

# *New Documents on Kazakhs in the European Resistance Movements during World War II* \*

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## **ABSTRACT**

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The article is devoted to the new archival documents, which confirm the participation

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of Kazakhs in the struggle against fascism, help to learn about the fate of people caught in fascist captivity who participated in the European Resistance Movement in France, Italy and other countries. Finding the burials of the deceased heroes, restoring the names of the heroes officially believed to be missing, is an important task for the formation and preservation of the historical memory of the Kazakh people, for the restoration of a real, true history of the World War II.

Circumstantial research on the topic with extensive use of European archival materials has not been carried out, despite social and scientific demand. The sources of these new data should become not only Kazakh but foreign archival documents too.

A multipurpose, interdisciplinary exploration of problems of Kazakhs' participation in the World War II based on new documents extracted from the archives of France, Belgium, Italy, Russia and Norway is a main target of the international research project "Kazakhs in the World War II: new documents from foreign archives". Scholars - historians from Kazakhstan, Ukraine, Italy and Israel take part in it.

*Keywords:* Kazakhs, World War II, the European Resistance Movement, the Soviet POW France, Italy.

### ÖZ

MENDIKULOVA, Gulnara; NADEZHUK, Evgeniya; AKATAYEVA, Aliya, **2. Dünya Savaşı Sırasındaki Avrupa Direniş Hareketlerindeki Kazaklar Üzerine Yeni Belgeler**, CTAD, Yıl 15, Sayı 29 (Bahar 2019), s. 205-226.

Makale, faşizme karşı mücadelede Kazakların katılımını doğrulayan, Fransa, İtalya ve diğer Avrupa ülkelerinde Avrupa direniş hareketine katılan faşistlerin esareti altında kalan insanların kaderini öğrenmeye yardımcı olan yeni arşiv belgelere ayrılmıştır. Ölen kahramanların mezarlarını bulmak, ölü kahramanların isimlerini geri kazanmak, İkinci Dünya Savaşı'nın doğru ve gerçek tarihinin restorasyonu için Kazak halkının tarihsel belleğinin oluşumu ve korunması için önemli bir görevdir.

Sosyal ve bilimsel talebe rağmen, Avrupa arşiv belgelerinin yaygın kullanımı ile bu konuda kapsamlı araştırma yapılmamıştır. Bu yeni verilerin kaynakları sadece Kazak değil, aynı zamanda yabancı arşiv belgeleri olmalıdır.

Fransa, Belçika, İtalya, Norveç ve Rusya arşivlerinden çıkarılan yeni belgelere dayanarak Kazakların İkinci Dünya Savaşı'na katılması sorunlarına yönelik çok amaçlı bir disiplinlerarası çalışma, "İkinci Dünya Savaşı'nda Kazaklar: Yabancı Arşivlerden Yeni Belgeler" konulu uluslararası araştırma projesinin temel amacıdır. Bilim adamları - Kazakistan, Ukrayna, İtalya ve İsrail'den tarihçiler buna katılıyor.

*Anahtar Kelimeler:* Kazaklar, 2. Dünya Savaşı, Avrupa'daki Direniş Hareketi, Fransa'daki Sovyet savaş esirleri, İtalya.

## Introduction

Kazakhstanis as well as other Turkic peoples fought heroically against fascism during the World War II. More than a million Kazakhstanis took part

in the battles. 601 939 of them fell on the battlefields. Kazakhstan participated in the Great Patriotic War as an integral part of the USSR. Therefore, without doubt, from the point of view of modern sovereign Kazakhstan, the Great Patriotic War is the part of our history.

Carefully preserving the memory of our fathers and grandfathers, thorough studying the history of their heroic deeds, and handing it over to our children and grandchildren is an urgent task of Kazakhstan's historical science.

In recent decades, in Western politics and historiography, there has been a tendency to downplay or suppress the role of the USSR in defeating fascism in the World War II. In addition, there are also facts that the Russian politicians and officials did not always adequately assess the great contribution that was made to the victory by the representatives of different peoples who formed the multinational Soviet Union.

Under these conditions, the study of archival documents shedding light on the participation of Kazakhs, our compatriots, in the fight against fascism, on the fate of people caught in fascist captivity, participating in the European Resistance Movement in different countries, finding the burials of the deceased heroes, restoring the names of the heroes officially believed to be missing, is an important task for the formation and preservation of the historical memory of the Kazakh people, for the restoration of a real, true history of the Great Patriotic War. Truthful, based on the study of archival documents, the reconstruction of events that took place during the war years and for various reasons not become the property of descendants is necessary for understanding our roots, the succession of generations.

In Kazakh historiography, the study of the problem of the participation of Kazakhs in the Second World War in European countries was not widely publicized. Undoubtedly, in the Soviet years this problem was neglected. Moreover, it had a "prohibited" stigma. Labels of "traitors and spies" hung everyone who for various reasons was forced to leave the country or lived outside the Soviet Union. In the conditions of the command-bureaucratic system, the mere mention of "former citizens" became the reason for repression against political and cultural figures.

