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TURKEY AS AN INFLUENTIAL NORTH CAUCASIAN ÉMIGRÉ CENTRE BETWEEN THE TWO WORLD WARS

Having hosted a large number of North Caucasian immigrants since the end of the 19th century, Turkey has always been a very important centre for the political activities of the Caucasian Mountaineers. The political activities of the Mountain immigrant community show some characteristic differences across Turkey, the Caucasus, and Europe. While these activities were sometimes limited only to the internal politics of the Ottoman Empire and Turkey, some of them were focused on the liberation of the Caucasus, and some of them were related to both. The common point of all these activities is that they are the circles of a chain of nested individual events which seem to be completely irrelevant and independent from each other.

Caucasian Mountaineers became a great power in the palace, army, and politics as soon as they have begun to appear in Ottoman social life. Many émigré leaders had joined the Ottoman opposition movement as decisive rulers during the revolutionary years. Association of Circassian Unity (Djamiyet-i Ittikhadiye-i Cherakise) that had been founded in Cairo in 1899, can be considered to be an example of early North Caucasian activism in the Ottoman Empire.¹

The Caucasian Mountaineers who had decisive roles in the Ottoman and Russian revolutions, had always been in close communication and cooperation with each other. Magomed Bek Hadjetlashe (aka Gersh / Grigory Ettinger) who was a spy of the Tsar's secret police was a very striking example of this. He was exposing the regime opponents on both sides by manipulating the dissidents in both the Caucasus and

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¹ Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivleri (Hereafter BOA), DH.MKT.1331/12; G. Chochiev, "Caucasian Newspaper in the Late 19th Century Cairo, 'İttihad Gazetesi'", *Cyprus International University Journal of Folklore / Literature* 20–78, (2014), p. 228.

the emigration in Istanbul, through the “Mousoulmanine” magazine published in Paris and the “V Mir Mousoulmanstva” newspaper published in St Petersburg.² In the same period, the first revolutionary ideas of many Caucasian Mountaineers such as Zakhid Shamil, Rashid-khan Kaplanov, Celal-ed-din Korkmasov, and Magomed Eneev flourished in Istanbul.³

The most effective émigré organisation in Turkey, the Circassian Union and Solidarity Association (Cerkes İttihad ve Teavun Cemiyeti, CITC), was also established during the revolutionary period of 1908. The Association was not only dealing with the problems of the Caucasian Mountaineers in Turkey but also supported the independence movement by sending many educators, activists, and politicians to the North Caucasus.⁴ The Association had shifted its activities to the political field with the start of World War I and some of its prominent members were located in critical positions in Ottoman intelligence.⁵ Leading figures like Bekir Sami Kundukh were trying to form voluntary forces from the Caucasian immigrants to fight against Russia.⁶ The publication of the association “Ğuaze” was calling the immigrants to be ready to fight for the liberation of their homeland.⁷ The Caucasus Committee, founded in 1915, was the first organisation to voice the ideal of the independent confederative state of the peoples of the Caucasus.⁸ The committee sent a delegation of six-person delegation consisting of North Caucasians, Azerbaijani, and Georgian members to Berlin and Vienna to carry out propaganda work with the support of Ottoman intelligence.⁹ The delegation tried to persuade the Caucasian immigrants living in Europe to join the war and asked for support from the representatives of the European states for the future Caucasian Confederation.¹⁰ After returning

² A. Sibgatullina, *İki İmparatorluk Arasında Rusya Müslümanları*, Istanbul, 2014, p. 24; O. Bessmertnaya, *A Muslim Azef, or One More Orientalist: Playing the Other in Imperio-Orientalist Mirrors*, Moscow, 2017, pp. 8, 13.

³ M.A. Turan, “Tarihin kayıp çocuklarına dair bir derkenar: Muhammed Zahid Şamil”, *Kafkasya Çalışmaları – Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi* 2–4, (2017), p. 33; Dj. A. Korkmasova, “Türk Basın Tarihinde Rus Dilinde Yayınlanmış İlk Gazete: İstanbul Haberleri”, *Dergi Karadeniz Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, 18, 2013, p. 41.

⁴ S.E. Berzeg, *Düzceden Kafkasya'ya Gerçek Bir Dönüşçünün Öyküsü; Yusuf Suad Neğuç*, 2020, p. 10.

⁵ B.C. Fortna, *Circassian – A Life of Esref Bey, Late Ottoman Insurgent and Special Agent*, New York, 2016, pp. 12–20; P.H. Stoddard, *Teşkilat-ı Mahsusa*, Istanbul, 2003, p. 121; C. Kutay, *Birinci Dünya Harbinde Teşkilat-ı Mahsusa ve Hayber'de Türk Genci*, Istanbul, 1962, p. 165.; G. Güneş, “Teşkilat-ı Mahsusa ve Birinci Dünya Savaşı Yıllarındaki Faaliyetleri”, *Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Dergisi*, 29–85, 2013, pp. 118–119; K. Vahdet, *Teşkilat-ı Mahsusa'nın Hindistan Misyonu*, Ankara, 1999, pp. 36–37.

⁶ W. Zürrer, “Deutschland und die Entwicklung Nordkaukasiens im Jahre 1918”, *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas*, 26, 1978, p. 33; M. Çolak, *Alman İmparatorluğunun Doğu Siyaseti Çerçevesinde Kafkasya Politikası (1914–1918)*, Ankara, 2014, pp. 141–142.

⁷ G. Chochiev, “Reclaiming the Homeland: The Caucasus-Oriented Activities of Ottoman Circassians during and after World War I” [in: *War and Collapse World War I and the Ottoman State*, ed. by M. Hakan Yavuz, Feroz Ahmad, Utah, 2016, p. 592.

⁸ A. Meker, “Kafkas”, *Kafkas Dergisi*, 1–8, 1953, p. 8.

⁹ H.T. Shkhaplı, *Aperçu Historique sur les Ciscausiens pendant la Guerre Mondiale*, Istanbul, 1918, p. 15; Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Genelkurmay Başkanlığı, Askeri Tarih ve Stratejik Etüt Dairesi Başkanlığı Arşivi (Hereafter ATASE), BDH Kol., Kls. 1854, D. 120, F. 1–31, 32; G. Chochiev, “Reclaiming...”, p. 598.

¹⁰ Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Wien (HHStA, PA), I 947 Krieg 21 k Türkei: Georgisch-grusinischer Aufstand im Kaukasus 1914–18, Fol. 103–104, Resolutions of the Caucasian Committee in the Ottoman Empire, to convey its President to Marshal Fuad Pasha, Gottlieb von Jagow, State Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the German Empire of Constantinople, 15 October 1915, L. 86–89; ATASE, BDH Kol., Kls. 1854, D. 120, F. 1–31; BOA, HR.SYS, 2415/51, 16.11.1915.

from this trip, the committee was dissolved due to disagreements between Georgian and Azerbaijani members of the committee. The North Caucasian members of the committee continued as the Committee for the Political Migrants of the North Caucasus in Turkey¹¹ and sent a delegation consisting of members from various ethnicities from the North Caucasian immigration in Turkey to the Conference of Nationalities held in Lausanne, Switzerland in 1916, under the supervision of Aziz Meker.¹² The delegation had given presentations to the representatives of the great powers criticising the policies of the Tsarist government and reflecting the expectation of confederal independence in the North Caucasus.¹³ After the conference, German intelligence brought Aziz Meker together with Lenin, who lived in Switzerland under the auspices of the Germans. Aziz Meker was very impressed by this meeting and asked various questions to Lenin about the planned Russian Revolution and the future of the peoples of the North Caucasus. Lenin was not hesitant to admit that they would not show a conciliatory reaction, that they preferred violence as a method, and that their plans were not limited to Russia. Adding that they would not allow the “big” nations to dominate over the “small” ones, Lenin clearly showed Meker his *velikoros* obsessions by categorizing the Russians as “big” and others as “small”. Meker, on the other hand, could not grasp Lenin’s messages adequately in those days.¹⁴

After the Russian revolution, Turkey became the first centre where the Caucasian Mountaineers and the peoples of the Transcaucasus started to talk about common future scenarios.¹⁵ The person who presided over the Ottoman side during the negotiations was Rauf Orbay, a prominent member of the Mountain immigrant community and political figure of the Ottoman Empire.¹⁶ After the promising results of the first talks in Trebizond, the representatives of the North Caucasus Government came to Istanbul. With the lobbying support of the CITC leaders, after they made contact with Sultan Rashad and high-level Ottoman executives they made the first signs of the declaration of independence in Istanbul.¹⁷ When it was understood that there would be no reconciliation between the Ottoman Government and the Trans-Caucasian Governments in the ongoing negotiations in Batumi, the representatives of the North Caucasian Mountaineers declared the independence of the North Caucasus Republic on 11 May 1918, and signed a series of agreements with the Ottoman Empire as the first country to recognise the declaration of

¹¹ G. Jaeschke, “1916 Lozan Kongresinde Rusya Mahkûmu Milletler”, *Şimali Kafkasya* 38–40, 1937, pp. 8–13.

¹² *Idem*, “Порабощение Россией Народы на Лозанском Конгрессе 1916 года”, *Северный Кавказ*, 42–43, 1937, pp. 18–23; A. Tetik, *Teşkilat-ı Mahsusa (Umûr-ı Şarkıyye Dairesi) Tarihi 1914–1916 – I*, Istanbul, 2014, pp. 195–196.

¹³ *Mémoire de la Delegation Circassienne*, Lausanne, 1916, pp. 3–16; *Compte rendu de la 3^{me} Conférence des Nationalités réunie à Lausanne 27–29 juin 1916*, Lausanne, 1917, pp. 89–96, 97–99, 156–157.

¹⁴ A. Meker, “Lenin ile Mülakat”, *Tasvir-i Efkâr Gazetesi*, 20 Kanun-i Evvel 1917 1, p. 1; A.N. Kurat, *Türkiye ve Rusya*, Ankara, 1970, p. 329.

¹⁵ A.N. Kurat, *Türkiye...*, pp. 468–471.

¹⁶ BOA, MVM, 6 Mart 1334/1918, c. 211, l. 103.

