

TDV İSAM
Kütüphanesi Arşivi
No 76/76

**Turkistan Abroad: The Political Migration
—From the Soviet & Chinese Central Asia (1918-1997)**

Timur KOCAOGLU

Reprinted from

KOMATSU Hisao, OBIYA Chika and Jhon S. SCHOEERLEIN (Ed.)

Migration in Central Asia: Its History and Current Problems

JCAS Symposium Series 9

The Japan Center for Area Studies (JCAS)

National Museum of Ethnology

Osaka, Japan

2000

Turkistan Abroad: The Political Migration —From the Soviet & Chinese Central Asia (1918-1997)

Timur KOCAOĞLU
Koc University, Turkey

Keywords: émigré, identity, press, Turkistan, Mustafa Chokayoghlu, Osman Xoja

1. FIRST POLITICAL MEETING ABROAD

On 25 May 1925, a small group of Central Asian intellectuals held an informal meeting in Istanbul.¹ Among them, there were three prominent figures: Mustafa Chokayoghlu (1890–1941), a Kazak intellectual and the leader of the autonomous governments of Alash-Orda and Qöqand in 1917, Osman Xoja (1878-1968), a Bukharan Uzbek and former president of the Bukharan People's Soviet Republic between 1921 and 1922, and Ahmad Zeki Velidi (1890-1970), a Bashkir intellectual and the former president of the short-lived Bashkir Republic in 1920. At this meeting, they agreed on a joint platform to struggle against Soviet colonialism in Turkistan. Among the trio, Mustafa Chokayoghlu (Chokaev) had already established himself in Paris, and both Osman Xoja (Kocaoglu) and Ahmad Zeki Velidi (Togan) had decided to stay in Turkey. By 1927, in Istanbul, the three launched a new journal, called *Yeni Türkistan*,² which became the first Turkistani émigré periodical, under Osman Xoja's ownership. The same year, the Turkistani émigrés in Istanbul founded an association called Turkistan Youth Unity.³ Two years later, Mustafa Chokayoghlu started the second Turkistani émigré journal, *Yaş*

¹ For a photograph of this meeting, see: Zeki Velidi Togan, *Hâtıralar: Türkistan ve diğer Müslüman doğu Türklerinin millî varlık ve kültür mücadeleleri*, Istanbul, 1969, p. 637; Timur Kocaoglu, ed., *Yaş Türkistan: Türkistan millî istiqlâl fikriye xizmet etuvçı aylıq mecmu'a*, İstanbul: Ayaz Tahir Türkistan İdil Ural Vakfı Yayınları, 1997, p. 32.

² *Yeni Türkistan* (New Turkistan) was published in Turkey Turkish in the Arabic alphabet between 1927 and 1929, and in the Turkish Latin alphabet between 1929 and 1931 (total 32 issues). It's subtitle described it as a "monthly literary, scientific, political, and economic journal" (Ayda bir çıkar edebî, ilmî, siyâsî, iqtisadiy mecmuadır).

³ "Türkistan Gençler Birliği." This organization's name was changed two times, first to "Türk Kültür Birliği" (Turkish Cultural Unity) in 1940 and later into "Türkistanlılar Kültür ve Sosyal Yardımlaşma Derneği" (the Cultural and Social Aid Association of Turkistanians) in 1950, under which name it still exists.

تورکستان

آبدہ بریقار ادبی علمی سیاسی اقتصادی مجلہ

جلد ۱

۱۹۲۷ - حیران - ۵

پل ۱

مندرجات	
افادہ	قسم سیاسی :
تورکستان مسئلہ	تورکستان مسئلہ
ای تا کری (شعر)	قسم ادبی :
سورنلرک تورکستانده تطبیق ایندکلی ملیت سیاسی	شایان خانک شعرلری
قازانسان احوال	تورکستان ادبیات مکتوبوی غولری
اوزبکستان احوال	شون
قسم ادبی :	
شایان خانک شعرلری	
تورکستان ادبیات مکتوبوی غولری	
شون	

Figure 1. The title page of the first issue of *Yeni Türkistan*, the first Turkistani émigré journal (Istanbul, 5 June 1927).

Türkistan,⁴ in Paris with the help of several young Turkistani students in Germany.

