing and publishing the European scene overshadowed its Turkish counterpart until after WWII, when the strength and integrity of the Azeri, Idil-Ural, Turkistani, Crimean and North Caucasian liberation movements was being sapped due to the physical disappearance of their respective elites.

IV. WWII AND ITS IMMEDIATE AFTERMATH

With the onset of WWII, as is well known, there was a resurgence of Pan-Turkist publishing in Turkey. This first became apparent following the failure of the so-called Moscow talks of October 1939 when the Kremlin's request for a strategic position on the Straits was rejected by Ankara. A pro-German sympathy was quite widespread in Turkey at this time, although it does not appear to have been directly sanctioned by the government.

Pan-Turkist agitation was particularly encouraged by the success of German arms against the Soviet Union in the summer of 1941. Much of the publishing of this period was undertaken by Turkish Pan-Turkists, as opposed to Soviet Muslim émigrés. Though repeatedly suppressed, an important segment of the former's output demonstrated a strong racist, anti-semitic orientation which signaled their sympathy for German National Socialist doctrine. By the summer of 1942 when Germany was approaching the Northern Caucasus, even Foreign Minister Saracoğlu proclaimed to rousing applause in the Grand National Assembly that 'we are and always will be Pan-Turkists' (Türkçüyüz) although he also stated that Turkey would not become involved in adventures beyond her boundaries.⁷⁸

This entire episode lasted about four years before a well publicized campaign was undertaken by the government to deflate, what in reality was a rather trivial and isolated, albeit potentially dangerous, manifestation of irredentist thinking among some Turkish and émigré intellectuals. That the authorities themselves may have done more than just endure the activities of these groups is likely, but unconfirmable. During this period it is symbolically significant that Türk Yurdu (Homeland of the Turk), which had been closed in May of 1931, was permitted to resurface (1942).⁷⁹ Its old leader, Hamdullah Suphi (Tanriöver) remained in Bucharest, having been elevated to the rank of Ambassador in 1939.⁸⁰

i. Türk Kültür Birliği⁸¹

During wartime in Turkey it appears that two important groups containing Soviet Muslim émigré contingents surfaced. The first organization, established in 1940, was called Türk Kültür Birliği (Union of Turkish Culture). It claimed to be the successor to the earlier mentioned Türkistan Türkleri Gençler Birliği. Prominent Turkish nationalists, including Fuat Köprülü, and a handful of émigrés connected to this group issued the

quarterly journal Türk Amacı (Goal of the Turk) over a six month period. Pan-Turkist in nature, but not violently racist as other Pan-Turkist serials of the day were, it has been suggested, but not confirmed, that it was in fact a government organized and subsidized operation. As the Turkish government was holding talks with Germany both officially and unofficially regarding its interests in the Turks of the USSR, this publication's appearance may be interpreted as a signal of the policy review being contemplated. The precise relationship of this group to other Pan-Turkist groups of the period, especially clandestine ones like that discussed below, is difficult to ascertain.

ii. Pan-Turanists⁸²

The second group, founded in July of 1941, was headed by a Soviet Muslim émigré from Bashkiria and was said to have established clandestine cells in Turkey. As Henderson noted, its aims were:

(1)To unite the Turks of Asia with Turkey to create one racially pure Turkish State; (2)as soon as Germany's victory was assured to overthrow by a swift bloodless coup d'état the present Turkish Government and replace it by a nationalist Government which would put racialism and Pan-Turanianism into effect; (3)to organize the prisoners of war of Turkish race who were in German hands; (4)to conduct propaganda in Turkey for the idea of the society.⁸³

The Germans were subsidizing and encouraging this group directly or perhaps through a Hungarian intermediary according to one émigré source. Some of the people connected to this group were quite wild-eyed, demonstrating strong racist and violent tendencies.

In May of 1944 this group and its aims were fully uncovered. President İnönü denounced them heartily in a lengthy speech delivered at a stadium in Ankara and the Turkish press lacerated the Turanians, as they were termed, in a multitude of articles.⁸⁴ These measures and the trial which took place in September of 1944 were probably aimed at placating the USSR and improving Turko-Soviet relations. For domestic reasons, it was perhaps not accidental that İnönü, himself of Kurdish heritage, appointed a prominent North Caucasian, General İsmail Berkök (who was previously active in the Şimali Kafkaysa Cemiyeti and distinguished himself during the Ottoman expedition into Dagistan) to sit in judgement of the Turanists. Eventually, however, this group was quietly released as Turko-Soviet relations were degenerating rapidly in the face of Stalin's territorial claims on Turkey. At the time of the trial the first group described above, Türk Kültür Birliği, was also closed down.

iii. Aftermath

Though the open hostility of the USSR toward Turkey in the aftermath of WWII reflected in Moscow's claims to Kars, Ardahan and the Straits, and the sweeping from power of İsmet İnönü and the Peoples Republican Party (PRP) in 1950 made conditions ripe for Soviet Muslim émigré organizing and publishing in Turkey, the associations and publications that appeared were respectively weak and ephemeral as described earlier.

In the 1950's particularly, the new political parameters of the day were being only carefully tested. The most pressing concern of the associations which emerged lay with simply establishing themselves, developing a press organ and working to integrate the legionnaires that Turkey agreed to accept in 1948. Considering the dearth of cadre, national atmosphere and funding problems, these were rather monumental tasks.

As is well known, the government of Adnan Menderes adopted an increasingly intolerant posture toward the press at a time when Turkey was experiencing high inflation and generally severe economic problems. The granting of greater freedom to the press which began in 1946 received some setbacks in 1951, 1953 and particularly 1954 when restrictions on its freedom and increased penalties were set forth.⁸⁵ This trend continued until the military intervention of May 1960. In this atmosphere it is unsurprising that the émigré publications that appeared during the 1950's limited their politics to fierce anti-communism, cultural Pan-Turkism and the lauding of Mustafa Kemal.

V. DIRECT SUPPORT AND PARTY AFFILIATIONS

The Turkish government undertook two limited attempts to harness and direct the talents of Soviet Muslim émigrés in Turkey.

i. Türk Göçmen ve Mülteci Dernekleri Federasyonu⁸⁶

The first effort undertaken by the Turkish government to support and direct émigré activities was the Federation of Turkish Immigrant and Refugee Associations (Türk Göçmen ve Mülteci Dernekleri Federasyonu). Founded in 1954 it was entirely moribund by the mid-1970's although it continued to theoretically exist until 1979.

The Federation was an umbrella organization for associations of North Caucasian, Crimean, İdil-Ural, Azerbaijani, Türkistani, Kerkük (Iraq), Cypriot, Bulgarian and Bayır-Bucak (Syrian) "Turks." The use of the very word "Tatar" was abjured as a demonstration of kabilecilik (tribalism) not in keeping with the state ideology and the sense of solidarity being cultivated. North Caucasians who were involved were Turkified posthumously. Allegedly, some financial assistance was extended to the groups who agreed to participate. Their organ, Anavatana Göç (*Emigration to the Homeland*) appears to have issued only one number (May 1967).

Aside from some limited interaction among the leadership of the participating groups, this operation existed on paper only. Neither the objective of creating a larger platform or strengthening these disparate associations by uniting them in a federation was successful.

ii. Türk Kültürünü Arastırma Enstitüsü⁸⁷

In the aftermath of the the military intervention of May 1960 a decision was made by the National Unity Committee to support research by émigrés that encouraged Turkish nationalism but did not directly provoke foreign governments. Apparently, a new division within the Foreign Ministry was to concern itself with Cyprus and the problems of the "Outside Turks."

When this plan for a research institute was being put into effect a split in the National Unity Committee occurred. Fourteen members were 'exiled' including Captain M. Özdal and Alparslan Türkeş. Amidst charges that the forthright posture toward the

"Outside Turks" being advanced by Türkeş and others was an example of overzealous nationalism, work on establishing the institute halted. A short time thereafter General Gürsel himself backed the initiative as a common plan which should go forward. In this way the research center on the Turkic-speaking world known as Türk Kültürünü Araştırma Enstitüsü (TKAE) was established in 1961.

From a bureaucratic standpoint TKAE has come under the jurisdiction successively of the Foreign Ministry, the office of the Prime Minister (under İnönü) and finally, the national intelligence service (MİT).

For many years TKAE was directed by the Volga Tatar Ahmet Temir, an internationally renown Mongolist educated in Berlin in the 1930's. It is said that during his tenure (1962-75) Tatars dominated the TKAE staff. Nevertheless, a handful of Soviet Muslim émigrés (or their disciples) with scholarly and/or nationalist credentials were closely associated with TKAE, especially in the 1960's, the peak years of the Institute's activity. They contributed articles to Türk Kültürü and other publications on a regular basis.

Still extant today, TKAE has generated scholarly monographs, a large compendium on the Turkish world known as the Türk Dünyası El Kitabı (Handbook of the Turkic World) and two serials, Cultura Turcica and Türk Kültürü.

Türk Kültürü has been the main product of TKAE. With the aim of inculcating a nationalist and anti-communist sentiment in its readership, Türk Kültürü devoted considerable attention to the entire Turkic speaking world. Reportedly, a large portion the journal's circulation was distributed to the Turkish Armed Forces and secondarily to educational institutions. The idea that Turkey was isolated, indeed surrounded by enemies with the exception of Turkic brethren in the USSR, China, Bulgaria, Greece, Syria, Iraq and Cyprus was integral to its orientation. This was not Pan-Turkism (Türkcülük), a term generally avoided, it was Turkish nationalism (Türk milliyetçilik). In 1968 Türk Kültürü's circulation reached 30,000: presently it is 3,000.

Essentially moribund today, TKAE and it's organ had a strong pro-military, nationalist and official character that hardly gave it wide appeal. Nevertheless, Soviet Muslim émigrés did publish some interesting and periodically important scholarly work through the institute. Again, the ever shrinking pool of competent Soviet Muslim émigré contributors made Türk Kültürü an ever diminishing asset.

iii. Party Affiliations^{RR}

Even with these modest supports, the long descent these groups exhibited was not arrested by the tendency of some of their leaders or constituents to successively embrace the Democratic Party (DP-Demokrat Partisi), Justice Party (JP-Adalet Partisi) or the National Action Party (NAP-Milli Hareket Partisi) of Alparslan Türkeş.

The high regard for the DP was an outgrowth of several factors. First, like most Turks, the émigrés found the authoritarianism of the PRP to be oppressive. This was especially true in the face of the suppression of what some émigré and Pan-Turkists considered the intellectually attractive and morally justifiable position they embraced regarding the "Outside Turks." The timidity of the İnönü government vis a vis the USSR in general was disliked, particularly in the wake of the May 1944 events described in Part IV above.

The DP offered more room for maneuver for all Turkish citizens, and the presence in the DP line-up of comrades in arms, or "sensitized" elements like Fuat Köprülü, Hasan Polatkhan (Crimean Tatar), Fatin Rüştü Zorlu (Circassian), Celal Bayar (Pomak), Samet Ağaoğlu (Azeri) made this attraction even stronger. Adnan Menderes himself was known as the son of a muhacir (immigrant). Following the May 1960 military intervention and the promulgation of the liberal 1961 constitution the Justice Party emerged as the successor to the DP. Naturally, old dispositions and sympathies were reconfirmed.

However, by the late 1960's the growing radicalization of the Turkish polity manifest in violence between the Labour Party of Turkey (LPT) on the left and the NAP of Colonel Alparslan Türkeş on the right created new circumstances for some activists. There was a tendency, of course, to sympathize with the NAP.

In retrospect, this connection left them in the company of a rather marginal and extreme party which did not greatly raise the credibility of these groups among the larger Turkish population or the youth of their own community. While the preoccupation of the NAP with the "Outside Turks" helped spread an awareness of the Crimean, Turkistani, Idil-Ural, and Azerbaijani causes among the Turkish population, the "national centers" of these groups remained largely unknown, often even among their own natural constituency.

Because of the Türkes linkage, those who did know of these centers, especially among the "intellectual" youth (virtually leftist by definition in Turkey), often associated them in a knee-jerk response with Pan-Turkism, fascism, anti-communism and American imperialism. Of course, North Caucasians being sensitive to their non-Turkic background and opposed to their continued Turkification found the NAP's concern for racial purity, hostility to non-Turkish cultural development in Turkey and Pan-Turkism to be offensive.

In conclusion, it may be said that aside from the limited but direct attempts to channel the skills and nationalist sentiments of Soviet Muslim émigrés or the organizations originally founded by such émigrés, the Turkish government has granted them no special privileges. The bonds of sympathy which grew up among activists connected to the various national centers of Muslim émigré groups in Turkey toward the DP, JP and NAP did not have a demonstrable impact on their power or influence in Turkish life. Because the centers were isolated and rather weak, they were little more than minor moral allies of these parties. They do not appear to have succeeded in bringing in blocs of votes from what should have been their natural constituency. Some sources indicate that the linkage established in many peoples minds between Türkes's pronouncements on the subject of the "Outside Turks" and the violence associated with the radical right, may have had the inadvertent effect of further marginalizing these centers.

VI. CURRENT AFFAIRS

The floundering and progressive marginalization of these groups came to an abrupt halt with the onset of martial law in 1980. Until 1984-5 they remained largely in suspended animation. Since then associations in Istanbul, Ankara or the provinces have been largely resuscitated, as have their publications. However, as mentioned earlier, neither the organizations nor their publication outlets can be considered the mouthpieces of Soviet Muslim émigrés per se.

The subdued pulse of these groups has increased due to Turkish domestic and international developments. The progressive liberalization apparent in Turkish political life and a growing willingness to accept, even applaud the multi-ethnic character of the nation is crucial in this process. A new generation raised in the comparatively liberal atmosphere of the 1960's and 1970's is now emerging. They are slowly repudiating the timidity and charity-oriented work of their predecessors as well as their unrealistic, periodically extreme political agenda. A more sophisticated approach is gradually supplanting the crude anti-communism, tendencies toward lamentation and sterile, repetitive worship of long deceased nationalists that characterized much émigré publishing in Turkey after 1952.

In short, the dogmas of old are slowly being questioned and revised. Self-designation is a simple barometer of this. Long simply "Turks" or "Crimean Turks," a progressively assertive, indeed proud tone has been emerging among this and other groups. A little more than a decade ago the designation "Crimean Turk-Tatars" first surfaced. The term "Crimean Tatar" is today current among young activists. Some North Caucasians are openly publicizing their non-Turkic ethnicity and are trying to demonstrate that they have been stifled for decades.

Privately, some individuals are criticizing Ankara's habit of trying to play the sophisticated elder brother vis a vis Azerbaijan and other Turkic republics of the former USSR. They feel such arrogance is inimical to the cultivation of a real rapport. It was long standard to proclaim Ataturk "Father of All Turks." That is no longer necessary or appropriate, they believe.

The impact of changing conditions in the USSR can also be discerned on the organizations and communities in Turkey. As it became possible to host relatives, scholars, and political activists from the USSR in Turkey, otherwise moribund groups

began to take stock of themselves, the achievements of their post-war leadership, and their relationship to the homeland. According to sources, the old debate about the superiority of the term Turk vs Tatar, in the Crimean case for example, was concluded after Tatar nationalists came to Turkey and expressed their sentiments very clearly.

In the last four years several congresses have been held by the 'immigrant' associations in Turkey. In each case the congress was spearheaded by younger or break-away elements attempting to capitalize on changing world conditions in order to create new bridges between the diaspora and homeland. The congresses have been "international" with representatives of the various diaspora communities in attendance as well as small contingents from the USSR. Sources indicate some of the Soviets have been connected to ostensibly reformed vatan (fatherland) outreach operations, as well as scholars of a nationalist bent. Such developments represent quite a revolution, at least symbolically. However, too much should not be read into these developments.

These endeavors represent the first shot in the upward struggle of these groups to put themselves on the map and to create new bonds with the homeland. A clearer idea of what is going on inside the collapsing Soviet Union generally and specifically in the Republics, as well as a better feel for how the government in Ankara is reacting to these developments will substantially govern the forthcoming initiatives of these groups. Long experience with the vicissitudes of Turkish political life makes older activists especially place their feet less than firmly on any given spot.

As can be expected, the lead has to come from the top. If Ankara made a dramatic effort to expand Turkey's influence in the Muslim republics, these very loyal groups would come further out of the box than they have to date. In such a scenario, they would in all likelihood be given an official blessing that they haven't really enjoyed during the life of the Turkish Republic.

It should be emphasized that the mild surge in activism apparent among these groups in Turkey represents a resurrection of the virtually comatose. This development has been powered by internal flames never fully extinguished, by a sense of optimism born of the collapse of communist rule and the nationalist recrudescence apparent in the Turkic regions of the USSR as well as the liberalization of Turkish life following the lifting of martial law.

Because the groups in Turkey possess long but weak roots, further growth will be slow unless they are fertilized by the Turkish government or events in the disintegrating

Soviet Union galvanize feelings to such an extent that the descendants of Muslim refugees from say, Azerbaijan (along with the larger Turkish population) demand that the government adopt a new posture. This is unlikely, and the Turkish authorities seem to be inclined to slowly establish cultural and commercial contacts with the republics.*

For these groups, the process of becoming acquainted with, let alone well-connected to governmental and informal groups in the Caucasus, Volga, or Central Asia is moving ahead, but slowly. Individual exceptions do exist but in general plans are grandiose yet follow through, funding, and cadre appear to be lacking. The eagerness of younger figures that have emerged has not endeared them to older people whose knowledge of Russian/Soviet history makes them very wary of sudden change and cynical about the long term prospect of the Turko-Tatar peoples of the USSR gaining any real independence from the center.

It should be stressed that only select individuals are well informed about contemporary developments in the Muslim republics of the USSR. These same figures are often aware of the kinds of information that is passing between Turkish 'immigrant' activists and nationalists in the republics. Some are quite reticent about describing this circumfluence of information, others quite helpful.

At present, the publications of the Turkish 'centers' carry little concrete information of use to analysts of Soviet affairs. The personalities, not the publications are important at this stage. According to activists themselves, what does appear in print is sporadic, unreliable and often quite belated. The "real" story is seldom publicly revealed. It must be noted however, that the occasional morsel, frequently to be found in the

*The evolution of Turkish cultural, economic and political ties to the Muslim republics of the USSR is a subject worth monitoring. In general, it appears Ankara is adopting a more engaged posture vis a vis the Turko-Tatar peoples of the USSR. From December 1990 to date a surge in official contact between representatives of the Soviet Muslim republics and Ankara has occurred and a host of economic and cultural linkages are plainly evolving. Most recently, in the context of a discussion about Turkey 'joining Israel, Egypt and Saudi Arabia in an upgraded role as a key US ally in the region,' the Washington Post reported that undersecretary for political affairs Özdem Sanberk had identified the expansion of Turkey's influence among the Soviet Muslim republics as 'an important priority' (October 15, 1991). Of particular interest will be how and if Ankara can parlay her avuncular position vis a vis independence-minded Turko-Tatar peoples in the USSR for diplomatic gain in Europe and avoid becoming embroiled in the Caucasian quagmire.

"News" section, interviews of guests from the USSR or in reproduced proclamations of nationalist groups in the republics, can be gleaned from these publications, and hence warrant monitoring, particularly for changes they may undergo.

Of the groups publishing at present, it appears the most advanced and well connected to nationalists in the republics are the Crimean Tatars. Of symbolic significance, they have a senior leader in the person of Müstecib Ülkusal, an uninterrupted history of work in Turkey, a better network, more cadre and are financially stronger than other groups it seems. Their relative success is in no small part due to their educational level and degree of assimilation in Turkey. As a member of another community explained, "most just talk, they do their homework." Sources indicate the Azeri center in Ankara, are also well connected, but at this time little concrete information can be provided. The Turkistanis and North Caucasians are in the process of building up a network of contacts in the USSR, but are beginning this process with financial and personnel handicaps that put them behind the other organizations. In general, it could be said that these organizations in Turkey are in the early stages of consolidating their ties to governmental and non-governmental groups in the republics.

The degree of interaction between the different communities and organizations in Turkey is minimal. Older activists alone have ties of friendship to those involved with other organizations. According to sources, they do not meet regularly for strategy sessions. The common front, which was a feature of operations in Europe before and after WWII, never got off the ground in Turkey. Although many of the publications issued in the post-war period in Turkey gave space to the cause of other groups and signalled their pan-Turkist orientation, a deeper co-mingling of cadre or a unified front did not emerge, despite the minor encouragement of the Turkish government, as discussed earlier.

On the contrary, within organization there has long been a tendency to factionalize, often over leadership, procedure or other petty problems. This feature of these organizations is unlikely to change unless a strong signal and direct support are provided by the Turkish authorities.

Direct and regular interaction with the key personalities involved in these organizations rather than relying upon their publications is the key to gathering reliable information about these groups in Turkey and their relationship to the Turkish government, as well as opposition or government supported groups in the Muslim republics.

Finally, in the USSR, the longstanding silence, indeed excoriation of Muslim nationalists that took refuge outside the country has been broken. Discussion of the immigrant communities in Turkey, and individual personalities like Ayaz İshaki, Mehmed Emin Resulzade, Wassan-Girey Jabagi and Mustafa Chokay have been taken up by nationalists in the Muslim republics of the USSR. Varying levels of interest have been evinced, but it is unclear how far the information about the personalities and their activities has spread among the common population.

The Azeri case is indicative of this problem. Numerous articles about Resulzade have appeared in the organ of the Azerbaijani yatan cemiyeti (homeland association), Odlar Yurdu. This publication's target audience is outside the USSR. Other treatments of Resulzade, even in the thick journal Azərbaycan (Baku) are essentially biographies. According to sources, a full discussion of the program and movement led by Resulzade does not appear to have surfaced. Likewise, the reprinting of works by Resulzade or the Pan-Turkist ideologue Ali Hüseyinzade (Turan) have surfaced in Hazar of late. While the reclaiming of these figures as part of the intellectual and cultural heritage of Azerbaijanis is indeed a significant development, it is noteworthy that a fuller critique of their historical and present political relevance as thinkers does not seem to have been publicized. How widely Hazar circulates and who precisely is behind it is not known at present. The official character of some of the publications lauding Resulzade, either ephemeral or for foreign consumption warrants some consideration on the part of analysts. It also appears that those émigrés that have been more or less rehabilitated were mostly good socialists, at least initially. Furthermore, their opposition both in and out of the homeland has not been treated it would appear. Instead, some of the "old" émigrés are being uncritically placed on a pedestal it seems.

The prospect for a fuller discussion of the character and importance of the men and movements that were active in the diaspora is very great. Sources indicate that scholars at Kazan University have gone to some length in gathering the necessary information, including memoirs penned by prominent Kazan Tatar activists in emigration. Elderly Crimean Tatar activists have been slowly micro-filming what they consider to be important sources which they have been turning over to their counterparts in Tashkent, and to a lesser extent, Columbia University. Disparate sources indicate the KGB files on Musavat activities outside the USSR are presently being studied by a young Azeri scholar. The President of the Aral Sea Committee, Pir Muhammed, during a recent trip to the US expressed an interest in writing a series of articles about the Turkistani nationalists in emigration and was searching for knowledgeable older

informants in Afghanistan, Turkey and Germany. Interestingly enough, the head of the Turkistani Association in Turkey is preparing just such a study at present. According to North Caucasian sources, at least two young scholars are investigating the published output of nationalists in emigration.

Aside from these signs of interest within the republics, multiple sources in Turkey have noted that Japanese scholars, apparently working in a team effort, have repeatedly come to Turkey to collect the published output and other information about long deceased Soviet Muslim émigrés. Between the interest evinced in these matters within Turkey, the republics and apparently Japan, it is clear that many crucial details about the émigrés and their activities have yet to surface. The repercussions of such a fuller disclosure of information on these matters are potentially great, but cannot be legitimately estimated at this time.

The annotated bibliographies attached to this report give a good indication of the character of the publishing activity of the descendents of Russian Muslim refugees and Soviet Muslim émigrés in Turkey and to a lesser extent, Europe. Though by necessity many unimportant pamphlets, statutes of ephemeral organizations and the like are listed therein, it must be appreciated that some of the most important materials were not published and can neither be accessed nor recorded.

To date the personal correspondance, unpublished memoirs, as well as archival sources in the USSR, Germany, Japan, Poland, France, Britain, and Turkey have yet to be exploited by Western or Turko-Tatar scholars. Many significant revelations will be made particularly if the personal correspondance of key émigré activists is analyzed. Such materials represent a rich historical source on the short-lived independent republics established in the years 1917-20, the territorial ambitions of Turko-Tatar and North Caucasian nationalists, ethnic, religious and linguistic problems among these groups, the character of early Soviet rule in the Republics, the émigré struggle, Pan-Turkism, communist activity in the Middle East and other matters. The problem of gaining access to these often hidden sources presents surmountable, but serious difficulties for the conduct of such research. In addition, it should be noted that the linguistic skills required for exploiting these sources are very considerable, as a sound knowledge of various Turkic languages (and the scripts they have been written in), Russian, German and Polish would be needed.

VII. CONCLUSIONS

Soviet Muslims did not take refuge in the Republic of Turkey on a large scale, although there are several groups dwelling in the eastern provinces of Turkey or disbursed through out the larger Turkish polity that have a unique, albeit distant relationship to Turko-Tatar and North Caucasian Muslims in the Volga, Central Asia and Caucasus today. These descendants of Muslim refugees from Russia have been largely assimilated due to the twin pressures of time and official policies. As such, they represent an uninvolved and largely uninterested constituency that must be differentiated from genuine Soviet Muslim émigrés, who today, have almost entirely disappeared from the Turkish scene.

Despite the tradition of hosting Turkic refugees and political exiles, and the character of nationalist rhetoric about the "Outside Turks," genuine Soviet Muslim émigré strength in Turkey, as measured by their organizations and publications, has been very weak and restricted to tiny and often isolated intellectual groups. They enjoyed little in the way of privilege and periodically were suppressed by the Turkish authorities.

Soviet Muslim émigré publishing and organizing activities in Turkey rose and fell in tandem with larger trends in the political life of the Republic. In this way, their fate was not markedly different than other groups in the country. During the period 1923-31 anti-Soviet, nationalist and separatist activism on the part of these groups was tolerated. Due to growing Turko-Soviet amity and probably for domestic reasons as well, the most overtly active Soviet Muslim émigré figures were obliged to move their operations to Europe.

The failure to nurture competent cadre during the inter-war period or to politicize the descendants of Muslim refugees from Russia on the grass roots level made the resurgence of Soviet Muslim émigré publishing and organizing in Turkey after 1950 quite weak. As cadre dwindled the Azerbaijani, Turkistani, Crimean, İdil-Ural and North Caucasian "Turk" liberation movements in Turkey went into decline. Their publications were often ephemeral and crude and their organizing activities were decidedly folkloristic in character. This decline was not arrested by the limited attempts of the Turkish authorities to harness the talents of the shrinking émigré intelligentsia in the mid-1950's and early 1960's.

Nevertheless in small groups, Soviet Muslim émigrés, or the descendants of Muslim refugees from Russia did maintain a continuous and demonstrable presence in Turkey. The longstanding Pan-Turkist and anti-communist orientation of these groups should not obscure the fact that each group was primarily concerned with their specific cause, and a vibrant common front, failed to materialize in Turkey. Moreover, these groups served local or intra-community purposes more than anything else.

Both in the period of one party rule and after the 1960 revolution individual Soviet Muslim émigré intellectuals directly served state interests in undertakings designed to build a strong Turkish national consciousness. Particularly in the first decades of the Republic's life, more or less co-opted émigrés played a significant role in Turkish intellectual life. This group and hard-core activists who returned to Turkey after WWII played a productive part in educating Turks and many Westerners about the nature of Soviet rule in the Muslim regions of the USSR and the cultural history of these areas.

So-called "Soviet Muslim émigré" associations in Turkey have demonstrated a minor revival due to political developments in Turkey and the USSR. Without the support and encouragement of the Turkish government, the prospect of dynamic publishing and organizing on their part is quite remote due to a lack of cadre and funding and because they do not possess a real constituency among the largely assimilated descendants of Muslim refugees from Russia in Turkey. However, the long history of these groups suggests they will not only persist, but begin to prosper if the USSR collapses and Ankara seeks to to expand its influence in the former Soviet Muslim East.

FOOTNOTES

¹A comprehensive bibliography of the extensive literature on this subject is to be found in Andrews, Ethnic Groups in the Republic of Turkey (Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 1989). For an overview, see Kemal Karpaz, Ottoman Population 1830-1914 (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985) as well as Integration (Augsburg) no. 3 (1959) and Hilmi Ziya Ulken, "Apercu general de l'evolution des immigrations en Turquie," Integration (Augsburg) no. 6 (1959): 220-240. On early Ottoman immigration policy and the first settlement commission established see Ahmet Cevat Eren, Türkiye'de Göç ve Göçmen Meseleleri (Istanbul: Nurgök Matbaası, no date). On the Republican period see C. Geray, Türkiye'den ve Türkiye'ye Göçleri ve Göçmenlerinin İskâni (1923-61), (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi, Maliye Enstitüsü Türk İktisadi Gelişmesi Araştırma Projesi, no. 9, 1962); Covering a restricted but crucial period of Circassian emigration to Turkey is Marc Pinson, "Demographic Warfare: An Aspect of Ottoman and Russian Policy, 1854-1866," (Ph.D diss., Harvard University, 1970) A monograph dealing with immigration and its history in Turkey is forthcoming by Justin McCarthy, author of "The Muslim Population of Anatolia, 1878-1927," (Ph.D diss., University of California at Los Angeles, 1978).

²The largest groups came from Greece, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria. A little over a million such emigrants arrived in the period 1923-58. Andrews, Ethnic Groups, p. 28. See also: Huey Louis Kostanick, "Turkish Resettlement of Refugees from Bulgaria, 1950-53," Middle East Journal no. 9 (1955): 41-52.

³On accommodation see Geray and Eren, op cit. The Crimean Tatar poet Sevki Bektöre and the Volga Tatar publicist Emrullah Agi both served prison terms in the USSR for nationalist activities before Turkish diplomats won their release in the mid-1950s.

⁴On June 30, 1939 the Republic of Hatay voted to become a province of Turkey. Firouz Bahrapour, Turkey, (Brooklyn: Theo Gaus' Sons, Inc., 1967) p. 81.

⁵Richard Clogg, "Greece and the Cyprus Crisis," W. M. Hale and J. D. Norton, "Turkey and the Cyprus Crisis," The World Today (September 1974): 364-368 and 368-371. Also: Nancy Crawshaw, "Cyprus: a failure in Western diplomacy," The World Today (January 1984): 73-78.

⁶David Kushner, "Pan-Turkism Today: Contemporary Turkey and the 'Outside Turks'," Asian and African Studies, (Haifa) no. 2 (1987): 187-211.

⁷The most renowned organization was the Committee for the Defense of the Rights of Muslim Turko-Tatar Peoples of Russia. See Serge Zenkovsky, Pan-Turkism and Islam in Russia, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967) pp. 127-130. An organization that worked in tandem with the above committee, but is less widely known was the Kafkasya İstiklal Komitesi. See Ahmet Hazer Hızal, Kuzey Kafkasya Hürriyet ve İstiklal Davası, (Ankara: Orkun Basımevi, 1961) pp. 54-56 and n. 34. G. Jäschke, "Lozan Kongresinde Rusya mahkumu milletler," Kurtulus (Berlin) no. 28 (1937): 17-21 and no. 29/30 (1937): 24-28. Memoranda presented by this latter Caucasian Independence Committee in Vienna and Berlin (December 1915) can be found Die Welt des Islams Band 24 (1942): 132-136.

⁸Peter Alford Andrews, ed., Ethnic Groups in the Republic of Turkey, (Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 1989).

⁹"Rus Muhacirleri," Kurtulus (Istanbul) no. 5 (October 19, 1338/1922) p. 95. An unexploited source on the subject of White Russians in Istanbul is the archive of Petr N. Vrangal at the Hoover Institute. ID CSUZ27001-A

¹⁰Vasfi Gsar, "İstanbul Çerkes Kadınları Teavun Cemiyeti," Kafkasya Kltrel Dergi no. 48 (1975): 21-26.

¹¹"Azerbaijani Turks: Shii," In Andrews, ed. Ethnic Groups pp. 73-74 and 77.

¹²Leonard Shapiro, ed., Soviet Treaty Series, (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 1950) p. 164, 367, 372.

¹³Such men as Mirza Bala, Mehmet Sadık Aran, Ali Azertekin, Ejder Kurtulan, Mehemt Ali Resulođlu, Abbas Kazimzade, Abdul Vahap Yurtsever etc. According to the former head of the Republic of Azerbaijan's security forces who was a founder of the Gence Federalists and a severe critic of Rezulzade, several of these men were sent by Stalin to Iran to aid the latter in disrupting the activities of conservative nationalist Azerbaijani émigrés. See Naki Sehzamanli (Keykurun) Biz ve Onlar (Istanbul(?): Milli Mecmua Matbaasi, 1934) p. 15.

¹⁴Private interviews. See also "Ozbeks," In Andrews, ed. Ethnic Groups p. 83-84 and in the same volume, "Turkistani Refugees," by Ingvar Svanberg. pp. 591-601.

¹⁵Information on the first group is a dominant feature of the nationalist, separatist, anti-Soviet émigré press. Additional background on the "old" and "new" émigrés is based on interviews.

¹⁶According to activists, seventy Azeri students were sent respectively to Berlin and Paris. Thirty six Turkistanis were divided between Istanbul, Berlin, and Paris.

¹⁷Ibid. The most renowned such student that collaborated with the Germans and played a significant role during and after the war, especially in agit-prop endeavors was the Turkistani Veli Khayum-Khan.