A systematic and integrated study of history and the recreation of a real picture of the participation of Kazakhs, former POWs who fled from concentration and labor camps and heroically fought against fascism in Resistance movements and partisan combat groups in various European countries, particularly France and Italy during the World War II is an urgent task from the scientific and military-patriotic standpoints and characterizes the Republic of Kazakhstan as a civilized and democratic state that values its history.

### **Methodology**

The research is based on modern methodological approaches, principles and conceptual guidelines aimed at understanding the historical and modern processes that characterize the entire tragedy of captured but unbroken people, escaped from captivity and joined the partisan units that fought against fascism in France, Belgium, Italy, Yugoslavia and others.

General scientific methods of research include such principles of historical knowledge as historicism, objectivity and other scientific principles, as well as theoretical conclusions and positions of leading scientists who formulated the fundamental principles of historical research.

To studying the historical process we use such methods as historical-comparative, historical-biographical, historical-typological, historical-system, historical reconstruction.

With the disclosure of various results of human activity, historical events and situations in which the active role of the human being is vividly expressed, i.e. the subjective factor, first of all the causal explanations that follow from the universality of interrelations, objectively inherent in historical reality, are applied. Of course, certain objective circumstances also lie behind this factor, but they are manifested in the nature of subjective actions.

In addition, specifically problematic methods are used on particular issues aimed at elucidating and studying the causes and consequences of specific phenomena, facts, events that characterize certain aspects of reality.

The research is based on modern methodological approaches, principles and conceptual guidelines aimed at understanding the historical and modern processes characterizing the tragedy of captured people, but unbroken, fleeing from captivity and joining guerrilla groups that fought fascism in France, Italy and other European countries.

### **Conducting Research on New Archival Documents on the Problem**

The studying of the problem of the participation of Kazakhs in the World War II in European countries in the Soviet and Kazakh historiography based on Kazakh and Russian archives' materials only. Foreign documents were not included in the scientific use.

In the modern historical science, the problems of the participation of Russian, Ukrainians, Azerbaijanis and Armenians in the resistance movement in the world are studied, but no data about Kazakhs is in these proceedings.

Almost the only work on this issue was an article by I.I. Malyar "Participation of Kazakhstanis in the European resistance movement."<sup>1</sup>

More intensive study of particular issues of participation of Kazakh soldiers in World War II began within the period of independence. Research works by G.M. Mendikulova, B.G. Ayagan, B.I. Sadykova, A. Kara, A. Kaken, S. Bekenova and others are characterized it.

In 1995, in honor of the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Victory was published memorial book of Kazakhstan "Bozdaktar". It was the first attempt to provide a complete statistical picture of the war. The names of those who died in battle, died from wounds and diseases in hospitals, died behind enemy lines or missing were collected in this book. The "Book of Memory" and the summary volume "Bozdaktar" is a true a monument to Kazakhstanis who died in the battles with fascism.

Particular attention to the problem ass paid in the scientific works by B.I. Sadykova, who investigates the activity of M. Chokay and history of the Turkestan Legion. B.I. Sadykova is the author of the script of the documentary "Zar, or those who were separated from the motherland." In the "History of the Turkestan Legion in the documents", B.I. Sadykova for the first time describes the activities of the Turkestan national liberation movement, organized by Mustafa Chokay in Europe, his tactics and strategy. In 2011, she published a monograph "Mustafa Chokay in emigration".<sup>2</sup> All these works by B.I. Sadykova written on the base of archival documents from Germany, which had been collected and worked out well.

Professor at the University of Mimar Sinan A. Kara wrote a book, which tells about the bitter fate of former soldiers of the Turkestan Legion<sup>3</sup>. The book of well-known Kazakh journalist A. Kaken is based on sources devoted to the history of the Turkestan Legion.<sup>4</sup> In 2007, the memoirs by S. Bekenov one of the prisoners of Nazi camps were published.

An article-memoir titled "I was in the Turkestan Legion" was published on the pages of the internet magazine. It tells about Akhmetbek Nurumov, who was captured exactly a month after the war began. This man went to a POW

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<sup>1</sup> Iosif Malyar, *Ucbastie kazakhstancsev v evropejskom dvizhenii soprotivleniya*. In: Petrov I.I., *Vsegda nabekeu. [Participation of Kazakhstanis in the European resistance movement] In: Petrov II Always on the alert*. Kazakhstan, Alma-Ata, 1971. (In Russian)

<sup>2</sup> Bakhyt Sadykova, *Mustafa Chokaj v ehмиграции. [Mustafa Chokaj in emigration]*. Almaty, 2011. (in Russian)

<sup>3</sup> Abduakap Kara, *Istina Turkestanskogo legiona – mezhdu svastikoj i krasnoj zvezdoj. [The truth of the Turkestan Legion - between the swastika and the red star]*. Translation from the Kazakh language. Research Institute "Public Opinion", Astana, 2015, 98 p. (In Russian)

<sup>4</sup> Amantay Kaken, *Turkestan legion. Dereky talgam*. Almaty, 2000 (In Kazakh).

camp in Poland, Turkestan Legion and Kolyma, was convicted of treason, and waited a long time for rehabilitation.

Within the State program "People in the stream of history", in 2014-2016 Kaidar Aldazhumanov conducted research on the topic "Kazakhstan in the period of the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union. 1941-1945". In particular, it has been affected by the problem of prisoners of war, in the first place – the Kazakhs. The author carefully conducted study in the State Archive of the Russian Federation in Moscow.

