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**PROMETHEAN LEAGUE: RESISTANCE TO SOVIET EXPANSION IN EASTERN
EUROPE (1926–1939)**

Abstract

This article examines the history of the Prometheus Movement as a multiethnic intellectual and political front of resistance formed in Eastern Europe during the 1920s–1930s against the ideological and geopolitical expansion of the Soviet Union. Established on the basis of Poland's strategic foreign policy principles, the movement brought together émigré representatives of the non-Russian peoples of the USSR within a common anti-Soviet platform. The study analyzes the history of the movement's formation, its political and philosophical foundations, publishing activities, its role in the information and propaganda struggle against Soviet rule, its activities in the field of cultural diplomacy, and its structural limitations. In addition, the article examines the imprint left by the movement on the political memory of Eastern Europe and its echoes in the post-Soviet period. Through the political activities of émigrés from Turkic peoples led by Mustafa Shokay, the study analyzes their place and role in the development and formation of Sovietology as an academic field. Based on historiographical and source-based analyses, the article concludes that the Prometheus Front was not only a historical phenomenon but also a lasting forum for debates surrounding issues of identity, sovereignty, and intellectual resistance. A factual analysis of the history of the anti-Soviet struggle waged by political émigrés from Turkic peoples in Eastern Europe brings new content to this topic.

Keywords: Promethee Movement; Eastern European History; Soviet Expansionism; Non-Russian Peoples; Intellectual Resistance

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ПРОМЕТЕЙ ЛИГАСЫ: ШЫҒЫС ЕУРОПАДАҒЫ КЕҢЕСТІК ЭКСПАНСИЯҒА ҚАРСЫ КҮРЕС (1926–1939)

Аңдатпа

Бұл мақалада 1920–1930 жылдары Шығыс Еуропада Кеңес Одағының идеологиялық және геосаяси экспансиясына қарсы құрылған көпэтносты зияткерлік әрі саяси қарсылық майданы ретінде Прометей қозғалысының тарихы қарастырылады. Польша сыртқы саясатының стратегиялық ұстанымы негізінде қалыптасқан бұл қозғалыс КСРО құрамындағы орыс емес халықтардың эмиграциядағы өкілдерін ортақ антикеңестік тұғырнама аясында біріктірді. Зерттеуде қозғалыстың құрылу тарихы, ұстанған саяси-философиялық өзегі, баспа қызметі, кеңестік билікке қарсы акпараттық-насихаттық күрестегі рөлі, мәдени дипломатия саласындағы қызметі және оның құрылымдық шектеулері талданады. Сонымен қатар қозғалыстың Шығыс Еуропаның саяси жадында қалдырған ізі мен посткеңестік кезеңдегі жаңғырықтары қарастырылады. Мұстафа Шоқай бастаған түркі халықтары саяси эмигранттарының саяси қызметі арқылы советология ғылыми бағытының дамуы мен қалыптасуындағы орны мен рөлі талданады. Тарихнамалық және деректік талдаулар нәтижесінде мақалада Прометей майданы тек тарихи құбылыс ретінде ғана емес, сонымен қатар бірегейлік, егемендік және зияткерлік қарсылық мәселелері төңірегінде өрбіген тұрақты пікірталас алаңы болды деген ғылыми тұжырым жасалады. Зерттеуде түркі халықтары саяси эмигранттарының Шығыс Еуропада жүргізген антикеңестік күресі тарихының деректік негізде талдануы тақырыпты жаңа мазмұнмен толықтырады.

Түйін сөздер: Прометей қозғалысы; Шығыс Еуропа тарихы; кеңестік экспансионизм; орыс емес халықтар; зияткерлік қарсылық.

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ПРОМЕТЕЕВСКАЯ ЛИГА: БОРЬБА ПРОТИВ СОВЕТСКОЙ ЭКСПАНСИИ В ВОСТОЧНОЙ ЕВРОПЕ (1926–1939)

Аннотация

В данной статье рассматривается история движения «Прометей» как многоэтнического интеллектуального и политического фронта сопротивления, сформированного в 1920–1930-х годах в Восточной Европе против идеологической и геополитической экспансии Советского Союза. Сформировавшееся на основе стратегических установок внешней политики Польши, это движение объединило представителей нерусских народов СССР, находившихся в