¹⁸Patrik von zur Mhlen, Zwischen Hakenkreuz und Sowjetstern. Der Nationalismus der sowjetischen Orientvlker im Zweiten Weltkrieg, (Dusseldorf: Droste Verlag, 1971). See also: Jurgen Thorwald, The Illusion: Soviet Soldiers in Hitler's Armies (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Jovanovich, 1975)

¹⁹Legionnaire sources indicate that five thousand Azeri, six hundred and forty North Caucasians and circa one hundred Turkistanis legionnaires were accommodated by Turkey. No figures on the earlier wave of emigrants are available, but activists uniformly contend that the number involved was small.

²⁰Alexandre Bennigsen, "Kazan or Volga Tatars," In Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups, edited by Stephan Thernstrom. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1980) pp. 989-990.

²¹W. Barthold and C. J. Heywood, "Kars," Encyclopedia of Islam (New Edition) vol. IV (1978): 669-671.

²²"Azerbaijani Turks: Karapapah," In Andrews, ed., Ethnic Groups, pp. 74-77.

²³Reliable figures are unavailable. The estimates provided are simply a conservative guess based on remarks of activists who claim, likely with considerable exaggeration, that there are circa five million Turks of Crimean Tatar descent, three to four million Azeri, one million "unassimilated" North Caucasians, fifty thousand Central Asians, and two thousand Kazan Tatars. Lacking data on migration, mortality, and reproductive rates among those resettled in Turkey's eastern provinces it seems reasonable to imagine that the community would have doubled in size since 1963.

²⁴Elderly sources indicate that Dr. Mecit Bey, the president of the Türkistan Türkleri Gençler Birliği, knew Atatürk personally and asked that an effort be undertaken to bring Central Asians to Turkey as had been done with Muslims from the Balkans. This was rejected.

²⁵Private interviews. According to Mirza Bala, fifteen thousand Azeri took refuge in Iran in 1930-31. In 1937, Southern Azerbaijanis who were long residents of Northern Azerbaijan were obliged to return home or become Soviet citizens. Circa one hundred thousand departed, in "caravans of misery." See "The Azerbaidzhanis," In Genocide in the USSR, (Institute for the Study of the USSR. Studies in Group Destruction Series 1, no. 40 July 1958) p. 69 and 74. The Azeri émigré press regularly carried brief notices about peasants escaping to Iran. See for example, "İrana kaçan Azeri köylüleri," Kurtuluş (Berlin) no. 41 (1938): 1088-1089. In regard to the Volga-Tatar case, see the series of articles penned by Mahmut Tahir, "Rusya Dışındaki Kazan Türkleri," Kazan no. 2, 3, & 4 (1970); Ahmet Temir, "Tatarların Yayılışı," İslam Ansiklopedisi (1970) pp. 56-58.

²⁶Minority affairs in the Republic of Turkey remains a very sensitive, if not taboo, subject. The treatment provided is based on extensive interviews and observation rather than published sources which are usually aimed at either disproving the existence of minorities in Turkey or berating the policies of the government. An overview of the question of ethnicity in Turkey is, however, sensitively treated in Andrews, ed., Ethnicity in Turkey pp. 19-42.

²⁷The respective cause of each of the different groups treated in this study is more central to their thinking than Pan-Turkism. Preoccupation with the Pan-Turkist traditions and connections of these groups, as may be noted in Jacob Landau's Pan-Turkism in the Republic of Turkey (London: C. Hurst and Company, 1981) or his Radical Politics in Modern Turkey (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1974) obscures their essential goals which are of a more limited nature. Moreover, within a given emigrant group "realists" and "idealists" co-exist, sometimes warily.

²⁸Under the present constitution see Section I, Article 3 and Section IV, Article 66. TC Anayasası 1982 (Ankara: Cark Kitabevi, 1990) pp. 5 and 38. Law No. 2932, ratified 19 November 1983, outlaws publishing in languages other than Turkish. See Resmi Gazete (23 Ekim 1983), pp. 27-28. Article 163 and 142.3 of the Turkish Penal Code, adopted 1926, was directed against religious or political activism which undermined the unity of the nation. Official thinking about national unity and means of promoting it can be seen in Milli Birlik ve Bütünlüğümüzün İncelemesi ve Güçlendirecek Tedbirler Hazırlayan: 3ncü Komite. (İstanbul: Harb Akademileri Basımevi, 1968)

²⁹The following segment is based primarily on interviews with activists. See also: D. A. Rustow, "Djam'iyya," In Encyclopedia of Islam (1965) pp. 429-433.

³⁰Prominent figures like Mehmed Emin Resulzade, Cafer Seyidahmet Kırımer, Ayaz İshaki, Said Şamil and their respective retinues.

³¹Because associations which surfaced in the 1950's were so weak, they frequently collapsed only to re-surface a short time later, usually with the same cadre involved. This pattern is mirrored by their publishing organs. Hence personalities, not publications or organizations warrant following.

³²Private interviews. See also: Türkistan no. 1 (1988) p. 40.

³³Mehmet Hazer (1917-87) founding and advisory medjis member. Azerbaycan no. 262 (1987) p. 24. One of the top figures in the Azeri association in Ankara today, Ahmet Karaca, was the head of the domestic affairs division of the state press agency, Andadolu Ajansi.

³⁴The case involved the congress of North Caucasians held under the intentionally unassuming title of "125th Year Culture Week," (October 21-27 1989).

³⁵Azerbaycan has appeared with but one known brief interruption (apparently due to a lack of funding) since 1952. Emel has appeared since 1960. In the case of all émigré publications there has been a tendency to appear initially as a monthly, later as a bi-monthly or quarterly. Often several numbers, appeared together so nothing appeared for months at a time.

³⁶Polemics were a common feature of the émigré press. Indeed, most often the appearance of a new publication in Turkey such as Mücahit, Türk İzi, Kırım surfaced in opposition to the activities of the dominant group. For pamphlets demonstrating this see: İtiklalcı (psuedonym for Tahir Cagatay), Türkistan'a Dair Bazı Cereyanlar Hakkında Görüşlerimiz. (Istanbul: Yaş Türkistan Yayını, 1952); Serefettin Erel, Azerbaycan Politikacılarının Yanlıları (Istanbul: Baha Matbaası, 1968); Azerbaycanlı aydınlardan bir grup (probably a cover for Mehmet Sadık Aran) Azerbaycan Türklerinin Milli Bayramı Armaganı (Istanbul(?): Milli Mecmua Basımevi, 1953). It should be noted that the squabbling in Europe in the inter and post-war period was even more intense and that much of the polemical literature produced in Turkey was in reaction to, or in support of partisan émigré politics in Europe.

³⁷The body of literature treating Turko-Soviet relations and its genesis is quite large. For a detailed treatment of the early period and an extensive bibliography of Turkish and Western sources, see Karal, "Turkish Relations with Soviet Russia during the National Liberation War of Turkey, 1918-23" Ph.D dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1967); For an overview see: G. Jäschke, "Neues zur Russisch-Türkischen Freundschaft von 1919-1939," Die Welt des Islams (New Series) Band VI, no 3-4 (1961): 204-222; Harish Kapur, Soviet Russia and Asia (Geneva: Michael Joseph Ltd., 1966) pp. 87-142 and Ferenc Vali, Bridge Across the Bosphorous (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1971) pp. 165-185.

³⁸Vali, Bridge p. 167. The text of Constantinople and London Agreements are to be found in J. C. Hurewitz, Diplomacy in the Near and Middle East. A Documentary Record, 1914-56 (Princeton: D. Van Nostrand Co. Inc., 1956) pp. 7-12. See also Louis Fisher, The Soviets in World Affairs 1917-29 Vol. I (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1951) pp. 395-400.

³⁹Kapur, Soviet Russia and Asia p. 105. Fisher, The Soviets in World Affairs p. 399-400.

⁴⁰For details concerning the conduct of the war against the Greeks and the role of Soviet aid, see Karal, "Turkish Relations with Soviet Russia..." pp. 263-317 and Peter Kincaid Jensen, "The Greco-Turkish War, 1920-22," International Journal of Middle East Studies vol. 10 no. 4 (1979):553-565.

⁴¹Shapiro, Soviet Treaty Series, p. 100.

⁴²Ibid., p. 136.

⁴³Ibid., p. 313.

⁴⁴Bernard Lewis, The Emergence of Modern Turkey (London: Oxford University Press, 1961) p. 279. Though it is difficult to identify the donkey or the cart in this case, it is worth mentioning that the degeneration of relations between Ankara and Moscow coincided with Turkey's decision to Romanize Turkish. Perhaps there was a fear in the USSR that this new policy was not only intended to promote literacy, secularism and nationalism, but contact with Azerbaijan. Soviet Muslim émigrés which harshly denounced the planned or implemented introduction of the latin script in Azerbaijan (see Yeni Kafkasya no. 20 1923 and Azeri Türk no. 18 1928) certainly considered Ankara's move a harbinger of greater things to come (Odlu Yurt no. 1 (1929). According to the latter, from Turkey would radiate to Azerbaijan impulses 'against communism, sovietism, occupation and dictatorship and in favor of Pan-Turkism, nationalism, freedom, independence and democracy.' Bakinskiy Rabochiy (1 January 1929) on the other hand viewed the adoption of the latin script as hastily conceived and implemented. Furthermore, though the 'Kemalists' Pan-Turkist commands' would in the future be appearing in the Latin script they would not be welcomed by the proletariat classes. At this juncture in time Soviet Muslim émigré publishing in Turkey peaked with five serials appearing simultaneously. Meanwhile, Hamdullah Suphi, head of the Turkish Hearths was busily taking to task the Soviet government for its policies in Turkistan, although the Hearth's organ Türk Yurdu had been on the retreat since 1927. (İkdam 7 July 1929).

⁴⁵Lewis, Emergence p. 279.

⁴⁶Ibid. p. 280.

⁴⁷Ibid.

⁴⁸Treaty of Mutual Assistance: Britain, France and Turkey (19 October 1939). Hurewitz, Diplomacy p. 226.

⁴⁹Article VIII of the March 16 Treaty of Friendship signed in Moscow and ratified on September 13, 1921 in Kars stated: "The contracting parties undertake not to tolerate in their respective territories the formation and stay of organizations or associations claiming to be the government of the other country or of a part of territory and organizations whose aim is to wage warfare against the other state. Russia and Turkey mutually accept the same obligation with regard to the Soviet Republics of the Caucasus." Shapiro, Soviet Treaty Series p. 101. A standard formulation enshrining non-interference in the internal affairs of the contracting parties, and recognizing the Soviet position in the Caucasus, Article VIII appears to have been largely adhered to as Turko-Soviet relations improved with time.

⁵⁰Lewis, Emergence p. 278.

⁵¹The most renowned individuals, treated by Zenkovsky, are Ahmet Ağaçolu, Ali Hüseyinzade, and Yusuf Akçura. However, members of the government of the Mountaineers' Republic as well as the Republic of Azerbaijan had long-standing connections with the CUP, often through key émigré figures or émigré groups that were established in Turkey. Strong ties to the nationalist and Pan-Turkists of the Crimea and Volga also existed. The connection to Turkistan appears to have been weaker, probably due to geography and the strength of traditionalist elements there.

⁵²An early treatment of this important subject is A. A. Cruickshank, "The Young Turk Challenge in Postwar Turkey," Middle East Journal vol. 22 no. 1 (1968): 17-28. Erik Jan Zürcher, The Unionist Factor (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1984) is the most comprehensive and scholarly examination of the role of the CUP in the period prior to 1926. The conclusions reached by the author were considered to be sufficiently damaging to the official view propagated in Turkey about the role of Mustafa Kemal and his political opposition that the book was reportedly banned.

⁵³In particular, Ali Fuat Cebesoy, Kazim Karabekir, Bekir Sami (Circassian), İsmail Canbolat (Circassian), Rauf Orbay (Circassian), and Ali Hüseyinzade (Azeri).

⁵⁴A series of articles penned by Professor Muhittin Birgen in Son Posta served as a foil for Resulzade to express his views on Turkey's role in destabilizing the Republic of Azerbaijan. Resulzade considered Birgen's recounting of events in the Caucasus, which were both critique and apologia, to be one of the most important things published about Azerbaijan in decades. If one views the fire wall between the Young Turks (whose policies are harshly censored) and the nationalists as artificial, the import of the criticism is considerable. See "Kıymetli Nesriyat," Kurtulus (Berlin) no. 33-34 (1937): 885-888 and "Muhittin Birgen'e göre Azerbaycan-Türkiye munasebeti," Kurtulus no. 36 (1937): 945-949. As for Birgen, he was the editor of the İttihadist organ, Tanin. He later served as the General Director of the Turkish press briefly in 1920/21 (a position held before him by Hamdullah Suphi and afterwards by Ahmet Ağaoğlu) and apparently wrote for Hakimiyeti Milliye. From 1921 to 1923 he served as an advisor to the commissariat of education in Azerbaijan and was occupied with teaching in Baku. In 1934 he began to edit Son Posta and was elected to the Turkish Grand National Assembly. Server İskit, Türkiye'de Matbuat İdareleri ve Politikaları (Ankara: Başvekalet Basın ve Yayın Ummum Müdürlüğü Yayınlarından, 1943) pp. 229-230.

⁵⁵Private interviews. This is supported by many articles in the émigré press as well. See for example: Haidar Bammate, "Turkey and the Caucasus," The Caucasian Quarterly no. 1 (1937): 18-24 and V. Nuh-Oglu (pseudonym of Mirza Bala), "Türk Birliği," Kurtulus no. 53 (1939): 1452-1454.

⁵⁶Private interviews. Mirza Bala, "Azerbaycan muhacirlik matbuatının otuz yılığı (1923-53)," Birlesik Kafkasya (Munich) no. 9 (26) (1953) p. 8. According to one source, a secret addendum to the Friendship and Neutrality pact signed by Turkey and Soviet Russia (1925 renewed 1929) obliged Ankara to expell Resulzade and his associates from Turkey. Ahmet Karaca, "Azerbaycan'ın Yakın Tarihine Kisa Bir Bakış," Azerbaycan no. 241 (1982) p. 41. In the 10 January 1932 edition of the newspaper İstiklal (Berlin), entitled "Kısılmayan Bir Ses," Resulzade directly states that all émigré nationalist serials were closed upon the orders of the Turkish government.

⁵⁷Comments of Professor T. Swietochowski.

⁵⁸A. J. Toynbee and Kenneth Kirkwood, Turkey (London: Ernest Benn Limited, 1926) pp. 199-90.

⁵⁹Private interviews. See also: Reza Oguz Türkan, "The Turkish Press," Middle Eastern Affairs vol. 1 no. 5 (1960) pp. 143-144. The same cadre successively issued Yeni Kafkasya, Azeri Türk, and Odlu Yurt and Bilidiris in the years 1923-31.

⁶⁰Server İskit, Türkiye'de Matbuat Rejimleri (Istanbul: Ulku Matbaasi, 1939) pp. 155-176. See also E. Güresin, Türkiye'de Basın Problemleri (Istanbul: Milli Güvenlik Akademisi Arşiv No. 4052-A/66, 1967) p. 19.

⁶¹Johannes Benzing, "Berliner politische Veröffentlichungen der Turken aus der Sowjetunion," Die Welt des Islams Band 18 (1936) p. 129. The exception to this rule was the scholarly and cultural journal issued by Ahmet Caferoğlu, Azerbaycan Yurt Bilgisi (1932-34). Even this was more than the system could accept.

⁶²İskit, Türkiye'de Matbuat Rejimleri p. 158.

⁶³G. Jaschke, "Der Turanismus und die Kemalistische Türkei," In R. Hartmann, ed., Beiträge zur Arabistik, Semitistik und Islamwissenschaft (Leipzig: Otto Harrasowitz, 1944) p. 476.

⁶⁴The Serbest Fırkası (Free Party) existed from 12 August to 17 November 1930. Lewis, Emergence pp. 274-275. Walter F. Weiker, Political Tutelage and Democracy in Turkey (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1973) pp. 278-283.

⁶⁵After J. Pilsudski came to power in Poland in 1926, Warsaw was the principal supporter of nationalist and separatist émigré groups, both Muslim and non-Muslim. The publications of the former groups, in Istanbul and later Berlin or Warsaw followed the same physical format, ideological orientation, and in the 1930's, in several cases, utilized the the same type-set, it would appear. Aside from Poland, Germany, Italy, and Japan were also involved in directly supporting various Soviet Muslim émigré groups during and prior to WWII, it seems. Subsequently, this role was played by Britain, the US, Germany, and to a limited extent, Turkey.

⁶⁶Such sympathy would have come naturally to an informed Caucasian Turk. One of the founders of the Free Party was Ahmet Ağaoglu, an Azeri born in Susa (Karabağ). He was a greatly renowned Pan-Turkist ideologue long associated with the CUP, was one of the two political advisors to the Ottoman forces which liberated Azerbaijan and Dagistan before being captured en route to the Paris Peace conference as a representative for the Republic of Azerbaijan by the the British. After being interned on Malta he remained in Turkey despite Neriman Narimanov's invitation to return and help build Soviet Azerbaijan. Though the evidence is circumstantial, the only Soviet Muslim émigré newspaper to appear in Turkey, Bildirış, surfaced a week before the Free Party came into being and was sympathetic to it.

⁶⁷On the conversion of the Hearths to Peoples Houses see: Kemal Karpas, "The People's Houses in Turkey," Middle East Journal vol. 17 no. 1 (1963): 55-67 and by the same author, "The Impact of the People's Houses on the Development of Communications in Turkey, 1931-1951," Die Welt des Islams (New Series) Band 15, 1-4 (1974): 69-84. On Suphi's appointment see Iskit, Türkiye'de Matbuat Idareleri p. 220 and Jäschke, "Turanismus," p. 474.

⁶⁸Karpas, "The Peoples Houses," pp. 57-58.

⁶⁹Private interviews. See also: Vasfi Gûsar, "Kulakta kalan kupe," Kamçı no. 3 (1970) pp. 3-4; V. Gûsar, "Çerkes Teavun Cemiyeti," Kafkasya Kültürel Dergi no. 47 (1975); V. Gûsar, "İstanbul Çerkes Kadınları Teavun Cemiyeti," Kafkasya Kültürel Dergi no. 48 (1975): 21-26. In regard to the uprooting of the North Caucasian villagers, see the reprint of the 1923 work of Mehmed Fetgeray Soenu, Çerkes Sorunu Hakkında Türk Kamuoyu ve T.B.M.M.'ne Sunu (Ankara: Nartların Sesi Yayını, 1980)

⁷⁰Private interview with participant. Approximately sixty or seventy students were involved in this organization, originally headed by Mehmet Sadık Aran (aka Sa'an Azer), a Pan-Turkist and opponent of Mehemed Emin Resulzade. The association is also known as Azerbaycan Türk Gençler Birliđi. On the wresting of this organization away from Aran, see Odlu Yurt no. 4 (1929) pp. 167-168. Although the organization itself was very weak, it should be appreciated that part of the Turkish nationalist elite has always been

very sympathetic to such groups. Hence, when the Azeri banquet of 19 February 1933 was held, guests included the Istanbul president of the PRP, Cevdet Kerim, the former commander of the Army of Islam, Nuri Pasha, the representatives of Bolu and Afyon provinces, Cevat Abbas and Ali Kiliç, Professor Fuat Köprülü, and Ahmet Ağaoğlu. Azerbaycan Yurt Bilgisi no. 14 (1933) p. 96

⁷¹Private interview with participant. The exact date of its closure is impossible to place at this time. Reference to a major function of this group can be found in Azerbaycan Yurt Bilgisi no. 23 (1933) p. 421. The president of this association was an important figure of his day, Muharrem Feyzi Togay (1874–1947), the chief writer on foreign policy questions for Cumhuriyet. According to family sources, Togay was the grandson of one Mehmet, a Kazan Tatar that emigrated to the Ottoman Empire where he served as Sultan Abdul Aziz's personal tailor prior to heading one of the Turkistan Tekkes in Istanbul. Mehmet married his daughter to the Khan of Khiva, Amanullah. The young Muharrem grew up in a rarified atmosphere, was sent to Russia for part of his education, and was involved in nationalist activities in the Volga before returning to Turkey. He was invited to take a ministerial post in the government in 1944 but declined. That same year he was arrested with other Turanists according to Weisband, Turkish Foreign Policy 1943–45 (Princeton University Press, 1973) p. 244 fn. 50. He was buried next to Marshall Feyzi Çakmak.

⁷²Private interviews. Supported by a series of light cultural brochures issued by TTGB which began to appear in 1941 under TKB. See for example, Dr. A. Zihni Soysal, "Hanlık Devrinde Kırım Türk Kültürü," (Istanbul: Türk Kültür Birliği Yayını, no. 8, 1941). This work originally appeared in Warsaw, where Soysal was educated.

⁷³The case involved F. Daryal, a pseudonym for Fuad Emircan, an Azeri connected to Haidar Bammate in the 1930's. Emircan later collaborated with the Germans and edited the Azeri legionaire's publication, Azerbaycan (1942–45). See: The Caucasian Quarterly (October–March 1938–1939) p. 87.

⁷⁴Ibid. p. 86–87. See Resmi Gazete September 24, 1938. The relevant passage, which was signed by Atatürk and the entire Council of Ministers according to Bammate, read: "It having been ascertained that an attempt is made to use our country as the base for a propaganda and for a revolutionary intelligence service directed against a friendly country and in favor and at the instigation of a third country, the Council of Ministers acting in response to proposals submitted by the Minister of the Interior has resolved to deprive the following persons of their Turkish citizenship and to expel them from this country" The individuals were: Alihan Kantemir, Mehmet Halil Gürgören, Mir Ali, Sefer Abbasoğlu, Mehmet Tugay, Osman Hoca, Abbas Kasimoğlu, and Osman Gube. According to Jäschke, İnönü declared in 1937 that 'we have radically done away with Pan-Islamism and Pan-Turkism in our politics.' "Turanismus," p. 476.

⁷⁵Rustow, "Djamiya," p. 430 and Siegbert J. Weinberger, "Political Upset in Turkey," Middle Eastern Affairs vol. 1 no. 5 (1950) p. 138.

⁷⁶Though co-opted, these émigrés always remained acutely sensitive to Turkic separatism and/or the Pan-Turkist cause. Occasionally, they moved back and forth from the active to the inactive according to circumstance. Some such notable figures include: Ahmet Ağaoğlu, Ali Hüseyinzade, Yusuf Akçura, Reşid Rahmeti Arat, Akdes Nimet Kurat, Abdülkadir İnan, Sadri Maksudi (Arsal), Abdullah Battal-Taymas, H. Kosay, Ahmet Caferoğlu, Ahmet Temir, Saadet Çagatay, Wassan Girey Cabagi, Abidin İtil, Zeki Velidi Togan, Muharrem Feyzi Togay, Fatih Emirhan, etc. These men commonly wrote under various pseudonyms, occasionally for the Pan-Turkist press and for émigré publications that appeared outside of Turkey. Arat had twelve such pseudonyms, Kosay two, İnan nine, Taymas three and Caferoglu four. İnan, Togan, Togay, Caferoglu, and Kurat were arrested in May of 1944. Weisband, Turkish Foreign Policy p. 244 fn. 50.

⁷⁷Private interviews. Specially prepared Promethean publications dispatched to Turkey were numerous. North Caucasians had at least eight, the Azeri five. The circulation of foreign emigrant publications in Turkey was prohibited in October of 1934. See Jäschke, "Turanismus," p. 472.

⁷⁸Jäschke, "Turanismus," p. 481.

⁷⁹Türkkan, "The Turkish Press," p. 145.

⁸⁰İskit, Türkiye'de Matbuat İdareleri, p. 220.

⁸¹Private interview. See also: Henderson, "The Pan-Turanian Myth in Turkey Today," Asiatic Review XLI (1945) p. 91 and Landau, Pan-Turkism pp. 91-92 and Jäschke, "Turanismus," passim.

⁸²Henderson, "The Pan-Turanian Myth," pp. 88-89 and Landau, Pan-Turkism pp. 108-115.

⁸³Henderson, "The Pan-Turanian Myth," p. 88.

⁸⁴Private interview.

⁸⁵Güresin, Türkiye'de Basın Problemleri pp. 19-20.

⁸⁶Background on TGMDF, which was headed by a Turkistani Pan-Turkist educated in Germany, is based on interviews. Göçten Konular I (Istanbul: TGMDF Yayınları, 1962) and S. Yucelden, "Türk Göçmen ve Mülteci Dernekleri Federasyonu ve Hurriyetini Kaybetmiş Türkler," Türk Kültürü no. 96 (1970): 820-822.

⁸⁷Multiple sources provided background on the genesis of TKAE. See also: Kerim K. Key, "The Publications and Activities of the Institute for the Study of Turkish Culture," Middle East Journal vol. 21 no. 1 (1967): 108-109; N. Hazar, "Türk Kültürünü Araştırma Enstitüsü," Mücahit no. 57/58 (1964): 2-5; 25 Yıl Türk Kültürünü Araştırma Enstitüsü (Ankara: Ayyıldız Matbaası, 1986); For an interview with TKAE's president in a Pan-Turkist publication connected to Crimean Tatars and Azeri Musavatists in Turkey, see Birlik no. 2 (1977): 130-136. At least fourteen of the forty five original TKAE members were Soviet Muslim émigrés. It is noteworthy that TKAE has been heavily involved in publishing pseudo-scholarly works that demonstrate that Kurds are in fact Turks. According to Andrews, (Ethnic Groups p.36) fifteen such titles appeared in the years 1982-84 alone.

⁸⁸Private interviews. Émigré publications did not directly endorse particular candidates. However, congratulatory telegrams sent to annual jamborees or congresses held by such group came either from the National Action Party or the Justice Party.

⁸⁹An fine treatment of the radical right in Turkey which details the party's success in attracting votes mainly in regions where different ethnic and religious sects dwelled, is Mehmet Ali Ağaoğulları, "The Ultrationalist Right," In Irvin C. Schick and Ertugrul Ahmet Tonak, ed., Turkey in Transition (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987) pp. 177-218.

APPENDIX 1-A

TATARS OF THE VOLGA-URAL IN THE REPUBLIC OF TURKEY

SUMMARY

COMMUNITY:

In two waves following the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-78 and again in 1901, some five thousand Tatars settled in the Ottoman Empire. In the Soviet period no large scale Tatar emigration to Turkey took place, although a handful of intellectuals of nationalist orientation did take refuge there. Following WWII, Tatar refugees which had spent the inter-war period in the Far East resettled in Turkey. Published data from 1972 suggests that less than half of the estimated 2,000 unassimilated Tatars in Turkey were born in Russia. Tatars in Turkey dwell mainly in Ankara, Istanbul, Eskişehir and İzmir.

ORGANIZATIONS AND PUBLICATIONS:

The first Tatar emigrant association surfaced in 1952 to aid refugees coming from the Far East. It almost immediately collapsed and was succeeded in 1954 with the İdil-Ural Türkleri Kültür ve Sosyal Yardım Derneği (Cultural and Social Aid Association of İdil-Ural Turks). It was also unable to firmly establish itself and issued only two numbers of a 'cultural' journal known as İdil-Ural (Volga-Ural) in 1955.

The product of one man's determination, Dr. Lebib Karan, was the Suyumbike Kültür Cemiyeti (Cultural Association of Suyumbike, 1957-64). Its "press" published several books of poetry that were penned by Karan.

In 1963 the Tukay Gençlik Kulübü (Tukay Youth Club) was created with the aim of bringing Tatar youth together and promoting Tatar culture. Membership was closed to those over forty years of age. They published the Tukay Bulteni (Tukay Bulletin), an irregular mimeographed monthly which appeared from 1965-68.

This club widened its activities and changed its name to the Kazan Türkleri Kültür ve Yardımlaşma Derneği (Cultural and Aid Association of the Kazan Turks). A branch existed in Ankara and Istanbul. This group issued a rather high quality quarterly journal entitled Kazan in the years 1970-79 (see Appendix 1-B below).

In 1988 the Ayaz-Tahir Türkistan İdil-Ural Vakfı (Ayaz-Tahir Turkistan Volga-Ural Foundation) was established in Ankara. Otherwise inactive, according to one source the foundation is involved in a legal dispute over the property, including personal correspondence, of Saadet and Tahir Çagatay.

CURRENT STATUS OF PUBLICATION OUTLET:

Non-existent.

NOTE: In the Ottoman period circa three Tatar émigré publications appeared in Istanbul while sixteen such journals appeared outside of Turkey in the years 1927-57.

APPENDIX 1-B

SERIALS

IDİL-URAL [Volga-Ural, 1955]

According to émigré sources, two issues of this cultural magazine were published in Istanbul in 1955 as the organ of the equally ephemeral İdil-Ural Türkleri Kültür ve Sosyal Yardım Derneği. A forty seven page pamphlet devoted to the passing of Ishaki was published as a special addition to İdil-Ural's first number. It included a list of Ishaki's publications, his biography and recollections of his struggle against Bolshevism as written by other figures involved in the Prometheus League. Unavailable in the US, both İdil-Ural and the accompanying pamphlet are inconsequential.

TUKAY BÜLTENİ [Tukay Bulletin, 1965-1968]

Reportedly, twenty four issues of this irregular mimeographed bulletin named after the Tatar national poet, Abdullah Tukay (1886-1913), appeared in the period March 1965 and September 1968 in Istanbul. This was a university student endeavor. The principals involved, Ferit Agi, Nadir Devlet, and M. Ali Okay established the Tukay Gençlik Kulübü (Tukay Youth Club) in 1963. Their bulletin was both a 'feet wetting' experience and an attempt at promoting Tatar culture. Its successor, described below, was more substantial than TB. Unavailable.

KAZAN [1970-1979]

Kazan was the finest "Soviet Muslim émigré" publication to appear in Turkey after WWII. Beginning with its first issue in September of 1970, the masthead of this Istanbul quarterly noted that it was a 'magazine of literature, ideas and culture.' Published as the organ of the Kazan Türkleri Kültür ve Yardımlaşma Derneği (Cultural and Aid Association of the Kazan Turks est. 1969), it was the successor to the Tukay Youth Club's ephemeral Tukay Bülteni (1965-68) mentioned above. Subsidized by the wealthy Tatar businessmen Ahmet Veli Menger, himself an émigré who grew up in the Far East, Kazan ceased publication shortly after his death in November of 1978.

The regularity, moderation and often semi-scholarly quality of Kazan was a direct outgrowth of the educational level of the cadre behind it. Two generations, both unusually knowledgeable and experienced, contributed to Kazan. Notable among them were Ahmet Temir, Mahnut Tahir, Nadir Devlet, Ferit Agi, Ahmet Veli Menger, Emrullah Agi, Naile Binark, Hasan Agay, and Saide Arslanbek.

Kazan featured articles about Tatar history and culture, various aspects of the Tatar émigré experience in Finland, the Far East, Germany and Turkey, Tatar publishing activities, descriptions of great Jadidists and Tatar national heroes. Occasionally, stories and poetry as well as rather useful necrologies or biographies appeared in Kazan. It did not monitor or critique developments in the Tatar ASSR, however. Kazan largely avoided the intemperance and superficiality characteristic of other émigré serials which appeared in Turkey after WWII. It abjured shrill nationalism and virulent anti-communist or Pan-Turkist rhetoric. Indexed and hence more accessible than most other publications of its sort, Kazan remains useful although it is not presently available in the US.

APPENDIX 1-C

BOOKS, ARTICLES AND PAMPHLETS

Akchura, Yusuf. (Akçura). L'Etat actuel et les aspirations des turco-tatares musulmans en Russie. Lausanne, 1916.

Likely prepared for distribution at Third Nationalities Conference, held in Lausanne 27 June 1916.

Yusuf Akçura Sempozyumu Tebliğleri [Papers Delivered at Yusuf Akçura Symposium]. Ankara: TKAE Yayınları: 69, 1987. 112 pp.

Akış, Ali. İdil-Ural Davası ve Sovyet Emperyalizmi [Volga-Ural Cause and Soviet Imperialism]. Ankara: 1963. 59 pp.

Informational booklet for popular consumption. Penned by assistant to Ishaki in Poland (1938), longtime RL employee currently serving as of President World League of Tatars, an émigré extension of Tatar National Democratic Movement in Kazan. Reportedly, the former Chairman of Supreme Soviet of Tatar ASSR, Salih Batiyev, denounced this work in a 1977 book published in Kazan.

_____. İdil-Ural Hürriyet Mücadelesi [Volga-Ural Freedom Struggle]. Istanbul: Yeni Asya Yayınları: 1985, 62 pp.

Largely identical to above. Useful for introduction to key historical figures, émigré struggle in inter-war period.

Aynelhayat. Kızıl Rusya'da Bir Türk Kadını [A Turkish Woman in Red Russia]. Istanbul: Nebioğlu Yayınevi, (undated). 236 pp.

Baykara, Tuncer. Zeki Velidi Togan. Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları: 1042, 1989. 229 pp.

Useful. Prepared for popular consumption. Contains extensive bibliography as well as biographical information. Briefly treats reasons for Togan's departure from Turkey in 1932, his arrest and trial in 1944.

Bigi, Musa Carullah. Uzun Günlerde Oruç: İctihad Kitabı [Fasting During Long Days: An İctihad Book]. Translated by Yusuf Uralgiray. Ankara: Kazan Türkleri Kültür ve Yardımlaşma Derneği, 1975. 243 pp.

Reprint of Uzun Günlerde Ruye (Kazan, 1911), rendered into Modern Turkish. For a review of this book, see Azade-Ayşe Rorlich in Nationalities Papers vol. X no. 1 (Spring, 1982): 79-80. For biographical data on this important reformist Tatar theologian (d. 1949) see N. Binark and A. Taymas below.

