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ON THE PHENOMENON OF THE COSSACK DIASPORA AND ITS HISTORIOGRAPHY IN EMIGRATION

Abstract: This article presents the results of a historiographical study of the entire body of research and publications devoted to Cossack issues, including scientific and popular literature, memoirs, fiction, legal, military, religious, reference, and other publications. It charts the history of the study of the Cossack phenomenon in Russia, beginning with the first mentions of Cossacks in Russian chronicles and continuing until the collapse of the USSR in the late 20th century. The emergence and development of a distinct Cossack historiographic tradition is examined separately. Particular attention is paid to the evolution of émigré Cossack historiography in the 20th century.

Key words: historiography, hypostasis, Orthodoxy, ethnocultural, demand, immunity, demography, political science, White Cossacks, Cossacks, geopolitical, stereotypical, sovereign, phenomenon, frontier.

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Introduction

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The traditions established by Cossack historians and publicists—the "independenceists"—during the brief independence of the Cossack "military republics" during the Civil War of 1918–1921 were

continued by the Cossack military, cultural, and scientific intelligentsia in exile. In exile, the Cossack "independenceists" split into two fundamental factions, which found themselves in open opposition to each other: the "nationalist" Cossacks and the "patriotic" Cossacks.

Of course, by formal criteria, émigré

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publications can be classified not as domestic, but as foreign historiography. However, in its content and methodology, the literature of the Cossack diaspora directly inherited the domestic historiographic tradition. It was its organic development and continuation, although, of course, it also experienced significant influence from Western culture, which, incidentally, was also characteristic of the Russian pre-revolutionary tradition. Moreover, with regard to White-patriotic Cossack historiography specifically, in its "indivisible" and "autonomist" interpretations, as well as "independent" or "independent" and Cossack nationalist historiography, these scholarly and political movements, having originated in Russia, continued their existence and further development only in exile.

For obvious reasons, in the USSR such movements, ideologically alien to the Soviet system, were completely eradicated, and their adherents were destroyed, sometimes not only ideologically, but also physically.

Therefore, emigration became the only environment where historical schools alternative to the historical materialism that reigned supreme in the USSR could exist and develop. This applies in particular to all studies of the phenomenological nature and history of the emergence of the Cossacks that did not fit within the framework of Lenin's definitions, as he put it in his work "The Agrarian Program of Social Democracy in the First Russian Revolution of 1905–1907." A detailed analysis of this work by V. I. Ulyanov (Lenin) will be given in the next article, when examining the Soviet historiography of the Cossacks.

Furthermore, one must take into account the fact that the overwhelming majority of the educated Cossack elite and intelligentsia were either exterminated during the Civil War and the subsequent terror, or found themselves in exile. Consequently, a distinct Cossack perspective on Cossack history could only be formulated and scientifically analyzed outside the USSR.

Another important factor prompts us to consider the historiography of the Cossack diaspora within the context of our study of Russian historiography. When, after a long hiatus during the Soviet era, the Cossack revival in the new Russia began in the late 20th century, émigré historiography became the most important foundation for Cossack authors in constructing their new Cossack identity, ideology, and renewed historiographic tradition. This was largely facilitated by the general methodological crisis in Russian historiography that followed the collapse of the USSR and the disintegration of the previously monolithic and uncontested Soviet historical materialist historiography. Thus, émigré historiography exerted a direct and immediate influence on the development of historical scholarship in Russia in the late 20th and early 21st centuries. This

influence was particularly felt in the study of Cossack history and culture.

Even during the years of revolutionary upheaval and the Civil War, the Cossack intellectual, cultural, and political elite, along with Russian society as a whole, found itself split into numerous political parties, factions, groups, movements, and various organizations. However, all these movements achieved full ideological, philosophical, historical, and political maturity in exile. Politically and ideologically, émigré Cossack thought fragmented into several alternative and sometimes opposing schools of thought. All these schools sought historical grounds to support their position. Consequently, Cossack historiography in exile was more or less clearly divided into groups corresponding to different political preferences. First and foremost, we must mention the conservative school, whose representatives earned the nickname "unindivisible" in émigré circles. They considered the Cossacks part of the Great Russian or, in the Pan-Slavic version, the Slavic people. At the same time, Cossacks were to enjoy their traditional privileges, perform military service in exchange, and enjoy broad municipal (zemstvo, voivodeship, stanitsa) autonomy. Overall, the "unindivisible" Cossacks were direct heirs to the imperial historiography of the 19th century, but they, in turn, were divided into two subgroups.

The most orthodox and conservative monarchists advocated a full restoration of the "old regime" order under an autocratic tsar from the Romanov dynasty. Thus, they advocated blindly emulating their highest ideal—the Russian Empire of the pre-1905 era.

The "constitutionalists" held more liberal positions, close to the Cadets. For them, the ideal was Russia "after 1905." Both these "indivisible" proponents enjoyed the greatest sympathy among the émigrés who were former White Army officers.

Closely aligned with the conservatives were liberal representatives of the Cossack zemstvo and cultural intelligentsia, who, to a certain extent, opposed the officer corps as a military intelligentsia. These were the so-called "autonomists"—advocates of a federal, and typically republican, state structure. In a federal Russian republic, Cossack military regions were to become independent—autonomous quasi-state entities, retaining full sovereignty over their internal affairs (including customs borders with Russia). For the "autonomists," the ideal was the era of military democracy of the Cossack military republics of the 17th century.

A much more radical position was taken by the "samostiyniki" (self-defenders) – supporters of full or partial (within the framework of a confederation) state and political independence for the Cossack lands. They considered the Cossacks an independent people (narodnost), possessing their own language, culture, and political and historical traditions. As a rule, the

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Cossack "samostiyniki" were close to the Ukrainian supporters of independence. Together, they contrasted the Cossacks and "Cossack-Ukrainians" with the "Muscovite-Great Russians." The "samostiyniki" considered the Cossacks and Ukrainians to be representatives of the "South Slavic tribe," while the Russians were representatives of the "North Slavic tribe."

Main part

The so-called "Cossacks" espoused openly separatist views. They consistently fought for the creation of a great Cossack state—"Cossackia"—uniting all of southeastern Russia up to and including the Lower Urals (Yaik). Their adherents took their name from this mythical state. Representatives of this school of thought were close in their views to the Eurasianists and considered the Cossacks a non-Slavic people with a significant proportion of Turkic and Caucasian influences.

Finally, it is necessary to mention the Cossack nationalists who were close to the fascists – supporters of the establishment of Hitler's "new order" in Europe, including in Ukraine and the Cossack regions.

It's important to note an important feature of all White émigré historiography. On the one hand, working far from their homeland, Russian historians abroad were deprived of the opportunity to use documents and materials from the state archives remaining in Soviet Russia.

On the other hand, researchers made extensive use of archives evacuated along with the remnants of the White armies: documents of the White movement, some government agencies, troop and regimental records, including those of the Guards regiments, and, finally, personal archives. It should be noted that Soviet researchers, in turn, were not allowed to use these sources.

In addition, emigrants were free to use European sources, the achievements of Western historians and the materials of their research.

Enjoying far greater ideological freedom than their Soviet colleagues, émigré authors were unfettered by any censorship considerations. At the same time, however, they were themselves largely constrained by stereotypes of the civil war and, if only due to the understandable nostalgia of forced statelessness, tended to idealize the "old regime." Some authors, however, who continued the political struggle against the USSR "to the bitter end," were bound by anti-communist ideology no less, and sometimes even more, than Soviet propagandists.

The Great Russian Revolution of 1917 and the ensuing Civil War became a crucial historical turning point, dividing Russian society, its history, culture, and politics into "before" and "after." This rupture in the social fabric manifested itself not only in time but also in space. The remnants and fragments of "old" Russia were partially physically or morally destroyed

in the fires of the Civil War, but one part of this "old world" survived, whether willingly or unwillingly expelled from the borders of Soviet Russia—into exile.

The mass exodus of members of the privileged classes from Russia following the revolutionary upheavals and the formation of a vast Russian, including Cossack, diaspora abroad have been collectively termed the "first wave of Russian emigration" in Russian historiography. Emigration is a widespread historical phenomenon. However, it was the first wave of Russian emigration that became a unique phenomenon, unparalleled in European history.

First of all, the scale of this phenomenon was extraordinary: according to various estimates, between 700,000 and two million people found themselves outside their homeland. Moreover, the most significant group of emigrants were the Cossacks, who served as the main military force of the White movement. Secondly, the social composition of the Russian refugees was not marginalized, but, on the contrary, representatives of the elite circles of old Russian society, including a significant proportion of the noble aristocracy, the bourgeoisie, the intelligentsia, and the officer corps of the Russian Imperial Army. Thirdly, the high intellectual, cultural, and spiritual level of the Russian elite, their messianic convictions about the need to preserve and "save for posterity" authentic Russian culture – all this contributed to the preservation of the sociocultural identity of the Russian diaspora, preventing the absorption and assimilation of Russian émigrés into the foreign-language cultural environments of their host countries, which ultimately led to the emergence of the cultural phenomenon of the Russian diaspora.

All this applied fully to the Cossacks, who strove especially hard to preserve their independence and distinctiveness. However, unlike the rest of the Russian emigration, the overwhelming majority of which consisted of representatives of the elite and propertied classes, the majority of Cossacks came from the broad masses of ordinary (and not always wealthy) Cossacks. As a result, for the Cossacks, emigration particularly intensified their national sentiment. Ordinary Cossacks perceived it precisely as a national expulsion from their homeland, a kind of national exodus.

The Cossack diaspora that emerged as a result of emigration acquired a truly global character after World War II. Today, descendants of the Cossacks can be found on every continent, with the possible exception of Antarctica. Moreover, those who emigrated were primarily young Cossacks of military age, without women or children. All these circumstances left an indelible mark on the Cossack diaspora. One of the main consequences was the unique historiographic environment that emerged in Cossack communities (stanitsas, unions, and armies)

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abroad. Its distinctive features were a desire to actively study and understand their own history and culture, and a distinct tendency toward the development of a national identity.

The uncertainty of their legal status after the dissolution of Wrangel's army created especially many problems for ordinary Cossacks. One of the main difficulties was the lack of citizenship. Without citizenship, ordinary Cossacks, unlike representatives of the propertied classes of old Russia, could not settle in any European country.

The point was that the migrants' legal and social status was unique. They were stateless refugees, citizens of a state that had ceased to exist. It's no coincidence that the humanitarian problems of Russian refugees forced Europe and the entire international community to consider the issue of refugees and forced displacement for the first time.

To solve the humanitarian and legal problems of Russian emigrants, a special organization for refugee affairs was created under the auspices of the League of Nations. In February 1921, the International Committee of the Red Cross proposed to the Council of the League of Nations to appoint a special commissioner for Russian refugees. This position was filled by the famous polar explorer, humanist and public figure Fridtjof Nansen.

At Nansen's initiative, a special identity card for "stateless persons" was developed for Russian refugees. These cards were called "Nansen passports," and the organizations that issued them, providing humanitarian and legal assistance to refugees, primarily in matters of accommodation and employment, were called

"Nansen organizations." Using Nansen passports and, in particular, charging fees for their issuance, attempts were made in the 1920s to organize a mass resettlement of Cossacks to South America.

The first wave of emigration was highly heterogeneous in its social origins, timing, reasons, and methods of fleeing abroad. Russian prisoners of war from World War I were among those most likely to emigrate involuntarily. The total number of prisoners of war and internees, primarily in German concentration camps, by the end of the war amounted to over a million soldiers and officers. Most of them returned to their homeland after the Bolshevik government signed the Brest-Litovsk Peace Treaty. However, a significant number of former prisoners of war, although not yet precisely established, remained in Germany for various reasons and became emigrants.

Already after February, and especially after October, many representatives of the upper bourgeoisie and the aristocratic nobility began to withdraw their financial assets from Russia, and then the owners of capital themselves sought to relocate abroad – away from the revolutionary upheavals. During this same period, a significant portion of the

creative and scientific elite left Russia. The aristocratic nobility, major capitalists, bankers, industrialists, as well as famous writers, musicians, artists, and scientists – all of whom had previously visited Europe repeatedly for vacation, business trips, and tours – hoped to wait out the turbulent events of the Revolution and the Civil War in Russia abroad.

A significant portion of the forced emigrants and White Guards were interned in annexed territories (Bessarabia, southern Armenia, northern Persia, the Chinese Eastern Railway) or in the border states that had seceded from Soviet Russia (Poland, Finland, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia). A significant portion of the emigration came from national and anti-Bolshevik state formations, which had emerged and rapidly disappeared in the former Russian Empire during the Civil War. Moreover, not only anti-Soviet White forces emigrated, but also frequently socialists, Socialist Revolutionaries, Mensheviks, and anarchists from Soviet government structures. Another source of forced emigration should be noted: the forced expulsion of political opponents and class-alien elements by the Bolshevik government itself. These included Socialist Revolutionaries, Popular Revolutionaries, Mensheviks, journalists, writers, liberal intellectuals, and professors. For example, in 1922, at the initiative of V. I. Lenin, Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission (VChK) carried out an operation to expel more than one hundred representatives of scientific and social thought from the country on the so-called "Philosophers' Ship." One must also remember another type of emigration: "economic" refugees from among ordinary citizens—city dwellers, peasants, and rank-and-file Cossacks—who were fleeing famine, epidemics, economic devastation, the policies of War Communism, and the Red and White Terror.

The most massive exodus of Russian émigrés from the country was associated with the defeat of the Whites in the Civil War. In the final stages of the war, most of the avowed opponents of Soviet power ended up in Crimea, from where they fled to Constantinople (Istanbul) along with the remnants of the White armies. Most of those evacuated from Crimea were Cossacks, soldiers, and officers of Wrangel's forces.

The social and class composition of the emigrants was quite heterogeneous. Among the Russian diaspora, one could find workers, peasants, soldiers and officers of the old army, the bourgeoisie, the aristocracy, the clergy, officials, and the intelligentsia—in other words, representatives of almost all social strata and classes of "old Russia." One of the most numerous refugee groups was the Cossacks.

The financial situation of the émigrés was also extremely varied. The overwhelming majority of soldiers, officers, and Cossacks left Russia penniless. Initially, émigré and international humanitarian

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charities took on the task of providing them with the bare minimum of sustenance: Zemgor, the Russian and International Red Cross, the League of Nations, and American and European charities. The financial situation of most members of the émigré intelligentsia was also extremely precarious. However, civilian refugees, members of the White governments, and especially representatives of the bourgeoisie and big business managed to take significant material assets out of Russia, which allowed them to settle quite comfortably in Paris, London, or Berlin.

What united all layers of the Russian emigration was a high level of culture and education: almost all refugees were literate and had a primary education, two-thirds of the emigrants had a secondary education, and every seventh had a higher education (university).

A key characteristic of the first wave of emigration was the overwhelming predominance of young men of draft age in both gender and age, with a small number of women, children, and the elderly. This was explained by the military nature of the evacuation from Crimea, with the ships primarily loading military and Cossack units of the White Army, followed by the remaining refugees.

The main center of Russian emigration initially became Constantinople (Istanbul), which, after Turkey's defeat in World War I, was occupied by the Entente powers. Units of Wrangel's army evacuated from Crimea were housed by the Allies in several camps, where they lived in semi-starvation and suffered from epidemics. The Volunteer Corps was stationed in Gallipoli, the Don Cossacks in the camps of Chataldzhı, Chilingir, and Kabakzhda, and the Kuban Cossacks on the island of Lemnos. The Entente powers initially hoped to use these forces to organize a new intervention against Soviet Russia.

However, Soviet power in Russia remained firmly established. Moreover, at an international conference in Genoa in 1922, Soviet diplomacy succeeded in securing a resolution to disband the White Guard armed formations. In this situation, having abandoned their plans for a "crusade against communism," the European powers quickly lost interest in Baron Wrangel and "his" army. Material aid ceased almost entirely, and officers and Cossacks began to flee their camps in various ways and disperse across Europe.