2. THE TURKISTANI ÉMIGRÉ PRESS

These two journals in the late 1920s and 1930s in Istanbul and Paris later became the *alma mater* of many other political activities and journals of the Turkistani émigrés in various countries. If we examine the contents of the first issues of both journals, we can see that, indeed, they contained very valuable information about Turkistan and the Soviet colonialism of those days. Each issue of *Yeni*

⁴ *Yaş Türkistan* (Young Turkistan) was published between 1929 and 1939 in the Turkistani Turki language in the Arabic alphabet. Its subtitle described it as a "monthly journal for aiding the national independence of Turkistan" (*Türkistan Millî istiqlâl fikrîge xızmet etuvçı aylıq mecmu'a*).

باش تورکستان

تورکستان ملی استقلال فکر بکه خدمت ایتوچی آیلق مجله
باش محرری: چوقای اوغل مصطفی

جلد ۱ | دیکابر ۱۹۲۹ | ساله ۱

بو ساند:

سیاسی بولم:

- 1 - بزرگ یول
 - 2 - باشقارمادان
 - 3 - تورکستانده پاخته اطرافنده کوروش . چوقای اوغل مصطفی
 - 4 - چار مینسیری قریوشه بک تورکستان
 - 5 - ساویت روسیه «جنتیدن» آلاق . آتای نویان
- ادبی بولم: «تورکستان» مافجان دمن
«بایراقلر» چولیان دمن
- تورکستان خبرلری:

قازاغستانده - تورکستانده - اوزبیکستانده

Figure 2. The title page of the first issue of *Yaş Türkistan*, the second Turkistani émigré journal (Paris, December 1929).

Türkistan was divided into three main sections: a political section, followed by literary section and a political news section. For example, the contents of the first issue were as follows:⁵

Preface (pp. 1-2)

Political Section

The Turkistan Question, by Soqlıqay oghli⁶ (pp. 2-8)

Oh, God! (poem) by O. Kocaoglu⁷ (pp. 8-9)

The Theoretical and Practical Aspects of the Nationalities Question implemented by the Soviets in Turkistan, by Mustafa Chokay (pp. 9-16)

⁵ *Yeni Türkistan* (Istanbul), no. 1, 5 June 1927, 34 pages.

⁶ "Soqlıqay oghli" must be the penname of Mustafa Chokayoghlu.

⁷ "Kojaoglu, 'O.'" stands for Osman Kocaoglu.

The Situation of Kazakstan, by 'Abdulqadir (S. F.) (pp. 16-18)

The Situation of Uzbekistan (A letter from Kabul), by Abdulqadirzade Tevekkul of Tashkent (pp. 19-22)

Literary Section

The Poems of Shaybaq Khan, by Ahmed Zeki Velidi (pp. 22-25)

A General View on the Ideological Changes in the Turkish Literature of Turkistan, by Osman Kocaoglu (pp. 26-29)

News Section

Political Affairs (pp. 30-32)

The contents of the journal *Yaş Türkistan* (Paris), as a successor to the journal *Yeni Türkistan* (Istanbul), had identical subdivisions, as may be seen from the contents of a 1929 issue:⁸

Political Section

Our Path, by Yash Turkistan⁹ (pp. 1-3)

From Yash Turkistan Editorial Board (p. 3)

Struggles Around Cotton in Turkistan, by Mustafa Chokayoghlu (pp. 4-16)

The Views of the Tsarist Minister Krivuşey on Turkistan's Cotton Economy, by a Turkistani (pp. 16-25)

The Empty Places in the Soviet "Paradise," by Altay Noyan (pp. 25-29)

Literary Section

From the Turkistani Poets:

"Turkistan," by the Qazaq poet Maghjan Jumabayoglu (pp. 29-32)

"Yapraqlar" by the Ozbek poet Cholpan (p. 32)

News Section

The Turkistani News (pp. 33-40)

The impact of these two journals was very significant on not only the Turkistani émigré communities, but among the intellectuals and politicians of the Soviet Central Asian republics. During the trials of Communist Party officials of Uzbekistan and Kazakstan in 1936-1937, they were accused of reading the émigré journals *Yeni Türkistan* and *Yaş Türkistan* and acting under their influence. The Soviet Government also tried to put pressure on the governments of Turkey and France in order to stop the publication of the two journals.¹⁰ It is indicative of how effective the activities were of a handful Turkistani émigré leaders in Istanbul and Paris that the Soviet Union under Stalin's leadership had to take special measures,

⁸ *Yaş Türkistan* (Paris), no. 1, December 1929, 42 pages.

⁹ This article signed by the name of the journal as "Yash Turkistan," must have been written by Mustafa Chokayoghlu himself.