Binark, Naile. "Ayaz İshaki-İdili" [bio-bibliographic data]. Kazan no. 12 (1979): 8-28.

_____. "Musa Carullah Bigi (1875-1949)." [bio-bibliographic data]. Kazan no. 16 (1975): 27-29.

Çagatay, Saadet. "Abdülkayyum Nasiri." DTCE Dergisi X-3-4 (1952).

Treatment of prominent Tatar Jadidist by daughter of Ayaz İshaki.

_____. "Babam Ayaz İshaki'nin Son Günleri" [Last Days of My Father, A. İshaki]. Azerbaycan no. 4-5-6 (1964): 19-24.

_____. "Üye No. 55. Ord. Prof. Reşid Rahmeti Arat" [bio-bibliographic data]. In Türk Tarihi Kurumu, Ankara: TTK Basımevi: no. 48, 1983. pp. 653-665.

Senior scholar and émigré figure in Turkey, Arat was the first director of Türk Kültürünü Araştırma Enstitüsü having earlier been involved in Tatar nationalist publishing in the Far East. In Turkey he signed his work variously as: A. Davut, A. R., Dr. R. A. K., M. F., M. H., MHF, Ş. Y., TK, Ali, Ali Biktimir, Kazanlı (also utilized by Taymas) and Şakır Yusuf.

_____. "Prof. Dr. Akdes Nimet Kurat (1903-1971)" [necrology] Azerbaycan no. 205 (1972): 67-69

Davut, A. (pseudonym of Reşid Rahmeti Arat). "Seli-Ahmed Kardeşler" [biographical data on İnayettullah and Keşşaf Seli-Ahmed]. Türk Kültürü no. 5 (1963): 46-49.

Devlet, Nadir. "Türkiye'de Kazanlılar" [Kazan (Tatars) in Turkey]. Kazan no. 15 (1979): 29-35.

Brief but useful sociological data.

_____. "Türkiye'de Kazan Türklerini Tanıtma Mes'elesi Ne Durumdadır?" [Where are we in the process of disseminating knowledge about the Kazan Turks in Turkey?]. Kazan no. 2 (1970): 1-8.

Largely a bibliography divided into five sections, complete works, biographies, miscellaneous articles, novels/poems and articles which appeared in Türk Kültürü.

_____. "Prof. Tamurbek Devletşin (1904-1984)" [necrology]. Türk Kültürü no. 250 (1984): 131-139.

Devletşin, Tamurbek. Sovyet Tataristan [Soviet Tataristan]. Ankara: Türk Kültür Bakanlığı, 1981.

Translated from the Russian. Treats early state formations of Tatar-Bashkirs, national awakening, struggle for independence, experience under Soviet rule. Considered authoritative, the author, (d. 1983) wrote for İdil-Ural (Berlin) and Azad Vatan (Munich), ISSU publications.

(author unknown). "Finlandya Türkleri" [Turks (Kazan Tatars) of Finland]. İdil-Ural no. 2 (1955): 23-24.

Güleçyüz, Hayrettin. "Anadolu'da Yaşayan Kazan Türklerinde Halk Edebiyatı" [Folk Literature of Kazan Turks Dwelling in Anatolia]. Atatürk Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi, Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Bölümü Bitirme Tezi, Erzurum. 1976.

Gülensoy, Tuncer. "Prof. Dr. Ahmet Temir'in Hayatı ve Eserleri" [Life and Works of Prof. Dr. Ahmet Temir]. Kayseri: Erciyes Derg. . Yayınları no. 1, 1983. pp. 1-16.

Useful. Temir (b. 1912), an internationally recognized Mongolist, was director of Türk Kültürünü Araştırma Enstitüsü (1962-1975).

Hatanu. Asya Tehlikede [Asia in Danger]. Translated by Abdüresid İbrahim and Mehmed Hilmi Nakara. Istanbul: Ahmed İhsan ve Şirekasi, 1328. 24 pp.

Hakimoğlu, Ayaz. Tatar-Baskurd Liberal Demokrat Hareketinin Tüzüğü ve Programı [By-Laws and Program of the Tatar-Bashkir Liberal Democratic Movement]. Munich, 1970.

İnalçık, H. "Sadri Maksudi Arsal (1888-1958)" [bio-bibliographic data]. Türk Kültürü no. 5 (1963): 49-52.

İnan. Abdülkadir. Günes-Dil Teorisi Üzerine Ders Notları [Lecture Notes on Sun-Language Theory]. Istanbul: Devlet Basımevi, 1936. 81 pp.

_____. Makeleler ve İncelemeler [Articles and Studies]. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1968. 712 pp.

Compendium of İnan's scholarly output divided into sections treating Turkic peoples, epics, folklore, beliefs and faith, archeology, history etc. Titles appear in Turkish and German. Includes biographical information penned by Hikmet Tanyu. İnan, a senior academician in Turkey and close associate of Togan, used the pseudonyms: A. Başkurt, F. Süleyman, Abdülkadir, Çılıkbay, İdilöglü, Türkistanlı, Türkmen, and Ulukatayoğlu.

İshaki, Ayaz. İdil-Ural. Paris: (no publisher), 1933. 40 pp. Rare.

Pamphlet. Overview of people, history, economy, and geography of Volga-Ural. Includes a fold-out map showing no border with Turkistan, illustrative of view that İdil-Ural and Turkistan should form a confederation. Authored by preeminent Tatar figure involved in Promethean Movement, editor Yaña Milli Yol. See entries under N. Binark and S. Çagatay.

Muhammed Ayaz İshaki: Hayatı ve Faaliyeti [M. A. İshaki: His Life and Activity]. Ankara: Ayyıldız Matbaası, 1979. 351 pp.

Composed of more than two dozen articles about İshaki by prominent friends and associates. Contains excerpts from İshaki's writings and a bibliography of his extensive output. Issued in connection with centennial of İshaki's birth through the joint efforts of important émigré activists, Tahir Çagatay, Ali Akış, Saadet Çagatay, and Hasan Agay.

İslam Ansiklopedisi (1961) S. v. "Başkurt" [Bashkir]. by Zeki Velidi Togan. pp. 328-332.

_____. (1955) S. v. "Matbuat" [Press]. by Reşit Rahmeti Arat. pp. 7-14.

_____. (1970) "Tatarların Yayılışı" [Dispersion of the Tatars]. by Ahmet Temir. pp. 56-58.

Karan, A. Lebib. Şehabettin Mercani Turmusu Hem Eserleri. Süyümbike Kültür Cemiyeti Ceyimlerinden: no. 4, Tan Matbaası, 1960.

Kırımer, Cafer Seydahmet. "Kazan Edebiyatı ve Ayaz İshaki" [Kazan Literature and Ayaz İshaki]. İleri (Simali Kafkasya) no. 1 (1937): 3-6.

Koşay, Hamit Z. "Üye No. 2. Yusuf Akçura" [bio-bibliographic data]. In Türk Tarihi Kurumu, Ankara: TTK Basımevi, no. 48, 1983. pp. 224-233.

(author unknown). "Üye No. 5. Dr. Phil. Hamit Zübeyr Koşay" [bio-bibliographic data]. In Türk Tarihi Kurumu, Ankara: TTK Yayınevi, no. 48, 1983. pp. 255-263.

Koşay (b. 1897) was a senior academic and émigré figure in Turkey. He utilized the pseudonyms İdil Boyu and H. I.

Kurat, Akdes Nimet. "Rus Hakimiyeti Altında İdil-Ural Ülkesi" [Volga-Ural Country Under Russian Rule]. DTCF Dergisi XXIII-3-4 (1965): 91-126.

Characteristic of numerous historical and political studies undertaken by this important Tatar émigré scholar.

_____. "Kazan Türklerinin 'Medeni Uyanış' Devri" [Period of 'Cultural Awakening' of Kazan Turks]. DTCF Dergisi XXIV-3-4 (1966): 95-194.

_____. Türkiye ve İdil Boyu [Turkey and the Volga (Turk) Branch]. Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Basımevi, 1966. 205 pp.

(author unknown). "Professor Dr. Akdes Nimet Kurat (1903-1971)" [bio-bibliographic data]. Kazan no. 5 (1971): 27-32.

(author unknown). "Kurbanlı, Abdullah Muhammed." Kazan no. 9 (1972): 50-51.

Obituary of former Tatar Imam in Tokyo.

Minhaç. "Bibliyografya." Kazan no. 22 (1978): 55-56

Brief but useful list of Tatar periodicals issued in Germany. Author also wrote a book of poetry in Munich in 1956 entitled Sigbrlar Çıbnıbgı (?).

Öktem, Naim. "Die Einwanderun der turkestanischen und idil-uralischen Türken in die Türkei." Integration (Augsburg) no. 3 (1959): 208-214.

Poroy, Reha. "Üye No. 11. Ord. Prof. Sadri Maksudi Arsal (1880-1957)" [bio-bibliographic data]. In Türk Tarihi Kurumu, Ankara: TTK Basımevi, no. 48, 1983. pp. 302-307

Resid Rahmeti Arat İçin. [For Reşit Rahmeti Arat (Festschrift)]. Ankara: TKAÉ Yayınları, no. 19, 1963. 454 pp.

(author unknown). Rusya'yı Tanıyan Bir Zat Tarafından Rapor [Report by a Person that Knows Russia]. Istanbul: Dersaadet Matbaa-i Askeriye, 1333/1917. 59 pp.

Apparently provides information about Turkistan, İdil-Ural and Azerbaijan mainly from a military and political standpoint.

Sayılğan, Aclan. Mazlum Milletleri Kurtuluş Savaşları Karsında S.S.C.B ve Sultan Galiev [Sultan Galiev and Liberation Struggles of Oppressed Nations Against the USSR]. Ankara: Mars Matbaası, 1966. 73 pp.

Sultan, Garip. "İdil-Ural Türklerinin Durumu" [Situation of Volga-Ural Turks]. Emel no. 60 (1970): 23-38.

Author was longtime director of Tatar branch of RL.

Tahir, Mahmut. "Rusya Dışındaki Kazan Türkleri" [Kazan Turks Outside of Russia]. Kazan no. 2 (1970): 37-40; no. 3 (1970): 55-56; no. 4 (1970): 7-9.

_____ and Devlet, Nadir. "Türkiye'de Yaşayan Kazanlıların Sosyal Vaziyetlerine İstatistik Bir Bakış" [A Look at the Statistics Concerning the Social Situation of the Kazan (Tatars) Dwelling in Turkey]. Kazan no. 6 (1972): 4-7.

_____ "Mançurya Şhrinde Türk-Tatar Cemiyeti [Turko-Tatar Association in the City of Manchuria]. Kazan no. 6 (1972): 47-50.

_____ "Tokyo'da 'Matbaa-i İslamiye'" ['Islamic Press' of Tokyo]. Kazan no. 16 (1975): 15-20.

_____ "Hun Hil Di'de Türk-Tatar Cemiyeti" [Turko-Tatar Association in Hun Hil Di]. Kazan no. 22 (1978): 22-25.

Contains summary data on other Far Eastern Tatar communities as well.

_____ Garep Harfleri Bilen Basılan Tatar Nesriyatının Bibliyografyası [Bibliography of Arabic Script Tatar Language Publications]. Ankara: (unknown publisher). 1976. 320 pp.

Tamir, Ferhat. "Ayaz İshaki'nin 'Türk Dünyasında Ortak Yazı Dili' Konusu İnceleyen Bir Yazısı" [Critique of Ayaz İshaki's 'Shared Literary Language of the Turkic World']. Türk Kültürü no. 331 (1990): 656-671.

Tanyu, Hikmet. "Üye No. 56. Abdülkadir İnan" [bio-bibliographical data]. In Türk Tarihi Kurumu. Ankara: TTK Basımevi, no. 48, 1983. pp. 667-684.

Taymas, Abdullah Battal. Tatar Tarihi. Kazan Türkleri. Tarihi ve siyasi görüşler [Tatar History. The Kazan Turks. A Historical and political approach]. Istanbul: (publisher unknown), 1925. (Third Reprint. Ankara: TKAE Yayınları no. 81, 1988. 238 pp.)

From ancient Bulgars to Soviet period. Penned originally in old script Turkish in Finland. Author was prominent and prolific émigré scholar earlier involved in journalism and nationalist activities in Orenburg and Kazan. Also wrote under the pseudonyms Abdülbari, Kazanlı (also used by A. İnan) and Musa Abdullah.

_____ Türk-Tatar Tarihi. [Turko-Tatar History]. Mukden: (publisher unknown), 1938.

_____ Rus İhtilalinden Hatıralar. 1917-19 [Recollections from the Russian Revolution. 1917-1919]. Istanbul: Güven Basımevi, 1947. 216 pp.

_____. "Ayaz İshaki (1877-1954)." Türk Dili IV no. 37 (1954): 17-26.

_____. Rızaeddin Fahreddin. Istanbul: (publisher unknown), 1958.

Treatment of important disciple of reknowned Tatar Jadidist Mercani, who promoted a non-dogmatic approach to Islam as the key to the revival and strengthening of the Volga Tatars and Russia's Muslims more generally.

_____. Musa Carullah Bigi. Istanbul: M. Sıralar Matbaası, 1958. 61 pp.

Examination of life, thought and output of important Tatar reformist cleric who served as the secretary/stenographer for several major (Russian) Muslim congresses, and who died in emigration.

_____. Alicam Barudi. Istanbul: (unknown publisher), 1958. 77(?) pp.

Examination of progressive, liberal Tatar cleric and theologian who was elected "Free" Mufti at the All-Russian Muslim Congress of May 1917.

_____. İki Maksudiler [Two Maksudis (Sadri Maksudi Arsal)]. Istanbul: (publisher unknown), 1957.

(author unknown). "Abdullah Battal-Taymas (1883-1969)" [necrology] Türk Kültürü no. 79 (1969): 517-520.

Temir, Ahmet. Yusuf Akçura. Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları, no. 36, 1990(?). 103 pp.

Togan, Zeki Velidi. "Türkistan ve İdil-Ural Havzasının Medeni Münasebetleri Tarihi" [History of Cultural Relations between Regions of Turkistan and İdil-Ural]. Istanbul: (unknown publisher), 1927. 8 pp.

_____. Hatıralar [Recollections]. Istanbul: Tan Matbaası, 1969. 643 pp.

Classic. Details author's youth, cultural and educational background, scholarly work 1908-16, political life, 1917 revolution, collaboration with Bolsheviks, struggle in Turkistan, travel before reaching Turkey etc. According to émigré sources, an unpublished edition of Togan's memoirs, said to contain presently impolitic revelations, is extant. See also Vâlidî.

_____. Türklüğün Mukadderatı Üzerine [On the Fate of Turkdöm]. Istanbul: Kayı Yayınevi. 1970, 240 pp.

Anthology. Presents nineteen articles from the Turkish press by Togan on subjects of history, Pan-Turkism, Turkistan and Communism etc.

Togay, Muharrem Fevzi. "Müverrih Şehabettin Mercani." Türk Amacı no. 8 (1943): 343-348.

Brief examination of early Tatar Jadidist. Author was president of Turan Association of 1930's, important editorial writer on foreign policy questions for Cumhuriyet, second generation Tatar immigrant.

_____. Turanî Kavimler ve Siyasi Tarihlerinin Esas Hatları [Turanian Peoples and the Fundamental Character of their Political History]. Istanbul: Osmanbey Matbaası, Türkistan Türk Gençler Birliđi Yayını, 1936(?).

_____. Türk Kültürünün Tarihi Seyri [Historical Achievments of Turkish Culture]. Istanbul: Matbaai Ebüzziya, 1941. 14 pp.

_____. Yusuf Akcura Hayatı ve Eserleri [Life and Works of Yusuf Akchural]. Istanbul: (publisher unknown), 1944. 141 pp.

Vâlidî, Mehmet Zeki. On Yedi Kumaltı Şehri ve Sadri Maksudi Bey [Seventeen Cities Under Sand and Sadri Maksudi Bey]. Istanbul: Türkistan Bilik no. 3, Burhaneddin Matbaası, 1934.

(author unknnonwn). Yayınlanmış ve Yayınlanmamış Eserlerinin Listesi [List of (Togan's) Published and Unpublished Works]. Istanbul: "Zeki Velidi Togan'a Armağan" dar Ayrıbasım, 1955. 17 pp.

APPENDIX 1-D

GENERAL REFERENCE

- Bennigsen, A. and Lemerrier-Quellejay. Ch. Les mouvements nationaux chez les musulmans de Russie. Le "sultangalievisme" au tatarstan. Paris, 1960.
- Blank, Stephen. "The Struggle for Soviet Bashkiria." Nationalities Papers vol. XI no.1 (1983): 1-26.
- Burbiel, Gustav. "The Tatars and the Tatar ASSR." In Handbook of Major Soviet edited by Z. Katz. New York: Free Press, 1975.
- Central Asian Survey vol. 9 (1990): Special Idel-Ural Issue
- Encyclopedia of Asian History (1988) S. v. "Tatars." by Ayşe-Azade Rorlich.
- Encyclopedia of Islam (1960) S. v. "Bulghār." by I. Hrbek.
- _____. (1978) S. v. "Kāzān." by W. Barthold and A. Bennigsen.
- Halen, Harry. Hanbook of Oriental Collections in Finland. Helsinki: Scandanavian Institute of Asian Studies, Monograph Series no. 31, 1978.
- _____. A Bibliographical Survey of the Publishing Activities of the Turkic Minority in Finland. Helsinki: (publisher unknown), 1979.
- Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups (1980) S. v. "Tatars." by Alexandre Bennigsen.
- Kappler, Andreas. Russland Erste Nationalitäten: Das Zarenreich und die Völker der Mittleren Wolga vom 16 bis 19 Jahrhundert. Vienna, 1982.
- Lazzerini, E. J. "Ethnicity and the Uses of History: The Case of the Volga Tatars." Central Asian Survey (November 1982): 61-69.
- Mende, Gerhard Von. "Yusuf Akchura bin Vorkamper des Turkismus." Osteuropa (1934-1935): 564-568.
- Mironenko, Y. "İdil-Ural Topraklarında Nüfus Hareketi" [Population Movement in the Lands of the Volga-Ural]. Türk Dünyası no. 8 (1968): 26-36.
- Pelenski, Jaroslaw. Russia and Kazan. Conquest and Imperial Ideology (1438-1560s). The Hague, 1974.
- Rorlich, Ayşe-Azade. The Volga Tatars. A Profile in National Resilience. Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1986.
- Saitoh, Abdul Karim. "The Historical Journey of Islam Eastward and the Muslim Community of Japan Today." Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs vol. 1 no. 1 (1978): 117-126.
- Spuler, B. Die Lager rußland-türkischen Emigration in Fernen Osten." Osteuropa Bd. 12 (1936/37): 541-544.

_____. "Wolga-Tataren und Baschkiren unter russischer Herrschaft."
Islam Bd. XXIX (1950): 142-216.

Thomas, David. "Yusuf Akçura and the Intellectual Origins of "Üç Tarz-ı
Siyaset." Journal of Turkish Studies vol 12 (1978): 127-140.

Zenkovsky, Serge. "A Century of Tatar Revival." American Slavic and East
European Review 12 (1953): 303-318.

APPENDIX 2-A

CRIMEAN TATARS IN THE REPUBLIC OF TURKEY

SUMMARY

COMMUNITY:

Both prior to and immediately following the 1783 annexation of the Crimea by Russia, Crimean Tatars moved in successive refugee waves to Ottoman lands. Much of this population was settled in Rumelia, mainly the Dobrudja (historically the site of large Tatar community), for defensive purposes. Following the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-78 they were forced to re-emigrate to Anatolia. There they remained sometimes in relatively isolated villages.

According to one individual, Turkey accommodated eight thousand Crimean Tatars from German refugee camps after WWII. Allegedly they were settled in Turkey's eastern provinces. Though the veracity of this cannot be ascertained at present, some such movement to Turkey probably did occur as a segment of the US Crimean Tatar community settled briefly in Turkey before emigrating to the Tri-State area.

Activists claim over five million Turks are of Tatar descent. Although time and intermarriage have largely resulted in the assimilation of the Crimean Tatars of Turkey, Tatar villages are still to be found in the provinces of Eskisehir and to a lesser extent, Ankara and Adana.

ORGANIZATIONS AND PUBLICATIONS:

Interaction between Ottoman and Crimean nationalist intellectuals, and support of the latter by the former occurred in the period of Young Turk rule. At this time Crimean Tatars established the Kırım Talebe Cemiyeti (Crimean Students Association) in Istanbul and the Kırım Hayırlı Cemiyeti (Crimean Aid Association) in Eskisehir. During 1918 the Istanbul bi-monthly Kırım (Crimea) appeared in support of the German and Ottoman-backed attempt of native nationalists to bring the region under Crimean control.

A separate Tatar emigrant organization or publication does not appear to have surfaced in Turkey during the period 1919-1951, although some renowned Tatar activists were present in the country.

In the Republican period the first association appeared in Istanbul in 1952, known as the Kırım Türk Kültür Derneği (Crimean Turk Culture Association). One of the founders of this ephemeral organization was related to the renowned educational reformer and Crimean Tatar, İsmail Gaspıralı.

In 1954 a larger organization, known as the Kırım Türkleri Yardımlaşma Cemiyeti (KTYC—Aid Society of Crimean Turks) was founded in Istanbul. The second group had among its founders several figures connected to the Prometheus movement in Poland and its Constanza, Romania based publication Emel (Aspiration). This group, which continues to dominate Crimean Tatar activities in Turkey today, began to re-issue Emel in 1960.

A handful of "new" émigrés in Ankara that rejected the Romanian Tatar leader of the Istanbul KTYC formed a third group which issued Kırım (Crimea) in 1957. Though it reappeared briefly again in 1960, death and re-emigration brought a quick end to the activities of this tiny opposition group.

At present, the central association of Crimean Tatars in Turkey can be found in Ankara. It is headed by a former Minister of Culture who was long connected to the Democratic and Justice Parties. Other associations are operating in Istanbul, Bursa, Eskişehir, Konya and İsmiit. The foundation for this organization has offices in Istanbul and Ankara. Ostensibly, it is this foundation which owns the journal Emel.

CURRENT STATUS OF PUBLICATION OUTLET:

Emel is the longest running publication of its sort. Published in Ankara every other month, it appears today in a revitalized form with more of a "Tatar" character than it demonstrated in the past. The circulation of Emel is presently the same as it was in the 1930s—two thousand.

The long history (see Appendix 2-B) of this publication gives it a unique prestige among émigrés and Pan-Turkists generally. It staunchly supports the right of return of the Crimean Tatars from Central Asia, although there is no discussion of repatriation, as in the case of some North Caucasian in Turkey.

Developments among other groups active in Turkey can be reconstructed to some degree using Emel as it appeared over an extended period of time and was traditionally a shared forum. This quality has diminished with time however.

Today, the activists involved with Emel, the Ankara association and its vakıf have established strong ties with Tatars in the USSR. It is not uncommon to learn that a large delegation of Crimean Tatars from Uzbekistan is being feted in Ankara. Members of the association are traveling to the Crimea and Central Asia as well. With this connection and a longstanding commitment to the cause of a "free Crimea for Crimeans" Emel warrants monitoring.

Inquiries regarding Emel may be directed to:

8 Cad. 77 Sok. 17/1
06510 Emek-Ankara
Tel. 222-4880

NOTE: Romanian and Polish Tatars were quite involved in the national movement of Crimean Tatars in emigration. Any attempt to understand the movement's history without reference to the interaction between Tatars in Romania, Poland and Turkey during the period 1918-40 would be virutally impossible.

APPENDIX 2-B

SERIALS

KIRIM [The Crimea, 1918]

According to émigré sources, this journal was published in Istanbul by the Crimean emigrant and book-dealer, Süleyman Sudi on a bi-monthly basis in old script Turkish beginning in May of 1918. When it was suspended in 1918 is presently unknown. Kırım is said to have supported the idea of free Crimea and was probably connected to the activists involved in the Crimean Students Association (Kırım Talebe Cemiyeti) which was founded in Istanbul in 1908.

Contributors to Kırım included Fahrettin Tonguç, Mehmet Niyazi, Ömer Seyfettin, Yusuf Vezirov, O. K. Hatif, Şevki Bektöre and others. It featured articles such as: Who is dividing greater Turckdom?, information about Crimean youth, Cafer Seyitahmet, Çelebi Cihan, and the Tatar people, the importance of popular literature, the constitution approved by the Kurultay, Tatars of the Danube, the right of Crimean Turks to independence, Muslims of Dobrudja etc. Apparently it appeared with numerous photographs and a substantial amount of nationalist poetry. Considered very important and rare in émigré circles. Unavailable.

KIRIM [The Crimea, 1957-58 + 1960]

Appearing under Gaspıralı's slogan 'Unity in Language, Thought and Action,' this short-lived thirty-two page monthly published in Ankara was the product of Mehmet Sevdıyar, Cafer Ortalan, Mustafa Çorbacı and Sermet Arısoy. Financed by Ortalan, the principal pen behind this publication was Sevdıyar, formerly a writer for Azat Kırım, a Tatar nationalist organ appearing in the Crimea during the German occupation of the region. One thousand copies of each issue were published and there were sixty two subscribers. According to Sevdıyar himself, it was neither popular nor influential.

The principals behind Kırım were more committed to Tatarism than (Pan) Turkism although they employed the term Crimean Turks, reportedly following a direct warning on this subject by a member of Turkey's security service (MIT). The content of the publication was not significant, tending toward the hagiographic and featuring short essays about Crimean Turk literature, history, poetry and some recollections of the homeland.

As far as émigré politics are concerned, Kırım is of some interest, however. The Kırım group recognized the leadership of C. S. Kırimer but rejected his successor, Müstecib Ülküsal. Instead, they touted Şevki Bektöre, who arrived in Turkey in 1957 following some twenty five years of imprisonment in the USSR. It was the reappearance of Emel, edited by Ülküsal in 1960 that prompted Kırım's brief reappearance that same year. Due to death and reemigration on the part of those issuing Kırım, it disappeared in July 1961. Unavailable.

EMEL [Aspiration, 1930-40 + 1960-Present]

Under the editorial direction of M. Hacı Fazıl (Müstecib Ülküsal), Emel initially began to appear in Pazardjik, Romania on January 1, 1930 in old script Turkish. Shortly thereafter its offices were transferred to Konstanza.

In its first two years Emel appeared as sixteen page bi-monthly. Thereafter, each copy ran forty pages in length and beginning January 1939 (no. 140) Emel was published in Turkish with Latin script. By this time Emel's masthead indicated that it was a 'monthly

literary, social, economic and political magazine.' Before its suspension in October 1940, reportedly due to Germany's influence in Romania and the Nazi-Soviet pact, one hundred and fifty four numbers had appeared. According to some sources the type-set used to publish Emel was later transferred to the Crimea in order to to publish Azat Kırım.

Emel was Pan-Turkist in orientation, rather than Tatarist. Nevertheless, it described itself as the organ of the Crimean national independence movement and aimed at bringing the Crimea under the rule of Crimean Turks. It was committed to the struggle of all non-Russian peoples for their independence, as articulated in various Promethean publications, of which Emel was one. Emel's readership extended beyond Romania to Turkey, at least until 1934 when this and other emigrant publications were prohibited from circulating there. After that date it circulated semi-clandestinely in Turkey it would appear.

The most important contributor to Emel was Cafer Seyitahmet (Kırimer), formerly defense and foreign minister for the Crimean Directorate. Emel contains important source material for historians on events in the Crimea in the years 1917-40, the national liberation movement of Crimean Tatars, essays about the history and culture of the region, along with the memoirs of Kırimer. Various books of poetry, treatments of Tatar traditions, or matters of historical interest were issued as separate 'Emel' publications, both in Romania and subsequently in Turkey.

After a twenty year hiatus, Emel began to reappear in Istanbul in November of 1960 as a 'cultural magazine appearing every two months.' The journal was owned by the accountant Ismail Otar, brother of İbrahim Otar, a member of Kırimer's Warsaw-based entourage. Emel's editorials were written by Müstecib Ülküsal. These frequently focused on some international conference, or contemporary political development, and was interpreted in light of the 'captive nations' of the USSR, and China, or the cause of the Crimean Turks. Proudly nationalistic and staunchly anti-communist, such essays lambasted the Soviets in no uncertain terms, proclaiming the need for democracy and human rights in the USSR, freedom of conscience etc. Prominent contributors to Emel included N. Ağat, A. Soysal, E. Kırimal, S. Taygan, and I. Otar. As Emel constituted a shared forum, numerous activists from the Idil-Ural, Turkistani, and Azerbaijani émigré circles contributed to Emel as well.

The quality of the new Emel was not equal to its predecessor, probably due to political conditions in Turkey, the difficulty of émigré life, the movement's eclipse after WWII and the loss of Kırimer (d. 1960). While Emel remained Turkist in orientation, it explicitly stated that it favored cultural Pan-Turkism, as opposed to any more utopian plans of a greater Turkish state including the Crimea. Emel again featured the memoirs of Kırimer (no. 2-38 passim) historical essays about the Khans of the Crimea, remembrances of Gaspıralı, eyewitness reports concerning the first Bolshevik occupation of the Crimea, the secret minutes of the First All-Russian Muslim Congress, all about the year 1917 in the Crimea, the government of Sulkevich, Ottoman-Crimean relations, numerous articles about the Karaims and Romanian Turks, German foreign policy in 1918, along with poetry, drama, folk songs, necrologies and news of the community and its organization. Hagiography, a common feature of émigré serials in Turkey, was also a staple feature of Emel. Finally, articles from the Turkish or Western press about the Crimean Tatars were noted, and often reproduced as were books by foreign or émigré specialists.

By the late 1970's Emel's news section was considerably expanded. News of life among Crimean Turks in their Central Asian exile, their effort to return to the Crimea, activities, speeches, petitions of Mustafa Cemilev and others were all treated and applauded. The fate of returnees and response of Soviet authorities to Crimean Tatar demands were carefully monitored and reported. Islamic themes, per se, were largely

APPENDIX 2-C

BOOKS, ARTICLES AND PAMPHLETS

Abdülhamitoğlu, Necip. Türkksüz Kırım: Yüzbinlerin Sürgünü [A Crimea without Turks: The Exile of Hundreds of Thousands]. Istanbul: Boğaziçi Yayınları No. 24, Güray Matbaacılık, 1972. 272 pp.

Popularized history. Describes deportations, struggle to return to Crimea. Author was student, later editor of ephemeral Pan-Turkist organ Birlik (1977).

Ağat, Nilüfer. "Mehmet Nurettin Ağat (1889-1979)" [necrology]. Emel no. 110 (1979): 19-20.

Akın, I. Bolsevizm Felaketi ve Kırım Halk Mücadelesi [Catastrophe of Bolshevism and the Struggle of the Crimean People]. Immenstadt: (publisher unknown), 1947.

Altın Yaprak [Golden Page]. Istanbul: Kırım Türk Kültür ve Yardımlaşma Derneği Neşriyatı Broşür No. 1, 1962. 16 pp.

Documents founding and aims of the Crimean Turk Cultural and Aid Association.

Arsalı, Altan. "Kırım Türkleri Muhacir Türküleri ve Halk Destanları" [Refugee Folk Songs and Popular Epics of the Crimean Turks]. Emel no. 56 (1970): 25-36

Representative of major theme in émigré publications otherwise unrepresented in this bibliography.

Atayman, Mustafa Şevki. Kardesim Mustafa'nın Kırk Yılı. 1 Kısım 1897-1918 [My Brother Mustafa's Forty Years. Part 1 1897-1918]. Istanbul: Baha Matbaası, 1967. 132 pp.

Memoirs. Author's family emigrated to Turkey from Crimea via Dobrudja.

Aynelhayat. Kızıl Rusya'da Bir Türk Kadını [A Turkish Woman in Red Russia]. Istanbul: Nebioğlu Yayınevi, (undated). 236 pp.

Recollections of Volga Tatar émigré, Aynelhayat Hanım. Contains eyewitness account of events in Crimea during WWI. Prepared by Recai Sanay.

Bektöre, Şevki. Volga Kızıl Akarken [While the Volga Flows Red]. Ankara: Eroğlu Matbaası, 1965. 239 pp.

Recollections of important Crimean poet born in Dobrudja. A major contributor to Kırım (1918) Bektöre spent twenty five years imprisoned in USSR before his 1957 release to Turkish authorities. Prepared by his daughter, Saadet Bektöre. See his obituary as written by Gökgöl and Taymas.

Bektöre, Yalkın. Tepres [Diversion]. Eskişehir Kırım Folklor Derneği Yayınları, 1990. 55 pp.

Pamphlet. Overview of Crimean problem, song score, poetry etc.

Caferoğlu, Ahmet. İsmail Gaspralı Ölümünün 50. Yıldönümü Münasebetiyle Bir Etüd [A Study of Ismail Gaspralı for the 50th Anniversary of his Death]. İstanbul: Kırım Türk Kültür ve Yardımlaşma Derneği Neşriyatı Doğruluk Matbaası, 1964. 16 pp.

Study of Ismail Gaspralı by reknowned Azeri émigré scholar.

(mutiple authorship). "Çelebi Cihan İçin" [For (Noman) Çelebi Cihan]. Emel no. 3 (1961): 1-10.

Provides list of articles and poems written in honor of martyred Chariman of Crimean Directorate. Includes short recollections of this figure by prominent émigrés including Şefika Gaspralı (wife of Ismail Bey) and İbrahim Otar, important Tatar activist in Promethean movement.

Çeneli, İlhan. "Kırım-Tatar Türkçesinde Yayınlanmış Eserlerin Bibliyografyası (1957-1979)" [Bibliography of Works Published in Crimean-Tatar Turkish (1957-1979)]. Türk Kültürü no. 247 (1983): 778-782.