While disbanding the army, Wrangel created the Russian All-Military Union (ROVS), which united former soldiers, Cossacks, and officers of the White Army. The ROVS kept track of the White movement's "mobilization resources," organized the struggle against the USSR abroad, and hoped for a swift intervention against the Bolsheviks with the support of anti-Soviet forces in the West.

Civilian refugees initially settled in Constantinople itself, which for several years became a "Russian city," and only Russian was heard on the

Pera embankment. After the end of the Allied occupation of Constantinople and the rise of the Kemalists to power, the Russian colony in Turkey rapidly declined. Most of the refugees, who had the means and obtained Nansen passports, left for various European countries. Another way for ordinary soldiers and Cossacks to leave Turkey was by signing contracts with the ministries of labor of several European countries for agricultural work or heavy labor in mines and saltworks.

Many officers and rank-and-file Cossacks were recruited for mercenary military service in the colonies with the French Foreign Legion. After serving under a five-year contract, mercenaries received the right to reside in France and a number of employment benefits. Specifically, in 1926, when the first five-year contract expired for Cossacks who had enlisted in the Foreign Legion upon their arrival in concentration camps in Turkey in 1921, the Cossack Union informed the Cossack legionnaires, who were "worried about how to obtain the necessary documents, how to move to France, and find work here," that "they had no reason to worry, since that summer the French Minister of War had issued an order requiring all returning legionnaires wishing to move to France to be provided with documents and transported free of charge to Marseille, from where the Marseille branch of the Ministry of Labor would itself arrange employment for former legionnaires." In this way, many Cossacks ended up in the colonies of France, and then moved to the metropolis, where they took a very active part in the cultural life of the Russian emigration of the interwar period.

Thus, during the interwar years, Paris became the main center of emigration, a kind of "capital" of the Russian diaspora. France boasted the largest Russian diaspora, and many Cossacks subsequently moved there. Numerous émigré organizations, from a Russian drivers' union to the headquarters of political parties, were based in Paris. Various Russian publishing houses, scientific, educational, and cultural centers operated there. Russian schools, gymnasiums, and even a Russian department at a university operated there. Numerous Russian newspapers and magazines were published. Naturally, the Cossack movement also flourished most actively in this "intellectual capital" of the Russian diaspora.

Large Russian and Cossack diasporas formed in Berlin, Belgrade, Sofia, Prague, London, Harbin, and New York. Especially large numbers of Cossacks initially settled in the fraternal Slavic countries of Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, as well as Czechoslovakia and, to some extent, Poland. The language barrier was less acute here. Unlike officers, nobles, and other "gentry" who, even in Russia, spoke at least French, and often several European languages, ordinary Cossacks had little knowledge of foreign languages.

Moreover, the Cossacks were traditionally distinguished by a reverent attitude toward

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Orthodoxy, which had historically served as a rallying point for Cossack communities surrounded by "foreign and heterodox" faiths on the far fringes of the empire. Therefore, Orthodox Serbs—their "brothers"—were seen as preferable neighbors and employers to the Cossacks. This circumstance, again, distinguished the Cossacks from the cosmopolitan portion of the "noble" Russian émigré community. This explains the presence of a large Cossack diaspora in Greece and other Orthodox countries during the interwar period.

Most of the Cossacks from the Asian Russian Host ended up in China. There, Harbin, located on the Chinese Eastern Railway (CER), initially became the "capital" of the Far Eastern Cossack diaspora. For a time, the railway remained a unique, semi-colonial island of the Russian world.

During the interwar years, four main currents emerged in the émigré community. First and foremost were the so-called "activists"—implacable enemies of Soviet power who believed in waging any kind of struggle against Soviet Russia, including armed and terrorist ones. This current eventually led its adherents to the fascist bloc during World War II and, ultimately, to the dock. Among the activist leaders, it's worth mentioning such well-known Cossack figures as Ataman P.N. Krasnov and A.G. Shkuro, who not only actively collaborated with the Nazis but also took a direct part in organizing Cossack units within the Wehrmacht to wage war against the USSR. Krasnov's catchy slogan is well-known: "Even with the devil, but against the Bolsheviks."

The second group of émigrés were the White Patriots of Russia, who, even in exile, strove to preserve Russian culture and support their homeland to the best of their ability, despite political differences. The recognized leader of these patriots was Anton Ivanovich Denikin, who, with the outbreak of the Great Patriotic War, called on émigrés to support their homeland in its struggle for independence and freedom against German Nazism. Many émigrés became active participants in the Resistance movement in Europe, and many fought in the armies of the USSR's Western allies in the anti-Hitler coalition.

The third group of émigrés fell under the influence of Soviet agitation and propaganda and decided to repatriate—return to Soviet Russia under the amnesty declared by the USSR for former participants in the Civil War. Many voluntarily collaborated with Soviet foreign intelligence agencies during World War II, which allowed the USSR's intelligence services to quickly establish an effective intelligence network in Europe.

The fourth direction of the evolution of Russian emigration (mainly representatives of the propertied classes) was associated with active assimilation in a foreign-language environment, in the deliberate oblivion and rejection of their national culture.

World War II created an irreconcilable rift within the Russian émigré community. The Nazi occupation of France put an end to the development of the main ideological and cultural center of the Russian diaspora. According to most modern researchers, the end of the war also marked the end of the history of the first wave of Russian émigrés as a coherent historical phenomenon of the interwar period. After World War II, Russian émigrés of the first wave found themselves in the United States and Canada, Mexico, Latin America, Southeast Asia, Australia, Africa... Traces of this "dispersion" can be found on virtually every continent.

Although the Cossack diaspora developed in the general vein of the first wave of Russian emigration, in many ways its evolution took its own unique path, the main distinguishing feature of which was the desire to preserve and reproduce their traditional Cossack culture in a foreign-language environment. This circumstance determined the particular relevance of "independent" historiography, its demand among ordinary Cossacks at the grassroots level, which was reflected in the extensive activity of Cossack periodicals, not only in the interwar period but also after the end of World War II.

The overwhelming majority of foreign periodicals published by the Cossack diaspora, and especially the numerous newspapers and magazines published as manuscripts, mimeographed, or by other home-made methods, were not included in the collections of even leading European libraries and were not mentioned in such a fundamental bibliographical publication as "Russian Emigration in Europe: A Union Catalog of Periodicals in Russian," published in two volumes in Paris in 1976–1977 by the French Institute of Slavic Studies. Therefore, below we will examine the issue of Cossack émigré periodicals in more detail. This is primarily due to the fact that, given the difficult financial conditions of the Cossack diaspora, it was the periodical press that became the primary informational vehicle for the development of independent Cossack historiography throughout most of the 20th century.

After the final defeat of the White movement in Crimea, a huge number of Cossacks, and above all the overwhelming majority of the educated, intellectual Cossack elite, found themselves in exile. However, unlike the majority of the rest of the Russian émigré community, which rapidly dispersed or disintegrated and became marginalized, Cossack groups maintained unity, cohesion, and traditional Cossack organization and self-government. Moreover, this phenomenon was observed not only on Lemnos and later in agricultural work in Yugoslavia, but even in factories in France, where "it unexpectedly turned out that Cossack groups, having preserved a paramilitary organization, discipline, and autocracy in exile, were in high demand on the French labor market" and were able to successfully compete with native Frenchmen.

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Even in foreign lands, the Cossacks persistently strove to preserve their identity, distinctiveness, and unique Cossack mentality. S.S. Ippolitov confirms this in his research: "Cossack groups who resettled in France and found permanent employment often established settlements—Cossack stanitsas—where they lived isolated from the rest of society according to the traditions and laws ingrained in their homeland. The stanitsas maintained formal subordination to the military atamans, requesting their approval for all important decisions made at general Cossack assemblies. Such isolated Russian settlements developed their own distinct cultural environment, very little subject to outside influence. Orthodox churches and Russian schools, both general and parochial, were built, and 'museums of military glory' were established to house regimental banners and other relics, and so on." Finding themselves in exile, far from their homeland, after the lost Civil War, the Cossacks and especially the Cossack intelligentsia begin searching for their national roots, making attempts to understand their cultural identity and independence.

In this wave, specifically Cossack émigré organizations emerged, beginning to study Cossack history and culture. The first Cossack organizations in exile emerged immediately after the evacuation from Crimea (November 13–16, 1920). Even before this, on January 1, 1921, the "Union of Southeastern Cossacks" was formed abroad, headed by the "United Council of the Don, Kuban, and Terek," which included the atamans of these troops and the chairmen of the military governments. These were: "Don Ataman, Lieutenant-General Bogaevsky; Kuban Ataman, Major-General V. Naumenko; Terek Ataman, Lieutenant-General G. Vdovenko; Chairman of the Don Government N. Melnikov; Chairman of the Kuban Government, Lieutenant-General S. Toporkov; and Chairman of the Terek Government E. Bukanovsky." On this basis, one of the first and most representative Cossack emigrant organizations later emerged – the "Cossack Union", created with the participation of the "United Council".

On August 7, 1924, the "Congress of Cossack Organizations in France" was held in Paris. It considered "the applications and resolutions received from villages, hamlets, and groups regarding their desire to join the Cossack Union, and hereby, in accordance with Note 1 to Article 2 of the Charter," declared the list of Cossack organizations that had joined the Union registered. It united Cossacks from all twelve former Cossack hosts of the Russian Empire, then in exile in European countries. Later, connections were also established with the Far Eastern Cossack emigration in China (Harbin). The Cossack Union united Cossacks on a common patriotic basis and, from its very inception, engaged in heated debate with nationalist Cossacks and personally with their leader, Ataman P.N. Krasnov, whose position will be

discussed separately below.

The program of the Cossack Union included nine basic principles. They were formulated in the Bulletin of the Cossack Union as follows:

"1. The Cossack lands are an integral part of the Russian State.

2. Ensuring the continued existence of the Cossacks.

3. Restoration of the importance of the Cossacks and the old borders of the Cossack Hosts in the future Russia.

4. The broadest self-government of the Cossack regions within Great Russia: the Military Circle (Rada), as a legislative body for local affairs; the Military Ataman elected by the Military Circle (Rada) from among the Cossacks; responsibility to the Circle (Rada) of local authorities.

5. Inviolability of Cossack lands, mineral resources, forests and lands.

6. The form of government in Russia is that which the Russian people themselves freely establish.

7. The master of Russia is its people, and the future governance of the country must be built on the principles of democracy.

8. Formal consolidation of the actual transfer of land to farmers through property rights.

9. "Restoration of the national economy and the rise of the country's productive forces on the basis of private property and private economic initiative." The full Program of the "Cossack Union" was adopted at a congress in Paris, initially included in the Cossack Union Summary No. 1 for 1925 as a manuscript and then republished in 1926. The organization's charter was also published there. In its very first paragraph, the Charter declared that "the 'COSSACK UNION' is established for mutual support, for the preservation of Cossack unity and the historically established way of life and traditions of the Cossacks, for the consolidation of the rights of the Cossacks in the future development of Russia, as well as for the development and preparation for the resolution of fundamental issues in the life of their lands, which will inevitably arise upon their return to their homeland." In addition to the general program, the Cossack Union adhered to two key tactical principles in its policy. The first of these: "All activities of the Cossack Union must be conducted in the spirit of the bright precepts of free Cossackdom and must be based on the constitutions of the Cossack Hosts, which so vividly reflect the best traditions of the Cossacks," and the second: "The elected Atamans are with us, and we are with them. The Host Atamans, who received their powers from our fathers and brothers and ourselves and are obligated to remain in their posts until the Host Circle and Rada relieve them, electing their legitimate successors, are for us symbols of Cossack unity and bearers of the traditions of a glorious past—and the Cossack Union considers it the duty of every member

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of the Union to support the elected Host Atamans in exile." In this way, the Cossack Union asserted its legitimacy and continuity from the Cossack host republics of the Civil War.

In the area of practical activity, the Cossack Union provided all kinds of assistance and support to ordinary Cossacks, officers, the disabled, young Cossack students, female Cossacks, the unemployed, Cossack villages newly arriving in France, and individual Cossack emigrants. The Union cared about Cossack education and the preservation of Cossack history and culture. It took on the transfer of money to Cossacks' relatives in the USSR, helped in the search for relatives and friends, and assisted Cossacks "in deregistering their families from Russia." It organized the transportation of Cossacks to France for work. In Paris, it carried out assignments from Union members living in the provinces. The Union promised "labor assistance to the healthy... legal assistance to the disabled." It assisted in placing sick Cossacks in hospitals and sanatoriums. It organized, with the help of its emigrant doctors, free medical care for Cossacks in need. It sent Cossack children to "summer children's colonies." Assisted adult, employed and unemployed Cossacks in enrolling in evening courses at the Russian People's University in Paris and in correspondence courses. Helped its members obtain discounts, installments and loans for education, acquisition or long-term lease of real estate (housing, rural farms) in France. Was engaged in the organization of library and archival work in emigration. The Union provided constant informational assistance to emigrants who wanted to go with the purpose of creating Cossack agricultural colonies in America and other parts of the world. At the same time, the Cossack Union collected all available information about the Cossack emigrants, countries and places of their settlement. Maintained an address desk. Collected information and reported the requested information about all cases of injury and death of Cossacks in foreign lands. Finally, a special "Funeral Fund" was established under the Union to provide last aid to Cossacks who died without means, far from their homeland and family. Thus, the Cossack Union was, first of all, not a political, but a social, charitable and cultural-educational organization. A kind of Cossack international and trade union, which replaced and also filled in the social rights and guarantees that the Cossack emigrants (as stateless persons with "Nansen passports") lacked.

According to paragraph 2 of the Charter of the "Cossack Union", members of the Cossack Union could be Cossack public organizations - "villages, farmsteads and groups", as well as "individual Cossacks and Cossack women of all troops". According to the charter (paragraph 3), the Cossack Union carried out its activities with funds received from donations and loans from government, public and private institutions and individuals, as well as

from collections from concerts, lectures and other receipts.

Most of the Union's Cossack organizations were located in France, its colonies, and the "mandate territories" France received under a League of Nations mandate after World War I. These were:

- 1) Don Cossack, named after Ataman A. M. Kaledin, village in France;
- 2) Society for Mutual Aid of Students – Don Cossacks in France;
- 3) General Cossack village in Le Creusot;
- 4) Society of Sophian Cossacks;
- 5) Cossack farm in Chalons;
- 6) Cossack village "Donets";
- 7) A group of Don, Kuban and Terek Cossacks in Montargis;
- 8) Uryupinsk group;
- 9) General Cossack village in Vichy;
- 10) Cossack group in Yuzhin;
- 11) Dzungarian village in Nantes;
- 12) Cossack labor group in Montbrison;
- 13) Cossack group in Belfort;
- 14) Cossack group in Montreuil;
- 15) Cossack group in Sans;
- 16) Gundorovskaya group;
- 17) General Cossack farm in Marseille;
- 18) A group of Don, Kuban and Terek people in Kolombel;
- 19) Cossack group in Marsiya;
- 20) Cossack group in Zhven;
- 21) General Cossack group in Omekur;
- 22) Don Cossacks Cooperative in Paris;
- 23) Kuban-Finnish village;
- 24) Stanitsa Dobrovodskaya;
- 25) Moroccan Group;
- 26) Tunisian Group;
- 27) Syrian Group;
- 28) Beirut Group;
- 29) "Cossack Help";
- 30) Delegation of the United Council of the Don, Kuban and Terek;
- 31) V. St. Kamennov's group.

In total, 31 Cossack organizations were part of the Cossack Union in France and its colonies.

