

THE REPUBLIC OF AZERBAIJAN

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ABSTRACT

of the dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

**STATE ACTIVITY OF POLITICAL FIGURES OF THE
AZERBAIJAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC
(February 1917 - May 1918)**

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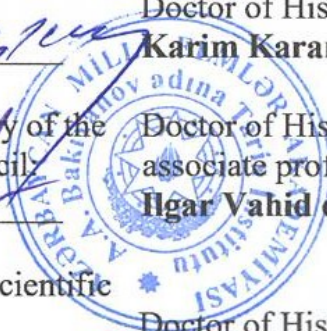
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I.GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF DISSERTATION

The relevance and the development of the subject: Formation and activity of the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic is the main factor that confirmed the great role of leading, progressive figures who have led to the national-democratic and liberation movement. Considering the tense political situation that existed on the eve of the establishment of the republic, it can be said that, the life of the founders and leaders of this state, political and state activities, socio-political visions are good examples. Comprehensively learning the role of prominent representatives, especially M.A.Rasulzadeh in the formation of independent statehood is one of the most important tasks standing in front of historiography. Because, although these figures (M.A.Rasulzadeh, N.Yusifbeyli, F.Kh. Khoyski, A.M. opchubashov, M.H.Hajinski and others) have started political activity at the beginning of the 20th century and the result of their task have been the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic, these people have the status of political figures of the Republic in our historiography, in the press and generally in the memory of our people. The fate and political activities of most of these people ended with the collapse of the ADR in 1920. Other political figures, who have been forced to live a migrant life, have dedicated their actions to the struggle for re-releasing of Azerbaijan.

On May 27, 1994, at a solemn meeting dedicated to the Republic Day, Heydar Aliyev said, “At the beginning of the 20th century, the democratic forces, intellectuals, and political figures of Azerbaijan joined the struggle for the independence of our country and the freedom of our people and established the first Azerbaijan Democratic Republic on May 28, 1918, and announced that that day entered the history of the Azerbaijani people as a great and significant event.”¹

The people and state of Azerbaijan have great respect and gratitude for the memory of the founders of the Azerbaijan Democratic

¹Əliyev H. Müstəqilliyimiz əbədidir: nitqlər, bəyanatlar, məktublar, müsahibələr. İkinci kitab // may, 1994 – dekabr 1994. Bur. məsul R.Mehdiyev. – Bakı: Azər nəşr, 1997. – s. 21

Republic today. Holding the anniversaries of the Republic and its leaders, including M.A. Rasulzadeh, by the order of the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan, Ilham Aliyev, is a clear proof of this.

Several biographical researches dedicated to Azerbaijani political figures have been published. But many aspects of their activities have not been fully studied until now.

Historiography on the subject can be conditionally divided into three groups:

1. The works which dedicated to direct social and political activity of Azerbaijani figures;

2. The works which written by the political figures of the Republic in emigration;

3. The works on the history of Azerbaijan, including the period 1917-1921 and the history of the Republic.

Since Soviet historiography deals with the activities of the leaders of the Azerbaijani national movement and the Republic in the context of the socialist revolution, the struggle for the victory of the Soviet government, and historical processes and events are approached from a class-ideological perspective, its results cannot be objective and scientific. In the propagandistic works² dedicated to the investigated period in the 20s-40s of the 20th century, individual points about the activities of the leaders of the national movement aimed to confirm the doctrines of Bolshevism.

In the 50-80s of the 20th century the most frequently addressed problem of the Azerbaijan Soviet historiography had exactly been the period of 1917-1920 years. With the exception of some works, the research at this stage is mainly dedicated to the struggle of the Bolsheviks for the Soviet power, establishment of the revolutionary movement and Bolshevik Soviet regime in Azerbaijan. In the works of Z.İbrahimov, I.Tokarjevski, I.Huseynov, A.Sumbatzadeh,

² Rathauzer Y. Bakıda inqilab və vətəndaş müharibəsi (1917-1918-ci illər) / Tərcümə edəni Xəlil İbrahim / Y. Rathauzer.-Bakı: Azərnəşr, 1928.-124 s. ; Rathauzer Y. Şura Azərbaycanı uğrunda mübarizə: Aprel inqilabının tarixinə dair / Y. Rathauzer.-Bakı: Azərnəşr, 1929.-116 s ; Аршаруни А. Габидуллин Х. Очерки панисламизма и пантюркизма / А .Аршаруни, Х.Габидуллин. М.: Безбожник, 1931. -140 с.

J.Quliyev, H.Azimov, T.Kocherli and others³ the names of the leaders of the Republic were hardly mentioned, and fragmentary facts only characterized them in a negative way.

The socio-political activity of Azerbaijani political figures on the eve of the establishment of the Republic and their participation in the creation of the South Caucasian state system have been touched upon in the works of a number of Western historians. In the work⁴ of F.Kazimzadeh, there are certain points about the participation of the representatives of the national democratic movement of Azerbaijan in the process of creation of the South Caucasus statehood.

The stages of development of the Azerbaijani national movement, the role of political figures in the all-Russian democratic movement, their services in the formation of the South Caucasus statehood, and the formation of its domestic and foreign policy are reflected in T.Svyatachovsky's book.⁵

After Azerbaijan gained independence, it was possible to illuminate a number of dark pages of our history. Monumental research works were created specially about the historical period of

³İbrahimov Z. Sosialist inqilabı uğrunda Azərbaycan zəhmətkeşlərinin mübarizəsi (1917-1918-ci illər) / Z. İbrahimov. -Bakı: Azərneşr, 1957.-588 s.; Токаряевский Е. Бакинские большевики-организаторы борьбы против турецко-германских и английских интервентов в Азербайджане в 1918 г / Е. Токаряевский. -Баку: Изд. АН, 1949. -175 с.; Сумбатзаде А.С. Социально-экономические предпосылки победы Советской власти в Азербайджане / А.С.Сумбатзаде. -М.: Наука, 1972. -254 с.; Гулиев Дж. Борьба Коммунистической партии за осуществление ленинской национальной политики в Азербайджане / Дж. Гулиев. -Баку: Азернешр, 1970. -706 с.; Гусейнов И.А. Борьба за победу Советской власти в Азербайджане / И.А. Гусейнов.-Баку: АН Аз. ССР, 1967. -569 с.; Азимов Г.С. Великий Октябрь в Азербайджане / Г.С.Азимов. - Баку: Азернешр, 1987. -323 с.; Кочарли Т.К. Исторический поворот в судьбах азербайджанского народа / Т.К. Кочарли. - Баку: Азернешр, 1980. -271 с.