Davus Tatar Cemiyet Hayriyesi [Statutes. Davuş Tatar Benevolent Association]. 1327. 14 pp.

Deliorman, Altan. Kırım ve Balkanlarda Türk Neşriyatı [Turkish Publishing in the Crimea and Balkans]. (publisher unknown), 1966.

Devlet, Nadir. İsmail Bey (Gaspralı). Ankara: Kültü ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları: 962, 1988. 138 pp.

Prepared for popular consumption utilizing widely available and émigré sources. Includes bibliography of Gaspralı's output and studies about him.

"Emel Türk Kültürünü Araştırma Ve Tanıtma Vakfı" [founding document of Emel Vakıfı]. Emel no. 162 (1987): 31-38.

Eren, Nalân. "Emel Dergisi" [The Journal Emel]. G. Ü. Gazi Eğitim Fakültesi Sosyal Bilimler Eğitim Bölümü Tarih Eğitimi Anabilim Dalı Lisans Tezi, Ankara, 1986.

Largely a reproduction of articles from Emel (İstanbul).

Eskişehir Kırım Türk Kültür, Folklor ve Yardımlaşma Derneği Sunar (Folklor Söleni). Eskişehir: 1982. 14 pp.

Brochure of the Eskişehir Crimean Turk Cultural, Folklore and Aid Association banquet.

Gökgöl, Cengiz. "Şevki Bektöre Beğ" [necrology]. Mücahit no. 43-44 (1961): 10-11

Ganjuk, Güler. "Hicri 1281-1290 (Miladi 1864-1873) Kırım'dan Göçler ve ve Anadolu'da İskanı" [Emigrants from Crimea to Anatolia 1864-1873 and their Settlement]. Mezuniyet Tezi, İÜ Edebiyat Fakültesi Yakıncağ ve TC Tarihi Kursu, 1987.

Short exploration of events based on widely available sources and reproduction in latin script of circa sixty documents on emigration and settlement gleaned from Archive of the Prime Minister's Office.

Gözaydın, Ethem Feyzi. Kırım: Kırım Türklerinin Yerleşme ve Göçmeleri [Crimea: The Settlement and Emigration of Crimean Turks]. İstanbul: Vakit Matbaası, 1948. 111 pp.

Authoritative. Prepared by close associate of C. S. Kırimer following his escape from the USSR in 1936. Contains a useful bibliography.

Hasmahmetli, H. "İsmail-bey Gasprinski'ye ait bir hatıra" [A memory of Ismail Bey Gasprinski]. Azerbaycan Yurt Bilgisi no. 2 (1933): 149-53.

Penned by Azerbaijani émigré, former Duma member, Minister of Justice for Republic of Azerbaijan.

İbrahimioğlu, Çagatay Bedii. "Karay Türkleri hakkında bir bibliyografya denemesi" [An attempt at a bibliography about the Karaim Turks]. Ankara: TKAE Yayınları 1, 1964.

İnalçık, Halil. "Cafer Seydahmet Kırimer (1889-1960)." Türk Kültürü no. 31 (1965): 473-478.

(author unknown). "Halil İnalçık Bibliography." Journal of Turkish Studies vol. 10 (1986): V-XV.

(author unknown). "Üye no. 57. Prof. Dr. Halil İnalçık" [bio-bibliographical data]. Ankara: TTK Basımevi, 1983. pp. 685-688.

İstanbul Kırım Kültür Derneği Tüzüğü [Statutes of the Istanbul Association of Crimean Turks]. İstanbul: H. Çapış Basımevi, (undated). 8 pp.

Brochure concerned with founding and aims of this organization.

Karabiber, Osman. Kırımlı Bir Türk'un Rusyadaki Maceraları [Adventures of a Crimean Turk in Russia]. Ankara: Güzel İstanbul Matbaası, 1954. 147 pp.

Memoires of a Crimean Tatar writer.

Kırım Ankara: Ayyıldız Matbaası, 1971. 16 pp.

Program of the Crimean Turk Cultural, Aid and Folklore Association.

(author unknown). "Kırım Mecmuası" [The Magazine 'Kırım']. Emel no. 112 (1979): ? and no. 113 (1979): 34-36.

Lists authors, articles and poems published in this important but rare Arabic script publication.

Kırım Türkleri Kültür ve Yardımlaşma Cemiyeti Tüzüğü [Statutes of the Crimean Turk Cultural and Aid Association]. Ankara: Örnek Matbaası, 1955. 16 pp.

Kırım Türkleri Yardımlaşma Birliği Kuruluş: 1954 [Founding of the Aid Union of Crimean Turks: 1954] Istanbul: Dizerkonca Matbaası, 1955. 8 pp.

Kırimal, Edige. Der Nationale Kampf der Kimtürken. Emsdetten: Verlag Lechte, 1952. 374 pp.

Classic. With a forward by C. S. Kırımer and the Turkologist Gerhard von Mende. Treats national struggle of the Crimean "Turks" from 1905 to their deportation in 1944 with special emphasis on years 1917-18. Written by Lithuanian Tatar active in the Prometheus movement, formerly president of Crimean Tatar committee in Berlin (WWII) and émigré scholar attached to Institute for the Study of the USSR. Kırimal also wrote under the pseudonym Kırımlı Yiğit. See Ülküsal below.

_____. "The Tragedy of the Crimea." The Eastern Quarterly vol. IV no. 1 (1951): 39-47.

_____. "Complete Destruction of National Groups as Groups: The Crimean Turks." In Genocide in the USSR, Institute for the Study of the USSR. Studies in Group Destruction Series 1, no. 40 July 1958. pp. 20-29.

_____. "Kırım Türklerinin Milli Basını" [National Press of the Crimean Turks]. Emel No. 6 (1961): 5-6.

Brief description of nationalist periodical literature from Tercuman to Emel.

_____. Kırım'da Türk Katliamı [Massacre of the Turks of the Crimeal]. Translated by Kemal Vehbi Gül. Istanbul: Toprak Yayınları, Kervan Matbaası, 1962. 35 pp.

_____. "Kırım Türklerinin 1917-20 İhtilal Yıllarında Milli Kurtuluş Hareketi" [The Liberation Movement of the Crimean Turks in the Revolutionary Years 1917-20]. Dergi no. 48 (1967): 55-69.

Kırımer, Cafer Seydahmet. Gaspiralı İsmail Bey: Dilde, Fikirde, İşde Birlik [İsmail Gaspirali: Unity in Language, Thought and Action]. Istanbul: Matbaacılık ve Neşriyat Türk Anonim Şirketi, 1934. 251 pp.

Treatment of seminal thinker, journalist and pedagogue among Russia's Muslims. Written by former defense and foreign minister in Crimean Directorate and key émigré player in Turkey and Poland. This work was forerunner to Lazzarini's study of Gaspirali. Includes extracts from Tercuman and press excerpts about Gaspirali. See also Seydahmet, Cafer.

_____. Mefkûre ve Mefkûrenin Fert ve Cemiyet Hayatındaki Tesiri [Ideology and Ideology's Influence on Individual and Social Life]. Istanbul: Türkistan Türk Gençler Birliği Yayını, 1937. 31 pp.

_____. Mefkûre ve Türkçülük [Ideal and Pan-Turkism]. Reprinted as Ülkü ve Türkçülük. Istanbul: Su Yayınları, 1977. 157 pp.

_____. Rus Tarihinin İnkılâbı, Bolsevisme ve Cihan İnkılâbına Sürüklenmesi [The Dragging of Russian History to Revolution, Bolshevism and World Revolution]. Istanbul: Pulhan Matbaası, 1948. 98 pp.

Booklet. Reproduction of five lectures given in 1948 by Kırimer at Peoples Houses, Zonguldak Mining School etc.

_____. Sovyet Cehenheminde Köylü ve İşçi Durumu [Situation of Peasants and Workers in the Soviet Hell]. Istanbul: Pulhan Matbaası, 1948. 32 pp.

Booklet. Reproduction of lectures given in 1948 by Kırimer at Peoples Houses, villages, and various factories in Turkey.

_____. "Mareşal Pilsudski ile Mülâkalarım ve hatıralarım" [My Interviews with and recollections of Marshall Pilsudski]. Dergi no. 13 (1958): 75-83.

_____. "Bazı Hatıralar" [Some Recollections]. Emel no. 2-38 (1960-67): passim.

Contains a wealth of information on personalities, events, organizations involved in cause for Crimean independence and Pan-Turk movement more generally.

(multiple authorship). "Cafer Seydahmet Bey" [bio-bibliographic data]. Emel no. 4 (1961): passim.

Reflections on life and work of Kırimer as penned by Saadet Çagatay, Tahir Çagatay, Mehmed Emin Buğra, Halil İnalçık, A. Yurtsever etc.

Kırımlı, Hakkan. "Osmanlı Devleti ve Kırım Türklerinin İstiklâl Hareketleri 1917-18" [The Ottoman Empire and the Independence Struggle of the Crimean Turks 1917-18]. Ankara: Hacatepe Üniversitesi. Yüksek Lisans tezi olarak hazırlanmıştır. 1985. 125 pp.

Author utilized private archive of İbrahim Otar, Kırım Mecmuası, Emel, Turkish press, etc in preparation of this thesis. Represents solid, useful research on otherwise poorly understood aspect of late Ottoman foreign policy.

_____. and Aktaş, Unsal. Kırım Bibliyografyası, Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Dönemi 1923-86 [Crimean Bibliography. Turkish Republican Period (1923-86)]. Ankara: Şafak Matbaası, 1987. 80 pp.

Most detailed and comprehensive bibliography produced by any Russian/Soviet Muslim "émigré" group in Turkey to date. Annotated, it includes works not wholly concerned with the Crimea or Crimean Tatars. Very useful.

Kırımsar. "Cafer Seydahmet Kırimer." Emel no. 63 (1971): 17-32 and no. 65 (1971): 21-48.

Kryczynski, Stanislaw. Tatarzy Litewscy. Warsaw: (publisher unknown), 1938. 320 pp.

Treats ethnography of Polish Tatars. Apparently forms third volume of the organ of this group, Rocznik Tatarski.

Kurtulan, İldeniz. "Ulusal Azerbaycan Yayınlarında "Kırım" Konuları" [Crimean Matters in National Publications of Azerbaijan]. Emel no. 7 (1961): 18-22.

Lists articles from Yeni Kafkasya, Azeri Türk, Odlu Yurt, Bildiris, İstiklâl, Azerbaycan Yurt Bilgisi and Azerbaycan about Crimea, nationalist movement there and in emigration. Useful.

Muhittin, Mehmet. "Mustafa Berke" [Inecrology]. Kırım no. 9-12 (1957): 314-318.

Nureddinoğlu, Mustafa. Kırım Faciası ve Mustafa Cemiloğlu [Crimean Tragedy and Mustafa Jemilev]. Istanbul: Bedir Yayınevi, 1976. 180 pp.

Ortay, Selim. O Niepodległość Krymu. Warsaw: Prace młodzieży krymskiej na emigracji no. 2, Wydawnictwo kwartalnika "Wschod," 1936.

Otar, İbrahim. "Kitaplar Arasında," Emel No. 2 (January 1961) 19-21.

Bibliography. Thirty periodicals and books issued by Crimean Tatar nationalists mainly, but not exclusively in Poland, Romania and Turkey. Useful.

O, Ö. "İkinci Dünya Savaşında Kırım Türkleri ile Almanlar arasındaki münasebetler" [Relations between Crimean Turks and Germans in WWII]. Emel no. 25 (1964): 15-20.

Şapşal, S. "Kırım Karai Türkleri" [Crimean Karaite Turks]. Türk Yılı 1928.

Seidahmet, Cafer. La Crimée: passé-présent, revendications des tatars. Lausanne: G. Vaney-Burnier, 1921. 120 pp.

Treats geography, inhabitants, politico-military and cultural history, with special emphasis on impact of Russian domination on the Crimea after 1783 and the period from the March Revolution to Bolshevik occupation of the region.

_____ and Akçuraoğlu, Yusuf. "Kırım ve Kırım Türkleri" [The Crimea and Crimean Turks]. Türk Yılı 1928.

_____. Rus İnkılabı [Russian Revolution]. Istanbul: Cumhuriyet Matbaası, 1930. 157 pp.

Soysal, Abdullah Zihni. Z. Deiejow Krymu [Crimean History]. Warsaw: (publisher unknown), 1938. 112 pp.

In Polish, treats political history, culture and emigration of the Crimean Tatars. Author was part of Kırım's entourage, educated in Poland. See also Zihni and his obituary as written by M. Ülküsal.

_____. Jartyki Krymskie z Czów Jana Kazimiera. Warsaw: Wydannictwo Instytutu Wschodniego W Warsaw, 1939. 104 pp.

Apparently, diplomatic correspondance between Crimean Khanate and Poland, translated into Polish.

_____. Hanlık Devrinde Kırım Türk Kültürü [Culture of Crimean Turks in Khanate Period]. Istanbul: Türk Kültür Birliği Yayını, no. 8 (eski Türkistan Türk Gençler Birliği), Gayret Basımevi, 1941. 27 pp.

Suver, Akkan. Cemiloğlu. Istanbul: Su Yayınları, Er-Tu Matbaası, 1977. 96 pp.

Anthology concerned with Mustafa Cemilev.

Tatar Cemiyet-i Hayriyesi Nizamnamesi [Statutes of Tatar Aid Association].
Istanbul: Nutin Matbaası, 1327. 11 pp.

(author unknown). Tatarı na Krimu. Potomci Dzingis-Kana Bore se za Novi Poredak u Europi.

Taymas, Abdullah. "Şair Şevki Bektöre" [necrology]. Azerbaycan no. (?)
(1961): 59-62.

Tisak. Hrvatski Tiskarski Zavod. Zagreb: D. D. (undated). 53 pp.

Curiosity. Album. Appears to have been issued during WWII for propaganda purposes. 'Happy Tatars' and smiling German officers.

Ülküsal, Mustecib Fazil. Dobruca ve Türkler [Dobrudja and Turks]. Ankara:
Türk Kültürünü Araştırma Enstitüsü Yayınları No. 26, Ayyıldız Matbaası,
1966. 256 pp.

Émigré classic. Published originally in Constanza in 1940, represents an important Turkish language study of the Tatars ("Turks") of Dobrudja, their history, culture and connection with the struggle to return the Crimea to Crimean Turks. Author, aka Mustacip Fazil, was closely associated with C. S. Kırimer and was long standing editor of Emel (Constanza and Istanbul). Today he is the only living senior émigré figure in Turkey.

_____. İkinci Dünya Savaşında 1941-42 Berlin Hatıraları ve Kırım'ın Kurtuluş Davası [1941-42 Berlin Recollections and the Question of Crimea's Independence]. Istanbul: Emel Yayını, Kutulmuş Matbaası, 1976. 152 pp.

Important eyewitness account. Also appeared in serialized form in Emel.

_____. Kırım Türk-Tatarları (Dünü-Bugünü-Yarını) [Crimean Turko-Tatars (Past-Present-Future)]. Istanbul: Baha Matbaası, 1980. 366 pp.

Detailed study focusing on national liberation movement of Crimean Tatars. Contains considerable information about émigré activities.

_____. "Şair ve Öğretmen Mehmet Niyazi" [Poet and Pedagogue Mehmet Niyazi]. Emel no. 67 (1971): 1-8

Brief treatment of key inspirational figure among Turkists of Dobrudja. Niyazi (1878-1931) apparently gave the serial Emel its name.

_____. "Cafer Seyitahmet Kırimer ve Kırım Davası" [C. S. Kırimer and the Crimean Cause]. Emel no. 75 (1973): 1-12.

_____. "Emel" ve Kırım Davası" [Emel and Crimean Cause]. Emel no. 76 (1973): 1-15.

- _____ and others. "Dr. Edige Kırımal'ı Kaybettik" [necrology for E. Kırımall Emel no. 118 (1980): 1-20.
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APPENDIX 3-A

AZERBAIJANIS IN THE REPUBLIC OF TURKEY

SUMMARY

COMMUNITY:

An unconfirmed number of Azerbaijani refugees from Armenia were settled in the eastern provinces of Turkey in the years 1918-25. During the period of collectivization in the USSR, small refugee groups came to Turkey, sometimes via Iran. Politically active Azeri nationalists came to Turkey in the wake of the Sovietization of the Republic of Azerbaijan (April 1920) before resettling in Western Europe. Some of these individuals returned to Turkey along with circa five thousand Azeri legionnaires given asylum by the Turkish government in 1948.

Emigre reports of the size of the Azeri community in Turkey reach as high as four million. Soviet Azerbaijani sources connected to the Homeland Association suggest two million Azeri dwell in Turkey. The vast majority have lived in Turkey for generations. Today, large concentrations of Azeri can be found especially in the provinces of Kars, Erzurum, Amasya, Sivas and Muş.

ORGANIZATIONS AND PUBLICATIONS:

At the time of a major anti-Bolshevik uprising in Georgia, a tiny elite group connected to the short-lived Republic of Azerbaijan established the National Center of Azerbaijan (AMM- Azerbaycan Milli Merkezi) in Istanbul (1924). This was one arm of the Caucasian Independence Committee (Kafkasya İstiklal Komitesi) which included Armenian, North Caucasian and Georgian "Centers" as well. Although in 1926 the Committee was compelled to transfer its propaganda work to Paris, an Azeri nationalist—largely pro-Musavat—presence has long persisted in Turkey.

The most dynamic period of Azeri nationalist publishing in Turkey, 1923-31, witnessed the appearance of a succession of journals, notably Yeni Kafkasya, Azeri Türk, Odlu Yurt, Odlu Yurt Bülteni, and Bildirisi. It appears they were funded by the Polish government and were largely the product of personalities connected to the left wing of Musavat. The Azeri nationalists in Turkey lacked a voice in the years 1932-52 although one cultural and scholarly publication, Azerbaycan Yurt Bilgisi did appear in the years 1932-34.

The above mentioned Center (AMM) exists in Ankara today. This group has dominated the organizing and publishing scene for Azeri in Turkey, although opposition groups emerged and will be briefly discussed below.

Though its real strength is difficult to evaluate, the AMM claims to be the most important political organization of Azerbaijanis in emigration, purportedly with representatives in Argentina, Germany, the US, Japan, Iran, Egypt and England. Successively the presidents of the center were Mehmed Emin Resulzade, Abdulvahap Yurtsever, Kerim Oder and at present, a former legionnaire, Dr. Mehmet Kengerli. It is said to be a nationalist umbrella organization though heavily dominated by Musavatists.

Reportedly, the president of AMM is a Musavat Party member. He is advised by a three-man divan, two of whom are Musavatists. Subordinate to the divan is a nine-man directorate, six of whom are Musavat Party members. These individuals form part of twenty five man medjlis of which fifteen are Musavatists. As members of the medjlis

dwell in various countries, they are said to be in regular contact but congregate only periodically.

The work of the AMM, which controls the Azerbaycan Kültür Derneği (AKD—Azerbaijan Cultural Association, est. 1949) appears to be in a gray zone of tolerated political activity in Turkey. Its leadership terms the AMM "semi-clandestine" and has indicated that fifteen thousand people in Turkey are actively committed to the cause of an independent Azerbaijan,* and maintain some (probably remote) connection to the AKD or its affiliates in Istanbul, Antalya, and Bursa. Sources indicate associations are likely to surface in Amasya and Sivas in the near future.

The AMM/AKD possesses a private archive and library. Traditionally, the Association has been engaged in holding balls, dinners and folklore shows like other such associations in Turkey. One such social function hosted then Prime Minister T. Özal (December 1986).

It is the AMM that has ostensibly been involved in political activities such as sending literature into Azerbaijan. Its work is reportedly financed by fund raising undertaken by the AKD. Though little concrete information on the nature of the contacts that have been established can be offered at this time, informal publications in Azerbaijan connected to the Azerbaijan Peoples Front have mentioned the names of principals involved in the AKD and have quoted their organ periodically when featuring biographical data on Mehmed Emin Resulzade.

Allegedly, nationalists in Soviet Azerbaijan proposed that the AMM establish a government in exile at the time of the so-called January 1990 events. This was rejected as a high risk endeavor which would bring the AMM undue attention and interference on the part of established governments.

Such an undertaking would have required the AMM to transcend their traditionally stated goals which are to (1)serve as a conduit for information about Azerbaijan; (2)promote recognition in the world community for the cause of a free Azerbaijan that should form part of confederation of Caucasian states; (3)provide moral support for groups within Azerbaijan that share such views. Furthermore, Resulzade laid down strictures for the work of the AMM which proscribed activities that embroiled the group in Turkey's domestic or foreign affairs, it is said.

Like other immigrant groups, Azeri activists have shown a tendency to fractionalize. At present this is not as readily apparent, but in the 1950's and 1960's at least two small break-away groups surfaced. Some of the activists involved were opponents of Resulzade in the 1930's, and after the AMM/AKD became activated, they returned to their earlier habits. Their short lived publications were Ergenekon Yolu and Türk Yolu. Other opposition to the disciples of Resulzade in Azeri circles in Turkey published Mücahit and Türk İzi. Both groups had a strong Pan-Turkist character even more pronounced than the AKD organ, Azerbaycan.

Though short-lived due to financial problems, a new center of activity for young Azeri nationalists surfaced in Istanbul in 1990. The formation of the Azerbaycan Türkleri Kültür ve Danışma Derneği (ATKDD—Cultural and Information Association of the Turks of Azerbaijan) was encouraged by the breakdown of Soviet rule and the conflict between Azerbaijan and Armenia over Nagorno-Karabagh. According to one source, the

*The primary concern of Azeri nationalists in Turkey has always been with Soviet Azerbaijan. Interest in southern (Iranian Azerbaijan) has been extremely muted, except for the period of Ayatollah Khomeini's rule, when to the long list of Soviet persecutions were added Iranian ones. Activists argue that Northern Azerbaijan must be 'liberated' (or in some cases, joined to Turkey) first, only then can the problem of southern Azerbaijan be taken up.

older group based in Ankara viewed the new group as inexperienced and was seeking to bring them under their wing.

Before its demise, ATKDD sponsored, along with the Türk Dünyası Araştırmaları Vakfı (Turkish World Research Foundation), the First International Congress on Azerbaijan. Held in Kayseri, 28 May to 3 June 1990, its opening coincided with the anniversary of the 1918 declaration of independence of the Republic of Azerbaijan.

To date, this gathering appears to have been the largest and most successful such congress organized by emigrant groups in Turkey. Attendees from various countries, including two buses filled with writers, scholars and others from Azerbaijan participated in the Congress, as did the Turkish Minister of Culture, a representative from the Ministry of State, the governor of Kayseri and other officials.

The Congress received press coverage both in Turkey and Azerbaijan. In the Baku organ of the Azerbaijan Peoples Front, (Azərbaycan 22 June 1990) as well as the weekly organ of the Azeri academician's union, (Elm 7 July 1990), exhibited a rather jubilant tenor regarding Turkish interest in Azerbaijan, and particularly Turkish solidarity for the struggle of the Azerbaijan Peoples Front. To rousing applause, Congress participants declared their intention to reconvene in Baku, but to date no detailed plans have surfaced for doing so.

CURRENT STATUS OF PUBLICATION OUTLET(S):

The quarterly organ of the AKD, Azerbaycan, has been published in Ankara with only minor breaks since 1952. From a very scanty cultural publication it began to stabilize in the mid-1950's and to grow in length up to the present where it frequently runs to over two hundred pages. The first two and a half decades of its output benefited from the fact that its writing cadre was earlier involved in agitprop work in Azerbaijan, in Turkey in the 1920's and subsequently in Europe. In short, they were knowledgeable and experienced, albeit restrained.

Though some interesting material can be gleaned from some memoirs or the necrologies penned by Kerim Oder or Abdulvahap Yurtsever, the content of Azerbaycan generally was limited to cultural matters, and the lauding of well-known Musavatists. Furthermore, in the past twenty years the reproduction of articles from the earlier émigré press, or articles based on serials and books issued in Western Europe in the inter and post-war periods were the foundation for the articles published in Azerbaycan. Originality and analysis was subordinated to a repetition of the gospel and often strident anti-communism, a phenomenon common to almost all Soviet Muslim émigré serials issued in Turkey after WWII.

This publication with a circulation of three thousand warrants monitoring for changes that it may undergo and because of its support for Azerbaijani nationalists. Nevertheless, it rarely provides insight into the internal affairs of Soviet Azerbaijan or Caucasian affairs more generally. Much more valuable data can be gleaned from official and informal publications appearing in Baku that are presently available in the United States. In short, although the activists connected to AMM/AKD surely have contacts and knowledge worthy of accessing, such information is seldom to be found in their publishing organ at this time.

Twice monthly the Istanbul-based group, ATKDD was producing a newspaper, Hazar (Caspian) and a monthly glossy journal entitled Azerbaycan Türkleri (Turks of Azerbaijan). It seems that only a few issues of each appeared before the enterprise went bankrupt.

ATKDD'S organ Hazar, in particular, was devoting attention to contemporary affairs while their journal periodically featured articles penned by Azerbaijanis connected to the Popular Front. Information useful in tracing the interaction of activists in Turkey and Azerbaijan, monitoring the echo of developments in the Caucasus in the national or Pan-Turkist/nationalist press in Turkey, the opening and closing of press organs of the Azerbaijan Peoples Front, etc. could be gleaned from these publications, especially Hazar.

Illustrative of this, for example, was Hazar's 15 August 1990 interview with Ramiz Asker, editor of Odlar Yurdu, organ of the Azərbaycan Vətən Cəmiyyəti (Homeland Association). Odlar Yurdu being directed at Azeri émigrés in Iran, Turkey, Germany and the US appears in Arabic and modified Latin script. The personalities and activities of "old" nationalist Azeri émigrés have been regularly discussed in this publication. The slogans of Mehmet Emin Resulzade, which have been traditionally splashed about the pages of Azerbaycan (Ankara), also were to be found in Odlar Yurdu. The Hazar interview of Asker provided useful insight into the history of Odlar Yurdu, its circulation, staffing levels and some discussion of the censorship it has operated under.

In conclusion, the activities of Azerbaijani refugees in Turkey, or more specifically, their descendants, have a long history. The Ankara-based organization and its organ has demonstrated an uninterrupted history of activity since WWII. It claims its origin lies in the more dynamic and turbulent 'twenties and views itself as the torch-bearer of the Musavat Party. Its new Istanbul-based counterpart, though dynamic, was extremely short-lived.

Though hard facts on what is occurring within the Turkish Azeri community and the nature of its relationship to nationalists in Azerbaijan are difficult to fully assess because of their propensity for clandestinity, it is clear that a great deal of interaction and mutual admiration, if not more important connections are being sown at present.

It should be stressed that the case of Azerbaijan is unique for Turkish nationalists and Pan-Turkists generally. This is due to: (1)geographical proximity; (2)historical factors (Anatolian Turks played a key role in the establishment and liquidation of the Republic of Azerbaijan); and (3)linguistic affinity (Anatolian and Azeri Turkish are more mutually intelligible than Turkish and Uzbek, for example).

In addition, nationalists on both sides share feelings of enmity toward Armenians, who are perceived to be an impediment to closer interaction between Azeri and Anatolian Turks and are considered a willing tool of Great Russian chauvinists. Masquerading as communists, liberals or nationalists, the Russians and their local ally, it is said, prevent the Caucasus from becoming independent.

Extremism is part of the message of some, especially younger, Azeri activists in Turkey. They are enamored of the Bozkurt (Grey Wolf) Pan-Turkist symbol and even have a secret hand-shake which they delight in showing newcomers to the cause. These tendencies thrive in darkness and are sustained by the ongoing conflict in the Caucasus. Changing international conditions could encourage the growth of such militancy, but the Turkish authorities are unlikely to tolerate this. Few Anatolian Turks are likely to embrace the romantic vision they hold for a Greater Turkey.

Inquiries regarding Azerbaycan may be directed to:

Azerbaycan
Anafartlar Vakıf İşhanı No. 324
P. K. 165—Ulus, Ankara

APPENDIX 3-B

SERIALS

YENİ KAFKASYA [YK-New Caucasus, 1923-27]

The earliest, longest running and most important genuine Soviet Muslim émigré serial published in Turkey, YK appeared as a sixteen page Turkish language bi-monthly in Istanbul from 26 September 1339 [1923] to November (?) 1927. In this period at least ninety one issues were published. The masthead of this rare Arabic script publication noted that it was a 'literary, social, and political magazine.' Founded by the leader of the Musavat (Equality) Party, Mehmed Emin Resulzade, and staffed by his tiny entourage, YK's managing director and licensee was Seyyid Mehmet Tahir.

In format and character, YK appears to have been the model for all subsequent Soviet Muslim émigré serials issued by groups connected to the Polish supported Prometheus movement. Although YK's primary concern lay with Azerbaijan and was a vehicle of the left wing of Musavat, its focus extended to all of the Turkic peoples under Bolshevik rule. As a well-informed anti-Bolshevik nationalist organ it monitored and critiqued the internal and foreign policies of Soviet Russia, and paid considerable attention to contemporary political developments in Turkey, Iran and Afghanistan.

Primarily a journal of current affairs, YK published important information about: anti-Bolshevik partisan activities in the Caucasus, Soviet policy in Turkistan and the Volga as well as the North and Transcaucasia, the fate of communists in Turkey, and the activities of Azeri, Armenian, Russian, Turkistani and other émigré groups. In an attempt to unmask and undermine Bolshevik rule in the Caucasus YK regularly responded to Turkish and Russian language communist propaganda organs issued in Baku and Tiflis. Utilizing Soviet sources, YK described and critiqued the administration of Azerbaijan, the weakness of Azeri communists, nature of Soviet economic policy etc. For historical information on matters like the genesis of the Musavat Party, formation and decline of the Republic of Azerbaijan and the experience of other Caucasian peoples under Tsarist and particularly Bolshevik rule, YK remains useful.

According to Resulzade's principal lieutenant, Mirza Bala (M. B. Mehmetzade), YK circulated widely in Baku 'from hand to hand' and played an important role in short-circuiting interest in Bolshevism among Muslims of the Near East. For those interested in the early years of Soviet rule, particularly in the Caucasus, Volga, and Turkistan, the Soviet Muslim émigré scene, anti-communist activities in Turkey and Soviet foreign policy, this is an important publication.

Although YK was closed at the behest of the Turkish authorities, its staff, hewing to the same cultural Pan-Turkist and Azerbaijani nationalist program articulated in YK, went on to publish three successor serials described below. An incomplete run of YK is to be found at the Hoover Library.

AZERİ TÜRK JAT-Azeri Turk 1928-31

From 1 February 1928 to 28 May 1931 (?) Azeri Türk was published in Istanbul as a Turkish language 'bi-monthly patriotic literary, social, scientific and political magazine.' It was the product of the same group of Azeri nationalist intellectuals which earlier issued YK, albeit Mehmet Sadik Aran, a former member of the Azerbaijani parliament, now became the managing director of this publication. Mehmed Emin Resulzade, in the capacity of editor, was the key personality behind it initially. Though the extensive use of pseudonyms makes it difficult to determine the author of many articles, it appears

Mirza Bala was the chief writer for AT. This publication featured articles about: the petroleum industry in Azerbaijan and its place in the world economy, the 'March events,' all types of anti-Bolshevik activities, the nature of Azerbaijani culture and the Bolshevik attempts to destroy it, news of Iran, Afghanistan and Turkey, the activities of the newly founded Azerbaijani Independence Committee in Berlin, the end of the NEP and the impact of collectivization on Azerbaijanis, the importance of nurturing nationalist sentiment among Azeri youth at home and abroad, the fate of Musavatists sent to Solovki, the Second International in Azerbaijan etc.

At the time the romanization of the Turkish script was undertaken (1928), the publishing of AT was briefly interrupted. As relations between Aran and Rezulzade degenerated in 1928 the latter appears to have abandoned the publication. This was the first shot in an increasingly divisive émigré battle that continued sporadically for decades. It appears that only three issues of AT appeared in 1929 and 1930. In March of 1931 AT resurfaced under the title Azeri Türk-Emel Mecmuası (Azeri Turk-Aspiration Magazine) but apparently only one issue was published. Initially, AT was probably subsidized by Poland. Most of the first two years of this serial are available at Hoover Library.

YESİL YAPRAK [Green Leaf, 1928]

Unavailable. This was a bi-monthly magazine issued in Istanbul in 1928 according to obituaries of the publication's ostensible editor, Mehmet Sadık Aran.

ODLU YURT [OY-Fiery Country, 1929-31]

Odlu Yurt was the successor to Yeni Kafkasya and Azeri Türk. Between 1 March 1929 and July-August 1931, thirty one issues of OY were published in Istanbul as a 'monthly magazine advocating the concept of national Azerbaijan'. Each issue ran forty to fifty pages in length. The editor was Mehmed Emin Rezulzade and its licensee was one of the three founders of the Musavat Party, Abbas Kazım-zade. OY described itself as nationalist, Pan-Turkist, populist, radical, republican and pro-independence. It sought to defend and advocate the idea of an independent 'Azerbaijani Peoples Republic,' and worked to familiarize the Turkic peoples with each other. The target audience was the population of Turkey, a country viewed as the Turkic world's only independent republic and the representative of eastern radicalism.