¹⁷ *Tasvir-i Efkâr Gazetesi*, İstanbul 28 Nisan 1918; E. Şahin, *Trabzon ve Batum Konferansları ve Antlaşmaları (1917–1918)*, Ankara, 2002, p. 388; Reference to ATASE, A. 4–3671, K. 2921, D. 511, F. 1–214; A. 4–3671, K. 2918, D. 28–496, l. 1–206.

independence.¹⁸ When the Menshevik dominant Georgian National Council which was furnished with governmental powers occupied Abkhazia between 17–19 June 1918.¹⁹ The Abkhazians who have already decided to unite their fate with the Caucasian Mountaineers at the congress held in Vladikavkaz in September 1917, requested help from the North Caucasus Government and its ally, the Ottoman State.²⁰ The letter of communication between Haydar Bammam and Abdulmedjid Chermoy reveals that the members of the Republic of North Caucasus categorically protested the invasion of Abkhazia by the Georgian troops. CITC leaders also took the initiative against this invasion in the presence of German diplomats and tried to prevent the invasion.²¹ The “Sukhum Platoon”, which was commanded by immigrants such as Djemal Marshania, Mithat Margania, and Suleyman Bganba, and composed entirely of soldiers from Caucasian immigration, landed in Abkhazia in June 1918 to prevent this invasion.²²

In the same period, the first to come to help against the terror of Lazar Bicherahov in Azerbaijan and Dagestan were again the members of the Mountain immigration of the Ottoman Empire.²³ The command of the Azerbaijan and Dagestan operation of the Caucasian Islamic Army consisted entirely of people from the Mountain immigration, except for a few non-Caucasian people.²⁴ The operation that started in August 1918, had ended with the liberation of Petrovsk on 8 November 1918.²⁵ While World War I ended with the defeat of the Ottoman Empire and its armies were withdrawing to Istanbul, 87 officers and 4,915 soldiers from the Mountain immigrant community remained in the Caucasus and continued to fight under the command of the North Caucasus Government.²⁶

When Istanbul was occupied by the Allies on 13 November 1918, the CITC started acting under the guise of a charity organisation and changed its name to the North Caucasian Charity Association (Simali Kafkas Cemiyet-i Hayriyesi, SKCH). The leaders of the SKCH negotiated with the representatives of the Allied Powers to obtain support

¹⁸ H. Bammam, *The Caucasus Problem. Questions Concerning Circassia and Dagestan*, Bern, 1919, pp. 30–31; BOA, HR. HMŞ.İŞO. 124–16. 1.1–15.

¹⁹ Централный Государственный Архив Абхазии (ЦГАА), Фонд И-39, Опись 1, Дело 6, Лист 49–50.

²⁰ Т. Музаев, *Союз Горцев. Русская революция и народы Северного Кавказа 1917 – Март 1918 г.*, Нальчик, 2012, p. 229; Ö. Turan, “Bolşevik İhtilalini Takip Eden Günlerde Kuzey Kafkasya’da Bağımsızlık Hareketleri ve Yusuf Ercan’ın Sohum Müfrezesi Hatıraları”, *Askeri Tarih Bülteni*, 21 – 40, 1996, pp. 153–154.

²¹ Институт истории, археологии и этнографии Дагестанского федерального исследовательского центра Российской академии наук (ИИАЭ ДФИЦ РАН), Письма Гайдара Баммата Т. Чермоеву, Фонд 2, Опись 1, Дело 59, 31 августа 1918 г., Лист 39; 5 сентября 1918 г., Лист 29.

²² ЦГАА, Фонд И-39, Опись 1, Дело 6, Лист 49–50; Р. Гойба, *Абхазия – Документы и материалы (1917–1921 г.)*, Сухум, 2009, pp. 27, 110; З. Папаскири, *О национально-государственной обликке Абхазии. Грузия с древнейших времен до 1993 г.*, Тбилиси, 2003, p. 109.

²³ İ.H. Berkuk, “Büyük Harpte Şimali Kafkasyadaki Faaliyetlerimiz ve XV. Fırkanın Harekâtı ve Muharebeleri”, *Askeri Mecmuası*, 35, 1934, pp. 8–9, 24–28, 39.

²⁴ H. Bal, “Kuzey Kafkasya’nın istiklali ve Türkiye’nin askeri yardımı”, *I.U. Kafkas Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 3, 1997, pp. 54–56; N. Yüceer, *Birinci Dünya Savaşında Osmanlı Ordusu’nun Azerbaycan ve Dağıstan Harekâtı*, Ankara, 1996, Ek. 13.

²⁵ *I. Dünya Harbinde Türk Harbi Kafkas cephesi*, 3. Ordu Harekâtı – 2, Ankara, 1993, p. 618; S.İ. Yeğîn, *Birinci Dünya Harbi’nde Azerbaycan ve Dağıstan Muharebelerinde 15. Piyade Tümeni*, ed. by A. Tetik, M. Korkmaz, Ankara, 2006, p. 104.

²⁶ T.C. Kutlu, “1918–1921 Yıllarında Kuzey Kafkasyadaki Mücadelelerin Bilinmeyen Komutanı”, *Kafkasya Yazıları*, 7, 1999, p. 38.

for the independence of the North Caucasus and to ensure the return of the Caucasian Mountaineers living in the Ottoman lands to the Caucasus.²⁷ SKCH leaders had also requested permission to send a delegation representing North Caucasus emigrant community to the peace talks in Paris, but no avail.²⁸ Aziz Meker, one of the prominent leaders of the Mountain immigration, arrived in Bern, Switzerland, on 24 November and made important lobbying activities through the diplomatic channels of the western states with the help of the Swiss ambassador of the Ottoman Empire, with the North Caucasian origin, Fuad Selim Bey.²⁹ Meker later went to Paris on 21 April 1919, and joined the North Caucasus delegation to attend the peace negotiations.³⁰

Meanwhile, the British arrested almost all the politicians belonging to the North Caucasian immigrant community who occupied strategic positions in the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP) in Istanbul and deported them to Malta.³¹ Among the prisoners expelled to Malta, the following names stood out as the prominent figures of the North Caucasian immigration in Turkey; Ismail Bey (Djanbulat), Mümtaz Bey, Rauf Bey (Orbay), Ali Sait Bey (Akbaytogan), Süleyman Necmi Bey (Selmen), Eshref Sencer Bey (Kuşçubaşı), Mürsel Bey (Bakü). The Allies have never trusted the North Caucasian immigrant community due to their CUP connection, and on 21 June 1919, British soldiers raided the SKCH headquarters and confiscated the entire document archive.³²

When the terror of General Denikin made a peak in the Caucasus, Aziz Meker left Paris in the autumn of 1919, went to Tbilisi, and joined the North Caucasian resistance.³³ In the meantime, many army officers and Ottoman politicians belonging to the Mountain immigration in Istanbul were secretly passing to Asia-Minor to fight against the allies for the liberation of Turkey.³⁴ The Amasya gathering and the Sivas Congress were the important milestones of the Anatolian resistance movement and were the initiatives in which soldiers and politicians from the Caucasus immigration played decisive roles.³⁵

While a fierce struggle against Bolshevism was going on in the Caucasus, it was extremely contradictory that Bolshevik tendencies were rising among the Caucasian

²⁷ M.A. Turan, "Osmanlı Dönemi Kuzey Kafkasya Diasporası Tarihinden: Şimali Kafkas Cemiyeti", *Tarih ve Toplum*, 172, 1998, p. 50.

²⁸ The National Archives of The United Kingdom, Foreign Office Papers. FO 608/84/25; Fm: Admiral Sir Richard Webb To: the Minister of Foreign Affairs A.J. Balfour, 209961 No, letter dated 26/11/1918; Fm: Admiral Sir Richard Webb To: The British Foreign Office, 41/196842 No, telegram dd.29/11/1918; Fm: Prof. James Young Simpson To: The British Foreign Office 196842 No, circular dd.30/11/1918; Telegram Fm: The British Foreign Office To: Embassy in Constantinople High Commissioner Admiral Webb, No: 51/196482, dd.30/12/1918; Circular Fm: The British Foreign Office, No: 199234/18, dd.06/12/1918; dd.21/12/1918, report No. 209961; Message Fm: Arnold Toynbee To: Sir Eyre Crowe 18/12/1918 tarih, No.196842; Archives Ministère des Affaires étrangères de la France (AMAEF), Archives Diplomatiques. Z.834. L.81; report No.1205, dd. 03/02/1919.

²⁹ X.M. Доного (изд.), *Гайдар Баммат – известный и неизвестный: сборник документов и материалов*, Баку, 2015, p. 283.

³⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 306.

³¹ B.N. Şimşir, *Malta Sürgünleri*, İstanbul, 1985, pp. 20, 46, 66–67, 73, 97–98, 223.

³² M. Butbay, *Kafkasya Hatıraları*, Ankara, 1990, p. 3.

³³ AMAEF, Archives Diplomatiques. 637 A&B. Z. 653/2,3,4. f. 89; M. Butbay, *Kafkasya...*, pp. 8, 12.

³⁴ B. N. Şimşir, *Malta...*, p. 190.