⁴ Каземзаде Ф. Борьба за Закавказье (1917-1921) / Ф.Каземзаде. - М.:СА&ССРpress, 2010. -328 с. ; Святоховский Т. Русский Азербайджан. 1905-1920 гг.. // Журнал «Хазар», 1990. №2.

⁵ Святоховский Т. Русский Азербайджан. 1905-1920 гг.. // Журнал «Хазар», 1990. №2.

1917-1920, the activities of the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic. The works⁶ of A.Balayev, N.Maxwell, J.Hasanli, I.Musayev, M.Suleymanov and others caused the formation of an essentially new historiography of the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic.

Since the second half of the 1990s, some progress has been made in the way of illuminating the activities of political figures and determining their political orientations. The monograph “Republic of Azerbaijan” published by the collective of authors in 1998 under the editorship of N.Agamaliyeva (Maxwell) in connection with the 80th anniversary of the ADR and the second part of volume V of the 7-volume⁷ “History of Azerbaijan” published in 2001 are considered the results of research.

⁶ Балаев, А.Г. Азербайджанское национальное движение в 1917-1918 гг / А.Г. Балаев. -Баку: Элм, 1998. -220 с. ; Балаев А.Г. Азербайджанское национально - демократическое движение 1917 - 1920 гг / А.Г. Балаев. -Баку: Элм, 1990. - 90 с. ; Агамалиева Н.А. О выборах в Учредительное собрание по Азербайджану, Известия АН Азербайджанской Республики. Серия истории, философии и права, 1990. №4. ; Həsənli, S.Azərbaycan Xalq Cümhuriyyətinin xarici siyasəti. 1918-1920 / S.Həsənli .-Bakı:"GARISMA" MMC,2009.-527 s ; Musayev, İ.M. Azərbaycanın Naxçıvan və Zəngəzur bölgələrində siyasi vəziyyət və xarici dövlətlərin siyasəti (1917-1921-ci illər) / İ.Musayev. -Bakı: Bakı Universitetinin nəşriyyatı, 1998.-385 s. ; Süleymanov, M. Azərbaycan ordusu (1918-1920) / M.Süleymanov.-Bakı: Hərbinəşriyyat, 1998. -487 (1) s.; Süleymanov , M. Mehmandarov (Həyatı, xidmət yolu və silahdaşları) / M. Süleymanov .-Bakı: Hərbinəşriyyat, 2000. -374 s.

⁷Балаев, А.Г. Азербайджанское национальное движение в 1917-1918 гг/ А.Балаев. –Баку: Элм, 1998.–220 с.;Балаев А.Г. Азербайджанское национально - демократическое движение 1917 - 1920 гг/ А.Балаев.-Баку: Элм, 1990.–90 с.;Агамалиева, Н.А. О выборах в Учредительное собрание по Азербайджану, Известия АН Азербайджанской Республики. Серия истории, философии и права, 1990. №4. ; Həsənli С.Azərbaycan Xalq Cümhuriyyətinin xarici siyasəti. 1918-1920 / С.Həsənli.-Bakı: "GARISMA" MMC ,2009. –527 s ; Musayev, İ.M. Azərbaycanın Naxçıvan və Zəngəzur bölgələrində siyasi vəziyyət və xarici dövlətlərin siyasəti (1917-1921-ci illər).– Bakı: Bakı Universitetinin nəşriyyatı, 1998.-385 s. ; Süleymanov, M. Azərbaycan ordusu (1918-1920)/M.Süleymanov.– Bakı: Hərbi nəşriyyat, 1998. -487 (1) s.; Süleymanov, M. Mehmandarov (Həyatı, xidmət yolu və silahdaşları)/M.Süleymanov . – Bakı: Hərbi nəşriyyat, 2000. –374 s.

The works of S.Suleymanova, A.Balayev, I.Baghirova, M.Orujlu, and N.Yagublu⁸ are of great importance in terms of the formation of the worldview of Azerbaijani figures, their participation in the national movement, and the activities of political parties.

In recent years, important work has been done in the direction of conveying the objective truths about the atrocities committed by Armenian bandits in the South Caucasus during 1918-1920 to the country and the world community, monographs, books have been written, and a collection of documents has been prepared. These issues were widely studied in the works of A.Pashayev, S.Rustamova-Tohidi, A.Khalilov, A.A.Isgandarov, A.Balayev, V.Abishov and J.Hasanli.⁹

⁸Балаев, А.Г. Азербайджанское национальное движение в 1917-1918 гг/ А.Балаев. – Баку: ЭЛМ, 1998.–220 с.; Балаев А.Г. Азербайджанское национально - демократическое движение 1917 - 1920 гг/ А.Балаев.-Баку: ЭЛМ, 1990.–90 с.; Агамалиева, Н.А. О выборах в Учредительное собрание по Азербайджану, Известия АН Азербайджанской Республики. Серия истории, философии и права, 1990. №4. ; Həsənli С. Azərbaycan Xalq Cümhuriyyətinin xarici siyasəti. 1918-1920/S.Həsənli.-Bakı: "GARISMA" MMC, 2009. – 527 s ; Musayev, İ.M. Azərbaycanın Naxçıvan və Zəngəzur bölgələrində siyasi vəziyyət və xarici dövlətlərin siyasəti (1917-1921-ci illər).–Bakı: Bakı Universitetinin nəşriyyatı, 1998.-385 s. ; Süleymanov, M. Azərbaycan ordusu (1918-1920) / M.Süleymanov.–Bakı: Hərbi nəşriyyat, 1998. -487 (1) s.; Süleymanov, M. Mehmandarov (Həyatı, xidmət yolu və silahdaşları) / M.Süleymanov . – Bakı: Hərbi nəşriyyat, 2000. –374 s.

⁹Abışov, V. Azərbaycanlıların soyqırımı (1917-1918-ci illər) / V.Abışov.–Bakı:Nurlan, 2007.–176 s.; Azərbaycan Xalq Cümhuriyyəti və Qafqaz İslam ordusu. Bakı: Qafqaz Universiteti, 2008.–696 s.; İskəndərov, A. Azərbaycan həqiqətləri/A.İskəndərov.-1917-1920, -Bakı: “Elm və Təsil”, 2012.–47 s.; İsgəndərov, A. Azərbaycanda türk-müsəlman soyqırımı problemlərinin tarixşünaslığı-1918-1920/A İsgəndərov.–Bakı: Adiloğlu nəşriyyatı, 2006.–396 s.; Paşayev, A. Açılmamış səhifələrin izi ilə /A.Paşayev.–Bakı: Azər nəşr, 2001.-536 s ; Балаев, А.Г. *Февральская революция* и национальные окраины. Мартовские события 1918 года в Азербайджане /А.Г.Балаев / Москва:“Флинта”, 2008.–56 с.; Рустамова-Тогиди ,С.Март 1918 г. Баку. Азербайджанские погромы в документах / С.Рустамова-Тогиди. –Баку: Индиго-пресс, 2009. – 864 с.