In second place, in terms of the number of registered Cossack organizations was Bulgaria. Here were located:

- 1) Stanitsa Sofiyskaya;
- 2) All-Cossack Stanitsa Ust-Lomskaya;
- 3) Stanitsa B. Selemiyskaya;
- 4) 1st Kuban Stanitsa (in Sarambey);
- 5) Kuban group in S. Zagora;
- 6) 3rd Kuban group (in Haskovo);
- 7) Stanitsa Varnenskaya;
- 8) Khutor Atamansky;
- 9) Khutor Sergievsky;
- 10) Rakitinskaya Group;
- 11) A group of Don, Kuban and Terek Cossacks and other residents of the Cossack regions in

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Somovite;

12) Sliven Cossack group.

In total, 12 Cossack organizations were part of the Cossack Union in Bulgaria.

In third place was Serbia (Yugoslavia). The following were registered here: 1) Esaulov Stanitsa; 2) Verkhne-Kurmoyarskaya Stanitsa; 3) Vranskaya All-Cossack Stanitsa; 4) Saraevskaya All-Cossack Stanitsa; 5) Kragujevac Stanitsa; 6) Kubanskaya Stanitsa named after Koshevoy Ataman Sidor [Bely]; 7) Belotserkovskaya Stanitsa; 8) Kalmyk group in Belgrade; 9) Group in Igalo; 10) Bilech group; 11) Asian Cossack Stanitsa in the Kingdom of the S.H.S. (from the Cossacks of the Yenisei, Siberian, Ussuri, Orenburg, Semirechye, Ural, Amur and Transbaikalian Cossack Hosts). A total of 11 Cossack organizations were part of the Cossack Union in Yugoslavia.

Czechoslovakia was in fourth place in terms of the number of organizations registered in the Cossack Union. The following were located here:

- 1) Moravian-Ostrov Group;
- 2) Medzhilabor Group;
- 3) Zheleznobrod Group;
- 4) Tonvald Group;
- 5) Kuznetsov Group;
- 6) Prague Group.

In total, 6 Cossack organizations were part of the Cossack Union in Czechoslovakia.

In fifth place was Romania, where four Cossack organizations were registered:

- 1) Zhurzhevskaya Group;
- 2) Oknik Group;
- 3) Galatskaya Group;
- 4) Boykovskaya Group.

In total, 4 Cossack organizations were part of the Cossack Union in Romania.

In sixth place was Poland, where there were two Cossack organizations:

- 1) Stanitsa Kaledinskaya;
- 2) "Group of Farmers" (Don, Kuban, Terek, Ural and Orenburg Cossacks).

In addition, one Cossack organization was registered by the Cossack Union in Germany and Hungary, both former enemies of Russia in World War I. In Germany, it was the Mainz Group, and in Hungary,

"Hungarian Cossack Village." Thus, the Organizational Bureau stated, the Cossack Union came into being as a group of 68 organizations located in eight countries where Cossacks settled, comprising all 12 Cossack Hosts.

Later, as the Cossack movement in exile developed, this list expanded significantly and continued to grow along with the expansion of the Cossack diaspora worldwide. In particular, in 1926, Cossack émigrés in China joined the Union, forming the "Eastern Cossack Union" in Harbin and the "Cossack Union in Shanghai." Furthermore, the network of Cossack public organizations in Europe

expanded. New organizations joined the Union in several European countries.

In France:

- 1) Cossack group in Joinville;
- 2) Kuban village "Vernaya" (Decaseville);
- 3) General Cossack group in Tamoriska;
- 4) Group in Levallois;
- 5) Cossack group in Deixin;
- 6) Cossack group in Grignon;
- 7) Cossack group in Granville.

In Bulgaria:

- 1) Rhodope Cossack group;
- 2) Cossack group in Dragomirovo;
- 3) Cossack Students' Union (Cave);
- 4) Don group in Haskovo;
- 5) Don Kaledinskaya village in Gorno-

Orehovitsa;

- 6) Chernyshevsky farm;
- 7) Buzuluk farm;
- 8) Don Zyungarskaya village in Plovdiv.
- 9) Novo-Zagorskaya stanitsa;
- 10) Don group in Novoseltsy;
- 11) Viddinskaya Donskaya stanitsa named after

A. M. Kaledin.

In Yugoslavia (Serbia):

- 1) Stanitsa Chupriyskaya;
- 2) Khutor Debeljachsky.

The Cossack organizations "Cossack farm in the village of Shchuki" and "Cossack group in Kalisz" have registered in Poland.

Subsequently, individual Cossack organizations ceased to exist or moved en masse to other countries (for example, from Bulgaria to France). The defunct stanitsas, in turn, were replaced by new ones, which formed and joined the Cossack Union. If we characterize this organization and its publications as a whole, we find that it was primarily comprised of moderate forces, avoiding extreme political positions and uniting Cossacks without any explicit political preferences. Historiographically, we find here primarily White patriots, supporters of the "Unified Indivisibility" movement, and autonomists.

Another trend emerged, that of the separatists and Cossack nationalists. Many Cossacks, who dreamed of re-establishing an "independent" Cossack state, followed Krasnov and Shkuro. The unifying idea of the Cossack nationalists became the project of "Kazakia"—a sovereign Cossack country uniting all Cossack military lands from Kuban to the Urals. Therefore, Cossacks of this trend were called "Cossacks." Their main publication was the literary, historical, and informational journal "Kazakia," whose editorial office was located in Bratislava, Czechoslovakia. Its initial editors were I. I. Kolesov, S. B. Balykov, and I. I. Bezuglov, and the publisher was "Obschekazachya Stanitsa na Slovaki." "

Later, the journal was published under the triple title "Kazakia-Kozakia-Kosakia" in Sofia, Bulgaria, edited by S. Balykov, G. Eremenko, and F.

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Obolensky. It was then published again in Prague, Czechoslovakia, under the title "Kazakia-Kozakia-Kozakia," edited by I. I. Kolesov, G. L. Eremenko, and V. G. Glazkov.

After the "Munich" partition of the country and the onset of the German occupation, the magazine "found itself" in "independent Slovakia," where it again changed its name to "Kazakia-Kozacko," with I. I. Bezuglov and S. B. Balykov once again heading the editorial board. At this time, the magazine positioned itself as follows: "Kazakia is the only, truly Cossack, independent organ of national thought. All sincere and conscious Cossack nationalists are obliged to support "Kazakia." The presence of a national movement's own independent press organ is the first sign of an awakened national consciousness, and self-awareness is the main argument in favor of national freedom."

In the post-war years, publication of the magazine continued in Munich, Germany. There, it was published under the title "Kazakia-Cossackia-Kosakenland" and positioned itself as a "journal of Cossack national liberation thought." The publisher was listed as the "Supreme Cossack Representation Abroad." The editor during this period was P. Polyakov.

Among the nationalist Cossack journals and newspapers, in addition to the aforementioned "Kazakia," it's worth mentioning "Unity and Independence," a newspaper of nationalist Cossacks from the "Society of Cossack Zealots in Paris." In the same context, the Kalmyk historical, political, and literary informational journal "Kovylnye Volny" (Feather Waves) was published—the official organ of the Kalmyk national organization "Khalmak Tangachin Tuk." The journal proclaimed that it served to defend the idea of Cossack state independence, conceiving of the Kalmyk people as an autonomous part of the Cossack state—Kazakia—and working closely with the Union of Cossack Nationalists. The journal's editors were S. V. Balykov and Sh. N. Balinov.

It's worth recalling here that the Kalmyks fought on the White side during the Civil War and the "independence" of the Cossack military republics. They achieved recognition of their Cossack status and were accepted into the Don and Astrakhan Cossack Hosts as full Cossacks. This was all the more natural since for several centuries, the Kalmyks, along with the Bashkirs and Tatars, had consistently been part of the Cossack irregular forces, as an integral part of them. They participated in almost all the wars of the Russian Empire and in 1917, they joined the Cossacks in "the same path."

The "national" or, in today's language, ethnic Cossacks stood apart from the nationalists. They tried by all means to preserve the traditional Cossack national culture, including its equestrian component, in a foreign land. For example, in 1925, there were performances of dzhigitovka in France at the Buffalo

stadium and in Paris itself on the Champ de Mars. The Cossacks were a great success at both venues. After that, the Cossacks went on tour in France and England. The foreign press and Cossack émigré publications wrote a lot about these triumphant tours of the Cossack dzhigits. For example, the Cossack Union reported such an interesting fact for the history of women's fashion: "The Cossack dzhigits, who enjoyed great success in England, then staged dzhigitovkas in Ireland, now they have moved to Scotland, and since November 19, in London. The Cossacks brought a new fashion to England: a lot of young ladies and women now flaunt high patent leather boots." Then some of the Cossacks went to the USA. They joined circus trick riding groups, were filmed as stuntmen in Hollywood, staged horse stunts in classic westerns, played "Indians". Subsequently, Cossack trick riding groups acquired well-deserved world fame and traveled to almost all continents of the globe.

Cossack dance and song ensembles, choirs and stunt troupes enjoyed no less success. The above-cited article also reported that "Two Kuban choirs continue to give successful concerts in America. The famous Donskoy Gundorovsky Choir, which performed with great success in England, where the choir was invited to the royal palace, is coming to Paris from Germany in early January." It was thanks to emigration that Cossack songs and dances became one of the recognized "calling cards" of Russian culture in the minds of Europeans and Americans.

Other Cossacks went to Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay or Uruguay, where they tried to establish traditional Cossack villages and engage in agriculture and cattle breeding in the pampas, just as they had done in the Zadonsk and Ciscaucasian steppes. For example, almost the entire issue of the magazine "Cossack Union" for December 1925 - January 1926 was devoted to the consideration of issues of organizing a traditional agricultural Cossack economy in emigration. In particular, the magazine informed the Cossacks about the possibilities of acquiring land plots and estates with houses in France on mortgage terms and explained what this was using the example of the pre-revolutionary activities of the Peasant Land Bank in Tsarist Russia. It offered mediation in the lease of French farms on terms of cash payment or "from half the harvest." The magazine described in detail the possibilities and prospects of Cossack agrarian colonization in South America under the auspices of the League of Nations. And in issues No. 5–6 for 1926, the Bulletin of the Cossack Union published extensive materials on the prospects for Cossack colonization not only in South America, but also in the English overseas colonies – Canada and New Zealand.

One of the colonization projects envisaged the relocation of Cossacks and the founding of an agricultural colony in Paraguay. It was intended to transport 500 Cossack families, comprising 2,000

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people, there. Each family was required to contribute a capital of 270 pounds sterling, which included the cost of relocation (48 pounds), the acquisition of 25 hectares of suitable land (50 pounds), the construction of a fence around the plot (40 pounds), the acquisition of agricultural implements and other tools (25 pounds), the acquisition of livestock, draft horses, and oxen (25 pounds), the construction of a homestead—a residential building and outbuildings (15 pounds), and a food supply until the first harvest (55 pounds).

By obtaining a mortgage to purchase land and start a farm (subject to the borrower's death or disability insurance provided by the bank), the required amount could be reduced to a minimum of £123 per family. The loan was issued for 10 years, with a maximum payment deferment of five years.

In the same issue of the magazine, the Cossack Union consulted the Cossacks on how to send funds to Soviet Russia, how to register their closest relatives in France (according to French laws with the help of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs). The French Ministry of Foreign Affairs considered such relatives to be wives, husbands, parents, children and grandchildren. It should be said that many Cossacks actually went to Latin America, where they not only worked in the economy, but also actively participated as combatants in local regional and civil wars of the 20th century. However, the Cossacks failed to create a truly viable purely Cossack agrarian colony in the turbulent Latin American conditions.

An important aspect of Cossack cultural life in exile was the creation of libraries and archives. Cossacks established their own thematic public libraries within Cossack organizations and collected books on Cossack history and culture, Cossack newspapers and magazines, programmatic and other documents, and other materials. For example, within the Cossack Union, such activities began in 1926.

The article "Gift," published in issue 3 of the Cossack Union Bulletin, reported the following: "On the advice of Don Ataman A. P. Bogaevesky, in order to lay the foundation for libraries in the villages, hamlets, and groups that are part of the Cossack Union, and to enable the Cossacks to more easily become acquainted with Cossack history, the Board of the Cossack Union, taking advantage of the kindness and devotion to the Cossack cause on the part of the Don Historical Commission, entered into an agreement with the Commission and together decided to make a gift to the Cossacks: to send to each village, hamlet, and group free of charge "The Don Chronicle," volumes one, two, and three, "Russia and the Don" by S. G. Svatikov, and "The Cossacks in Chataldzha and on Lemnos." In France, China, Romania, Hungary, and Germany, the books will be sent directly to the Provisional Government. In Bulgaria, by the Chairman of the Cossack Union in Bulgaria, I.K. Zenkov; in Czechoslovakia and Poland, by member of the Don Historical Commission, P.A.

Skachkov; and in Serbia, by G.P. Shpilev. Recipients of books will be required to pay only shipping costs—at actual value. Furthermore, a public library operated at the Union's headquarters in Paris, initially holding approximately seven hundred books. A reading room was also opened, where visitors could consult, free of charge, both the latest Russian newspapers published abroad and Soviet periodicals from the USSR.

For individual Cossacks living outside Paris, a mail-order library subscription was organized. Subscribers paid a one-time deposit of 14 French francs and an annual fee of 12 francs. In exchange, they received a library catalog by mail and could order books from the collection (on the principle of one book sent back, one book received). A mobile library was available to Cossack public organizations, consisting of a special box (railway container) holding 50 books (classics, history, memoirs, fiction), shipped by rail under the responsibility of the receiving Cossack organizations. The local Cossack Stanitsa (stanitsa) collected a deposit of 100 francs, paid a monthly rent of 75 francs, and received the library box. After sending it back to France, they could order the next set of 50 books, and so on. At the same time, the Cossack Union set an indispensable condition: "if there are other Russians in the area besides Cossacks, books should be given to them for reading under the same conditions." Thus, the Cossack diaspora did everything possible to preserve and disseminate traditional Russian and Cossack culture among ordinary Cossacks.

Cossack organizations also promoted the education of ordinary Cossacks, not only through the distribution of literature but also through organized training. Cossacks mastered both technical specialties, which would enhance their competitiveness in the labor market, and humanities, including teaching. In the same issue of the magazine, the Cossack Union informed Cossacks about which and where in-person and distance learning courses were available for ordinary Cossacks. The Union recommended the Cossacks:

"Our forced stay abroad must be utilized; this time must be spent with the greatest benefit for ourselves and for the Motherland; in particular, everyone who can must learn some kind of trade, acquire practical knowledge that could help them settle better and earn more abroad, and which would later be useful back home."

The magazine went on to report on what had already been done to address this issue. In their abandoned homeland, the Cossack's primary companion, both in war and in peacetime, was the horse. But upon arriving in Europe and America, the Cossacks found themselves confronted with the full force of industrialization in the West. In these new circumstances, the Cossacks began actively mastering new means of production. Automobile and tractor skills proved particularly in demand. Therefore,

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"Military Atamans and Governments, correctly recognizing this need, came to the aid of the Cossacks from the very beginning and opened special courses, which many hundreds of Cossacks attended. The Don Government's automobile and tractor courses were opened in Sofia, the same government's tractor courses in Yambol, the Terek Government's tractor courses in Sofia, the Kuban automobile and tractor courses in Belgrade, and the Don Government's automobile courses in Zagreb."

In addition to technical education, traditional Cossack crafts and trades (shoemaking, furriery, saddling, etc.) also developed in the emigration, including handicrafts for Cossack women, as well as a classical liberal arts education for Cossack children and youth. An important area of activity for Cossack organizations was the establishment of scholarships to assist Cossacks in studying at non-Cossack educational institutions. In particular, "numerous shoemaking and carpentry courses of the Don Government in Bulgaria, as well as its cutting and sewing courses, were organized." Furthermore, "Not limiting themselves to organizing their own courses, the Don Ataman and the Government established several hundred scholarships for Cossack children in Bulgaria, in Russian gymnasiums, and a large number of scholarships for commercial and electrical engineering courses of other organizations."