³⁵ M. Ünal, *Kurtuluş Savaşında Çerkeslerin Rolü*, İstanbul, 1996, p. 256; S.E. Berzeg, *Türkiye Kurtuluş Savaşında Çerkes Göçmenleri – 2*, İstanbul, 1990, p. 99.

immigrants in Turkey. “*Karakol*” was the most significant intelligence organisation during the Turkish civil war which harbored many Caucasian immigrants and blatantly supported Bolshevism.³⁶ Bakha Said was one of the influential figures of the organisation who was belonged to the Mountain immigrant community and he was engaged in Bolshevik operations in Azerbaijan and Dagestan. On the other hand, Kazim Kap, a Caucasian-origin Ottoman officer, who commanded the volunteers from Mountain migrant community, was appointed as the front commander by the Committee of Caucasian Highlanders in Tbilisi, fighting against both the Whites and the Reds.³⁷ The French military intelligence reports of the era revealed an uprising in Dagestan that was started by Turkish agents. All of the referred agents were members of Mountain immigration, such as Aziz Meker, Ismail Hakkı Berkuk, and Kazim Kap.³⁸ Bakha Said, together with the Bolsheviks, on the other hand, was trying to capture Kazim Kap.³⁹ In the struggle of these two mountaineers, Bakha Said was captured by Kazim Kap but saved from death by being deported to Azerbaijan, although he should have been executed like the other Russian Bolsheviks under normal circumstances.⁴⁰ Then, Bakha Said became known in history by signing the Baku Treaty with the Soviets on behalf of the Ankara Government on 11 January 1920.⁴¹

During the resistance movement in Asia-Minor, many names from the North Caucasian immigration in Turkey, such as Bekir Sami Gunsav, Halit Karsialan (Deli Halit Pasha)⁴², Ethem Bey and his brothers⁴³, Hakkı Bekhich Bayich, Salih Zeki Kusharkov⁴⁴, Ibrahim Sureyya Yigit⁴⁵, were directly or indirectly involved in the Bolshevism. In the civil war that ignited in Asia Minor, the sole major armed forces consisted of Caucasian immigrants. The Istanbul Government exploited Anchok Akhmet Anzavur for their policies while Ethem Bey was manipulated by the Ankara government. These leaders with their guerrilla forces were the most substantial game-changers in the war in Asia Minor. But they squandered their power for the sake of their ambitions instead of using them for the ongoing freedom fight in the North Caucasus or the consolidation of the North Caucasian immigrant community as a single force.

After the occupation of the North Caucasus by the Volunteer Army, the Mountain intelligentsia continued their work in Tbilisi, in an organisation called the North Caucasus Committee, which soon turned into the Union Assembly of the Caucasian Mountaineers.⁴⁶

³⁶ F. Tevetoğlu, *Mücadele Yıllarındaki Kuruluşlar*, Ankara, 1988, p. 8.

³⁷ T.C. Kutlu, “1918–1921...”, p. 39.

³⁸ AMAEF, Archives Diplomatiques, 637 A&B. Z.653/2, 3, 4. f. 99–103.

³⁹ *Атмосфера в Дагестане расчищается*, «Вольный Горец», 15.03.1920, № 34, p. 3; *Дагестанская перепутаница*, «Вольный Горец», 29.03.1920, № 36. p. 2.

⁴⁰ T.C. Kutlu, “1918–1921...”, p. 39.

⁴¹ E. Akal, *Millî Mücadelenin Başlangıcında Mustafa Kemal, İttihat Terakki ve Bolşevizm*, İstanbul, 2006, pp. 79–96, 271–283; K. Karabekir, *İstiklal Harbimiz*, İstanbul, 1960, pp. 628–630.

⁴² E. Akal, *Millî...*, pp. 206–209.

⁴³ *Ibidem*, pp. 319–325.

⁴⁴ BOA, DH. SAİD. d-113 / 491.1299.Z.29.

⁴⁵ E. Akal, *Millî...*, pp. 71, 161, 166.

⁴⁶ С.М. Исхаков, *Гражданская война в России и мусульмане*, Москва, 2014, p. 493–494; Какагазанов Г., Каймаразова Л. (изд.), *Союз объединенных горцев Северного Кавказа и Дагестана (1917–1918 гг.) и Горская Республика (1918–1920 гг.): Документы и материалы*, Махачкала, 1994, pp. 333–335.

Despite all the sabotage attempts of the Bolsheviks, Denikin's forces were defeated in February 1920 as a result of the sacrifice and efforts of the volunteers from the immigrant community, such as Kazim Bey, commanding the armed forces of the Assembly and the Defense Council.⁴⁷ The North Caucasian Government went back to Temirhan Shura but had to commission Abubekir Pliyef to go to Turkey to request help from the immigration centre due to the increasing Bolshevik threat. After Pliyef's contacts in Turkey, the delegation led by Aziz Meker, Ismail Hakkı Berkuk, and Mustafa Butbay departed from Tbilisi in February 1920 and crossed to the north.⁴⁸ During their stay in the Caucasus, Meker and Berkuk tried to find a compromise between the Mountain leaders of different ideological wings.⁴⁹ Upon the growth of the Bolshevik threat, the groups resisting the occupation decided to call Imam Shamil's younger son Muhammed Kamil Pasha from Istanbul to lead the resistance at the meeting in Kayış-Yurt (today Keshni Kert) on 10–11 May 1920.⁵⁰ However, Muhammed Kamil Pasha made excuses, and sent his 19-year-old son, Mehmed Said Shamil, to the Caucasus to replace him.

While Said Shamil was on his way to the Caucasus, Aziz Meker and Ismail Hakkı Berkuk returned to Turkey on 27 July 1920. In the report they sent to the Ankara Government, they explained the Bolshevik danger in detail and warned that the rising Bolshevik tendencies in Anatolia would cause great destruction to the country.⁵¹ During the same period, Foreign Minister Bekir Sami Kundukh was in Moscow to hold talks on behalf of the Ankara Government.⁵² The Ankara Government supported the Red Army to get financial aid and arms from the Soviets and helped the Bolsheviks to invade Azerbaijan by crossing Dagestan without much trouble.⁵³ Another prominent name of the North Caucasian immigrant community, Hakkı Bekhich Bayich, was getting prepared for the establishment of a Communist Party that would operate under the dictate of the Kemalist government.⁵⁴

Kundukh, who could not achieve any progress in the negotiations due to the distraction of the Bolsheviks, left Moscow and went to Tbilisi without informing the Ankara Government and the Russian Bolsheviks, and negotiated with the Menshevik Georgian government and the French military mission for the alliance of Turkey, Poland and the Caucasus against the Soviets.⁵⁵ The Ankara Government, on the other hand, sent congratulatory telegrams to Moscow, who was announcing the deception that they recognised the independence of Dagestan on 20 November 1920.⁵⁶ The Soviets were trying to capture

⁴⁷ H. Vammat, *Le Caucase et la révolution russe*, Paris, 1929, pp. 51–52; С.М. Исхаков, *Гражданская война...*, p. 505; И. Сулаев, *Мусульманское духовенство Дагестана и светская власть: борьба и сотрудничество (1917–1921 г.)*, Махачкала, 2004, p. 117.

⁴⁸ M. Butbay, *Kafkasya...*, p. 8.

⁴⁹ *Ibidem*, pp. 19–21.

⁵⁰ *Ibidem*, pp. 49, 89.

⁵¹ K. Karabekir, *İstiklal Harbimiz*, Istanbul, 1960, pp. 829–831.

⁵² A.F. Cebesoy, *Moskova Hatıraları*, Istanbul, 2002, p. 59.

⁵³ D. Avcıoğlu, *Milli Kurtuluş Tarihi – 2*, Istanbul, 1978, pp. 456–457.

⁵⁴ A. F. Cebesoy, *Moskova...*, pp. 61–70; E. Akal, *İştirakiyuncular, Komünistler ve Paşa Hazretleri*, Istanbul, 2013, p. 281.

⁵⁵ R. Nur, *Hayat ve Hatıratım – 3*, Istanbul, 1967, p. 680.

⁵⁶ S. Yerasimos, *Kurtuluş Savaşı'nda Türk-Sovyet İlişkileri 1917–1923*, Istanbul, 2000, pp. 196, 259, 262, 271.

Said Shamil, who represented the moral power of the Mountain immigrant community and an intangible strength of the resistance. To collapse the resistance of Mountaineers by weakening their faith, the Bolsheviks granted amnesty to those who apologised.⁵⁷

Pshemakho Kotse, the second president of The Republic of The North Caucasus was among those who had to continue activities in Tbilisi. He had been arrested by the Menshevik Georgian government on 13 October 1920, on the charge of having connections with the Volunteer Army. After being imprisoned for a month without even being given a reason for his arrest, he was deported to Turkey towards the end of December by confiscating all his property.⁵⁸ After the Bolsheviks captured Tbilisi on 25 February 1921, all North Caucasian émigré groups in Georgia moved to Turkey.⁵⁹ In the correspondence of the Turkish authorities, it is mentioned that members of the Mountain political immigrant community such as Pshemakho Kotse, Haydar Bammat, Ahmet Tsalykkaty, and Abubekir Plief, who has been struggling to survive in Trebizond in severe conditions for the last nine months, were in some secret activities and preparing a revolution against the Soviet government. The authorities were advising Ankara to transfer these immigrants somewhere else to prevent any possible trouble with the Soviets or deport them from Turkey.⁶⁰ As time goes by Turkey was becoming troublesome geography for the North Caucasian political immigrants. In the meantime, a group of North Caucasian monarchists including Khalilov, Khabaev, Bekovich Cherkasski, Malsagov, and Khacemukov also took refuge in Turkey and came together in an organisation in Istanbul under the name of The National Committee for the Independence of the North Caucasian Mountaineers. The organization was under the protection of the Allied Powers with the guarantees given by the representative of General Wrangel in Istanbul, Neratov.⁶¹ General Mikail Khalilov was trying to get close to the well-known names of the North Caucasian diaspora and tried to present himself as a respected person in the North Caucasian political immigrant community in Turkey to the representatives of the Entente.⁶²

In such a tense environment, a large group of Bolsheviks from Abkhazia, led by Efrem Eshba and Nestor Lakoba, was visiting Turkey. The group, which came to Turkey on 17 December 1920, stayed for more than one month and had meetings with the representatives of the North Caucasian diaspora and the administrators of the Ankara Government. They aimed to understand Turkey's view of the Soviet regime and to gain supporters for the revolutionary Bolshevik ideologies among the North Caucasian diaspora.⁶³

⁵⁷ A. Avtorkhanov, "The Chechens and Ingush during the Soviet Period and its Antecedents" [in:] *The North Caucasus Barrier. The Russian advance towards the Muslim World*, ed. by M. Broxup, London, 1992, pp. 154–155.

⁵⁸ ЦГИАГ, Фонд 1861, Опись 2, Дело 15, Лист 36–37; P. Kotse (Kosok), *Kuzey Kafkasya Hürriyet ve İstiklal Savaşı Tarihinden Yapraklar*, Istanbul, 1960, p. 4; *idem*, "Ложь не во спасение", *Кавказ (Le Caucase)*, 12–24, 1935, pp. 24–28; ЦГИАГ, Фонд 1861, Опись 2, Дело 17–18.