эмиграции, на платформе общей антисоветской позиции. В исследовании анализируются история создания движения, его политико-философские основы, издательская деятельность, роль в информационно-пропагандистской борьбе против советской власти, деятельность в сфере культурной дипломатии, а также его структурные ограничения. Кроме того, рассматриваются след, оставленный движением в политической памяти Восточной Европы, и его отголоски в постсоветский период. На примере политической деятельности эмигрантов тюркских народов во главе с Мустафой Шокаем анализируются их место и роль в развитии и становлении советологии как научного направления. На основе историографического и источниковедческого анализа в статье делается научный вывод о том, что фронт «Прометей» являлся не только историческим феноменом, но и устойчивой площадкой для дискуссий вокруг вопросов идентичности, суверенитета и интеллектуального сопротивления. Фактологический анализ истории антисоветской борьбы, которую вели политические эмигранты из числа тюркских народов в Восточной Европе, привносит новое содержание в эту тему.

Ключевые слова: Движение Прометей; История Восточной Европы; Советская экспансия; Нерусские народы СССР; Интеллектуальное сопротивление.

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**PROMETHEUS BİRLİĞİ: DOĞU AVRUPA'DA SOVYET YAYILMACILIĞINA
KARŞI MÜCADELE (1926–1939)**

Özet

Bu makale, 1920'ler ve 1930'larda Doğu Avrupa'da Sovyetler Birliği'nin ideolojik ve jeopolitik genişlemesine karşı kurulan çok etnikli bir entelektüel ve siyasi direniş cephesi olan Prometheus hareketinin tarihini inceliyor. Polonya dış politikasının stratejik ilkelerine dayanarak kurulan bu hareket, sürgündeki SSCB'li Rus olmayan halkların temsilcilerini ortak bir Sovyet karşıtı pozisyon etrafında birleştirdi. Bu çalışma, hareketin tarihini, siyasi ve felsefi temellerini, yayın faaliyetlerini, Sovyet iktidarına karşı bilgi ve propaganda kampanyasındaki rolünü, kültürel diplomasi alanındaki faaliyetlerini ve yapısal sınırlamalarını analiz etmektedir. Ayrıca, hareketin Doğu Avrupa'nın siyasi hafızasındaki izini ve Sovyet sonrası dönemdeki yankılarını incelemektedir. Mustafa Şokay önderliğindeki Türk göçmenlerin siyasi faaliyetleri örneğini kullanarak, Sovyetoloji'nin bir bilim dalı olarak gelişmesi ve kurulmasındaki yerlerini ve rollerini analiz etmektedir. Bu makale, tarihsel ve kaynak analizine dayanarak, Prometheus Cephesi'nin sadece tarihsel bir olgu değil, aynı zamanda kimlik, egemenlik ve entelektüel direniş konularında istikrarlı bir tartışma platformu olduğu sonucuna varmaktadır. Doğu Avrupa'daki Türk halklarından gelen siyasi muhacirlerin yürüttüğü Sovyet karşıtı mücadelenin tarihine dair olgusal bir analiz, bu konuya yeni bir içerik kazandırmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Prometheus Hareketi; Doğu Avrupa Tarihi; Sovyet Genişlemesi; SSCB'nin Rus Olmayan Halkları; Entelektüel Direniş.

Introduction.

On the eve of the Second World War, Europe was a landscape not only of redrawn borders but also of deepening ideological polarization. On one side stood fascism and National Socialism; on the other, socialism and communism – dividing the continent along stark lines. At the center of this cleavage were the Soviet Union's increasingly expansionist policies. Empowered by the rhetoric of "proletarian internationalism" following the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution, Moscow was in effect constructing a new imperialism cloaked in ideology. For many European countries, the threat of Soviet expansionism was experienced not merely as a military danger but as cultural and ideological penetration. This was particularly pronounced in Eastern Europe.

Historically, Eastern Europe has been a collision zone of empires and a focal point of great-power rivalry. In the first half of the twentieth century, the region functioned as a natural "buffer zone" between the Soviet Union and Western Europe. Countries such as Poland, Czechoslovakia, the Baltic states, and Romania – by virtue of their geopolitical location and multi-ethnic social fabrics – became direct targets of Soviet influence. The area was crucial not only for military strategy but also for ideological hegemony. Soviet propaganda directed at local populations, the influence cultivated through indigenous communist parties, and mechanisms of economic dependency subjected Eastern Europe to mounting Soviet pressure.