¹⁰ After the death of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the pressures of the Soviet government on Turkey increased. Under continued Soviet insistence, the Turkish government in 1939 asked Osman Xoja to leave the country. Osman Xoja stayed several months in Warsaw and later went to Iran and lived there during WWII. He was able to return to Turkey in late 1945.

including diplomatic pressure, to curb them.

The various periodicals published by the Turkistani diaspora in about eight countries between 1927 and 1998 had mostly a political orientation concerning the problems of Turkistan. When the term "Turkistan" was banned in Soviet Central Asia after 1925 and in the Chinese Central Asia (Xinjiang)¹¹ after 1949, Turkistani émigré communities in various countries obstinately maintained in their periodicals the idea of "Turkistan" as both national homeland and symbol of national identity.¹² The history of the Turkistani émigré press has so far not been studied in detail.¹³ I have treated this question briefly in my recent Turkish- and English-language articles.¹⁴ The seventy year period of Turkistani émigré publication activity outside of both Russian and Chinese Central Asia occupies an important place in the 127 year history of the press in Turkistan.¹⁵

The following is a list of periodicals published by the Turkistani émigré communities in various places and times which preserve the name of "Turkistan" in their titles. The periodicals are grouped into three sections: 1) journals, 2) newspapers, and 3) newsletters. The English translation of the titles are given in brackets, and it is followed by the place and the dates of the publication, as well as the number of issues published:¹⁶

Journals

Yeni Türkistan [New Turkistan], Istanbul (1927-1932), 32 issues

Yaş Türkistan [Young Turkistan], Paris (1929-1939), 117 issues

Milliy Türkistan [National Turkistan], Berlin (1942-1945), Dusseldorf (1950-1975), 134 issues

Türkistan [Turkistan], Istanbul (1953), 6 issues

Azad Türkistan [Independent Turkistan], Cairo (1954), 3 issues

¹¹ The Chinese Government has always opposed the use of the term "Eastern Turkistan" by the Turkistani émigrés for "Xinjiang-Uyghur Autonomous Region."

¹² At present, substantial Turkistani émigré communities are found in the following countries: Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Turkey, Germany, France, the USA, Russia, and Taiwan.

¹³ The Turkistani press in Turkey was discussed in part in the following article: Lowell Bezanis, "Soviet Muslim émigrés in the Republic of Turkey," *Central Asian Survey*, vol. 13, no. 1, 1994, pp. 59-180.

¹⁴ For a detailed information on the Turkistani émigré press, see Timur Kocaoglu, "A national identity abroad: the Turkistani émigré press (1927-1997)," *Central Asia Monitor* (Vermont), no. 1, 1998, pp. 21-24; and also Timur Kocaoglu, "Türkistan basın tarihinin kronolojisi" in *Yaş Türkistan* [reprint edition], vol. 1, Istanbul: Ayaz Tahir Türkistan İdil Ural Vakfı, 1997, pp. 13-30.

¹⁵ The history of the press in Western Turkistan starts with the Tsarist administration's official newspapers *Türkistan Vilayetining Gazeti* (The Newspaper of the Turkistan Province) published in Tashkent in Turki (Sart) language between 1870 and 1918. For more information, see my article mentioned above.

¹⁶ Here, asterisks indicate that the total number of issues published could not be verified.

Türkistan Sesi [The Voice of Turkistan], Ankara (1956-1957), 20 issues
Büyük Türkistan [The Great Turkistan], Istanbul (1975), 1 issue
Doğu Türkistan [Eastern Turkistan], Istanbul (1980-1982) 32 issues
Doğu Türkistan'ın Sesi [The Voice of Eastern Turkistan], Istanbul (1984-present), 114 issues

Newspapers

Yeni Türkistan [New Turkistan], Berlin (1942-1945)¹⁷
Hür Türkistan için İstiklalci Gazete [The Independent Newspaper for Free Turkistan], Istanbul (1975-1977), 12 issues
Doğu Türkistan [Eastern Turkistan], Istanbul (1987-1994)
Doğu Türkistan Yaşları [The East Turkistani Youth], Istanbul (1993-1997)*