⁵⁹ H. Bammat, *Le Caucase...*, pp. 62–63.

⁶⁰ M. Çapa, "Kuzey Kafkasya Cumhuriyeti'nin Rus Egemenliğine Girmesi Üzerine Trabzon'a Gelen Devlet Erkânı", *Türk Dünyası Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 100, 1996, pp. 290, 291, 293; Trabzon Vilayeti, Polis Müdürlüğünün 29 Mart 1337 tarihli yazısı, Belge No. 12.

⁶¹ AMAEF, Archives Diplomatiques, 637 A&B, Z. 653/2,3,4. f. 142–143.

⁶² AMAEF, Archives Diplomatiques, 637 A&B, Z. 653/2,3,4. f. 144–146.

⁶³ Российский государственный архив социально-политической истории (РГАСПИ), Фонд 544, Опись 3, Дело 46, Лист 41–46.

In general, Lakoba and Eshba left Turkey with good impressions. The only contact they did not like was the meeting they had with Bekir Sami Kundukh. Kundukh was critical that the Soviets' Caucasus policy was being determined by a person like Orjonikidze. He also complained that Muslims and non-Russian peoples could gain neither independence nor even acceptable autonomy.⁶⁴ In the reports they submitted to the Russian Communist Party Presidium, they both stated that in all other meetings they held, they were convinced that suitable conditions could arise for Turkey to become a part of the Soviets.⁶⁵

Ethem Bey was the person whom Lakoba and Eshba would love to meet. However, their arrival coincided with the days when the ties between Ethem Bey and the Ankara Government were completely severed. Ethem Bey, who was the only major armed force in Anatolia with his army of five thousand people, was worn out by domestic politics, and now became the most important problem of the Ankara government.⁶⁶ The most striking aspect of this political assassination was that Ethem Bey was now referred to as "Ethem the Circassian". It was very ironic that someone who had never been a North Caucasian patriot even for once in his life became known in this way. He was also very surprised by this. As the prominent historian Cemal Kutay quotes from Ethem Bey;

"I did not strive to be a chauven Circassian even for one day in my life. Many people at home spoke the family language. I would not even pay attention to this... Yusuf Izzet Pasha was a great commander and a patriot. The late Pasha was a Circassian and except for official duties spoke Circassian to those who knew Circassian well. One day he started to speak to me in Circassian, and I answered in Turkish. This caught his attention. He broke out laughing and asked why I didn't answer in Circassian. I can honestly say that I couldn't find any excuses... I was surprised... So, I was called 'Ethem the Circassian' even in this sense of mind..."⁶⁷

Ethem Bey demobilised his forces on 28 January 1921, and surrendered to the Greek forces. After having medical treatment in Athens for 19 months, he moved to Germany in November 1922. As a result of this event, which Turkish official historiography calls "an asylum to the Greeks", the word "Circassian" was transformed into "Traitor Circassian" in Turkey.⁶⁸ A large number of North Caucasian immigrants living in the Southern and Eastern Marmara regions began to worry about their future and sought refuge in Greece towards the end of 1921. These refugee groups, numbering around 4,000 people, were accommodated in Athens and Thessaloniki.⁶⁹

After bitter negotiations in Moscow, Bekir Sami Kundukh was in London in February 1921 to hold talks with the Allies. Lloyd George's government was looking for an immediate restoration of trade relations with the Soviets. Although the British informed the Bolsheviks that they have no interest in the independence of the Caucasian Republics,

⁶⁴ РГАСПИ, Фонд 124, Опись 2, Дело 642, Лист 1-26; Фонд 544, Опись 3, Дело 46, Лист 39-40, 41-45.

⁶⁵ РГАСПИ, Фонд 544, Опись 3, Дело 46, Лист 38-40.

⁶⁶ E. Niçyılmaz, *Gizli Belgelerle Çerkes Ethem*, Istanbul, 1993, pp. 17-59.

⁶⁷ C. Kutay, *Çerkez Ethem Dosyası - 2*, Istanbul, 1977, pp. 83-84.

⁶⁸ E. Cilasun, "*Baki İlk Selam*" *Çerkes Ethem*, Istanbul, 2004, pp. 75-76.

⁶⁹ League of Nations. Central Committee for Coordination of Relief work. Bulletin of Information No. 3, 01.01.1922, L. 1.

they recognised the independence of Georgia on 27 January 1921.⁷⁰ Kundukh was a person who favoured reconciliation with the allies. The Ankara Government, on the other hand, continued to flirt with the Bolsheviks. In this way, Ankara was able to keep the allies under constant pressure, while the Soviets could not negotiate with the allies behind the Ankara government. Kundukh informed Lloyd George on 4 March 1921, that the Turks did not appreciate the Bolsheviks much and that they were in favour of an agreement with England. He suggested a change in London's Middle East policy and that it would be in their interests to ally with a strong Turkey instead of a weak Greece. In this case, Turkey would support the creation of a buffer state in the Caucasus, and would also reduce the influence of the Soviets in Central Asia and Afghanistan, which posed a great danger to the future of Europe. Kundukh asked Lloyd George to recognise the independence of the North Caucasus and reiterated that the creation of a strong Caucasian Confederation was in the interests of both Turkey and Britain. Lloyd George agreed that this proposal should be considered as a whole, but refused to negotiate it until the Izmir issue, which he felt should remain under Greek control, was resolved.⁷¹ French Prime Minister Aristide Briand's point of view was completely in line with Kundukh's. Unlike the British, who blindly adhered to the Treaty of Sèvres, Briand was ready to negotiate with Ankara. According to the minutes of the meetings held at the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs on 23 March Kundukh accepted the validity of Georgia's demands. He believed that *Modus Vivendi* in the region in dispute with the Georgians could be developed, and therefore concessions could be made in this regard.⁷² To discuss the details of the Caucasian Alliance, at the initiative of Abdulmedjid Chermoy and Bekir Sami Kundukh, another meeting was held on 25 March with the participation of Georgian representatives Chkhenkeli and Avalishvili, Azerbaijani representatives Ali Mardan Topchibashi, Mamed Maharramov, Akper Aga Sheykhul Islamzade and Ceyhun Hacibeyli, and North Caucasian representatives Vassan Girey Jabagi and AYTEK Namitok. The participants talked about the possibility of uniting the Caucasus as a single confederation state and incorporating the Kuban into this union with a special status.⁷³

At the end of the meeting, Kundukh gave some assurances on behalf of the Ankara government. He had claimed: "Our vital interest is to have a stronghold in the north, but the strength of this fortress depends on the future Caucasian Confederation's inclusion of the North Caucasus. We do not have a claim on the territory of Georgia... At the moment, we can't come to your aid in your struggle against the Bolsheviks. While the Greeks are attacking us in Anatolia, we cannot participate in that fight... I hope our troubles with Greece will be resolved within two months. Then, like France, England

⁷⁰ F. Kazemzadeh, *The Struggle for Transcaucasia (1917–1921)*, New York, 1951, p. 312. (Reference to «Журнал Грузии», No. 26, February 4, 1921, Tiflis).

⁷¹ S.R. Sonyel, *Turkish Diplomacy 1918–1923: Mustafa Kemal and the Turkish National Movement*, London, 1975, pp. 101–102.

⁷² Bibliothèque de documentation internationale contemporaine (BDIC), microfilms des archives du gouvernement géorgien, MFM 881, Bobine 136; AMAEF, CPC 1918–1940, Z 653, Fol. 23–24.

⁷³ Harvard College Houghton Library (HCHL), Georgia (Republic), Records [microform], Box 31, Reel 98, File 12.

will take care of our problems, including the Caucasian Confederation issue that we are discussing here. When that time comes, we will create a deal that will turn into a treaty of alliance, not a simple treaty of friendship!”⁷⁴

While Kundukh was claiming such things, he was probably not sure that he could convince Ankara in those days. As a matter of fact, when the Greeks launched a new attack in the spring of 1921, Britain did not heed Ankara's demands. The doctrine of rapprochement with the West, advocated by Bekir Sami Kundukh, could not find any supporter in Ankara. The Turkish parliament refused to ratify the Franco-Turk and Turco-Italian agreements signed in London. Kundukh was dismissed on 1 May 1921, after his secret talks with Lloyd George on the formation of an anti-Bolshevik alliance were leaked to the press.⁷⁵

Meanwhile, the resistance in the East Caucasus had been largely suppressed, and most of the resistance leaders, except for Najmudin Gotsinski, were either captured or killed.⁷⁶ Said Shamil, on the other hand, managed to return to Turkey with serious injuries in May 1921. Bolshevik Mountaineer Najmudin Samurski Efendiyev met with Kazim Karabekir and demanded that Said Shamil, who was known to have fled to Turkey, not be protected. Kazim Karabekir also assured his Bolshevik interlocutors that Said Shamil was also being chased in Turkey as an Entente agent and that he would be punished as soon as he was caught.⁷⁷

Political émigré groups of Mountaineers in Europe hoped that the Ankara Government would move away from the Bolsheviks and fail at the front in the Greek War and be forced to come to terms with the Allies. As a matter of fact, with the withdrawal of Ethem Bey from the front, the Greek Army started to gain superiority and launched a major attack in the direction of Ankara in July 1921.⁷⁸ Ankara's relations with the Bolsheviks did not develop as desired, and the Treaty of Moscow signed in March has not been put into practice. The fact that most of the leaders of the Turkish Communist fraction, acting under the guidance of the Soviets, were killed as a result of a conspiracy, and some were sentenced to imprisonment, flamed up the anger of the Soviets. Moscow was delaying the promised aid. There were rumours that the Bolsheviks were keeping Enver Pasha ready in Batumi and that they were preparing a coup against Mustafa Kemal if the Greeks occupy Ankara.⁷⁹ These were the factors that made the lives of the North Caucasian political refugees in Turkey much harder. They were kept under close surveillance and their freedom of movement was restricted. They tried to find ways to get permission to get out of Trebizond. Pshemakho Kotse, after giving his special thanks for the financial support of the Turkish Government, to sign necessary papers to have access to the bank accounts of the Republic of North Caucasus in Europe,

⁷⁴ *Ibidem*.