Recently, on the eve of the formation of the Republic several works had been written in which the socio-political situation of Azerbaijan is analyzed. It can be noted the works¹⁰ of H.Hasanov, A.Ibrahimova, D.Seyidzadeh, J.Hasanli written on this theme.

Studies on relations with the Ottoman state during the period of the Azerbaijani national movement give an opportunity analyzing the actions of the political figures in this period. From this viewpoint, the book “Azerbaijan issue in Turkish-Russian relations (1917-1922)”¹¹ by Vasif Gafarov, PhD in history, is quite valuable among the works published in recent times.

Based on the Ottoman archival documents, the book¹² “History of the Republic of Azerbaijan in 1918-1920 (based on Ottoman archival documents)” published with the co-authorship of Vasif Gafarov and Giyas Shukurov shows the attitude of political figures united around the idea of Azerbaijaniism to the Turanism policy of the Ottoman state, the ideas of independence of Caucasian Muslims, it is important in terms of studying issues related to annexation.

Candidate dissertations of K.Ismayilov, R.Rustamov, A.Shahverdiyev should be specially mentioned in terms of studying various aspects of the political figures’ activities of Azerbaijan in 1917-1918. In the last twenty years many books and monographs dedicated to the leaders of the Republic of Azerbaijan have been published. Among them can be shown the works¹³ of N.Yagublu, A.Balayev,

¹⁰ Гасанов, Г. На пути к первой республике / Г.Гасанов.-Баку: 2010. С 478 ; Гасанлы Дж. Русская Революция и Азербайджан: трудный путь к независимости . 1917-1920 / Дж.Гасанлы. - М.: ФЛИНТА, 2011. -672 с.; Seyidzadə, D. Azərbaycan XX əsrin əvvəllərində: Müstəqilliyə aparan yollar / D.Seyidzadə .-Bakı: Azərb. Res. Kitab cəmə., 1998.-253 s.; İbrahimova, A. Azərbaycanca ictimai-siyasi qüvvələrin mübarizəsi. 1917-1918-ci illər / A.İbrahimova . -BAKİ: 2010.-208 s.

¹¹ Qafarov, V. Türkiyə-Rusiya münasibətlərində Azərbaycan məsələsi (1917-1922) / V. Qafarov. Bakı: Azərneşr, 2011- 471s.

¹² Qafarov, V. Şükürov, Q. Azərbaycan Cümhuriyyəti Tarixi (Osmanlı arxiv sənədləri əsasında) / V.Qafarov Q. Şükürov.-Bakı:2017-520 s.

¹³Ələkbərov, F. Məmməd Əmin Rəsulzadənin dünyagörüşü / F. Ələkbərov. -Bakı: 2007. -245 s.; Əlizadə S. Məmməd Əmin Rəsulzadə və islam (Müləhizələr, şərhlər) / S. Əlizadə. –Bakı: 2003.-166 (2) s.; Quliyev, V. Tarixdə iz qoyan şəxsiyyətlər / V. Quliyev. - Bakı: Ozan, 2000. -584 s.; Qurbanov, Ş. Məmməd Əmin Rəsulzadə / Ş.

F.Alakbarov, V.Sultanli, J.Hasanli and others about Mahammad Amin Rasulzadeh, of N.Gahramanli about Nasib bey Yusifbeyli, A.Dadashov about Mahammad Hasan Hajinski and Garabey Garabeyov, A.Chingizoglu about Khosrov bey Sultanov, F.Ahmadova about Nariman Narimanov and others. ¹⁴ Materials about life and

Qurbanov .-Bakı: Nurlan, 2001. -134 s.; Məhəmməd Əmin Rəsulzadə və ictimai-siyasi ideallar. –Bakı: Xəzər Universiteti, 2005. -286 s.; Rəsulzadə və ictimai-siyasi ideallar. (M.Ə.Rəsulzadənin 120 illiyinə həsr olunmuş elmi konfransın materialları 28 yanvar 2004-cü il) / Məmməd Əmin Rəsulzadə.-Bakı: Xəzər Un-ti, 2005.-286 s.; Sultanlı, V. Ağır yolun yolçusu (portret-monoqrafiya) / V.Sultanlı. -Bakı: Azərnəşr, 1996.-196 s.; Yaqublu, N. Məhəmməd Əmin Rəsulzadə ensiklopediyası / N. Yaqublu. -Bakı: Kitab klubu MMC, 2013. -504 s.; Балаев А. Мамед Эмин Расулзаде. 1884-1955 / А.Балаев. –М.: ФЛИНТА, 2009.-288 с.; Dadaşov, A. Qarabəy Qarabəyov (1874-1953). Qarabəy Qarabəyovun ictimai-siyasi mühiti və idealları / A.Dadaşov. - Bakı: Letterpress, 2012. -268 s.; Çingizoğlu Ə. Xosrov bəy Sultanov / Ə.Çingizoğlu . -Bakı: Mütərcim, 2012. -101 səh; Əhmədova F. Nəriman Nərimanov - İdeal və gerçəklik (1920-ci il) / F. Əhmədova. -Bakı: “Elm və həyat”, 1998. -169 s.