In addition, the Cossack Union helped Cossacks to get a commercial education (evening department) at the Russian People's University in Paris, and free of charge (in absentia) at the "Russian Correspondence Courses of Teaching" organized by the charitable "American Christian Union of Young People". To do this, the Cossack Union sent its members training programs, provided a discount on tuition fees from 10 to 20% at the expense of the Union and helped pay the remaining amount in installments. Thus, working Cossacks could, without interrupting their work, study foreign languages (English, French, German), metalworking and turning, electrical engineering, auto mechanics, mechanics, mechanical engineering, heat engineering, hydraulics, aerodynamics, architecture and construction, communications, commerce (economics), agronomy (the basics of agriculture and organization of agriculture, gardening, berry plants, poultry and beekeeping, agricultural machinery and tools, peat business, and, finally, receive a religious-philosophical and general education.

In exile, there were various Cossack student organizations that united both student Cossacks and those who had already graduated from specialized secondary and higher educational institutions. Such Cossack student organizations maintained close ties with general Cossack and military associations - stanitsas, troops, farmsteads, etc. They helped the Cossack youth to get acquainted with the traditional Cossack culture, with the history of the Cossacks in the conditions of exile and education in foreign-

language educational institutions. Thus, as of 1931, the "Paris Student Cossack Stanitsa" operated in France. In Yugoslavia - the "Belgrade General Cossack Student Stanitsa" and the "General Cossack Student Farm in Zagreb". In Czechoslovakia - the "General Cossack Stanitsa of Higher Education Graduates and the Student in the Czechoslovak Republic", with which the "Brno Farmstead" also existed in Brno. In Bulgaria, the "Student Farm" of 57 people was part of the "Sofia Cossack Village".

In Paris, under the auspices of the Cossack Union, the publication of a Cossack student magazine was organized. At first, the magazine was published under a bilingual title: "Stanitsa: organ de la Stanitsa des Étudiants-Cosaques de Paris: Stanitsa: organ of the Parisian Student Cossack Stanitsa". Later, from 1933, the magazine was published with an abbreviated title, only the "Stanitsa" logo was placed on the cover, and all the output data was given in French: "Stanitsa. Trimestriel. Organe de la Stanitsa des Étudiants-Cosaques de Paris".

Introducing the new magazine to readers, the editors included a preface in its first issue, briefly but clearly and frankly outlining their "White Patriotic," conservative position and commitment to the principles of the Cossack Union. "In releasing the first issue of our magazine, the editors consider it their duty to address our first greeting to our leaders—the Host Atamans, living symbols of Cossack unity—and to declare our readiness to support them to the best of our ability. Our second greeting and call upon young Cossack students is to support our 'Stanitsa' and help it objectively illuminate the living and working conditions of Cossack students in various countries abroad. We also send greetings to our elder Cossack brothers and, hoping for their indulgence in our first printed word, we count on their kind advice and assistance in publishing subsequent issues of 'Stanitsa'." Naturally, this position found the full approval of the Don Ataman, Lieutenant General A. Bogaevsky. Here are the lines he wrote in his response in the same issue of the magazine: "I greet the 'Stanitsa' and sincerely wish it success. May it be an expression of those kind feelings of brotherhood and mutual support that unite the Parisian student stanitsa! Good luck!"

The magazine introduced Cossack students to the cultural life of their comrades in various countries, the latest news about Cossack emigration, and published various information of interest to its target audience. Among other things, the magazine reported on where and how to obtain higher and specialized education, the requirements and procedures for obtaining the appropriate diploma, how to avail themselves of assistance from Cossack and other émigré organizations, and other similar information. Naturally, much of the material published in the magazine was devoted to the history and culture of the Cossacks. In issues 4 and 5, the magazine published

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an article, "Russian Schools in France," introducing its readers to higher and secondary specialized educational institutions offering education in Russian and providing a brief description of the conditions, costs, and programs of study.

The author of the article, engineer P. Nikanorov, expertly described the following higher education institutions: the Russian Higher Technical Institute; the Russian Commercial Institute; the Franco-Russian Institute; the Higher Military Scientific Courses; the Higher Military Technical Courses; the Russian Orthodox Theological Institute; the Russian Conservatory named after S. V. Rachmaninoff; the Russian Normal Conservatory; the Russian Conservatory in Paris of the Russian Musical Society; the Religious and Philosophical Academy. Then he named the Russian departments and laboratories at the University of Paris, the Institute of Slavic Studies, the Sorbonne, the Pasteur Institute, the Radium Institute, and others.

Among other things, we would like to highlight the opportunity for Cossack students to receive a professional historical education in Russian at the Faculty of History and Philology at the Sorbonne and at the Institute of Slavic Studies.

In addition, P. Nikanorov described secondary educational institutions: Russian Gymnasium named after Lady Deterding; Secondary Technical School at the Russian Higher Technical Institute; Russian People's University in Paris; Radio Technical School; Perfection Automobile School.

In the conclusion of his article, P. Nikanorov cautioned Cossacks against placing excessive trust in newspaper advertising, and particularly drew readers' attention to the fact that any correspondence education institutions in France, "no matter what name they give themselves—polytechnic, institute, etc.—are not under the jurisdiction of the French Ministry of People's Education. And their diplomas and certificates are devoid of legal significance." He further noted that, given the abundance of poor-quality correspondence and other commercial educational institutions, "Those who truly want to learn and achieve success in practice should not be deceived by newspaper advertising. They should soberly choose one or another Russian school, the need for which remains acute abroad to this day." A situation, unfortunately, familiar to us today not only "abroad" but also in Russia itself.

The journal's primary focus, as noted above, remained coverage of Cossack history and culture. Each issue featured numerous articles on the history of various Cossack troops. This included coverage of the Cossacks' distant past, as well as their recent history during the First World War and the Civil War, and their subsequent misadventures on Lemnos and in exile.

For example, the first issue of the magazine in 1937 was entirely dedicated to the centenary of A.S.

Pushkin's death. The magazine focused on topics such as Pushkin the historian, the history of the Pugachev Rebellion as told by Pushkin and historiography, Pushkin in the Caucasus, and Pushkin and the Cossacks. And in 1940, on the eve of the German occupation, the magazine managed to dedicate its final, 32nd issue to the centenary of M.Yu. Lermontov's birth and the Caucasian period of his life and death in the Cossack lands during the Great Caucasian War.

The main onesThe journal's regular sections included "Academic Life," "Poems," "Stories," "Historical Section," "Cossack Life Abroad," and "Bookshelf." The journal regularly published materials under the "Bibliography" section, which, in addition to bibliographic descriptions of new books on Cossack history and culture, featured review articles and criticism. For example, issue No. 1 of the journal published P. Gusev's article "Cossack Themes in Foreign Russian Literature," issue No. 3 featured "Soviet Literature on the Cossacks," along with many other similar articles and notes.

The Cossack Union's primary information publication was initially the occasional "svobodki" (newsletters). Later, the organizational and editorial basis of these "svobodki" (newsletters) was transformed into a permanent journal, published in France under the dual title "Bulletin of the Cossack Union: Le Messager de l'Union des Cosaques." Its editorial office was located in Paris, at the Cossack Union's headquarters, located at 216 Boulevard Raspail, Paris, France.

The magazine was actively published during the interwar years, which also saw the heyday of Cossack émigré organizations, including the Cossack Union itself. However, unlike most, the Cossack Union and its publication, the Herald, continued their activities in post-war Europe.

Since 1929, the name of the magazine has changed to "Native Land. Monthly Cossack Magazine: Le Pays Natal. Revue mensuelle" Union des Cosaques. 1, villa Chauvelot. Paris 15.

"Vestnik" was officially closed, and "Rodimy Kray" (Native Land) was registered as a new magazine in its place, with the entire editorial staff remaining the same. An epigraph to the magazine was printed on the front page, explaining its name and aptly conveying the emotional state of the Cossack émigré community in its nostalgic throes. It was a quote from a prose poem of the same name by the renowned Cossack poet and writer F. D. Kryukov: "The crosses of my native graves, and the smoke of dung bean over the paddock, and the specks of white kurens in the green frame of willow groves, the threshing floor with its browning straw, and the crane frozen in thought—these stir my heart more than all the wondrous lands beyond the distant seas, where the beauty of nature and art have created a world of enchantment. I love you, Narodny Kray..." This was

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the mood of the White Cossack patriots, who desperately yearned in exile for their abandoned homeland and pre-revolutionary way of life, but at the same time clearly saw and understood the impossibility of returning to their old life in the realities of interwar Europe.

The "New-Old" Cossack magazine continued to regularly publish sources and other materials on the history of the Cossacks. The magazine also offered all interested Cossacks the opportunity to purchase individual books and serial publications on the ancient and modern history of the Cossacks at discounted prices. Thus, in issue No. 4, dated June 15, 1929, Cossacks were offered the opportunity to purchase from the Bureau of the Cossack Union the "Don Chronicle" (books I, II, III) - "a collection of articles and materials on the modern history of the Don Cossacks" for 7 francs per book. The following books were also offered: "Russia and the Don" by S. G. Svatikov - a study on the history of the Don from 1549 to 1917; "Cossacks in Chataldzha and on Lemnos"; "Cossacks" - the thoughts of contemporaries on the past, present, and future of the Cossacks (questionnaire); as well as other similar Cossack publications.

Both the villages of the Cossack Union and many other Cossack public émigré organizations sought to inform Cossacks about current life and the political situation, exchange information, receive news from the Motherland, collect materials on the history and culture of the Cossacks, educate the younger generation of Cossacks in the traditional foundations of Cossack life, and, finally, to promote Cossack values among Russian émigrés and citizens of the countries where they lived – the French, Germans, Bulgarians, Chinese, Americans...

To solve all these problems, Cossack organizations founded numerous periodicals and episodic publications – mainly newspapers and magazines, but also many other forms – calendars, reference books, "Cossack field books," songbooks, illustrated albums, almanacs, and other serial publications.

In the 1920s and 1930s, Cossack newspapers, magazines, and other publications devoted to Cossack history began to appear in exile. In these publications, Cossack representatives attempted to formulate and convey to the general public their own perspective, first on the events of the Civil War, and then came to understand the need to understand the history of the Cossacks as a whole.

Cossack periodicals of the interwar period represented a highly distinctive and specific phenomenon, in many ways similar in form to Soviet dissident samizdat. Moreover, it was precisely on the pages of Cossack newspapers and magazines, as well as other serial publications, that the entire scientific, literary, political, and generally social and cultural life of the Cossack diaspora was concentrated during this

period. Publications of this period often had no masthead, were printed in a home-made manner, issued as manuscripts, or even copied on a trivial typewriter and simply inserted into a duplicated cover on colored wrapping paper. Circulation runs in such cases could be quite meager. However, even such publications found a wide readership among the Cossack intelligentsia and ordinary Cossacks. This was facilitated by the fact that such magazines passed through many hands, being passed from one Cossack to another. Public readings and lectures were organized. Publications were mailed to Cossack libraries, where entire Cossack villages of several dozen or even hundreds of people (for example, those associated with a large factory) would read the magazine. The Cossacks strove in every way to maintain ties with one another, the memory of their homeland, preserve their culture, and preserve their identity, even in exile. The publication of Cossack periodicals became the primary means of achieving this.

In Paris, the Ural Cossack E. D. Kononov published an illustrated magazine called "Russia" dedicated to the Cossacks. For example, issue #7 for 1930, on the initiative of the famous Kuban horseman Colonel F. I. Eliseev, was entirely devoted to the Kuban Cossacks and timed to coincide with the Kuban military holiday. The following materials and articles were published in this issue: Colonel Eliseev "The Kuban Cossack Army (a brief essay)"; V. Naumenko "An excerpt from memoirs"; A. Bogaevsky "Kuban People"; P. Krasnov "Kuban People in the Great War" (referring to the First World War); F. E. "Kunaks"; Khoperets "Mutual Assistance"; Plastun "Plastuns"; Colonel. E. Tikhotsky "Attack on the Battery"; I. Akulinin, "The Tragedy of the Kuban Host"; E. Ya., "Tyzhneva"; P. Skobtsov-Kondratyev, "On the Service," "Cossack Bidolaga," "Cossacks in Paris at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier" (referring to the French memorial dedicated to all those fallen in the First World War); P. Ergushev, "On the Ancient Frontier." The illustrations included portraits of the atamans of the Black Sea, Caucasian Linear, and Kuban Cossack Hosts, as well as "scenes" from the lives of Cossacks at home and in exile. The Kuban stanitsa in Paris published the magazine "Kuban Antiquity and Modernity," while the Parisian "Society of Kuban Zealots" published the magazine "Kuban Cossacks."

In addition, Cossack publications such as "Volnoye Kazachestvo," "Rodimy Kray," "Kazachye Delo," "Kazachiy Golos," and "Dnevnik Kazaka," among others, were published in France. The journal "Kazak," the bulletin of the Don Ataman and the Union of Combatants in France, was published in Paris, as was the already mentioned "Vestnik Kazachye Soyuz" (Bulletin of the Cossack Union). The book series "Kazachya Biblioteka" (Cossack Library) and many other serial, periodical, and non-

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periodical Cossack publications were also published.

The Literary Cossack Family publishing house operated in Prague. Cossack magazines such as "Kazachiy Put'," "Put' Kazachestva," "Tikhiy Don," "Kazachiy Spolokh," "Kazachestvo," the aforementioned "Kazakia," and other periodicals and occasional publications were published in Czechoslovakia. For example, a "non-periodical" magazine of Kuban Cossacks—Ukrainian nationalists—called "Kubansky Krai" (Kuban Region), published in Prague from 1929 to 1933, advocating for the unification of Kuban and Ukraine.

A position close to the "Ukrainians" was occupied by the influential "independent" magazine with the double title "Volnoe Kazachestvo: Vilne Kozastvo", published, beginning in 1927, twice a month under the editorship of I. A. Bily and M. F. Frolov in Prague. In 1935, the editorial board moved to France, and the magazine was published in Paris. The magazine had an extensive network of representative offices throughout the world. In Czechoslovakia, the magazine's representatives in Brno were V. Karpushkin, and in Bratislava - the already familiar to us "Cossack" I. I. Bezuglov. In Yugoslavia - N. M. Dmitrenko (Beograd), A. Chekin (Kragujevac), G. V. Alferov (Mramorak), D. Zakharov (Smederevo) and S. Bobrishev (Kocane). In Romania - V. P. Eliseev (Cluj), S. M. Margushin (Bukarest), A. K. Babkov (Galatz). In Poland - S. Tulaev (Wilno). In Bulgaria - P. N. Kudinov (Aleksandrovo), N. Egorov (Lom). In France - A. K. Lenivov (Lyon), T. K. Khoruzhenko (Lyon-Vaise), G. V. Balabin (Ugine), S. Chepurnoy (Vichy), Iv. Kurilo (Toulouse). In Germany - G. A. Kozlovsky (Berlin). In Belgium - I. P. Egorov (Bruxelles). In North America - A. D. Anikushin (Cleveland, USA). In South America - S. Savitsky (Brasil). In the Far East - I. Konstantinov (Harbin).

As can be seen from the list of official representatives of the magazine, it was represented in all the most important regions of the Cossack diaspora. It was also the most widely distributed independent Cossack periodical.

It is important to note that Free Cossacks published various historical or historiographical articles in each issue. They are especially interesting because in them we can see the directly and definitely expressed view of the Cossacks-independents (both autonomists and separatists) on the history of the Cossacks, Ukraine, and Russia. For example, the magazine published a historical essay dedicated to the first Cossack historian known to us - V.D. Sukhorukov.