Newsletters

Doğu Türkistan Haber Bülteni [East Turkistani News Bulletin], Istanbul (1960-1966)*
Türkistan [Turkistan], New York (1973), 2 issues
Türkistan Gençler Birliği Genel Merkezi Aylık Bülteni [The Monthly Bulletin of the Turkistani Youth Unity's General Headquarters], Kayseri (1978-1979), 8 issues
Türkistan Birlik Avazı [The Voice of Turkistani Unity], New York (1984-1985), 5 issues
Türkistan Sesi [The Voice of Turkistan], Munich (1985-1990), 14 issues
Bugünkü Türkistan [Turkistan Today], Munich (1989-1990), 3 issues
Doğu Türkistan [Eastern Turkistan], Munich (1993-1996)*

The titles of the most important periodicals in the last seventy years of Turkistani émigré press show a close identification with Turkistan as the national homeland of the émigré diaspora. In the mid-1980s, the term "Turkistan" re-emerged in the Soviet republics of Central Asia as a political term denoting the historical name of Central Asia. As in the last years of Soviet rule in Central Asia, today in the independent republics of Western Turkistan, various periodicals have been published with "Turkistan" included in their titles.¹⁸ This, of course, demonstrates the continuation of the some cultural links between pre-Soviet and post-Soviet periods of Central Asia, and the Turkistani émigré communities abroad. The publications of recent Uyghur émigrés from the Xinjiang-Uyghur Autonomous Region of China also affirm the existence of a strong "East Turkista-

¹⁷ I have twelve issues of this newspaper, but I do not know the total number of issues published.

¹⁸ The newspapers *Türkistan* in both Tashkent and Almati and the new journal *Jas Türkistan* (Young Turkistan) in Almati (since May 1998).

ni" identity among the Turkistani peoples under Chinese rule.

3. THE MAIN PHASES OF TURKISTANI EMIGRATION

Throughout the twentieth century, we see many waves of Turkistani émigrés leaving both the Western and Eastern parts of Turkistan for other countries, chiefly India, Afghanistan, Saudi Arabia, Iran, Turkey, France, Germany, USA, Taiwan, and Australia. We can group the many waves of emigration in the following four main phases:

- I. Between 1918 and 1939, mainly from Soviet Central Asia, but also from Chinese Central Asia.
- II. During the World War II, from Soviet Central Asia.
- III. From 1940 to the present day, from Chinese Central Asia.
- IV. After 1991, from the independent republics of Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, and Turkmenistan.

The majority of the Turkistani émigré community in Turkey was made up of those who had to leave the Soviet Central Asian republics because of the repression in the mid-1920s and the general hunger in the early 1930s. During this phase, an important section of the Turkistani émigré communities were made of students who had been sent abroad for higher education by the Bukharan People's Soviet Republic and some private organizations in the Turkistan ASSR in early 1920s. Many of the Turkistani students studying in Turkey joined Osman Xoja for *Yeni Türkistan* and the Turkistani students in Germany gave support to Mustafa Chokayoghlu in the publication of the journal *Yaş Türkistan*.¹⁹ When several of the Turkistani students returned home to the Soviet Central Asian republics after completing their studies (some with Ph. D. degrees), they were subject to persecution in the late 1930s. Many of them reportedly lost their lives in prisons and labor camps because the Soviet officials feared they might have a foreign orientation.²⁰ Many who had decided not to return to Soviet Central Asia went to Turkey between 1934 and 1938 and became very prominent scholars and intellectuals in their fields, such as Prof. Tahir Çağatay in sociology, Prof. Said Ali Ankara in physics, Prof. Ahmadcan Okay in geology, Prof. İbrahim Yarkin in zoology, and Dr. Ahmad Naim Öktem in law.²¹

The second group of Turkistani émigrés were former-Soviet soldiers of Tur-

¹⁹ Among them, Tahir Schakir, who later became the professor of sociology in Ankara changed his name to Tahir Çağatay and founded the long-lived serial, *Yaş Türkistan*, including twenty-seven books published between 1950 and 1984, all devoted to the various political, economic and cultural problems of Turkistan.

