

REPUBLIC OF AZERBAIJAN

On the rights of the manuscript

ABSTRACT

of the dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

**ANTI-AZERBAIJANI POLICY OF THE BAKU SOVIET
(March 1917-September 1918)**

Speciality: 5503.02 – Motherland history

Field of science: History

Applicant: **Aygun Safar gizi Azimova**

BAKU – 2023

The dissertation work was performed at the department of at the Department of “History of the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic” of A.A.Bakikhanov Institute of History of Azerbaijan National Academy of Sciences.

Scientific supervisor: Doctor of Philosophy in History
Nigar Aliaga gizi Maxwell

Official opponents: Doctor of Historical Sciences,
Associate professor
Emin Arif oglu Shikhaliyev

Doctor of Philosophy in history,
Associate professor
Firdovsiyya Firdovsi gizi Ahmadova

Doctor of Philosophy in history
Arifa Panah gizi Adigozalova

Dissertation council ED 1.30 of Supreme Attestation Commission under the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan operating at Institute of History named after A.A.Bakikhanov of Azerbaijan National Academy of Sciences.

Chairman of the Dissertation Council:

Doctor of Historical Sciences,
Professor

Karim Karam oglu Shukurov

Scientific secretary of the Dissertation Council:

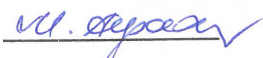
Doctor of Historical Sciences,
Associate Professor

Ilgar Vahid oglu Niftaliyev

Chairman of the scientific seminar:

Doctor of Historical Sciences,
Professor

Mais Israil oglu Amrahov





I. GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE DISSERTATION

Relevance and development of the subject. The bourgeois-democratic revolution in Russia in February 1917 overthrew the tsarist regime and put the beginning of a new stage in the history of the Azerbaijani people, as well as all the peoples enslaved by the empire. The revolution, which gave impetus to the rise of the national-democratic movement in Azerbaijan, also challenged the intense political and military struggle here. In a very short period of time in the sense of historical period - 1917-1918, the Azerbaijani national-democratic forces that had faced with different socialist, nationalist and liberal forces known by the names of the Mensheviks, Bolsheviks, Dashnaks, cadets, etc., who differed in their political nature and tendencies, national origins, could manage to bring the joy of building an independent democratic state to the people who had passed from a peaceful political struggle to a bloody war, who had suffered the genocide. For this reason, 1917-1918 can be considered the most controversial period in the history of Azerbaijan in the 20th century.

From the first day of the revolution, Azerbaijanis either were not or were very few among the socialist and liberal forces represented in the new authorities in Baku. Although, the socialists who became the rivals of the national democratic forces - the socialist-revolutionaries (S.R.-member of Socialist Revolutionary Party), the Mensheviks and the Armenian nationalists - the Dashnaks formed the main part of the revolutionary-democratic bodies. Along with the Azerbaijani national forces, the Bolsheviks, a radical and more ambitious branch of the Socialists, remained in the minority in power, but did not agree with this situation and began to struggle seriously. This, in turn, made the structure called Baku Soviet a central figure in the socio-political life of Baku. However, the socio-political reality of Azerbaijan and, in particular, the city of Baku, led to a confrontation of revolutionary and national interests on various issues.

It is an undeniable fact that from March 1918 to September 1918 in Baku, Shamakhy, Guba, Lankaran, Salyan, and in other areas the military forces of the Baku Soviet, the absolute majority of which were Armenian military units, openly carried out the genocide of Azerbaijanis under the

name of fighting for the Soviet power. The Baku Soviet of People's Commissars (Baku SPC), which was formed as an executive body of the Baku Soviet after the March genocide, and existed until July 31, 1918, "production of bloody March", as well as the Centrokaspian Dictatorship operating in August-September 1918 continued its hostile position against the national democratic forces of Azerbaijan by all means. The "most fashionable" topics of historiography during the period of Soviet rule - "struggle for Soviet power in Azerbaijan" and "Baku Commune", were studied more deeply, the more they were mythologized by wandering from the reality. The intense struggle among various political forces in 1917-1918 was presented in the context of the struggle of the Bolsheviks for the success of the Soviet power.

In connection with the process of the collapse of the Soviet empire, the historical events of 1917-1918 became the center of attention in Azerbaijani historiography from the end of the 80s of the last century. In Azerbaijani historiography, the attitude towards the power of the Baku Soviet and the Bolsheviks, the evaluation of their activities, changed from one pole to another. Unequivocal praises were replaced by unequivocal accusations. The existence of strong arguments in historiography that the Bolsheviks and the Soviets under their leadership were guided by international principles in their activities requires an objective analysis of the activities of the Baku Soviet in the context of the political struggle that took place there in 1917-1918. Investigating the genesis of the anti-Azerbaijani policy of the Baku Soviet becomes an urgent issue.

The activities of the Baku Soviet and the Bolsheviks in Azerbaijan have been studied at different times in Soviet, foreign and modern Azerbaijani historiography.

In particular, in contrast to later periods in Soviet historiography¹ of the 1920s and 1930s, since the activities of both the Bolsheviks and their political opponents are analyzed and studied, the activities of the political

¹ Рагтаузер, Я. Революция и гражданская война в Баку. 1917–1918 г. Баку: ч.1., 1927; Сеф, С. Как большевики пришли к власти в 1917 – 1918 гг. в Бакинском районе. Баку: Аз. Гиз., 1927; Дубнер, А.Л. Бакинский пролетариат в годы революции (1917–1920). Баку: Азгнии, 1931; Бурджалов, Э. Двадцать шесть Бакинских комиссаров. Москва: Гос. полит.издат., 1938

forces concentrated in the Baku Soviet can be considered in the light of different prisms and from different perspectives.

Rathauer, the author of the first systematic work on the political struggle in Baku in 1917-1918, focuses on the influence of the national factor on the activities of socialist parties and, as a result, determines its impact on the political line of the Baku Soviet.² Analyzing the complicated political situation in Baku after the October revolution, another author of that period S.Sef explained the tactics of the Bolsheviks' struggle and associated their coming to power with maneuver between national groups, despite their weak social base.³

After the second half of the 1930 s, when the Stalinist regime dictated its own ideological demands, certain theoretical changes emerged in historical research. "The Short Course of the History of the All-Union Communist Party", published in 1938, called to show the exceptional role of Bolshevism in the struggle for Soviet power. For this reason, in subsequent studies, the Baku Soviet was studied exclusively as a Bolshevik government body, and the activities of other forces within the Soviet were pushed into the background.