¹⁴Ələkbərov, F. Məmməd Əmin Rəsulzadənin dünyagörüşü/F.Ələkbərov. –Bakı: Təknur, 2007. –245 s.; Əlizadə, S. Məmməd Əmin Rəsulzadə və islam (Müləhizələr, şərhlər) / S.Əlizadə. –Bakı: 2003.–166 (2) s.; Quliyev, V. Tarixdə iz qoyan şəxsiyyətlər/V.Quliyev.–Bakı: Ozan, 2000.–584 s.; Qurbanov, Ş. Məmməd Əmin Rəsulzadə / Ş.Qurbanov.–Bakı: Nurlan, 2001. –134 s.; Məhəmməd Əmin Rəsulzadə və ictimai-siyasi ideallar. – Bakı: Xəzər Universiteti, 2005.–286 s.; Rəsulzadə və ictimai-siyasi ideallar. (M.Ə.Rəsulzadənin 120 illiyinə həsr olunmuş elmi konfransının materialları 28 yanvar 2004-cü il) / Məmməd Əmin Rəsulzadə. –Bakı: Xəzər Universiteti, 2005.-286 s.; Sultanlı, V. Ağır yolun yolçusu (portret-monoqrafiya)/V.Sultanlı.–Bakı: Azərnəşr, 1996.-196 s.;Yaqublu, N. Məhəmməd Əmin Rəsulzadə ensiklopediyası/Yaqublu N.–Bakı: Kitab klubu , 2013.–504 s.; Балаев, А. Мамед Эмин Расулзаде. 1884-1955/А.Балаев.–Москва.: Флинт, 2009.-288 с.; Dadaşov, A.Qarabəy Qarabəyov (1874-1953). Qarabəy Qarabəyovun ictimai-siyasi mühiti və idealları / A.Dadaşov.–Bakı: Letterpress, 2012. -268 s.; Çingizoğlu, Ə. Xosrov bəy Sultanov / Ə.Çingizoğlu.–Bakı: Mütərcim, 2012. -101 səh; Əhmədova, F. Nəriman Nərimanov - İdeal və gerçəklik (1920-ci il) / F.Əhmədova.–Bakı: “Elm və həyat”, 1998. –169 s.

creation of the Republic leaders reflected¹⁵ in many information books and encyclopedias, including the encyclopedia “Azerbaijan Democratic Republic”.

Object and subject of research. The object of research is the socio-political life of Azerbaijan, with the main focus on two aspects - the socio-political struggle and the development of public opinion. The subject of the research is the public activity of the national-democratic movement leaders of Azerbaijan on the eve of the establishment of the Republic, their participation in political processes and the activities of state structures.

The purpose and objectives of the research: Investigating statesmanship activities of the political figures of Azerbaijan from political aspect does not allow the proper analysis of the work carried out by these figures. So, socio-political situation on the eve of the establishment of the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic was extremely complicated. Because, two revolutions took place in the same year, two different systems were created in the same year with the collapse of the Tsarist Russia. One of these systems, the Bolshevism-type state, was completely alien to the whole world, and created political vacillation and moral-psychological tension in all sections of the population.

The author based on trends such as centralism, decentralism, political romance, and realism aimed studying different aspects of public, political, statehood activities of the political figures of Azerbaijan in 1917-1918 (Till the formation of the Republic), analysing their roles in the formation of national statehood. For this purpose the following tasks have been defined in the dissertation:

– Identification of the role and place of the political leaders in the expansion of the national movement in Azerbaijan after February revolution of 1917;

¹⁵ Azərbaycan Demokratik Respublikası: Azərbaycan hökuməti. (1918–1920) / Tərtib ed.B.Allahverdiyev, Ş.Mehdiyev: Red. Hidayət.-Bakı: Gənclik,1990.-96 s.; Azərbaycan Xalq Cümhuriyyəti Ensiklopediyası. 2 cilddə, I cild.-Bakı: Lider nəşriyyatı, 2004.-439 s.; Azərbaycan Xalq Cümhuriyyəti Ensiklopediyası. 2 cilddə, II cild. -Bakı: Lider nəşriyyatı, 2004.-469 s.

- To illuminate the participation of the figures of Azerbaijan in the creation and activities of political parties and public organizations and new state structures;
- Studying the role of the political figures of Azerbaijan in All-Russian Muslim movement;
- Defining the position of the national figures in the struggle for power in Baku after the October revolution;
- Illuminating the national leaders' struggle for the defense of Turkish-Muslim people in March events;
- Analyzing the participation of the political figures in the management of the South Caucasus;
- Analysis of the purpose and position of the Azerbaijan faction of the Sejm in the relation of Turkey-South Caucasus;
- Investigation of the activities of the national political leaders in the direction of forming of an independent state.

Methodological basis of the dissertation work: It is based on the complex of general and specific principles and methods (historicity, systematicity, objectivity). Historicity allows to look through the activities of the participants in historical events, their role in forming the Republic, socio-political views, systematicity principle allows to take the events into consideration in dynamic development and connection, follow general tendencies and characteristics of this process, historical objectivity method allows to analyse the environment which a political figure lived, understand the expediency of his actions. According to the scientific objectivity principle the activities of the figures are characterized in the context of period and time in which they lived while using a wide source database. This principle allows to study the affection of the historical figures to the course of events, as well as political environment to their outlook and activities.

It was used biographic description method that allows to learn the activity of historical character, to apply a complex approach method. Objective view of the events and processes reflected in different works and documents are created with the help of aggregation and historical reconstruction methods.

The main provisions of the defense:

- Along with the events and processes that took place in the world and the region at that time, the activities of progressive figures who led to the national-democratic and liberation movement played a great role in the establishment of the Republic, which emerged in 1918 as a logical result of the national liberation struggle of the Azerbaijani people.

- After the February Revolution, the activities of prominent representatives of the national movement had been a decisive factor in increasing the political organization of the Azerbaijani nation, in expressing its wishes and aspirations;

- The conditions created by the revolution made it necessary for the majority of the national political elite of Azerbaijan to unite in a single socio-political organization, not in different political parties;

- Azerbaijani figures were actively joined in the process of establishing new government institutions in the country's uyezds including Baku;

- Congresses of Caucasian Muslims and All-Russian Muslims, the decisions of these congresses played an important role in the preparation of the ideological and political foundations of the Azerbaijani national movement, the penetration of Azerbaijani ideas into the masses;

- On the eve of the October revolution, along with the political party orientations of the leaders of Azerbaijan, their socio-psychological types were also showing themselves in a prominent form;

- The Baku Muslim Organizations and its Interim Executive Committee were playing the role of the political center of the Azerbaijani national movement;

- The events that took place in Baku after the October revolution forced the representatives of the Azerbaijani political movement to adapt their activities to the new conditions;

- The participation of Azerbaijani politicians in the activities of the South Caucasus Commissariat meant the transition to a new stage of the national movement - the stage of participation in public administration;

- As foreign policy issues came to the fore in the activities of the Transcaucasian Sejm, it was taking place a process of isolation of Azerbaijani political figures in intra-Sejm debates. This was showing itself especially evident in relations with Turkey;

- The activities of public and political figures on the eve of the establishment of the Republic played a key role in the formation of the Azerbaijani statehood in the form of an independent, democratic Republic;

Scientific innovation of the research: It is the first complex scientific research which illuminates socio-political and statemanship activities of the Republic figures from 1917 February revolution in Russia to the establishment of the Azerbaijan Republic – May 1918;

- the role and place of the political figures of Azerbaijan had been defined in new management system and democratic movement expanded both in Russia and the South Caucasus;