In the late twenties and early thirties, the magazine gradually moved to a "Cossack" position. And, eventually, the slogan "Our motto is Cossack freedom" and "Cossackia is our goal" appeared on its front page. The magazine entered into open opposition to the Cossack Union. Therefore, a lively discussion

immediately unfolded on the pages of "Free Cossacks" on the one hand, and, on the other hand, various publications of Cossack societies that were part of the Cossack Union.

In 1933, the magazine was one of the first to publish an article in Croatian (Serbian) about the so-called Holodomor, now known as the "Holodomor," under the telling title "SOS." Here, for the first time, a historical assessment of the Holodomor was given as a deliberate genocide by the Soviet government against Ukrainians and Cossacks. Here is a short excerpt from the very beginning of the article: "The Holodomor, the intentional genocide of the Soviet government against Ukrainians and Cossacks, is a crime against our land. The Holodomor was killed by the Cossacks in Moscow. The Cossacks were killed before the Soviet government's direct appeal to the Cossacks." Opljačkan, pokradjeno, obesnaženo boljševičkim terorom - streljanjem i iseljavanjem, namučeno moralno, stanovništvo kozačkih zemalja, koje se nije poklonilo pred zavojevačem - uništava se gladiu namerno organizovanom od country crvenih okupatora. Mre od gladi narod koji u toku cele svoje istorije uopšte nije znao za glad."

Although everything is fairly obvious, for ease of understanding, we will provide a formal translation into Russian: "Terrible news, one more terrible than the other, is coming from our lands. The occupying authorities of Red Moscow are killing the Cossacks with starvation. The Cossacks face immediate danger of annihilation. Robbed, defrauded, weakened by Bolshevik terror—executions and exile—morally exhausted, the population of the Cossack country, which did not bow to the invaders, is being destroyed by a famine deliberately orchestrated in the country by the Red occupiers. A people who throughout their history have never known what hunger is is dying of hunger" (translation).

The same article reprints a map of the European USSR from the French newspaper Le Matin (August 30, 1933), marking the regions most affected by the famine. Ukraine (Ukraine) and "Cossack Countries" (Le pays des Cosaques) are listed in this category. Also noted as affected by the famine are Georgia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, the Volga region (in the area settled by the Astrakhan Cossacks and Kalmyks), and northern Kazakhstan (in the area settled by the Ural (Yaik) Cossacks, which first became part of the Kazakh SSR only under Soviet rule). The article also ends with the rather remarkable words: "...obračemo se kao ljudi ljudima: Pomozite! SOS!"

And the Cossack émigrés, despite their more than straitened financial situation, responded to this call. As early as issue No. 141 of Free Cossacks, Volnoye Kazachestvo published a letter by the Cossack nationalist S. Turchaninov, "The Famine of the North Caucasus Region - the Death of the Cossacks." The letter briefly examined the history of the relationship between the Cossacks and Russia,

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from the time the Cossack military republics became part of the Russian Empire under Peter the Great. The general historical idea here is quite simple, even banal. The Cossacks lived freely, prosperously, and happily until the arrival of the "damned Muscovites" – the Great Russians. Regarding the famine, the letter stated the following: "13 terrible years of occupation have passed. And now comes even more terrible news – famine. We saw in our magazine a "famine map," from which we can judge that the Great Russians are not starving, but the Cossacks and Ukrainians are starving, i.e., the "harmful element" waging a struggle for their liberation."

Further, Cossack Turchaninov proposes organizing a pan-Cossack day of protest against hunger and an émigré hunger strike in solidarity with the Cossacks in their homeland under the slogans:

"A universal hunger appeal for help to the peoples of the world! A pan-Cossack hunger front!" This was intended to attract the attention of the international community: "We will ask for immediate aid to the starving there and demand the removal of the Red Russian troops and their commissars from Cossack territories!" The author of the letter sees no other way to defeat the famine, as "Only with the departure of the hated aliens from our lands will peace and long-awaited prosperity be restored to the vast steppes." The letter ends with an overtly nationalist appeal: "With a common effort, with boldness, forward to the scaffold of the Cossacks! With a united front, let us crush the Russian executioners!!!"

In a note accompanying this letter, the magazine's editors fully supported "...the proposal of Cossack villager S. Turchaninov to organize a Cossack day of protest against the regime of the Red occupiers in the Cossack lands, which led to famine in our lands, which had never before in history known famine, protest, or even the occupation of our lands by the Red Moscow conquerors." January 13th was declared a day of hunger strike and protest, precisely because it was "...the day on which General A.P. Bogaevesky (Don Ataman and one of the leaders of the Cossack Union) was holding his next ball in Paris." It was envisaged that Cossack villages would declare a hunger strike and hold protest meetings and fundraisers. The money, including that "saved" by the emigrants on food during the hunger strike, would be sent to the starving Soviet Cossacks and Ukrainians with the assistance of the League of Nations and the Red Cross.

Thus, it was precisely among the Cossack diaspora, specifically among the "independent Cossacks," that the historiographic model of the "Holodomor" began to emerge in those years. It is noteworthy that this historical trauma had particular significance for the Ukrainian Cossacks and Ukrainian historiography in general. To this day, the issue of the "Holodomor" remains one of the most pressing unresolved problems and a source of constant

controversy in Russian and Ukrainian historiography. This topic has acquired particular significance for the historiography of the Cossacks in Russia.

It should be noted that that same year, excerpts from Sholokhov's novel "And Quiet Flows the Don" were published in the pages of *Volnoye Kazachestvo* (Free Cossacks). We will discuss the uniqueness of this novel as perceived by both the White and Red Cossacks in our next article, examining the Soviet historiography of the Cossacks. For now, we can state that, despite the anti-communism of the separatists and nationalist Cossacks, even they were interested in M.A. Sholokhov's brilliant work.

The magazine's regular mini-section, "Mailbox," is quite intriguing. Essentially, it's a Cossack "chat" or "SMS section" in the pre-internet era. In this section, Cossacks from different countries and even continents exchanged short messages, using initials that we would today call "nicknames." As an example, let us offer a short quote from this in many ways remarkable section from issue #65 of the magazine, dated September 25, 1930.

"Belgium. - P.B. - We will fulfill your request. Hello. France. - I.Sh. - Thank you. Hello.

France. - V.N. - Good. Hello.

Romania. - V.D. - Will be published in the next issue. Greetings.

Canada. - E.B. - All received. Hello.

France. - I.S. - Received. Reply - by letter.

Greetings. Poland. - A.K. - Received. Thank you.

France - P.K. - Received. Greetings.

Bulgaria. - T.L. - "Indignation" received. We cannot publish such things without the author's signature. Greetings.

France. - P.K.-S. - Send something for testing, - Let's do it. Vitaemo.

Poland. - E.K. - Received. Greetings.

Brazil. - V.K. - Liszt V. was defeated. Thank you so much for the information. We are currently carrying out a colonization campaign in Pivn. America If there is a need, then you will be fed with food. Vitaemo.

New York. - V.T. - Received. Greetings.

Yugoslavia. - Vl. K. - Send the ending. Greetings. Strakonice. - G. L. - Thank you. Greetings.

Sofia. - G.G. - Your information has been received. Origin: Meln. And we know. We think what's already in this issue is sufficient to answer him. Greetings.

Yugoslavia. - P.K. - Send me more. Hello.

Yugoslavia. - V.K. - Everything will be fine. Hello."

Accordingly, in subsequent issues of the magazine, subscribers saw similar responses to their "replies" from interested recipients.

Of course, these could have been some kind of secret correspondence or conventional "spy" signals on the eve of an impending war, or they could have been a simple exchange of information in a telegraph style for poor Cossacks. Perhaps this was a kind of

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journalistic or editorial telegraph, or perhaps a party connection. In order to accurately answer these questions and decipher the correspondence of the "Cossack chat", a separate study will be required. However, studying this peculiar correspondence is very interesting and sometimes instructive, not to mention its historical and scientific significance for the study of social and communicative processes in the Cossack diaspora. Here you can see how in the modern "chat", "blog" or "forum" infocom-space the formation of one's own style, language of correspondence, etc. Is that instead of "Hello", "Indignation" or "Thank you" we now use "emojicons". In any case, today we can open some special Cossack forum on the Internet, dedicated, for example, to saddle equipment, and see an exchange of remarks of very similar content and style.

In Belgrade, the information magazine "Kavkazsky Kazak" was published. It published "Volnaya Kuban" and "Tersky Kazak na chuzhbin" under one cover. The Kuban Military Chancellery published the magazine "Volnaya Kuban", which contained official documents on the Army, appeals to the Kuban Cossacks of the Kuban Military Ataman, reports on the receipt and expenditure of military funds, letters from individual Cossacks and entire Cossack villages to the editor, and covered the most important political events in the world and in Soviet Russia. The Terek Chancellery published its part of the information magazine - "Tersky Kazak na chuzhbin". Its content was generally similar to the Kuban part, however, there were also differences. For example, in issue No. 32 for March 1930, the main attention was paid to collectivization, which the Bolsheviks carried out with an iron hand on the territory of the former Terek Military Region.

Let us list only the article titles: "News from Native Lands"; "The Death of a GPU Detachment" (destroyed, according to the editorial board, by Cossack rebels); "Fire at the Rostov Mill"; "Complete Collectivization in the North Caucasus"; "Mass Arrests in Cossack Villages"; "Difficulty in Leaving Soviet Russia"; "Commemoration of the Dead" (the article is about a service in Belgrade for the victims of the Civil War);

"New village in Subotica" (about the formation of a new Cossack village in exile); "Campaign against religion in the Soviet Union of Russia"; "The Dead" (reports of the death of prominent Cossack émigrés). Subsequently, "Caucasian Cossack" was registered as an independent journal and was published as the official organ of the Kuban Chancellery. In Yugoslavia, the Cossack journal "Unity" was published.

The Cossacks exchanged experiences and their new life as émigrés. They corresponded, searching for relatives and villagers lost during the war and emigration by any means possible, placing advertisements in the press. They sought ways to

preserve their culture and traditional economy. Pyotr Korolevich presented the intriguing experience of Cossack colonization in Peru in his publications. A series of postcards, portraits of prominent Cossack figures, views, maps, and plans of Cossack lands, Cossack calendars, and so on were published. All this, on the one hand, helped the Cossacks combat nostalgia and at least partially allay their longing for their native steppes and mountains, and on the other, it was intended to ensure the upbringing of the younger generation of young Cossacks in the traditions and culture of their homeland, which they had been forced to abandon. For example, in 1930, the Kuban Chancellery recommended that all village and hamlet administrations purchase maps of the "Southeast of Russia" from its publishing house for 50 dinars. These maps included six sheets of maps of the Don, Kuban, Terek, and Astrakhan Cossack Hosts, as well as Transcaucasia. And in 1931, it also offered all Cossacks the "Kuban Calendar."

Here is what was said in the advertisement placed in the magazine "Caucasian Cossack": "The Kuban Calendar is necessary for every literate Kuban resident. This is not an ordinary calendar, issued for 1 year, and after a year is destroyed as unnecessary. This is a Military Reminder and Handbook for every Cossack about his native Kuban Host in the glorious past and sad present, which every Kuban resident should know. Remember, Kuban residents, that all profits from the sale of the Calendar will go to the publication of "Collections" from the life of the Kuban residents and the struggle of the Kuban Cossacks with the Bolsheviks. The calendar has 108 pages and 22 portraits and photographs illustrating the life of the Kuban residents abroad. The price is 20 dinars with shipping for Yugoslavia and 10 French francs in general for abroad." An advertisement was also placed here offering to purchase "Portraits of the Kuban V. Ataman Gen. Naumenko on good glossy paper, pasted onto a good passe-partout, measuring 35 x 45 cm, the remainder are being sold at 25 din. On the occasion of the death of the photographer Nelly I. Tararykina. Outside Yugoslavia - 12 francs. One third (1/3) of the proceeds will be allocated to V. Ataman's trip to search for land for Cossack settlement in America. Cossacks wishing to purchase portraits of V. Ataman are kindly requested to contact the Kuban Chancellery, which maintains a small stock of portraits." We have taken the liberty of citing this advertisement here in its entirety, as it so aptly characterizes the spirit of that era, the entire atmosphere of Cossack emigration at the turn of the 1920s and 1930s.

Of course, collections of traditional Cossack songs and poems dedicated to the Cossacks were published. In the 1930s, a series of collections of Kuban songs in Ukrainian, set to music, "Nasha Pisnya," was published in Belgrade. For the Cossacks, both in their homeland and in exile, the song remained

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the main refuge of their native cultural and historical tradition. Here is what was said in the review (and advertisement) of the first issue of the series Collection of Cossack Songs of the Don, Kuban and Terek: "The Cossack song is the soul of the Cossack. Cossack songs express the entire history of the Cossacks with the joys of victory and the bitterness of defeat, they express the entire life of a Cossack from the cradle to the grave. Meeting the wishes of many Cossacks and aiming to preserve the Cossack song in its purest form, both in the sense of words and melody, the editors of "Kavk. Kaz." released Collection No. 1 of Cossack songs with full text and notes, collected and set to notes by Kubanets.

P. A. Kadushkin. Price – 10 dinars (5 FR for abroad). The editors warmly recommend that Cossacks of all Troops purchase and distribute the published Collections both among Cossacks and among foreigners, lovers of choral singing and Cossack songs. There is an intention to publish several small collections, which in binding will give a Collection of 60 to 100 Cossack songs. Net income will go to the construction of the Cossack House in Belgrade. You can subscribe: in Yugoslavia from the Kuban Chancellery, in France from P. Eliseev (referring to Colonel F. I. Eliseev), in Czechoslovakia – from P. Fedorov (referring to Doctor S. A. Fedorov) and in Bulgaria – from T. Lyakhov (addresses on the cover of the magazine). As we can see, the Cossacks cared not only about preserving their authentic culture, but also about promoting it among interested "foreigners" (that is, in fact, the indigenous inhabitants of the countries where the Cossacks lived).

During this same initial period of Cossack emigration, Cossack organizations set the task of studying the historical past of the Cossacks, preserving their unique and distinctive historical and cultural heritage, and the forms and content of the folk Cossack way of life.

The main task at the time when it became obvious that Soviet power had been established firmly and for a long time, the Cossacks saw in preserving the Cossack heritage and passing it on to the Cossack youth, including the Cossacks born far from their native mountains and steppes, in emigration. It was they, according to the Cossack ideologists, who were to return to their homeland in the future and restore the Cossacks, in today's words, in the places of their traditional residence.

In 1926, the Cossack Union published an appeal to Cossack youth. It stated: "Young Cossack émigré writers, sincerely grieving for the Cossack cause, now subject to division due to unnecessary and baseless politicking, usually due to the interference of individuals alien to Cossack life and ideology, have made it their sacred goal to preserve that which is constant and unchanging at the very core of Cossackism — its way of life."

We believe that all the suffering of the Cossacks

will end in that happy time when, freed from brutal violence there and the deceit of alien partisanship here, they will once again approach the root of their existence—the Cossack way of life. It is the key to the happy development of a free Cossack life; it is our fraternal unity, integrity, strength, and the dignity that our glorious history has prepared for us. The full restoration of the Cossacks cannot be achieved without the old foundations of their way of life. This is clear to their haters—the rulers of the USSR, who now curry favor with the Cossacks by granting them handouts from the old Cossack way of life.

This is why the preservation of the authentic Cossack way of life is so precious to Cossack youth, as a healer of all ailments. Neither platforms nor programs, so changeable with the spirit of the times and circumstances, will strengthen the Cossacks; one thing remains constant and true—our innate sense of family identity, rooted in our own way of life. Hence the urgent need to carefully preserve what documents and materials we possess relating to Cossack life at home and abroad, to collect them, and, whenever possible, to publish them.

The same problem was discussed in V. Glazkov's article "Cossack Youth" in the popular and influential journal of the independent Cossacks, "Volnoe Kazachestvo: Vilne Kozatstvo." Glazkov wrote that Cossack "youth are searching for their history—they feel the need to study their history (defusing in the original). This unrest has manifested itself not only among the youth, but among the Cossacks in general." The article then goes on to conclude: "Never before have the search for and study of their history aroused such great and serious attention among the Cossacks as in recent times. In brief but rich historical materials, the Cossack interrogates his past, which explains it to him and hints at his future."

