

Activities of the Anti-Soviet Emigration in Turkey During the Inter-War Period

Volodymyr Komar*

Abstract

The paper relates studying the activities of the emigration of the non-Soviet people of the Soviet Union, who, after losing the independence by their native republics, addressed Turkey asking for the political refuge. It has been found that those people got in the focus of the Polish special services, which were acting within the frames of the concept of Poland's Prometheism, which was directed at weakening and collapse of the USSR due to the national differentiation. Poles managed to unite separate Georgian, Azerbaijani and North-Caucasian groups and guide their activities in the anti-Soviet direction. Development of the international situation prevented the Prometheism plans of the Poland of Pilsudski to come true completely.

Keywords: Prometheism, emigration, Turkey, T. Holuwko, The Caucasus Independence Committee, A Caucasian Conference Pact.

İki Dünya Savaşı Arası Dönemde Türkiye'deki Sovyet Karşıtı Göç Faaliyetleri

Özet

Bu makalede, Sovyet Birliği'nin Rus olmayan halklarının yerel devletlerinin bağımsızlıklarını kaybettikten sonraki Türkiye'ye siyasi iltica talebiyle göçü ele alınmaktadır. Bu insanlar Polonya'nın ulusal farklılıklar nedeniyle SSCB'nin zayıflaması ve çökmesini amaçlayan prometheism kavramı çerçevesinde hareket eden Polonya özel servisinin ilgi alanına girmektedir. Polonyalılar farklı Gürcü, Azeri ve Kuzey Kafkasya halklarını bir araya getirmeyi başararak onların Sovyet karşıtı faaliyetlerine rehberlik ettiler. Uluslar arası alandaki gelişmeler Polonyalı Pilsudski'nin Prometheism planlarına engel oldu.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Promethesim, göç. Türkiye, T. Holuwko, Kafkasya Bağımsızlık Komitesi, Kafkasya Konferansı Antlaşması

* Prof. Dr., Vasyl Stefanyk Precarpathian National University, Department for Slavic History, wolodymyr.komar@gmail.com. (ORCID ID: 0000-0002-5475-5084)
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In the inter-war period the territory of Turkey turned into a forced refuging place for a great number of emigrants from the Tsarist Russia. Failed national-liberating activities of Ukrainians, Georgians, Crimean and Volga Tatars, Azerbaijanians, Highlanders from the North Caucasus and a number of other people had to leave their Motherlands and look for rescuing abroad. Paris, Berlin and Constantinople became Centres for the National Emigration which soon started to be of the anti-Soviet character. The primary focus of this paper will be the anti-Soviet emigration centres in Turkey that were under influence of the policy of Poland's Prometheism.

Poland traditionally showed increased interest to the political, military and economic development of the peoples living in the Caucasus and Trans-Caucasian region. Yet before the war, when the lands of the Poland Kingdom were within the Russian Empire, the Caucasus was the sale market for Polish industrial products, particularly for fibre and textile products delivered Lodz. Poland already cared for the oil field and for extraction of manganese. In this context the Caucasus seemed to be prospective for the cooperation with the region¹.

Using the emigration of the Caucasian peoples, the Government of Pilsudski during the inter-war period tried to carry out an active policy on the Caucasus, which was of a lot of strategic importance for Poland. A special interest in this context there was the emigration organisation "A Council of Four", that was formed with aim of protecting the Caucasian national interests in Paris in 1921, and it was made up of representatives of Azerbaijan, Armenia, Georgia and highlanders from the North Caucasus. In 1923 "The Council of Four" tried to transfer the base of their political activities to Istanbul. This was accounted for by a common frontier line with the Caucasian republics, through which it was possible to keep connections with the native land. However in Armenia, whose people had suffered and lost much damage from the Turkish occupation in 1915, such terms and conditions were not acceptable. In 1924 the exiled Government of Armenia refused to

¹ RGBA (The Russian State Military Archive – *Российский государственный военный архив* = РГВА in Russian, Fund 461/k (Ф 461/к), Description 2 (оп. 2), File 42 (д. 42), Leaf 7 (л. 7) (Zasady i cele polityka polskiej na Kaukazie).

participate in the negotiations with Georgians, Azerbaijanians and highlanders of the North Caucasus². That resulted in the formation of the “Council of Three”, whose members tried to remain Turkey as a base area for the development of the anti-Bolshevik activities.