²⁰ Recently, Uzbek scholars have started to conduct excellent research in the archives about the tragic fate of these young men and women. See Sherahli Turdiev, *Ular Germaniyada o'qigan edilar*, Tashkent, 1991.

kistani origin. Many of them fought in the Turkistani Legion established by the Nazi officials during the World War II. After the war, they lived in small groups in many countries, chiefly West Germany, France, Italy, England, the USA, and Turkey. Among them, there were several writers and scholars such as Ergash Shermat (USA)²² and Dr. Baymirza Hayit (Germany). The latter became an internationally renowned scholar through his books on Turkistan in German, English, and Turkish languages.²³

The third group of Turkistani émigrés came mainly from East Turkistan (Xinjiang), escaping from the Communist Chinese persecutions in the early 1950s. After a brief stopover in India, the majority of them settled in Saudi Arabia and Turkey. After their arrival in Turkey in the mid-1950s, the East Turkistani issue gained greater attention in both Turkey and elsewhere. The prominent leaders among them, such as Mehmet Emin Buğra and İsa Yusuf Alptekin, became internationally known figures in connection with the East Turkistan question.²⁴ The third phase émigré communities focused their political activities on the Chinese occupied Eastern Turkistan, and their leaders followed a somewhat independent path from the rest of the Turkistani émigré leaders, who were engaged more with the Soviet Turkistani issues. The division between the émigré communities of Western and Eastern Turkistan still continues.

The fourth group of Turkistani émigrés are made up of figures who have experienced extreme political suppression in the independent republics of Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan. Among them, there are the leaders of the *Agzibirlik* (Unity) popular movement in Turkmenistan and the leaders of the *Birlik* (Unity) popular front and *Erk* Democratic Party in Uzbekistan.²⁵ The future of this last phase of

²¹ Biographies of Tahir Çağatay and İbrahim Yarkın are included in the following work: Ertuğrul Yaman, A. Kemal Balaç & Ahsen Esatoğlu, *Türkiye'deki Türk dünyası*, Ankara: Türk Diyanet Vakfı, 1998.

²² He has a poetry collection in Uzbek Latin alphabet: Ergash Shermat, *Güller mekanı*, Ankara, 1974.

²³ Baymirza Hayit, *Turkestan im XX. Jahrhundert*, Darmstadt, 1956; *Turkistan zwischen Russland und China*, Amsterdam, 1971; *Islam and Turkestan under russian rule*, Istanbul, 1987; *Sovyetler Birliği'nde Türklüğün ve İslam'ın bazı meseleleri*, Istanbul, 1987; *Bas-matschi: Nationaler Kampf Turkestan in den Jahren 1917-1934*, Cologne, 1992. For his biography and a complete list of his works, see Kemal Özcan, *Dr. Baymirza Hayit'in Türkistan araştırmaları ve Milli Mücadelesindeki Rolü*, Istanbul, 1997.

²⁴ Mehmet Emin Buğra (1901-1965) published many works in Turkey, such as, *Doğu Türkistan Tarihi* (first edition in Keshmir in 1940, the second edition in Istanbul in 1990 after his death) and *Doğu Türkistan Tarihi, Coğrafi ve Şimdiki Durumu*, Istanbul, 1950; İsa Yusuf Alptekin (1901-1995) was writer of many publications including: *Doğu Türkistan Davası*, Istanbul, 1973; *Esir Doğu Türkistan İçin*, Istanbul, 1985. Their biographies can be found in Yaman et al., op. cit.

²⁵ Abdurrahim Pulatov, chairman of the Birlik, is currently in the USA and Muhammed Salih, chairman of the Erk Democratic Party, is in a European country. They have published many books in Turkey in both Turkish and Uzbek (in Cyrillic alphabet) languages.

emigration is dependent on the easing or increasing of the political repression in both Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan. Because of the continued civil war in Tajikistan, many Tajik opposition leaders have been living temporarily in Afghanistan and Iran. Since those Tajik opposition leaders are engaged in the armed struggle against the present Tajikistan government, their situation differs from the rest of the Turkistani émigré communities and therefore we leave them aside in our present discussion.

There is no reliable statistical data available on the numbers of the Turkistani communities in various countries. The members of Turkistani communities usually tend to exaggerate the size of their community, and they give numbers which contradict one another. Another factor making it difficult to determine the size of the Turkistani communities is the different patterns of assimilation in various countries. The very questionable estimates of the size of the Turkistani communities in several countries are as follows: 150,000 in Turkey, 60,000 in Saudi Arabia, 5,000 in Germany, 800 in France, and 15,000 in the USA. There are also very small Turkistani communities (numbering less than 100) in other European countries such as the Netherlands, Austria, Belgium, Switzerland, and Norway. Small Turkistani communities in very small numbers are also found in India, South East Asian countries, Taiwan, and Australia. Because of the developments in the Afghan war since the 1980s, there are considerable numbers of Uzbek and Turkmen refugees in Pakistan, and some Uyghurs and Kazaks are in Iran. Compared to other émigré communities around the world, the sizes of the Turkistani émigrés communities are very modest.