Many works on the activities of the Baku Soviet and the Bolsheviks were published in the 1950s and 1960s, in which the attempt was made to prove that the socialist revolution in Azerbaijan was based on real ground. The main researcher of this period, Z.Ibrahimov, by extensively studying the activities of the Hummat organization tries to show the activity of Azerbaijani workers in the struggle for socialism. But at the same time, the author also allows bold criticism, which at first does not attract attention among the pathetic words. Listing the reasons for the collapse of the Soviet government implemented through the Baku Soviet he showed the lack of a strong alliance between the Baku proletariat and the Azerbaijani peasants, the provocative actions of the Dashnak gangs in the Red Army.⁴

² Раггаузер, Я. Революция и., с.69.

³ Сеф, С. Как большевики., с.12

⁴ İbrahimov, Z. Sosialist inqilabı uğrunda Azərbaycan zəhmətkeşlərinin mübarizəsi. Bakı: Azərneşr, 1957, s. 544 – 545

Tokarjevsky⁵ had analyzed the influence of external factors on the activities of the Bolsheviks. Both in Tokarjevsky's monograph and in Soviet historiography in general, the Mensheviks and the Dashnaks are presented as English agents. Therefore, among the causes of the collapse of the Bolshevik government in Baku external factor was brought to the fore, and due to the anti-Azerbaijani policy of the Soviets, its lack of internal foundations was somewhat veiled.

H. Azimov, who extensively studied the activities of the Soviets in Azerbaijan in the 70s and 80s, presented the political struggle in Baku as a fight between the revolutionary and counter-revolutionary fronts, and included the Mensheviks, Dashnaks and Musavatists to the latter. It is noted that the nature of the development of events in Azerbaijan is determined not by international relations, but by the class struggle within the nation (Azerbaijanis).⁶

In general, Soviet historiography analyzed not the anti-Azerbaijani policy of the Baku Soviet, but its anti-national policy, and showed the struggle of the Bolsheviks against the "defender, conciliatory" (Socialist Revolutionaries (SRs) and Mensheviks) and "nationalist" (Musavat and Dashnaktsutyun) forces. As a result, the issue of rivalry between the SRs and the Mensheviks, as well as the Dashnaks with the Azerbaijani national forces was pushed into the background, and the general position of these forces represented in the Baku Soviet against the Azerbaijani national-political forces was not dealt with.

In the second half of the 1980s, as a result of the Soviet government's "perestroika and glasnost" policy, the tolerance of scientific ideology and the reveal of new facts through the opening of secret archives allowed Azerbaijani history science to reconsider a number of issues.

At that time, in connection with the study of the history of the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic, the struggle of political forces in Azerbaijan in 1917-1918 was again becoming the object of study. The main scientific journal of the republic since 1989, the "News of the

⁵ Токаржевский, Е. Бакинские большевики – организаторы борьбы против турецко – германских и английских интервентов в Азербайджане в 1918 г. Баку: Изд. АН, 1949

⁶ Азимов, Г. Великий Октябрь в Азербайджан. Баку: Аз. Гост. Изд, 1987, с. 309

Academy of Sciences of the Azerbaijan SSR” began publishing exposing documents on the history of 1917-1918, among which there were the documents of the Extraordinary Inquiry Commission on the genocide in Guba.⁷

In the early 90s, the first scientific works on the events of 1917-1918 began to be published in the motherland historiography.

According to the level of study and general features of the subject, the research revealed by the motherland historiography can be divided into two parts, depending on the subjects covered, the works published before 1991-2001 and after 2001 to the present.

The main subject of the first part of the research was the history of the national-democratic movement and the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic. In the very first researches, it was noted the anti-Azerbaijani essence of the Baku Soviet’s policy.⁸ Soon it became clear that the people of Azerbaijan had been subjected to genocide during this period, which was characterized as a period of struggle for Soviet power. Based on these scientific results, by the order of the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan Heydar Aliyev on March 26, 1998 on “March 31, the day of the genocide of Azerbaijanis” actually was restored historical justice and given the political assessment to the event. After this historic step, an in-depth study of the history of the genocide committed against the Azerbaijani people and, of course, the events that took place in Azerbaijan in 1917-1918 became an important task for historians.

As a result of several years of research, first a monograph⁹ on the history of the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic was published in 1998, and in 2001, the fifth volume of the seven-volume “History of Azerbaijan” reflecting the events of the period was published.

The vast majority of the second part of the research was focused on the issue of genocides against the Azerbaijani people and much attention was paid to the results of the anti-Azerbaijani policy of the Baku Soviet.

⁷ Доклад члена Чрезвычайной Следственной Комиссии Новацкого // Известия Академии Наук Азербайджанской ССР. Серия истории, философии и права, Баку: 1989, №4, с.134 – 154

⁸ Həsənov, S. Ağ ləkələrin qara kölgəsi. Bakı: Gənclik, 1991, s.16

⁹ Azərbaycan Demokratik Respublikası .Bakı: Elm, 1998; Azərbaycan tarixi: [7 cildə] (1900 – 27 fevral – 1920). Bakı: Elm, c.5, 2001

Among the numerous scientific works of both parts, the works of some authors are especially important in the analysis of the political course of the Baku Soviet.

In the works of N.Maxwell (Agamaliyeva)¹⁰ various issues related to the activities of the public forces of Azerbaijan, important socio-political events are analyzed.¹¹

In his monograph¹², A.Balayev analyzes the political events that took place in Azerbaijan in 1917-18 from the viewpoint of the evolution of the national democratic movement and reveals the process of the Musavat party's gradual transformation into a leader of national forces.

The monograph¹³ of I.Bagirova, who studied the activities of parties and organizations in Azerbaijan in the early 20th century, is rich in information that allows an objective analysis of the activities of all parties in the period before and during the February Revolution.

In Ibrahimova's monograph,¹⁴ the struggle of socio-political forces in Azerbaijan after the February Revolution, and in a separate chapter entitled "Anti-Azerbaijani policy of the Baku Soviet" only the issue of genocide is analyzed.