⁷⁵ S.R. Sonyel, *Turkish Diplomacy...*, p. 105.

⁷⁶ M.B. Broxup, “The Last Ghazawat, The 1920–1921 Uprising” [in:] *The North Caucasus Barrier. The Russian advance towards the Muslim World*, ed. by M. Broxup, London, 1992, p. 141.

⁷⁷ *Поездка Т. Самурского в Грузию и Турцию*, “Советский Дагестан”, 13 мая 1921 г., p. 1.

⁷⁸ T.C. Genelkurmay Harp Tarihi Başkanlığı, *Türk devrimi ve Kurtuluş Savaşı*, Ankara, 1976, pp. 39–40.

⁷⁹ S.R. Sonyel, *Turkish Diplomacy...*, pp. 120–121, 125.

asked for a travel permit to Istanbul with an application to the Trebizond governorship dated 21 July 1921. It took one month to get the permission. While Pshemakho Kotse was allowed to travel to Istanbul, Haydar Bammam and his family were allowed to leave for Europe.⁸⁰ Most of the political refugees coming through Tbilisi started to rush to European ports such as Bari, Trieste, and Marseille under extremely unfavorable conditions with the cheapest means of transportation they could find. Aytek Namitok, who stayed in Paris after the peace talks in 1919, founded a charity named the Caucasian Mountaineers Association with his compatriot Ismail Shakov. They carried out activities in coordination with the Circassian organisations in Istanbul. The society was raising money for the needs of North Caucasian refugees by performing folk dance shows in luxury hotels in Paris.

Despite his dismissal from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ankara continued to use Bekir Sami Kundukh as an interface in relations with Europe. Kundukh met with the French Prime Minister Briand in Paris on 27 July 1921, and the next day he met with the representatives of the four Caucasian Republics in exile. Briand told the attendees that the indispensability of the Caucasus Confederation is a universal issue, not just for the peace of the Near East. Kundukh, on the other hand, promised to defend the Caucasian Confederation problem before his parliament or government, personally or through his envoys. In his meeting with the Caucasian representatives, Kundukh also said that Turkey is still going through a revolution, that the peoples of the Caucasus are in captivity and that it is not possible to draw borders in the Caucasus under these circumstances at this stage. Kundukh also mentioned the possibility that after the Caucasus was liberated from the Bolsheviks, a conference could be organised with the participation of representatives of Caucasian states and Turkey. Despite these encouraging statements, the reaction of the Armenian representative Alexander Khatisian had a cold shower effect on the people in the meeting room;

“Everyone knows that France wants to support the Caucasus confederation not only for the sake of Turkey but perhaps for other reasons as well. But when it comes to the mood of the Armenian side... We can get along well with Turkey, but we need to prepare the ground to make the Armenians fight the Russians. Our border issue with Turkey is not a detail, it is a vital issue.”⁸¹

After this meeting, Caucasian representatives visited Briand again on 3 August 1921. Briand seemed to have no doubt that the Bolsheviks would be defeated and the independence of the Caucasian republics would be restored. Briand had asked them what their attitude would be if the Bolsheviks were overthrown and how ready they were to take over their country.⁸²

With the Treaty of Kars signed by the Turks with the Soviets on 13 October 1921, it was certain that Kars and Ardahan were ceded to Turkey. Cilicia, which was promised to the Armenians before, was left to the Ankara government with the agreement signed

⁸⁰ M. Çapa, “Kuzey Kafkasya...”, Belge No: 20–23, pp. 288–299.

⁸¹ HCHL, Georgia (Republic), Records [microform], Box 76, Reel 193, File 7, L. 68–76.

⁸² *Ibidem*, L. 64.

with the French on 20 October. These sudden surprises alarmed the Caucasian representatives in Paris. The disagreements between the Caucasian representatives, who had urgently organised a meeting with the French Prime Minister, became more visible with these events. While Chkhenkeli and Chermoy positively stated that they believed the Franco-Turkish treaty would drive the Turks away from the Bolsheviks, the Armenian representative Aharonian was crying out that the Armenians in Cilicia had started mass migration and requested the French not to accept the deal with the Turks.⁸³

In the autumn of 1921, the Poles started to contact the representatives of the Georgian political emigrant community in Istanbul, initiating a new phase of the Promethean movement. Continuing the resistance in the Caucasus, Najmudin Gotsinski sent Ahmetkhan Avarski to Istanbul to strengthen his communication with the other North Caucasian émigré groups. Avarski was also to be the communication bridge between the Imam and the League of Nations. Avarski asked the League of Nations to recognise Gotsinski as the leader of the independent state to be established in the North Caucasus and asked for help in the fight against the Soviet occupation. His demand was positively treated, and with the support of France, it was planned to send weapons to him via Poland. Avarski had also joined the committee of the monarchist Mountaineers in Istanbul. Therefore, he became the representative of the Dagestan immigrant community at the Russian Central Monarchist Committee in Paris as well. The monarchist wing of the Mountain immigration was planning to include Dagestan in the Russian Empire as an independent administrative unit, establish private land ownership, to re-establish the sharia-based judicial system, and open schools providing education on an Islamic basis.⁸⁴ Avarski founded a secret political organisation under the guise of a commercial company called Anadolu Shirkat in Istanbul in 1922. He received capital of 1 million rubles from Gotsinski, and the income of the company was to be transferred to the Caucasus resistance. The French were also paying this company nine thousand rubles every month.⁸⁵ The nationalist and socialist wings of the former Mountain Government also supported this formation. The company was also acting as the communication bridge between the Georgian resistance leader Colonel Kayhosro Cholokashvili and Imam Gotsinski. During this period, the support of the Poles to the Caucasus resistance could not pass beyond moral support.⁸⁶ Foreign financial resources were completely blocked after the French stopped transferring funds to Said Shamil, who returned to Turkey and did nothing but wrote messages with the title of *Defence and National Assembly Leader of the Caucasus* despite his very young age.⁸⁷

Ankara's negative attitude towards the North Caucasian diaspora did not change even though all victories in the critical battles against the Entente in Asia Minor were achieved by utilising the military successes of the army officers of North Caucasian ori-

⁸³ *Ibidem*, L. 18–21.

⁸⁴ X.М Доного. (изд.), *Нажмуддин Гоцинский* (e-book), Махачкала, 2011, pp. 386–389.

⁸⁵ “Дело № 7695. Архивное уголовное дело на Н. Гоцинского”, *Ахульго*, 3, 1999, pp. 19–22.

⁸⁶ Г. Мамуля, “Прометей до прометеизма: неизвестные страницы из истории национально – освободительного движения на Кавказе (1922 г.)”, *Nowy Prometeusz*, 2, 2012, pp. 286–287.

⁸⁷ AMAEF, Archives Diplomatiques, 637 A&B, Z. 653/2,3,4; *ibidem*, f. 181–184.

gin.⁸⁸ Rauf Orbay had returned from exile in Malta in 1922 and joined the opposition to the Kemalist regime as soon as he arrived in Ankara.⁸⁹ Naturally, there was not a single politician from the North Caucasian immigrant community in the critical positions of the Lausanne Conference delegation, where the terms of the Treaty of Sèvres would be reviewed.⁹⁰ The negative perception towards the North Caucasus diaspora was provoked by spreading disinformation that Ethem the Circassian, who indeed was receiving treatment in Germany, would assassinate Ismet Inonu in Lausanne.⁹¹ In fact, the great effort behind this paranoia was to avoid granting minority status in Lausanne to the Muslim elements of the former empire. One of the top three delegates of the Turkish delegation at the conference, Dr. Rıza Nur would later write as follows.

“They will put Circassians, Abaza, Bosnians, Kurds next to Greeks and Armenians in terms of race. Those who are Muslim and speak other languages in terms of the native language will also be minorities... For this reason, the first task is to disperse the Circassian and Albanian villages and settle them mixed with the Turks.”⁹²

While the issue of amnesty was discussed in the conference session on 9 January 1923, when North Caucasian refugees came to the agenda, the Turkish delegation insisted that the amnesty should only be valid for non-Muslim subjects. Thus, the return of over 4,000 North Caucasians who took refuge in Greece became hopeless and alarm bells began to ring for all North Caucasian diaspora in Asia Minor. The allies asked the Turkish side to provide a list showing a maximum of 150 people who would deprive of the political amnesty. 86 out of the 150 consisted of people from the North Caucasian diaspora. Immediately after the conference, in May and June of 1923, 14 villages, 755 households, and 3,775 people from the North Caucasian diaspora from the environs of Goenen and Manyas were deported to the inner steppes of Asia Minor.⁹³ This was followed by the closure of the Circassian School in Istanbul in September 1923 and the arrest of its management.⁹⁴ Political refugees, who could not work comfortably in Turkey were looking for ways to go to European countries. A group of North Caucasian emigrants, mainly Kuban Circassians and Ossetians, had the opportunity to go to Czechoslovakia, among a large refugee group consisting of White Russians and Cossacks in those days with an organisation of the International Red Cross.⁹⁵ Despite Turkey becoming an increasingly hopeless place for North Caucasian immigrants, émigré groups in Europe were well aware that it would not be possible to sacrifice Turkey with its crowded Caucasian diaspora. Therefore, Haydar Bammât aimed to reach the

⁸⁸ M. Ünal, *Kurtuluş Savaşında Çerkeslerin Rolü*, İstanbul, 1996, p. 256; S.E. Berzeg, *Türkiye Kurtuluş Savaşında Çerkes Göçmenleri - 2*, İstanbul, 1990, p. 99.

⁸⁹ R. Orbay, *Cehennem Değirmeni - Siyasi Hatıralarım - 1*, İstanbul, 1993, p. 12.

⁹⁰ B.N. Şimşir, *Lozan Günlüğü*, İstanbul, 2012, p. 13.

⁹¹ *Ibidem*, pp. 21, 162.

⁹² R. Nur, *Hayat ve Hatıratım...*, pp. 1044–1045.

⁹³ M. F. Shoenu, *Deuxième lettre adressée à la conscience collective Turque et à la Grande Assemblée Nationale de Turquie au sujet du Problème Circassien*, (manuscript) f. 555, 561, 562.