- In the presented dissertation the action of the leaders of the Republic had been studied with the events and processes spread in Azerbaijan and the region;

- Archival materials reflecting their life and political activity and left out of extensive research were brought into scientific circulation;

- The socio-psychological types of political figures in the new stage of the movement that started after the February revolution, the reasons for the changes in their ways of thinking and, as a result, their position in the Azerbaijani national movement were investigated;

- Individual analysis of concepts put forward by figures in the processes occurring within political parties and organizations and affection of political ideas to the events in these concepts were involved in research;

- Conflicting points within the Muslim faction were investigated, which political direction was the most optimal way out in terms of the needs of the time was determined;;

- In the Transcaucasian statehood system the interference of Azerbaijani figures to the events and as a result the affection of the national movement to the development were investigated;

– The positions of Azerbaijani figures in the policy of the Ottoman state in the South Caucasus were investigated from the point of view of the political party and the individual;

– The opinions of the figures who took part in the realist and utopian trends in the national movement were clarified, which direction in the path to the creation of an independent state of Azerbaijan was suitable and favorable to the realities of the current era was determined;

– It has been confirmed that the activity of social and political figures on the eve of the establishment of the Republic is the main factor in the formation of the independent, democratic statehood of Azerbaijan.

Theoretical and practical significance of the research: The results which gained in research process were proven with arguments and factual materials. These results enrich the information about political and social activities of the Republic leaders in 1917-1918 years, participation in national movement, public organizations, management structures, political views and create a basis for future researches in this direction.

The materials of the dissertation may be used in writing scientific works, separate monographs and books about the political history of Azerbaijan, and in the preparation of teaching materials and information collection.

The aprobation of the research: It have been realized during the period of writing of the dissertation. Separate theoretical provisions and results of the research were discussed and recommended for defense at the meetings of the “History of the Azerbaijan People’s Republic” department of A.A.Bakikhanov Institute of History of ANAS. The author’s 15 articles covering the content of the dissertation have been reflected in various scientific journals and materials of 9 scientific conferences. 6 of the articles were published in foreign journals.

The name of the institution where the dissertation (or research) was done: The research was done at department “History

of the Azerbaijan People's Republic" of A.A. Bakikhanov Institute of History of ANAS.

The total volume of the thesis. The thesis consists of 283,314 characters (without bibliography), including the "Introduction" section consists of 40.967, Chapter I - 90.980, Chapter II – 50.677, Chapter III – 82.631, the "Conclusion" section 16.180 characters.

II. THE MAIN CONTENT OF THE DISSERTATION

In the Introduction the relevance and chronological framework of the dissertation have been grounded, the degree of studying of the problem have been commented widely, purposes and objectives of the research, theoretical methodological issues, source, scientific innovation and practical importance have been analyzed systematically, and its aprobatation and structure have been shown.

The first chapter of the dissertation entitled "**The Role of the Political Figures in the Evolution of the National Movement in Azerbaijan (FEBRUARY-OCTOBER 1917)**" consists of two subsections. In the first subsection "**The participation of the political figures of Azerbaijan in creation and activity of new government agencies and socio-political organizations**" political revival tendencies in Azerbaijan after the February revolution 1917, participation of figures in forming national political structure, holding the congress, the changes in the opinions of the figures of political parties and organizations have been explored, as well as the expediency of the development of national movement in the decentralist direction has been described.

In the new stage of national movement after the February revolution 1917 political eclecticism have taken place along with the changes in Azerbaijan. It was inevitable making radical changes in the programs of organizations and parties which were against the Tsarist absolutism. In such a period the establishment of Baku Muslim Organizations and its Provisional Executive Committee including M. A. Rasulzadeh, M. H. Hajinski, F. Khoyski, A. M. Topchubashov can

be considered a progressive event. In the committee having place of most political trends revealed which direction would be dominant in the national movement. The Musavat party gained dominance in national movement and the basis of the program of this political organization consisted of the decentralist position in the national direction. Holding the congress of the Caucasian Muslims,¹⁶ supporting the position of decentralists including M. A. Rasulzadeh by most of the conference participants reflected the actions of Musavat in the realistic direction.

The second subsection **“The role of the political figures of Azerbaijan in All-Russian Muslim movement”** deals with the common and different aspects in the political opinions of the political figures of Azerbaijan and All-Russian Muslim leaders, and the programs of national leaders which are independent from an ideological viewpoint.

The activity directions of the political figures of Azerbaijan about future fate of Muslim people reached its culmination point in the All-Russian Muslim congress held in Moscow. In the congress M.A. Rasulzadeh spoke¹⁷ at the congress about the issue of national territorial autonomy, which was decided at the Congress of Caucasian Muslims. In contrast to socialists attending the Congress and performed on their behalf A.Salikov, M.A.Rasulzadeh approached from the aspect of lack of common political opinion of the Turkish-Muslim people considering real political situation in his provisions about the territorial-federative structure of future Russia. It can be explained with that, M.A.Rasulzadeh correctly assessed the differences in the political opinions of the Turkish-Muslim population and their leaders, as well as the geographical conditions. M.A.Rasulzadeh emphasized¹⁸ that this can only be solved by creating a National Council of All-Turkish and All-Muslim Union on cultural issues. Although serious resistance of unitarists, in the management

¹⁶ Джафаров, М. Ю. Общекавказский Съезд Мусульман // Каспий.-1917, 17 апрель, № 84.-ст.3.

¹⁷ Azərbaycan tarixi, 7 cildə, V cild, (1900 – 27 fevral – 1920). -Bakı: Elm, 2001, s.277

¹⁸ İhsan, İlqar. Rusiyada Birinci Müsliman Konqresi / İ. İlqar. –Ankara: 1990, s.246

structure of the muslim-turkish people within the empire the national-territorial autonomy idea by M.A.Rasulzadeh gained more support from the participants of the congress (271 against, 446 in favor). The political figures of Azerbaijan performed with the national-territorial autonomy idea were supported in the Moscow congress with political ideas which put forward in the congress of the Caucasian muslims and demonstrated that this political direction was relevant with time.

The second chapter of the dissertation entitled **“The activities of the political figures of Azerbaijan after the October revolution in Russia” (October 1917- February 1918)** consists of two subsections. In the first subsection entitled **“The struggle for power in Baku and the position of the political figures”** the political situation in the South Caucasus after the Bolsheviks seized power in Petrograd and the attitude and position of the political figures of Azerbaijan to the current situation were investigated.

