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**INTERNATIONALIZATION OF UKRAINE AND TURKESTAN
THROUGH THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND MEDIA,
SHOKAY AND SHULGIN.
1920-1940s of the twentieth century**

Introduction. They entered the world history with clean hands, a cold head and a fiery heart. The era of revolutionary turmoil in the interwar period for peoples who dreamed of gaining a state identity, put forward literate, creative managers, patriots, forced to live and work in exile. The century of the events of 1917 is an invaluable occasion to recall those whose names and deeds tried to etch black in Soviet textbooks. Returned, - from oblivion and persecution, misunderstanding - the faces of these fighters are worthy of honest and objective analysis. After all, thanks to them too, the socialist doctrine of the world preserved purity and a moral core. Intercultural dialogue, unity in diversity became the slogan of their purposeful, diplomatic in content and form, the activities for the internationalization of their missions. In their work, the mass media were involved: newspapers, magazines, radio, created in conditions of shortage of financial resources. Introduction. They entered the world history with clean hands, a cold head and a fiery heart. The era of revolutionary turmoil in the interwar period for peoples who dreamed of gaining a state identity, put forward literate, creative managers, patriots, forced to live and work in exile. The century of the events of 1917 is an invaluable occasion to recall those whose names and deeds tried to etch black in Soviet textbooks. Returned, - from oblivion and persecution, misunderstanding - the faces of these fighters are worthy of honest and objective analysis. After all, thanks to them too, the socialist doctrine of the world preserved purity and a moral core. Intercultural dialogue, unity in diversity became the slogan of their purposeful, diplomatic in content and form, the activities for the internationalization of their missions. In their work, the mass media were involved: newspapers, magazines, radio, created in conditions of shortage of financial resources.

Materials and methods. The acquisition of independence by Kazakhstan and other former Soviet republics made it possible to access previously classified archives, banned publications, including periodicals published outside the b. Union. This large array of sources now forms the basis of research, along with an equally large array of Western scientific and popular scientific publications, memoirs in Russian, Turkic, English, French, and German. The family archive of the Shokai family and private collections of letters, works, photos are a fertile material for the researcher.

We did not depart from the traditional methods of social and human sciences, the principle of historicism and verification of sources, took into account the subjective and objective factors that influenced the appearance of a particular letter, article, etc. If a source is used, a reference is made to the archive or the publication / publishing house in which it was published.

Discussion and results. Kazakh politician, publicist Mustafa Shokai (1890 - 1941), being in exile in Europe, almost immediately began to seek outlets on the press. The French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in an official note of 1921, points out that Shokai "is currently cooperating with the organs of the Russian and European press." [1] In addition, he is interested in the Middle East media. Thus, in the archive of M. Shokay, copies of the magazine "Ayin Tarihi" (Egypt) were found; El Jamiet El Arab (Jerusalem); El Ittihad (Cairo); newspapers "The Voice of Paris" (France); Geneva Journal (Switzerland); materials TASS (USSR), etc.

Through the media to attract the attention of the world public to the problem - other emigrants shared this position. So, Shokai was well acquainted with the Ukrainian Shulgin Alexander Yakovlevich (1889 - 1960). Shulgin Alexander Yakovlevich (born Oleksandr Yakovich Shulgin, born July 30, 1889, the village Sofino Khorolsky County, Poltava Province - died March 4, 1960, Paris) - Ukrainian politician, historian and sociologist. He remained in history as the first

Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Ukrainian People's Republic. Participated in the work of the Paris Peace Conference; in the autumn of 1920 headed the delegation of the UPR at the first assembly of the League of Nations (hereinafter - LN) in Geneva. In 1923-1927 years. Shulgin lived and worked in Prague, later in Paris, taught history and philosophy at the Ukrainian Free University and the Ukrainian Pedagogical Institute named after M. Dragomanov. In 1926 - 1936, 1939 - 1940, 1945 - 1946 years. Was the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the UPR in exile. Died March 4, 1960 in Marseilles (France) [2] Information about Shulgin A. we are taken from the Internet; their lapidarity is explained by the long-forgotten oblivion in Soviet literature of the great work of the Ukrainian diplomat in exile. Alas, his activity as a diplomat and a scientist is more known in the West.