The organization of governance in Baku after the February Revolution, the relationship between the local authorities of the

¹⁰Агамалиева, Н. Комитет Бакинских мусульманских общественных организаций в политической системе Азербайджана в 1917 г. // Баку: Труды научной конференции, посвященной к дню восстановления Азербайджанской государственности. 1991, с.112 – 120; Yerli özünüidarə orqanlarının demokratikləşməsi və bu prosesdə siyasi partiyaların rolu //Azərbaycan tarixinin problemləri // Bakı: 1993; О выборах в Учредительное Собрание по Азербайджану // Известия Академии Наук Азербайджана. (серия истории, философии и права), 1990, №4, с.17–24

¹¹Агамалиева, Н. (Максвелл, Н.). Комитет Бакинских мусульманских общественных организаций в политической системе Азербайджана в 1917 г. // Баку: Труды научной конференции ,посвященной к дню восстановления Азербайджанской государственности. 1991, с.112 – 120.

¹² Балаев, А. Азербайджанское национальное – освободительное движение в 1917–1920. Баку: Элм, 1990

¹³Багирова, И.С. Политические партии и организации Азербайджана в начале XX века. Баку: Элм, 1998

¹⁴Ibrahimova, A. Azərbaycanca ictimai – siyasi qüvvələrin mübarizəsi (1917 – 1918 - ci illər). Bakı: Elm, 2010

Provisional Government, the city self-government and the Baku Soviet are among the issues to be considered in determining the political course of the Baku Soviet, that A.Adigozalova's monograph provides a comprehensive analysis of these issues.¹⁵

The process of military organization of the Baku Soviet was reflected in P.Darabadi's work published in 1991¹⁶. In the work, the Red Guards are shown only as the Bolshevik Guards. However, the Socialist Revolutionaries, Mensheviks and Dashnaks, who were part of the Soviet, also formed guards, and each of them, had groups of about 3.500 guardsmen in the content of the Baku Soviet.

In the works of M.Suleymanov¹⁷, a more detailed analysis of the military issues of the time was conducted.

E.Ismayilov separately studied the activity of the head of the Baku Soviet Shaumyan. In the chapter entitled "Initiator of the Genocide", the author notes that Shaumyan's Bolshevism, in which class interests prevailed over national interests, allowed him to act on the principle that "the goal justifies the means" and had a purely political purpose¹⁸.

There are numerous researches on the issue of the genocide of Azerbaijanis, which cover in detail the steps taken by the Baku Soviet to strengthen itself in the territory of the Baku province, and the criminal acts committed by the Bolshevik-Dashnak forces here. V.Abishov, the author of extensive research in this direction, assesses the activity of S.Shaumyan as follows: "*As for the independence of the Armenians, S.Shaumyan tried to carry out this work with all his soul and he personally led it*".¹⁹

¹⁵ Adıgözəlova, A. Fevral inqilabından sonra Şimali Azərbaycanca idarəçilik sistem. Bakı: Elm və Təhsil, 2017

¹⁶ Дарабади, П. Военные проблемы политической истории Азербайджана начала XX века. Баку: ЭЛМ, 1991

¹⁷ Süleymanov, M. Azərbaycan ordusu (1918 – 1920). Bakı: Hərbi nəşriyyat, 1998; Qafqaz İslam Ordusu və Azərbaycan. Bakı: Hərbi nəşriyyat, 1999; Azərbaycan Xalq Cümhuriyyətinin hərbi tarixi [2 cildə]. Tehran: Firuzan, c.1, 2014

¹⁸ Исмаилов, Э. Степан Шаумян – обреченный на забвение. Портрет «легендарного коммунара» без ретуши. Баку: Şərq-Qərb, 2012. – с.263.

¹⁹ Abışov, V. Azərbaycan xalqına qarşı 1918-ci il soyqırımını. Bakı: Elm, 2007, s.89; Abışov, V. Bakıda Azərbaycan xalqına qarşı 1918-ci il mart soyqırımı – Bakı: Elm, 2017, s.45

The anti-Azerbaijani policy of the Baku Soviet in the territory of Baku gubernia is reflected in the monographs of V.Aliyeva and R.Bayramova.²⁰

In the works of J.Hasanli, V.Gafarov, N.Maxwell,²¹ the external factors influencing the events in Azerbaijan at that time, as well as the activity of the Baku Soviet were analyzed in detail.

The political events taken place in Azerbaijan in 1917-1918 were also widely analyzed in foreign historiography. Western historians, who wanted to determine the influence of national factors on political events, also paid special attention to national factor when studying political processes in Baku, where national conflicts were characteristic.

This is evident in the works of American historians F.Kazimzadeh, R.Suni, T.Świętochowski.²²

According to R.Suni, who had analyzed the political events in Baku in 1917-1918 through the historical prism of the Baku commune, the Baku Bolsheviks did not see the Armenian military as a threat.²³

In Russian historiography, research is being conducted on the revolutionary processes in the national regions, including the period of the Baku Soviet's activity.²⁴

²⁰Əliyeva, V. Azərbaycan Xalq Cümhuriyyəti hakimiyyətinin Lənkəran bölgəsində bərqərar edilməsi. Bakı: Elm, 2012; Bayramova, R. Azərbaycanın Quba bölgəsi tarixin dönüş mərhələsində (1917 – 1920 – ci illər). Bakı: Turxan, 2018

²¹Həsənlı, C. Azərbaycan Xalq Cümhuriyyətinin xarici siyasəti. 1918 – 1920 – Bakı: GARİSMA, 2009; Qafarov V. Türkiyə – Rusiya münasibətlərində Azərbaycan məsələsi (1917 – 1922). Bakı: Azər nəşr, 2011; Максвелл, Н. Азербайджан в геополитических планах Великобритании (1917-1918 гг.) (по материалам Британских архивов) // Bakı: AMEA A.A.Bakıxanov adına Tarix İnstitutu elmi əsərlərinin xüsusi buraxılışı. 2014. 48, 49, 50-ci cildlər – s. 94-104; Новые факты о деятельности представителей Британского военного представительства, работающего на Кавказе // Bakı: AMEA A.A. Bakıxanov adına Tarix İnstitutu elmi əsərlərinin xüsusi buraxılışı, 2018. 74, 75, 76-ci cildlər, s.332-341

²²Каземзаде, Ф. Борьба за Закавказье (1917–1921). – Москва: CA&CC Press, 2010; Suny, R.G. Bakü Komünü. Rus devrimində Milliyyət və Sınıf – İstanbul:Uluslararası yayıncılıq, 1990; Svyatxovskı, T.Rusiya Azərbaycanı 1905 – 1920 – ci illər //Azərbaycan. 1989, №11, s.117-152

²³Suny, R.G. Bakü Komünü.., s.203

²⁴Безугольный, А. Ю. Генерал Бичерахов и его Кавказская армия 1917 – 1918. Москва: Центрполиграф, 2011; Булдаков, В.П. Красная смута. Природа и

The object and subject of research. The object of the study is the activity of the Baku Soviet in 1917-1918. The subject of the study includes the relations of the Baku Soviet with various national forces, especially with the national political forces of Azerbaijan, as well as the socio-political events that took place in the Baku guberniya and the region in 1917-1918.

