

## THE IDEOLOGICAL ACTIVITY OF THE MILLI TURKESTAN JOURNAL

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**Abstract:** Guided by the idea of independent Turkestan in various European countries, Muslim emigrants from the Soviet Union established a number of newspapers and journals. Among these editions, according to the state and prospect of Kazakh literature, an important role was played by the Milli Turkestan Journal, the main information source and means of promoting the Turkestan Legion organization. This article analyzes the content of the journal and its significance in the modern world. The research objective is to form, drawing upon archive materials and academic publications, an objective view of the journal's ideological aspects. Ideology being the defining criterion of the journal's activity, various opinions existed as to its ideological orientation. From this point of view, an attempt at the critical analysis and assessment of available academic sources was made. To achieve the above-mentioned objective, source study methods were widely used. As an example, when disclosing regularities of historical events in various time periods, the chronological research method was adopted.

**Keywords:** emigration, literature, culture, Turkestan Legion, press, journal, ideology.

### 1. INTRODUCTION

Poets and writers who lived during the Second World War period and served in the Turkestan Legion left important prosaic and poetic works and shared their opinions through various newspapers and journals, one of them being the *Milli Turkestan Journal* (National Turkestan). The main goal of this research study is to determine its focus areas and to evaluate the outcomes of the Journal's ideological activity. The *Milli Turkestan Journal* was a unique press tool expressing the national, political, spiritual and cultural views of Turkestan fighters and, as such, all articles published in it can serve as an indispensable source for studying Turkestan emigrant literature, including the manifestation, status and position of Kazakh literature outside Kazakhstan.

The research article investigates how the Milli Turkestan Journal contributed to the formation of Kazakh emigration literature. More specifically, attention is given to the in-depth analysis of the Journal's ideological objective and its role in the creation of the Turkic world's common literary, cultural and historical space. The journal under investigation is of particular importance today, given that among its major topics are general writing and the alphabet which are still of great relevance nowadays. Today, almost all Turkic states have started moving towards the adoption of the Latin alphabet. In 2017, the Kazakhs gave various opinions and variants of the Latin alphabet and widely discussed them. From this

point of view, we recognize the importance of debates that took place in the Journal and its conclusions about the need to introduce the alphabet. For the first time, the Milli Turkestan Journal was subject to a careful research study. We are convinced that the Journal's contents are of exceptional importance not only for Kazakh literature, but also for the literature and culture of the Turkic world. However, considering the fact that most authors who published their articles in this journal were Kazakh poets and writers, the Journal's significance lies in the fact that publications are of special importance to the literary and cultural life of Kazakhstan. Unfortunately, no research has so far been undertaken on the books, newspapers and journals which were the main sources of Kazakh emigration literature. Consequently, this increases the importance of the issues discussed in the article.

## 2. METHODOLOGY

The following methods were adopted in the present study: generalization, description, material processing and typological analysis. The authors also used historic-chronological and comparative research methods for a thorough analysis of the materials published in the Journal. To determine the subject and content of publications, a systematic and comprehensive review of literature and methods of qualitative research was used. Special attention was given to classification. This method was used to classify the sources according to their origin: (1) archival documents; 2) documents issued by state bodies and public organizations; 3) works by state and public figures of Kazakhstan and other countries; 4) periodicals; 5) memoirs.

## 3. RESULTS

*Study and history of the Milli Turkestan Journal.* The Milli Turkestan Journal was first published on June 15, 1942. The Journal's history can be divided into three stages: 1942-45 (Berlin), 1949-54 (Geneva, after 1952 Dusseldorf) and 1962-75 (Dusseldorf). The monograph entitled *The Reality of the Turkestan Legion - the struggle between the swastika and the red star* by Kazakh scientist in Turkey Abdulvahap Kara comprises detailed information about the life and work of Chingiz Dagji, captured by the German army during World War II and later engaged in literary and cultural activities of the Milli Turkestan Journal in the Turkestan Legion. A. Kara, based on research by Turkic scholars Dzhabar Yerturk and Hussein Ikram Khan, provides the following description of the Journal: "In Berlin, under the leadership of Uali Khayum Milli Turkestan (National Turkestan), Yeni Turkestan and Milli adabiyat (National Literature) Journals were published referring to the "National Committee of Turkestan". This Journal, with the circulation of 80,000 copies during the war, was financed by the Eastern Ministry. Later, depending on the rank, subsidies were received from the Turkestan legionaries in the amount of 1 to 15 Reichsmark and a separate budget was created. After the war, the Milli Turkestan Journal continued its activity until 1976 with support of Uali Khayum Khan and his friends" (Abdiyaqap, 2011:67).