4. ORGANIZATIONS

The first organization established by Turkistani intellectuals outside of Turkistan was a social society with a definite purpose in supporting education. The Young Bukharan (*Yaş Buxaralılar*) intellectuals formed an organization called *Terbiye-i Etfal* in Bukhara for the education of young people. Several members of this society, such as Abdurrauf Fitrat²⁶ and Osman Xoja arrived secretly to Istanbul in 1910 without informing the officials of the Bukharan Amir. They founded there a branch of their society, called *Bukhara Ta'mim-i Ma'arif Cemiyeti* (The Bukharan Society for the Dissemination of Education) and published its by-laws in Istanbul in 1911. The main purpose of the society in Bakhara and its branch in Istanbul was to

²⁶ The Japanese scholar, Hisao Komatsu has done much work on the Turkistani intellectual Abdurrauf Fitrat and his ideology. See Hisao Komatsu, *Bukhara in the Central Asian perspective: Group identity in 1911-1928*, in series *Research Report on Urbanism in Islam*, Monograph Series, no. 2, Tokyo: Institute of Oriental Culture, 1988; 20. *Yüzyıl başlarında Orta Asyada Türkçülük ve devrim hareketleri*, Ankara: Turhan Kitabevi, 1993; *Revolutionary Central Asia: A portrait of Abdurrauf Fitrat*, Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1996 (in Japanese).

open new private schools in the Bukharan Amirate and send young students to foreign countries for higher education, including centers like Istanbul and Berlin. This society sent fifteen students in 1911 and thirty students in 1912 to Germany and Istanbul. When the Bukharan reformist (*Jadid*) intellectuals succeeded in overthrowing the Amir and establishing the Bukharan Republic in 1920, sending students abroad became one of the official tasks of the new government. The Bukharan Government sent several large groups of students to Moscow, Berlin, and Istanbul in 1920 and 1921. Many of these students later became the prominent members of the Turkistani émigré communities in various countries.

Since the establishment of the first Turkistani émigré society in Istanbul in 1927, more than forty more cultural and social societies, research foundations (*vaqfs*) were opened in more than eight countries. Many of these organizations are more or less still functioning. In recent years, many Turkistani émigré individuals and small groups were able to launch their websites on the Internet.²⁷

5. THE POLITICAL GOALS OF THE ÉMIGRÉ LEADERSHIP

Since there is no single unified political orientation among any émigré community in the world, we can only note the most prominent political goals of the émigré community leaders. Indeed, the leaders and intellectuals of the Turkistani émigré communities since the 1920s had precise political objectives. The preface of the first issue of the *Yeni Türkistan* journal in 1927 outlined these goals as follows:

Many of the Turkistanis have been forced to be away from their fatherland, because of the chilly fate. Many of them also left their fatherland because they could not stand for the Russian occupation and because they wanted to struggle for the independence of Turkistan. The Turkistani émigrés in large numbers live in Afghanistan, India, Iran, and Turkey. They also reside in Japan, Europe, Egypt, and America. They could not receive information from the newspapers published in Turkistan, and since these newspapers are the publications of the Russian Government, they are not reliable sources. Although the Turkistani émigrés abroad had attempted several times to publish a journal, they were not successful. Now finally we were able to launch this *Yeni Türkistan* journal with the help of few supportive friends.

Our goal is to enlighten the Turks living outside of Turkistan; to explain the aims of those who have left Turkistan with a definite national objective; to publish information about the national movements in Turkistan, and its political and economic situation; to write articles on the Turkish culture of Turkistan [*Türkistan Türk medeniyeti*]; to elucidate the question of cultural unity among the Turks; to publicize the efforts of the Turks outside of Turkistan and the Europeans about the Turkish culture; and to provide information about the reformist movements

²⁷ The Internet addresses of many different websites owned by the Turkistani émigrés are given in the following website by Mehmet Tütüncü in the Netherlands: <http://www.euronet.nl/users/sota/>

among the neighboring Islamic states. The word "Turkistan" which is forbidden to be used as a country in Russia has become the title of our journal and this term comprises both Western and Eastern Turkistan, Kazakstan, and Turkmenistan. In the title, the word "new" points to the national liberation of Turkistan. Thus, the title of our journal "New Turkistan" [*Yeni Türkistan*] affirms the boundaries and characteristics of the goal which we will pursue.²⁸