Shokai and Shulgin represent, in our opinion, the elite of political emigration from Bolshevik Russia. Back in 1919, while in Georgia, Shokai, "his first visit inflicts the head of the Ukrainian mission there." [4, p.67] The commonality of their intellectual and political activities, as well as of other missions from Russia, does not yet find objective coverage - the contradictory nature of the sources, the paucity of archival collections. The confused developments of the OGPU, as well as the ciphers used by emigrants, the semi-legal methods of work of the missions also did not contribute to the synthesis of pioneering research. Kazakhstan scholars KL Esmagambetov [3] and BI Sadikova [4] should be given credit to Kazakh researchers who, to the best of their ability, published archival sources and attempted to comment on them. K.Esmagambetov came close to the diplomatic side of Shokai's activity, but did not comment on the essence of his political conception in exile. He rightly reproached B. Sadykova, who erroneously refers Shokai to "Muslim Communists" [3]. This erroneous statement of B. Sadykova, unfortunately, was repeated by her in the latest publication. "And yet the theory of Muslim national communism managed to penetrate into the minds and souls of progressive-minded representatives of the Tatar and Turkestan intelligentsia" [4, p. 260]

Having become acquainted with the writings and letters of Shokai and his wife Maria Yakovlevna, we are inclined to say that Shokai has no relation to "Islamic communism", if such exists in nature. We are sure that the least political figure of the international rank can be driven into narrow theological framework, even the ethnic Kazakh M. Shokay. Moreover, B. Sadikova in any publication does not argue the hypothesis about "Muslim communism" M. Shokay, and in a recently published book she concludes contradicting her previously expressed working versions. Thus, she writes: "In 1939, Mustafa Shokai, summing up his experience of political activity in the ranks of Prometheus in the article" *Türk byrligi hajinda* ", concludes:" The yarmo of national slavery can be dropped only with such a unity that goes beyond the racial and religious attitudes and is a fair-based front of equals ".

Thus, sums up B.Sadykova, he (Shokai) raises the problem of the struggle for national freedom to the level of supranational. " [4, p. 266] And this conclusion excludes any attempts to play with words and definitions (eg "Muslim communism"), no matter how original they may seem, it is even dangerous in the modern context of the problems of growing religious radicalism and extremism. The strengths of B.Sadykova's works are seen in the possession of the topic: the role of the periodical press in the anti-Soviet propaganda of emigrants.

The weak place of B.Sadykova's books turns out to be excessive trust in the sources of Stalin's OGPU, so generously cited by another author of the book about Shokai, and this reference to the pretentious edition [11] is sufficient in Sadykova's books. The work of the historian is to compare sources of different origins, dating and degree of engagement of their authors, but not blindly following the source (Mark Blok) in order to clarify the truth. [5] For example, A. Bakirov and B. Sadykova permanently repeat the erroneous identification of the place where the newspaper "Bostandyk Tui" was published. [11, p. 19; 5, p. 91] (The newspaper was published in Petropavlovsk, and not by Akmolá. - G.M.).

One of the serious counter-arguments against the false "communism" M.Shokay is, in our opinion, the position of M.Shokai himself, who, as we reported earlier, in a scientific article strongly condemned attempts to distort facts and depart from the principle of historicism, citing

an example from the practice of the Nazis, when European scientists, for the sake of Hitler, began to seek confirmation of the Aryan theory of superiority in the treatises of al-Farabi and other medieval thinkers. [7] To work with the intellectual heritage of Shokai is difficult; to keep up with the flight of his thoughts, to become at the level of his political intuition, to possess his analytical mind - the task is not easy, let alone lightweight. He alone replaced the scientific research laboratory, perfectly knowing several European and Oriental (Turkic) languages. He, for example, approached with pragmatism to the situation: "You can have different attitude to modern Germany and its policies, but using their press as a platform with which you could inform the world would be very useful." [5, p. 173]