On the base of previous researches and publications, the article "The Place of Turkestan in the Foreign Political Strategy of Germany in the First Half of the 20th Century", published in *BILIG* in 2016, was about the interests of Germany in Turkestan, the true goals of the Third Reich in relation to the eastern peoples of the USSR, the background to the creation of the Turkistan Legion and the idea of "Great Turkestan"<sup>5</sup>.

American scholar Roberto Carmack in his dissertation "A Fortress of the Soviet Home Front: Mobilization and Ethnicity in Kazakhstan during World War II" completed at the University of Wisconsin gives a picture of the fundamental dynamics of Kazakhstan at war, looking at both the Kazakhs and Russian-speaking population. Drawing on a wide range of previously unexamined archival holdings in Kazakhstan and Moscow, published documentary collections, Soviet newspapers, and memoirs, the dissertation argues that mobilization catalyzed the integration of the republic's population into Soviet military, economic, and ideological institutions. As a direct result of this integration, the republic's Kazakh population acquired a much stronger Soviet identity.<sup>6</sup>

However, for a truly complete and objective study of this issue, work with archival documents of the countries of Europe is necessary. This is a priority task of the international research project "Kazakhs in the World War II: new documents from foreign archives", in which scholars - historians from Kazakhstan, Ukraine, Italy, Israel take part.

Within the framework of the project, the authors conduct a complex, interdisciplinary study of problems of Kazakhs' participation in the World War II based on new documents extracted from the archives of France, United Kingdom, Belgium, Italy, Russia, Finland and Norway.

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5 Guljaukhar Kokebayeva, "The Place of Turkestan in the Foreign Political Strategy of Germany in the First Half of the 20th Century", *BILIG*, KİŞ 2016 / SAYI 76 117-137

<sup>6</sup> Roberto Carmack, "A fortress of the Soviet home front": mobilization and ethnicity in Kazakhstan during World War II, University of Wisconsin-Madison, Madison, 2015.

It is known that there were about 25 thousand citizens of the USSR in early 1944 on the territory of France. These were people who fled from German prisoners of war camps, who were driven away by the Nazis for hard labor or who came to this country for other reasons.<sup>7</sup>

In studying this problem, it is necessary to turn to the activity of Mustafa Chokai - one of the first leaders of the Turkestan emigration and the creator of the emigration Turkestan center in Western Europe. It should be noted that Mustafa Chokai was considered one of the most knowledgeable leaders of the Turkestan emigration in Western Europe, who was well versed in the events that took place in Turkestan. British diplomats Allen and Eden gave him such a description in confidential correspondence of February 3, 1932, discovered by G.M. Mendikulova in the UK National Archives (formerly Public Record Office).<sup>8</sup> There is information that after the fascists came to power in Germany in 1933; M. Chokai came to Berlin to meet with Georg Leibbrand, who was the head of the Eastern Division of the Foreign Policy Directorate of the NSDAP. Declassified documents indicate that the German authorities appreciated M. Chokai. In one of the reports by Georg Leibbrand to A. Rosenberg in March 1938, Chokai was characterized as "the leader of the Turkestanians", "a cultural and politically educated man."

As is known, the Nazis, violating the Geneva Convention, condemned the grave, sometimes unbearable conditions of detention of Soviet prisoners of war. The Red Army was ordered: "Not one step back, not to surrender." Therefore, Mustafa Chokai decides to agree with the proposal of the fascists to join the commission that inspected the camps, to get acquainted with the conditions of their compatriots in concentration camps and to make lists of prisoners of war.

It was important for Mustafa Chokai to see firsthand the attitude of the German side to his compatriots. The measure of Mustafa Chokai's confidence in the Nazis and, accordingly, the nature of the response to the offer of cooperation depended on this. However, everything he saw threw Mustafa Chokai into an extremely depressed state. During his visit to the camps, Mustafa Chokai compiled lists of prisoners of war from Turkestan indicating the names, names and camp numbers, gathered and testified on paper the facts of the atrocious treatment of fascists with prisoners of war (not only Turkestan) and left it all to his wife Maria Yakovlevna.

The information collected by Chokai in concentration camps characterizes the social and professional composition of the Kazakhs who were captured in

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<sup>7</sup> *Istoriya Velikoy Otechestvennoy voynyi Sovetskogo Soyuza, 1941-1945 gg. v 6 tomah [History of the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union in 6 volumes]*. Voennizdat, Moscow, 1960-1965, Vol. IV, p. 491.

<sup>8</sup> *The UK National Archives*. FO. 371/17113, Fund 1063/466/10, Sheets 136a-136b.

the first days and months of World War II. In the lists of Mustafa Chokai, stored in INALCO, several hundred names of not only Kazakhs, but also Uzbeks, Kyrgyz, Tajiks and others are named.<sup>9</sup>

The documents and lists left by Chokai represent an invaluable source on the history of the participation of the Kazakhs in the World War II.