These objectives outlined in the first Turkistani émigré journal generally have been followed in the later Turkistani émigré periodicals and publications. The second Turkistani émigré periodical, *Yaş Türkistan*, by Mustafa Chokayoghlu in Paris, adhered to the same objectives in 1929: "We, the Turkistani freedom-seekers, struggle for the freedom of our people and the independence of our country, Turkistan. There is no other way, cannot be, and should not be..."²⁹

The prominent leaders and intellectuals of the Turkistani émigré communities in various countries from the mid-1920s until the present day have recognized the historical importance of their homeland as Turkistan (or Eastern Turkistan, in some cases). These leaders and intellectuals include the following: Osman Kocaoglu (Istanbul), Mustafa Chokayoghlu (Paris), Wali Kajum-Khan (Berlin and Dusseldorf), Tahir Cağatay (Ankara), Kares Kanatbay (Munich), Ergash Shermet (Washington, D. C.), Baymirza Hayit (Cologne), Ahmet Naim Öktem (Istanbul), Mehmet Emin Buğra (Istanbul), Isa Yusuf Alptekin (Istanbul), Murad Tachmurad (Munich), Aman Berdi Murat (New York), Hasan Oralay (Izmir and Munich), Abdullah Kwaja (New York), Muhammad Salikh (various European cities), Abdurahim Pulatov (Istanbul and Washington, D. C.), Erkin Alptekin (Wurzburg), Ahad Andican (Istanbul), and Abduljelili (Munich).³⁰

6. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE ÉMIGRÉ GROUPS

Central Asia, which is located in the heart of Asia, has been subject since very ancient times to internal and external migrations on both a small and large scale. The present socio-political conditions in Central Asia suggest that we will see more migrations in and out of the region in the twenty-first century. Other participants of this volume discuss the impact of various in and out migrations on the demographic situation of Central Asia. In my paper, I focus on the political activities of the Turkistani émigré communities in various countries in the twentieth century. Although the numbers of the Turkistani émigré communities abroad have never been very large, they have conducted important political activities directed toward their fatherland of Turkistan (both Soviet and Chinese occupied Central Asia). There are some general characteristics that may be noted regarding the last seventy

²⁸ "İfâde," *Yeni Türkistan*, no. 1, pp. 1-2.

²⁹ "Bizniñ Yol," *Yaş Türkistan*, no. 1, December 1929, p. 1.

³⁰ Some of the Turkistani émigré leaders are included in the directory by Yaman et al., op. cit.

years of the political activities by the Turkistani émigré communities in various countries.

First of all, the émigré leaders have engaged in political publications as a means to transmit their struggle to a larger community. About fifty different periodical titles (newspapers, journals, and newsletters) appeared between 1927 and 1998 in more than eight countries. Many of the periodicals survived more than ten years. Turkistani émigré intellectuals have also published many articles, pamphlets, and books explaining their political struggle to free their homeland, Turkistan, from both Russian and Chinese rule.

Secondly, they have established long-lasting cultural and social organizations in Turkey, Germany, and the USA which, from time to time, have engaged in some political activities such as peaceful demonstrations and protests in front of Soviet and Chinese embassies in various countries and at the United Nations headquarters in New York.

Thirdly, The Turkistani émigré leaders have never supported an armed struggle for the independence of their fatherland.³¹ The Turkistani émigré communities around the world have never been involved in any kind of terrorist act or armed assault against the Soviet and Chinese officials or nationals.

The Turkistani émigré communities in many different countries have preserved their general group consciousness as "Turkistani" and the émigré leaders have always promoted this supra-ethnic group identity. Only after the mass exodus of large numbers of Uyghurs and Kazaks from Xinjiang (China) to Saudi Arabia, Turkey, European countries, and the USA after the 1950s, an "East Turkistani" group identity emerged among the émigré communities. The ethnic identities of Uzbek, Uyghur, Kazak, Kirghiz, Tajik, and Turkmen have never come forth as a strong "political awareness" among the Turkistani émigré communities until late 1980s.³²

7. DEVELOPMENTS SINCE 1992

Throughout the Soviet period, Moscow and especially the two Central Asian Soviet republics (Kazakistan and Uzbekistan) have closely watched the activities of the Turkistani émigré communities abroad. Two major newspapers, *Aydin* (in Uzbek) and *Bizding Otan* (in Kazak) published in Tashkent and Alma-Ata respectively, were sent abroad for free distribution to the Turkistani émigré communities.