The goals and objectives of the research. The purpose of the research is to study the impact of national factors on the political course of the Baku Soviet, to identify the historical circumstances and factors that gave rise to its policy against the Azerbaijani national movement and to assess its consequences by analyzing it in the context of the struggle of political forces.

The essence of the policy of the Baku Soviet can be determined as a result of the analysis of its activities in various directions in the context of the struggle of political forces here. For this reason, the analysis of the following issues became the task of the dissertation:

- Changes in the socio-political life of Baku after the February revolution;

- When did the contradictions between the Baku Soviet and the socialists represented there and the national-democratic forces of Azerbaijan arise as a body of revolutionary democratic power and on what issues did it manifest itself?

- The issue of representation of Azerbaijanis in the Baku Soviet and the activities of national political forces in this direction;

- The activity of the Bolsheviks in strengthening in the Baku Soviet;

- Relations between the Baku Soviet and other authorities;

- Influence of external factors on the activity of Baku Soviet;

- The impact of the current socio-political situation in Azerbaijan on the activities of the Baku Soviet and national forces;

последствия революционного насилия. Москва: РОССПЕН, 1997; Булдаков, В.П. Хаос и этнос. Этнические конфликты в России – Москва: Новый хронограф, 2010; Муханов, В.М. Кавказ в переломную эпоху (1917 – 1921 гг.). Москва: Модест Колеров, 2019

– The impact of economic factors, especially the foodstuff problem, on national and social relations and the activities of political forces in Baku;

–The military organization of the warring parties at that time, the Armenian factor in the activities of the Baku Soviet and, in particular, the influence of national factors on the activities of the head of the Baku Soviet S.Shaumyan, in general, the influence of national factors on the activities of revolutionary democrats-socialists;

–National factor in the activities of Muslim Socialists;

– Factors determining the emergence of the Bolshevik-Dashnak alliance in Baku in the spring of 1918;

–The role of the Baku Soviet in the organization of genocides in Baku and in the gubernia;

–Features of the activities of Azerbaijani political forces with different tendencies in the face of national threat;

–Socialist measures of Baku SPC and their results;

–The activities of the Centro-Caspian Dictatorship

Research methods. During the study of the problem, both basic and auxiliary or additional research methods were used as research methods of historical science. Historical-genetic method as the main method for describing events and explaining facts, historical-comparative method for determining analogies and exceptions in events, historical-systematic method for complex analysis of events, historical-dynamic method for monitoring qualitative changes in the development of events, historical-typological method was used for the purpose of grouping and periodization of current events according to their essence and period characteristics, as well as characteristics of grouping of political forces, and historical-biographical method was used to reveal the activity of historical personalities, as well as social and national groups.

The interpretation of various written sources belonging to the participants of the event was carried out based on the discourse analysis method. As is known, historical sources are rich with hidden and potential information in addition to the purposeful information of the source creators. Discourse-analysis helped to reveal socio-psychological, ethno-psychological points in the analysis of that information and historical

events during the research and finally ensured the application of a complex approach.

The main provisions of the defense. The following provisions are defended in the dissertation:

1. After the February Revolution, political forces in Baku were grouped in two main political camps, and the Baku Soviet was the political center in the Socialist camp.

2. The political forces in the Baku Soviet were not represented there in accordance with the sympathy of all the working masses of Baku.

3. The relations between the political forces represented in the Baku Soviet and the national forces of Azerbaijan were seriously affected by a number of issues in the social life of Baku, and the fact that the Socialists considered Muslims politically immature was one of the important factors influencing the prospects of political events.

4. In the summer and autumn of 1917, the main forces fighting for a position in the Baku Soviet were the Bolsheviks and Musavatists. Until the spring of 1918, the Musavat party participated in the Baku Soviet and took the line of cooperation.

5. The collapse of the Caucasus Front towards the end of 1917 had a serious impact on the socio-political processes in the Baku gubernia, creating conditions for strengthening the political position of the Baku Soviet, on the contrary, it put national democratic forces of Azerbaijan at a disadvantageous position.

6. The activity of the Baku Soviet was seriously influenced by the Armenian political and national factor.

7. Along with Bolshevik Russia, the activity of the Baku Soviet was influenced by the Entente and Central States.

8. The power struggle between the Baku Soviet and the Baku City Duma resulted in the abolition of democratic governance in the example of the latter.

9. In the spring of 1918, conflicts between the Baku Soviet and the Azerbaijani national forces came to a serious confrontation and resulted in genocide against the Azerbaijani people.

10. The issue of national security was a unifying factor in the activities of the Azerbaijani national forces and Muslim socialists.

11. The government of the left wing of the Baku Soviet meant ensuring the rule of Bolshevik Russia in the region, and its political course was anti-Azerbaijani.

12. The government of the right wing of the Baku Soviet in the example of the Centro-Caspian Dictatorship, also became unsuccessful for the socialist camp. The activities of this rule, which is a symbiotic government of non-Muslim socialists and nationalists, were also anti-Azerbaijani.

Scientific novelty of the research. As a result of complex research, a number of scientific novelties were obtained by analyzing the objective and subjective factors guiding the policy of the Baku Soviet:

– It was determined that after the February revolution, the parties involved in the political struggle in Baku were grouped in two main camps - the socialist and the national (Azerbaijani); and the decisive influence of national factors on the contradictions between them was revealed. The question of the representation of the Muslim population, in particular the Muslim workers, in the revolutionary democratic authorities has been shown to create a contradiction between the socialist and national camps as a subject of socio-political discussion.

– The dynamics of the development of the contradictions between the forces represented in the Baku Soviet and the Azerbaijani national forces was analyzed in detail.

– The impact of the important foodstuff issue on the activities of political forces was revealed during the period under discussion, and the relation of the socio-political activity of the Muslim population in the process of joining the democratic election process was substantiated.

– The activities of the Musavat party and the struggle of Muslim workers in relation with the annexation of mining districts to the city were analyzed.