Distributed among Azeri emigrants in Turkey, Iran or Europe and probably circulated clandestinely in Azerbaijan, OY stood for a liberated and independent Caucasus and sought to promote unity among Caucasians 'against their common enemy.' The radicalism that it advocated was ostensibly aimed at the modernization of the East. While very much an Islamic publication it primarily exalted the national struggle as the key to the re-emergence of the down-trodden Muslims, especially those under the yoke of Russian communism. It featured extensive news about domestic and international affairs in the USSR, was very polemical in character and carried information on the activities of other groups connected to the Prometheus movement. OY featured articles on matters like Transcaucasian national communists, Soviet economic policies and the nature of the five year plan, education in Azerbaijan, activities of Russian agents, Turco-Soviet and Irano-Soviet relations, anti-Bolshevik partisan activities, the character of the October Revolution etc. Well known contributors to OY included Rezulzade, Mirza Bala, Mehmet Vekili, Abdullah Battal Taymas, Ahmet Caferoglu, Rustem Şefi, Mir Yakup, and Mehmet Ağaoglu. A complete run of OY is available at the Hoover Library.

ODLU YURT MECMUA BÜLTENİ [Bulletin of 'Fiery Country,' 1929-30]

Unavailable. According to émigré sources, sixty issues of this one to three page mimeographed bulletin appeared in Istanbul from 28 November 1929 to 26 March 1930.

BİLDİRİS [Communication, 1930-31]

A 'weekly political, literary, and social newspaper' published in Istanbul from 7 August 1930 to 10 September 1931, Bildirıs was edited by Mirza Bala and its managing director was Abas Kazım-zade. Both figures were prominent Musavat Party members and key players in Azeri émigré publishing in Turkey and Europe. The articles in this Promethean newspaper were seldom signed. A considerable degree of attention was paid to the activities of Ukranian, Georgian, Crimean Tatar, Turkistani and Idil-Ural émigré groups. Though short-lived the attention it gave to political changes underway in Turkey, particularly the rise of the Serbest Cumhuriyet Fırkası (Free Republican Party) and Sosyal Demokrat Fırkası (Social Democrat Party) give it special interest. Bildirıs covered the contemporary social, political and economic situation in the Muslim regions, of the USSR, monitored the activities of communist parties in the Iran and Turkey, discussed the independence struggle of Ghandi, the problem of Palesine, the nationality question in Iran and the advent of political parties there. In keeping with the traditions of earlier Soviet Muslim émigré serials, it reviewed and critiqued the Soviet press, dwelled on anti-Bolshevik partisan activities and the activities of the OGPU in the East. Bildirıs is not available in the United States.

AZERBAYCAN YURT BİLGİSİ [AYB-Knowledge of the Country Azerbaijan, 1932-34+1954]

Thirty six issues of this Turkish language scholarly journal appeared in Istanbul in the period from January 1932 to December 1934. Edited by Ahmet Caferoğlu, it was published as joint effort of several renowned Soviet Muslim empires, notably Zeki Velidi Togan, Abdulkadir İnan, Mehmet Ağaoğlu, and Mirza Hacizade. Other prominent contributors included Abdullah Battal Taymas, Akdes Nimet Kura, Hasan AbdullaHoğlu, Cafer Seyitahmet, and Ayaz İshaki, Fuat Köprülü etc. Following the suspension of Soviet Muslim émigré publishing in Turkey in 1931, AYB surfaced, it would appear, with the understanding that it would be apolitical in character.

It concerned itself with cultural matters with heavy focus on ethnography, linguistics and historical matters. Avoiding current affairs almost entirely, AYB neither reviewed the Soviet press, nor criticized Moscow. The articles which were published in AYB did not only touch on Azerbaijan, but extended to other Turkic groups both in and out of the USSR. Though the political orientation of the contributors to this publication was veiled it was nevertheless apparent.

Along with treatments of the ethnography of Azerbaijan or its music appeared articles about the national heroes of Turkistan, the historic struggle of the Bashkirs with the Russians, the hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the conquest of the Crimea, and the independence struggle in Azeri literature. After a twenty year hiatus, AYB re-surfaced in February of 1954 as the organ of the Azerbaycan Kültürünü Tanıtma Derneği (established 1950-51), an Istanbul emigrant association connected to the Azerbaycan Kültür Derneği in Ankara. Though only one issue appeared, the earlier scholarly character of AYB was maintained.

TÜRK YOLU [TY-Turkish Path, 1951/53]

Unavailable. Apparently, Mehmet Sadık Aran, in the capacity of editor and owner, published one number of this 'monthly political and literary magazine' in Istanbul on 28 May 1951. Continued by Ergenekon Yolu, one number of TY resurfaced on 1 July 1953. Aran's importance lay with his Pan-Turkism, concern with Iranian Azerbaijan, opposition to Resulzade and latter's Ankara-based disciples.

ERGENEKON YOLU [Ergenekon Path, 1951]

Unavailable. Reportedly, Mehmet Sadık Aran, in the capacity of editor and owner, published one number of this 'monthly political and literary magazine' in Istanbul on 1 July 1951 as a continuatin of Türk Yolu.

AZERBAYCAN [Azerbaijan, 1952-Present]

This Turkish language serial published in Ankara as the organ of the Azerbaijan Kültür Derneği originally appeared as a monthly bearing as its slogan, 'Unity is Peace.' As its early issues were frequently unnumbered, short in length and multiple issues were compressed into one, it may be inferred that its appearance involved considerable struggle. Presently Azerbaijan appears as a quarterly, and as tradition has it, the 'owner' of the publication is the president of the Ankara Azerbaijan Cultural Association (AKD). As a cultural publication with a strong Azeri Turk nationalist orientation, it is essentially the torch-bearer of the Musavat Party in emigration. It is Pan-Turkist to the extent that the history and problems of the various Turkic peoples of the USSR and China are well within its purview.

Azerbaijan long served as a shared forum for émigré writers in Turkey and Europe. Particularly in the 1950's and '60's well known contributors to Azerbaijan included Suleyman Tekiner, Abdulvahap Yurtsever, Kerim Oder, Ali Azertekin, Hüseyin Baykara, Mehmet Kengerli, and Ahmet Yaşat. After the death of key personalities like Mehemed Emin Resulzade and Mirza Bala, their work was regularly reprinted in this journal. Nationalist hagiography, the history of the Musavat Party, trials of the period of Azerbaijan's independence, character of Bolshevik rule in Azerbaijan etc were common to this journal. For those interested in Azeri and other Turkic émigré groups, anti-Soviet activity in Turkey and elsewhere, Turkish nationalism and Pan-Turkism, this publication is of interest.

While Azerbaijan echoed the foreign policy concerns of the Turkish polity and government in such cases as the conflict with Greece over Cyprus, neither these matters nor domestic Turkish politics are central to this publication. Though by the late 1960's Iran was openly termed an 'invader' in the pages of Azerbaijan, useful information on the internal situation in southern Azerbaijan or on Iran generally is not be found in this publication. With the rise to power of Khomeini however, a more strident tone was became evident, however, with Azerbaijan openly denouncing 'Persian imperialism,' featuring news about Iran and opposition to the regime there. Islamic themes do not appear in Azerbaijan beyond recognition of the fact that Soviet policy toward Islam has been duplicitous and that Islam and communism are incompatible ideologies.

The principal target of Azerbaijan has always been the Soviet regime, which it termed 'externally communist and internally colonialist.' Though news from and about AzSSR can be found in this serial beginning in the 1970's, the press of Soviet Azerbaijan was never systematically monitored, analyzed or responed to. Interesting tid-bits are to be found in Azerbaijan as well as numerous bibliographies which often appeared at the end

of books presented in serialized form. By the mid-1970's Azerbaijan was running over one hundred pages in length, featuring semi-scholarly articles, polemics, stories, poems and other cultural material. Azerbaijan devoted a great deal of space to the deceased leader of Musavat, Resulzade, who is said to have founded this publication. Early issues of this publication are to be found at the library of the Middle East Institute.

TÜRK İZİ [Turkish Trail, 1955-61?]

Irregular organ of the Association of Azerbaijani Nationalists. Twenty four issues appeared in Ankara between January 1955 and (?) 1961. The masthead of this publication noted that it was a 'monthly Pan-Turkist magazine.' Elements which published this journal were intertwined with those behind the journal Mücahit. Regular contributors like Hidayet Turanlı were Turanists of note, others, such as Dr. Aziz Alpaut (aside from solid Pan-Turkista credentials) had earlier been involved in Azerbaijani émigré publishing activities supported by the American Committee in West Germany. This group denounced Resulzade, his disciples and the role of Musavat during the period of Azerbaijan's independence. Otherwise, this publication was quite unimportant and superficial. Unavailable in US.

MÜCAHİT [Holy Fighter, 1955-64(?)]

Published in Ankara by Cengiz Gökgöl as a 'monthly economic, social and opinion magazine' one of the main aims of this rather low-quality serial was to publicize the struggle in the USSR of 'over 60 million people who are Turks.' This publication is primarily of interest as a testament to post-WWII divisions among Azerbaijani émigrés. Those opposed to Resulzade, particularly former legionnaires, gravitated to Major Fatalibeyli (aka Dugadinski, d. 1954) and collaborated with the American Committee in West Germany. Elements from this group issued Mücahit and created an alternative 'national center' in Turkey known as the Azerbaijan Milli Kurtuluş Birliği Genel Merkezi. When Mücahit discussed the Republic of Azerbaijan neither Musavat nor Resulzade were mentioned, although it did not attack the latter's personage or legacy directly. Mücahit was closely connected to the Istanbul North Caucasian group which issued Kafkas Mecmuası, accepted Şevki Bektöre as the leader of the Crimean Tatars in emigration (as opposed to those connected to earlier Prometheus movement) and paid homage to the Turkistani leader in Germany, Veli Kajum-Khan. In character this ephemeral serial was fiercely anti-communist. It featured articles like 'Godless Dictators and the Tragedy of Mankind,' 'Communist Mystiques and Contemporary Idolatry,' along with poetry, short stories, brief news items from the anti-communist front etc. As a separate group or ideology, Mücahit seems to have disappeared without a trace. Unavailable in US.

AZERBAJYCAN TÜRKLERİ [AT-Turks of Azerbaijan, 1990-]

Since April of 1990 AT appeared as a 'monthly scholarly and literary magazine' in Istanbul as the organ of Azerbaijan Türkleri Kültür ve Danışma Derneği (est. March 1989). A forty eight page glossy, its current affairs counterpart is the newspaper Hazar described below.

As a host of younger Turkish academics and their colleagues of Azeri extraction contributed to or were involved in publishing AT, hence it was relatively sophisticated. Articles about matters such as: Ottoman fraternal assistance to Azerbaijan, economic and touristic relations between Turkey and Azerbaijan, the program of Musavat, the awakening of national consciousness among southern (Iranian) Azerbaijanis, Turkic political organizations in Azerbaijan 1905-17 (using Western and émigré sources), as well

as the occasional editorial appeared in AT. A considerable amount of space was devoted to literary matters, sometimes with a transparent political intent (e.g. "Are there Armenian words in the Book of Dede Korkut?"). Frequent contributors to AT included Prof. Abdulhaluk Çay, Yusuf Gedikli, Dr. Ferman Demirkol, Halil Açığöz, and Dr. Yavuz Akpınar.

HAZAR [Caspian, 1990-]

This bi-monthly newspaper appeared in Istanbul as the 'voice of the Turks of Azerbaijan' since 1 May 1990. Owned by Nihat Çetinkaya, in the name of the Azerbaycan Türkleri Kültür ve Danışma Derneği, this eight page paper and its monthly counterpart Azerbaycan Türkleri, were in effect the organs of Çetinkaya's organization. Hazar had representatives in Ankara, İzmir, Yalova, Bursa, and Iğdır, as well as the US, Germany and England. Articles featured in Hazar are generally signed. Periodically articles from the native language press of Azerbaijan are re-published in Hazar modern Turkish.

Based on the limited number of back issues available, it would appear Hazar devoted more space to current affairs than any other "émigré" serials being published in Turkey at this time. While it is rather sensational and self-promoting, Hazar paid constant attention to the Popular Front of Azerbaijan (also the Popular Front of Nahchivan, Karabağ committee etc) its leadership, successes and travails. The considerable enthusiasm Hazar demonstrated for the Front, the notice it took of the imprisonment of some activists or the suspension of Front publishing organs, did not translate into a frontal attack on the establishment in Azerbaijan, however.

Considerable space in Hazar was also devoted to: (1) lauding M. Emin Resulzade (the Popular Front represents the return of the Azerbaijani people to the national and democratic movement he created); (2) propagating the notion that the Turks of Azerbaijan are a single but divided nation and that a common alphabet for Azerbaijani and Anatolian Turks is needed; (3) denouncing the Armenians and any real or imagined slight to Azerbaijan in the world press. Families in search of lost kin in Turkey or Azerbaijan, cultural themes, and interviews of prominent Azerbaijani guests in Turkey were also staple features of Hazar.

APPENDIX 3-C

BOOKS, ARTICLES AND PAMPHLETS

Ağaoğlu, Ahmet. Azerbaycan'ın Ehemmiyeti [The Importance of Azerbaijan]. Ankara: Başvekalet Matbaası, 1932.

Author (1869-1932) was seminal Pan-Turkist ideologue, founded first Azeri defense organization (Difai), was political advisor to Ottoman forces sent into Caucasus (1918), MP for Kars, and co-founder Free Party. As a liberal, Pan-Turkist and Pan-Islamist published dozens of articles in France, Russia and Turkey, as well as some twenty books unavailable in the US on matters relating to Islam, law, history, womens rights, the individual and state etc. See Gülseven and Muslih below.

_____. Ben Neyim [What Am I]. Istanbul: Ağaoğlu Külliyyatı no. 1, 1939
69 pp.

Reprint of series of articles published by Ağaoğlu in Cumhuriyet in 1936 and 1939. Useful for understanding his ideological orientation.

_____. [and Server İskit]. "Üye No. 25. Ahmet Ağaoğlu." [autobiographical data]. In: Türk Tarih Kurumu. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1983.
pp. 363-367.

Ağaoğlu, Samet. Babamdan Hatıralar [Memories of My Father]. Ankara: Zerbamat Basımevi, Ağaoğlu Külliyyatı No. 2, 1940, 213 pp.

Useful source on Ahmet Ağaoğlu and his circle of associates, authored by his son, renowned novelist and cabinet member during government of Adnan Menderes.

_____. Babamın Arkadaşları [My Father's Friends]. Istanbul: Baha Matbaası, 1969.

Ağaoğlu, Süreyya. Bir Ömür Böyle Geçti [In This Way a Life Was Passed]. Ankara: Ağaoğlu Yayınevi, 1984.

Information about Ağaoğlu by his daughter, one of the first female attorneys in Turkey.

Aran. Mehmet Sadık. "İranlı Talebeler Meselesi" [The Matter of Iranian Students]. Kızıl Elma no. 3 (November) 1947.

Published in virulent Pan-Turkist organ, calls upon Ministry of Education to accomodate (South) Azeri students. See Azer and TK below for biographical data on author.

(author unknown). "Op. Dr. Hamid Halil Ataman (1900-1979)" [obituaries of one of founders of journal Azerbaycan (Ankara)]. Azerbaycan no. 230 (1979): 11-26

Ayyıldız, Hakki Raif. Güneysel Kafkas Federasyonu II: Azerbaycan. Istanbul: Merkez Basımevi, 1936. 23 pp.

Developed for tenth grade lycee students. Companion works examined Georgia and Armenia.

Azer, San'an (pseudonym of Mehmed Sadık Aran). İran Türkleri [Turks of Iran]. Istanbul: Cumhuriyet Matbaası, 1942.

Author (1895-1971), aka Ahundzade, was MP in parliament of Azerbaijan. Very active in emigration, was one of Resulzade's foes. Appears he was dedicated to idea of establishing Turanian state with Turkey at its head. Served as correspondent for Cumhuriyet and Ulus in Iran prior to WWII. In this work he speaks in name of '37,000 political refugees of Persian Azerbaijan against bloody terror of Bolsheviks and against cultural suppression of Azeri by Tehran government.' See entries under Aran and TK.

Azerbaycan no 12 (36) 1955: 1-83

Complete issue dedicated to Resulzade at time of his death.

Azerbaycan Türklerinin Milli Bayram Armağanı. [Commemorative Volume for the National Holiday of the Turks of Azerbaijan]. Ankara: Milli Mecmua Basımevi, 1953. 9 pp.

Unimportant pamphlet. Noteworthy, however, as it demonstrates dissension among émigrés in Turkey and Germany after WWII. Probably authored by Mehmet Sadık Aran.

(author unknown). "Ali Azertekin (1905-1967)" [obituary of important disciple of Resulzade]. Azerbaycan no 184-186 (1967): 23-25.

Bala, Mirza. Azerbaycan Misak-ı Millisi: 28 Mayıs İstiklal Beyanamesi'nin Tahili [The National Pact of Azerbaijan: The Voiding of the 28 May Declaration of Independencel. Istanbul: Necmi İkbâl Matbaası, 1927. 54 pp.

Author (1898-1959) was Resulzade's principal assistant, aka M. B. Mehmetzade, V. Nuh-Oğlu, and M. B. Extremely prolific, he was involved in most Azeri nationalist publishing in Azerbaijan, Turkey, Poland and Germany before his death.

_____. Milli Azerbaycan Milli Hareketi [National Movement of National Azerbaijan]. Berlin: 1938. 334 pp.

Important. Details the history of the Musavat Party and intellectual, social currents which led to its emergence.

_____. "Azerbaycan Muhacirlik Matbuatının Otuz Yılığ" [Thirty Years of the Emigre Press of Azerbaijan]. Azerbaycan no. 7 (1953): 8-12.

Useful article treats Azeri émigré publishing between the years 1923-53. Appeared initially in Munich-based publication Birlesik Kafkasya (September 1953).

Baykara, Hüseyin. Azerbaycan'da Yenilesme Hareketleri, XIX Yüzyilinda [Renewal Movements in Azerbaijan in the XXth Century]. Ankara: Ayyıldız Matbaası, 1966. 200 pp.

Azerbaycan İstiklal Mücadelesi Tarihi [History of Independence Struggle of Azerbaijan]. Istanbul: Azerbaycan Halk Yayınları, 1975. 330 pp.

Useful work, especially for introductory purposes. Concentrates on XIXth and XXth century, contains a useful bibliography. Lacking an index it is difficult to access, however. Author was a regular contributor to Türk Kültürü.

Baytun, Arif (Retired Colonel). İlk Dünya Harbinde Kafkas Cephesi [Caucasian Front in WWI]. Istanbul: Vakit Matbaası, 1946. 143 pp.

Eyewitness account, reportedly. Author served as officer on Ottoman General Staff and subsequently as MP for Ankara Province.

Binark, İsmet., and Sefercioğlu. "Azerbaycan Bibliyografyası" [Bibliography of Azerbaijan], Türk Kültürü Volume 13 no 156 (1975): 372-378.

This bibliography and another (unsigned) one quite similar to it (see Türk Kültürü Vol. 2 no. 19 (1964: 68-75) served as a foundation for the present bibliography.

Caferoğlu, Ahmet. XIX Asır Azeri Şairi Siraci [The XXth century Azeri Poet Siraci]. Istanbul: Burhaneddin Matbaası, Azerbaycan Yurt Bilgisi Tetkikleri, 1932. 23 pp.

First of a strictly cultural series of pamphlets, today rare, issued by Caferoğlu (1899-1975) and those connected to the publication Azerbaycan Yurt Bilgisi (1932-34). Author was a senior academic figure in Turkey, whose political activities have never been assessed. Wrote at least eight major works on Turkic linguistics and dozens of articles in the émigré, Pan-Turkist and nationalist Turkish press. His articles in Yeni Kafkasya and Azeri Türk appeared under the name (Ahmet) Uran. Subsequently he wrote under the names Cafer, Ahmedoğlu, Dr. Ahmet Muhtar, and Dr. Ahmet Salmalı. His many contributions to Türk Kültürü were unattributed.

Azeri Edebiyatında İstiklal Mücadelesi [The Independence Struggle in Azeri Literature]. Istanbul: Burhaneddin Matbaası, Azerbaycan Yurt Bilgisi Tetkikleri, 1932. 44 pp.

A series of articles of the same title penned by Caferoğlu in AYB form basis for this pamphlet.

Azerbaycan. Istanbul: Cummhuriyet Matbaası, 1940. 47 pp.

Briefly treats remote and recent history of Azerbaijan. It is noteworthy that Caferoğlu's treatment of the Tsarist and independence periods in Azerbaijan do not mention Musavat or its leadership. Notes that help of Ottoman Army under Nuri Pasha to establish Republic of Azerbaijan will always be remembered.

_____. "Mücahit Halil Bey Hasmehmet." and "Dumadan Yükselen Türk Sesi."
[Holy Warrior Halil Bay Hasmehmet and A Turkish Voice Raised in Duma]
Mücahit no. 33-34 (1960): 5-8 and no. 41-42 (1961): 8-11.

Provides scanty details about Azeri politician active in First and Second Dumas who served as Minister of Justice in Republic of Azerbaijan. In emigration Hasmehmet(li) was a key foe of Resulzade, wrote extensively in Kavkas (Paris) and collaborated with Germans in WWII. Above two articles only known data published about him in Turkey.

_____. Türk Kavimleri [Turkic Peoples]. Ankara: T.K.A.E. Yayınları no. 52, 1983. 96 pp.

Reference work. Briefly describes Turkic peoples of Siberia and Altay, East and West Turkistan, Caucasus and Iran, Idil-Ural, Crimea, Poland and Romania.

Çağatay, Tahir. "Abdulvahap Yurtsever'in Ardından (1898-1976)" [obituary of key activist, disciple of Resulzade]. Azerbaycan no. 220 (1976): 4-9

Dirimtekin, Feridun. Büyük Harp Türk Cepheleeri: Kafkas Cephesi [Turkish Fronts in the Great War: The Caucasian Front]. Istanbul: Harp Akademisi Matbaası, 1931. 312 pp.

Likely an important source, particularly for military historians and those interested in Ottoman intervention in Caucasus.

Efendizade, Mehmed Şerif. Azerbaycan ve İnkilabı [Azerbaijan and its Revolution]. Istanbul: Şirket-i Mürettibiye Matbaası, 1921. 46 pp.

Erdoğan, Fahrettin. Türk Elllerinde Hatıralarım [My Memories in the Hands of the Turks]. Ankara: Yeni Matbaası, 1954. 290 p.

Erel, Şerafettin. Azerbaycan Politikacılarının Yanlıları [Errors of the Politicians of Azerbaijan]. Istanbul: Baha Matbaası, 1968. 53 pp.

- Polemic by a Dagistani émigré affronted by arrogance of Azeri authors (ie Mehmed Emin Resulzade). Rejects Azeri arguments that North Caucasians lack a national consciousness and are not Turkish. Territorial problems between Azerbaijan and Dagistan briefly discussed.

Gökgöl, Cengiz. Komünist Rusya ve Müslümanlar [Communist Russia and Muslims]. Ankara: Mücahit Neşriyatı, 1958. 64 pp.

Unimportant chronicle of oppression and persecution in Tsarist and Soviet periods authored by president of the Azerbaijani Nationalists Association in Ankara, editor of Mücahit.

Guli-zade, M. A. and Dadach-zade, A. "La Litterature de l'Azerbaïdjan XIXe et XXe siècles." Bedi Kartlisa no. 34 (1976): 232-247.

Gülseven, Fahrettin. "Ahmet Ağaoğlu'nun Hayatı, Fikirleri, Siyasi ve Sosyal Mücadeleri" [Life, Ideas and Political and Social Struggles of Ahmet Ağaoğlu]. Azerbaycan no 268 (1989): 72-111.

Most comprehensive treatment of Ağaoğlu and his activities available to date. Includes useful bibliography of works by and about Ağaoğlu.

Hajibeyli, Jeyhoun. "The Origins of the National Press of Azerbaijan," The Asiatic Review, Part I, vol XXVI no. 85-88 (1930): 757-765; Part II+III vol. XXVII no. 89-92 (1931): 349-395 and 552-557.

Authoritative and accessible treatment of period 1875-1920. Author, (1891-1962) was active in journalistic circles in Azerbaijan before joining the Azeri delegation to the Paris Peace Conference. Wrote extensively on Soviet affairs for the French press, was connected to important émigré organizations and publications, albeit as an independent it would appear.

_____. "Ten Years of Bolshevik Rule in Azerbaijan." The Asiatic Review vol. XXVII no. 89-92 (1931): 122-130.

Discusses anti-Soviet insurrections 1920-24, role of schools in spread of atheist propaganda and Russian language, mellowing of Armeno-Azeri conflict.

_____. Anti-Islamistkaya propaganda i yeye metody v Azerbaidshane [Anti-Islamic propaganda and its method in Azerbaijan]. Munich: Institute for the Study of the USSR, 1959. 87 pp.

Treats early Soviet propaganda designed to win over Muslim East to Bolshevism, duplicitous character of real policy, nature of, and organizations engaged in anti-Islamic propaganda.

Haziran, Mehdare Tüzun. "Ahmet Ağaoğlu'nun Hayatı ve Eserleri Üzerinde Bir Araştırma" [A Study of the Life and Works of Ahmet Ağaoğlu]. Istanbul University (?): M.A. Thesis, 1976.

İlter, Aziz Samih. Kafkas Cephesi [Caucasian Front]. Ankara: Erkaniharbiyye Reisliği Matbaası, 1934. 116 pp.

İslam Ansiklopedisi 69 (1955) S. v. "Matbuat" [Press] by Reşid Rahmeti Arat.

Section three treats Azeri periodical literature in and out of USSR. To be used with care as publication dates do not always coincide with other sources.

İzzet, Süleyman. Büyük Harpte (1334-1918) 15. Piyade Tümenin Azerbaycan ve Simali Kafkasya'da Hareket ve Muharebeleri [15th Infantry Division's Movements and Battles in Azerbaijan and North Caucasia in WWII] Askeri Mecmua no. 44 (1936) 257 pp.

Important. Author, key North Caucasian refugee player, was one of the commanders involved in the occupation of Azerbaijan and Dagistan. Presently uncatalogued at Hoover Library.

Kafkasya Konfederasyonu. Vesikalar ve Materyaller [Confederation of the Caucasus. Documents and Materials] Paris: Kafkasya Konfederasyonu Şurası Neşriyatından no 2, 1937. 60 pp.

Important. Signed in the name of Azerbaijan by M.E. Rezulzade and Ali Merdan Topçibaşı, of North Caucasia by M.G. Sunç, İ. Çulık and T. Şahman, and of Georgia by Noe Jordania and A. Çenkeli. Considered by Musavatists to be one of the major accomplishments of Rezulzade in emigration, this document ostensibly gave concrete form to longstanding propaganda claims of Caucasians connected to the Prometheus movement. Armenians were specifically called upon to sign this compact but they did not, considering the confederation ideal a gambit for Turko-Muslim hegemony in Transcaucasia.

Karaca, Ahmet. "Dr. Ahmet Yaşat (1917-1985)" [obituary of key AKD activist]. Azerbaycan no. 251 (1985): 35-37.

_____. "Azerbaycan Milli Hareketinin İdeolojik Karakteri" [Ideological Characteristics of the National Movement of Azerbaijan]. Azerbaycan no. 234 (1980): 30-51.

Overview of events of 1905-36 emphasizing role played by Rezulzade and Musavat, penned by leading figure in Azerbaijan Kültür Derneği.

_____. "Mehmet Ali Resuloğlu'nu Anarken" [biographical data about Rezulzade's brother]. Azerbaycan no. 239 (1982): 17-25.

Keykurun, Naki. "Türk Ademi Merkeziyet Fırkasının Faaliyeti ve Musavat Partisiyle Birleşmesi" [The Activity of the Turkish Decentralization (Federalist) Party and its Unification with the Musavat Party]. Musavat Bülteni no. 4 (1962): 19-21.

_____. Dertleşme [Grievancel. Istanbul: Bürhaneddin Erenler Matbaası, 1963. 15 pp.

Polemic. Discusses reasons why "Wiesbaden Agreement" was unacceptable to Azeri nationalists in emigration but the Paris Bloc was. See Şahzamanlı.

_____. Azerbaycan İstiklal Mücadelesinin Hatıraları [Memories of the Independence Struggle of Azerbaijan]. Istanbul: Istanbul Ekspres Matbaası, 1964. 132 pp.

Useful eyewitness account. The author was the General Director of National Security for the Republic of Azerbaijan and one of the founders of the Turk Federalist Party of Azerbaijan. He was active in opposing Rezulzade's leadership during the inter-war years.

(author unknown). "Naki Keykurun (1883-1963)" [necrology]. Azerbaycan no. 184-186 (1967): 21-22.

Korkmaz, Zeynep. "Prof. Dr. Ahmet Caferoğlu ve Meslek Şahsiyeti" [Prof. Dr. Ahmet Caferoğlu and His Professional Life]. Türk Kültürü no. 157 (1975): 31-36.

La Republique de l'Azerbaïdjan du Caucase. Paris: P. Harambat, 1919.
51 pp.

Mir-Yakup. Le Problème du Caucase. Paris: Librairie Oriental et Americaine, 1933.
274 pp. Available at UCLA Research Library.

Discusses Russian conquest of the Caucasus, rise of national movements among Azeri, Georgians, North Caucasians and Armenians, need for Caucasian unity, Bolshevik conquest of the region, etc. The author, one the delegates to the Paris Peace Conference, was quite active in the Promethean Movement, and apparently penned other unavailable works on 'Petroleum in International Politics,' and 'The Soviet Regime.'

Munşi, Hilal. Die Republik Aserbeidschan. Eine geschitliche und politische Skizze. Berlin: Neudeutsche Verlags- und Treuhand-Gesellschaft m.b.H., 1930.
64 pp.

Author served as Resulzade's point-man in Berlin in the inter-war period, headed Azerbaijan Independence Committee and contributed to émigré serials connected to the Prometheus movement.

Oder, Kerim. Azerbaycan Ekonomisi [The Economy of Azerbaycan]. Ankara: Yeni Matbaası, 1952. 191 pp.

Semi-scholarly treatment of economic history of Azerbaijan, dwells on Soviet plundering of region's natural resources. Penned by prominent disciple of Resulzade in Turkey, the former president of National Center of Azerbaijan (AMM) in Ankara. Available at Butler Library, Columbia University.

_____. "Kaybettiğimiz Büyük Değer" [obituary for Mirza Bala Mehemtzael Azerbaycan no. 2-3/86-87 (1959): 9-24.

Resuloğlu, Mehmet Ali. "Musavat Partisinin Kuruluşu" [Establishment of the Musavat Party]. Musavat Bülteni no. 4 (1962): 9-14

Recollections of one of the three founders of Musavat. Author (1882-1982) was brother of Mehmed Emin Resulzade.

Resulzade, Mehmed Emin. Asrımızın Siyavusu [Siyavuş of Our Century]. Istanbul: Amidi Matbaası, 1339-1342 (1923-25). Milli Azerbaycan Neşriyatı no. 2.

Important. Considered finest work of the leader of the Musavat Party, author (d. 1955) discusses Republic of Azerbaijan, its administration, collapse, place in 'Turan' etc. using tale of Siyavush as historical analogy. Available at Hoover Library in Arabic script, a Russian translation is to be found in the Baku journal Hazar no. 12 (March) 1990.

_____. Azerbaycan Cumhuriyeti: Keyfiyyet-i Tesekülü ve Simdiki Vaziyeti [The Republic of Azerbaijan: Circumstances of its Formation and Condition Today]. Istanbul Şehzadebaşı Evkaf-ı İslamiye Matbaası, 1339 (1923). 167 pp.

_____. İstiklal Mefkûresi ve Gençlik [The Independence Ideal and Youth]. Istanbul: Amidi Matbaası, 1925. 45 pp.

_____. Rusya'da Siyasi Vaziyeti [The Political Situation in Russia]. Istanbul: Amidi Matbaası, 1926. 43 pp.

_____. İhtilalcı Sosyalizm iflası ve Demokrasinin Geleceği [The Bankruptcy of Revolutionary Socialism and the Coming of Democracy]. Istanbul: Matbaa-i Orhaniye, 1928. 70 pp.

_____. Milliyet ve Bolşevizm [Nationality and Bolshevism]. Istanbul: Matbaa-i Orhaniye, 1929. 163 pp.

_____. O Pantürkizme v sviazi z kavkaskoi problemoi. Paris, 1930.

Polemic. Written in response to Zarevand's United and Independent Turania: The Aims and Objectives of the Turks (Reprinted by Brill, 1971), Rezulzade rejects Turanism as a utopian dream, identifies Azeri national interests as Caucasian first and foremost. Reprint available from Society for Central Asian Studies.

_____. Sefibeycilik [Şefibeyism]. No publication site or publisher. 1934, 70 pp.

Polemic. Important for understanding internal émigré politics and fragmentation of Musavat in the diaspora. Written in response to Rüstembeyli Şefi's book 'Decimated Idols,' Rezulzade defends himself against financial improprieties, being a servant of Bolshevism and other charges.

_____. "The Caucasian Problem: (The Idea of Caucasian Unity at Home and in Exile)." United Caucasus no. 1-2/18-19 (1953): 4-6.

_____. Azerbaycan Kültür Gelenekleri ve Çağdas Azerbaycan Edebiyatı [Cultural Traditions of Azerbaijan and Contemporary Literature of Azerbaijan]. Ankara: Kültür Derneği Yayınları no. 18, 1984. 43 pp.

Reprint of two educational pamphlets produced in the wake of lectures given by Rezulzade. 'Cultural Traditions,' briefly discusses prominent Azeri men of letters of the XIXth century. Quoting extensively from their poetry and other writings, 'Contemporary Literature' continues the chronology into the XXth century.

Şefi, Rüstembeyli. Yıkılan Putlar [Decimated Idols]. Istanbul: Milli Mecmua Matbaası, 1934. 53 pp.

Polemic. Subtitled 'Answer to the publishing of M. E. Rezulzade' author accuses latter of financial impropriety, being Stalin's tool and other matters. Claims Rezulzade was ejected from Musavat Party after his failure to appear in Party court.