As can be seen, Turkic scholars, first, paid attention to the value and significance of the Journal and its place in the literary and cultural life of the Turkic peoples. Importantly, the first full-scale study of the Milli Turkestan Journal is the thesis research by researcher Nurgul Uzunel entitled *Turkestan press during emigration to Europe: Milli Turkestan Journal (1942-1975)*. Uzunel highly appreciates the Journal's activity in studying literary works, spiritual struggle, mood and socio-political views of Kazakh, Uzbek, Kyrgyz, Turkmen, Tajik and Tatar emigrants in Western Europe. The most important events covered by the press have been studied such as the development of ideological, social and spiritual struggle related to the idea of "Turkestan", the convergence of views among emigrants captured during the war and emigrants of the pre-war period in Europe. However, Uzunel notes that she did

not have access to all issues of the Journal from the first time period (1942-45), so she provides limited information on daily news relating to the war and very limited information about literary articles (Nurgül: 2012:15). In his book *The idea of the liberation of "Milli Turkestan"*, Professor Baymirza Hayit comments on the Milli Turkestan Journal as follows: "This work is an attempt to demonstrate the image and properties in the modern world of the Turkestan states. The history of the national liberation struggle, which has been going on for many years, is especially noticeable in this journal" (Baymirza, 2004: 5).

Literary-cultural and historical articles were also published in the Milli Turkestan Journal. A study by Akhat Andizhan, *The Turkestan Struggle in abroad from Jadidism to Independence*, also provides abundant information about the Journal under investigation (Ahat, 2005, 84). Among other publications on the subject are *National Liberation Struggle of Turkestan, corresponding to the Milli Turkestan Journal* by Erzhan Chelebey (Ercan, 2000: 65) and *Central Asia through the eyes of Turkestani people in emigration and the Milli Turkestan Journal* by Orkhan Chinar (Orhan, 2010: 123). Additionally, valuable information on the topic can be found in the Anti-colonial Turkestan literature Journal of the Kazakh scientist A.A. Zhalmyrza: *Formation, Features of Development and Artistic Character*. According to Zhalmyrza, "Turkestan literature developed due to the activities of two journals, *Yeni Turkestan* and *Yash Turkestan*, also in the framework of these publications of the *Milli Turkestan Journal*, *Turkestan*, etc." (Aidyn, 2010:2).

The Milli Turkestan Journal was originally published as part of the Turkestan Legion in order to inform soldiers about changes taking place on the battlefield and throughout the world, to publish war memoirs and to ensure the national identity and maturity of soldiers. The publication was a lecture book, memoirs, national consciousness and worldview for Turkic soldiers of the Turkestan Legion (Ábdियाqap, 2011: 25). The article entitled *Our Way*, published in the first issue of the journal, refers to the latter as the flagship of national struggle and unity against the Soviet Union. "Our desire is one: to create a great, united Turkestan state, without wasting time, to develop our political, military, scientific potential and prepare for great changes. All our thoughts serve one purpose, one interest. In this holy way, every Turkestani should work together and participate in this noble goal. There is no other way, and we do not need any other. It is time to bring the executioners of Soviet Russia out of the soil of holy Turkestan" (Bizdin jol, 1942: 35). These excerpt indicates that the creation of the Turkestan state became the main objective for the publication of the journal. On the first page of each issue were constantly published articles written by the president of the Turkestan National Committee, Uali Khayum Khan. Kayyum Khan's article entitled *Mustafa Shokay* refers to works of Mustafa Shokay, his biography, ideas and independence-focused activities aimed at uniting the Turkic peoples (Abdulvahap, 2002: 9).