It was under these conditions that the émigré intelligentsia of non-Russian peoples – residing outside Russia – found common cause with the Polish state's security strategies. Georgian, Ukrainian, Azerbaijani, North Caucasian, Turkestani, and other intellectuals continued their national struggles for independence in exile against Soviet totalitarianism. Their anti-Moscow discourse nourished not only their own national causes but also the wider European resistance to Soviet power. For its part, Poland – having regained independence in 1918 – perceived the Soviet threat as existential and moved to cooperate with these intellectuals. From this shared ground emerged the Promethee Movement, the product of both the organized struggle of the émigré intelligentsia and Poland's strategic quest for security.

The rationale for establishing the Promethee Front was not confined to anti-Soviet sentiment; it also expressed the determination of non-Russian peoples to preserve their national identities and ideals of independence. By taking its name from Prometheus – the mythic figure who defied the gods – the movement symbolized the desire for freedom in the face of Soviet hegemony. Organized under Polish leadership and attentive to the region's geopolitical significance, the Front fashioned a multi-layered platform of resistance to Soviet expansionism.

Methodology

This investigation utilizes a qualitative historical research methodology to explore the function of the Promethean Movement in opposing Soviet colonialism in Eastern Europe from 1926 to 1939. The study is grounded on the principles of historical analysis and political discourse investigation, enabling a thorough evaluation of the movement's ideological bases, organizational framework, and political endeavors.

Multiple complementary research techniques were implemented.

Initially, the historical-comparative approach was applied to study the political circumstances that arose after the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 and to contrast the experiences of diverse non-Russian populations integrated into the Soviet Union. This technique facilitated the identification of shared resistance and collaboration patterns among Ukrainian, Azerbaijani, Turkestani, and other émigré groups.

Subsequently, the historical-genetic method was applied to find the origins and progression of the Promethean Movement from its scholarly foundations in the post-revolutionary era its institutional growth under Polish sponsorship during the interwar period. This strategy allowed for an analysis of causal connections among Soviet nationality policies, political exile, and the establishment of anti-Soviet systems across Europe.

The empirical foundation of the research comprises both primary and secondary sources. Primary materials consist of Promethean publications, modern diplomatic documents, political

correspondence, and letters by notable émigré leaders such as Mustafa Çokay. Secondary materials include academic monographs, scholarly articles, archival research, and historical studies focused on Prometheanism, Polish foreign relations, and anti-Soviet movements in Eastern Europe.

The multidisciplinary integration of historical, political, and discourse-centered methodologies offers a comprehensive framework for assessing the relevance of the Promethean Movement as a coordinated intellectual and political reaction to Soviet expansionism in Eastern Europe during the interwar years.

Analysis and results

This article examines the role of the Promethee Movement – active between 1926 and 1939 – in resisting Soviet expansion in Eastern Europe. It analyzes the ideological, political, and cultural activities of the émigré non-Russian intelligentsia, Poland's support for the movement, and the broader international ramifications across Europe. Primary sources include the journal Promethee, articles by Mustafa Çokay and other leading émigré authors of the period, Polish archival documents, and contemporary diplomatic reports.

The article proceeds as follows: The first section outlines ideological polarization in Europe before the Second World War and situates Soviet expansionism within that context. The second section discusses Eastern Europe's geopolitical position and its function as a buffer zone. The third section focuses on the emergence of the Promethee Movement, the activities of the émigré intelligentsia, and the movement's linkage to Polish strategy. The final section evaluates the Promethee Movement's legacy in European intellectual and political history.

Accordingly, this study aims to illuminate not only an anti-Soviet front but also a distinctive model of resistance shaped at the intersection of national movements in Eastern Europe and the international balance of power.

The Emergence of the Promethee Movement: Historical Background (1917–1926)

The 1917 Bolshevik Revolution marked the onset of a period in which the Russian Empire disintegrated and a new political order was tentatively constructed. Although the Bolsheviks theoretically envisaged a federative system promising equality to all peoples, in practice this arrangement quickly gave way to a centralized Soviet structure [1, 9]. The principle of “the right of nations to self-determination,” developed by Lenin and Stalin, was initially deployed to placate non-Russian populations; within a few years, however, it became an instrument for securing Moscow's absolute control. As ethnopolitical tensions intensified from Central Asia to the Caucasus and from the Baltic to Ukraine, coercive military interventions and administrative reorganization were aimed at suppressing local nationalist movements. In the eyes of the former imperial subjects, this process laid bare Soviet federalism as a colonial illusion [2, 12–13].