– The impact of the collapse of the Caucasus front on the socio-political processes in Azerbaijan, the activities of the Baku Soviet and national forces was analyzed, the impact of anti-Muslim mood on the non-Muslim minority in the Baku province on the subsequent activities of the Baku Soviet, factors determining the socio-political activity of the Muslim population in the period are shown.

– The impact of external factors on the political course of the Baku Soviet was widely analyzed and its weight in the development of events was determined, the special role of Turkish and English factors was indicated.

– The directing influence of Bolshevik Russia in the activities of the Baku Soviet on the eve of the March events was clarified.

– The contradictions between the Baku Soviet and the City Duma were analyzed in more detail, and the reasons for the Duma's inability to resist the Soviets' attempts at authoritarianism were indicated.

– It was established that the anti-Muslim mood in the beginning of 1918 caused a tense political controversy between the socialists and the National Democrats in Baku.

– An attempt was made to analyze the activities of Muslim socialists - Hummatists and Muslim SRs not from a position of appreciation or accusation, but from an objective viewpoint, and it was stated that this activity is conditioned by various socio-political factors.

– The issues of military organization of the Baku Soviet were analyzed in detail, and it was determined that the Red Guards had a multi-party structure (including Bolsheviks, SRs, Mensheviks and Dashnaks) and that the Soviets created obstacles for Musavatist workers to join the guards.

– It was determined that the socio-political activity of the Muslim population had increased on the eve of the March events, and that they were openly dissatisfied with the government of Baku Soviet.

– The reasons for the emergence of the Bolshevik-Dashnak alliance namely in the spring of 1918 and the complex factors that caused it were identified, the influence of the Armenian factor on the work of the Baku Soviet and, in particular, the weight of Bolshevism and the Armenian national factor in S.Shaumyan's political activity was clarified.

– The weight of Bolshevik and Armenian political factors in the genocide against the Azerbaijani people has been determined.

– A number of facts have been revealed regarding the participation of Muslim socialists in local government, and it has been established that they have tried to be independent in the management of uyezds.

– The factors determining the opposition of the right wing of the Baku Soviet to the Bolshevik government have been identified, and the

influence of the British factor on the course of events has been substantiated.

– On the eve of the collapse of the Baku Soviet of People's Commissars, the impact of serious disagreements between the bolshevik S.Shaumyan and the Dashnaks, as well as among the Armenian political forces in the South Caucasus in Baku events was grounded.

– The essence of the government of the Centro-Caspian Dictatorship has been clarified and it has been shown that the activities of political forces during this government were influenced by national factors.

The theoretical and practical significance of the research. It can be used:

– In writing general scientific works on the political history of Azerbaijan in 1917-1918;

– In the study of the history of the genocide against the Azerbaijani people;

– In the study of the history of political parties in Azerbaijan;

– In the study of the history of the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic;

– in special courses on the history of Azerbaijan of 1917-1918.

Approbation and application of the research.The main provisions covering the content of the dissertation are reflected in the author's 16 articles published in prestigious scientific publications (including 4 abroad) and 6 reports at international scientific conferences.

Name of the organization where the dissertation work was carried out: The dissertation work was carried out at the department of History of the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic of Abbasgulu Agha Bakikhanov Institute of History of the Azerbaijan National Academy of Sciences.

The total volume of the dissertation.The total volume of the dissertation consists of 287.973 characters (except the bibliography), including the "Introduction" section – 43.915, Chapter I – 58.292, Chapter II – 55.958, Chapter III - 40.682, Chapter IV - 74.334, the "Conclusion" – 12.811 characters.

II. MAIN BODY OF THE DISSERTATION

Chapter I of the dissertation, entitled **“The Establishment of the Baku Soviet and the polarization of political forces (March-October 1917)”** consists of three sub-chapters. In the first sub- chapter - **“The formation of revolutionary governance in Baku and the shaping of the revolutionary-socialist camp”** the initial changes in the socio-political life of Baku after the February revolution are analyzed and the factors that led to the establishment of the **revolutionary government and the socialist center** are described here.

In the first months after the February revolution, in fact, a situation of dual power emerged in Baku. This manifested itself in the emergence of the Baku Soviet of Workers’ Deputies (Baku Soviet), along with the local body of the Provisional Government - the Executive Committee of Public Organizations (ECPO). Dashnak representatives who joined the ranks of the Socialist Revolutionaries, Mensheviks, Bolsheviks and Socialists took part in the Baku Soviet. Although Azerbaijanis made up the majority of the Baku working class, they were not represented in this body.

The maiden purpose in the establishment of the Baku Soviet was to support and control the revolutionary government, as well as to organize democratic forces.²⁵ However, from the first days the Soviet began to interfere in the solution of issues under the jurisdiction of the main authority in the city - ECPO.

The involvement of the Azerbaijani national forces in the political process, in turn, required from the socialists to take into account national factors. However, the idea of “political immaturity” of the Muslim workers and the Muslim population in general, sounded by the socialists, by directing their activities led to tensions in the socio-political life of Baku.

In the second sub-chapter, entitled **“The first conflicts between Socialists and National Forces and the participation of Azerbaijanis**

²⁵Хроника. Организация: // Известия Совета рабочих и военных депутатов Бакинского района. – 1917, 23 июня, № 67, – с.3

in the Baku Soviet” the contradictions between the **socialist and national camps** on various issues are analyzed.

In general, the Socialists were indifferent to the representation of Azerbaijanis in democratic bodies. For this reason, the issue of non-representation of Azerbaijanis in the Baku Soviet had become a subject of socio-political discussion.

At that time, there was an anti-Muslim mood in Baku, and the ideas in the socialist forces about the class and political immaturity, passivity and illiteracy of the Muslim population strengthened this mood. News about the armament of Muslims in the Caucasus raised anti-Muslim mood.

Revolutionary democratic changes also increased the socio-political activity of the Muslim population and, as a result, demonstrated a serious disagreement between the socialists and the national forces.

The first issue showing that the Baku Soviet forces did not take into account the interests of the local Muslim population was the increasingly politicized foodstuff issue. Contrary to the Socialists’ expectations, Azerbaijanis won a large number of votes in the May elections to the civil food committees.²⁶ The participation of Muslim women in the elections had had a decisive effect on the Muslim majority. 11.000 out of the 14.029 Muslim women voters participated in elections.²⁷

In the summer of 1917, in another issue on socio-political agenda of Baku- the annexation of the mining districts to the city in connection with the new democratic elections to the Duma - the disagreement between the national forces and the socialists became more pronounced. At the time, the representation of the Muslim population in the democratic government bodies, including the Baku Soviet, appeared to be an important condition for elimination of contradictions. The national forces supported representation in the revolutionary-democratic bodies on the principle of proportionality.