This call for the study of Cossack history and culture was heeded by many members of the Cossack intelligentsia in exile. A start was made on the collection of historical archives and libraries in exile. Museums were established, some of which even published their own scholarly journals. Some of these Cossack museums continue their activities in Europe and America to this day, and some museum and archival collections created in exile are now returning to Russia. Cossacks conducted extensive research and publication work in the field of Cossack history and culture.

The main difficulty for émigré Cossack historians was the inaccessibility of most archival materials remaining in Soviet Russia. Cossack publications attempted to compensate for this deficiency by publishing documents that their Soviet counterparts lacked—materials and archives from the Cossack republics during the Civil War and the White movement as a whole. Furthermore, regimental archives and materials on the history of regiments of

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the old Imperial Army, taken by the White armies, also ended up abroad. For example, one of the regular columns of the journal *Vestnik Kazachye Soyuz* (Cossack Union Herald) was a historical section, regularly publishing documents and materials on the history of the Cossacks. For example, issues 14–17 for 1928 published excerpts from the resolutions of the First Don Military Circle (May 26–June 18, 1917). Other Cossack publications also regularly published historical materials, including excerpts from memoirs and diaries, letters from Cossacks, including those from the USSR and the South American colonies, testimonies of older Cossacks, ethnographic notes, and similar sources. Naturally, research by historians was also published.

Cossack researchers sought to study European archives and libraries to fill gaps in the early history of the Cossacks, especially since, as we have already noted, Russian archives were inaccessible to émigrés, just as (recall Sukhorukov's story) they were not accessible in Tsarist Russia before the Revolution. An example of such archival research is I. F. Bykadorov's article-appeal "Don Antiquity" in the monthly journal "Cossack Voice."

An interesting article was published in the same issue.

"Kondraty Bulavin and the 'Bulavin Rebellion'" by A. I. Boyarinov, dedicated to the history of Cossack "rebels." This author views Pugachev, Bulavin, and other Cossack atamans—the leaders and organizers of anti-feudal uprisings in Russia—not as "thieves" and "rebels," but as recognized leaders of popular liberation movements. It is interesting to note that this view became generally accepted not only among émigré Cossack separatists but also in 20th-century Soviet historiography.

In the interwar period, among the major works of Cossack émigrés, one can name, first of all, studies on the history of the First World War and the Civil War. These were such works as, for example, "Russian Vendée" by Major General Golubintsev, written in 1925 in Sofia, completed in 1958 in Philadelphia, and published the following year in Munich.

General Staff Major General I. G. Akulinin, former commander of the Orenburg Cossack Corps of the Whites, published a monograph in Shanghai in 1937 entitled "The Orenburg Cossack Host in the Fight against the Bolsheviks", which summarized the combat experience of the Cossacks on the Eastern Front during the Civil War in Siberia. In the same book, he gave a brief outline of the history of the Orenburg Cossack Host. L. Masyanov entitled his monograph "The Death of the Ural Cossack Host", which he supplied with professionally drawn portraits of outstanding Cossacks and drawings illustrating the traditional way of life of the Ural people before the revolution.

E. Tikhotsky published a brochure entitled

"Attack of the Austro-Hungarian cavalry of the 2nd combined Cossack division near Gorodok, August 4–17, 1914."

In historiographical terms, all these works by Cossack émigrés occupy an intermediate position between memoir writing and scientific historiography proper. They were all written by direct witnesses and participants in the events described. Most often, they were high-ranking staff officers or field commanders of the Cossack troops during the Civil War. The source materials for their writing were both documents taken from Russia, preserved, as a rule, in the hands of the author himself, and equally personal recollections.

The authors of these books consciously set themselves the tasks of recording in the first place. It was important for them to preserve, record information, the historical experience accumulated at great cost and publish it for transmission to future generations. Almost all of them were not professional historians, therefore the works of that period, with rare exceptions, are not distinguished by the depth of scientific, historiographical and source study analysis. Field commanders, direct participants in military operations, and often their staff chiefs were largely forced to rely on their own memory, had information only from one side of the front. Therefore, these authors very often allowed various factual errors and inaccuracies. However, despite all the noted shortcomings, these works became the first historical and graphic experience of the Cossack emigration, and their significance as sources on the history of the Civil War remains to this day.

World War II became a crucial turning point, dividing not only world history but also the Cossack émigré community. The Nazi rise to power and the outbreak of war dramatically exacerbated the conflict between Cossack nationalists, separatists, and patriots. This resulted in a split in the previously relatively monolithic Cossack émigré community. Some Cossacks followed Krasnov and Shkuro in the Nazi crusade against the "Jewish commissars and Bolshevism" under Hitler's banner. A number of Ukrainian nationalist Cossacks also followed suit. As a result, during the period of Nazi domination in Europe, the Cossacks (like the entire Russian émigré community) found themselves divided between "collaborators" and "anti-fascists." The majority of Cossacks remained White patriotic or separatist. Many participated in the resistance movement. Others sympathized with the USSR. Others, like Cossacks, stubbornly maintained their anti-Bolshevik, yet simultaneously anti-fascist, convictions. Still others emigrated to America. Some died in German concentration camps. Some were extradited to the USSR after the war and shared the same tragic fate, this time in the Soviet Gulag.

The Nazi occupation of Czechoslovakia, Poland, France, and the Balkans put an end to most non-Nazi

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Cossack émigré organizations in Europe. Paris, occupied by the Germans, ceased to be the cultural capital of Russian and Cossack émigrés. The entire cultural and social life of the Cossacks who found themselves in Hitler's "New Order" was placed under Nazi control. Therefore, during these years, only Nazi Cossack publications were permitted. Initially, the Nazis paid little attention to the Cossacks and did not attach much importance to the Cossack question. With the outbreak of war against the USSR, Hitler's leadership primarily viewed the Cossack question in a propaganda context. However, as the situation on the front lines began to unfold unfavorably for Germany, the Cossacks began to be considered as a possible option for their participation.

During the period of fascist domination in Europe, a significant number of Cossacks and Cossack nationalists, for obvious reasons, found themselves aligned with German National Socialism. They found themselves completely ideologically subordinate to Nazi racial theory. Within the racist paradigm, Nazi Cossacks supported the Aryan theory of the Cossacks' origins from the ancient Goths of the Northern Black Sea region. This "Gothic theory" of Cossack origins grew out of the primitive Nazi racism of Hitler, Himmler, Goebbels, and their ideological inspirers from the Thule Society. Cossack nationalists and anti-communists who collaborated with the fascists found themselves inextricably bound to the Hitler regime and forced to play by its rules. In this context, anti-Semitic, anti-communist, nationalist, and racist ideological positions were in demand. Naturally, European Cossack periodicals of those years were entirely aligned with these ideas.

One of the main founders of Cossack nationalism was Ataman P.N. Krasnov. He was the first to formulate the "Gothic theory" of the Aryan origins of the Cossacks. This approach directly linked the origins of the Cossacks to the ancient Goths and the Black Sea Gothia of the 3rd and 4th centuries, as described by Jordanes the Gothic. This region was destroyed by the Huns in 375 AD. In Crimea (Crimean Gothia), remnants of the Gothic population, according to some sources, survived until the 17th century.

It should be noted that the author personally participated in an archaeological expedition excavating the tomb of a Germanic chieftain on the upper Don (Ksizovskoye Settlement, 2005), where the burial of the Germanic chieftain was uncovered next to that of a noble Slavic woman. Among other things, a perfectly preserved Roman goblet of fine glass was discovered in the burial. This discovery became a news item on national television channels, and such stories often serve as important "proof" for Cossack audiences of the correctness of one side or the other. Therefore, we will say that the "Aryan" theory of Cossack origins may have had some factual basis (obviously, we are not discussing here either the methods or the "scientific" nature of this theory, which

is a special subject for detailed historical, archaeological, and genographic criticism). We are going into all these details here because in recent years similar topics have been repeatedly discussed in various Cossack internet sources, and are also one of the topics for neo-Nazi journalism in Russia and abroad.

Thus, one cannot a priori deny the possibility that, among other things, a Gothic element played a role in shaping the Cossacks' ethnic makeup. However, this possibility by no means implies the assertion that, in the early 20th century, Cossacks were representatives of the Aryan race. Moreover, Krasnov's argumentation is methodologically close to that of the Nazis and is based on unobvious analogies and a purely superficial description of "Nordic racial characteristics" among the Cossacks of his time.

This "Gothic" concept of Krasnov's found full approval from Hitler and became the ideological justification for Nazi propaganda to recruit Cossacks into the Wehrmacht during the Great Patriotic War. For Nazi ideologists, the "Gothic theory" was not scientifically important, but rather its political content. In the eyes of Hitler and Goebbels' propaganda, it pitted the Cossacks against the Russians and allowed them to skillfully foment ethnic hatred among the peoples of the USSR, which was precisely the Nazis' primary goal. Therefore, the Nazis emphasized their respect for the Cossacks in the occupied territories of the USSR and made every effort to recruit Cossack cavalry into their forces, especially after 1943, when the Germans were forced to finally abandon their hopes of successfully carrying out a blitzkrieg "in the East."

It was at this time that the Cossack calendar published the famous "Appeal of the German Government to the Cossacks" of November 10, 1943. This document, signed by the Chief of Staff of the German High Command, Field Marshal Keitel, and the Reich Minister for the Eastern Territories, A. Rosenberg, called on the Cossacks to wage a final struggle against Bolshevism and contained a number of specific (but no longer feasible) promises from the German government. The opening of this appeal asserted that "Cossack troops never recognized the authority of the Bolsheviks. The senior troops—the Don, Kuban (former Zaporozhian), Terek, and Ural (former Yaik) troops—had long lived their own state life and were not subject to the Moscow government." It then went on to speak of the Cossacks' constant struggle against the Bolsheviks, using expressions such as, "You constantly rebelled against the Jewish authority of the Bolsheviks." The "atrocities" of the Bolshevik regime are listed: "You were starved, beaten, exiled with your families, with small children, to hard labor in the far north, where you died in the thousands... shot, exterminated," and so on. Then there was talk of how the valiant German army brought liberation to the Cossacks. And finally, the

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German government promised to guarantee the Cossacks four points: "1. All the rights and privileges of service that your ancestors enjoyed in former times. 2. Your unique identity, which has earned you historical glory. 3. The inviolability of your lands, acquired through the labors, merits, and blood of your ancestors. 4. If military circumstances temporarily prevent you from returning to the lands of your ancestors, we will arrange your Cossack life in the East of Europe, under the protection of the Führer, providing you with land and everything necessary for your unique identity." Well, and then, of course, comes the assertion of the inevitability of the final victory of the new order in Europe.

It's noteworthy that Hitler's command took this step only after the Cossack lands had already been lost. Therefore, such declarations were more a weapon in the hands of Nazi propaganda than a genuine intention. Their purpose was to maintain Cossack units, not to ensure their "identity." Nevertheless, we have included excerpts from the Nazi declaration here, as it contains, in its most concentrated form, the entire propaganda rhetoric of the Nazi Cossack press during World War II.

The same "Cossack Calendar for 1944," in addition to the Orthodox church calendar itself, contained such materials as "The Military Oath of Cossacks Serving in the German Army," Cossack military hymns, F. D. Kryukov's "Native Land," "What Should German Socialism Strive For?," "The Revival of the Cossacks," "German Cossacks," "Early Mentions of the Cossacks in Russian Chronicles," "The Testaments of Ataman Platov," "Cossack Life in the 16th Century," "The Steppes" (an excerpt from N. V. Gogol), "Cossacks in Proverbs and Sayings," an article "On Cossack Song," and the lyrics to the songs themselves, as well as A. Krymsky's story "Chernomor." As we can see, in terms of literary and historiographic content, this issue of the calendar is in no way different from the majority of émigré Cossack publications of the interwar period. Another thing is that in the sphere of political journalism, from the former Cossack discord there remains only room for Nazi propaganda.

At the same time, that is, in 1943-1945, the magazine "At the Cossack Post" itself was regularly published. The last issue that we managed to find was No. 43 from February 1, 1945. It was a typical frontline magazine for information and propaganda work in the Cossack troops. The content of its issues differs from the content of the cited "calendar" only in the presence of orders for the Cossack troops, information reports and notes, victory reports, and propaganda materials.

For example, issue No. 36 of October 15, 1944, is dedicated to the victorious defeat of the "Polish bandits" by the Kuban and Don Cossacks, thus recounting the suppression of the infamous Warsaw Uprising in appropriate terms. Among other materials,

the magazine includes a photo essay, "What Happened in Warsaw: The Combat Exploits of the Nth Cossack Regiment." An accompanying note on the actions of the Cossack infantry regiment under the command of Senior Sergeant Bondarenko, entitled "The Ability to Win," asserts that the Cossacks accomplished their combat mission, "writing another page of glory in the history of the Cossacks."

It should be noted that the Hitlerite command generally sought to use the Cossacks in precisely such punitive and low-honor events for which the Germans did not want to remove their combat units from the front. Therefore, it was necessary to "explain to the Cossacks" that they were not punishers and executioners, but, together with the SS men, "writing a page of glory" in the history of the Cossacks.

In addition, other similar publications were published, such as the newspaper "Kazachya Lava", and a special publishing house "Kazachya Biblioteka" was in operation, which published books and brochures for Cossack front-line soldiers, etc.

Throughout the war, the Nazi "Cossack Herald" was published in the Czech Republic by the "Cossack National Center" in Prague. This newspaper ran from August 22, 1941, until April 1, 1945. The first issue opened with a greeting to Adolf Hitler and other Nazi leaders on the start of the victorious war against the USSR. The final issue opened with the editorial "We Can and We Must!", which, in order to preserve the "inalienable rights of the Cossacks" guaranteed by the aforementioned German "Declaration of November 10, 1943," called for continued, apparently hopeless resistance and, contrary to all evidence, asserted that it was still possible to "defeat Bolshevism completely."

The ideological and political incompetence of the Cossack Nazis, as weak-willed acolytes of Goebbels, was noted by Cossacks themselves, contemporaries of the events. Many Cossacks, even those fighting on the German side, saw the Krasnovites' "comic book" situation, the ambivalent and treacherous attitude of both the Germans and the Allies (especially after Lienz). These Cossacks understood that they were being used as free cannon fodder, objects of manipulation and propaganda, bargaining chips in political bargaining. But under the prevailing circumstances, the Krasnovites had no real alternative—the Hitler regime, on which they had pinned their hopes, was now irresistibly dragging them down, and they were forced, sometimes against their will, to go with the flow, submitting to the force of circumstances. As has been noted repeatedly, including in Cossack tales, the alliance with the devil against the Bolshevik devil, as advocated by Krasnov, led to nothing good for the Cossacks. Cossack authors wrote extensively about this in the émigré press, both before and especially after the war. Against this backdrop, the glorification of Krasnov, Domanov, von Pannwitz, and other Cossack Nazi leaders by some

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political forces in today's Russia seems particularly odd.

Immediately after the end of the war against fascism, the Cold War began, which also contributed to the disunity among the Cossacks. A significant portion of the Cossacks found themselves in the Soviet occupation zone or were handed over to the Soviet authorities by their Western allies. The former main centers of Cossack emigration in Eastern Europe ceased to exist. Many Cossacks were forced to emigrate to the United States and other Western countries. The post-war years ushered in a period of diaspora—dispersion throughout the world—for the Cossacks.

However, even under these conditions, the Cossacks strove to preserve their identity and uphold their historical and cultural traditions. And, above all, to educate a new generation of Cossacks, not only those raised but also those born outside Russia, in a foreign-language and foreign-cultural environment. Therefore, in the post-war years, the importance and relevance of "independent" Cossack historiography once again increased.