On 11 November 1924 “The Council of Three” announced its political declaration about the establishment in Istanbul of the Confederates Committee (CC = *KK* in Ukrainian), the members of which were representatives from the right emigration organisations of Georgia, Azerbaijan and highlanders of the North Caucasus³. In the CC they aimed at carrying a diplomatic work and appliance of all possible measures for the withdrawal of the Bolshevik troops from the Caucasus and the unification of the Caucasian Republics on the confederation principles in one state. The Rules of Procedure for Azerbaijan, Georgia and North Caucasus were worked out on the base of the Protocol on 11 November 1924 by the representatives of the said republics⁴.

² Мамулиа Г. Идея кавказской конфедерации в рамках движения “Прометей” (к истории пакта Кавказской конфедерации) // PROMETHEUS. Историко-культурный журнал. – 2009. – №1. – 23 сентября [Электронный ресурс]. – Место доступа: <http://chechen.org/page,5,348-zhurnal-chast.html> Время доступа: 14.12.2009. – (Mamulia G. The idea of the Caucasian confederation within the frames of the movement “Prometheus” (to the history of the Caucasian Confederation Pact) // PROMETHEUS. A historic and cultural magazine. – 2009. – #1. – 23 September [Electronic resources]. – Access place: <http://chechen.org/page,5,348-zhurnal-chast.html> Access time: 14.12.2009.

³ РГВА, ф.461/к, оп.2, д.33, л.6,10. (Sprawy Radz Trzech i KNK. Bez daty.); Mikulicz S. Prometeizm w polityce II Rzeczypospolitej... – S.158. *До КК увійшли видатні представники правих еміграційних організацій: з Азербайджану – Топчібаши, Грузії – Ассатіані, горців Кавказу – Гайдар Баммат.* – (RSMA, Fund 461/k, Description 2, File 33, Leaves 6,10. (Sprawy Radz Trzech i KNK. Bez daty.); Mikulicz S. Prometeizm w polityce II Rzeczypospolitej... – S.158. *The CC membership took the outstanding representatives of the right-wing emigration organisations: Topchibashi from Azerbaijan, Assatiani from Georgia and Gaidar Bammatt from the Caucasian Highlanders.*).

⁴ ААН, MSZ, sygn. 6690, k.352 (Регламент постоянного Совета Азербайджана, Грузии и Северного Кавказа. Осень 1927 г.); РГВА, ф.461/к, оп.1, д.231, л.1 (Регламент постоянного совета Азербайджана, Грузии и Северного Кавказа. Осень 1927 г.) – (AAN, MSZ, sygn. 6690, k.352 (The Rules of Procedure for the Permanent Council of Azerbaijan, Georgia and North Caucasus/ Autumn of 1927); RSMA,

The CC did not include the left Caucasian parties, which made in the emigration a common block. First of all, it was the most numerous and influential Azerbaijani party “Musavat” supported by the Turkish government. The Georgian Social-Democrats (the Mensheviks), who organised their own political centre in Paris, did not join the CC either. They set up mutually beneficial relations with the Turkish government, through whose territory they supported connections with the Motherland. S. Shamil’s Group happened to be off the Confederation as well, which was a powerful circle of the national liberation movement of the North-Caucasian peoples⁵. Without the said three emigration organisations it will be impossible to provide actively Poland’s Prometheism on the Caucasus⁶. Therefore Pilsudki’s Government faced the task of involving those into the orbit of the Polish Prometheism.

The person who tried to do that being among the first ones R. Knoll was, who during 1924–1925 was the Ambassador of Poland in Turkey.

Fund.461/k, Description 1, File 231, Leaf 1 (The Rules of Procedure of the Permanent Council of Azerbaijan, Georgia and North Caucasus. Autumn of 1927.).