In the sub-chapter entitled as **“The activities of the Bolsheviks and Musavatists to strengthen in the Baku Soviet”** the activities of the

²⁶ Беленкий, С. Революция 1917 года в Азербайджане. Баку: Аз. Изд., 1927, с.54 – 55

²⁷ Мусульманская жизнь. Мусульманские избирательницы // Каспий. – 1917, 26 июля, №165, с.6

Bolsheviks and Musavatists from the summer of 1917 to October is analyzed.

In the summer of 1917, as a result of the internal shift of the socialist and national camps, the Bolshevik and Musavat parties came on the fore in political scene in Baku, and it was important for both political forces to gain a majority in the Baku Soviet.

Although the leadership of the Muslim Workers gave the Musavat party the right to take a seat in the Baku Soviet, the parties in the Soviet decidedly opposed it, stating that it was not a socialist or workers' party. The socialist parties pursued the line of isolating Musavat and demonstrating it by all means, and no initiative of Musavat, which condemned any anti-democratic attempt in public and political life, was supported.

Despite the obstacles, the elections to the Baku Soviet on October 22 resulted in the victory of Musavat.

Before the October revolution, the Musavat party had firmly established its leadership among the national political forces. Trying to avoid the conflict, the party peacefully fought for representation in the government and established a line of cooperation with the Baku Soviet. The new reality created by the October revolution made the conflict inevitable.

The second chapter, entitled **“The activities of the Bolsheviks in strengthening the power of the Baku Soviet (November 1917 - March 1918)”** consists of 4 sub-chapters. In the first sub-chapter, entitled **“The Bolsheviks’ activities to achieve the undivided power of the Baku Soviet after the October revolution”**, is analyzed the activities of the Soviet Bolshevik leadership from October 1917 to December 1917 to strengthen their power.

On November 2, the Bolsheviks achieved adoption of the decision that the Soviet was the supreme body of power in the city. The only obstacle to the Baku Soviet on being the sole governing body was the democratically elected Baku City Duma. Although more Socialists were elected to the Duma on 29 October on democratic grounds, it was the only body in which the representatives of the national bourgeoisie and intellectuals representing the national interests of Azerbaijanis had seats and had the opportunity to demonstrate their political will.

After the reelections to the Baku Soviet in December, a new Executive Committee of the Baku Soviet was formed. Disagreeing with the results of the October elections, the Bolsheviks succeeded in enforcing the new election rules and preventing Musavat from being widely represented in the Soviet.

Beginning from the end of 1917, the influence of the Armenian factor on the activities of the Soviet had become more vivid, and the presence of the Dashnaks within the Soviet created a favorable opportunity for this.

In the second sub - chapter, entitled **“The influence of national movements and external factors in the South Caucasus on the political course of the Baku Soviet”** the impact of the October revolution in Russia on the situation in the South Caucasus, the interests of the Entente and the Central States here, the process of turning the Baku Soviet into a center that will spread Bolshevik power in the region are analyzed. Special attention is paid to Shaumyan’s relations with the Armenian national forces and his role in issuing the decree **“Turkish Armenia”**.

The intervention of Bolshevik Russia, the Entente and the Central States in the events in the region accelerated the mobilization of national forces on the one hand and Bolshevism on the other.

The establishment of Bolshevik government in the Caucasus was one of the main strategic goals of Soviet Russia. On December 16, Lenin appointed Shaumyan as the Interim Commissioner for Caucasian Affairs and allocated 500.000 rubles to the Baku Soviet to remove obstacles before the Soviet government in the Caucasus.

Under the new conditions, the course of events depended on the foreign support of each of the national forces here. At that time, the British and the Bolsheviks were aggravating the situation in the region by supporting the Armenians.²⁸

In the existed situation, the Azerbaijani national forces were deprived of the opportunity to maneuver and could only hope for unity with Turkey.

²⁸Максвелл, Н. Азербайджан в геополитических планах..., с.96

The third sub-chapter entitled **“Strengthening anti-Muslim mood among the Turkic-Muslim population of Baku province and the activities of the Baku Soviet”** deals with the new political situation in the South Caucasus - the direction of social and national relations in Baku gubernia and its impact on the Baku Soviet. The presence of the Armenian and Russian populations in the predominantly Azerbaijani gubernias became a serious factor influencing the course of political events.

Towards the end of 1917, the socio-political situation in Azerbaijan was tense. The chaos in the Baku gubernia was chaotic, anti-Muslim mood was growing, and organization was intensifying at various poles. At the time, rumors were circulating among the non-Muslim population that Muslims were hiding food and were arming. Views on the robbery from the threat of famine from different national perspectives led to different rhetoric in the political arena.

The anti-Muslim mood in the Baku province was manifesting itself in the process of organizing among the Russian population. On the one hand, they were organized at the national level; on the other hand, the Baku Soviet was admitted as an alternative government.²⁹

The anti-Muslim mood intensified by the Shamkhor incident opened the way for the Baku Soviet leadership to implement plans to strengthen itself, at least in the Baku province.

In the fourth sub-chapter entitled **“The activity of the Baku Soviet to strengthen its power in the city. “Increasing conflicts between Socialist and National camps”**, are analyzed the events that aggravated the contradictions between the Socialist and National camps, and the activities of the Baku Soviet from January to March 1918. The sub-chapter also comments on the prevalence of “anti-Muslim” mood in the socio-political environment and the manifestations of this factor, especially the negative impact of articles in the socialist press on public opinion.

The events in the uyezds in Baku were assessed differently by the Azerbaijani national forces and the socialists. Non-Muslim socialists regarded robbery as a counter-revolutionary movement. Anti-Muslim

²⁹ Иногородний отдел // Бакинский рабочий. – 1918, 22 марта, №53, с.3-4

propaganda attracted the attention and protest of Azerbaijani political forces of all tendencies.

The apparent violence of the soldiers gathered at the Baku railway station, especially the Armenian soldiers, against the Muslim passengers here caused serious dissatisfaction among the Muslim population.³⁰

At the time, the relocation of the Caucasus Army of the Military Revolutionary Committee (CAMRC) to Baku created a favorable condition for the Soviet Bolshevik leadership and accelerated the organization of the Soviet military forces.