At the same time, in the context of the emerging Cold War, Cossacks, and especially Cossack publications, were forced to follow the logic of the new global conflict. In this environment, militant anti-communism and Cossack nationalism were especially in demand in the West. Therefore, former Nazis among the Cossacks also found favor, especially in the United States.

As an example of propaganda anti-communist literature for the Cossacks, one can cite such publications of that time as those published in Munich from 1948.

"Spolokh: Weekly Bulletin of the All-Cossack Anti-Communist Foreign Association" and "Anticommunist. Daily Bulletin of the Press Bureau of the All-Cossack Anti-Communist Foreign Association". Taken together, all of the above factors determined the evolution of Cossack historiography in the post-war period. During these years, in the context of the Cold War that had begun between the USSR and the USA, the main center of Cossack emigration gradually shifted from France and Germany to America. At that time, the majority of white patriots of the "one-indivisible" movement, and Cossack "autonomists", and "separatists", and the few remaining "nationalist Cossacks" found themselves in the United States. Accordingly, the majority of Cossack publications of the Cold War period were published in the USA, which left a certain imprint on the ideological content of Cossack periodicals and most other publications.

During the Cold War, and especially during the McCarthy era, anti-communism became the primary ideological foundation of the Cossack movement in the United States and other Western countries. Since a wide variety of Cossack movements, from patriots

to nationalists, existed under the guise of anti-communism, political squabbles and disagreements continued within the Cossack diaspora during these years. American leadership during those years was particularly interested in supporting and actively developing nationalist, "Cossack" circles among the Cossacks.

In this context, it's worth noting the passage by the US Congress of a well-known federal law—the so-called Captive Nations Act (Public Law 86-90), or Captive Nations Week Resolution. It was signed by President Eisenhower on July 17, 1959. Its direct consequence was the establishment of an official "Captive Nations Week" in the US, dedicated to the memory of peoples "enslaved by communism" and deprived of their own national independence (state sovereignty). The author of the bill and the initiator of Captive Nations Week in the US Congress was Congressman Lev Dobriansky (1918–2008), one of the leading ideologists behind the support of Ukrainian nationalism and Ukraine's secession from the USSR. Among other enslaved nations, the Cossacks were also named, or rather "Cossackia", as well as the "Idel-Ural", which included the Volga Tatars and Bashkirs.

Today in Russia, this act is referred to as the "Captivated Nations Law," but this is not entirely accurate. It should be noted that the American understanding of the term "nation" implies not an ethnic, but a political interpretation (like the American nation). That is, the law itself implied statehood, Kazakia as a nation-state. Furthermore, the law implied that the "enslaver" was precisely "Russian communism" ("Whereas since 1918 the imperialistic and aggressive policies of Russian communism" or "imperialistic policies of Communist Russia"). This meant that, in essence, this law implied that it was communist Russia, among other countries, that occupied independent Kazakia, not some abstract communism. Therefore, today the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs regards the "Captivated Nations Law" as a relic of the Cold War.

Despite this, the law remains in effect to this day. According to it, the American president annually, in accordance with established practice, proclaims Captive Nations Week on the third week of July and calls on the American nation to support the oppressed. In the application of this law, various presidents have referred to different peoples as "captives," while President Obama used a rather vague statement, calling on Americans to support "all oppressed peoples" without providing specifics. Nevertheless, the law has not been repealed, and its text explicitly mentions Kazakia. It is worth noting that of all the former peoples of the USSR named in the law, the Cossacks are the only ones not to have received their own attributes of statehood, even such purely superficial ones as "autonomous oblast." While all the national republics of the USSR gained real

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independence with the collapse of the Union, Idel-Ural "realized" itself as two constitutionally sovereign republics within the Russian Federation (Bashkortostan and Tatarstan). This circumstance formally and legally updates the law, meaning it gives proponents of its application a reason to consider it still in effect today. But beyond the external factors of the Cold War, the subsequent evolution of Cossack national consciousness in exile was largely determined by internal factors.

In the 1960s–1980s, in addition to the United States, traditional centers of the Cossack diaspora in West Germany and France remained significant. These three countries played a leading role in the development of Cossack periodicals in the post-war period.

In the 1960s, Cossack publications such as "Rodimy Kray" (Native Land), a pan-Cossack organ of thought, were published in France. It was published by the Don Military Association. Six issues were released annually. The national independent democratic organ "Cossack Unity" (12 issues per year) was published. The newspaper of the Cossack National Liberation Movement, "Kazak," was published six issues per year. "Cossack Literary Collection" was a magazine, circulated on a mimeograph machine (4 issues per year).

In West Germany, the already familiar "Kazakia"—a journal of Cossack national liberation thought—was published by the "Supreme Cossack Representation Abroad."

Several Cossack magazines were published in the USA. The monthly literary and political magazine "Cossack Life", published by the "Board of the 2nd Department of the Cossack-American People's Union", edited by F. G. Bigday. "Don Atamansky Vestnik". Information leaflet of the Kuban Chancellery "Cossack". "Kuban Historical and Literary Collection", edited by Naumenko (6 issues per year).

All these publications were distinguished by their special attention to the issues of Cossack history and culture. Unlike the interwar period, in the post-war years politics faded into the background, and the main function of the Cossack press of this time was to preserve and strengthen the connection between the Cossacks in the diaspora, to preserve the historical and cultural heritage of the Cossacks. It should be noted that if the Russian emigration of the first wave, as a holistic historical phenomenon, ceased to exist soon after the war, and the mass of Russian emigrants disappeared almost without a trace, then the Cossack emigrant organizations continued their activities, although less actively, in the post-war decades. The Cossack diaspora turned out to be much more tenacious than one might assume in comparison with the entire Russian emigration. Even in the post-war years, the Cossacks continued to feel their belonging to the Cossacks, their national culture and history.

Here it can be noted that even today, after more than nine decades, the author manages to find descendants of the Cossacks in France and establish contacts with them. Some Cossack organizations are still active, traditions, historical and cultural heritage are preserved. And today the Cossack diaspora remains a source from which we receive invaluable historical and historiographical materials. Moreover, to this day the Cossack diaspora maintains a living tradition and cultural continuity. Thus, during his research in 2013, the author received very interesting information from the famous Cossack horseman Peter Vasilyevich Pakhomov (Pierre Vassiliévich Pakhomoff), a citizen of the French Republic, permanently residing in Paris.

One of the most important motives consolidating the Cossack diaspora and contributing to its cultural prolongation was the historical and cultural self-understanding of the Cossacks. In the same context, there was an awareness of their responsibility in preserving the Cossack historical heritage. The tragic trauma of the "historical death" of the Cossacks in the USSR, as it was perceived in the diaspora, became the most important stimulus for the historiographic creativity of the Cossacks. This same stimulus contributed to the development of national self-awareness of the Cossacks and the further generation of independent historiography.

Soon after the liberation of France and the end of World War II, the revival of Cossack patriotic organizations in Western Europe began. In particular, the Cossack Union resumed its activities in France. On December 28, 1947, a general Cossack meeting was held in Paris, which elected the board of the Cossack Union, which resumed its activities after the war. The main focus of the Union's activities during this period was cultural and educational, the education of Cossack youth and the restoration of ties between Cossacks in the conditions of the post-war Cossack diaspora. The first issue of the Cossack Union Bulletin, resumed in 1948, was devoted to highlighting all these problems and finding ways to solve them. It proclaimed the following brief program, in general terms, directly repeating the main principles of the pre-war Union - the unification, without any political preferences, of all Cossacks for the preservation of Cossack culture and history.

However, under the new conditions, the return to the Motherland was pushed into the background of a distant historical perspective. Therefore, any hints about the forms and principles of state organization of the Cossacks "in the future Russia" disappeared from the program. Now it was obvious to everyone that the USSR was really "seriously and for a long time." Therefore, the main emphasis shifted to preserving the Cossacks themselves in emigration in the conditions of the diaspora - the dispersion of Cossacks throughout the "white world". In place of the united and close-knit Cossack villages of the interwar period

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came the time of individual Cossacks, for whom the main thing was to preserve the Cossack culture, traditional way of life and historical continuity.

These were the tasks that the renewed Cossack Union was addressing, stating that “pre-war Cossack organizations, with a few exceptions, ceased to exist – the Cossacks were scattered by the events of 1930–1944.” Therefore, the Union asserted that “The program of the Cossack Union is simple: unification of the Cossacks of all Cossack troops, wherever they may be; the political essence of the Union is most clearly expressed by our forced stay abroad; tactics must be built on composure, common sense, efficiency and a deep conviction that no matter how temporarily the Cossacks are divided (or rather: no attempt was made to divide them), they remain a homogeneous monolithic mass, and all Cossack streams will merge, sooner or later, into one channel. The Board of the Cossack Union welcomes all military atamans and their deputies, regretting that some troops do not have them, as well as Cossack organizations and all Cossacks, both men and women. There is strength in unity!” In the ruined post-war Europe, the Cossack Union no longer had the financial and, most importantly, organizational capacity to continue social work in the mainstream of Cossack charity on the pre-war scale. Therefore, in the leading article, the magazine wrote that “the mission of the Cossack Union is not only to satisfy requests for material assistance. It is important and necessary for a Cossack, especially in emigration, to know and feel that he is not alone, not abandoned. After all, in a foreign land, it is often hard for a Cossack, even if he is not in financial need. Loneliness itself is hard. And if a Cossack has not yet completely degenerated, has not completely dissolved in the surrounding alien environment, he instinctively reaches out to another Cossack. The formalization of this Cossack spiritual attraction to each other, its practical expression, the strengthening and strengthening of communication with their Cossack villagers - this is the essence, the soul of the Cossack Union.”

In the same editorial, the magazine addressed “heartfelt greetings to the Cossack youth”, who were now to take upon themselves, the new generation of Cossacks who had grown up and matured in emigration, far from their homeland, the task of preserving the Cossack historical and cultural tradition. To do this, young Cossacks had to study “their native Cossacks, their lands, their historical past, their ideas and ideals”. Thus, knowledge of the history and culture of the Cossacks became, in the new conditions, the main guarantee of preserving the Cossacks as such in the conditions of the post-war diaspora.

One of the major events in the cultural, political and historiographic life of the Cossack diaspora in the post-war period was the creation and publication of an encyclopedic dictionary specifically dedicated to the

phenomenon of the Cossacks in history, culture and politics. It was the widely known today in Russia “Cossack Dictionary of Gubarev-Skrylov”. The editorial board of the dictionary was headed by Cossacks Alexey Ivanovich Skrylov - the permanent editor and publisher of the dictionary, and Georgy Vitalyevich Gubarev - the author-compiler. Although the dictionary was published in the USA, it was the work of the entire Cossack diaspora and its intellectual elite. Moreover, in this, as we would say today, information project, representatives of almost all political directions of the Cossack emigration took an active part. Historical materials and money for the publication of the Cossack encyclopedia were collected by the Cossacks from literally the whole world. The editors of the encyclopedia regularly published in Cossack newspapers and magazines unique reports on the work done and the funds received from Cossacks from different countries.

For example, in the note “From the editors of the “Cossack Encyclopedia””, signed by A. I. Skrylov and G. V. Gubarev, it was reported “for the information of the broad circles of Cossack emigration and their friends that by now, as a result of five years of hard work, the editors of the Cossack Lexicon have collected and processed materials for 40 printed sheets - about 620-650 pages of the average book format”. It was further reported that “wishing to alleviate the Cossack publisher’s expenses for publishing our dictionary - it was decided to divide it into TWO VOLUMES, which will be published under the title: “SMALL COSSACK ENCYCLOPEDIA” in two volumes, dedicated to the zealot of Cossack History, Cossack V. V. D. pok. Regiment. To S. V. Boldyrev – the FIRST Knight of St. George from among the officers of the Imperial Army of the First World War and “Stepnyak”, “Kapustnik”.

The historiographical focus of the encyclopedia is particularly noteworthy. This is evident from the above dedication and from the description of the contents given by the editors: “The encyclopedia provides a great deal of brief information on Cossack history and ethnography, materials for biographies of the best Cossacks, dialect forms of Cossack speech, etc.” At the same time, the conditions for publishing personal data were specifically stipulated, which was of no small importance during the Cold War for nationalist Cossacks whose relatives (or they themselves) could be subjected to some alleged persecution in the USSR or beyond: “Biographical data on persons who took part in the struggle for the Cossack Court concern, for the most part, Cossacks who have passed away. All data is taken from the press and, therefore, malicious people or organizations once had them at their disposal. Biographical data on living persons is published with their consent based on data sent by them themselves. It follows from this that the concerns published by some individuals are unfounded.”

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Regarding the historical significance of the publication of the Dictionary, A. I. Skrylov and G. V. Gubarev themselves defined it thus: "The significance of the Cossack Encyclopedia should be understood by every more or less literate Cossack. Once upon a time, in our region, every little book written about the Cossacks was read and reread. They served as a source of pride and national inspiration. We can be even more proud to see OUR OWN, albeit small, Encyclopedic Dictionary on the shelves of numerous libraries (both domestic and foreign)." The direct reference to "national pride and inspiration" is particularly striking here. The authors and editors of the dictionary clearly and deliberately demonstrate their "national" position on the Cossack question.

To ensure continued funding for the dictionary's development, the editors have repeatedly appealed to all Cossacks to participate in its publication through pre-paid subscriptions and direct donations.

For example, the note quoted above stated:

"The editors, who have worked for years without compensation while donating their own funds to cover the resulting expenses, expect broad support for the publishing house in the form of donations or advance subscriptions (or both). The price of the first volume by advance subscription is \$4, and after its publication, it will be \$1 more."

The editorial board's periodic reports on receipts regularly reported how much money had been deposited into the publisher's bank account and from whom. A. I. Skrylov reported the names of all donors, regardless of the amount. As an example, we present a full, short report on receipts and the account balance as of January 1, 1964, published in the same issue of Rodimiy Kray. In it, A. I. Skrylov reported \$56 in receipts, \$30 in total. And, including previous receipts, the total balance in the bank as of January 1, 1964, was \$666.23, in the name of A. Skrylov. Separate records were kept of donations in French francs, Canadian dollars, and the like.

Here, Skrylov thanked the donors, reported on the historical materials received, and emphasized the Cossacks' responsibility to their history: "The editors sincerely thank the donors, while simultaneously greeting all the employees who submitted materials, united in their duty to their native history. Businesslike cooperation is a manifestation: from Cossack – through Cossacks – to Cossacks – may it serve as a beneficial example for those who have yet to abstain." The publisher also lamented that "More funds are required for the two-volume edition, and therefore the collection of donations continues, and they will be gratefully accepted." Dozens more examples of similar publications and appeals in the Cossack press of the time could be cited. And everywhere, the authors-publishers, their staff, and the dictionary's supporters continually emphasize the historiographical necessity of this publication.

Thus, the main task of the editors of the first ever

Cossack encyclopedia was to show and substantiate their own, independent Cossack view of their own history and culture. One of the two editors-in-chief of the dictionary, A. I. Skrylov, in the article "Around our dictionary", published in the Cossack magazine "Rodimiy Kray", directly stated that in general publications the history of the Cossacks is hushed up and distorted. In particular, he analyzes numerous examples of coverage of the history of the Civil War from the "Complete Encyclopedic Dictionary of F. Pavlenkov", 1956 edition in New York, which, according to Skrylov himself, is "full of sprawling cranberries" about the Cossacks. As a result, Skrylov makes the following conclusion: "This is how and what is written in those "foreign", that is, non-Cossack dictionaries, which, by the way, were recommended to us by the "voice from the ravine". That is why we need our Cossack Dictionary-Reference Book, called "The Small Cossack Encyclopedia."