⁵ AAN, MSZ, sygn. 6687, k. 24 (Sprawozdanie T. Hołowka do MSZ w Warszawie z wyjazdu do Konstantynopola. 21.VII.1926, Warszawa). *Прізвище діда, імама Чечні Шаміля, яке дісталоя Саїд Бєю, давало йому суттєві переваги перед іншими кавказькими лідерами. Опинившись в еміграції, вони психологічно і культурно вже були чужими своїм землякам: Гайдар Баммат оселився в Парижі, Вассан Гірей у Варшаві, Кантеміров – колишній адвокат з Баку. Саїд Бєй Шаміль натомість мав постійні контакти з Північним Кавказом, де підпільно працювало багато його однодумців. До нього постійно прибували емісари з Північного Кавказу. Саїд Бєй шанобливо ставився до полковника Т. Шетцеля, вважаючи його своїм приятелем і опікуном.*. – (AAN, MSZ, sygn. 6687, k. 24 (Sprawozdanie T. Hołowka do MSZ w Warszawie z wyjazdu do Konstantynopola. 21.VII.1926, Warszawa). *The family name of his grandfather, Shamil – the Imam of Chechnia, which Said Bey got, was for him advantageous in comparison with the rest of the other Caucasian leaders. Having found themselves in emigration, they already turned to be psychologically and culturally strangers to their compatriots: Gaidar Bammatt settled in Paris, Vassab Girey did that in Warsaw, Cantemirov was a former emigrant from Baku. Unlike those ones, Said Bey Shamil had permanent contacts with North Caucasus, where a lot of likeminded people worked. Envoys regularly arrived to him from North Caucasus. Said Bey respected Colonel T. Schetzel, supposing that to be his friend and defender.*)

⁶ AAN, MSZ, sygn. 6687, k. 24 (Sprawozdanie T. Hołowka do MSZ w Warszawie z wyjazdu do Konstantynopola. 21.VII.1926, Warszawa).



He believed it was necessary to establish a unified coordination centre with the participation of the Georgian, Azerbaijani North-Caucasian emigrants. R. Knoll conscientiously neglected the Armenians, for the anti-Turkish position of those. While putting in practice the consolidation of Caucasian emigrants, R. Knoll tried in any way to make secret the participation in that of the Polish Embassy. Though he understood, that no vast propagandistic campaign was possible without announcing that through the mass-media. Nevertheless representatives of the Polish Embassy tried to pretend the emigrants being united themselves, while the Embassy had nothing in the least to do with that at all.

R. Knoll coordinated the Promethenian activities of Poland in Turkey. Owing to his guidance, contacts were set up made with the government, the General Staff of Turkey, with Caucasian emigrants in Paris, and through those ones – also with the opposition on the Caucasus⁷. Colonel T. Schetzel, the Military Attaché of Poland in Turkey, established personal connections with representatives of Turkish special services, including the ones relating to the activities of the Caucasian emigration. AS L. Sotskov states, that failed to be unnoticed by the foreign intelligence service of the Soviet State⁸. The

⁷ AAN, Akta Romana Knolla (ARK), sygn. 1573, mf. 1573/2, k. 99 (Poseł Nadzwyczajny w Turcji do MSZagr. Departament Polityczny w Warszawie. Scisle tajne. Nie nadaje się do umieszczenia w "Polsce" i "Zagranicy". 13.VI.1925 r.).

⁸ Соцков Л. Ф. Неизвестный сепаратизм. На службе СД и Абвера. Из секретных досье разведки. – М.: Рипол Классик, 2003. – С.97. *До 1936 р. зовнішня розвідка називалася ИНО (Иностранный отдел) ВЧК, а потім ОГПУ, ГУГБ НКВД, згодом 7-й і 5-й відділи ГУГБ НКВД, а під час війни І Управління НКВД і НКГБ СРСР.* – (Sotskov L.F. An unknown separatism. On service of the SD and Abwehr. From secret files of the intelligence service. – Moscow : Ripol Klasik, 2003. – p. 97. *Till 1936 the the foreign intelligence service was called INO (= ИНО in Russian or IHO in Ukrainian = Иностранный отдел – Іноземний відділ) of the VChK (ВЧК in Russian or ВНК in Ukrainian = Всероссийский чрезвычайный комитет – Всеросійський надзвичайний комітет), and then OGPU (ОГПУ in Russian or ODPU in Ukrainian = Объединенное государственное политическое управление – Об'єднане державне політичне управління), GUGB NKVD (ГУГБ НКВД in Russian or ГУГД НКВС in Ukrainian = Главное управление государственной безопасности Народного комиссариата внутренних дел СССР = Головне управління державної безпеки Народного комиссариату внутрішніх справ СРСР), later – GUGB NKVD Departments 7 and 5 (7-й і 5-1 отделы ГУГБ НКВД СССР = 7-й і 5-й відділи ГУДБ НКВС СРСР), а під час війни –*

Polish-Turkish and Polish-emigrants relations in Turkey were not a secret for its foreign apparatus, that was a body independent on the People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs (NKVD), because of what the active Promethenian activities of R. Knoll brought to his resignation, since the Polish government did not want to embitter its relations with the USSR, that were strained even without that.