From the beginning of 1918, the contradictions between the Baku Soviet and the City Duma had been growing, and during the discussions on the issue of power, the Azerbaijani national forces had expressed their political positions. The activities of the SRs and the Dashnaks in both the Baku Soviet and the Duma prevented the Duma from opposing the Soviet.

Two factors, such as the “demands” of Lenin’s envoy to Baku, P.Kobozev, from the Baku Bolsheviks, and the return of Shaumyan, the Extraordinary Commissar of the Caucasus, from Tiflis to Baku in early March, affected the Baku Soviet. The Baku Soviet began to increase its control in the city. By the end of March, a number of public organizations in the city had accepted Soviet power, and before the March events, the Soviet was able to effectively strengthen its power in Baku. Towards the end of March, the immediate political goal of the Baku Soviet was no longer to consolidate in Baku, but to spread its current power to the region.

Chapter III, “**The implementation of the genocide against the Baku Soviet and the people of Azerbaijan**” covers three sub- chapters. The first sub- chapter entitled “**Factors determining the Bolshevik-Dashnak alliance in Baku in March 1918**” identifies the factors determining the Bolshevik-Dashnak alliance.

In general, the main factors that led to the emergence of the Bolshevik and Dashnak alliances in Baku were the strengthening of the Azerbaijani national democratic movement and the Turkish factor.

³⁰ Bakı xəbərləri // Açıq söz. –1918,1 fevral, №670, s.4

Although the Brest-Litovsk peace lost its significance by decree of “Turkish-Armenia”, in the situation in the South Caucasus, the Bolshevik government was still interested in the realization of Armenian autonomy, which laid the foundation for relations with the Bolsheviks and Dashnaks in Baku. The fact that the Armenian Bolshevik was one of the leaders of the Baku Bolsheviks, the unequal ratio of Bolshevik and Dashnak forces in Baku and the political processes in the North Caucasus was among the factors accelerating the formation of the Bolshevik alliance with the Dashnaks in Baku. Shaumyan’s political position and ambitions, as well as his authority among the parties, guaranteed this alliance - the Bolshevik-Dashnak union.

In the second sub - chapter, entitled as “**The military organization of the Baku Soviet as an important power resource**”, is analyzed the process of organizing Bolshevik and Armenian military forces in Baku before the March genocide.

From the beginning of January 1918, this process was accelerated by the relocation of Caucasus Army of the Military Revolutionary Committee (CAMRC) to Baku. Most of the Red Guards staff formed at that time were Armenians who sympathized with the Dashnaks.³¹ Although Musavat party representatives demanded that Musavat members be allowed to join the guard, it was not allowed.³² The factor that motivated the workers to become guardsmen was not the defense of the revolution, but often the opportunity to get wages and food.

The leadership of the Baku Soviet recruited Russian soldiers returning to their homes to the Baku Soviet Army. Arms at the disposal of the Russian Expeditionary Corps in Iran were seized. As the remaining of navy in Baku was important, a port city, the reorganization of the Caspian Navy began. At the end of March, the number of troops of the Baku Soviet, including the Guards, Red Army units and navy, was more than 7.000.³³ At the same time, from the beginning of 1918, in connection with the collapse of the Caucasus front Armenian military units were rapidly gathering in Baku.

³¹ Azərbaycan xalqına qarşı 1918-ci il mart soyqırımı: Sənədlər toplusu. [üç cildə]. Bakı: Çarşıoğlu, c.3, 2010, s. 329

³² В партии (Мусават) // Наш голос.—1918, 15 марта, № 55, с.4

³³ Дарабади, П. Военно – политическая..., с.106

The third sub-chapter entitled **“March genocide in Baku: political and ethnic motives”** illuminates the public mood in Baku on the eve of the March events, the direct course of the genocide and the activities of political forces.

During the month of March, news about the deployment of punitive forces against Muslims caused concern among the Muslim population in the gubernia. In the face of the impending threat, members of various Azerbaijani political organizations reacted in the same way.

After the disarmament of the Muslim soldiers on board the “Evelina”, on March 29, the Muslim population, lost their patience, held mass-meeting and made strict demands against the Baku Soviet government. Although they did not understand what was happening, the masses wanted the overthrow of the Baku Soviet, which had been gaining strength since late February. The people did not hesitate to express their will. Taking advantage of the situation, the Baku Soviet attacked the Azerbaijani national forces. The use of artillery and machine guns had a devastating effect on Muslims. The Baku Soviet, which surrendered its political rival, the Azerbaijani national forces led by the Musavat party in Baku, by destroying its social base, in April-May, continued the policy of genocide in Shamakhy, Guba and Lankaran uyezds.

In order not to lose their power in Baku and to throttle the national democratic movement of Azerbaijan, the Bolsheviks, who preferred the method of destroying or at least undermining the social base that supports the political force, entered into an alliance with the Dashnaks and actually used one national group against another.

Chapter 4 **“Failure of the anti-Azerbaijani policy of the Baku Soviet (April-September 1918)”** consists of 3 sub-chapters. The sub-chapter entitled **“The left wing of the socialists in power - the activities of the Baku Soviet of People's Commissars”** analyzes the activities of the first Bolshevik government “established” at the expense of the blood of the Muslim population.

On April 25, at a meeting of the Baku Soviet, a new government body called the Baku Soviet of People's Commissars (SPC) was established. It was announced that the new body had been established as a local government of the All-Russian Supreme Soviet of People's Commissars (RSPC), thus establishing the power of Bolshevik Russia in

part of Azerbaijan. Although only Bolsheviks and left SRs held the posts of commissars in Baku SPC, its existence was ensured by the Armenian military forces led by the Dashnaks. ANS had a significant impact on the Baku Soviet. According to various reports, even 90-95 percent of the army consisted of Armenians.³⁴

The government “established” by the Dashnak bayonet was the Soviet regime in terms of governance, principles and purpose.

On June 2, the Bolsheviks began to take over the oil industry in Baku by a decree of the Baku SPC on the nationalization of the oil industry. Although there was disagreement on the nationalization of the oil industry, Shaumyan hastily managed to implement it.

On June 18, the Baku SPC issued a decree on “socialization of lands in the South Caucasus and Dagestan”. However, in the current situation, the transformation of the Azerbaijani peasantry into a natural ally of the landowner also made it impossible to solve the agrarian problem.

One of the most important issues facing Baku was the solution of the food problem. Shortage of bread had already put Russian and Armenian workers face to face in Baku.³⁵ Shortage of food led to a campaign to invite the British.