Early Shokai differs radically in his views from the mature Mustafa Shokai: this is no longer a young boy who changed pseudonyms and rapidly crossed the borders of regions. By the beginning of the 1940s, Shokai was a figure among the most influential opponents of the Soviet system, a politician, an editor, a resident in a good sense. We studied the texts of articles and sketches of M. Shokai's articles and letters and came to an unambiguous conclusion - Shokai was deliberately studying publications on the current state of international relations, looking for opportunities to enter authoritative international organizations in order to raise the internationalization of the Turkestan National Council (TNC). To this mission, M. Shokai, in our opinion, started no later than July 1931, on the eve of the September Assembly of the League of Nations in Geneva. The activities of Shokai are really classified as internationalization of Turkestan (should be understood more broadly - Central Asian, including Kazakh) national and cultural state identity).

In the Russian-language and Kazakh-language historiography of M. Shokai's activity, there is no deep research on the period of his collaboration with the LN Sadykova refers to the Moscow edition [6] with which, unfortunately, we had no opportunity to be acquainted, but to mention it is considered important as the publication of sources. In general, in the former republics of the Union there is a tendency to study the biographies of personalities, which in itself gives integrity, at the same time it can lead to details, to the detriment of the reconstruction of the general picture of sociophilosophical trends in the world in the interwar period.

In publications abroad, as well, alas, biographies of natives from the b. The USSR and its "heroes" are explored. The strength of this layer of publications is that the history of LN is served as, let temporary, the experience of internationalization. For example, reviewers appreciated the book of the professor of Columbia University (USA) Susan Pedersen: "A riveting work of global history, The Guardians, us, consequential this first great experiment in internationalism. [8] This moment (internationalization as a tool of the League) is important for us in understanding the place and role of the Turkestan and Ukrainian missions in the worldwide process of stabilization in the interwar period.

Curiously, another foreign edition of Charles River Editors (2016), devoted to the analysis of errors and successes of the LN. In a small brochure, the authors seek to distinguish the role of the League as the forerunner of the United Nations and, in a sense, to emphasize the role of the United States in the process of internationalization. "This book is about the creation, successes and failures of the League of Nations. The book also includes certain events where the league effectively adjudicated several disputes and actually laid the groundwork for the current and more effective United Nations. [9] In foreign studies, for the reasons mentioned above, there is no mention of Kazakh, or Ukrainian and other, missions in exile and their role in promoting the ideas of internationalization. This confirmed us in the need to conduct research in the part of the intercultural alliance. Turning to the cooperation of the representatives of the Ukrainian and Turkestan governments, in exile, however, like others, their joint plans for the international recognition of their countries clearly indicate the desire to reach the level of "supranationality", otherwise - the openness of consciousness not confined to confessional and ethnic frameworks.

Polish researcher E.Charaskevich singles out the "second period" (1921-1923) in the activity of the Polish organization "Prometheus", when Poland continued its independent life on the established eastern borders along with the Baltic States. He writes: "However, the states of the

basins of the Black and Caspian seas lost their independence absorbed by the Soviets." According to E.Charaskevich, "legitimate" governments and political representatives of a number of Prometheus countries emigrated: [10]

1. The government of the Ukrainian People's Republic - to Poland, France and Czechoslovakia;
2. The Government of Georgia - to France;
3. The government of Azerbaijan - to Turkey and France;
4. The Kuban government and Don - to Czechoslovakia;
6. Mountain national center of the North Caucasus - to Turkey;
7. Armenian National Center - to France;
8. "Tatar" national centers (Crimea, Idel-Ural, Turkestan) - to Turkey, France and Poland".

All these centers used periodic printing to communicate with compatriots who found themselves at different ends of the planet and coordinated their activities. This was the only way to send news. For the delivery of copies of journals, live communication was used through merchants. This method was convenient, and Shokay used it too.