After R. Knoll's resignation from the position of the Ambassador of Poland in Turkey, Bader was appointed there. It did not mean at all, that the government of Pilsudski lost its interest to the Caucasian problem. The coordination of activities relating to the consolidation of the emigration in Constantinople under the auspices of Poland was taken by the Military Attaché of the Embassy – Colonel Schetzel. During 1925–1926 he managed to set up relations with separate groups of refugees from the Caucasus, got credit and sympathy among the leaders of Caucasian communities⁹, particularly that of S. Shamil, who took the obligation of providing the Poles with the information about their situation on the Caucasus¹⁰. The work of the involvement of the Georgian emigration started in August of 1925¹¹.

Colonel T. Schetzel suggested to organise a new structure under the name "The Committee of Independence of the Caucasus" (CIC = *KHK* in Ukrainian), whose membership would be made by one representative from the following: "Musavat", Georgian Mensheviks, S. Shamil's group, and by three representatives from the CC. All in all, the Administrative Organ was to include six persons and the same number of their deputies. This proposal seems to many people right and acceptable, for, from one hand, the Musavatists, Mensheviks and Highlanders had not to join the CC, and, on the other hand, there was

The 1st Administration of the NKVD and NKGB of the USSR (Первое управление НКВД и НКГБ СССР in Russian or Перше управління НКВС і НКДБ СРСР in Ukrainian.)

⁹ AAN, MSZ, sygn. 6687, k. 22 (Sprawozdanie T. Hołowka do MSZ w Warszawie z wyjazdu do Konstantynopola. 21.VII.1926, Warszawa).

¹⁰ Соцков Л. Ф. Неизвестный сепаратизм... – С.16. – (Sotskov L.F. An unknown separatism... – p.16.).

¹¹ CAW, Od. II Sz. Gł., sygn. I.303.4.5717, k.35 (Копия письма Вачнадзе к Т. Голувке. Константинополь. 1.X.1926 р.). – (CAW, Od. II Sz. Gł., sygn. I.303.4.5717, k.35 (A copy of the letter from Vachnadze to T. Holuwko. Constantinople. 1.10.1926).



to be kept the structure the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Poland needed.

T. Holuwko, who came to Constantinople in July 1926¹², entirely shared T. Schetzel's ideas about the organisation of the Caucasian emigration and helped their implementation. His mission he performed on the commission of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ambassador of Poland in Ankara¹³ – Badera, became “the final accord” in the business of establishing relations with the Caucasian emigration in Turkey.

Owing to efforts of T. Holuwko and T. Schetzel, on 15 July 1926 in Constantinople on the base of the existing then “Council of Three” and the Caucasian Confederation a Committee of the Independence of the Caucasus (CIC = *KHK* in Ukrainian) was set up¹⁴. The CIC consisted of the following: from Georgia – the Georgian Mensheviks N. Ramiushvili and his deputy S. Mdivani; from the CC – Vachnadze and his deputy Murastbey; from Azerbaijan – the Head of the “Musavat” party M.E. Rasul-Zade and the CC representative – Sultanov; from the highlanders of the North Caucasus – S. Shamil and Alihan Kantemir as the CC representative¹⁵. The CIC advocated the independence of the Caucasian Peoples and the formation of a common state on the federative basis. He was taking a hostile position in relation to the USSR. The CIC did not set up contacts with the national oppositional organisations in the USSR; that kind of activities was delegated to the

¹² *Історична назва Константинополь офіційно вживалася до 28 березня 1930 р., коли турецькою владою було наказано використовувати назву – Істанбул. В українській мові довгий час зберігалася назва – Стамбул. – (The historic name “Constantinople” was officially used till 28 March 1930, when the Government of Turkey ordered to use a new name – “Istanbul”, while in Ukrainian the name “Stambul” was used for a long time yet.)*

¹³ *29 жовтня 1923 р. в результаті перемоги революції під керівництвом Мустафи Кемаль Паши столицею новоствореної Турецької республіки була проголошена Анкара. – (On 29 October 1923, as a result of the victory of the revolution under the guidance of Mustafa Kemal Pasha, Ankara was announced the capital of the newly-established Turkish Republik.)*

¹⁴ РГВА, ф.461/к, оп.2, д.33, л.9. (Sprawy Rady Trzech i KNK. Bez daty.). – (RSMA, Fund 461/k, Description 2, File 33, Leaf 9. (Sprawy Rady Trzech i KNK. Bez daty.)