The publication of the Milli Turkestan Journal worried Soviet authorities. The Turkestan National Committee used the Journal to establish a permanent dialogue with eminent Turkic personalities who had emigrated to Europe, Iran, Pakistan, India, Arabia and Turkey. Furthermore, it constantly published thoughts and opinions of people and criticized the colonial policy of Russians in Turkestan. It invited all Muslim nations to help in their fight against the Soviet government. This posed a very dangerous threat to the Soviet Union, which had just waged an all-out war against the Germans, suffered major losses and had a shortage of weapons. Also, emigrants took specific steps to negotiate with foreign countries instead of just expressing their opinions through the press. Germany, America and Arabia held conferences and meetings on Turkestan. At these conferences, the policy of communism was denied, deep thoughts were voiced about the unity of Turkic peoples, their religion, language, traditions and customs. The Soviet government, which was bogged down by the bold actions of emigrants, tried to discredit the Turkestan National Committee by taking propaganda measures of Kazakh, Uzbek and Kyrgyz peoples against emigrant leaders in Western Europe.

They were described as "traitors", "treason" and "hypocrites" in newspapers, journals and literary works. In this connection, they used such media as books, radio, theater and cinema. For example, a play by Uzbek writer Sarver Azimov *Bloody Wine* (Kandy Sharap) presented the President of the Turkestan National Committee Uali Khayum Khan as "a traitor without a homeland" (Otansyz Satkyn). The play was shown to the leaders of the Communist parties and foreign ambassadors in the Kremlin Palace in Moscow in an attempt to deceive the ambassadors and promote erroneous opinions about the Turkestan National Committee. In spite of this, the Milli Turkestan Journal, together with the press of Asian and Muslim countries, tried to convey to the world the true position of the Turkic people. During its first stage (1942-1945), the Journal published many literary, cultural and historical articles and some information about fighting at the front line was given in every issue. Editor-in-chief Uali Khayum Khan, on one hand, met with representatives of the German government to discuss the fate of Turkestan prisoners who were gradually released from German prison camps and, on the other hand, invested heavily in forming the press for the national independence of Turkestan (Baymırza, 2004: 47). Therefore, he hoped that Turkestan prisoners and even front-line soldiers would fight for the "creation of the common Turkestan state".

### General topics related to Turkic Nations published in the Journal

Prior to its publication, Milli Turkestan faced a number of problems. Belarussians, who had not accepted Bolshevism, were not Communists or who served the German army, entered into an open fight with Uali Khayum Khan. Their intention was to have the power to deal with peoples within the Soviet Union. That is why opinions were held that the general alphabet of the Turkic-speaking peoples (Kazakh, Uzbek, Kyrgyz, Azerbaijani, Tatar, etc.) should be Cyrillic and that the Journal should be published in the Russian language using the Russian alphabet. Uali Khayum Khan considered that there were five independent states in Turkestan and that the Journal should be published in one language common to all. During this period, Khayum Khan was supported by a friend, Luderson, a member of the propaganda department of the German General Staff, and by the head of this department, Dr. Von Men. Their support led to the German Government's approval of the Chagatai language as the Journal's official language. Chagatai emerged from the unification of the Arabic, Persian and Turkic languages. By modernizing this language, the founders of the Turkestan National Committee aimed to engage Turkic peoples in a dialogue and to restore the linguistic unity of Central Asia, just as it was the case in the Middle Ages. To achieve this aim, they wanted to unite Turkic people in one place.

The category that describes the nationality best is the language. Literature, which is considered the most valuable spiritual heritage of the country, is based on a national language. A nation that has lost its language cannot exist as an independent nation. Colonialists pursued a policy aimed at reducing the use of the national language in order to absorb the population of the country. Language clearly describes the situation of colonization, because it clearly depicts the state of belonging. This is an explicit indication of the struggle against the issue of language.