_____. Resuzade'nin Feci Sukutu [Fall of Rezulzade]. Istanbul: Milli Mecmua Matbaası, 1935. 126 pp.

Polemic. More allegations against the integrity and activities of Rezulzade.

Rüştü (Emekli Kaymakam). Büyük Harpde Baku Yollarında 5. Kafkas Piyade Fırkası [5th Caucasian Infantry Division in Baku during WWI]. Istanbul: Askeri Mecmua, 1934. 218 pp.

Reportedly an important source on Ottoman intervention in the Caucasus. Presently uncatalogued at Hoover Library.

Seydahmed, Cafer. "Dr. Ali Hüseyinzade." Emel (Constanza) no. 148 (1940): 6-10.

Şeyhzamanlı. Biz ve Onlar [Us and Them]. Istanbul: Milli Mecmua Matbaası, 1934. 46 pp.

Coherent polemic directed against Resulzade and his entourage. Useful for understanding Azeri émigré politics. The author, known in Turkey as Naki Keykuran (see above entries) was a player of some note having served as General Director of Security for the Republic of Azerbaijan and having been involved in the establishment of the Turk Federalist Party which he attempted to recast with the publication of this pamphlet.

Tekiner, Süleyman. "Ünlü Bir Mücahid'in Aziz Bir Dost'un Ardından" [obituary for Mehmet Emircan (1912-1979)]. Azerbaycan no. 231 (1979): 15-20.

_____. "Azerbaycan İstiklal Mücadelesinde Resulzadesiz Geçen 30 Yıl" [Thirty Years Without Resulzade in the Independence Struggle of Azerbaijan]. Azerbaycan no. 251 (1985): 5-19.

Provides information on Azeri émigrés formerly connected to the Institute for the Study of the USSR, its closure, establishment of Azeri branch of Radio Liberty etc.

Togan, Zeki Velidi. Azerbaycan'ın Tarihi Coğrafyası [Azerbaijan's Geographical History]. Istanbul: unknown publisher, 1938. 61 pp.

Duplicates of student notes from Togan's lectures on Azerbaijan's geography at the Darülfünun, in Istanbul. His work on Azerbaijan may also be found in the Istanbul monthly Azerbaycan Yurt Bilgisi.

Tugaç, Hüsamettin (Retired Colonel). Bir Neslin Dramı [The Drama of a Generation].

Memoirs. Believed to be an important eyewitness account of developments in the Caucasus during WWI by a former officer attached to the Turkish General Staff. Author (1889-1975) served as MP for Kars Province and was member of Turkish diplomatic corps.

Türk Kültürü. no. 19 (1964)

Special issue devoted to Azerbaijan.

_____. "Azerbaycan Kanıyor" [Azerbaijan Bleeds] Türk Kültürü no. 322 (1990): 65-66.

Brief editorial condemning Soviet military intervention in Baku in January of 1990.

Rüştü (Emekli Kaymakam). Büyük Harpde Bakü Yollarında 5. Kafkas Piyade Fırkası [5th Caucasian Infantry Division in Baku during WWI]. Istanbul: Askeri Mecmua, 1934. 218 pp.

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_____. "Azerbaycan Kanıyor" [Azerbaijan Bleeds]. Türk Kültürü no. 322 (1990): 65-66.

Brief editorial condemning Soviet military intervention in Baku in January of 1990.

_____. "Birinci Milletler Arası Büyük Azerbaycan Kongresi Kayseri'de Yapıldı" [First International Great Azerbaijan Congress Held in Kayseri]. Türk Kültürü no. 327 (1991): 441-444.

Lists prominent participants and papers they delivered.

TK (author unknown). "Mehmet Sadık Aran'ın Ardından" [necrology]. Türk Kültürü no. 112 (1972): 267-270.

Vekiloğlu, Serpil. "Mustafa Vekiloğlu (1896-1965)" [necrology] Türk Kültürü no. 39 (1966): 284-286.

Vezirof, Yusuf Bey. Azerbaycan Edebiyatına Bir Nazar [An Examination of the Literature of Azerbaijan]. Istanbul: Matbaa-i Amire, 1337 (1921). 103 pp.

Yeni Türk Ansiklopedisi 11 (1985) S. v. "Turan, Hüseyinzade Ali."

Yurtsever, Abdul Vahapp. Azerbaycan Dram Edebiyatı [Dramatic Art of Azerbaijan]. Ankara: Bayur Matbaası, 1951. 37 pp.

Apparently one of four such cultural/educational works published by the Azerbaycan Kültür Derneği. Other unavailable titles dealt with matters like the life and works of Mirza Fethali Ahundzade, Sabir's place in the literature of Azerbaijan etc. Author (1898-1976) was active in Prometheus movement, served as President of the National Center of Azerbaijan (AMM), and editor of Azerbaycan. Was long affiliated with Turkish Press Directorate.

Zeyneloğlu, Cihangir. Muhtasar Azerbaycan Tarihi [Concise History of Azerbaijan]. Istanbul: Şems Matbaası, 1924, 222 pp.

_____. Sırvansahlar Yurdu. Istanbul: Cumhuriyet Matbaası, 1931. 188 pp.

Based on the work of B. Dorn, the author demonstrates that contemporary Azerbaijan is historically and ethnically the successor to ancient Caucasian Albania.

APPENDIX 3-D

ÉMIGRÉS IN THE PRESS OF SOVIET AZERBAIJAN

Äliyev, Mövsum. "Älimärdan Bāy Topchubashov." Odlar Yurdu no. 16 (413)
August 1988.

_____. "Mämmäd Ämin Räsulzadä." Odlar Yurdu no. 17 (414) September 1988.

_____. "Mämmäd Ämin Räsulzadä." Elm no. 40 (166) 7 October 1988.

_____. "Jeyhun Haḗ-Bäyli." Odlar Yurdu no. 20 (417) December 1988.

_____. "Azärbayjan Ruhü. M. A. Räsulzadänin Ömür Yolu." Azärbayjan no. 3
1989. pp. 178-183.

A detailed description of the life and work of Resulzade, this article's appearance in the official organ of Azerbaijani Writers Union represented not both his full rehabilitation and reclamation as a national symbol.

_____. "Mämmäd Äli Räsulzadä." Odlar Yurdu no. 20 October 1990.

_____. "Versal Sulh Konfransında." Tarikh no. 9 26 January 1991.

Älioghlu, Mövsum (aka Äliyev). "Shäfibäy Rustämbäyov." Odlar Yurdu no. 9
May 1991

This short biography of a prominent Musavat Party member that was quite active in emigration, ignores the conflict he had during the 1930's with Resulzade.

Alkın, Selcug. "Memmed Sadıg Aran." Odlar Yurdu no. 5 (May 1991).

Brief biography of a former member of Azerbaijani parliament who served at one time as general secretary of Musavat in emigration. His opposition activities to Resulzade in the late 1920's and 30's went unmentioned in this overview of his life's work.

Bayramova, Ofelya. "Abädi Ujlig." Vätän Säsi no. 21 (57) 22 May 1991.

Discusses visit of Azeri academics to tombs of Mustafa Kemal and Mehmed Emin Resulzade in Ankara.

Bähluloghlu, Allahshükür. "Yanvarin 31-i Mämmäd Ämin Räsulzadänin Anadan Olan Kundur." Vätän Säsi no. 5 (41) 30 January 1991.

Paens to Resulzade on the 107th anniversary of his birth and M. D. Märjankil's recollections of him.

Guliyev, Vılayet. "Kerim Oder ve Onun "Azerbaycan" Kitabı." Odlar Yurdu no. 2
(14) February 1991.

Brief treatment of life and work of Oder, an important disciple of Resulzade who acted as the president of the Azerbaijan National Center in Ankara.

İbrahimoglu, Nureddin. "Musavat'ın İdeologu M. B. Mehmetzade." Odlar Yurdu no. 5 (May 1991).

Brief biography of Mirza Bala (Mehmetzade), Resulzade's principal lieutenant.

Hazar no. 1 (2) March 1990 and no. 2 (3) June 1990.

This Russian language quarterly journal published in Baku featured complete translations of work of Resulzade, Ali Hüseyinzade and other important Azerbaijani nationalists and early communists. Significant.

Külseven, Fākhreddin. "Azərbayandan Əsarəratdan Sonra Ağaogluna Edilən Təklif." Vətən Səsi no. 22 (58) 28 May 1991.

Discusses response of Ahmet Ağaoğlu to Nariman Narimanov's invitation to help build Soviet Azerbaijan. See Gülseven, Appendix 3-C.

Mehmetzade, M. B. "27 Aprel İstilası ve 'Musavat'." Odlar Yurdu no. 8 (April) 1991.

Näsibzadə, Näsib. "Azadlıg Təgvimimiz 12 Yanvar." Azadlik no 2 (32) 10 January 1991.

Concerned with recognition of Azerbaijan by Entente powers at Paris Peace. Contemporary Azerbaijani press excerpted from January 1920. Albeit unavailable, the author of this article published a Russian language monograph on the Democratic Republic of Azerbaijan in 1990. He is considered the most serious and knowledgeable scholar on activities of Azeri émigrés.

_____. "28 May Yolu." and "Məsədimizin Bir Chokhuna Chatdig." Azadlik no. 20 (50) 24 May 1991.

[Rəsulzadə, Məmməd Əmin]. "Məktuplarda Galan Qünləri. Yazılmamış Tariximiz." Khənlik (Molodost) March 1989. pp. 48-53

Reproduction of various letters penned by Resulzade in the years 1906-1924.

_____. "Azərbaycan Jümhuriyyəti. 'Əsrimizin Səyavuşu' Əsərindən." translated by Pasha Kərimv. Elm no. 21-22 (229-230) 26 May 1990.

Excerpts from Resulzade's book on the Republic of Azerbaijan, published in Istanbul in 1923 and considered his finest work.

_____. M. Ə. Rəsulzadənin Stalin Həggində Khatiraları." translated by Rəmiş Əskər and Fərəjbəyli. Odlar Yurdu no. 17, 18, 19 (September-October 1990).

Resulzade's recollections about Stalin.

_____. "Stalinla İkhtilal Khatirələri." Elm no. 36-37 (244-245), 38-39 (246-247), 40-41 (248-249), [42-43 (250-251)?]

_____. "Azərbaycan Mədəniyyət Ən'ənaləri." Həgigət no. 9 (14) 5 March 1991.

_____. "Gara Qun Munasibätilä." Azadlik no. 17 (47) 26 April 1991.

Reproduction of an article penned by Resulzade in Kurtulus (Liberation), an Azeri émigré nationalist organ published in Berlin (1934-39).

Sharifov, A. "Rodina Prevyshe Vsego." Bakinskii Rabochi 12 August 1989.

Important. Interview with writer Elchin, correspondent for Azer Informatsiya, chairman of Azerbaijan Association for Cultural Affairs and activist in Vatan Cemiyeti. 'Open' discussion about Azeri emigration, including demographic data and prominent personalities in Near East and Europe. Claims Azerbaijani associations in Ankara and Istanbul established with support of Vatan Cemiyeti.

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Briefly describes scholarships established in the names of Ahmed Ağaoğlu and Han Shushinski, purposes and oversight committee.

APPENDIX 3-E
GENERAL REFERENCE

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APPENDIX 4-A

NORTH CAUCASIANS IN THE REPUBLIC OF TURKEY

SUMMARY

COMMUNITY:

Between 1859 and 1914 approximately two million North Caucasians, predominantly Circassians and Abhaz settled in disparate parts of the Ottoman Empire. After the collapse of Mountaineers Republic in 1918 a handful of nationalists came to Turkey before establishing themselves in Europe. In the wake of WWII six hundred North Caucasians who had collaborated with the Germans settled in Turkey.

Today, activists believe there are some two million people in Turkey of North Caucasian descent, roughly half of which are not fully assimilated. These groups are widely disbursed in Turkey but certain provinces such as Sakarya, Bolu, Balıkesir, Samsun, Tokat, and Kayseri contain at least sixty Circassian villages each.

ORGANIZATIONS AND PUBLICATIONS:

The period of Young Turk rule was the most dynamic period for North Caucasians in Turkey. At that time several social and political organizations, the main one being the Çerkes İttihad ve Teavun Cemiyeti (Circassian Union and Aid Association, 1908-23) surfaced. Thereafter, a separate North Caucasian identity was actively suppressed in Turkey, especially in the years 1923-50.

In Republican Turkey North Caucasian publishing and organizing appeared initially in Istanbul, under the guise of being North Caucasian "Turks." Timidity and anti-communism were salient features of their endeavor. Only by the mid-1960s did this begin to change with the emergence of a second center of activity in Ankara. The younger generation in Ankara rejected the cultural and political parameters North Caucasians faced in Turkey. Fearing assimilation and influenced by leftist ideology they have nurtured a weak repatriation movement which is being encouraged by Nalchik and Maikop Radio.

Like other emigre periodicals issued in Turkey, the journals and newsletters of North Caucasians have always been amateur affairs. Ephemeral and often sentimental in character they are rarely of use to analysts concerned with nationality problems in the Caucasus.

North Caucasian associations and their publication outlets in Turkey:

The Kuzey Kafkasya Yardımlaşma Derneği (North Caucasian Aid Association) based in Istanbul is the successor to the first North Caucasian association established in Republican Turkey (1953). At present it has no active membership outside of a dance ensemble. Since 1970 it has issued a cultural publication entitled Kuzey Kafkasya (North Caucasias). This publication had four short lived predecessors that began to appear in 1953. The association is directly linked to the Şamil Eğitim ve Kültür Vakıfı (Shamil Educational and Cultural Foundation) which was founded in 1973.

The Ankara Kuzey Kafkasya Kültür Derneği (Ankara North Caucasian Cultural Association) is the other major organization of North Caucasians in Turkey. An active center since circa 1964, it became increasingly radicalized in the 1970's before re-appearing in toned-down form in 1985. The slightly irregular monthly of this center

is today Kafdađı (name of the mythical mountain to which Prometheus was chained). This is the stabilized and mature version of a string of short-lived publications issued by this center since the mid-1960's.

The third center in Turkey, the Samsun Kuzey Kafkasya Kùltür Derneđi (Samsun North Caucasian Cultural Association) remains active. It's former president is today independently issuing the quarterly Kafkas Gerçeđi (Reality/Existence of the Caucasus).

Rather tiny associations in Turkey that cater to specific North Caucasian groups include: (1)the Çardak Derneđi (Çardak Association), an association of Chechens in Istanbul that appears to be inactive at present; (2)the Kafkas-Abhaziya Kùltür Derneđi (Caucasus-Abhaz Cultural Association) an Abhaz organization which surfaced circa 1967 in Istanbul and is still functioning; and (3)the Alan Vakıf (Alan Foundation) which was founded by a small group of Ossets in Istanbul in 1990.

Other small regional associations located in Turkey, such as exist in Yalova, Izmit, Izmir, Mersin, Corum, Duzce, Adapazar, Adana, Eskisehir, Konya, Kars, Balikesir, Denizli, and Bandirma occasionally issue irregular mimeographed bulletins about their local community and/or its activities. Their significance is overshadowed by the Istanbul, Ankara or Samsun groups.

CURRENT STATUS OF PUBLICATION OUTLET(S):

As North Caucasian publications in Turkey are very much an amateur endeavor financed on a shoe-string budget their utility is limited. The growing interaction between the North Caucasian communities in Turkey, Syria, Jordan, Germany, the US and especially the USSR, makes Kuzey Kafkasya, Kafdađı and Kafkas Gerçeđi worth monitoring however. Because communication between the Turkish North Caucasian community and the Caucasus is quite poor, credible information on developments in the nationalities sphere is scanty and what does emerge is often quite belated.

The twenty or thirty writer/activists involved in these publications have matured considerably since they first emerged in the mid-1960's. Demagogy is increasingly taking a back seat to professionalism and real historical research is being undertaken. In this development the availability of information and general political conditions in the USSR and particularly Turkey are playing their part. If this continues North Caucasian publication outlets in Turkey can be expected to make another qualitative leap that would make their products rather more useful than they are at present.

Inquiries regarding KK, Kafdađı and KG may be directed to:

Kuzey Kafkasya
Bahariye Cad. Yeđiner İşhani B. Blok
37/70 Kadıköy, İstanbul
Tel. 330-6373

Kafdađı
P.K. 17, Emek-Ankara

Kafkasya Gerçeđi
Saadet Caddesi No.1
Samsun
Tel. (9-36) 11-91-24

APPENDIX 4-B

SERIALS

KAFKAS ALMANAĞI [KA-Caucasian Almanac, 1937]

One issue of this sixty-four page 'almanac' was published in Istanbul by F. Daryal (pseudonym of Fuad Emircan) in 1937 before being succeeded by the equally ephemeral Kafdağı described below. Staunchly anti-communist, pro-German, pro-Japanese and inclined toward Turanism, KA was a compilation of articles from Haidar Bammate's journal Kavkaz (Paris and subsequently Berlin). Current affairs and ideological questions were the principal concerns of KA.

KA featured articles of interest particularly to a Turkish or Caucasian émigré audience that were earlier written by Bammate, Z. Avalashvili, Enrico Insabato, Alihan Kantemir and Muharrem Feyzi Togay. This group was opposed to those connected to the Prometheus movement, specifically Mehmed Emin Resulzade and Noe Jordania. It sought to 'awaken' and unify the North Caucasian and Azerbaijani emigrants in Turkey, to align these groups with the fascist powers against Bolshevism and to promote an anti-Soviet tilt in Turkish foreign policy. Available at the Butler Library, Columbia University.

KAFDAĞI [Mythical mountain to which Prometheus was chained 1937-38]

Two issues of this 'review about Caucasia' appeared in Istanbul in 1937 and 1938. It was identical to in format and content to KA described above. Actually each issue was more of a pamphlet than a periodical. The publication of Kafdağı resulted in the arrest, trial and expulsion from Turkey of its publisher in 1938. Available at the Butler Library, Columbia University.

KAFKAS DERGİSİ [KD-Caucasian Review, 1953]

Six issues of KD appeared in Istanbul between January and April 1953. Albeit unstated, it was the organ of the Kafkas Kültür Derneği (est. 1953). The masthead of this circa twenty page review owned by Ismail Bersis, as well as its two succeeding publications, Kafkas Mecmuası and Yeni Kafkasya noted that it appeared as a 'monthly political, cultural and literary review.' The significance of this anti-communist, Turkist oriented North Caucasian publication lay with its very appearance. North Caucasians, like other Soviet or Russian Muslim émigré groups were largely without a voice in Turkey since the end of WWI.

KD and its successors stood for a free North Caucasia without Cossacks and the resettlement of those 'kicked out, exiled and deported in their place.' Many of the articles in KD and its successors were published previously. KD's attention to current affairs was extremely limited, and rather crudely propagandistic. Articles about Circassian proverbs, the pre-history of the Caucasus, or trade in the era of the Arabs appeared along with anti-communist diatribes carrying titles like 'new tactics of the red octopus.' The principal contributors to this publication, notably Seyin Time, Dr. Vasfi Gûsar, and Canbek Havjoko were connected either to the Circassian Union and Aid Association (1908-21) or the Prometheus movement. Space was given in KD and its successors to articles penned by prominent Azerbaijani émigrés such as Mirza Bala. KD had a circulation of three hundred. Unavailable in the US.

KAFKAS MECMUASI [KM-Caucasian Review, 1954-56]

The death of Bersis, publisher of KD, discussed above, resulted in its collapse and re-issue under a new name. The same principal contributors and orientation KD demonstrated, resurfaced in KM. Under its new title, twelve issues appeared between April 1954 and April-May 1956. Brief articles about national heroes like Uzun Hacı, the Mountaineers' Republic, biographies of important North Caucasians in history appeared alongside more demagogic essays carrying titles like 'You must not believe in the Kremlin.' It should be noted that some of the necrologies which appeared in KM (KD and Yeni Kafkasya) are the only available sources on important early émigré activists, however. Unavailable in the US.

YENİ KAFKASYA [YK-New Caucasus, 1957-59]

Following the collapse of KM, Dr. Vasfi Güsar, an activist connected to the Circassian Union and Aid Association (1908-21) brought out thirty three issues of YK in Istanbul in the period between January 1957 and July-August 1959. The earlier tradition of serializing important works, such as the memoirs of General Musa Kundukov, Aziz Meker's book on Caucasian history or relevant foreign scholarship (ie Jäschke's article about the North Caucasian delegation to the 1916 Lausanne Congress) continued in YK, as did the publishing of poetry of a patriotic or a sorrowful character. In YK may be found brief descriptions of the customs and social life of Circassians, the struggle of Sheikh Shamil, the deportations of the Karachai, Balkar, Chechen-Ingush and the repatriation of North Caucasians to the Soviet Union at the end of WWII. YK had a circulation of five hundred. Unavailable in the US.

BİRLEŞİK KAFKASYA [BK-United Caucasus, 1964-67]

This Istanbul quarterly was the organ of the Kafkas Türk Kültür Derneği, a legionnaire-dominated breakaway organization from the Kafkas Kültür Derneği. Disappointed with the cultural and folkloristic orientation of the KKD, they sought to take a more aggressive line against the Soviet Union. BK hewed to the traditional goal of North Caucasian émigrés to see established a 'free and united' republic of Mountain peoples which would take its place in a larger confederation of Caucasian states.

Contributors to this serial which appeared from August 1964 to November (?) 1967 included Mustafa Beştoy, Canbek Havjoko, M. Zihni Hizal, Alhas Fidarok (pseudonym of Sefer Berzeg), Kadircan Kafılı and Osman Çelik. Several of the contributors were college students at the time. Along with vigorous support for American public diplomacy such as "Captive Nations Week," the cause of "Captive Turks," and bitter rejection of Russian/Soviet colonialism, BK lightly treated a wide array of historical, geographical, folkloristic and other matters from a national standpoint. The more significant successor to this publication was Kuzey Kafkasya, described below. An incomplete run of BK can be found at the Research Library of UCLA

KAFKASYA KÜLTÜREL DERGİ [KKD-Caucasian Cultural Review, 1964-1975]

KKD was published by İzzet Aydemir six times per year from May 1964 to an uncertain date in 1975. It is significant because it lasted a relatively long period of time for an amateur publication and because it was neither staunchly anti-Soviet nor pro-Turkish. Though it was a not avowedly pro-repatriation, KKD is considered by individuals sympathetic to this idea to have been the first review of the post-WWII ear to quietly promote "Circassianism" by rejecting the thesis that Circassians are a Turkic tribe. KKD's

appearance in Ankara symbolized the opening of a new center of North Caucasian activity in Turkey, as well.

KKD featured articles on a wide variety of subjects like Circassian customs and culture, great figures from Caucasian history, the Narts, history of the Russo-Caucasian wars, Muridism, Mamluk rule in Egypt etc. In terms of real substance KKD was not particularly significant, though it did begin to investigate the contemporary status and history of the North Caucasian community in Turkey. Contributors to KKD included Vasfi Gusar, Kadir Natho, B. Batirhan, Osman Çelik, Sefer Berzeg, Ömer Beyuga and others.

KKD was not a journal of current affairs nor did it critique or analyze developments in the USSR. Indeed, KKD's early, albeit moderate anti-Sovietism gave way to silence on the subject of Soviet nationalities policy generally, and specifically the deportations of 1943 and 1944. By 1966 native writers and composers were being profiled in the pages of KKD, for example. Periodically, this review also featured translations of Adige language poems from the USSR, or carried a photograph of a book jacket in Adige to make its point that North Caucasian identity was being preserved in the USSR—unlike in Turkey. Lists of clan names were also published in this review (something undertaken earlier in Istanbul as a subtle reminder that North Caucasian names had been forcibly Turkified) along with names and population estimates of Circassian villages in Turkey. Another novelty was KKD's attention to other parts of the North Caucasian diaspora, such as the communities in Israel, Jordan, and Syria. Without saying so directly, KKD informed its readers that these communities had contact with their brethren in the USSR, again unlike their counterparts in Turkey.

It is unsurprising that KKD's publisher was the first member of the Turkish North Caucasian community to travel to the USSR as a guest of Rodina (1968). Reportedly he experienced some difficulties with the Turkish authorities in the publication of this review. KKD is considered the forerunner to a series of ephemeral serials of a 'Circassianist' and often leftist bent. This seems to have represented more of a reaction to internal political developments in Turkey than a genuine pro-communist orientation.

KAMÇI [The Whip, 1969-70]

Circa ten issues of this eight page 'monthly political newspaper' appeared in Istanbul beginning November-December 1969. Although it was largely the product of one individual, Fahri Huvaj, Kamçı was published by Ali Erkmen. Articles by elderly activists such as Vasfi Gusar did appear in Kamçı, but otherwise it was a student paper. Kamçı considered itself to be the successor to Guaze, an ephemeral late-Ottoman North Caucasian publication.

Appearing under such slogans as 'our god is freedom, our temple is the homeland' and 'to serve a foreigner and neglect one's own interest is an error,' Kamçı rebuked the conservative Istanbul-based North Caucasian group which accepted the Turkic thesis concerning the origins of the Circassians. Kamçı demonstrated a "Circassianist" orientation. It sought to illustrate that North Caucasians were more free to preserve their identity in the USSR than in Turkey by reproducing book covers in Adige, patriotic song scores etc.

Kamçı and its milder successor Yamçı, pinned for a self-administered 'society' or 'state' on its own land.' This short-lived publication featured excerpts of émigré classics by Aytek Namitok and Met Izzet, the letter of İsmail Berkök to Rauf Orbay concerning the deportation of North Caucasians from Western Anatolia in 1923, a description of the administrative structure of various North Caucasian regions, biographies of Circassian men of letters, along with poetry and cartoons.

Kamçı went further than Kuzey Kafkasya Kültürel Dergi in 'discovering' (uncritically) North Caucasia under Soviet rule, and finding the cultural and political constraints of Turkish life to be unacceptable. Though the long term value of Kamçı's content is not significant, the paper represented a radical departure from the past and was a harbinger of important trends among some North Caucasian youth in Turkey. Kamçı favored the repatriation ideal. The circulation of Kamçı was one thousand five hundred, one third of which were regular subscribers.

KUZEY KAFKASYA [KK-North Caucasia, 1970-Present]

KK is a product of the same center which previously issued Birlesik Kafkasya. Since April-July 1970, KK has been appearing (at times irregularly) every other month in Istanbul. It is the solitary 'work' of the Cultural Association of North Caucasians and its related vakif (see Appendix 4-A) This publication has undergone considerable change since its inception. Initially KK's purview was decidedly folkloristic, historical and apolitical (aside from its mild anti-Russian/anti-Soviet character). A core of perhaps five men kept this publication on its feet in the 1970's. Notable among them were Musa Ramazan, the popular historian Tarik Cemal Kutlu, M. Rasih Savas (presently the owner of KK) Mehmet Aksoy, and M. N. Aktas. By the mid-1970's the circulation of this publication reportedly peaked around four thousand.

KK's contents have long been quite varied. Particularly in the 1970's, a substantial number of its longer articles were reprints or serialized books, such as Met Cunatuko's classic treatment of the history of the Caucasus or Bennigsen's work on Islam in the Soviet Union. Two or three page articles about the Russo-Caucasian wars, North Caucasian myths (narts), traditional cuisine, proverbs and dances, great national heroes (abreks, Sheik Shamil and Imam Mansur etc) necrologies, poetry, short stories and community news were staple features of KK. Largely silent on current affairs, both in Turkey and the USSR, KK was a rather timid, but patriotic, cultural organ of interest to older members of the North Caucasian community in Turkey.

In 1988 KK went to a new, glossy format. Still running about forty eight pages in length, at this juncture, KK began to demonstrate a more dynamic character as middle-aged North Caucasians joined their elders in issuing KK. Ethnic pride remains very much part of KK's message. Partial to the traditional North Caucasian aim of an independent confederation of North Caucasian tribes, it does not shrink from delineating one group from another. In KK Circassians are not "Turks" either. However, since Istanbul has been a bastion of conservative North Caucasian activism in Turkey, it is unsurprising that KK is not pro-repatriation.

Without dropping its largely cultural focus, KK has expanded its purview to periodically include contemporary political affairs in the Caucasus, researched articles as well as translations of articles from the Russian and native language press. KK has described the present administrative structure of the North Caucasus, provided information about the Caucasian Mountain Peoples Front, their 25-26 August 1989 congress and its decisions. It has also focused attention on old North Caucasian émigré publications, such as Gortzi Kafkasya, late-Ottoman North Caucasian émigré organizations and their contemporary successors. Interviews with elderly North Caucasians living in Turkey or elsewhere, letters from the homeland are also appearing in the revitalized KK along with more traditional fare. Reportedly, the circulation of KK is presently around one thousand five hundred.

NARTLARIN SESİ [Voice of the Narts, 1972-76 + 1978-79]

Eight issues of this mimeographed bulletin appeared initially as the semi-official organ of the youth arm of the Ankara North Caucasian Cultural Association in the period 1972-76. This bulletin was a dry-run for NS(2) discussed below.

After a two year interruption, NS reappeared in 1978 as the Bulletin of the Youth Arm of the Ankara North Caucasian Peoples Cultural Association. Nineteen issues of NS(2), were published on an irregular basis. It's first editorial referred to the Circassians of Turkey as a separate people who were being assimilated. This resulted in a six month prison term for its editor on charges of promoting separatism.

NS(2) featured biographies of prominent Circassians in the USSR, glowing reports of visits to the USSR, short stories, poems, cartoons (which rebuked Turkified North Caucasians) etc. NS(2) favored the repatriation ideal, denounced the Turkish right and American imperialism. Prior to its suspension, this publication was banned from circulating in regions in Turkey with large concentrations of Circassians. The second editor of NS(2) took refuge outside Turkey following the military intervention of 1980. NS(2) represents the high-water mark in the progressive radicalization of a segment of youth in Turkey of North Caucasian extraction. Neither NS nor NS(2) are available in the US.

YAMÇI [The Felt Saddle, 1975-78]

With one interruption, sixteen issues of Yamçı were published in Ankara as a 'monthly socio-cultural magazine' in the period November 1975 to February 1978. In tone, Yamçı was slightly more moderate than its predecessor Kamçı (see above) to avoid problems with the authorities. It was also produced independent of the North Caucasian association in Ankara to insure that the latter's activities would not be suspended.

The product of largely one individual, Fahri Huvaj, Yamçı's contributors included Nart Savsur, Hatam Necdet, Ozdemir Ozbay, Suleyman Yancatoral, and Nihat Bidanuk. The identity of many authors writing for Yamçı were hidden behind pseudonyms.

Yamçı primarily sought to explore and promote a sense of ethnic pride in its readership. In its support for the the repatriation ideal, it defined the XIXth century North Caucasian exodus as a tragedy encouraged by both Ottoman and Russian authorities. Yamçı featured a lot of cultural material, especially poetry and short stories. It attempted to expose its young readership to prominent cultural figures from Kabardinia, Abhaziya, translated Adige language poetry into Turkish etc. Yamçı was fundamentally a product of leftist youth, which rejected assimilation and 'injustice' in Turkey. Yamçı is unavailble in the US.

KAFDAĞI [mythical mountain to which Prometheus was chained, 1987-Present]

Kafdağı is the organ of the North Caucasian Cultural Association in Ankara and is owned by its president, Aslan Ari. When Kafdağı first appeared in February of 1987 it was a monthly, at present it is published every other month as a magazine of 'opinion, culture and art.'

This publication is the stable and mature version of a string of publications which appeared mainly in Ankara since 1964, beginning with Kuzey Kafkaysa Kulturel Dergi, and continued by Kamçı, Yamçı, and Nartların Sesi (1+2). Kafdağı is the main mounthpiece for the so-called repatriation ideal in Turkey. It works to promote contact between North Caucasians in Turkey and their brethren in the homeland, Jordan, Syria, Germany and the US. Kafdağı is serving as a conduit for the location of family members

lost in Turkey or the USSR, and seeks to provide its readers with addresses and information of use to those considering emigration to the Caucasus.

The contents of Kafdağı are quite varied. Special issues devoted to art, literature, or the history of the Northern Caucasus have appeared to date. Kafdağı has featured translations of renowned works, interviews with guests from the USSR and reprints of news concerning North Caucasia or North Caucasians from the Turkish press. It has republished essays from the late-Ottoman publication Guaze, (first expression of a North Caucasian spirit Kafdağı portends to continue), examined the history of North Caucasian publishing in Turkey and maintained a folkloristic disposition characteristic of all so-called émigré publications in Turkey. Traditional fare examining the life and work of prominent North Caucasians like İsmail Berkök or AYTEK NAMITOK, the activities of the Ankara, Istanbul and other associations in Turkey are also staple features of this serial.

KAFKAS GERÇEĞİ [KG-Reality/Existence of the Caucasus, 1990-Present]

KG appears to be the finest publication of its sort in Turkey at present. Owned and edited by Sefer Berzeg since July 1990 KG has been published in Samsun as a circa forty page quarterly. Though not particularly timely, KG is attempting to gather and relay information to its readers about contemporary political developments in the Caucasus.

KG opposes the continued assimilation of North Caucasians in Turkey but it is not avowedly pro-repatriation. Instead, the key to the preservation of a North Caucasian cultural identity in Turkey lies with education and the restoration of their lost history in Ottoman and Republican Turkey. Hence, KG has reproduced in modern Turkish the statutes of an early North Caucasian organization established in Istanbul as part of an ongoing interest in the life of North Caucasians in exile, examined the part played in the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-78 by exiled North Caucasians, focused on Halide Edip's connections to North Caucasians in Turkey etc.