¹⁵ AAN, MSZ, sygn. 6687, k. 25 (Sprawozdanie T. Hołowka do MSZ w Warszawie z wyjazdu do Konstantynopola. 21.VII.1926, Warszawa).

national centers, whose work was coordinated by the CIC¹⁶. The CIC membership included representatives from the Azerbaijani and Georgian National Centres and from the People's Party of the North Caucasian Highlanders. The Armenians did not support that initiative because of their very obvious anti-Turkish orientation.

The National Centres actually became Governments in exile. The Azerbaijani National Centre (ANC = *AHЦ* in Ukrainian) was formed owing to efforts of M.E. Rasul-Zade, who headed that. The ANC had its branches in a number of countries, especially strong then there were positions of Azerbaijanians in Persia, from the territory of which regular contacts with the Motherland were made¹⁷. The Azerbaijani diaspora interested the Polish intelligence service as a source of information from the Azerbaijani Soviet Socialist Republic¹⁸. The Georgian National Centre was made up from representatives of all anti-Bolsheviks Georgian groups of the evacuated abroad Presidium of the Parliament and the National Government of Georgia. That included the Georgian National-Democrats, Socialist-Federalists, Social-Revolutioners¹⁹. Emigrants from the North Caucasus were not a whole, as it was on their Motherland too, they continued their mutual enmity in the emigration too. S. Shamil who belonged to an old clan of religious rulers – imams. Had most chances to head the national liberating movement of the peoples at the Caucasus.

At the end of 1928 the “Prometheus” organisation was formed. Its official name was : “The Prometheus Club – A Ligue of the Oppressed Peoples of Russia: Azerbaijan, the Danube Area, Karelia, Georgia, Idel-Ural, Ingria, the Crimea, Komi, the Kuban Area, the North Caucasus,

¹⁶ AAN, MSZ, sygn. 6690, k. 266 (Plan pracy i cele KNK. 23. X. 1930 r.).

¹⁷ AAN, MSZ, sygn. 6687, k.102 (Письмо М.Э.Расул-Заде к Тадеушу Голушко. Константинополь, 25.X.1927 г.) – (AAN, MSZ, sygn. 6687, k.102 (The letter from M.E.Rasul-Zade to Tadeush Holuwko. Constantinople, 25.X.1927.); РГВА, ф.461/к, оп.2, д.33, л.3. (Sprawy Radz Trzech i KNK. Bez daty.). – (RSMA, Fund 461/k, Description 2, File 33, Leaf 3. (Sprawy Radz Trzech i KNK. Bez daty.).

¹⁸ РГВА, ф.461/к, оп.1, д.321, л.5 (Działalność wydawniczo-propagandowa emigracji azerbejdżańskiej w latach 1922-1932.) – (RSMA, Fund 461/k, Description 1, File 321, Leaf 5 (Działalność wydawniczo-propagandowa emigracji azerbejdżańskiej w latach 1922-1932.).

¹⁹ Ibid., оп.2, д.52, л.267-270 (Deklaracja Gruzjińskiego narodowego centrum). – (Ibid., Description 2, File 267-270 (Deklaracja Gruzjińskiego narodowego centrum).

Turkestan and Ukraine”²⁰. The purpose of the formation of that organisation was implementation of the Prometheus ideas, which included collapsing the Soviet Union and the achievement by Poland of a priority in Eastern Europe.

Branches of the organisation “Prometheus” were set up beyond Poland. The CIC, on the right of the central Caucasian organ, was to report to the “Prometheus” Organisation with its centre in Warsaw. In fact, it was an Istanbul branch of the Warsaw Organisation “Prometheus”. The CIC tasks included coordination of the anti-Soviet activities of the Caucasian emigration. It acted on the territory of Turkey and spread its influence on the Soviet republics in the Caucasus and in the Trans-Caucasus, from which the emigrants originated. Beginning from the middle of 1928, the activities of the said organisation was completely subordinated to Exposition 2 of the General Staff of the Military Forces of Poland²¹. The Government of Pilsudski supported the separatist tendencies in the Trans-Caucasian republics, so as to separate and weaken the USSR.