The issue of language is directly affecting literature and the literary process and, as such, is an urgent problem for all Turkic peoples. Furthermore, among historical, cultural, ethnic, linguistic and religious prerequisites, the language factor varied in the Turkic literature. In literature, it was put forward that the Turkic language is a common language and that different Turkic peoples spoke regional dialects (Tatar, Turkic) of the same Turkic language, now divided into different languages. Some expressed the need to unite different Turkic dialects while others preferred to create a common language. That is, the Turkic world felt the need for a "common language" (Benzing, 2002: 28). Émigré combatants considered the language of Chagatai to be that common language. Therefore, in order to form the



ideological basis of the Legion, intensive work was carried out to develop the theoretical and methodological platform of the Chagatai language. To implement these plans, founders relied on the opinions and conclusions of linguists. For example, in the second issue of the Journal, government adviser and turcologist Johannes Benzing stated that the writing of Independent Turkestan language should be one language, and this is also the Chagatai language, which is the inscription of the Milli Turkestan Journal (Benzing, 2002: 28). In his article, Benzing describes Uighur and runic inscriptions, which were the written languages of Turkic peoples, and highlights the significance of the language of Chagatai in the following terms: “After the adoption of Islam, the Turkestan nation refused the Uighur alphabet and, instead, began to use Arabic letters. In writing letters, they tried to write in one language, regardless of its dialectal features, as in the Uighur script. It was obvious that sometimes dialects were affected, but the language was understandable for every Turkestani. This language was named after the second son of Genghis Khan and, following the reign of Temir Khan, this writing was called *Chagatai*. Among the greatest and most outstanding poets and writers of Chagatai language and literature are Khoja Ahmed Yasawi, Alisher Navoi, Babyr Sultan, Abilgazy Bahadur Khan and others. Although the Chagatai language had many Arabic and Persian words, it is considered to be grammatically the pure Turkic language. Chagatai continued to be written in Turkestan as the common language of all peoples before the coming of Bolshevism. Besides Turkestan, this language was used by the Turkestan people who escaped the Bolsheviks and lived in emigration. The most vivid example of this is *Zhas Turkestan* (1929-1939), published by Mustafa Shokay. According to the author, the reason for publishing this journal in the Chagatai language using the Latin alphabet was based on continuity and regularity (Qayymhan, 1942: 148). The article also focuses on the general linguistic harmony of the Turkic languages, i.e. the law of vowel harmony. Shokay pointed to the fact that vowel harmony was one of the most advanced linguistic achievements of the Turkic peoples, yet at the same time he was disappointed that imitators of Arabic and Persian languages neglected and violated the rules of vowel harmony. Importantly, the same problem is still relevant today.

However, despite these principles, the Journal often published articles in the Kazakh and Tajik languages, which means that the Chagatai language was not fully satisfactory. From articles written in 1942, it is clear that the Journal’s permanent author was Uali Khayum Khan. In addition, all members of the commission were former prisoners of war. On one hand, Khayum Khan persuaded German officials in an attempt to create an independent political structure. On the other hand, he worked towards becoming a leader. He understood that he was not an ordinary person who had been taken over by the Germans in the eyes of the Turkestan POW, but rather as a leader in the struggle for the independence of Turkestan in emigration. For a short time, he worked with well-known Turkestan leaders, like Mustafa Shokay, and his reputation grew, yet he wanted more power, writing in Milli Turkestan as follows: “If Turkestan is now in a good condition and respected by German government, it is not just blind luck, it is the result of 20-year-long hard work” (Abdirahman, 1943:36). Articles published in Milli Turkestan reveal his attempts at assuming further authority.

While Mustafa Shokay worked in France, Uali Khayum Khan also worked in Germany on the issue of Turkestan. Both of them had the same goal - the independence of Turkestan. When the Soviet-German war began, Uali Khayum Khan went to Paris and brought Mustafa Shokay to Berlin. They came to an agreement. On his deathbed Mustafa Shokay told Uali Khayum Khan: “You will face difficult times, and you are alone now. I leave all Turkestan-related issues to you. When there are youngster captives from Turkestan, it will lead to Independence of Turkestan” (Mahambet, 1942: 40). As can be seen from the past years, Uali Khayum Khan highlighted the fact that his movement continued the émigré Turkestan national movement since the 1920s. Since all members did not have legal recognition and sup-

port for Turkestan national unity in Turkey, this movement persisted thanks to the personality of Mustafa Shokay. Of course, as a successor of Mustafa Shokay, he would have risen to the leading position. In this case, it would have been possible to get the approval not only of prisoners of war, but of all Turkestan émigrés.