⁹⁴ V. Günsar, “İstanbul Çerkes Kadınları Teavün Cemiyeti”, *Kafkasya Kültürel Dergi*, 48, 1975, p. 25.

⁹⁵ Y. Lykova, “Russian emigration to Turkey in the 1920’s: a case study”, *Hacettepe University İktisadi ve İdari Bilimler Fakültesi Dergisi*, 25–1, 2007, pp. 335, 340.

masses in Turkey by publishing a magazine called “Kafkasya” (Le Caucase) in Turkish in Paris at the beginning of 1924. However, due to financial obstacles, the magazine could not be published after the first issue. The Poles, becoming very decisive in anti-Soviet activities had established The Caucasus Confederalists Committee in Istanbul in October 1924 by the initiative of ambassador Roman Knoll. Despite all the handicaps of the political conjuncture in Turkey, the Poles thought that the anti-Soviet struggle should be based in Turkey as it was hosting a crowded Caucasian immigration and bordered the Soviets. Dreaming of gathering the different political wings of the emigration under one roof, Knoll suggested naming the formation to be established as the Liberation Union of the Caucasus. In order to carry out effective activities, this committee had to work in coordination with the committee of Paris that was established in November. However, the right and left wings of the émigré groups could not find a compromise on the sharing of authority.⁹⁶

After obtaining sufficient financial support from Warsaw, The Committee in Istanbul sent Alikhan Kantemir to Kars, David Vachnadze to the Artvin-Ardahan-Hopa region, and Hosrovbek Sultanzade to Iran in March 1925 with the purpose of starting communication with the rebels in the Soviet Caucasus. Vassan Girey Jabagi, on the other hand, would stay in Istanbul to prepare for a publication of the committee. The Istanbul Committee also issued a statement condemning the passive stance of the Paris Committee and declared that they were ready to hand over some powers to take action.⁹⁷ Georgian Mensheviks and Azeri Musavatists in the meantime who were close to Marshal Pilsudski were putting pressure on the liquidation of the Caucasus Confederalists Committee and the creation of a new committee that would work under their control. As the result of the tough negotiations carried out under the pressure of Warsaw, the Caucasus Independence Committee (Komitet Nezavisimosti Kavkazankn) was established in Istanbul on 15 July 1926.⁹⁸ The committee was principally established on representation on an equal basis. However, control soon passed into the hands of the Georgian Mensheviks and Azeri Musavatists, who established their own national centers. The Poles aimed to curb antithetical voices by forcing the diplomatic missions in exile, the Council of three, and right-wing groups to join in this formation.⁹⁹ Said Shamil, with the support of the Poles, represented the North Caucasian political immigration, which could not form its own national center due to irrational disagreements. The Polish Military Intelligence Service and the Caucasian Social Democrats took action to purge the right-wing members of the Committee less than a week after its establishment. They claimed that Alikhan Kantemir was in contact with Bolshevik agents on the Soviet border where he was sent on duty in 1925 and conducted various negotiations to reach an agreement with them. They blamed the prominent members

⁹⁶ Г. Мамуля, *Кавказская Конфедерация в официальных декларациях, тайной переписке и секретных документах движения «Прометей»*, Москва, 2012, pp. 7–8, 49–54.

⁹⁷ *Ibidem*, pp. 10–11.

⁹⁸ HCHL, Georgia (Republic), Records [microform], Box 76, Reel 194, File 14.

⁹⁹ P. Libera, “Polish authorities and the attempt to create the Caucasian Confederation (1917–1940)”, *Studia z Dziejów Rosji i Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej*, 52–3, 2017, p. 243.

of the North Caucasian political immigrant community such as Alikhan Kantemir, Tambi Elekhoti, Pshemakho Kotse, Djamaleddin Musalayev, Magomed Kotiev, Kumuk Aydibulov, and Ali Malikov for spying on the Soviets' behalf.¹⁰⁰ The result of the interrogations and investigations proved that the accusations were unfounded.

Said Shamil, despite his young age, expanded his field of activity with the support of the Poles and became an active politician among the émigré groups also in Prague, Warsaw, and Paris after Istanbul. After Marshal Pilsudski seized power in Poland, Shamil found a very convenient ground for his activities in Warsaw. He bore the title of the General Secretary of the Popular Party of The Caucasian Mountaineers (Narodnaya Partiya Gortsev Kavkaza – NPGK) which was founded together with the monarchist wing of the North Caucasus political emigrant community on 18 November 1926, in Warsaw. He had also preserved the title of the General Secretary of the Caucasus Free Mountaineers Democratic Party (Demokraticeskaya Partiya Vol'nykh Gortsev Kavkaza, DPVKG) which carried on activities in Prague.¹⁰¹ On the other hand, he was one of the most active among the North Caucasians in the Promethean movement.

In the same period, Bammat founded the Nationalist Democratic Caucasian Mountaineers Party to improve cooperation with the political immigrants in Turkey, but the party could not survive due to the obstacles of the Kemalist government.¹⁰²

KNK's purpose of existence was the unification of all the organisational institutions of the Caucasus in exile. However, it could not perform any solid actions due to the growing political rivalry. While people like Chermoy and Bammat, who were among the founders of the North Caucasus Republic, did not consent to be inferior to the Polish-backed young person Said Shamil, Alimardan Topchibashi was not in a better condition on the Azerbaijani side. Thus, they established the Azerbaijan and North Caucasus Temporary Union Centre in Paris on 12 January 1927. Ali Mardan Topchibashi took the seat of the presidency of the formation, while Haydar Bammat assumed the functions of general secretary.¹⁰³ The tense relations with the Council of Three in Paris had broken completely with the KNK's statement dated 1 November 1927.¹⁰⁴ As a result of the propaganda campaign launched by the Georgian Mensheviks against Turkey in the official publication of Georgian Social Democrats against the vital interests of the Caucasus, the activities of the Caucasians in Turkey were restricted further.¹⁰⁵ Banning of official the publication of the Azeri Musavatists, Yeni Kafkasya, and the expulsion of one of the Georgian leaders,

¹⁰⁰ Российский Государственный Военный Архив (РГВА), Фонд 461К/1, № 371, Лист 1–4; № 350, Лист 1–7; № 365, Лист 1–11, № 352, Лист 1–5; № 357, Лист 1–3; № 360, Лист 1–24; J. Targalski, "Les plans polonais concernant l'éclatement de l'URSS, le mouvement «Prométhée» et le Caucase", *Bulletin de l'Observatoire de l'Asie centrale et du Caucase*, 3, 1997, p. 11.

¹⁰¹ Б. Байтуган, «Знаменительная информация», *Горцы Кавказа*, 26, 1931, p. 4; BDIC, Said Shamil's letter to Council of the 3 dd. Jan. 13, 1927, MFM. 881, Bobine 195, № 51, L. 1–3.

¹⁰² Х.М. Доного (изд.), *Гайдар Баммат и Журнал «Кавказ». Сборник статей За Период существования Журнала 1934–1939 гг.*, Махачкала–Париж, 2010, p. 461.

¹⁰³ G. Mamoulia, *Les combats indépendantistes des Caucasiens entre URSS et puissances occidentales*, Paris, 2009, p. 114–115.

¹⁰⁴ BDIC, KNK Declaration Nov. 1, 1927, MFM. 881, Bobine 194.

¹⁰⁵ HCHL, Georgia (Republic), Records [microform], Box 58, 59, Reel 159, File 32, Letter from Chermoeff and Bammat to A.Tchenkeli, L. 1–10.

Simon Mdivani, put the subject of relocation of the KNK's headquarters from Istanbul into the agenda of the Social Democrats. The Georgians left the KNK when their demand to move the KNK's headquarters to Paris was not accepted by the Musavatists and NPGK supporters.¹⁰⁶ The KNK lost nearly all functionality when the Turkish police raided the flats of Said Shamil and Mehmed Emin Resulzade and seized the documents belonging to the KNK.¹⁰⁷ On the other hand, Bammat and Chermoy agreed with the Georgian Social-Democrat Sosipatre Asatiani to create an alternative Caucasian National Centre to the KNK. Confederalists in Istanbul, such as Vachnadze, Kantemir, and Sultanzade, refused to cooperate with the Promethean front and left the KNK in May 1928. After a while, Alikhan Kantemir joined the new formation of Bammat and founded the Republican North Caucasus Federalists Party (RPFSSK) in Turkey.¹⁰⁸

The year 1929 was marked by a scandal that almost ended Said Shamil's political career. Shamil, with the approval of his Polish sponsors, decided to include Ossetian monarchist General Lazar Bicherakhov in the leadership of the party, thinking that it would strengthen relations with the international circles, Cossack émigré groups, and Christian Ossetians. General Sultan Klych Guirei, in his letter, addressed to all parties of the Caucasus political emigrant community, stated that Said Shamil, instead of meeting with the authorised organs of the party, worked behind the scenes with an Ossetian group known to be loyal to him and that Bicherakhov, who led the armed Russian and Cossack gangs, was trying to infiltrate the party with his gang, taking advantage of Shamil's youth and inexperience.¹⁰⁹ Klych Guirei also added that Said Shamil forced him to cooperate with Lazar Bicherakhov. Klych Guirei had resigned from Central Committee membership while emphasising that he cannot accept to be a part of such ignominy and would rather starve to death than work for a Cossack general.¹¹⁰ Another person who fiercely condemned Said Shamil was Alikhan Kantemir, whom he allegedly accused of being a Bolshevik agent in 1927. Kantemir organised petitions over RPFSSK and called on the national centres and diplomatic representatives of all Caucasian groups to take action.¹¹¹ Mehmed Emin Resulzade also did not miss this opportunity to blame Said Shamil and protested against Shamil by keeping this issue vivid on the pages of the magazine *Azeri-Türk* for 6 months.¹¹² As per these developments, the extraordinary general assembly of NPGK convened on 12 May 1929, decided to expel Central Committee members Mehmed Girey Sunsh, Bahaeddin Hursh, and General Bicherakhov together with Said Shamil from the party and for them to be tried in the

¹⁰⁶ BDIC, Decree of the Georgian National Centre, Aug. 17, 1929, MFM. 881, Bobine 194.