Undoubtedly, among the Kazakhs, caught up in fascist captivity, there were very differently minded people. A part of them did not accept the Soviet power and was ready to fight the Stalin regime as part of the Hitler Turkestan Legion. However, the majority sincerely and heroically fought for their homeland against the fascist aggressors, even when they were captured. Time showed the ineffectiveness of the use of the Turkestan Legion by the fascists in hostilities, as hundreds of its participants went over to the side of the Soviet army or joined partisan units, as it was in France, Italy and other Western European countries.

As known, Soviet citizens in France established the Central Committee of Soviet Prisoners (CCSP) in late November of 1943 with a residence in Paris, deployed work among prisoners of war, involving them in guerrilla groups. The Committee maintained close contact with the Central Committee of the French Communist Party through its authorized representative G. Laroche. Due to the great political work of the CCSP, hundreds of Soviet people joined the path of armed struggle. By 1944, more than 30 Soviet guerrilla groups were actively operating in France, including “Chapaev”, “Kotovskiy”, “Rodina”, “Donbass”, “Freedom”, “Dede”, “Catherine” and others. Many citizens of the USSR fought against the fascists as a part of French guerrilla groups.<sup>10</sup>

Gaston Laroche wrote and published in 1965 the book “On les nommait des étrangers: les immigrés dans la Résistance” (They called them Foreigners: Immigrants in the Resistance). According to the recollections of Gaston Laroche, 53 Turkestanis, 98 Georgians and 30 Poles in August 1944 headed from Carmaux to the French maquis in the village of Jukeville, where nineteen people died in one battle against the fascists.<sup>11</sup>

Thanks to this book, we know today the true state of things associated with the participation of the Kazakhs in the liberation of the south of France from the fascist invaders.

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9 INALCO. Bibliothèque Institute National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales – Archives Mustafa Chokai Bey. Carton 2. Dossier 1. Ab Partie 01. Lists 5-27.

<sup>10</sup> Russian State Archive of Socio-Political History, Fund 553, Series 1, File 1, Sheets 1– 9.

<sup>11</sup> Gaston Laroche, *On les nommait des étrangers: les immigrés dans la Résistance [They called them Foreigners: Immigrants in the Resistance]*. Éditeurs français réunis, 1965, 477 p.

According to the French newspaper «West France», which published the material "The Kazakhs in the movement of the French Resistance," more than one hundred Kazakhs participated in the Liberation Resistance Movement in the south of France near the city of Toulouse. Among them - guerrilla groups known for their heroism, headed by Kazakhs Kadem Zhumaniyazov and Zunum Zhamankulov.<sup>12</sup>

One of the participants of the French Resistance movement Akhmet Bektayev who lived in Shymkent, published a book of memoirs "Under the Sky of France", in which he stated about the participation of the Kazakhs in the battles with fascists in the south of France and about his fate on the fronts of the World War II.

Being enlisted in the army in 1939, Akhmet Bektayev fought in the 545 artillery corps on the Kalinin Front at the beginning of the invasion of the German fascist hordes and in the first months of the Great Patriotic War, he was captured. Until 1943, Akhmet Bektayev was held in concentration camps located in Prussia and Poland. These camps kept Uzbeks, Tajiks, Kazakhs, Kyrgyz, representatives of the Muslim religion, the fascists bullied them, taking them for Jews. According to his recollections, in September 1941 Mustafa Chokai came to one of these camps, who explained the fascist supervisors that the representatives of the above-mentioned nationalities profess the Muslim religion, and after his visit, many Turkestanis were saved from death, but not from captivity. In addition, the fascists began to differentiate them, assigning them the code "A", which meant "Asians". The letter "R" stands for Russians, the letter "B" - Byelorussians.

Following Hitler's order, as mentioned above, in early 1944, the Turkestan legionaries were loaded into wagons and transported to France. In France, they were placed in camps near the towns of Carmaux and Albi, where they worked in mines. In the camp near the town of Carmaux, where Akhmet Bektayev was held, an underground communist organization was created, headed by Ukrainian Peter Dyachuk.<sup>13</sup> This organization established links with the French partisans - maquis, and on June 16, 1944, after killing the guards, fled to the forest to join the partisans and joined the "Resistance" movement.

Judging by the documents translated and published by B. Sadykova, this event did not take place in June, but on the night of July 15 to July 16, 1944, as was evidenced by the Memorandum on 21 July 1944 of Colonel Fernand on the transition of 47 people to the side of the French partisans: 27 Uzbeks, 17

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<sup>12</sup> Gulnara Mendikulova, *Kazahskaya diaspora. Istoriya i sovremennost. [The Kazakh diaspora. History and modernity]*. Reiz, Almaty, 2006, p. 281.

<sup>13</sup> *Archives Nationales*. Section du XX<sup>e</sup> siècle.

Kazakhs, 6 Turkmens, one Kyrgyz and one Tajik.<sup>14</sup> Colonel Fernand reported that on the night of July 16, 47 people deserted from the German garrison, who were sent by groups of three people in the morning on 16 July to Carmaux. Two days later, they were already handed out with weapons, and they took part in fighting operations.