The necessary process of collaboration of political emigrants from Russia, for the purpose of international recognition of the rights of non-Russian peoples of the former empire, Mustafa Shokai in his letters and articles clearly designated the term "internationalization". The origin of the definition is not accidental: as a counterbalance to the Leninist-Stalinist Comintern (the Communist International), which in the interwar period developed rapidly in Europe and Asia, with powerful moral and material support of the USSR. It would seem that one root in the words "internationalization" and "Kom-intern", but how clear the first definition - without any prefixes - reflects Shokay's platform of views. All the leaders of poly emigration, respecting his authority, erudition, honesty, recognized his primacy in the use of the word «internationalization». Actually, Shokai's apology is meaningless without an analysis of his core, solid, fundamental attitudes that raise the whole matter of his life over the vain disassembly of intriguers and enemies. They also were in his entourage, where without them ... On the other hand; the coincidence of M.Shokai's views with the positions of L.Trotsky, W.Churchill and other major figures of world political thought leads the Kazakh figure to the rank of worthy study of the titans of the era of the cardinal reorganization of international relations.

Whoever was on the political views of Mustafa Shokai and his closest associates in European emigration, we tried to restore, by examining the etymology of the use of the term "internationalization". In order to avoid false associations, due to Soviet propaganda, from which it really does get rid of some labor for the uninformed, the following should be explained.

The text of the anthem of the international socialist movement with the refrain: "This is our last and decisive battle; with the International will rise the human race! ». Belongs to the French poet, anarchist, member of the First International and the Paris Commune Eugene Potier. The text was written shortly after the defeat of the Paris Commune (1871) and was originally sung to the motif of the "Marseillaise", published in 1887. Music - Pierre Degeiter (1888). For the first time with musical accompaniment was performed on June 23, 1888 and in the same year it was published. Widespread and has been translated into many languages. In 1910, at the congress of the Socialist International in Copenhagen, this text was adopted as a hymn of the international socialist movement. [12] It makes sense to pay close attention to this: not the communist, but the socialist International.

From the French language, which Mustafa Shokai brilliantly owned, the International (french L'Internationale, from the Latin inter - between and natio - nation) means an international, interethnic alliance. In the modern context, the Alliance of Civilizations - the UN project, develops the idea of the Communards in some sense.

"This is our last and decisive battle; with the International the human race will rise!" - in fact, what "decisive battle" was discussed, a question may arise. The ideals of the Paris Commune, the symbolic image of Prometheus, which carries fire, light to people, is what inspired emigrants

in exile more than three decades after the publication of the socialist hymn, after the events in Russia (cf. : 1887-1917). The struggle for the ideals of the commune, with ignorance and tyranny, oppression of any kind, for universal human values-this is how the doctrine of socialist doctrines was understood and understood in its original form. Thus, the false-international slogan of the USSR "Proletarians of all countries, unite!" Shokai opposed another call - to a real alliance (alliance) of nations.

Political immigrants in Europe from the Russian Turkestan, Ukraine, came from a family of families, had a brilliant education. He graduated from the leading university: Shokay - a juridical, and Shulgin - the historical-philological faculty of the St. Petersburg University. They, they did not need additional approaches to understand the unity of views on topical issues. And the fact that both adhered to the common approaches to the internationalization of the states whose representatives they considered themselves, speaks in favor of the fact that Shokay live longer and his mission for external recognition of independent Turkestan would have been accomplished successfully.

The first revolution of 1905-1907 awakened in them a thirst for historical justice, a taste for public activity. Further, the February-March and November events of 1917, the abdication of the tsar and the Bolshevik coup made them persons of great politics: emigration became their destiny. Shulgin as the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the UPR in exile, sought recognition of the status of Ukraine at the international level.