Moderate, researched articles, poetry and short stories (often translated from the Adige), are appearing in KG along with editorials or short articles which treat contemporary political developments in the Caucasus. To date KG has focused on matters like 'South and North Ossetia and Georgian Chauvanism,' the declaration of the Caucasian Mountain Peoples' Front, the situation in Abhazia, the efforts of Crimean Tatars to reclaim their homeland, and new publications appearing in Nalchik. KG's news section, in particular, can be useful.

How far KG will be able to sustain this interest is unclear as Berzeg has indicated that access to contemporary information from the Caucasus is quite limited. Nevertheless, useful information, such as the bibliography of publications about the Northern Caucasus which appeared in Turkey between 1980-90, can be expected to continue to surface in KG.

Though KG does not agitate for a 'united and independent North Caucasia' as did the political refugees involved in the briefly established Mountaineers' Republic, the back cover of KG reproduces their flag. The relative sophistication of this publication is a function of the long experience Berzeg has in research and writing on matters germane to the North Caucasian diaspora.

APPENDIX 4-C

BOOKS, ARTICLES AND PAMPHLETS

Abaloğlu, Yunus Nadi. Çerkes Ethem Kuvvetlerinin İhaneti [Betrayal of the Forces of Cherkess Ethem]. Istanbul: Sel Yayınları, 1955.

Adige, R. "Literature on Dagestan and Its People." Caucasian Review no. 4 (1957): 101-118

Lengthy bibliography covering history, ethnography, archaeology, language, and culture of the peoples of Dagistan. The citations, which are also translated into English, are divided into pre-revolutionary and Soviet literature. A brief introduction covers Dagistani history from the earliest known period to the consolidation of Bolshevik rule in the North Caucasus.

Akça, S. "Çerkestaşköprü Köyü" [The Village of Çerkestaşköprü]. Kuzey Kafkasya no. 56-57 (1979):

Concerns a Circassian village in Anatolia. Cited as representative of many such articles in North Caucasian periodical press in Turkey. Is of (limited) use to anthropologists and ethnologists.

Ankara Kuzey Kafkasya Kültür Derneği Kafkas Halk Oyunları Topluğu [Folk Dance Group of the Ankara North Caucasian Association]. Ankara: 1978. 32 pp.

Ankara Kuzey Kafkasya Kültür Derneği 25. Yıl Bülteni [25th Anniversary Bulletin of the Ankara North Caucasian Association]. Ankara: 1986. 32 pp.

Contains some limited information on the founders and directors of this association over the years.

Aslanbek, Mahmut. (Ramazan Karaça). Karaçay ve Malkar Türklerinin Faciası [The Tragedy of the Karachay and Balkar Turks]. Ankara: (publisher unknown), 1952.

Atay, Falih Rıfki. Çerkes Ethem'in Hatıraları [Recollections of Cherkess Ethem]. Ankara(?): Dünya Gazetesi Yayını, 1961.

Aydemir, İzzet. "Türkiye Çerkesleri" [The Circassians of Turkey]. Kafkasya Kültürel Dergi no. 39-47 (1973-75)

This series identifies Circassian villages and communities in Turkey. To be used with caution as methodology employed was unscientific.

_____. Göç [Migration]. Ankara: Gelişim Matbaası, 1988. 213 pp.

Bağ, Yaşar. Kuzey Kafkasya Kültür Derneği Üzerine Düşünceler [Thoughts on the North Caucasian Cultural Association]. Ankara: Şapak Matbaası, 1971. 37 pp.

Discusses the aims and problems encountered by this organization.

Baj, Jabağı (Zekeriya Zihni). Çerkesya'da Sosyal Yaşayış—Adetler [Social Life in Cherkessia—Customs]. Anka: Kafkasya Kültürel Dergi Yayını, 1969

Bammate, Haidar. The Caucasus Problem. Questions Concerning Circassia and Dagestan. Berne: 1919. 46 pp.

Pamphlet. Authored by Foreign Minister of North Caucasian Republic for distribution at the Paris Peace conference. Issued also in French. Author was key émigré player in inter-war period. Other writing by Bammate on Islam is not represented in this bibliography.

_____. Le Caucase et la révolution russe. Paris: (publisher unknown), 1929.

Baytugan, Barasbi. Kuzey Kafkasya [North Caucasian]. Samsun: Kafkas Kültür Derneği Yayını, 1973

Berkök, General İsmail. Tarihte Kafkasya [Caucasia in History]. Istanbul: 1958

The author of this work served in the Ottoman Army in the Caucasus and remained a figure of considerable stature in Turkish and Circassian circles. The elaborate study he produced concentrates on the Russo-Caucasian struggle in history and apparently was based on the research of Şaplı Hüseyin Hunç.

Berzeg, Sefer E. Muhaccerette Kuzey Kafkasyalı Yazarlar [North Caucasian Writers in Exile]. Ankara: 1968. 48 pp.

Brief biographies of prominent North Caucasian writers and publicists. Useful. See also Fidarok.

_____. and Özbay, Ö. Kuzey Kafkasya Göçmenlerinde Besteciler Ressamlar Hattatlar [Composers, Painters and Calligraphers among North Caucasian Exiles]. Ankara: Şafak Matbaası (date?), 46 pp.

Short biographies.

_____. Gurbetteki Kafkasya'dan Belgeler [Documents from the Caucasian Diaspora]. Ankara: Şafak Matbaası 1985. 44 pp.

Introduces latin script reproductions of the by-laws of various North Caucasian organizations established 1908-20. Useful.

_____. Gurbetteki Kafkasya II [Caucasian Diaspora II]. Ankara: Şafak Matbaası, 1987. 47 pp.

Mixed fare, including additional biographies and the outcome of various legal cases involving North Caucasians who claimed the right to use non-Turkish names.

_____. Gurbetteki Kafkasya III [Caucasian Diaspora III]. Ankara: Devran Matbaası, 1989. 63 pp.

Mixed. Focus on Circassians in Jordan, legal cases in Turkey and North Caucasian periodicals issued outside the USSR.

Berzeg, Vedat. Türkiye'de Kuzey Kafkasya ile ilgili yayınları bibliyografyası 1928-86 [Bibliography of publications in Turkey concerned with North Caucasia, 1928-86]. Samsun: Şafak Matbaası, 1986. 24 pp.

Lists approximately 100 Turkish language works by and about North Caucasians, 13 dissertations/theses and describes the North Caucasian periodical literature in Turkey. Useful but not annotated.

Bibliographie de la Caucase Tome I. Constantinople: Par le comité de bienfaisance des émigrés de la Ciscaucasie en Turquie. 1919. 120. pp.

Bibliography of European works on the Caucasus followed by excerpts from several 19th century books on the Circassians. Probably penned by Hüseyin Şaplı Tosun. See "Compte.." below.

Bilatti, Balo. "Milli Hareketlerin İdeolojik Esasları" [Ideological Foundations of the National Movement]. Gortzi Kavkaza-Kafkasya Dağları no. 50 (April 1934): see also "Notes on the fundamental points of our national work in other countries." no. 43 (September 1933): 1-5

Büyüka, Omer Beyuga. Kafkas Kaynaklarına Göre İlk Yaratılışlar İlk İnsanli Kafkas Gerçekleri Volume I & II Istanbul: Yarış Matbaası, 1985. 522 pp. and 1986 427 pp.

Author of several scholarly tomes concerned with the Abhaz, their history and culture.

Cabağı, Wassan Giray. Kafkas-Rus Mücadelesi [Caucasian-Russian Struggle]. Istanbul: Baha Matbaası 1967. 107 pp.

Popularized history. Author was former Minister of Finance for briefly constituted North Caucasian Republic, subsequently active in Europe and Turkey as journalist. See Dshabagi.

Caferoğlu, A. "The Migration of Caucasian Peoples in the Last 150 Years." Integration (Augsburg) no. 3 (1959a): 178-179

Canbek, Ahmet. Kafkasya'nın Ticaret Tarihi [Caucasia's Trade History]. Istanbul: Kuzey Kafkasya Kültür ve Yardı Derneği Yayını, 1978

Author was active in Promethean movement under the name Canbek Havjoko. See also Zambek Chawzoko.

Çağatay, Saadet. "Karaçayca Birkaç Metin" [Several Texts in the Karachai Language], Ankara Üniversitesi DTCF Dergisi Volume 9 no. 3

Çelik, Osman. Nartlar—Kafkas Hikayeleri [Caucasian Stories—the Narts]. Istanbul: 1976.

The author is a prolific novelist whose work focuses on North Caucasia, its people and their struggle for independence.

Chawzoko, Zambek (Canbek). Północno-Kaukasky abrecy Warsaw, Wydawnictwo Kwartalnika "Wschod." 1937. 24 pp.

Reprint from Wschod-Orient, ephemeral Promethean publication.

Compte-Rendu des Assemblées des peuples de la Ciscaucasie et de leurs travaux législatifs Publié par le Comité de Emigrés Politiques de la Ciscaucasie en Turquie. Constantinople: F. Loeffler, 1918. 111 pp.

Rare. Likely penned by Hüseyin Şaplı Tosun. See "Bibliographie." above.

Dağistanlı, Hadduç Fazıl. Bir Kahramanın Hayatı: Dağistanlı Muhammed Fazıl Paşa [The Life of a Hero: Dagistani General Muhammed Fazıl] Istanbul: 1969.

Deliorman, Orhan. Dağistanlı Aslan Samil [The Dagistani Lion Shamill] Istanbul

Dshabagi, Wassan-Girei. Der Kaukasus und Seine Wirtschaft. Istanbul: Universum Druckerei no date. 80 pp.

Erel, Şerafettin. Dağistan ve Dağistanlılar [Dagistan and the Dagistanis]. Istanbul: 1961

This work is primarily a politico-historical chronology. Contains short biographies of important Dagistanis and discusses the activities of H. Bammate and Sait Shamill. Includes an index and bibliography. The author views Dagistanis as Turks.

_____. Azerbaycan Politikacıların Yanlıları [The Errors of the Politicians of Azerbaycan].

Polemical. Derides territorial pretensions of Azeri émigré politicians at expense of North Caucasia.

Fidarok, Alhas (pseudonym of Sefer Berzeg) Kuzey Kafkasya Göçmenlerinde Kültür Değişimleri [The Cultural Changes of North Caucasians in Emigration]. Ankara: 1971. 20 pp.

This brochure guardedly treats the question of assimilation of North Caucasians in Turkey.

Gökçe, Cemal. Kafkasya ve Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Kafkasya Siyaseti [Caucasia and the Caucasian Policy of the Ottoman Empire]. Istanbul: Şamil Eğitim ve Kültür Vakfı Yayını no. 1, 1979.

Scholarly work.

Görmüş, Alper. "Çerkesler: "Kafkasya'ya Dönüyoruz" [Circassians: "We are Returning to Caucasia"] Nokta 17 June 1990, pp. 16-21.

Discusses arrival of North Caucasians in Ottoman Turkey, the 1908-23 period of organizing and publishing, the threat of their assimilation at present and the return ideal. Largely reflects thinking of Ankara-based North Caucasian activists.

Göztepe, Tarık Mümtaz. İmam Şamil: Kafkasya'nın Büyük Harb ve İhtilal Kahramanı [İmam Şamil: Caucasia's Great War and Revolutionary Hero]. İstanbul: İnkilap Kitabevi, 1961.

Güsar, Vasfi. "Çerkes Teavun Cemiyeti" [Circassian Aid Association]. Kafkasya Kültürel Dergi no. 47 (1975): 28-36.

The author was a member of this important and early organization. He remained an outspoken Circassian nationalist in Turkey and was active in publishing.

_____. "İstanbul Çerkes Kadınları Teavun Cemiyeti" [Circassian Women's Aid Association of İstanbul] Kafkasya Kültürel Dergi no. 48 (1975): 21-26.

Habiçoğlu, Bedri. "Kafkasya'dan Osmanlı İmparatorluğuna Göçler" [Refugees from the Caucasus to the Ottoman Empire]. Doctoral dissertation. İstanbul University, 1985.

_____. "Türkiye'de Kafkasya Üzerine Kaynaklar ve Araştırmaları" [Sources and Research on the Caucasus in Turkey]. Kuzey Kafkasya no. 63 (1986): 11-17.

Haghandouqa, M. Kh. The Circassians. Amman: Rafidi Print, 1985. 227 pp.

Self-promoting treatment of role played by Circassians in Jordan.

(author unknown). "Hicretten Sonra Kafkasyalılar" [Caucasians After Emigration]. Yeni Kafkasya no. 38 (1959): 19-20.

Short bibliography of works published in the Middle East in Adige, Turkish and Arabic.

Hızal, Ahmet Hazer. Kuzey Kafkasya Hürriyet ve İstiklal Davası [The Cause of North Caucasian Freedom and Independence]. Ankara: Orkun Yayınları, 1961. 163 pp.

General but useful work that includes a substantial bibliography and a somewhat confusing list of North Caucasian periodicals issued outside the USSR. Hızal himself was very involved in organizing North Caucasians in the Middle East and Europe.

Hızaloğlu, M. Zihni. Sey Samil [Sheikh Şamil]. Ankara: Serdengeçti Neşriyatı no. 14, 1958.

_____. Kuzey Kafkasya'da Sovyet-Rus Vahseti [Soviet-Russian Savageness in North Caucasia]. Ankara: 1964.

İslam Ansiklopedisi "Matbuat" [Press], by Reşid Rahmeti Arat.

North Caucasian publishing (1913-52) in an out of the homeland is taken up on page 378. It appears, however, that Arat listed several publications seperately which in fact were editions of Şimali Kafkasya prepared for distribution in Turkey.

İzzet, Met Çunotoko. Kafkas Tarihi [History of the Caucasus].

Classic. Commonly serialized in émigré publications, otherwise unavailable.

İzzet, Süleyman. Büyük Harpte (1334-1918) 15. Piyade Tümeninin Azerbaycan ve Şimali Kafkasya'da Hareket ve Muharebeleri [The 15th Infantry Division's Movements and Battles in Azerbaijan and North Caucasia in WWI]. Askeri Mecmua no. 44 (1936) 257 pp.

Jabagi, M. Textes Populaires Inguş. Paris: (publisher unknown), 1935.

Kafkasya Üzerine Bes Konferans [Five Conferences about Caucasia]. Ankara: Kafkas Kültür Dergi Yayınları. 1978?

Contains a lengthy but unorthodox bibliography of works in European languages, Turkish and Arabic.

Kafli, Kadircan. Türkiye'ye Göçler [Immigrants to Turkey]. Istanbul: Çelut Matbaacılık, 1966. 47 pp.

Pamphlet. Describes groups that emigrated to Turkey and why. Author was active in North Caucasian organizations and publishing in Turkey, served as president of Federation of Turkish Immigrant and Refugee Associations, was a North Caucasian "Turkist."

_____. Şimali Kafkasya [North Caucasia]. Istanbul: (publisher unknown), 1942.

Kalmık, Betal. Adıge Devrim Hareketi. Kabartay-Balkar'da Devrim Mücadelesi [The Adige Revolutionary Movement, the Revolutionary Struggle in Kabardinia and Balkaria]. Istanbul: 1980

Karaça, Ramazan. "Şimali Kafkasya'da Tehcir ve Katliam" [Deportation and Massacre in North Caucasia]. Dergi no. 5. (1956): 35-50.

_____. and Koşay, Hamit Zübeyr. Karaçay-Malkar Türklerinde Hayvancılık ve Bununla İlgili Gelenekler [Animal Husbandry and Traditions related to it among the Karachay-Balkar Turks]. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1954. 150 pp.

Kırımlı, Edige. "The Independence of the North Caucasus as Reflected in the Turkish and German Press in 1918," United Caucasus no. 5, (May 1953) 7-12.

Kosok, Pşimaho. Kuzey Kafkasya Hürriyet ve İstiklal Savaşı Tarihinden Yapraklar [Pages from the History of the North Caucasian War for Freedom and Independence]. Istanbul: Kuzey Kafkas Kültür Derneği Yayını, 1960. 47 pp.

Pamphlet with a biography of Kosok, former president of the North Caucasian Republic, by Kadircan Kafli.

Kundh, Musa Paşa. General Musa Kundukhov'un Anıları. translated by Murat Yagan. Istanbul: Kafkas Kültür Dernekleri Ortak Yayını, 1978.

Translation of the memoirs of a Russian General who helped conquer and administer the North Caucasus and then joined the refugee exodus to Turkey where he became an Ottoman Pasha. Important source also available in French. Commonly serialized.

Kutay, Cernal. Bir Ölü Nefsini Müdafaa Ediyor! İsmet Paşa—Çerkes Ethem Çekismesi [A Posthumous Self-Defense! The conflict of Ismet Pasha (İnönü) and Cherkess Ethem] Istanbul: 1956.

_____ Çerkes Ethem Dosyası [The Cherkess Ethem Dossier]. Istanbul: Güray Matbaacılık, 1973. Vol I. 384 pp.; Vol II 363 pp.

Karaçay-Balkar ve Çecen-İnguş Milletinin İmhasının 8 inci Yıldönümü Münasebetiyle Verilen Konferanslar [Conferences Given in Connection with the 8th Anniversary of the Destruction of the Karachai-Balkar and Chechen-Ingush Nations]. Istanbul: Kuzey Kafkasya Türk Kültür Derneği Yayınları no. 1, 1952.

Kuzey Kafkasya'da 1944 Yılı Toptan Sürgün ve Katliam (Genocide) Faciası, Maktem Yılı [Twenty year memorial. The Tragedy of Collective Exile and Genocide in North Caucasia in 1944]. Ankara: Hedef Yayınları no. 3, 1964.

Mra, E. Büyükharpte Kafkas Cephesi: Methal, teskilat, seferbolma, tecemmü, harp ilanına kadar [The Caucasian Front in the Great War: Entry, organization, mobilization and assembly until the declaration of war]. Istanbul: Askeri Matbaa, 1933.

Mufti, Shauket (Habjoka). M.D. Heroes and Emperors in Circassian History Beirut: Libraire du Luban, Heidelberg Press-Lebanon, 1972.

Very uneven and self-serving.

Namitok, Aytek. Origines de Circassiens Paris, (publisher unknown), 1939.

Negumuko, Şora Bekmirza. Adige-Hatikhe-Çerkes Tarihi [Adige-Hatikhe-Cherkess History]. translated from the Arabic by Vasfi Güssar. Istanbul: 1976.

Özök, Rüknu, Milli Mücadele Baslarken [Onset of the National Struggle]. Istanbul: Milliyet Yayınları, Tarihi Dizisi, 1971.

Sürgünde Kafkasya [Caucasia in Exile]. Istanbul: Kaf Yayınları, 1990. 64 pp.

Şabah, Kuba. Adige Alfiba Damascus-Amman, 1952.

Cited as representative of the large number of alphabet books and grammars produced by North Caucasians in the diaspora which are not otherwise presented here. Other authors in this area include: Mustafa Butbe, B. Batoke Harun, Ömer Hilmi Tsey, Blenau Batuk etc.

Şamil Eğitim ve Kültür Vakfı [Şamil Educational and Cultural Foundation]. Istanbul: 1978.

Briefly describes the establishment of this foundation, its aims etc.

Şamil, Said. Montagnards du Caucase. Paris: (publisher unknown), 1930.

_____ Information Bulletin of the Popular Party of the Highlanders of Caucasus. 5 August 1930. (publisher unknown).

Dış Türkler ve Sosyalizm [Outside Turks and Socialism]. Istanbul: Fatih Matbaası, 1971. 108 pp.

Reproduction of two lectures given by Said Shamil.

Şener, Cemal. Çerkes Ethem Olayı [The Cherkess Ethem Affair]. Istanbul: (publisher unknown), 1988?

Şehsuvaroğlu, Bedi. Hekim bir Siyasimizin Portresi. Büyükelçi Dr. A. Hulusi Fuad Tugay [Portrait of one of Our Physicians: the Great Ambassador Dr. A. Hulusi Fuad Tugay]. Istanbul: 1972.

Simali Kafkasya Cemiyeti Nizamnamesi [By-Laws of the North Caucasian Association]. Istanbul: Baba Ali Min Ber Matbaası, 1335 (1919).

Reproduced in modern Turkish in Kafkasya Gerçeği no. 3 (1991): 30-32.

Simali Kafkasya'nın İstiklalı [The Independence of North Caucasia]. Istanbul: Kuzey Kafkasyalılar Kültür ve Yardım Derneği Yayınları no. 3, 1965. 55 pp.

Pamphlet. Reproduction of conference held to mark the 47th anniversary of Turkey's recognition of North Caucasia's declaration of independence.

Şoenu, Mehmed Fetgeray. Çerkes Sorunu Hakkında Türk Kamuoyu ve T.B.M.M.'ne Sunu [Presentation to Turkish Public Opinion and the Grand National Assembly Concerning the Circassian Question]. Ankara: Nartların Sesi Yayınları, 1980. 43 pp.

Originally issued in 1923, this booklet takes up the delicate question of the position of Circassians in Turkey. Amidst the white wash, the author suggests that the gates be thrown open permitting the Circassians to leave Turkey. The author was a well respected figure in his community. The books which he published in 1922, Çerkes Tarih. Çerkeslerin Aslı, Çerkes Kadınları, Batı Anadolu'da Çerkes Tehgiri Vol I & II (1923) and Kafkasya Servet Mecm (1924) are widely noted but seemingly unavailable. These as well as Çerkes Vesaelesi (The Circassian Pretext, 1923) would probably represent a good source of information.

Şortan, Askerbi. Büyük Çerkes Düşünücü Kazanokue Jabağı [The Great Circassian Thinker Kazanokue Jabağı]. translated from the Adige language by Afeşil Emin. Ankara: Kafkasya Kültürel Dergisi Yayınları, 1970.

Shanba, M. F. Ruskiy Imperializm e Nezavismost Goretzev. Prague: (publisher unknown), 1928. 15 pp.

Tansu, Semih Nafiz. Çarlara Boyun Eğemeyen Türk: Sey Samil [The Turk which would not Bow to the Tsars: Sheikh Shamill]. Ankara: Oğul Yayınları, 1973.

Terim, Şerafettin. Kafkas Tarihinde Abhazlar ve Çerkeslik Mefhumu [The Concept of the Abhaz and Circassianism in Caucasian History]. Istanbul: (publisher unknown), 1976.

Contains information on Abhaz communities in Turkey.

Time, Seyin (Hüseyin Şem'i Tümer). Gesefetxid [Didactic Poems]. Istanbul: Şimali Kafkasya Cemiyeti Yayını, 1919.

Rare. The poems apparently contain information about key émigré figures and the times. Adige with Latin script.

Traho, R. "Literature on Circassia and the Circassians." Caucasian Review no. 1 (1955): 145-162.

Contains an extensive bibliography principally of Russian and to a lesser extent English, French, German, Turkish, Hungarian and Polish sources with translated titles divided into sections on history, ethnography, geography, linguistics, and belles-lettres. Lists the relevant periodicals published in the USSR and in the diaspora.

_____. "Literature on Checheno-Ingushes and Karachay-Balkars." Caucasian Review no. 5 (1957):

Tsalikov, Ahmed. Borba za Volyu Gor Kavkaza. Prague: 1928, 27 pp.

Varoqua, Khaireddin Zuluq. "A Study of Circassian Culture as Reflected in Literature and Oral History." Ph.D dissertation, Rutgers University, 1982. 147 pp.

Examines rapid cultural assimilation of Circassians in America which the author seeks to stem. Pages 55-74 treat the geographic dispersal of the Circassians.

Vediş, Bahattin., and Aslan, Naif. Kahraman Çeçen-İngus Milletinin Faciası [The Tragedy of the Heroic Chechen-Ingush Nation]. Istanbul: 1965.

Yancatorial, Süleyman, "Kuzey Kafkasya Üzerine Süreli Yayınları" [Periodical Press on the North Caucasus]. Kafdağı nos. 5, 6-7, 8, 9-10, 11-12 (1987-88).

Systematic treatment of all North Caucasian "émigré" serials published in Turkey between 1953 and 1987.

APPENDIX 4-D

ÉMIGRÉS IN THE CHECHENO-INGUSH AND DAGISTANI PRESS

Sovyet Dagistan no. 3 [149] (1990): 14-22

Exposé. Brief examination of organ of Istanbul North Caucasian Association, Kuzey Kafkasya by A. Abu-Bakur, editor of SD and Russian language translation of Mehdi Cetinbaş's "Musa Ramazan 48 Yıl Sonra Anayurta" [Musa Ramazan 48 Years Later in the Motherland], originally featured in Kuzey Kafkasya no. 74-75 (1989): 8-10.

Manolis, Ch. "Djabbagevar Dezal" Serdalo 6 December 1990.

Treatment of three generations of Djabbage family. Life and activities of Iji, Muhammed, Vassan-Girey, and Jannem Djabbage, including brief interview with latter.

Serdalo 18 December 1990.

Discussion of M. Djabbage's thoughts on Romanization of Ingush language.

Grozny television. 14 March 1991. 17.25-18.05 Hrs. 'Djabbage brothers.'

APPENDIX 4-E

GENERAL REFERENCE

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APPENDIX 5-A

(WEST) TURKISTANIS IN THE REPUBLIC OF TURKEY

SUMMARY

COMMUNITY:

Most of the Turkistani community in Turkey, circa fifty thousand strong, hails from Western China or Afghanistan. They arrived in Turkey either as independent immigrants or in more significant numbers after WWII with the aid of the Turkish government.

As for Soviet Muslim émigrés, a few politically active individuals came to Turkey in the 1920's or were sent to Istanbul for educational purposes by the Republic of Bukhara. In the aftermath of WWII circa one hundred legionnaires, came to Turkey.

Of the Turkistanis in Turkey the community from the USSR is considered to be the most assimilated. At present, larger concentrations of Soviet Central Asian emigrants are to be found today in Afghanistan, Saudi Arabia and to a lesser extent, the United States.

ORGANIZATIONS AND PUBLICATIONS:

Like other Russian Muslim émigré groups, Turkistanis were active in the Ottoman capital in the years following the Young Turk Revolution. Their principal organization appears to have been the Bukhariote Society for the Spread of Knowledge in Constantinople.

Following the Bolshevik Revolution, a tiny nationalist elite connected to the short-lived governments established in Kokand, Bashkiria and the Republic of Bukhara founded in 1921 the Orta Asya Musulmanları Birliđi (Union of Central Asian Muslims).

This same core of activists, reacting to the fragmentation of Central Asia into several republics by Stalin, established the Turkistan Milli Birliđi (TMB-Turkistan National Union) in 1924. It appears that three individuals were sent in the name of TMB on organizing and espionage missions to Iran and Afghanistan in the 1920's. However, according to knowledgeable sources, TMB persisted in Turkey in name only for decades.

In 1927 the Türkistan Türkleri Gençler Birliđi (TTGB- Turkistani Turks Youth Union) was founded in Istanbul. Again, the same leadership involved with the above two groups were behind this association. Granted the use of the Uzbek Tekke in Sultan Ahmet following the outlawing of the dervish orders, this group held conferences and had a publishing organ, perhaps subsidized by the Polish government, known as Yeni Türkistan (New Turkistan) 1927-31. They also published a handful of pamphlets. The TTGB had a sizeable library, which was seized when the organization was closed circa 1939/40.

Dissension within this group centered on personality and orientation, with some embracing Turanism while others preferred Turkistani nationalism. The president of the TTGB asked Mustafa Kemal for support in bringing large scale Turkistani emigration to Turkey, as had been done with Balkan Muslims, but this was rejected. In 1938 this same individual went to East Turkistan to observe and encourage the nationalist revolt underway there (1938).

After the closure of TTGB (1940) it was succeeded by the short-lived Türk Kültürü Birliđi (TKB-Turkish Cultural Union), which comprised elements from various Soviet Muslim émigré groups and their Turkish nationalist or Pan-Turkist associates. It is

possible this initiative was undertaken with the support or tacit approval of the Turkish government.

The post war period witnessed the appearance of several Turkistani organizations. They lacked any real following, were often engaged in internecine conflict and were financially very weak.

In Istanbul appeared Türkistanlılar Kültür Derneği (Turkistani Cultural Association) in 1952, led by a Turanist of note. Reacting to this, followers of the deceased Turkistani nationalist, Mustafa Chokay, founded in Ankara the Türkistanlılar Yardımlaşma Derneği (Turkistani Aid Association) in 1953.

At the time a wave of Turkistani refugees from Afghanistan was arriving in Turkey, there surfaced the Türkistanlılar Yardımlaşma Derneği (TYD—Turkistani Aid Association) in Istanbul (1954). It involved common refugees and initially East Turkistanis as well. It persisted until 1976/77 and was a member of the Türk Göçmen ve Mülteci Dernekleri Federasyonu (Federation of Turkish Immigrant and Refugee Associations).

It should be stressed that TYD was a weak organization. Soon after its founding it demonstrated a tendency to fractionalize. East Turkistani participants broke away and subdivided into two rival groups for example. Further dissension arose over leadership, some claiming allegiance to Veli Kajum-Khan in Europe, while others supported Tahir Çagatay.

With the exception of Yeni Türkistan (1927-32) and a new and stable publication discussed below, Turkistani publications in Turkey have been quite weak and ephemeral. The paucity of cadre and funding, as well as infighting were at the root of this problem. The importance of Türkistan (1953), Bulak (1959-62?), and Hür Türkistan İçin (1975-78) lies mainly in their appearance, rather than their content.

At present Turkistanis from the USSR (and/or Afghanistan) have an organization and publication. In 1984 former activists connected to the TYD in Istanbul formed the Türkistanlılar Kültür ve Sosyal Yardımlaşma Derneği (Turkistani Culture and Social Aid Association).

TKSYD's present leader, born in Kabul, put the Turkistanis in Turkey 'on the map' after decades of obscurity. In 1985 the association bought a building. Three years later it began to regularly issue a quarterly glossy entitled Türkistan (see Appendix 5-B), which is being sent to Central Asia in limited numbers.

To further consolidate the association's position, the Türkistan Araştırmaları Vakfı (Turkistan Research Foundation) was established in August of 1990. Operations of this group now take place under the name of the vakıf rather than the association. In the future this vakıf can be expected to publish books and brochures.

With the intent of transmitting the aspirations and concerns of Central Asians to both a Turkish and world audience, TKSYP's leader has undertaken several initiatives worthy of note. Young activists are encouraged to develop contacts with various political groups in Turkey to build up the group's voice and influence, without taking sides or embracing marginal groups. An aggressive attempt to make contact with governing circles*, to

*During the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan TKSYP's president began to prepare reports on developments in that country for the Turkish government—on his own initiative. As he possesses contacts in Afghanistan, Pakistan and Saudi Arabia his approach was appreciated and he became something of an asset it would appear.

arrange invitations for prominent Central Asians to visit their counterparts in Turkey and to feed the Turkish press have been undertaken to date.

Other signs of vitality among the small Turkistani community in Turkey can be discerned in the kurultay (congress) the TKSYP organized in September of 1989 for Turkistanis in Turkey. Subsequently, in December of 1990 this group sponsored a second kurultay in Istanbul that brought participants from all parts of the Turkistani diaspora and Soviet Central Asia. While this represents considerable progress and dynamism, it also demonstrated, according to informed participants, that with the exception of a few well-known figures, Turkistanis lack cadre in the diaspora.

It is the hope of the present leadership of TKSYP that Turkey will become the seat of a revitalized Turkistani diaspora that has branches today in Afghanistan, Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, West Germany and the US.

APPENDIX 5-B

SERIALS

YENİ TÜRKİSTAN [YT-New Turkistan, 1927-1931]

Earliest, longest running and most important (West) Turkistani nationalist serial to appear in Turkey. Published in the old script from June 1927 to January 1929 (no. 5/17) and thereafter in latin script Turkish, its masthead initially read 'a monthly literary, scientific, political and economic magazine.' Subsequently, the word scientific was dropped in place of 'national.' The aim of YT was to end (Russian) Soviet domination of Turkistan and to promote the unity of the region's inhabitants.

Under the editorial direction of the former President of the Republic of Bukhara, Osman Hoca (aka Osman Kocaoglu) and with the contributions of key Soviet Muslim émigrés like Mustafa Chokay, Zeki Velidi Togan, Abdülkadir İnan, Tahir Çagatay (aka Shakir), Ahmed Naim, Tevekül Babur and Ahmet Mecit, YT ran sophisticated and well-informed features on matters such as: the Basmachi movement, the activities of the Emir of Bukhara, the economic life of Turkistan, the character of the ideological struggle in Central Asia, the role of famine in Bolshevik policy toward the nationalities, the Kremlin's policy toward Asia and Islam generally, the activities of communists in and out of the USSR, territorial and national questions of other Turkic peoples under Soviet rule etc. A regular news segment focused on Turkistan, the Caucasus (the national movements in Azerbaijan, Georgia and North Caucasia), Crimea, Ukraine, Russia, Turkey and Afghanistan. Poetry, often in Uzbek or Kazak, carrying titles like 'Why Do You Cry?' or 'Oh Great Ferghana' were also a mainstay of this publication.

According to émigré sources, during Stalin's purge of the Soviet Turkistani leaders Faizulla Khojayevev and Akmal Ikram they were accused of reading YT, 'a subversive, bourgeoisie-nationalist organ.'

The quality of YT publication is said to have diminished following its adoption of the latin script. Nevertheless, of its kind, it is an unrivaled source of information on the internal affairs of Central Asia in the early years of Bolshevik rule, as well as other Muslim regions of USSR, the Muslim East more generally and Soviet foreign policy. It is very much on par with the Azeri émigré publication Yeni Kafkasya whose character and format it generally shares. It would appear the subsidy for YT was provided by Poland. An incomplete run of YT is available at the Research Library at UCLA.