In his memoirs, Akhmet Bektayev states that in 1944 he fought against fascism together with internationalist friends: Ukrainian Peter Dyachuk, Karakalpak O. Zhurymbayev and the Kazakhs: Zunum Zhamankulov, M. Kurmashev, D. Bitanov, B. Utetileuov, U. Dosov, M. Beisenbiev, and others.<sup>15</sup>

Kabysh Omarov from the village of Kara-Aul, Abaevsky district of the Semipalatinsk region was one of the participants of the French Resistance. In 1939, the Komsomol permit sent him to the Voronezh School of Communication, which he had graduated two weeks before the outbreak of the Patriotic War. He was appointed as a commander of a communication platoon in a separate Fortified District No. 68 on the border with East Prussia. At dawn of June 22, 1941, Lieutenant Kabysh Omarov, along with other fighters, entered the battle against the fascists. On June 30, he was captured, being wounded.

In the autumn of 1943 a group of POWs, including Omarov, was sent to South France. In the spring of 1944 Kabysh and five of his comrades escaped in the Toulouse area, set off to the Pyrenees Mountains and joined the guerrilla group. On August 19, 1944, French and Soviet partisans began fighting with the German garrison of Toulouse. The Kazakh Kabysh Omarov also distinguished himself in these battles. Kabysh Omarov commanded one of the two companies of the Soviet partisans at the parade, which was hosted by General de Gaulle in the central square of Toulouse.

For historians, the truthfulness of archival documents is a priori proven, and the memoirs "suffer" from subjective perception and attitude to historical events.

However, there are cases when the archival documents "did not justify the high trust shown to them", and the memoirs, on the contrary, are a valuable source revealing interesting facts, in particular, from the life of the Kazakhs who participated in the Resistance Movement in southern France. An example of this is the story of Djoumaniasov Khadem, who was the commander of one of the Stalingrad groups and participated in the liberation of Toulouse, Albi and other towns and settlements in the south of France.

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<sup>14</sup> Bakhyt Sadykova, *Istoriya Turkestanskogo legiona v dokumentab. [History of the Turkistan Legion in the documents]*. Kaynar, Almaty, 2002, p. 196-199.

<sup>15</sup> *Archives Nationales*. Section du XX<sup>e</sup> siècle.

From the memoirs of Ahmet Bektayev, as well as from the letters of relatives of Khadem Djoumaniasov, it became known that Djoumaniasov, probably, had taken part in the Civil War in Spain. As Bektayev writes in his book "Under the Sky of France," Khadem allegedly came to the partisans directly from Spain, crossing the Pyrenees. It is difficult to say how authentically these events are described; the investigation should be continued in Spain as well concerning the passage through the Pyrenees.

In late 1944, guerrilla groups participated in the liberation of cities Albi, Carmaux, Toulouse, Montauban, Carcassonne and others. Among the commanders of the detachments, Kazakhs Zunum Zhamankulov and Khadem Djoumaniasov stood out by their heroism. Djoumaniasov was a commander of reconnaissance detachment. He was fluent in German and French. His detachment made ready prisoners of concentration camps for liberation.

According to the documents detected from the archive of the Ministry of Defense of France, in 1980 a request was sent from the USSR via the USSR Embassy in France to confirm the activity of Khadem Djoumaniasov in the Movement of the French Resistance.

“Paris, 07 November 1980

Embassy of the USSR in France

The Consular Section

Prony street, 8, 75017 Paris

I kindly ask you to respond to inquiry No. 1880 below,

The consular service of the Embassy of the USSR in France asks the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the Republic of France to assist in requesting the French authorities to obtain confirmation that Mr. Djoumaniasov Khadem, a Soviet citizen born in 1917 in the Urals region (USSR), took an active part in the French Resistance.

It is possible that Mr. Djoumaniasov commanded a part belonging to the 11th Spanish brigade, which participated in the liberation of many French cities, such as Saintes, Foix, Aulus-les-Bains, Toulouse, Albi, Carmaux, Montauban, Carcassonne and others.

Mr. Djoumaniasov was repatriated to the USSR in 1946.

I thank in advance for the help rendered,

Paris, 07 November 1980

Seal of the Embassy of the USSR in France



Saint-Blaise street, 79,  
75020, Paris”<sup>17</sup>.

Unfortunately, Mr. Khadem Djoumaniasov, could not apply to the National Office of former fighters and victims of Resistance, since he died in 1947 in the cold Urdinsk steppe.

The Central State Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan stores documents and photographs telling about Kadem Jumaniyazov’s participation in the French partisan movement.<sup>18</sup>

It cannot be ignored that the fact of alleged non-participation or ignorance of the participation of Soviet soldiers and officers in the Resistance Movement is often found in the archives of France. The lists of those who participated in the Resistance, where only the French were included, for known reasons, were restored after the war. The participation of former prisoners of war in the military actions of the maquis against the fascists is confirmed by documents compiled by the leaders of the Resistance and stored in the Service Historique de la Defense, however, specific surnames are not named in these documents.<sup>19</sup> The authors encountered this fact in five French archives.

This situation concerns not only our compatriots - participants of the Resistance, but also representatives of other countries, including European ones, too. Its roots lie in the political processes that took place in France at the end of the war and after it. To this day, the problem of the participation of foreigners in the French Resistance movement during the World War II is completely unexplored in French and European historiography.