After October revolution of Bolsheviks political situation had become aggravated in the South Caucasus. The S.R. (socialist-revolutionary) - Mensheviks and Dashnaks, who condemned the Bolsheviks' coming to power and regarded it as a coup, did not include¹⁹ the Musavat party, the leading force of the Azerbaijani national movement in the “Committee of Public Safety” that created against the Bolsheviks. The non-acceptance of Musavatists to the committee showed that even in the most difficult situation, the SR-Mensheviks did not trust Muslim political figures and were hostile to the Azerbaijani national movement.

The fact that the Bolsheviks took tactical steps in Baku and called²⁰ a general meeting of the Soviets led to their gaining power in the South Caucasus, not with a majority, but with the use of inter-party contradictions. The reasons of loyal attitude of the Musavat party in coming to power in Baku were standing the eser-menshevik parties in the opposite position against Musavat, the statues of self-

¹⁹ Azərbaycan Respublikası Prezidentinin İşlər İdarəsinin Siyasi Sənədlər Arxivi, f. 276, siy.1, iş.172, v.1

²⁰ Выборы в совет Рабочих и Военных Депутатов//Каспий.-1917, 2 ноября № 246.- ст. 3.

determination of political programs of Bolsheviks to the nations (this appropriated to the opinions of Musavat with the political line), coinciding social issue, political structure, education, war, peace issues with the opinions of Bolsheviks. But coming of Bolsheviks to power was not wellcomed by Musavat, new election to Soviets in a democratic way was supported²¹.

In the second subsection **“The political figures of Azerbaijan in the activities of the Transcaucasian Commissariat”** the action of political leaders in the Transcaucasian Commissariat formed in Tiflis, increasing statehood practice, the position of the political figures in foreign policy issues have been analyzed.

After October revolution of Bolsheviks the political figures of the South Caucasia formed the Transcaucasian Commissariat in Tiflis. The commissariat did not recognize the Bolshevik government that had come to power in Russia and declared anarchy, calling²² itself the independent government of the Caucasus. The formation of the commissariat was a new step in the decentralist direction and it corresponded to the political direction of Azerbaijani political figures, especially the Musavat party.

In contrast to the position of Dashnaktsutyun party in the commissariat, Azerbaijani political figures took the direction of separation from central Russia. Although the SR-Mensheviks did not accept the Bolshevik government, they supported the idea of “Single indivisible democratic Russia”. The existence of dissent within the Muslim faction not be excluded. The main difference with desentrists were socialist oriented organizations and centralist and utopian romance tendency of the policy of unionists. So, lack of a specific political program of socialist fraction, the unrealistic ideas of the unionists, which were incompatible with the requirement of time as a union of all Russian Muslims were the core of utopism. In the election issue to the Entrepreneurial Council only the agreement of the Muslim socialist bloc to the offer of Musavat participating in a single coalition,

²¹ Резолюция партий Мусават // Бакинский Рабочий.-1917,14 ноября , № 82.-ст.2.

²² Закавказский Комиссариат и его задачи// Каспий.-1917, 19 ноября, № 254.-ст. 2.

but thought differences on the agrarian issue and at the end not organizing the coalition were a clear example of the contradictions.

The relation of the Ottoman state with the Transcaucasian Commissariat resulted with forming diplomatic abilities of the political figures. Although having political-ideological ideas of the political figures of Azerbaijan, the main action of them about foreign policy issues begin from the period of the Commissariat. The Erzinjan Treaty between the Ottoman State and the Transcaucasian Commissariat on December 5, 1917 had a great role in forming foreign policy orientation of the political figures of Azerbaijan, along with the foundation of Ottoman dominance in the South Caucasus.

Since the creation of the Transcaucasian Commissariat the nations inside it set up their national fractions. M. A. Rasulzadeh stood at the head of the Azerbaijan fraction. Each issue was put to the vote in the meeting of common Commissariat after discussed in the national fraction²³. It allowed increasing conflicts and forming thought directions of national political alignment in each issue.

The third chapter of the dissertation entitled “**The Political Figures of Azerbaijan in Statehood System of the South Caucasus (February – May, 1918)**” consists of three subsections. In the first subsection “**The Political Figures of Azerbaijan in Statehood System of the South Caucasus**” the creation of the Transcaucasian Seym, debates with non-Muslim parties and leaders of the political figures of Azerbaijan have been analyzed, the struggle of political leaders for the independence of Transcaucasia have been investigated.

From January 1918, the activity of the Transcaucasian Commissariat almost failed. After expelling the Entrepreneurial Council by Bolsheviks it was decided to create Transcaucasian Seym consisting of elected deputy. The parties increased their numbers in the Seym according to the number of votes in the election for the Entrepreneurial Council. Generally, there were 44 Azerbaijani

²³ Гасанлы, Дж. Русская Революция и Азербайджан: трудный путь к независимости 1917-1920 / Дж. Гасанлы. - М.: ФЛИНТА, 2011, с.61

representatives and they formed²⁴ Muslim faction of the Seym. From the first period of the operation of the Seym, SR-Menshevik and Dashnak leaders showed their opposite position against the Muslim faction, mainly the Musavat party. In the first meeting of the Seym Hasan bey Agayev who represented the Musavat party and expressed neglectful attitude of non-Muslim political organizations against the Muslim faction recommended not to repeat the mistakes of the old government which did not trust local Muslims.

One of the issues that disturbed Muslim political figures (in this issue Musavat and the socialist faction showed solidarity - R.H) was the situation that formed as a result of mass atrocities of the Armenian gangs against the Turkish-Muslim population in different areas of the South Caucasus using conditions of anarchy. At the meeting of the Seym in the speech of M.Y.Jafarov and A.Sefikurdski immediate disarmament of the Armenian armed groups and Red Army units were demanded.²⁵

After Brest-Litovsk peace Armenian provocations had become more violent. The transfer of Kars and Ardahan to Turkey, the questioning of the idea of Turkish Armenia, increased the attacks to Muslim-Turk lands. On the one hand, peaceful Muslim villages were robbed by Armenian troops leaving the front, on the other hand, ethnic cleansing policies were pursued in Muslim villages for accommodating the displaced Armenian population from Turkey.²⁶ Mensheviks who were the forerunners of democracy demonstrated passivity in the direction of taking definite steps in spite of the facts. In the meeting of the Seym dated March 5 (March 17) N.Yusifbeyli criticized²⁷ the Mensheviks for their loyal attitude.