³¹ The only exception is the "Turkistani Legion" recruited by Nazi Germany from among the Soviet soldiers of Turkistani origin who were prisoners-of-war in the early part of World War II. Veli Qajum-Khan was appointed as the president of the Turkistani Legion which fought in many battles against the Soviet Army.

³² At present there is no society or organization named after the ethnic names of either "Uzbek," "Uyghur," and "Kirghiz," however several societies and organizations named after "Kazak" were founded in Germany, France, and Turkey in the late 1980s and early 1990s.

These periodicals have tried to decrease anti-Soviet sentiments among the émigrés, but the émigré communities remained very cool toward these Soviet publications. Many articles and books have been published in the local press of five Central Asian republics to attack the anti-Soviet activities of the Turkistani émigrés.

After the demise of the USSR in December 1991, however, the policies of the five independent Central Asian republics changed in favor of the Turkistani émigrés. Turkistani émigrés were welcomed in the republics and some republics like Turkmenistan and Kazakistan granted citizenship to their compatriots.³³ In the local press of the five Central Asian republics, articles which are favorable toward the émigrés have been published. There are several serious studies on the émigré communities abroad.³⁴

Chinese policy toward the Eastern Turkistani émigrés abroad has become more cautious after the independence of the five Central Asian republics. The Chinese media and sources have blamed the émigrés, especially those in Turkey, for inciting the recent uprisings in the Xinjiang-Uyghur Autonomous Region of China.

At present, there are no major problems or friction between Kazakistan and the Kazak émigrés as well as Kirghizstan and the Kirghiz émigrés, though Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan do act very cautiously toward their ethnic compatriots abroad. One of the reasons for this could be the existence of many Turkmen and Uzbek opposition members who were forced to leave their respective republics. On the other hand, there are mixed feelings among the many Turkistani émigrés toward the independence of five Central Asian republics. Their fathers and grandfathers have advocated a unified state of Turkistan for long years, but their children and grandchildren had to face the reality of five separate republics in Western Turkistan and the continued Chinese rule in Eastern Turkistan. Their cultural orientation toward a supra-ethnic Turkistani identity has been sharply decreased and their ethnic awareness as Uzbek, Kazak, Kirghiz, Turkmen, Uyghur, Qaraqalpaq, and Tajik has been strengthened since 1992. The goal of a political, or at least an economic, unity of five Central Asian republics as a "Turkistani Confederation" still survives among the Turkistani émigré communities as well as among some intellectuals in Kazakistan, Kirghizstan, Uzbekistan, and Turkmenistan.³⁵ Now, the future of the size and political orientation of the Turkistani émigré communities in various for-

³³ Although not in large numbers, since 1992 some Kazak, Kirghiz, Turkmen, and Uzbek émigrés had recently settled in their respective republics.

³⁴ Sh. A. Hayitov & N. S. Sabirov, *Kharijdagi Özbeklar*, Tashkent, 1992; G. M. Mendikulova, *Istoricheskie sud'by kazakhskoi diaspori: proiskhozhdenie i razvitiye*, Almaty, 1997; *Kak kazakhi okazalis' v Turtsii*, Almaty, 1998; Tahir Qahhar, *Hur Turkistan uchun*, Tashkent, 1994.

³⁵ Since the majority of the Tajik intellectuals view "Turkistan" as a kind of Turkic unity, they stay cool toward the idea of any Turkistani unification. The leaders of the five Central Asian republics had held several summits since 1990 for economic and cultural cooperation without any important step forward.

eign countries depends on improvements in both the economic and the political situations in the five Central Asian republics.³⁶

³⁶ Ingvar Svanberg, *Kazak refugees in Turkey: A study of cultural persistence and social change*, Uppsala, 1989; Muhabay Engin, "Doğu Türkistan'dan gelen göçmenlerin yeni yerleşme yerine olan uyumu" (Unpublished, Ph. D. dissertation), İstanbul University, İstanbul, 1969; Ahmet Salih Bıçakcı, "Türkiye'ye gör eden Özbeklerin kimliklerinin muhafazası," (Unpublished, M. A. Essay), Marmara University, İstanbul, 1996; Halife Altay, *Anayurttan Anadolu'ya*, İstanbul, 1981; Hızır Bek Gayretullah, *Altaylarda kanlı günler*, İstanbul, 1977; Hasan Oraltay, *Alaş: Türkistan Türklerinin istiklâl parolası*, İstanbul, 1973; Hasan Oraltay, *Kazak Türkleri*, İstanbul, 1976.