According to Robert Gildea, a professor at the University of Oxford, the silencing of the role of foreigners in the Resistance movement is quite a conscious political step and takes its origin from the moment Charles de Gaulle arrived in Paris and addressed the French to the Hôtel de Ville on August 25, 1944, in which he declared that France, the French liberated Paris by their own efforts. Later, according to R. Gildea, the national dimension of the Resistance became one of the foundations of the post-war national identity of the French nation, while the pronounced international character of the struggle against fascism was in every way marginalized. Having studied a huge number of documents, memories of participants in the events, analyzing the fate of a large number of fighters of the Resistance of various nationalities, the British

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<sup>17</sup> Archives of Defense Historical Service of France. Service Historique de la Defense. GR P 16P 187 463 Djoumaniasov Khadem.

<sup>18</sup> Central State Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan, Fund 1660, Series 3, File 5, Sheets 7 - 12

<sup>19</sup> Archive of Defense Historical Service of France, Service Historique de la Defense. 19P FFI 5RM TARN As B9 Maquis Stalingrad

researcher comes to the conclusion that “it may be more accurate to talk less about the French Resistance than about the resistance in France”.<sup>20</sup>

However, it is necessary to note the following fact. Studying the role of representatives of many nationalities in the French resistance movement, R. Gildea does not say a word about the participation of citizens of the USSR in it. Many of Soviet people, including Kazakhstani, stood shoulder to shoulder with the French, Spaniards, Italians, Jews, Germans, and other nationalities anti-fascists, gave their lives in this struggle and were buried in French soil.

One of the important successes in the research work on this problem are the documents first discovered by Dr. G. Mendikulova, in the French National Archives, which confirm the memories of the Kazakh and French participants of those events.

The new names of Kazakhs and Turkestans, such as Ismailov, Karamergenov, Mukhamedzhanov, Abdullayev, who fought side by side with French *makizaras*, were found in the *Archives Nationales* funds (Paris, France).<sup>21</sup>

In October 2009, Doctor of History, Prof. G.M. Mendikulova in the *Archives Nationales* in Paris found correspondence, memories, documents about the creation of the First Partisan Regiment, in which the Kazakhs fought alongside the Georgians in the dashing year of the Second World War. It became possible thanks to the grant she won from the French institute *Fondation Maison des Sciences De L'homme*

In early 2015, Prof. G.M. Mendikulova discovered information about the military activities of Shashubay Beisembin, born in 1920, a native of the aul No. 7, Karaganda region. It also confirms the participation of Kazakhs in the Resistance Movement of France.

Shashubay Beisembin was drafted into the ranks of the Red (Soviet) Army in December 1940 in Pushkino, Leningrad Region (according to records: 24th Panzer Corps, 8th Motorized Regiment). On August 18, 1941, being surrounded in the area of Kamenka of the Leningrad Region he was taken prisoner, was in concentration camps in Latvia, Poland and France. According to the data submitted by his son Murat Shashubayuly Beisembin, in autumn 1943 Shashubay Beisembin fled from captivity in the city of Albi, France, and joined the French partisans. The participation of Shashubay Beisembin in the Resistance movement is confirmed by the available ticket of the First guerrilla Regiment # 18 preserved in his family.

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<sup>20</sup> Robert Gildea. *Fighters in the Shadows: A New History of the French Resistance*. E-book. Faber & Faber, London, 2015, p. 13.

<sup>21</sup> *Archives Nationales*. Section du XXe siècle.

In 2015, G.M. Mendikulova in France also for the first time revealed maps and photos concerning to Kazakhs and their participation to the Resistance Movement in the funds of the Archives Departamentales Haute-Garonne, the Toulouse Resistance Museum, the Archives Departamentales du Tarn, Archive of the Historical Service of the Ministry of Defense of France (Service Historique de la Defense).

From memories, it is known that Turkestanis participated in several guerrilla groups, in particular, in the group "Stalingrad", and our soldiers were called "Mongols". A year after the release of Toulouse, Albi and Carmaux, they were still in the camps, where they lived in a special mode. If previously we had only memories of the participants of these events, in the French archive in Albi G.M. Mendikulova found official documents confirming Kazakh participation in resistance movement. It is the whole correspondence of the police department about one unpleasant incident took place on 30 April 1945.

Therefore, a few ex-liberators of the south of France went to a local cafe to note the May holidays, as they had relative freedom of movement. Some of the locals insulted them, calling the Mongols and saying that there is no place for them there. Scuffle, called the police, and all participants were replaced to the police office. Commandant of the camp, where heroes - liberators of the south of France were held Zunum Zhamankulov had to write explanatory and intercessory letter about what happened. The letter, in particular, he explained that the former Soviet military Turkestanis and all 250 people in the camp, liberated France, and they are kept still in the camps and attitude of the locals towards them are incorrect. Found the answer of Prefect of police of the city of Albi, after a long trial (until July 1945), which says that, yes, indeed, these people heroically helped us to liberate our homeland from the Nazis, and a year after these events, the locals insult them, forgetting about their heroism ... Thanks to this conclusion of the Prefect of police the participants of unattractive incident did not punished.