TÜRKİSTAN [Turkistan, 1953]

Two issues of this Turkish language 'monthly scientific, social, economic and cultural magazine' appeared in April and May of 1953. The publication was owned by Ziyaeddin Babakurban (presently a RL employee) and was under the editorial direction of Mehmed Emin Buğra, an important East Turkistani émigré leader. Prominent Turkistani activists like A. Oktay and Tahir Çagatay (writing under the pseudonym YT) contributed to Türkistan. It featured some poetry, a brief profile of Münevver Kari, an article on the origins of Jadidism, etc. The significance of this publication is largely symbolic, signalling the re-emergence of a Turkistani voice in Turkey after more than twenty years of silence, as well as a (short-lived) willingness among East and West Turkistanis to form a common front.

BULAK [The Spring, 1959+?]

The first number of Bulak appeared in Adana on 20 March 1959. After circa six issues, it seems to have collapsed. The masthead of this 'monthly nationalist cultural magazine' proclaimed, as was typical of Pan-Turkist reviews, 'may god (Tanrı) protect the Turk.'

The principal aim of this publication was to strengthen national feelings in its readership. Though Bulak carried articles about the cause of a free Turkistan and Sino-Russian imperialism, brief recollections of the Turkistani independence struggle and the like, it was mainly a Pan-Turkist organ. In serialized form Bulak featured a lengthy lecture on the Pan-Turkist movement by Fazlıoğlu Cemal Oğuz Ocal, focused on life and activity of Dr. Rıza Nur in a special issue etc. Unavailable in the US.

HÜR TÜRKİSTAN İÇİN [HTİ-For a Free Turkistan, 1975-1978]

Twelve issues of this 'liberationist newspaper' appeared in Istanbul in the period between 15 January 1975 and 31 January 1978. Generally running four pages in length this quarterly patriotic paper was opposed to 'all activities geared toward dividing up Turkistan.'

Largely the product of its owner, Ziyaeddin Babakurban (presently a RL employee) with contributions from well-known figures like İbrahim Yarkin, Naim Oktem, Baymirza Hayit, Abdülkadir İnan and Timur Kocaoğlu, the character and orientation of this quarterly paper can be gleaned from the leading article of its first number: 'World peace is conditional upon the establishment of a free Turkistani state between Russia and China.' Brief profiles of Turkistani nationalists like Osman Kocaoğlu, Mustafa Çokay and İshan Hoca were featured along with serialized articles by Hayit about Russian imperialism in Turkistan or nationalist ideological tendencies in the Soviet republics of Turkistan by P. Urban. This publication paid attention to Islamic and Turkological conferences with emphasis upon their import for the national cause.

HTİ aimed to 'give voice to the Turkestan problem in Turkey' and was principally distributed (probably in very limited numbers), in Istanbul, Ankara and Adana. A complete run of this ephemeral paper is available at the Hoover Library.

TÜRKİSTAN [1988-Present]

Since the appearance of Yeni Türkistan in the 1920's, the quarterly 'scholarly, economic and cultural magazine' Türkistan is the longest running and most sophisticated product of the Turkistani community in Turkey. Published in Istanbul and averaging sixty pages in length, this review is unofficially the organ of the revitalized Turkistani Culture and Aid Association.

Türkistan is mainly the product of a middle-aged generation which, in several cases, has received considerable formal education. Turkish academics, as well as the descendants of Turkistani Muslim emigres from Afghanistan, Soviet Central Asia and China are writing for Türkistan. The only articles featured in Türkistan by genuine Soviet Muslim emigres have been limited to those penned by former legionnaires, Baymirza Hayit and R. Nasar. The principal force behind the review is Ahat Andıcan, who is aided by Erol Kaymak, a frequent contributor to Türkistan. Other contributors to it include Timur Kocaoğlu, Aybek Türkistanlı, Ali Yavuz, Mehmet Saray, Sultan Pekmezci, Kiyamuddin Barlas, Çatay Kocar and Esref Bengi Özbilen.

Directed mainly at a Turkish audience and particularly the Turkistani community there, subscribers to Türkistan can be found in Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Germany, and the US.

Reportedly, Türkistan is being sent to Uzbekistan in limited numbers as well. Türkistan is demonstrating considerable interest in current affairs. Attention to events, organizations and personalities involved in nationalist activities in the Caucasus as well as Central Asia are receiving attention in this publication. Its purview has included such matters as: Kazakistan's declaration of sovereignty, activities of Mustafa Cemiloğlu, information about Birlik, Nevada-Semey, the Meshketian Turk-Uzbek conflagration, reportage on the two Turkistani kurultays held in Istanbul, news from and about Afghanistan etc. Interviews with activists like the Uzbek Muhammad Salih or the Azerbaijanis Abulfaz Aliyev, Abbas Abdullah and Refik Sek Handanan also provide information of a contemporary character for Türkistan's readership.

A substantial amount of space in Türkistan is given over to a discussion of historical and cultural matters. Stories, poetry and song scores like 'Beautiful Turkistan' or Hadjibeyli's 'Azerbaijan March,' have appeared in this review. Along with an explanation of its importance and impact, Türkistan presented in serialized form Memedali Mahmudov's 'Immortal Cliffs' in Latin script Uzbek. This represents a departure from the tradition of publishing only in Anatolian Turkish. Profiles of great historical figures such as Ulugh Bek, Farabi, Ibn-Sina, and the Turkistani nationalist poet Çolpan along with synthetic works treating in a nationalistic light subjects like Sultan Galiyev, the Basmachi movement, and the independence movement in Azerbaijan are also staple features of Türkistan. Though Türkistan focuses mainly on Central Asia, it is a forum for the cause of various Turkic peoples in the USSR, China and Afghanistan seeking greater independence. To this extent it is Pan-Turkic in character. Türkistan favors a common alphabetic for the Turkic world and encourages Turkey to overcome its fear of being accused of Pan-Turkism and what Andican has termed 'EEC syndrome.' Furthermore, it would be in Turkey's interest to aid Azerbaijan to prevent Armenia from becoming 'another Syria' should a weakened Moscow, the West and 'probably Iran' give assistance to Yerevan.

Something of Türkistan's spirit can be seen from the reminder littering the pages of its ninth number (1990). Appearing after the Soviet military intervention in Baku (January 1990) the notice proclaimed: 'Don't Forget. Azerbaijan was first invaded 70 years ago and again in 1990. Don't forget the millions of Turks sacrificed to the Russians.'

Türkistan is of limited interest and utility to analysts of Soviet affairs. Still, it offers insight into the thinking of a segment of the Turkish intelligentsia worthy of attention particularly as authority breaks down in the USSR and new relations between Turkey the Turks of Central Asia, the Volga and the Caucasus are established.

APPENDIX 5-C

BOOKS, ARTICLES AND PAMPHLETS

Altay, Halife. "Hür Dünyada Türkistan Muhacirleri" [Turkistani Refugees in the Free World]. Türkelî no. 5 (1968): 16-22.

Short informational article penned by senior figure in (East) Turkistani émigré community. Published in ephemeral Pan-Turkist journal issued by Hasan Oraltay in Izmir. Author also prepared arcane work on Kazak genealogy and translated Koran into Kazak.

Babakurban, Ziyaeddin. Dış Türkler ve Türkistan [Outside Turks and Turkistan]. Istanbul: Yeni Matbaa, Doğan Güneş Yayınevi, 1962. 30 pp.

Pamphlet. Author, presently RL employee, active in Turkistani émigré publishing since 1950's, edited Hür Türkistan İçin.

Bademci, Ali. Korbashlar, 1917-1934 Türkistan Milli İstiklal Hareketi ve Enver Paşa [Kurbashis (Guerilla Fighters). Turkistani Independence Movement 1917-1934 and Enver Pasha]. Istanbul: Kutluğ Yayınları, 1975. 566 pp.

Treats history of Turkistan, Ottoman-Turkistani relations, role of Ottoman officers and Enver Pasha in Turkistani independence struggle, Kurbashi activities in East Turkistan.

Baysun, Abdullah Recep. Türkistan Milli Hareketleri [National Movements of Turkistan]. Istanbul: Zaman Kitabevi, 1945. 202 pp.

Important eyewitness account of events in Turkistan. Details Russian intervention, liberation struggle, 1931 national revolt in East Turkistan. Contains information on Berlin students and émigré organizations in Turkey.

Bektöre, Saadet. Volga Kızıl Akarken [While the Voga Flows Red]. Ankara: Eroğlu Matbaası, 1965. 240 pp.

As told to his daughter, recollections of Şevki Bektöre, Crimean Tatar intellectual imprisoned by Soviets. Contains information on "felons" world and camps in Turkistan.

Büyük Türkistan Gecesi [Great Turkistan Night]. Istanbul: Toprak Dergisi Matbaası, 1967. 32 pp.

Unimportant pamphlet containing some general information about Turkistan for a social event.

Cebesoy, General Ali Fuat. Moskova Hatıraları [Moscow Memoires]. Istanbul: Vatan Neşriyatı, 1955. 348 pp.

Contains some information on situation in Turkistan 1920-22 and activities of Enver Paşa there.

Çağatay, Saadet. "Dr. A. Oktay (Abdülvahap İshakoğlu) 1904-1968" [necrology]. Türk Kültürü no. 69 (1968): 674-676.

_____. "Prof. Dr. Tahir Çağatay (1902-1984)" [necrology]. Türk Kültürü no. 261 (1985): 55-58.

Çagatay, Tahir. Türkistan Milli Hareketleri ve Mustafa Çokay [National Movements of Turkistan and Mustafa Chokay]. Istanbul: Yaş Türkistan Yayınları, 1950. 50 pp.

Takes up history of Turkistan, national movement there, importance of M. Çokay (aka Chokayev, Çokayoğlu, Tchokai). Penned by a close collaborator of Chokay, formerly a major contributor to Yaş Türkistan and senior émigré figure in Turkey (d.1984). Çagatay's memoirs, said to be rather explosive, remain unpublished. See also Shakir, İstiklalci. Author frequently signed articles Y.T.

_____. Türkistan'da Türkçülük ve Halkçılık [Pan-Turkism and Populism in Turkistan]. Vol. I/II. Istanbul: Yaş Türkistan Yayınevi, 1951/1954.

Working chronologically from the Göktürks to Babur, the author takes up important personages and events in history of Turkistan in volume one. Its successor examines national awakening and struggle of Turkistanis.

_____. Kızıl Emperyalizm I-V [Red Imperialism]. Istanbul: Yaş Türkistan Yayınevi, 1958-1975.

In five slim volumes author examines exploitive character of Russian-Soviet rule in Turkistan. Characteristically, volume two (1962) utilizes Russian and Soviet sources to highlight importance of cotton to the center and regional consequences: the plundering of Turkistan. Some émigrés claim these works circulated clandestinely in Central Asia. Contains useful bibliographies.

_____. Türkistan Kurtulus Hareketleriyle İlgili Olaylardan Sahneler [Scenes from Events Connected with the Movement for the Liberation of Turkistan]. Istanbul: Yaş Türkistan Yayınevi, 1959. 48 pp.

Discusses various international conferences Turkistanis attended following WWII, explains Turkistani participation in war, pretext behind Tashkent Conference etc.

Çagatay, Ülker. "Hokant ve Alaşorda Milli Muhtariyetleri ve Mustafa Çokayoğlu" [Kokand and Alashorda National Autonomous Governments and Mustafa Çokayoğlu]. Türk Kültürü no. 100 (1971): 381-385.

Çokay, Mustafa. 1917 nci Yıl Hatıra Parçaları [Memory Fragments of 1917] Paris-Berlin. 1937. 96 pp.

Published in Arabic script in Turki, several reprints are available in modern Turkish. Author was preeminent Turkistani nationalist, in emigration closely connected to French socialists and Polish supported Prometheus movement. See alternative spellings of his name, Çokayoğlu, Chokayev, Tchokai and Tchokaieff.

Çokayoğlu, M. Y. Esinin Ağzından Mustafa Çokayoğlu [From the Mouth Mustafa Çokayoğlu's Spouse]. Translated by Turkistanli.

Personal recollections of twenty three years of marriage with Chokay.

Chokayev, Mustapha. "Turkestan and the Soviet Regime." Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society 18 (1931): 403-420.

- _____. "The Basmaji Movement in Turkestan." Asiatic Review XXIV (1928): 273-288.
- Dağcı, Cengiz. Korkunc Yıllar [Terrible Years]. Istanbul: Varlık Yayınevi 1956. 206 pp.
- _____. Yurdunnu Kaybeden Adam [The Man Who Lost His Homeland]. Istanbul: Varlık Yayınevi, 1957. 208 pp.
- Delil, M. Türkistan Türklerinin Büyük Milliyetçi ve Yurtseverlerinden Mustafa Çokayoğlu Albümü [Album of the Great Turkistani Turk Nationalist and Patriot Mustafa Çokayoğlu]. Istanbul: Numune Matbaası, 1942. 27 pp.
- Memorabilia. Pictures and short bibliography of Chokay's works including list of various periodicals he contributed to in Russia and Western Europe.
- Engin, Muhabay. Kazak ve Tatar Türkleri [Kazak and Tatar Turks]. Istanbul: Boğaziçi Yayınları, 1976. 255 pp.
- Discusses origin of ethnonym Kazak, their history, socio-economic and political life using mainly Turkish/émigré and Soviet sources. Author is presently a RL employee. Written with Ferit Ağı, N. Devletşin and Ali Akış.
- Eriçcasun, Ahmet Bican. Bugünkü Türk Alfabeleri [Contemporary Turkic Alphabets]. Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayını, vol 2. 1977. 513 pp.
- Examines alphabets Turkic peoples have been compelled to make use of in an attempt to promote their political division.
- Erer, Tekin. Enver Paşa'nın Savaşı [Enver Pasha's War]. Istanbul: Maytaş Yayınevi, 1973. 144 pp.
- Examines the military and political career of Enver Pasha, the political situation in Turkistan and his involvement there.
- Hâfız, Abdüsettar. "Mustafa Çokay (7.1.1890-27.12.1941)" Türk Dünyası Arastırmaları no. 47. (1987): 223-229.
- Haksever, Kasım. Milli Azadlık Güreşlerimiz ile Alakalı Hatıra [Recollection(s) in Connection with our National Minority Struggle]. Munich: (publisher unknown), 1960. 14 pp.
- Hayit, Baymirza. Türkistan, Rusya ve Çin Arasında [Turkistan, Between Russia and China]. Istanbul: Otağ Yayınevi, 1975. 437 pp.
- Treats Russian and Chinese intervention in Turkistan from the XVIIIth to XXth centuries, state entities in Turkistan and their attempt to rebuff foreign encroachment. Translated from the German by Abdülkadir Sadak. Authored by former Turkistani legionnaire active as émigré historian in West Germany. See Saray.

_____. İslam and Turkestan Under Russian Rule. Istanbul: Can Matbaa, 1987. 359 pp.

Collection of previously issued articles and pamphlets.

Hoca, Osman. "Enver Paşa Buhara'da Kalsa idi..." [If Enver Pasha had Remained in Buhara...] Yakın Tarihimiz no. 3 (15 March 1962): 78-79.

Ilgar, Ihsan. "Atatürk'e yardım eden Buhara Türklendir" [Buharan Turks who helped Atatürk]. Aksam 4 May 1970.

"Soviet" aid to Turkey at the time of Turkish war of independence said to have come from Republic of Bukhara.

İlcul, A. Kemal. Türkistan ve Çin Yoollarında: Unutulmayan Hatıralar [On the way to Turkistan: Unforgettable Memories]. Istanbul: Zarf İş Matbaası, 1955. 236 pp.

İkiz, M. Lüfti. Komünist Hücrelerinin Faaliyetleri [The Activities of Communist Cells]. Istanbul: Fakülteler Matbaası, 1963. 72 pp.

Contains some eyewitness accounts of conditions in Turkistan.

İslam Ansiklopedisi 69 (1955) S. v. "Matbuat" [Press]. by Reşid Rahmeti Arat. ppp. 390-391.

İstiklalci (psuedonym of Tahir Çagatay). Türkistan'a Dair Bazı Cereyanlar Hakkında Görüşlerimiz [Our Views About Some Currents Concerning Turkistan]. Istanbul: Yaş Türkistan Yayını, 1952. 28 pp.

Polemic. Reflects division among Turkistani émigrés over leadership following WWII. Issues taken up, such as choice of language for publishing very real, but a screen for dispute between Çagatay in Turkey and Kajum Khan in Germany.

(author unknown). Kafkasya ve Asya-i Vusta ve Türkistan Vilayetleri, Bukhara, Hive Hanlıkları, Coğrafyi, Siyasi, Tarihi ve İstatistikî Mücmel Malumat [Provinces of Caucasia, Central Asia and Turkistan, the Khanates of Bukhara and Khiva. Concise Geographic, Political, Historical and Statistical Information]. Istanbul: Matbaa-i Askeriye, 1334 (1919). 63 pp.

Kajum-Khan, V. "Turkestan." The Eastern Quarterly vol. III no. 4 (October 1950): 35-39.

_____. "Recollections of the last years of Mustafa Chokai." Millij Türkistan no. 70/71B (March 1953): 21-23.

_____. Sum Ala Karagalar [Mischevious Crows]. Milli Türkistan Birlik Komitasinin Türkistan Ahbarat Bürosu (TAB), April 1, 1985. 28 pp.

Polemic. Concerns activities of Cora Kari, allegedly a KGB operative involved in disrupting Turkistani emigrants and their nationalist activities. Penned by the former leader of the Turkistani Legion, editor of Millij Türkistan (1941-76).

Kandemir, Feridun. Şehit Enver Paşa Türkistan'da [Enver Pasha the Martyr in Turkistan]. Ankara: Aydınlık Basımevi, 1945. 214 pp.

Treats Enver Pasha's activities from his departure from Istanbul til his demise.

Kocaoğlu, Osman. Türkistan. İstanbul: Türkistan Gençler Birliği Yayını, 1936. 16 pp.

Pamphlet. Reproduction of lecture given by former president of Bukharan Republic, Osman Hoca (1878-1968).

_____. "Türkistan ve Buhara Nasıl İstiklale Kavuştu" [How Turkistan and Buhara Won Independencel. Yakın Tarihimiz no. 17 (June 1963): 103-104.

Kutay, Cemal. Ana Yurtta Bes Osmanlı Türk'ü [Five Ottoman Turks in the Motherland]

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Oraltay, Hasan. Alaş. Türkistan Türklerinin Milli İstiklal Parolası [Alash. The National Independence Password of the Turkistani Turks]. İstanbul: İrfan Matbaası, 1973. 200 pp.

Details history of term Alash, the party, government and activities of its members. Includes numerous biographies. East Turkistani author, presently a RL employec, has published monographs and numerous articles in émigré and Turkish press about the Kazaks, their heroes, culture, and political aspirations.

Ozgen, Tahir. Türkistan'dan Türkiye'ye [From Turkistan to Turkey]. Konya: Yeni Kitap Basımevi (undated). 72 pp.

Recollections of Haji Perpi Özgen. Chronicles his struggles against Russian and Chinese imperialism

(author unknown). Rusya'da İslamiyetin Bugünkü Durumu [Contemporary Situation of Islam in Russia]. Istanbul: Doğan Güneş Yayınevi, 1966. 142 pp.

(author unknown). Rusya'yı Tanıyan Bir Zat Tarafından Rapor [Report by an Individual that Knows Russia]. Istanbul: Dersaadet Matbaa-i Askeriye, 1333 (1917). 59 pp.

Said to provide information about Turkistan, Idil-Ural and Azerbaijan mainly from a military and political standpoint.

Saray, Mehmet. "Doğumunun 65 Yılında Dr. Baymirza Hayit, Hayatı ve Eserleri" [Denkschrift. Life and Works of Dr. Baymirza Hayit]. Türk Dünyası Araştırmaları no. 22 (1983): 9-68.

In addition to providing considerable biographical data and a comprehensive bibliography of Hayit's output, lists over two hundred articles published in the USSR against him.

Shakir, Tahir. Türkistan Pahta Hocalığı [Cotton Regime of Turkistan]. Berlin: 1934. 152 pp.

One of three rare monographs prepared by important disciple of Chokay during Prometheus period. Others reportedly treated tragedy of Turkistani national literature and writers, and the Turkistani national idea and Ali Shir Nevai. See also Çagatay and İstiklalci.

Tchokai, Moustapha. Chez les Soviets en Asie Centrale. Paris: (unknown publisher), 1928. 64 pp.

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Tchokaieff, M. A. "Fifteen Years of Bolshevik Rule in Turkestan." Journal of Royal Central Asiatic Society vol. XX (1933): 351:374.

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_____. Türkili Haritası ve Ona Ait İzahlar [Turkili (Land of the Turk) Map and an Explanation Concerning It]. Istanbul: Aleddin Kırıl Matbaası, 1943. 33 pp.

Second half of this work is of particular interest wherein author takes up 'political movements of recent years' and treats problem of literary language. Apparently published originally in Cairo in 1939.

_____. Bugünkü Türkeli (Türkistan) ve Yakın Tarihi [Contemporary Turkeli (Turkistan) and its Recent History]. Istanbul: Türkiye Basımevi, 1947. 696 pp.

Classic. Treats Turkistan's geographical position, administrative divisions, inhabitants, and political, social and intellectual life as a colony.

_____. Türk ve Türkistan [Turk and Turkistan]. Istanbul: Toprak Yayınevi, 1960. 40 pp.

All about the term 'Turkistan,' its use in history, reasons to utilize or dispense with it etc.

Togay, Muharrem Fevzi. Türkistan'ın Dünya Politikasında Mevki [Place of Turkistan in World Politics]. Istanbul: Osmanbey Matbaası, 1938. 16 pp.

Pamphlet. Speech of important second generation Kazan Tatar immigrant, former president of Turan Association, chief editorial writer on foreign policy matters for Cumhuriyet.

Tuna, Dunder. Sovyetler Birliğinde İnsan Hakları ve Muhalifler [Human Rights in the Soviet Union and its Opponents]. Ankara: Şafak Matbaası, 1974. 86 pp.

Touches on liquidation of various Turkistani national figures.

Turan, A. Şekür. Türkistan Bibliyografyası [Turkistan Bibliography]. Ankara: Ayyıldız Matbaası, 1st edition 1972, 2nd 1979. 96 pp.

Contains over two hundred well-annotated entries including works not entirely devoted to Turkistan. Books, pamphlets about all aspects of East and West Turkistan in Turkish by émigrés and selected foreign authors. Contains author index. With an introduction by Tahir Çagatay.

_____. "Doğu Türkistan Milli Mücadelesinde Yas Türkistan Dergisini Hizmetleri" [Contribution of Yas Türkistan to National Struggle of East Turkistan]. Türk Kültürü no. 177 (1977): 59-61.

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Yarkin, İbrahim. Türkistan'da Hayvancılık [Animal Husbandry in Turkistan]. Istanbul: Osmanbey Matbaası, 1938. 29 pp.

Author penned countless articles, particularly in Türk Kültürü, about Turkistan, its history, key intellectuals like A. Kardiri, M. Behbudi, M. Kari, A. Fitrat, and Turkistani national struggle as waged against Russia and China.

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no. 223-224 (1981): 122-123.

APPENDIX 5-D

ÉMIGRÉS IN THE PRESS OF SOVIET CENTRAL ASIA

Äta Turk, Räjäbbay. "Temur Khoja: Aqibat Vätändir." Ishänch 27 April 1991.

Conversation with current RL employee, Timur Kocaoğlu, son of former President of Republic of Bukhara.

Hatämov, Gäffar. "Ëy Nävaiy Ävladi!" Yashlik no. 2 1991: 2-6

Interview with Timur Kocaoğlu, Adil Yaqubov (president of Writer's Union of Uzbekistan) and Shukrulu. Brief discussion of Turkistani emigrants, credit to be accorded to them.

Murad, N. and Hämid, A. "Vätän Daghi Khäsрати." Özbekistän Mätbuati no. 2 (502) February 1991: 34-37.

Broadcasters for Yatandaş (compatriot), Uzbek language service directed at Turkistani emigration in Pakistan, Afghanistan, Iran and India interview Timur Kocaoğlu. Provides good information about Osman Hoca for uninitiated.

Qul, Ègam. "Men Vätända Èmäsmän Vätän Mening Ichimdä." Erk no. 23 November 1990: 3-4.

Discusses Osman Hoca, Yas Türkistan, Turkistani legion and Veli Kajum-Khan.

Usmanov, Islam. "Temur Khojä: Ruhim Özbekistända Qalädir." Mulaqat no. 2 (1991): 66-69.

Discusses staff and programs of Uzbek Service at RL.

_____. "Vätän Sizlärnki Bolgani Käbi Meniki Hamdir." Mulaqat no. 5 (1991): 62-69.

Overview of the life of Baymirza Hayit as written by him at request of this publication, in q/a format. Gives some details about his life in army, Veli Kajum-Khan, Mustafa Chokay, imprisonment in Germany, Milli Türkistan Birlik Komitesi (1942-45), Soviet deprecation of Hayit, his publishing activities etc.

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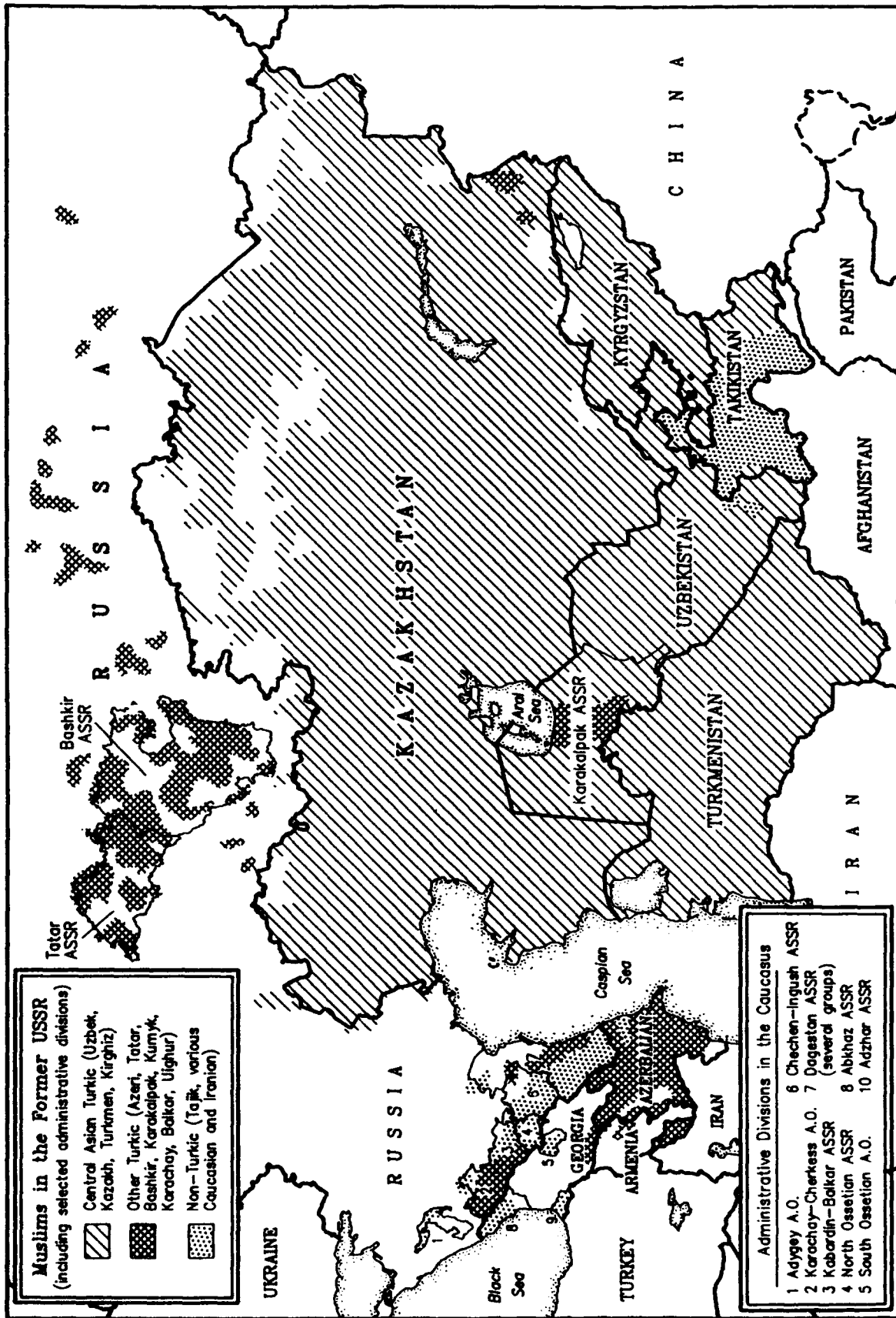
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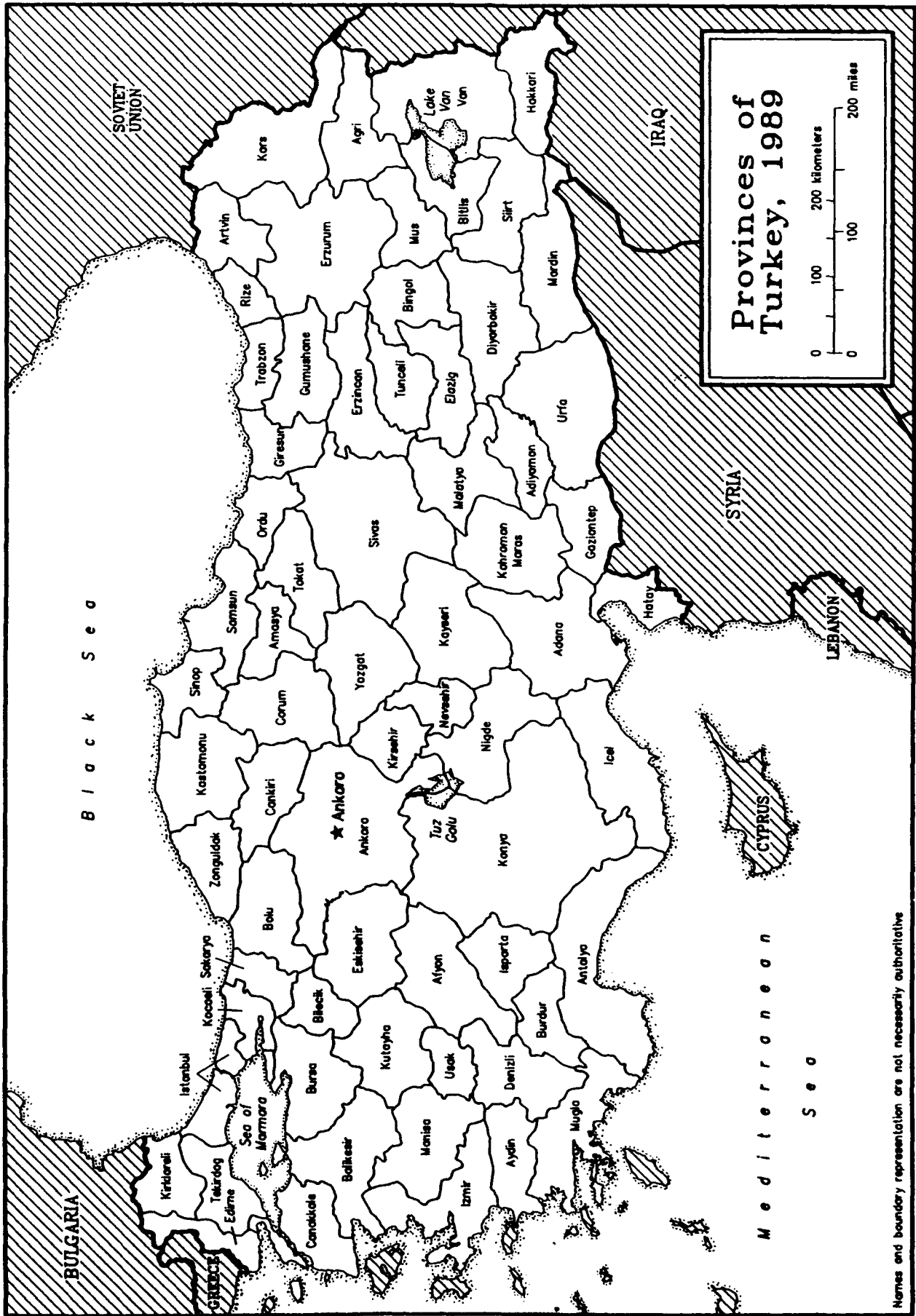
GLOSSARY

NORTH CAUCASIAN is an aggregate term for the Adige-speaking tribes otherwise known as the Circassians, their linguistic and ethnic brethren the Abhaz, the Chechen, Ingush, Karachai and Balkar, who were deported en masse at the close of WWII, the Ossets, Kumuks and the various tribes of Dagistan. According to North Caucasian nationalist émigrés, the Nogai and Turkmen of Stavropol were to be included in any prospective North Caucasian federation. Though not technically correct, the term North Caucasian has often been interchanged with the words Highlander or Mountaineer and in Turkey, North Caucasians are often considered Turks although many, like the Circassians, Chechen-Ingush, Ossetes and some of the tribes of Dagistan lack Turkic roots.

TATARS OF THE VOLGA-URAL is a designation for the Turkic-speaking Tatars of Kazan and their ethnic and linguistic brethren, the Bashkirs. Particularly among Kazan Tatar émigrés and Anatolian Turks, the Tatar-Bashkirs are commonly referred to as the Idil-Ural Turks.

TURKISTANI is an imprecise but common self-designation utilized by Central Asian emigrants, particularly Uzbek-speakers. The Turkic-speaking peoples classified under this rubric include the Karakalpaks, Kazaks, Kirgiz, Turkmen, Uighur, Uzbek and Iranian-speaking Tajiks. Anatolian Turks term these peoples Turkistani Turks.





Names and boundary representation are not necessarily authoritative