Alexander Yakovlevich left warm memories of his Kazakh ally; some of them are kept in the French archive). Shulgin highly characterizes the political views of M. Shokai; in particular, he noted the devotion of M. Shokaya to the idea of the liberation of Turkestan. "In many ways," Shulgin writes, "Shokai was similar to the Turkish leader Ataturk, but did not copy his experience completely." Mustafa, wrote Alexander Yakovlevich, believed that Turkestans should learn a lot from Western democracies in order to become equal and to be a competitive state, but it is important to preserve national self-awareness.

For his part, Mustafa Shokai in his speeches, letters and articles paralleled the political destinies of Ukraine, Turkestan (Kazakhstan), Georgia (as, indeed, the entire Caucasus). During the emigration (from 1919 - Georgia, Turkey, France) until the end of his days, Shokai found like-minded people, established and maintained close ties with representatives of the liberation movement of different countries. They, like siblings, carried the heavy burden of emigration: far from the Motherland, day and night, hoping for changes in the policy of the powers. They boldly put forward notes against the authoritative organization of that period - LN (the forerunner of the United Nations), in defense of the legitimate demands of their peoples. Both represented the interests of governments: Shokai, the foreign minister, then the chairman of the Turkestan autonomy, Shulgin, had the same status as the foreign minister on behalf of Ukraine.

The tests hardened them. Recognition in the West, in the heart of Europe was not given immediately. At first, the stake was placed on the Doctrine of American President Woodrow Wilson (1919), according to which it was still possible to count on international recognition of the young republics. On the eve of the September (1931) Assembly of the LN in Geneva, Mustafa Shokai, according to the decision of the fraternal republics of Ukraine and the Transcaucasus, starts preparing the relevant materials. Despite the cool atmosphere of the talks, Shokai carefully prepares the collective opus, for this he studies publication in English, French, and German. The struggle for the realization of the rights to national self-determination must be conducted jointly with the Caucasians, Ukrainians, other regions, the Kazakh politician does not tire of stressing. "Only in this sense can and should be understood internationalization," M. Shokai writes. [13]

The joint goals of the struggle for self-determination and recognition of the peoples of Ukraine and Turkestan brought their leaders together, taught them to analyze the causes of blunders, train young cadres to continue their activities, and study political technologies for organizing new large-scale events. That vigorous intellectual activity was reflected in a variety of letters and articles, interviews for European media and a number of official documents jointly submitted to international organizations.

As an apotheosis of integrated efforts, on September 25, 1936, an official protest was directed on behalf of the following governments in exile: Azerbaijani (signed by Mir-Yakub Mehdiyev), North Caucasian (T. Chakman), Georgian (A.Chenkeli), Ukrainian (A.Shulgin) and Kazakh (M. Shokai). This document was addressed to the President of the 17th Assembly of the League of Nations K. Saavedra Lamaska and was entitled "Protest against Red Imperialism", published in the journal Prometheus. It is symptomatic that Germany was elected permanent member of the LN Council on September 8, 1926. The protest was a bold appeal; its development once again proves the collective character of the anti-fascist activity of governments in exile. If we remember the fact that Mustafa Shokai was the main developer of the text of the Protest, then the unfounded accusations of his complicity with fascism are automatically lifted.

Predicting the danger of fascism, M. Shokai became a victim of Nazism in December 1941 (Berlin). Shulgin continued the whole life without a friend in spirit, in opposing aggression and the unity of the peace-loving forces of the planet. Activities in exile accustomed to be vigilant in the recognition of political fellow travelers and cautious in the forecasts, because opponents used the press for opposite purposes. The propaganda machine of the "reds" worked tirelessly. While the leaders of the Soviet Union Stalin and Molotov engaged in self-complacency, despite the reports of foreign intelligence agents and protests of advanced Europeans, practically ridiculed Stalin's policy in relations with the LN, another political emigrant, Lev Trotsky (1936):

"The notorious interview given by Stalin to the president of the Scripps-Howard newspaper, Roy Howard, on March 1, 1936, is a precious document for the characterization of the bureaucratic blindness has been established between the leaders of the Soviet Union and the world workers' movement. [14]