In 2017, E.A. Nadezhuk found documents on this issue in the archives of the Historical Service of the Ministry of Defense of France (Service Historique de la Defense). In particular, these are reports of the leaders of the French Resistance, which confirms the participation of former prisoners of war in the partisan warfare. Valuable are the documents concerning the activity of Kadem Zhumaniyazov who heroically fought against fascists in France.<sup>22</sup>

The research group carries out a search work in the Generalized Data Bank "Memorial", which presents a large number of documents of the Central

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<sup>22</sup> *Service Historique de la Defense*. GR P 16P 187 463 Djoumaniasov Khadem.; *Service Historique de la Defense*. 19P FFI 5RM TARN As B9 Maquis Stalingrad.

Archive of the Ministry of Defense of the Russian Federation. A careful analysis of the documents found in European archives, comparing them with the data available in GDB "Memorial" and other digital sources makes it possible to identify the burial sites of our compatriots who were previously considered missing, to fill the gaps in their heroic history.<sup>23</sup>

Now, G.M. Mendikulova identified 34 burials of Soviet soldiers in France. In particular, in May 2018, Professor G.M. Mendikulova, during her trip to France, identified and recorded eight registered burial places of Kazakhs near Paris, in Picardy and Lorraine.

The Kazakhs fought heroically in partisan detachments not only in France.

Kazakhs Tuleshev, Aidarkhan Erzhanov, Omar Toimbetov and others took part in the anti-fascist war in Poland. They were awarded with Polish orders and medals. For example, in April of 1944, Satynbek Omarovich Tuleshev organized and led guerrilla group "Dawn" numbering about sixty people on the territory of Poland. The international detachment "Zarya" controlled a completely mountainous region, blew up bridges, derailed echelons with ammunition. The number of major sabotage operations of the group "Dawn" turned twenty-six. In December 1944, Satynbek Tuleshev was appointed chief of staff of the partisan unit.<sup>24</sup>

History preserved the names and heroic exploits of the Kazakhs who fought against fascism in Yugoslavia as Aryk Esentayev, Beisen Raisov, Amanzhol Sagnaev, Boshay Kanapyanov, Tultay Shanov and others.

About 70 Kazakhstanis fought in their ranks side by side with fascists in only one battalion of the famous Soča brigade of the People's Liberation Army of Yugoslavia (PLAY).<sup>25</sup>

One of this group of Kazakhstanis - participants of the Resistance in Yugoslavia is Telzhan Zhelkozhinov, in September 1943, disarmed and tied two guards and left for the Yugoslavian guerrillas, while being on agricultural work together with a group of Soviet prisoners of war. After that, Telzhan fought in the ranks of a separate Soviet guerrilla group, which was part of the 18th

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<sup>23</sup> Gulnara Mendikulova, *O komparativistike i dostovernosti arkhivnykh i otsifrovannykh dokumentov ob uchastii kazakhov vo Vtoroy mirovoy voyne. [On comparativistics and reliability of archival and digitized documents on the participation of Kazakhs in the World War II].* In: *Social sciences and humanities in the digital world*, 2018, April 12. Almaty, KazNITU named K.I. Satbayev. (In Russian); Nadezhuk E.A., *Kazabi vo Vtoroy Mirovoy voyne: tsifrovyye informatsionnyye resursy po teme issledovaniya. [Kazakhs in the World War II: digital information resources on the research topic].* In: *Social sciences and humanities in the digital world*, 2018, April 12. Almaty, KazNITU named K.I. Satbayev. (In Russian)

<sup>24</sup> Iosif Malyar, *Uchastie kazakhstancov v evropeyskom dvizhenii soprotivleniya.* In: Petrov I.I., *Vsegda nacheku. [Participation of Kazakhstanis in the European resistance movement]* In: *Petrov II Always on the alert*. Kazakhstan, Alma-Ata, 1971, p. 160-168 (In Russian)

<sup>25</sup> Malyar, *ibid*, p.163

Brigade of the Yugoslav People's Liberation Army, participated in the release of prisoners of war from the concentration camp near the town of Gorizia, in an attack of the fascist headquarters in Trieste.

According to incomplete data, more than 110 Kazakhstani people fought in the ranks of anti-fascist fighters of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Greece during the World War II.

In the liberation of Belgium, an active part was taken by the partisan brigade "For the Motherland", created by Soviet prisoners of war who fled from German concentration camps. In the provinces of Liège and Namur, the joint Belgian-Soviet guerrilla group became widely known, and made several bold attacks on important enemy targets during its offensive in the Ardennes.<sup>26</sup>

The first groups of Soviet partisans began to operate here in the summer of 1943. Partisans made attacks on German positions. Gradually, small units joined the group of 400 people. Thus, the partisan brigade "For the Motherland" was formed. It took an active part in the armed uprising of the Belgian people in September 1944. Successful guerrilla operations against the Nazis were led by the Belgian-Soviet guerrilla group under the command of André Kollár and Grigory Titov. Kazakh Utegen Abdullin fought in this group and saved the life of his Belgian commander Andre Kollar in one of the battles.

Utegen Abdullin was born in the Aktyubinsk region. He volunteered for the front 1941 and in May 1942, after a severe concussion, was taken prisoner on the battlefield. In 1943, among other prisoners of war, he was sent to coalmines in Aachen, on the border of Germany and Belgium. In February 1944, together with Kamken Dzhambekov, he escaped from the camp and joined the detachment commanded by Grigory Titov.