¹⁰⁷ BDIC, Letter from Hosrovbek Sultanzade to Akaki Chkhenkeli Jun. 10, 1929, MFM. 881, Bobine 195.

¹⁰⁸ BDIC, Declaration of Committee of Caucasian Confederalists, May, 12, 1928. MFM. 881, Bobine 195; X.M. Доного (изд.), *Гайдар Баммат ...*, p. 461.

¹⁰⁹ BDIC, Sultan Klych Guirey's letter dd Mar. 31, 1929, MFM 881, Bobine 194.

¹¹⁰ BDIC, Sultan Klych Guirey's letter dd Oct. 03, 1929. MFM 881, Rulo 194.

¹¹¹ Les archives de Ali Mardan bey Toptchibachi. Bibliothèque du Centre d'études des mondes Russe, Caucasiens et Centre-Européen (CERCEC) de l'École des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales (ERCEC), Carton № 6-1: Kantemir's letter dd Apr. 24, 1929; Kantemir's letter dd May 8, 1929; Protest declarations of immigrants in Turkey dd Feb. 1929.

¹¹² "Kafkasya Meselesi", *Azeri-Türk*, 24-2, 1929, pp. 1-2; "Dürüst Siyaset", *Azeri-Türk*, 25-3, 1929, pp. 3-4, 6-7; "Şimali Kafkasya", *Azeri-Türk*, 26-4, 1929, p. 7.

party court to determine the damage they caused to the party.¹¹³ Additionally, Sultan Klych Guirei was appointed as the party general secretary vacated by Said Shamil. As soon as the NPGK administration settled the internal conflict, it immediately charged against its political rivals. Besides bringing the old claims of the Polish secret service to the agenda, they also accused the right-wing Mountain politicians in Istanbul of creating propaganda against the NPGK with Bolshevik financing.¹¹⁴ While the NPGK was struggling with these problems, Bammatt and his group announced the establishment of the North Caucasus National Centre in November 1929. All North Caucasian émigré groups took place according to the principle of equal representation at the National Centre. The representatives of the Paris National Unity Group, the Nationalist Democrat Party, which is the continuation of the old Prague group, and the RPFSSK in Istanbul were also included in the name. NPGK was also given four seats in the National Center which would have never been filled.¹¹⁵ This conciliatory move of Bammatt and his group did not bring the desired result. The fight between the right and left wings of the Mountain immigration escalated more in the later stages.

Turkey has always been one of the priorities of the North Caucasus National Centre. Bammatt started publishing a magazine in Russian called Independent Caucasus (*Nezavisimiy Kavkaz*) in 1929 with the help of RPFSSK, Alikhan Kantemir, and Hosrovbek Sultanzade.¹¹⁶ Leading names of the Istanbul group, such as Kantemir and Elekhoti, were in the core editorial staff of the magazine. The committee, which was established in Paris as an alternative to the KNK, sent a message to the Turkish authorities on March 15, 1930, with the signature of Bammatt, Topchibashi, and Asatiani. They stated that they wanted to create a Turkish allied Caucasian confederation that could be a buffer between Turkey and Russia. They emphasised that they were different from the Caucasian Social Democrats who were in the same camp as the Russians before the Bolshevik revolution and that they were the most reliable partners for Turkey. However, under the intense pressure of the Soviets, Turkey closed all doors to anti-Soviet activities. The refugees who tried to cross the border were given immediately back to the Soviets and were shot on the spot. Turkish citizens of Caucasian origin were banned strictly from entering anti-Soviet political formations.¹¹⁷ Due to that reason, the financial aid from Turkey for the magazine the Independent Caucasus was cut off and it could not be published after the third issue.

The KNK, which moved to Paris due to the political barriers in Turkey, started to recover in 1931 with the help of the Promethean front. In order to gain strength, the KNK tried to win back the Armenians with whom relations were broken in the early 1920s. Resulzade, the leader of the Azeri Musavatists, surprisingly became the most ardent supporter of this compromise. Claiming that there was no question of uniting

¹¹³ CERCEC, ERCEC. NPGK decree for dismissal of Said Shamil and members of the Central committee from the Carton № 6–1, L. 1–7.

¹¹⁴ CERCEC, ERCEC, Report of NPGK information bureau, Carton № 4, L. 1–5.

¹¹⁵ BDIC, Protocol of council of the 3 dd. Nov. 25, 1929, MFM 881, Rulo 138.

¹¹⁶ X. Баммат, “Кавказские конфедералисты и их задачи”, *Независимый Кавказ*, 1, 1929, pp. 1–3.

¹¹⁷ G. Mamoulia, *Les combats...*, pp. 129–130.

peoples of Turkish origin in an empire under the hegemony of Turkey, he sought to improve relations with the Armenians.¹¹⁸ Said Shamil, who was given the task of mediation with the support of the Prometheans, had another chance of revival in his political career. However, Shamil went beyond his authority and started to use initiatives without informing the relevant parties, which became the source of another catastrophe. His political reputation was once again ruined when his talks with the Armenians were made public.¹¹⁹ After being excluded from the North Caucasian political émigré groups Said Shamil, continued to perform anti-Soviet activities within the Promethean movement. On 7 December 1931, he attended the Islamic Conference in Jerusalem at the invitation of the Mufti of Jerusalem Amin al-Huseyni, together with Ayaz Iskhaki. He was elected to the Presidential Council of the conference as the youngest member. Shamil had also played some decisive roles in some Arab states' decisions against communism with his anti-Soviet statements.¹²⁰

Even in an atmosphere of uncertainty where the political balances are constantly changing as the world was rapidly drifting into a new great war, the rival parties of the North Caucasus political emigrant community have never been able to sacrifice Turkey despite its close relationship with the Soviets. Despite all the prohibitions, they sought the support of the North Caucasian diaspora in Turkey by delivering their publications to Turkey. During this period, the NPGK tried to circumvent the ban by republishing ten different variations of the magazine “Simali Kafkasya” (“Severnyi Kavkaz”), which was banned from distribution in Turkey. While Bammat's group, supported by the Japanese-German alliance, was suddenly blacklisted by the Germans after the Turks signed non-aggression agreements with the British and French. The Germans considered Bammat's group to be very pro-Turkish. However, the leaders of Bammat's group in Turkey, Alikhan Kantemir and Osman Guba (Saidnurov) were declared *persona non grata* by the Turkish authorities. Kantemir and Guba were stripped of their citizenship on 24 September 1938, and were deported on the same day.¹²¹ The deportation of Kantemir and Guba also meant that the North Caucasian émigré groups would not be active in Turkey again until the end of World War II. Political refugees, like Pshemakho Kotse, who stayed in Turkey, kept silent under the constant close watch of the secret services and waited for the outcome of the war.

With the end of World War II, Turkey becomes an important country for the North Caucasian émigré groups once again, and in Turkey's changing political climate, they were going to form one of the important circles of the anti-communist activity chain of the world.

¹¹⁸ М.Э. Расулзаде, *О пантюркизме в связи с кавказской проблемой*, Париж, 1930, p. 67.

¹¹⁹ G. Mamoulia, *Les combats...*, pp. 134–136.

¹²⁰ Y. Nevruz, “Said Şamil'den Muhaceretteki Kuzey Kafkasyalıların 'Esir Vatan'ın Kurtuluşuyla İlgili Mücadelelerine Işık Tutan Tarihi Bir Mektup”, *Birleşik Kafkasya*, 3, 1995, p. 49.

¹²¹ D. Tutayev, *The Soviet Caucasus*, London, 1942, pp. 174–175; *T.C. Resmî Gazete*, 24.09.1938, p. 1.

شمالی قفقاس جہودیت اتحادیہ
فرقہ سی
PARTI REPUBLICAIN FEDERALISTE
DU CAUCASE DU NORD

Figure 1. The Stamp of the Republican Federalist Party of North Caucasus



Figure 2. Magomed-Bek Hadjetlashe / aka Gersh (Grigory) Ettinger – 1907 (Государственный архив Российской Федерации (ГАРФ), Ф.102, ДП 00; С. Kumuk, *Düvel-i Muazzama'nın Kıskacında Kafkasya Dağlıları*, Istanbul, 2022, p.168)

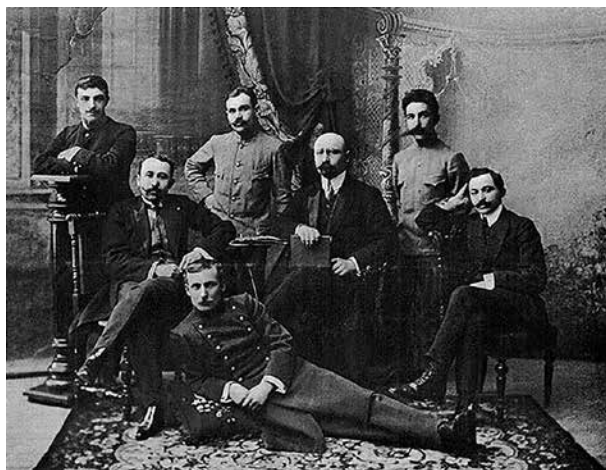


Figure 3. The North Caucasian intelligentsia who were manipulated by M.B. Hadjetlashe (“Journal Mousoulmanine”, 20, 1910, p. 136)



Figure 4. “Journal Mousoulmanine” Paris 1911, No 1



Figure 5. Leaders of The North Caucasian Central Committee and The Circassian Union and Solidarity Association Istanbul – May 1918 Front Row (Sitting); Ahmed Fevzi Pasha, Dr. Mehmed Reshid Bey, Abdulmedjid Chermoy, Magomed Kady Dibir, Dr. Isa Ruhi Pasha, Temur Pasha, Second Row (Standing); Lieutenant Sadeddin Bey, Mehmed Said Shamil, Huseyin Tosun Bey, Suleyman Bey, Colonel Amin Bey, Dr. Resul Bey (C. Kumuk, *Düvel-i Muazzama'nın Kıskaçında Kafkasya Dağlıları*, Istanbul, 2022, p. 370)