On the territory of the Turkish Government of Kemal, that traditionally supported good-neighbourly relations with the USSR, there was formally forbidden to carry out the anti-Soviet activities. Particularly, that was true in regard of spreading the magazine “*Prométhée*”. However, as a matter of fact the Turks sympathised with the national liberating movement of their co-religionists – the Muslim peoples on the Caucasus. They saw in that an possibility for increasing their influence in that region. Due to the data from the Polish intelligence service, at the beginning of the 30s of the past century Turkey started gradually disassociate itself from the USSR and look for a support from the western states²². In this context, the cooperation with the Promethenian organisations seemed to be prospective. At the

²⁰ CAW, Od. II Sz. Gł., sygn. I.303.4.5782, k.661 (Ideologia walki ciemieżoncz przez Rosje narodów zjednoczonych w organizacji “Prometeusz”: Azerbajdżan, Don, Gruzja, Idel-Urał, Ingria, Karelia, Komi, Krym, Kubań, Kaukaz Północny, Turkiestan i Ukraina. 1936 r.).

²¹ Ibid., k.216 (KNK. Wytyczne zasadnicze. 23.X.1930 r.).

²² AAN, MSZ, sygn. 6688, k.69-70 (Письмо Мдивани к Т. Голушко. Стамбул, 28.IV.1928r.) – (AAN, MSZ, sygn. 6688, k.69-70 (The letter from Mdivani to T. Holuwko. Istanbul, 28.IV.1928.).

highest state level a search of contacts with the aim of exchanging the intelligence information was started. Particularly, Kazim Pasha²³, who was a person within the President Mustafa Kemal Pasha circles, like a number of other state leaders of Turkey, advocated the independence of the Caucasian peoples, and he secretly sympathized with the Prometheism policy. Kazim Pasha supported his personal relations with Mir Yakub Mehtiyev – the Head of the Parisian group of the Azerbaijani National Centre (the ANC). Worrying was caused only by the position of the Georgian Socialist-Democrats headed by N. Jordaniya, that were suspected of the Turkey-phobia and of relations with the 2nd International²⁴.

The territory of Turkey became a base for the Prometheian movement not by chance. Due to the common frontier lines with republics of the Trans-Caucasian Area, the one turned into a jumping-off place for sending there spies and anti-Soviet literature. In Turkey and Persia the Georgians, Azerbaijanians and emigrants from the North Caucasus founded permanently functioning transfer sites. Only during 1927 the Georgian national Centre (the GNC) organised about twenty expeditions onto the territory of the Soviet Georgia. The highlanders cooperated and assisted the regular contacts made at least once a month²⁵. After 1930 the state security organs of the USSR managed to minimise contacts of Caucasian emigrants with their Motherland.

Despite the inter-party enmity and confrontation, among the Caucasian emigrants could be continuously heard calls for consolidating their efforts in a common national liberating struggle. The Georgian section of the CIC put forward a Draft of the Caucasian Confederation Pact and supposed there was no use to announce that abroad, as it could have the negative resonance from the international community. It was proposed to announce the formation of z

²³ *Казім Паша був інспектором турецької армії та представником Туреччини на Кавказі. – (Kazim Pasha was an inspector of the Turkish Army and a representative of Turkey at the Caucasus.).*

²⁴ CAW, Od. II Sz. Gł., sygn. I.303.4.5710, k.29 (Utrudnienie tureckie względem prasy prometeuszowskiej w Stambule pod koniec roku 1935. 3.I.1936 r.).

²⁵ AAN, MSZ, sygn. 6690, k.285 (Бюро народной партии горцев Кавказа. Май 1929 г.) – (AAN, MSZ, sygn. 6690, k.285 (The Bureau of the People's Party of the Caucasian Highlanders. May 1929.).

confederation after the Caucasian republics gaining independence. Under the circumstances available in the emigration it was supposed to be reasonable signing a declaration of the intentions, so as to inform the world publicity about the wish of the legitimate Caucasian states to set up a confederation after the re-estatement of the independence of the Caucasian and Trans-Caucasian states. Though the draft was planned to be signed already in September 1927, but actually the affair happened to last for eight long years. The cause for that was an attempt of the Caucasians to involve for signing the document the Armenians, as well as the non-preparedness of the North Caucasian section of the CIC²⁶.