At precisely this juncture, newly reconstituted Poland formulated a geopolitical strategy befitting its circumstances. Under the leadership of Józef Piłsudski, the “Intermarium” (Międzymorze) project envisaged a broad federative alliance stretching from the Baltic Sea to the Black Sea and on to the Adriatic. The core objective of this vision was to establish a regional security belt against both Germany and the Soviet Union. Piłsudski's strategic insight recognized that the Soviet Union was not merely a Russian state but a multinational empire that held diverse peoples under domination. Supporting the independence aspirations of non-Russian nations thus signified for Poland not only ideological solidarity but also a concrete security policy. This approach soon came to be known as the “Promethee Strategy,” and from the 1920s it acquired an institutional dimension [3], [4], [5].

Despite severe Bolshevik repression, the nationalist opposition of non-Russian peoples within the USSR did not abate. Nationalist intellectuals and politicians in Ukraine, Georgia, Azerbaijan, and the Central Asian regions continued their efforts to establish sovereign nation-states against Soviet rule. Most of these initiatives were crushed – often bloodily – by the Red Army. Consequently, the ideal of independence persisted not only at home but also in exile [6, 46–50]; [5, 41–42]; [7, 148–154]. From the 1920s onward, flows of émigrés to centers such as Paris, Berlin, Warsaw, and Istanbul created the foundations for the international organization of an anti-Soviet intelligentsia. This diaspora

was both a direct consequence of Soviet repression and a reflection of Europe's growing anxieties regarding Soviet expansionism.

Paris, Warsaw, and Berlin constituted the initial intellectual and political hubs of the Promethee Movement. Following Piłsudski's 1926 coup, Warsaw emerged as the political center of Promethean activity. The Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, together with the Second Department of the General Staff, provided financial and organizational support. The Eastern Institute, established in the same year, furnished the movement's intellectual infrastructure through meetings and publications. By the 1930s, Warsaw had become the principal node directing branches in Paris, Finland, Turkey, and Harbin [4, 299] [3,315].

Paris functioned as the movement's most prominent international center. *Le Prométhée*, launched in 1926, rapidly evolved into the common organ of the Promethean front. The establishment of Polish intelligence branches there facilitated strong ties with émigré leaders. Ukrainian, Georgian, and Turkestanian figures contributed to the journal and engaged in sustained political activity [8], [9], [10].

Paris emerged as a focal point where émigré intellectuals from the Caucasus, Turkestan, and Azerbaijan pursued diplomatic contacts and launched publishing initiatives. Berlin, particularly in the early 1920s, served as a meeting ground both for White Army officers fleeing Russia and for non-Russian intellectuals [7, 216]. Warsaw, by contrast, became the principal center in which the Promethee Movement was institutionalized and anti-Soviet activities were organized with the support of the Polish state. By furnishing political and financial assistance, Polish intelligence services and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs enabled these intellectuals to become key actors in an "ideological front" against the Soviet Union [8, 185], [10, 536–37], [6, 201].

The historical background between 1917 and 1926 reveals the convergence of three fundamental factors explaining the emergence of the Promethee Movement: the failure of Soviet federalism and the escalation of ethno-political tensions; Poland's strategic vision under Józef Piłsudski; and the organizational consolidation of the non-Russian émigré intelligentsia across Europe. These conditions laid the groundwork for the Movement's acquisition of an institutional identity from 1926 onward and for its rise as one of the most important platforms of anti-Soviet resistance in Eastern Europe [6, 36–37].

The Structure and Coordination of the Promethee Front. Although founded in 1926 with Paris as its initial headquarters, the Promethee Movement quickly evolved beyond the confines of a purely French or Polish political project to become a shared intellectual platform for non-Russian peoples within the Soviet Union seeking to preserve their ethno-political identities. Ideologically, the movement was not monolithic; rather, it constituted a mosaic encompassing diverse regional, cultural, and political agendas. A common opposition to Soviet centralism, however, provided an overarching framework capable of accommodating these differences.