Fragmentary data we have about Kazakhs and Soviet prisoners of war who had escaped from concentration camps and fought bravely in the Italian teams.

In the province of Modena acted battalion of Soviet partisans. In the region of Tuscany in the ranks of the partisan division "Guido Boskalo" Arezzo province fought 23 Kazakhstani people, including Takish Alpeisov from Karaganda, Kaldanbek Dyusenbekov from Kyzyl-Orda, Zhaymak Kulshikov from Aktyubinsk, Topai Sadvakassov and Ivan Kitastov from Akmola region, and others.<sup>27</sup>

In 2016, it became known about the burial of 38 Kazakhs in Trieste in northeastern Italy, who died fighting fascism. To date, because of the joint

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<sup>26</sup> *State Archive of the Russian Federation*, Fund 9526, Series 1, File 47, Sheets 39, 40, 61-62

<sup>27</sup> Iosif Malyar, *Uchastie kazakhstancov v evropejskom dvizhenii soprotivleniya*. In: Petrov I.I., *Vsegda nacheku. [Participation of Kazakhstanis in the European resistance movement] In: Petrov II Always on the alert*. Kazakhstan, Alma-Ata, 1971, p. 167 (In Russian)

work of Gulnara Mendikulova and Marco Fiorentino, during the comparison of the GDB “Memorial” data with the Italian sources at the disposal of the research team, several new burials of the Kazakhs – participants of Resistance were identified in Central and Northern Italy.

In 2018, in the State Archives of the Russian Federation, the authors found documents submitted in 1945 by the Italian authorities to the Office of the Council of Ministers of the USSR for repatriation. Among them, there is a list of former Soviet prisoners who took part in the struggle of partisan detachments in Italy. The revealed list allowed restoring the names and surnames of 61 Kazakhs who fought in partisan detachments in different provinces of Italy. These documents, the names of these people were not previously known to Kazakhstan's historical science and the general public.<sup>28</sup>

However, scientific research in Italy has not been conducted. In order to ascertain on the ground the reliability of the available information, as well as to obtain more complete data on this problem, a complex expedition to Italy will be organized in 2019 within the framework of the international research project "Kazakhs in the World War II: new documents from foreign archives".

Thus, the research team faces the task of completing this study, revealing the names, fates, unknown places of burial of Kazakhs - participants in the struggle against the fascist regime in France, Italy, and other European countries to analyze the revealed facts and make them available to Kazakhstani and the world community.

## **Conclusion**

The study of the activities of the Kazakhs in the ranks of the French *makiz̄ar*, the Belgian and Italian partisans, their position as prisoners in camps in Norway and Sweden, the Netherlands and Germany and other countries should certainly be continued. The documents that shed light on the history of the participation of the Kazakhs in the World War II in Europe very likely can be detected in the French, Belgian, Italian and other European archives. The task to collect and study documents and publicize the names of soldiers and officers, who heroically battled fascism and are still unknown to their homeland, is very important and relevant.

Careful exploration of archival documents and memories of the participants in the events should restore bright memory of our compatriots.

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<sup>28</sup> State Archive of the Russian Federation, Fund 9526, Series 6, File 77, Sheets 244-250

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## A special appendix



*Picture 1. Kadem Djoumaniasov*

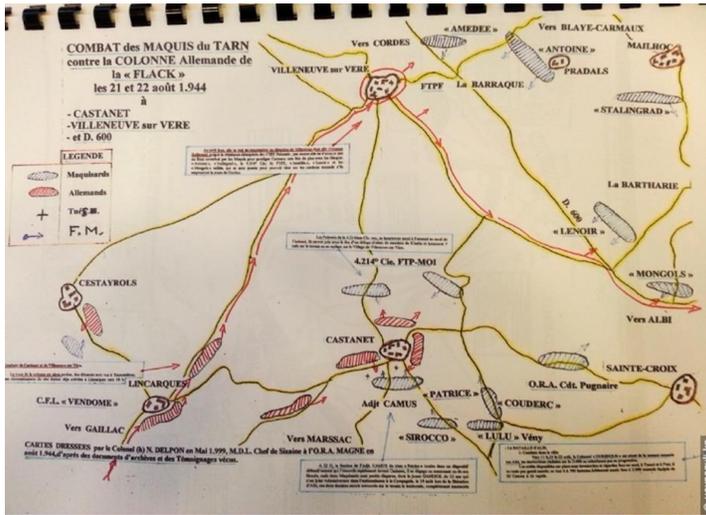
Nom	B E S E M B I N		
Prénoms	Chachoubai		
Date et lieu de naissance	1 janvier 1920		
Grade	Sergent		
Unité	Garnison Soviétique A L B I		
<b>SIGNALEMENT</b>			
Yeux	noirs	Cheveux	noirs
Misage	carré	Menton	normal
Nez	epaté	Teint	foncé
Taille	1 m 64	S. part.	2 doigts
manquants au pied gauche			
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Le Commandant de l'Unité :

*Picture 2. The ticket of the First guerrilla Regiment No. 18 by Shashubay Beisembin*



Picture 3. Map of Resistance camps location in Tarn region



Picture 4. World War II Burial places of Kazakhs identified by G.M. Mendikulova in France, at Picardy, in May 2018