And so, for the truthful coverage of the history of the Cossacks, the publisher makes another appeal to the Cossacks: "Whoever truly feels like a Cossack inside should help in every way possible so that it is published as soon as possible." After this appeal, the publisher, as usual, publishes "Another financial report on donations to the Small Cossack Encyclopedia Fund," where, after the usual detailed listing of all the Cossacks who sent money, he reports that a total of 1,048.78 dollars have already been collected.

As a result of numerous donations from ordinary Cossacks, the full support of the publication by the Cossack community and press, and many years of work by the compiler of the dictionary G. V. Gubarev and the editor-publisher A. I. Skrylov, they were able to successfully implement the planned publication under the title "Cossack Dictionary-Reference Book". It was published in the USA in three volumes: the first volume in 1966 in Cleveland, Ohio, the second (1968) and the third (1970) in San Anselmo, California.

Recently, the Gubarev-Skrylov dictionary was republished in Russia by the Veche publishing house under the title Encyclopedia of the Cossacks. However, the original text of the dictionary was subjected to significant censorship editing. Its essence was expressed in his laudatory review of December 5, 2007 by Yuri Soshin: "The publishers of the Encyclopedia of the Cossacks were faced with the task of revising the Cossack Dictionary Handbook, freeing it from elements of "Cossackism", as well as outdated and incomprehensible information for the modern reader. It was necessary to revise, deepen, supplement and comment on many articles and create a virtually new edition that would best meet modern Russian public demands. This serious and profound work was carried out (special thanks must be given to the editor of the publication, Bazhen Petukhov), and as a result, a deep, balanced and multifaceted book appeared, fully worthy of the demands of the current 21st

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century.”

The publication of the "Dictionary" was perceived by the émigré Cossacks as a truly national undertaking, a national expression of the Cossack diaspora, proof of its ideological viability in post-war emigration. These national sentiments of the Cossack diaspora were best expressed by the dictionary's publisher himself, so we present his preface below, uncensored.

Concluding the Cossack epic of publishing his "independent" dictionary, in the word "From the publisher" preceding the final, third volume, A. I. Skrylov wrote: "Concluding with this volume the ten-year work on publishing the Cossack Dictionary, I consider it my duty to note with gratitude the assistance that, contributing to the success of the matter, was provided by.

1) the editors of the publications "Rodimy Kray", "Kazache Yedinstvo", "Kazak" (Parisian), "Kazache Slovo" and others, publishing publications about the Dictionary.

2) the atamans of the Chicago villages, who carried out collections for the publication fund.

3) individual large donors: the immensely generous S. M. Marshall, the Metropolitan Opera artist N. M. Gedda-Ustinov, T. I. Komarov, engineer A. S. Maliy, engineer N. N. Pugachev, Dr. V. L. Luzanov, G. L. Kornilov, N. E. Kovalev, V. P. Rastrigin, G. V. Boychevsky and P. A. Pyatnitsa with a group of Kubanites from Venezuela.

4) Persons who took on the voluntary work of distributing the Dictionary among the groups of Cossack settlements: A. G. Fedosov - in England; P. A. Pyatnitsa - in Venezuela; B. A. Bogaevsky, A. M. Shchepikhin and E. I. Kostenko - in France; F. V. Pukhalsky and A. G. Pavlov - in the USA.

5) G. V. Karpenko, who took on the trouble of completing the third volume of the Dictionary in Argentina.

6) All those who sent money for an advance subscription to the Dictionary.

7) All those who gave a favorable review of the Dictionary and thus supported us spiritually. The above-mentioned individuals helped the publisher bring this project to a successful conclusion. My deepest gratitude to them all! The task was difficult, but the idea of serving our native Cossack people, without any considerations of personal gain or advantage, inspired and empowered us. With the publication of this final volume, the goal can be considered achieved. We have not lived idle in this world! Grateful editor-publisher A. Skrylov, Senior Sergeant of the Kuban Cossack Host.

California, 1969." Such lofty expressions reveal undisguised Cossack pride and awareness of the great historiographical significance of the work accomplished.

The publication of the "Cossack Dictionary" once again demonstrated the Cossacks' keen interest

in their own history and their desire for independent historiographic creativity, creating a distinct history of the Cossacks. The main guiding idea of this publication was the authors' conviction of the national independence and distinctiveness of the Cossacks among other peoples of Russia, and, consequently, the need for a comprehensive study of Cossack history and culture.

The most extensive and independent study of Cossack history in exile was the fundamental four-volume monograph by Andrei Andreevich Gordeyev, published in Paris in 1968. The main distinguishing feature of this study was its desire to create a comprehensive picture of Cossack history within the overall context of Russian history. Within this context, it demonstrated and emphasized the uniqueness and distinctiveness of Cossack history, its origins, its existence outside of Rus', and the long, difficult process of the Cossack regions' incorporation into Russia and their subsequent existence within the Russian Empire.

Gordeev's fundamental position as a researcher is close in spirit to White Cossack nationalism. In many ways, it also aligns with the works of his predecessors, such as V.D. Sukhorukov and E.P. Savelyev. On the other hand, Gordeev remains a White officer, a monarchist, and a Russian patriot. He clearly cannot imagine the future existence of the Cossacks apart from Russia. This aligns Gordeev with the historiographical tradition common to the émigrés. However, Gordeev's "History of the Cossacks" also reveals his sympathy for Cossack autonomism.

Gordeev traces the origins of the Cossacks to the history of the Golden Horde. He associates the formation of the Cossacks in their modern form with this state. At the same time, Gordeev unequivocally rejects "Western" interpretations of the Cossacks' origins, rejecting the Western (German) etymology of Cossack words and specific terms, such as "ataman" and "hetman," derived from the German "vatman," and similar etymological constructs. Recall that such ideas were one of the ways in which the "Aryan" origins of the Cossacks were substantiated in the "Gothic theory" of the Cossack Nazis.

According to Gordeev, the ethnic basis of the Cossacks were the Brodniki—a Slavic (but not Russian) population of the Don region. During the years of the Golden Horde's yoke, they were joined by masses of "Russian youth," brought by the Mongols from the Russian principalities as "tamga"—blood tribute—reinforcements for the auxiliary troops of the Mongol army. They were assigned Tatar units, and Tatar commanders were appointed. From this, Gordeev derives a Turkic element in the ethnic makeup and culture of the Cossacks.

These auxiliary troops served as border guards for the Horde, formed light cavalry and infantry units, and maintained the Horde's postal and yamskoy (roads, crossings, transportation, and

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communications) infrastructure. As Gordeyev argued, it was from this specific element of Horde life that the Don, as well as the Terek, Yaik, and other Cossacks, emerged over several centuries. Only much later, after the overthrow of the Horde yoke in Rus' and the collapse of the Golden Horde, did fugitive Russian and Ukrainian peasants begin to join the Cossack ranks.

Gordeyev particularly emphasizes the distinctive lifestyle, cultural and political autonomy, and independence of the Cossack military republics. Organizationally, they emerged as part of the Golden Horde, and only with its collapse did they gain independence and state sovereignty. Only much later did the gradual and lengthy process of integrating the Cossack troops into Russia begin.

According to Gordeyev, the Cossack troops long maintained their distinctiveness and state independence. The historian specifically and repeatedly emphasizes that all communications with the Cossacks were conducted through the Ambassadorial Prikaz. He notes that this constituted Moscow's diplomatic recognition of Cossack sovereignty. This clearly demonstrates Gordeyev's undisguised sympathy for the Cossack freemen, his distinctive political autonomy.

At the same time, Gordeev is not at all inclined to Cossackism; he tries to be emphatically objective in covering Russian-Cossack relations. Moreover, Gordeev builds the entire history of the Cossacks on the all-Russian historical background. It was precisely this objectivity of Gordeev that made his "History of the Cossacks" so popular in the Cossack environment. His history was equally close and understandable to all Cossacks, regardless of their political preferences. This same feature made Gordeev's work especially in demand and relevant in the modern history of the Russian Federation, both for the Cossacks themselves and for historians and other scientists studying them.

Working in exile, Gordeyev could not avoid the limitations common to émigré historians, namely, the lack of access to archival materials and documents and the general limited source base. Furthermore, Gordeyev was a professional military officer. He graduated from the Vilnius Military Academy, but was not a professional historian and did not receive a classical (university) education. Nevertheless, Gordeyev himself was an active participant in both World War I and the Civil War. He knew many White Army officers and émigré figures and was able to draw on émigré literature and sources brought into exile, such as regimental archives and similar materials. Gordeyev's main contribution, however, was the development of this approach, specifically the Cossack perspective on their own history within the context of the history of their homeland.

At the moment, only very little can be said with certainty about the personality of this historian of the Cossacks, and a thorough study of his biography

remains a difficult task for future research.

A. V. Shishov's popular publication, "100 Great Cossacks," devotes a separate article to Gordeev. It's worth noting that Shishov also served as a scholarly commentator for one of the latest editions of "The History of the Cossacks," albeit under the modified title "History of the Cossacks," where he wrote a preface dedicated to Gordeev and his major historical work. To be fair, the article in the popular publication almost completely repeats this preface.

Some of Shishov's statements are apparently untrue. Thus, he claims that the date and place of Gordeev's death "are unknown to us," and "we only know that he did not live to see World War II." However, in Gordeev's book, the author states: "World War II opened up broader prospects for the leaders of communism." In addition, summing up his "History," Gordeev directly states that fifty years have passed since the establishment of Bolshevik power, comparing the country's situation with 1918. From this, one can draw an unambiguous conclusion that the text of the book was completed in 1967 or 1968, that is, at the same time as the first volume was published in Paris.

In the most fundamental encyclopedia to date, "Cossacks", a very short article is devoted to Gordeev, also stating that the place and year of the historian's death remained unknown. The article only lists Gordeev's military path and awards in Russia. No information is given about his fate in exile, and about his historical works it is only said that Gordeev is the author of "The History of the Cossacks" in 4 volumes.

Some reliable information about Gordeev in exile can be found in the Database of the Biographical Dictionary "Russian Abroad in France" on the official website of the Cultural Center "Marina Tsvetaeva House Museum". The dictionary itself was compiled by the joint efforts of a large group of Russian and French authors with the participation of a number of émigré organizations and French archives and libraries. It contains more than 16 thousand biographical references. We will cite the dictionary reference in full verbatim here: "Gordeev Andrei Andreevich (November 30, 1886, st. Ust-Medveditskaya, Don region - November 8, 1977, Nantes, buried at the Sainte-Genevieve-des-Bois cemetery). Colonel of the Don Army, Cossack writer, historian. Husband of L. G. Gordeeva. Graduated from the Vilnius Military School. Participant in the world and civil wars. Awarded the St. George's weapon. In exile, he lived in France. Worked as a driver. Member of the Society of Russian Drivers. Collaborated with the magazine "Atamansky Vestnik" (1938). After World War II, he published in "Voenno-Istorichesky Vestnik", "Rodim Krai". The author of the two-volume "History of the Cossacks" (only the first volume was published, Paris, 1968), works on the history of the world war (not published), etc. From all this, we can conclude that further searches and

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research of the historiographical legacy of A. A. Gordeev, as well as the study of his creative and personal biography, remain an important and urgent task today, still awaiting its solution.

The emigrant military memoirs are distinguished by their uniqueness, devoted mainly to the events and analysis of the lost Civil War and the creation of an idealized picture of the old, pre-revolutionary Russia. The main content of emigrant memoirs becomes the individual and collective reflection of the Whites, including Cossack officers.

White émigré memoirs, especially those of the events of the Civil War in the South of Russia, are extremely extensive and, in our opinion, have not been sufficiently studied. For many years, domestic researchers were effectively deprived of the opportunity to objectively and widely use material from this source. The main role here was played not only and not so much by censorship ideological restrictions and the relative inaccessibility of materials of "Western" origin, but by restrictions that were paradigmatic in nature for domestic historiography of the Soviet period.

In post-Soviet Russia, the explosive growth of interest in this issue was expressed both in a huge number of publications and in special studies devoted to the White movement in general and the Cossacks in particular.

Since the late 1980s, reprints of White émigré memoirs have been widely published in Russia. General Denikin's "Essays on the Russian Time of Troubles," first published in the USSR in 1991, deservedly ranks first in this category. Of particular note is the reprint of the Archives of the Russian Revolution, first published by I. V. Hessen in Berlin in the early 1920s. Joseph Hessen (1865–1943), a member of the Central Committee of the Cadet Party, headed the well-known émigré publishing house "Slovo" in Berlin. The "Archive" contains documents, diaries, and memoirs, among which the memoirs of P. N. Krasnov, A. S. Lukomsky, and the Kuban ataman, General Filimonov, N. Voronovich, B. Kazanovich, G. Williams, V. M. Krasnov and others. In these memoirs, diaries and documents our. The events of the Civil War, primarily in southern Russia and the participation of the Cossacks, were reflected. Other collections of memoirs, including those related to the Cossacks, were later published.

In the 1990s, such books often lacked full publication information. These publications, essentially illegal, could be found at nationalist literature dumps. In subsequent years, memoirs of even such odious figures as Ataman A.G. Shkuro were published quite respectably.

On the occasion of the half-century anniversary of the Cossack diaspora, the magazine "Rodimiy Kray" published a series of articles covering the history of the Cossacks in exile from 1920 to 1970. In particular, in the article by N. M. Melnikov, the successes of the

Cossack émigrés in cultural, scientific, historiographical and sports life were especially noted. Over 50 years in exile, the Cossacks published "more than two hundred books of historical content" and more than a hundred books of fiction, over 170 Cossack newspapers and magazines were published during these years, the majority of which were in France - over 40 titles. These far from complete figures allow us to estimate the scale of the historiographical and cultural contribution of the Cossack diaspora to the study of the phenomenon of the Cossacks.

Conclusion

In summing up this review of the development and evolution of Cossack émigré historiography, several conclusions can be drawn. The main achievement of "independent" Cossack historiography during the Civil War and the "White Guard" emigration in the 1920s–1980s was the development of the Cossack historiography of the émigrés.

One can consider the emergence of a specifically Cossack historiography within the general flow of "white" (or, if you prefer, anti-Soviet) historical and journalistic literature. It was the first, albeit only partially, to overcome the limitations of the class approach. It was in emigration, in the context of the Cossack diaspora, that "independent" historiography received its full, ideologically shaped, and theoretically grounded development.

The main guiding idea of "independent" historiography in exile was the development of a view of the Cossacks as a distinctive people, possessing all the attributes of national identity. This "Cossack nationalism" was a direct consequence of the stateless Cossacks' understanding of the tragedy of their expulsion from their historical homeland, and their persistent perception and understanding of the Soviet policy of decossackization as a planned national genocide.

The historiographic creativity of the Cossack émigrés was not only an expression of natural nostalgia, but, primarily, a means of overcoming the historical trauma of the defeat of the Cossack military republics in the Civil War.

The "independent" historiography of the Cossack diaspora has had, and continues to have, a significant influence on domestic historiography of the Cossacks. In many ways, this émigré legacy became the ideological foundation upon which the Cossack revival took place in the modern history of the Russian Federation and several other republics of the former USSR.

In the Soviet Union, "independent" Cossack historiography was completely banned; it was officially considered anti-Soviet literature, and its possession was equated with a crime against the state. The current popularity of "independent" literature is

Impact Factor:	ISRA (India)	= 6.317	SIS (USA)	= 0.912	ICV (Poland)	= 6.630
	ISI (Dubai, UAE)	= 1.582	PIIHQ (Russia)	= 0.191	PIF (India)	= 1.940
	GIF (Australia)	= 0.564	ESJI (KZ)	= 8.100	IBI (India)	= 4.260
	JIF	= 1.500	SJIF (Morocco)	= 7.184	OAJI (USA)	= 0.350

largely a result of the silence surrounding this issue in previous years. On the other hand, the very existence of this historiographic school in exile forced Soviet

historical scholarship to seek an alternative perspective on the historical phenomenon of the Cossacks.

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