At the end of 1931, with the participation of Polish politicians, there was continued the preparatory work for signing the Caucasian Confederation Pact. M.E. Rasul-Zade, on behalf of the ANC, suggested to consider the idea of the Caucasian confederation as a voluntary union of the peoples living on the Caucasus²⁷. On 14 February 1933 a GNC meeting took place for the purpose of holding a conference of representatives of the national organisations of the Caucasian republics. At the meeting a Draft of the Statute of the Political Centre of the Caucasian Council and an Explanatory Note to that one were approved. There was said, that the political moment required consolidation of all the Caucasian forces for the implementation of the idea of a free independent Caucasus²⁸. In 1933 the North Caucasus

²⁶ Мамулия Г. Идея кавказской конфедерации в рамках движения "Прометей" (к истории пакта Кавказской конфедерации) // PROMETHEUS. Историко-культурный журнал. – 2009. – №1. – 23 сентября [Электронный ресурс]. – Место доступа: <http://chechen.org/page,5,348-zhurnal-chast.html> Время доступа: 14.12.2009. – (Mamulia G. The idea of the Caucasian Confederation within the frames of the "PROMETHEUS" movement (To the history of the Caucasizn Confederation Pact) // PROMETHEUS. A historic and cultural magazine. – 2009. – #1. – 23 September [Electronic resources]. – The access place: <http://chechen.org/page,5,348-zhurnal-chast.html> The Access time: 14.12.2009.)

²⁷ Ibid., к.275 (Поправка Азербайджанского Центра к проекту пакта о Конфедерации Кавказом. 14. X. 1930 г.) – (Ibid., к.275 (A reservation of the Azerbaijani Centre to the Draft of the Pact of Confederation with the Caucasus. 14. X. 1930ю); Ressel-Zade M. E. Idea Konfederacji Kaukaskiej // Wschód. – Warszawa. – 1931, lipiec. – Rok II. – №2 (4). –S.37-44.

²⁸ AAN, MSZ, sygn. 6691, k.157 (Projekt statutu Centrum Politycznego Rady Kaukaskiej. 14.II.1933 r.).

section of the CIC reformed in the National Centre of the North Caucasus,²⁹ that also supported the idea of a Caucasian Confederation Pact. Armenia did not join that unification, and there continued to be more varieties of opinions, than understanding³⁰.

Yet in February 1933 the working group submitted for consideration two drafts: one from the Georgian National Centre in Paris, and the other one – from Poland having already been initiated when T. Holuwka was alive, and which was implemented by officials from the General Staff and Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Poland. The Georgian draft provided the formation of a confederation of the Trans-Caucasian republics. Its members were to be Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia and the North Caucasus. At the CIC Conference on 6 February 1933 the Polish representatives expressed their precautions regarding the Georgian draft, arguing that interests of all four Caucasian republics would be taken into consideration only in a federative union. The debates resulted in approval of the reservations and taking in account proposals of the both parties. The final version of the draft did not include Armenia, although there was provided for that republic the opportunity to join the agreement in the future³¹.

On 14 July 1934 in Brussels representatives of three Caucasian republics – Azerbaijan, Georgia and the North Caucasus signed the

²⁹ Мамулия Г. Его высшим политическим идеалом была Кавказская Конфедерация: Гайдар Баммат и группа “Кавказ” (1934-1939) [Электронный ресурс] Место доступа: <http://www.gazavat.ru/history3.php?rub=36&art=444> Дата доступа: 20.01.2011. – (Mamulia G. His highest political ideal was a Caucasian Confederation: Gaidar Bammatt and the “Caucasus” Group (1934-1939) [Electronic resources]. – The access place: <http://www.gazavat.ru/history3.php?rub=36&art=444> The access time: 20.01.2011.).

³⁰ Внук имама Шамиля Саид-бей о Кавказском конфедеративном движении. (Перевод с турецкого). Copyright: Муртазали Дугричилов // Проза ру. Национальный сервер современной прозы. [Электронный ресурс. Свидетство про публикацию №1704050184]. – 2007. – Режим доступа: <http://www.proza.ru/texts/2007/04/05-184.html>. – Дата доступа: 29. 09. 2007. – (Imam Said-Bey's grandson about the Caucasian Confederate movement. (Translation from Turkish). Copyright: Murtazali Dugrichilov // Проза ру. The national server of the modern prose. [Electronic resources. Certificate of Publication # 1704050184]. – 2007. – The access regime: <http://www.proza.ru/texts/2007/04/05-184.html>. – The access date: 29. 09. 2007.

³¹ Mikulicz S. Prometeizm w polityce ... – S.174-180.