²⁴ Закавказский Сейм. Первое заседание // Gürcüstan Milli Tarix Arxivi, fond. 1818, s.1, iş. 78,v. –6-7

²⁵ Закавказский Сейм. Стенографический отчет. 1918, 18 февраля, (1 марта)

²⁶ Zaqaqaziya Seyminin Müsəlman Fraksiyası və Azərbaycan Milli Şurası iclaslarının protokolları. 1918-ci il / Mütəəddimənin müəllifi və məs. red. Paşayev A. Ə.-Bakı: Adiloğlu, 2006.s. 20

²⁷ Закавказский Сейм. Стенографический отчет 5 (17) марта, 1918

At the end of March genocide policy of Bolshevik-Dashnak forces against local Turk-Muslim population in Baku, Guba, Shamakhy, Kurdamir and Lankaran was rejected in the Seym. Stressing such a danger in the meeting of the Seym before March events and no reaction showed that non-muslim political organizations considered local Turkish people as the source of danger more than Bolshevik danger. It was an undeniable fact that even the Armenian leaders in the Seym supported the Baku Soviet and S. Shaumyan, who was at the head of this structure. The member of the Seym from the Dasnakstyun party Arzumanyan informed S. Shaumyan about agrarian conflict in Ganja in his letter and hoped²⁸ that these conflicts would be used.

So, we can say that in the period of the operation of the Transcaucasian Seym the political figures of Azerbaijan were in trouble more than Commissariat. But, despite these difficulties the activities of the political figures of Azerbaijan in the Transcaucasian statehood system can be shown as the following:

- The activity in the Seym caused forming statehood practice in the political figures;
- The Transcaucasian Seym enlarged the activity of the figures who followed the political line of decentralism;
- The political figures of Azerbaijan mastered parliamentarism in the activity of the Seym.

In the second subsection **“The position of the Azerbaijan faction in the Ottoman-South Caucasus relation”** the issues of being enthusiastic of the Ottoman state about political advantage in the South Caucasus and political conflicts in the Seym, the attitude of the Ottoman state to the policy of the South Caucasus have been analyzed.

On March 3, 1918, in Brest-Litovsk the treaty that signed between the Soviet Russia and the Quadruple Alliance aggravated the political situation in the South Caucasus. In the conditions of the treaty it was considered²⁹ to give Kars, Ardahan and Batum to the Ottoman state.

²⁸ Елизаветпольская губерния // ГМТА, фонд. 1819, s.1, іш. 224, v.–23 (38)

²⁹ Yüceer, S. Milli Mücadele Döneminde Türk-Sovyet İlişkileri. 1919-1923, Yayınlanmamış Doktora Tezi, H.Ü., Atatürk İlkeleri ve İnkılap Tarihi Enstitüsü / S.Yüceer .-Ankara: 1995, s.121

With the decision of the Sejm for negotiating peace talks with Turkey the delegation was sent to Trabzon led by A.Chkhenkeli. The delegation was represented by M.H.Hajinski, K.Khasmammadov, I.Heydarov, M.Y.Mehdiyev, A.Sheykhulislamov, G.Abashidze, G.Gvazava, R.Kachaznuni, G.Laskhishvili, A.Khatisov. M.A.Rasulzadeh took part³⁰ as a consultant here. There was an important task in front of Azerbaijanis in the delegation staff. They had to act for the benefit of the Sejm and not to break up the relationship with Turkey.

The Ottoman state was insistent in Trabzon negotiation. The Ottoman delegation staff led by Rauf Orbay demanded the evacuation of territories intended in the treaty. Termination of the Trabzon negotiations and declaration of war against the Ottoman state at the insistence of the non-Muslim organizations of the Sejm led to the isolation of the Azerbaijani faction. So, Azerbaijan faction including the Musavat party declared its neutrality against the war with the Ottoman state. K. Khasmammadov stressed in the Sejm meeting that if the Georgian and Armenian sides relied on their own strength they made war with Turkey, the Muslims would be neutral in this issue³¹. Here the opinions of K.Khasmammadov reflected realism. So, at that time the most suffering nation in the South Caucasus was the Turkish-Muslim population and the Ottoman state could play the role of a guarantor and an ally.

The Sejm who refused peace talks, organized the commission consisted of three people for the defense of the country. In the commission there were the prime minister and the defence minister J.Gegechkori, the interior minister N. Ramishvili, the finance minister K.Karchikyan. After the creation of the commission the Sejm declared³² its suspension for two weeks. Removing the Muslims from

³⁰ Закавказский Сейм. Стенографический отчет. 1918, 17 февраля Сессия первая.—Тифлис: 1918. -648 с.

³¹ Гасанлы, Дж. Русская Революция и Азербайджан: трудный путь к независимости. 1917-1920 / Дж. Гасанлы. - М.: ФЛИНТА, 2011. с. 90

³² Zaqafqaziya Seyminin Müsəlman Fraksiyası və Azərbaycan Milli Şurası iclaslarının protokolları. 1918-ci il / Müqəddimənin müəllifi və məs. red. Paşayev A. Ə.-Bakı: Adiloğlu, 2006.- s. 6

this work meant to be denied them. In the meeting of the Seym Lordkipanidze stressed that “the Muslims cannot treat with weapons and have the same religion with the Turks. Whoever is not with us is our enemy”. Sh.Rustambeyli said against the claims of Georgian political figures Sereteli and Lordkipanidze that “their claims are not an optimal option, Musavat and the group of neutrals will do their best only for the people of Transcaucasia to live in peace.”

Within the Muslim faction, a vague political line was observed in the position of the Hummetists. In the meeting of the Seym Hummetists declared their acting with Mensheviks. The fact that Hummetists sided with the Mensheviks in foreign policy issues can be seen not as some double game, but as their inability to get out of the whirlpool of political romanticism and their failure to correctly analyze the current real political situation. The reason for this was the lack of independent political programs of the Hummatists.

Thus, it can be shown that the active political line of the Ottoman state increased the conflicts in the South Caucasian Seym. The existence of the Sejm was questioned. In such a situation, the views of the national leaders, who are far from political romanticism, that is, the Musavat party and the group of neutrals, reflected the realities of the time.

In the third subsection “**Aggravation of contradictions in the South Caucasus statehood. Creation of an independent state**”, the announcement of the independence of the Transcaucasian Seym, the increase of the influence of the Ottoman state on the South Caucasus and and the position of national leader in the current situation are discussed.