All issues of the Milli Turkestan Journal feature photographs of cultural and spiritual monuments in Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan such as the Amir Temir Mausoleum in Samarkand, the Aisha Bibi Mausoleum, the Shyr-Dor Madrasah, Tilla-Kari, which were built by Jalangtos Bahadur, the Sanjar Khan's palace in Merv and the Mausoleum of Khoja Ahmed Yasawi in Turkestan. A German translation accompanied writings in the Chagatai language, which shows that members of the editorial board were determined to introduce the Germans to the cultural and spiritual values of the Turkic peoples. Numerous images of medieval palaces and fortresses in Berlin appeared on the pages of the Journal to show German architectural monuments to captive Kazakh, Kyrgyz, Uzbek and Tatar soldiers.

Most literary articles in the Milli Turkestan Journal belong to Kazakh, Uzbek, Kyrgyz and Turkmen poets and writers. The story of *Asan Kaigy* by Maulikesh Kaiboldin under the pseudonym and articles in the genre of feuilleton had a special place in the Journal. In his articles "*Turkestan goals, wishes of writers*", "*Black cat*", "*Turkestan culture*", "*I saw*", "*Words from Turkestan Army*", he gave some information about poets and literature in the legion, culture and art of Turkestan peoples. Hakim Tynybekov, known under the pseudonym Gali Altai, published articles "*Makhambet*", "*Rebellion of Isatay*" and "*Kamkor Ayla (family)*". In addition, Uzbek, Kyrgyz and Turkic poets and writers also contributed to the promotion of the Journal among legionaries. Writer A.Wahab published prose compositions and poems "*Victory Day*", "*Hello, Mother*" and "*Our Battalion*". Kyrgyz Deputy Chairman of the Turkestan National Committee, Sattar Almanbetov, wrote articles such as "*Milli Turkestan Journal*", "*Bodies of the Soviet Union executing punishment*" and others. Other publications include poems by Majit Aitbayev, Hamza Abdulin, Olmes and Auez, highly valued among the Legion's soldiers. Egemberdi, a legion soldier, said: "I've always read the Milli Turkestan Journal. This journal taught me many things. I had very little information about Turkestan. Reading the journal, my knowledge of Turkestan began to improve. In particular, I learned a lot about the history of Turkestan culture." A soldier named Saydul says as follows: "I was only 17. In other words I was born in Soviet times. I went to school when I was ten and I had never heard about Turkestan before. My six-year school instruction was nothing in comparison with a year time in legion. In this regard, the Milli Turkestan Journal was my teacher and gave me knowledge. I learned that the land of my ancestors, who loved him and long fought for its independence, is Turkestan." And an amateur correspondent of the journal Abdrakhman said: "I used to be an amateur journalist. I just published brief articles in Milli Turkestan. This journal educated me so that I could write good articles. Now I started to write not only brief articles, but also poems" (Tevfik, 2006: 91). It is no coincidence that the verses of Magzhan, Fitrat and Sholpan appeared on the pages of the Journal that carried the flag of Turkism. Works by poets Akhmet Baitursynov, Ilyas Zhansugurov and Saken Seifullin, the well-known victims of repression, were also popular with the readership. Critical articles by literary scholars on the works of Abai and Makhambet proves that the Journal's management also focuses not only on artistic, but also on literary research (Çınar, 2010: 147). Importantly, the Journal criticized "class literature", "socialist realism" and periodicals of the Soviet government. In general, the latter's policies aimed at depriving the peoples of Turkestan of national-cultural, social and social identification were reflected in the Milli Turkestan Journal in the following areas: 1. Antireligious activities and atheism; 2. Economic policy of the Soviet government; 3. Formation of Soviet class literature; 4. Birth of Soviet historical research; 5. Priority of the Russian language; 6. Educational and cultural reforms; 7. National policies (Çınar, 2010, 62). The above-mentioned areas, events such as the repressions of 1937, the hunger strike and chauvinism of Stalin's rule were discussed from the perspective

of Uali Khayum Khan, Hakim Tynybekov, Baymirza Hayit, Kharys Kanatbay, Isa Yusuf Alptekin, Ergesh Sermet Bulakbashi, Momunjan Vadi Teshebay, A. Zavgi, A. Tashkentli and others, who studied the negative and consequences of Soviet policy (Kaken, 2000: 87).