Coordination was conducted primarily through Paris and Warsaw [4, 230]. Paris, the city with the densest concentration of émigré intelligentsia, functioned as the center for both publishing and diplomacy [8, 133–35]; Warsaw, drawing on the intelligence and logistical backing of the Polish state, supplied the movement with strategic depth [8, 536–37]. Cities such as Berlin, Prague, and Istanbul developed into auxiliary hubs where affiliated circles maintained activity [5, 49–50].

The Promethee Front did not possess a single "central committee" or a rigid hierarchical structure. Instead, it operated through a confederative consultative network composed of ethnic and regional representative groups. Regular consultative meetings and editorial commissions took shape within this framework [7, 259–60].

Participating Peoples and Ethno-political Diversity

One of the movement's most distinctive features was its inclusion of émigré representatives from numerous non-Russian peoples within the Soviet Union [6, 571]. The principal contributing groups included:

Caucasians: The government-in-exile of the Democratic Republic of Georgia was among the movement's earliest and most organized components. Together with representatives from Azerbaijan

and Armenia, the Caucasian diaspora exerted significant weight in shaping the movement's diplomatic discourse [5, 84–85].

Ukrainians: Members of the Paris-based exile government of the Ukrainian People's Republic were regular contributors to *Promethee's* editorial and diplomatic activities, and played a decisive role in exposing human tragedies such as the Holodomor on international platforms [9, 127–28], [12, 380].

Turkestanis: Kazakhs, Uzbeks, Turkmens, Kyrgyz, and Uyghurs rallied under the broader identity of Turkestan, producing joint publications and advancing a federal model of association – eschewing overt Pan-Turkist formulations – in favor of a more inclusive framework [7, 229–30].

Crimean and Volga–Ural Representatives: Tatars, Bashkirs, and Chuvash advocated cultural autonomy in response to Soviet language and religious policies; some members strengthened the intellectual profile of the movement through scholarly publications [4, 221], [11].

Each of these constituencies sought to render its own historical memory, cultural codes, and political claims visible within the *Promethee* platform. This diversity, however, also generated occasional discursive and strategic divergences. Georgian and Ukrainian representatives tended to favor a nation-state model, while Turkestani actors often advanced federal solutions; Tatar–Bashkir circles largely emphasized cultural autonomy and Islamic identity [6, 355]. Despite such differences, the *Promethee* Movement succeeded in forging unity amid diversity, becoming one of the rare émigré organizations capable of sustaining a coordinated front [13].

Political Representation and the Quest for Legitimacy

Members of the *Promethee* Front pursued not only propaganda activities but also claims to political representation on international platforms. Political efforts conducted in and around the League of Nations – particularly in diplomatic centers such as Paris and Geneva – were of great importance for the *Promethee* Movement and its affiliated groups in drawing international attention to the Soviet Union's expansionist and repressive policies and in constructing a collective discourse of resistance. In this context, not only demands advanced on behalf of individual nations but also joint communiqués and letters of protest issued by representatives from various regions of the Soviet realm are noteworthy.

For example, in protest letters submitted to the Fifteenth Assembly of the League of Nations in 1934, representatives in the *Promethee* orbit – delegates of Azerbaijan, Georgia, the North Caucasus, Ukraine, and Turkestan – vehemently opposed admitting the Soviet Union to League membership and articulated their objections “on behalf of the peoples living under Soviet imperialism.” These letters emphasized, among other points, that of Russia's population of 160 million, only 52 percent were ethnic Russians, while the remainder – Ukrainians, the peoples of the Caucasus and Turkestan, Tatars, and other non-Russian communities – lived under Soviet occupation [12, 376–84]. The argument thus took shape in a clear assertion that the Soviet government lacked the right to represent these peoples.

Propaganda and Intellectual Resistance Activities

The most effective arena of the *Promethee* Movement's struggle against Soviet expansionism lay less in armed resistance or bids for diplomatic recognition than in propaganda and the shaping of public opinion. Although the movement's émigré character limited its direct influence within Soviet territories, it successfully fulfilled a mission of exposing the true face of the Soviet system through intellectual mobilization aimed at European publics. In this regard, *Promethee's* most potent instruments were publishing, a multilingual press, seminars, academic collaborations, and practices of cultural diplomacy.

The movement's publishing endeavors were striking in both scope and linguistic diversity. Journals appeared in French, Polish, Georgian, Ukrainian, Turkish, Russian, and English, aiming to carry the movement's message to Western audiences as well as to the Soviet diaspora [7], [13].