Figure 6. The North Caucasian and Ottoman Statesmen at the Trebizond 1918 From Left: 3rd Huseyin Rauf Orbay, 5th Magomed Kdy Dibir, 7th Haydar Bammat, 8th Abdulmedjid Chermoy (A. Avagyan, *Türk Dış Siyasetinde Kuzey Kafkasya Siyasi Muhacereti (1920–1971)*, Istanbul, 2000, Cover Page)



Figure 7. The Caucasian Immigration and the Abkhazian Leaders in Istanbul, 1920. Sitting: Simon Basaria (on the left), Tatash Marshania (on the right) Standing: Amir Marshan Pasha (in the middle) and Met Yusuf Izzet Pasha (on the right) (https://www.mahmutmarsan.com/marsanlar/KOKLER_SAYFA.htm)



Figure 8. Ottoman Military Commanders of Abkhazian origin: Suleyman Bganba (left), Rushdi Bganba (right) (C. Kumuk, *Düvel-i Muazzama'nın Kiskacında Kafkasya Dağlıları*, Istanbul, 2022, p. 375)



Figure 9. The Circassian commander of Nationalist irregulars, Pshevu Ethem Bey (Ethem the Circassian) (C. Kumuk, *Düvel-i Muazzama'nın Kiskacında Kafkasya Dağlıları*, Istanbul, 2022, p. 614)



Figure 10. The Circassian loyalist Ottoman Commander, Anchok Akhmed Anzavur (https://ru.wikipedia.org/wiki/Файл:Ахмед_Анзаур.jpg)



Figure 11. Professor Aziz Meker, Tbilisi, 1921. (The Georgian State Archives)



Figure 12. The Ottoman field commander with Abkhazian origin Kapba Kazim Kap, The Caucasus, 1920 (C. Kumuk, *Düvel-i Muazzama'nın Kıskaçında Kafkasya Dağlıları*, Istanbul, 2022, p. 500)



Figure 13. The prominent members of the Caucasian Political Immigration, From Left: Alikhan Kantemir, Halil-bek Hasmamedov, Haydar Bammat, Istanbul, 1938 (C. Kumuk, "Predecessors & Consequences Of A Tragedy: 28 May – 1 June, 1945 Drau Massacre...", *Istoričeskii Vestnik*, 34, 2020, p. 99)



Figure 14. The second president of The Republic of the Union of The North Caucasian Mountaineers Pshemakho Kotse in a Turkish Migration, Istanbul, 1920s (https://www.wikiwand.com/ru/ru/Коцев,_Пшемахо_Тамашевич)



Figure 15. II Congress of the Comintern demonstration on Red Square. In the center: The Foreign Minister of Ankara Government, Ethnic Ossetian, Kindukh Bekir Sami-bey. Moscow, 27 July 1920



Figure 16. The Leaders of The Turkish and The Caucasian Fraction of The Promethean Movement, Warsaw in 1938 From Left; Ayaz Iskhaki, Said Shamil, Osman Kocaoglu (C. Kumuk, *Düvel-i Muazzama'nın Kiskacında Kafkasya Dağlıları*, Istanbul, 2022, p. 746)



Figure 17. The Cover Page of Bammat's Publication *Kafkasya (Le Caucase)* which was published as a Single Issue in 1924 in the Turkish



Fig. 18 The Bilingual (Turkish-Russian) Publications of the Popular Party of the Caucasian Highlanders (1934-1939)



Figure 19. Sultan Klych Guirey's Resignation Letter After Lazar Bicherakhov's Appointment by Said Shamil as the Leader of the European Structure of NPGK (Bibliothèque de documentation internationale contemporaine (BDIC), Microfilms of the Georgian Government Archive, MFM 881. Roll 194)

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Turkey, As an Influential North Caucasian Émigré Center Between the Two World Wars

The article basically aims to shed light on the efforts of the Caucasian peoples to establish a state and unity, especially on the axis of the Caucasian Mountaineers, and their activities emigration activities during the turbulent years of the world.

Today, Turkey is home to North Caucasian community representing about 10% of its population. Although this ratio represents a small percentage of the Turkish population, it has a very different meaning for the peoples of the North Caucasus. If we consider that the population of genuine North Caucasians today is half of the population of the diaspora and that only Russians, Cossacks, and other settlers live in many parts of the North Caucasus now, the meaning of the North Caucasian diaspora in Turkey can be

understood much better. Although the North Caucasian ethnicities in Turkey were the victims of large-scale assimilation, especially during the first fifty years of the republican regime, they are still of great importance to their homeland. We witnessed the most striking example of this during the 1992–1993 Abkhaz-Georgian war. Within the scope of this article, we will examine the events that developed in the North Caucasus in the years between the revolutions at the beginning of the 20th century and the world wars, and the influence of Turkey and North Caucasian immigrant community in Turkey on the course of events. We also submit the issue of a Confederate Union of the peoples of the Caucasus to the attention of the reader from the perspective of North Caucasian Mountaineers.

KEYWORDS

North Caucasus, Caucasian Confederation, Mountaineers, Turkey, Caucasian emigration, Promethean Movement, Yusuf Izzet Pasha, Kundukh, Shamil, Bammam, Chermoy, Klych Guirei, Ethem, Eshba, Lakoba, Avarski, Gotsinski, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Poland, France, World War

Turcja jako wpływowe centrum emigracji regionu północnokaukaskiego w okresie międzywojennym

Zasadniczym celem niniejszego artykułu jest rzucenie światła na dążenia ludów kaukaskich do utworzenia państwa i wypracowania jedności, ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem Górali północnokaukaskich oraz ich działalności emigracyjnej w burzliwym okresie historii świata.

Turcja jest obecnie zamieszkiwana przez imigrantów z Kaukazu Północnego, którzy stanowią ok. 10 proc. jej populacji. Choć wskaźnik ten stanowi ułamek tureckiej populacji, to dla ludów północnokaukaskich jest to kwestia o istotnym znaczeniu. Uwzględnienie faktu, że populacja rdzennych mieszkańców Kaukazu Północnego odpowiada dziś połowie populacji diaspory, a w wielu miejscach wspomnianego regionu mieszkają obecnie tylko Rosjanie, Kozacy i inni osadnicy, pozwala lepiej zobrazować znaczenie diaspory północnokaukaskiej w Turcji. Mimo iż etniczni mieszkańcy Kaukazu Północnego padli w Turcji ofiarą asymilacji na dużą skalę, zwłaszcza w pierwszym pięćdziesięcioleciu rządów republikańskich, to nadal mają ogromne znaczenie dla swojej ojczyzny. Najbardziej jaskrawym tego przykładem była wojna gruzińsko-abchaska w latach 1992–1993. W ramach niniejszego artykułu przeanalizujemy wydarzenia, które rozwijały się na Kaukazie Północnym w okresie pomiędzy rewolucjami na początku XX w. a wojnami światowymi, a także wpływ Turcji i emigracji północnokaukaskiej w tym kraju na przebieg wspomnianych wydarzeń. Poddajemy też pod rozagę czytelnika kwestię Konfederacji Narodów Kaukazu, przedstawioną z perspektywy Górali Północnokaukaskich.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE

Kaukaz Północny, Konfederacja Narodów Kaukazu, Górale, Turcja, emigracja kaukaska, Ruch Prometejski, Jusuf Izzet Pasza, Kunduch, Szamil, Bammat, Czermoj, Sułtan Girej-Kłyč, Ethem, Eszba, Lakoba, Awarskij, Gotynskij, Gruzja, Azerbejdżan, Armenia, Polska, Francja, wojna światowa

CEM KUMUK – one of the third-generation representatives of the North Caucasian immigrant community in Turkey, was born in Ankara in 1967. He is known in international circles for his research studies, books, and articles on the history of the Caucasus. The author, who received an academic education in the field of British and American Philology, wrote articles and columns in various periodicals and NGO publications from a very young age. The author's first essay, *Neredesin Prometheus? Kafkasya Aydınlik Günlerini Arıyor* (*Where about Prometheus? The Caucasus Looks for Its Glimmering Days*), was published in the Turkish language in 2004, and his last comprehensive monograph, which was published again in Turkish earlier this year with the title *Düvel-i Muazzama'nın Kiskacında Kafkasya Dağlıları* (*Caucasian Mountaineers in the Grip of the Great Powers*), is being translated into the Russian language. Some of the author's groundbreaking articles on the history of the Caucasus were published also in Russia in the English language. Besides, the author transferred tens of thousands of original materials such as books, periodicals, archive documents, academic dissertations, maps, and photographs to an electronic environment within the scope of a digitalisation project he has been running since 2005. He shares all these materials with the researchers who want to conduct scientific studies on the history of the Caucasus without any material expectations.

CEM KUMUK – jeden z przedstawicieli trzeciego pokolenia północnokaukaskiej imigracji w Turcji, urodził się w Ankarze w 1967 r. W kręgach międzynarodowych znany jest ze swoich badań, książek i artykułów dotyczących historii Kaukazu. Autor ten uzyskał wykształcenie akademickie w zakresie filologii brytyjskiej i amerykańskiej. Od najmłodszych lat publikował artykuły i felietony w różnych periodykach i wydawnictwach organizacji pozarządowych. Pierwszy esej jego autorstwa, zatytułowany *Neredesin Prometheus? Kafkasya Aydınlik Günlerini Arıyor* (Gdzie jesteś, Prometeuszu? Kaukaz wypatruje jaśniejszych dni), został wydany w języku tureckim w 2004 r., zaś jego ostatnia obszerna monografia, ponownie w języku tureckim, ukazała się na początku bieżącego roku pod tytułem *Düvel-i Muazzama'nın Kiskacında Kafkasya Dağlıları* (Górale Kaukascy pod władzą wielkich mocarstw) i obecnie jest tłumaczona na język rosyjski. Niektóre z przełomowych artykułów autora na temat historii Kaukazu były także publikowane w Rosji w języku angielskim. Ponadto autor przeniósł do środowiska elektronicznego kilkadziesiąt tysięcy oryginalnych materiałów, takich jak książki, czasopisma, dokumenty archiwalne, prace naukowe, mapy i fotografie w ramach prowadzonego przez siebie od 2005 r. projektu cyfryzacji. Wszystkimi tymi materiałami dzieli się z badaczami pragnącymi zgłębiać historię Kaukazu, nie oczekując w zamian żadnej rekompensaty finansowej.