As a result of the current position and mainly the insistence of the political figures of Azerbaijan, most of the parties in the Seym understood inevitability of the independence of the South Caucasus. In the second half of April 1918, at the meetings of the Sejm, political figures from the Musavat and neutral groups demanded the independence issue more insistently. Here tactical steps of M.A.Rasulzadeh should be mentioned in particular. So, unlike the chairman of the Seym Gejekori, the Georgian Social democrat

A.Chkhenkeli had the ability to assess the real situation to a certain extent. Therefore, the negotiations with Chkhenkeli were carried on with the suggestion of M.A.Rasulzadeh and these negotiations resulted with the wishes of Azerbaijan descentralists. On April 22, after serious discussions, the establishment of the Transcaucasian Democratic Federal Republic was announced. National leaders of Azerbaijan, who took the political line of decentralization, proved that they took the right direction from the viewpoint of realism, by winning over the political line of centralism.

Despite the declaration of the independence of the Seym, the course of events showed that the contradictions between the national factions, especially the serious differences in the issue of foreign orientation, caused serious doubts on the effective functioning of this organization and the future of the South Caucasus statehood as a whole.

In this condition political elite of Azerbaijan including M.A.Rasulzadeh had to think about using more radical measures for protecting the people from the danger. Among such measures, the first was the invitation of Turkish troops to Azerbaijan in order to protect the Muslim population of the South Caucasus from the Bolshevik-Dashnak forces of the Baku Soviet and from the Armenian military units that made arbitrariness in different parts of the Iravan province.

From the 22nd of May most Georgian political figures decided the independence of Georgia would be the best method against the requirements of the Ottoman state. On May 25, in the morning the meeting of the Muslim faction which held under the chairmanship of K.Melikaslanov the issue of the sovereignty of Georgia discussed. At the meeting the majority decided that, if Georgia declared its independence, Azerbaijan would also declare³³ its sovereignty. Considering that decision, it can be observed that Azerbaijani politicians were interested in maintaining the federation. The issue that Georgians accused Azerbaijani political figures the most was supporting the Ottoman state and exaggerating the Muslim factor in this state's pressures on the Caucasus. Shefi bey Rustambeyli from the

³³ Протокол совместного заседания всех мусульманских Сеймовых фракций // Azərbaycan Respublikası Dövlət Arxivi (ARDA) , fond. 970 s.1, iş 1, v.30-33

Musavat party expressed a strong position against the baseless accusations of Georgians and expressed that the Georgians are directly to blame for the collapse of the organization. Kh. Khasmammadov correctly blamed³⁴ the Georgian Mensheviks of conducting a dual policy at the meeting of the Muslim faction on May 25.

On May 27 an extraordinary meeting of the Muslim faction of the Sejm was held. At the meeting it was decided to create Temporary National Council. M.A.Rasulzadeh was elected the chairman of the National Council. M.Seyidov and H.Agayev were appointed his deputies. The candidacy of M.A.Rasulzadeh was supported³⁵ by the delegations of all parties besides the Ittihad faction. F.Kh.Khoyski was elected the chairman of the Executive Committee of the Council. The next day on May 28, at the first meeting of the National Council the issue of announcing the independence of Azerbaijan was put on the agenda. Some political figures approached the issue of the establishment of Azerbaijan's independence with hesitation. For example, F.Kh.Khoyski noted³⁶ that it was not the time and condition for announcing independence. According to him, if to approach with reality, at that time, the existence of independent Azerbaijan could be under question. Because both the international political-economic and the internal situation were contradictory. A. Pepinov, a member of the National Council, described³⁷ period in his memoirs as a period of complete lack of power, arbitrariness, and the absence of an administrative management system. Even the military, political and economic situation of the Ottoman Empire, which was considered the main supporter, was not heartwarming enough. But as a result of the collapse of the Sejm there was no other way than declaring the independence. Therefore, at the meeting it was announced the

³⁴ Zaqafqaziya Seyminin Müsəlman Fraksiyası və Azərbaycan Milli Şurası iclaslarının protokolları. 1918-ci il / Müqəddimənin müəllifi və məs. red. Paşayev A. Ə.-Bakı:Adiloğlu, 2006. s. 10

³⁵ Гасанов, Г. На пути к первой республике / Г.Гасанов .-Баку: 2010. С 160

³⁶ Həsənli, C. Azərbaycan Xalq Cümhuriyyətinin xarici siyasəti. 1918-1920 / Həsənli C. .-Bakı:"GARISMA" MMC,2009. s.74

³⁷ İbrahimova, A. Azərbaycanca ictimai-siyasi qüvvələrin mübarizəsi. 1917-1918-ci illər / A. İbrahimova. -BAKİ: 2010.-208 s.

establishment of the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic by voting in favor of 24 people.

Thus, as a result of the political struggle towards independence and the correct assessment of the current situation by the political figures gathered around the Musavat party and the group of neutrals, the foundation of the Azerbaijan national state was laid. The fact that the political leaders who participated in the establishment of the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic took a restrained political line in this life-and-death battle, that they acted as heralds of law and justice, proved that they were democratic, at the same time objective thinkers, and correctly assessed the socio-political situation of the time.

Results of the research

During the period from February 1917 to 28 May 1918, the activity of politicians of the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic for statehood can be evaluated as follows;

In order to escape the whirlwind of eclecticism of the period of political hesitation after the February Revolution, it was necessary to approach the political course of the time with reality. Understanding this reality helped to analyze the changes that took place at each step, to pursue a policy appropriate to the current situation. Musavat led by M.A. Rasullzadeh and neutral groups realized that the needs of the time were based on national unity. By pursuing a decentralized political line did not fall into political romanticism. It is true that the steps taken by politicians had not been calculated and could not be calculated for the future. Because the rapid changes taking place in central Russia were preventing this. Therefore, the best option was to evaluate the real situation and implement a policy accordingly.

– Politicians were able to spread the ideas of national unity among the people. This was the result of the ideological training of politicians. The spread of the ideas of national unity and Azerbaijanism in the Azerbaijani people, who had long been enslaved by tsarism and deprived of many rights, was a progressive event, and it was showing the political readiness of the decentralizers, led by M.A. Rasullzade.

– Holding forum congresses and presenting independent programs at these congresses meant going beyond from template

frame the long-term. Because after the overthrow of tsarism, politicians did not stumble in steps towards to independence by reforming their ideological minds.

– Although the issue of an independent Azerbaijani state was not on the agenda after the February Revolution, a while after the revolution, the focus on the political line of decentralization led to political formation on the path to independence. Thus, contrary to the views of the Socialists, who believed in Russian democracy and demanded only cultural autonomy, and the Unionists, who saw the unity of Muslims in Russia as a way out, the passage of time was leading to the disintegration of the empire. In this way, politicians who understand and able to evaluate the demands of the real time have demonstrated their ability to create an independent state during the collapse of the Transcaucasian Sejm, focusing on the policy of decentralization.

The main content of the dissertation is reflected in the following works of the author.

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