He also sharply condemned the activities of British diplomacy, being in opposition to the Parliament Winston Churchill. "It is quite obvious," Churchill said in his speech to the House of Commons on July 11, 1935, "that we have weakened LN by our actions and damaged the idea of collective security. Because of this policy, the violation of treaties by Germany is not only justified, but also even approved." [15]

The conclusion. Thus, the leaders of the national-cultural missions: Mustafa Shokai, Alexander Shulgin and their like-minded people, found a common language, skillfully built the relations between the missions and the concept of the international alliance proper, on the foundation of the socialist ideals. They managed to attract attention and reach a high level of the only authoritative, for that historical period, international organization - the League of Nations. The exceptional mobility of M. Shokai, his trips to London, Geneva, Berlin and Paris, the interest of the residents of the powers. As another effective tool, they created an extensive media network, in Europe and Asia, to inform other missions. Only the growth of revanchism and fascism in Germany and the active detective activity of Stalin's special services prevented the development of that humane paradigm that would promote universal democratization through diplomatic channels and media communications.

Actually, the use of Shocking the term "internationalization" (in the 21st century it is relevant again) attests to high political erudition, possession of the international situation. Missions in exile attempted to direct world diplomacy into the channel of solving the problems of the peoples of Turkestan, Ukraine and the Caucasus.

Shokai's activity in the aspect we are examining should be attributed to a human-moral and ethical platform based on social and political activity. His actions are dictated by the realities of European reality. The events of the interwar period, M.Shokai, subjects a deep social and philosophical analysis, at the same time he studies the history of philosophy, gets acquainted with the treatises of al-Farabi, in order to reach a final conclusion: the internationalization of the Turkestan (Central Asian, including Kazakh) idea. In fact, the "internationalization" of missions in exile meant the international recognition of the national and cultural state identity of the regions of the former Russian Empire. In this sense, according to the power of the spirit, the power of conviction, the breadth of the formulation of problematic tasks, the tactics and strategies of political diplomacy, the power of the influence of oratorical art and journalism, Shokai is not

inferior to the well-known leaders of the struggle for the rights of oppressed peoples, like Martin Luther, Nelson Mandela et al.

Regarding the role of the media, with the help of a broad coverage of the topic (internationalization), many missions in exile hoped to provoke moral support for the struggle of the oppressed peoples of Eurasia, on the part of the developed powers: Great Britain, France, Germany, and the United States. Especially since the youth, Shokai had the experience of editing newspapers ("Birlik Tuy").

Together, by peaceful methods, paved the way for their peoples to light, sacrificed everything for the sake of escaping the shackles of the former slave psychology, advanced sons and daughters of Ukraine, Poland, Central Asia, and the Caucasus. The names and deeds of A.Shulgin and M.Shokay are inseparable; they often talked and discussed plans, compared programs. Only the untimely departure of Mustafa cut off the lasting thread of their friendship. His sincerity and selflessness, patriotism and humanity, erudition were valued by his colleagues. At the funeral of his friend, Alexander Yakovlevich said: "I believe that the day will come when the renewed Turkestan will remember its heroes. I do not know whether the monument to Mustafa in Perovsk (the birthplace of Shokai, now Kyzylorda - GM) or Tashkent (here in 1910 he graduated from the Shokai Gymnasium - GM) will be installed. However, I firmly believe that the people will establish a monument in his heart." [16] These sincere words of Shulgin towards the ally and like-minded man had a prophetic meaning. In 2017 in Kyzylorda to Mustafa Shokay created a bronze 12-meter monument.

Joint searches with foreign historians, journalists and political scientists will lead to the discovery of additional sources confirming the integrative efforts of patriots who more than a century ago raised the banner of the struggle for the dignity of their peoples and paved the way for international recognition. It is important to raise the qualitative level of interdisciplinary research. Turning from the statement of biographical information and emotions, to the interpretation of the socio-philosophical foundations of the formation of the worldview of major politicians, which they were in fact.

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