Facing the Soviet Union's formidable propaganda apparatus – channeled through VOKS (the All-Union Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries), the Comintern, the TASS news agency, and numerous official periodicals – *Promethee* assumed the task of generating counter-narratives. It produced documents, testimonies, and countermemory materials that exposed Soviet claims. Among the principal instruments of this effort, organized across various European cities, were:

Press conferences

International conferences

Academic panels and symposia

Protest letters and leaflets have been important tools of this struggle

Promethee's Place and Legacy in Eastern European History

Promethee was among the earliest and most organized intellectual fronts developed in response to a new form of imperial domination that took shape in the Soviet Union's formative years. Although the political objectives of participating peoples differed, the common arena of action and multiethnic discourse articulated by Promethee represented a search for alternatives amid Eastern Europe's slide into totalitarianism. In this sense, Promethee may be viewed not merely as an émigré movement but as a foundational form of anti-Soviet intellectual opposition in Eastern Europe.

Promethean ideas persisted in the writings of Polish émigrés who fled to Western Europe and the United States after the Second World War – especially in *Kultura*, edited by Jerzy Giedroyc. *Kultura* advanced a reformulated version of Prometheanism by arguing that Poland should support the independence of its eastern neighbors [14, 184–86], [15].

The Promethee Movement left a deep imprint on postwar political and intellectual currents in Eastern Europe, particularly on debates surrounding Poland's eastern policy and relations with Ukraine. By reinterpreting this legacy and emphasizing the right of nations in the region to self-determination, *Kultura* furnished an important intellectual foundation for anti-Soviet resistance and for future regional reconciliation. These ideas nonetheless encountered various challenges arising from divergent views and territorial claims within Polish émigré circles [16], [17].

In sum, Promethee's legacy in Eastern European history is best read less as a single organization than as a durable political imaginary and method: multiethnic cooperation; the pursuit of international legitimacy by émigré intellectuals through instruments of public diplomacy (journals, communiqués, conference networks); and the alignment of one's own security with the independence of neighboring nations. Reworked in the postwar *Kultura* milieu, this framework regained salience after 1989–1991 in the principles of recognizing independence, reconciliation, and acceptance of borders; at the same time, it offered a cautionary reminder of the fragility of émigré politics, the constraints of realpolitik, and the tensions among national interests. Many concepts circulating today in debates on regional security, minority rights, and historical memory were distilled in this laboratory – placing Promethee in Eastern European history both as an intellectual legacy and as a fruitful analytical lens for comparative studies.

Conclusion

Active between 1926 and 1939, the Promethee Movement represents a distinctive example of a multiethnic, intellectual, and political resistance developed in Eastern Europe against Soviet expansionism. The key dynamics enabling its emergence were the reactions of non-Russian peoples – incorporated into the Soviet system after the Bolshevik Revolution – to national oppression; Poland's regional security strategy; and the broader ideological alignments taking shape across Europe. Within this framework, Promethee functioned both as a vehicle of political representation for the émigré intelligentsia and as an effort to generate an alternative public sphere countering the propaganda narratives of the Soviet regime.

By bringing together émigré representatives of Ukrainians, Georgians, Azerbaijanis, Turkestanis, Tatars, Crimean Tatars, Chechens, and other peoples within the Soviet Union, the movement succeeded in articulating a common language of resistance. Nevertheless, its political impact remained limited: conditions of exile, the absence of a shared program, the West's interest-driven approach, and the global reach of Soviet propaganda meant that Promethee's ideological efforts did not translate into broad political outcomes.

Even so, the importance of the Promethee Front in Eastern European history should be measured not only by its direct contribution to the politics of the period but also by the intellectual legacy it bequeathed. Promethee demonstrated that multiple peoples could craft a shared discourse of resistance to Soviet repression and that themes such as identity, culture, and freedom could provide a

foundation for solidarities transcending national borders. This legacy has inspired post-Soviet nation-building processes and alternative historiographies.

The Promethee Movement can thus be seen not merely as a historical phenomenon but as a polyphonic, multi-actor experience within Eastern Europe's tradition of intellectual resistance. Its historical value merits reconsideration in ways that can enrich contemporary debates on identity, sovereignty, and memory. In this sense, Promethee stands as one of Europe's forgotten – yet deserving of renewed attention – intellectual fronts.

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