The present study revealed that the Milli Turkestan Journal was an ideological means used by émigré Turkestans in Europe to fight for the freedom of their historical homeland and people during the Second World War. However, the internal struggle for power and confrontations between leaders resulted in the failure of these aspirations. For this reason, there were two views on the activities and ideology of the Journal. In our view, although the ideology of the journal initially pursued a clear goal, its direction became too distorted due to subsequent political and ideological contradictions.

#### 4. DISCUSSION

In 1951, some groups separated from the Turkestan National Committee and formed an independent organization headed by Kharys Kanatbay who began to publish the Turkeli Journal (Turkic people). The Turkel Journal was published since September, 1951 as the press of the Turkestan Liberation Committee. The journal regularly published articles by Kharys Kanatbay and Oralbek Akhmetzhan. At the same time, correspondents of the Milli Turkestan Journal, A. Zavgi and Erkin, also published their literary works. Articles in the journal are published in the Chagatai language on the basis of the Latin alphabet. The Turkeli Journal united all Turkic-speaking soldiers in the fight against Bolshevism, promoting the national movement. In fact, the journal is similar to the Milli Turkestan Journal, as the same authors were published in both journals. Undoubtedly, Uali Khayum Khan, who considered himself the leader of Turkic-speaking emigrants, did not like this situation. He believed that the founders of the Turkeli Journal, Zaki Ualidi Togan and Kharys Kanatbay, "united with Russians and prepared one plan". They wanted to unite with Bolsheviks and be on the same page. This situation would affect Turkestan's union in the future. On the contrary, in the Turkeli Journal, the Turkestan National Committee was named "Khayumshylar" (enemies), and they were criticized as negative people who pursued the goal of dictating peoples of Asia and Europe. Kharys Khanatbai separated from Uali Khayum Khan, because there were doubts that Uali Khayum Khan killed Mustafa Shokhay. In one of the articles published in the Turkeli Journal, he was said that Uali Khayum Khan opposed national socialism and did not show sufficient respect for Mustafa Shokay, instead he tried to take his position and, in the end, he killed Mustafa Shokay. However, there are conclusions in the scientific community that the People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs officers deliberately spread these conclusions. For example, Akhat Andijan gives the following thoughts: Mustafa Shokay was not killed by Uali Khayum Khan. Or there is a probability that he died of a typhoid (Ahat, 2005: 79). At the same time, in his research work entitled *Turkestan Legion Amantai* Kaken says that, according to the National Security Committee, "Uali Khayum Khan killed Shokay and took the place of the president of TNC. This point was proved by perpetrator Hakim Tynybekov and witness Shloms. However, we do not share this opinion. Finally, H. Tynybekov did not witness this incident, as he heard from Kharys Khanatbay. Olsch told to Shloms. However, none conducted special investigation on the reasons of Mustafa's death and there is no official conclusion. That's why we should consider this idea as a hypothesis" (Kaken, 2000:59). In an interview with Uali Khayum Khan in 1998, published in the Kazakhstan-Zaman newspaper, he says that he did not kill Shokay. Nevertheless, looking at the actions of Khayum Khan on the way to power, it should be noted that he still wanted to get rid of Mustafa Shokay as soon as possible. However, since this issue is not within the scope of our study, we leave a full analysis of this incident to other researchers.

## 5. CONCLUSIONS

Ideological conflicts are value conflicts. They are deeply subjective, and experiences of rivals are due to the specifics of culture and history. In such conflicts there is always a change of political system resulting from changing rules. Perceptions of the parties to the conflict and self-identification are different: some are fighting for freedom, others are against terrorism. The ideology of the Milli Turkestan Journalism focused on fight for independence. Analyzing the results of this work, it should be noted that the ideological activity of the journal fell victim to the collision of two strong ideologies: Soviet and fascist ones. And as we have seen, the Milli Turkestan Journal pursued its political ideology under the auspices of the German government. However, the internal contradictions among leaders of the Turkestan Legion did not give the expected results. This fact led to the appearance of the opinion according to which the ideology of the journal was on the side of the Nazis. In fact, the journal and the Legion had one goal: to promote and to develop the idea of independence of the Turkic peoples within the USSR with the help of the fascist government.

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