Caucasian Conference Pact³². Signing that agreement had two aims: firstly, the Pact proved needs for uniting efforts of the Caucasian peoples in their national liberating struggle. Secondly, the efforts were to result in the future the formation on the confederative basis of an independent Caucasian state. The Caucasian Confederation Pact provided the principles on which that state were to be established. The Pact was not only a declarative document, but also a tactical and strategical plan for the Caucasian peoples to be guided by in their struggle for independence. The Caucasian Confederation Pact included the following principles:

1. The Caucasian Confederation shall ensure the national character and sovereignty of each republic. In the foreign affairs the CC shall act on behalf of all the republics, as a subject of the international right. The CC shall have a common political and custom frontier.

2. The internal policy of the Federation Subjects shall be implemented by competent organs of the CC.

3. Defense of frontiers shall be delegated to the CC ARMY, which shall Act under the joint control. It shall be subordinated to controlling organs, including the military formations which were included in the Confederation.

4. Any disputes arising between the CC members, which cannot be settled through bilateral negotiations, shall be transferred to the competence of the Arbitrage or to the Highest Court of the Confederation. Decisions of such institutions shall be binding without any reservations.

5. The Expert Commission shall immediately start the formation of a Draft of the Constitution, providing the latter to become a base for the constitutions of the separate republics, that joined the CC.

³² AAN, MSZ, sygn. 6691, k.202 (Pakt Konfederacji Kaukaskiej); Gurdzistani. Pakt Konfederacji Kaukaskiej // Wschód. – 1934. – № 2-3-4 (14-15-16). – R. V. – S.169.

6. There was left place for the adherence of the Armenian Republic³³.

Commenting on this event, the “Tryzub” newspaper, the Organ of the State Centre of the Ukrainian People’s Republic, called conclusion of the Caucasian Confederation Pact a pre-destined event which would make it easier the consolidation of the forces aimed at our common target – the independence of the states – and which are joined on the common way of the struggle for the liberation from the Moscow’s yoke”³⁴. Independence of the Caucasus was associated directly with the national revival of Ukraine, and vice versa. Overthrow of the “Soviet Colossus” and liberation of the Caucasus, to Prof. Stal-Stocki’s mind, would become a guarantee of the European security³⁵.

In 1935 the CIC held a conference of the parties-signatories of the Caucasian Confederation Pact, where the Caucasian Confederation Council was elected. The Council had to provide control of the national movements of the Caucasian peoples, which was a difficult task under the then international situation. The USSR’s joining the League of the Nations generally has the negative effect on the scenario of the Promethenian action. Under the circumstances it was excluded consideration and discussion by world community the problems of the Caucasian peoples, and that turned into an issue for the domestic consideration and discussion by the Soviet government³⁶. Formation of a unified national front for struggling was pushed for a long term.

Conclusion

Therefore, one merely cannot fail in assessing the role of the Polish factor in the political consolidation of the emigrants on the Caucasus

³³ Treść Paktu Konfederacji Kaukaskiej // Wschód. – 1934. – №2-3-4 (14-15-16). – R.V. – S.170-171.

³⁴ Тризуб. – 1934. – №27-28. – С.18. – (The Trident. – 1934. – Nr27-28. –p.18.).

³⁵ J.Rn. [R. Smal-Stocki]. Ukraina, Kaukaz i pokój // Wschód. – 1931. – №1 (3). – R. II. – S.32. Smal Stocki R. L’Ukraina et la paix. – Paris, 1931. – S.8.

³⁶ РГВА, ф.461/к, оп.2, д.117, л.4. (Konferencja z Góralami Kaukaskimi dnia 25.IV.1935 r. w lokalu kpt. Charaszkiwiczca). – (RSMA, Fund 461/k, Description 2, File 117, Leaf 4. (Konferencja z Góralami Kaukaskimi dnia 25.IV.1935 r. w lokalu kpt. Charaszkiwiczca).

and in the Trans-Caucasus. Owing to the control of the Promethian movement in the middle of the 30s of the 20th century, it happened possible to settle the conflicts available among the emigrants. The National Centres of Azerbaijan, Georgia and the North Caucasus, united by the Polish initiative, supported the idea of joint efforts in gaining independence. The quint-essence of that event was signing in Brussels 1934 the Caucasian Confederation Pact. The emigration leaders of Azerbaijan, Georgia and the North Caucasus agreed to unite their efforts in their struggle against the Soviet Union by forming, after gaining independence, a unique state on the principles of confederation. However, the goal of the Polish policy on the Caucasus was not achieved, for failing to involve to the participation in the CIC and in the Caucasian Confederation Pact of the Armenian emigration, without which the geopolitical Prometheian image of the Caucasus and Trans-Caucasus did not look a whole.

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