The second sub-chapter entitled “**The emergence of dual power in Azerbaijan. Baku Soviet of People’s Commissars against the Republic of Azerbaijan**” provides a detailed analysis of the socio-political situation that led to the collapse of the government of the Baku Soviet of People’s Commissars.

After the establishment of the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic, on June 5, Baku SPC started a war with it. But, at that time, as the Russian civil war was gaining momentum, it became difficult to provide the necessary assistance to the Bolsheviks in Baku. Soon, the contradictions within the Baku Soviet, which had been extinguished for some time, re-emerged. Here, the SR’s, Mensheviks and Dashnaks began to look for

³⁴Корганов, Участие армян в мировой войне на Кавказской фронте (1914–1918). Москва: 2011, – с.158

³⁵Azərbaycan tarixi arxiv sənədlərində: 1917-1920-ci illər. Rusiya Dövlət Sosial-Siyasi Tarix Arxivinin sənədləri. Bakı: Çarşıoğlu, c.1– 2010, s.91

alternatives and insisted on calling the British to help against the German-Turkish bloc.

When it was impossible for the Bolsheviks to openly use the help of the British, Shaumyan decided to use L.Bicherakhov, the leader of the Russian-Cossack guerrilla group based in Iran. Shaumyan's decision was strongly influenced by the Dashnaks.

After the defeat of the commune army in Kurdamir (July 10), tensions between political forces in Baku intensified and calls for the British invite increased.

As the situation worsened, clashes began between the Dashnaks and Shaumyan and between Armenian political forces in general. In Baku, the Armenian National Soviet (ANS) relied on the British. The Dashnaks of Tiflis, on the other hand, considering relations with Britain to be very problematic, tended to talk to the Turks.³⁶

The military success of the Azerbaijani-Turkish forces further increased the hesitations of the Armenian political forces in the region. At the end of July, Hamazasp and T.Amirov withdrew their cavalry units from the front line. An extensive meeting of the Soviet was assembled on Shaumyan's initiative to discuss the situation. The Bolshevik Russian government resolutely demanded the Baku Bolsheviks to renounce British military assistance. An extraordinary meeting of the Baku Soviet was convened on July 25. After the rejection of the first resolution submitted by Shaumyan, it was announced that the Baku SPC being the Bolshevik government had resigned.

The last sub-chapter is called **“The attempt of the right wing of the Socialists to keep power in Baku - the Centro-Caspian Dictatorship”** activities of the new government that emerged after the resignation of the Bolshevik government are analyzed here.

Under the current circumstances, the Centro-Caspian relying on the CCSCCN (Central Committee of the Ship Commissions of Caspian Navy), took the initiative to oppose the desire of the Armenian political forces to surrender and by giving dictatorial powers to five of its members proclaimed their power. On August 1, a government, “Central Caspian Dictatorship and the Presidium of the Interim Executive Committee of the

³⁶Шаумян, Сур. Бакинская Коммуна. Баку: Красный Восток, 1927, с.41

Soviet of Workers 'and Soldiers' Deputies" was established in Baku. The government that was created had to exercise Soviet power in principle, and the socialist central government was again able to retain power. During the short term power, the main activity of the Centro-Caspian government was to take measures to keep Baku. First, British forces led by Major General Dansterville were invited from Iran. Although Densterville took steps to keep Baku, he did not succeed.

Despite all the efforts of the socialist center, the government of the Centro- Caspian Dictatorship collapsed. This meant the failure of the Baku Soviet forces, in other words, the socialists' last attempt to retain power in Baku in alliance with the Armenian political forces.

In the "Conclusion" section of the dissertation the scientific researches are summed up and the main provisions of the research are summarized and the important results obtained are analyzed.

The Centrokaspian Dictatorship was clearly a symbiotic nationalist rule of right-wing socialists and Armenian political forces that shifted from a position of revolutionary democracy to nationalism. Finally, it should be noted that, like the rule of the left socialists in Baku, the experience of the right socialists also failed. The salient aspect of the political course of both factions was its anti-Azerbaijani essence.

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

1. Bakıda hakimiyyət uğrunda mübarizə şəraitində Şəhər Duması və siyasi qüvvələrin ona münasibəti (1917-ci ilin oktyabrından 1918-ci ilin martınadək) // -Bakı: AMEA Xəbərlər, ictimai elmlər seriyası, – 2013. №1, – s.163-176
2. Azərbaycanda hakimiyyət uğrunda mübarizədə bolşevik taktikasının təhlili haqqında (XX əsrin 20-30-cu illər sovet tarixşünaslığında) // - Bakı: Tarix və onun problemləri, – 2013. №3, – s. 326-333 ,
3. Bakı Sovetinin anti-Azərbaycan siyasətində erməni amili // “Birinci Dünya müharibəsi və Azərbaycan” mövzusunda həsr olunmuş beynəlxalq elmi konfransın materialları, AMEA Tarix İnstitutunun

- Elmi Əsərlərinin xüsusi buraxılışı № 48, 49, 50 – Bakı: –20 –22 iyun –2014, – s.295 –300
4. Azərbaycanda gedən siyasi mübarizədə rus milli-etnik amili (oktyabr 1917 – mart 1918) / “Azərbaycan və Şərqi Anadoluda türk-müsəlman əhaliyə qarşı soyqırımları (1914-1920-ci illər)” mövzusunda həsr olunmuş III Beynəlxalq elmi konfransın materialları, AMEA Tarix İnstitutunun Elmi Əsərlərinin xüsusi buraxılışı, № 56, 57, 58, – Şamaxı: –7 –10 aprel. – 2016, – s.342-349
 5. Bakıda Qırmızı qvardiyanın və bolşevik döyüş drujinasının təşkili və onların mart soyqırımında iştirakına dair (noyabr 1917 – mart 1918) / “Azərbaycan və Şərqi Anadoluda türk-müsəlman əhaliyə qarşı soyqırımları (1914-1920-ci illər)” mövzusunda həsr olunmuş II Beynəlxalq konfransın materialları, AMEA Tarix İnstitutunun Elmi Əsərlərinin xüsusi buraxılışı №52, 53, 54, 55, – Bakı: –9 –13 aprel – 2016. – s. 259-265
 6. Bolşeviklərin xatirələri 1917-1918-ci illərdə Azərbaycanda siyasi mübarizə tarixinin tədqiqində // -Bakı: AMEA Xəbərlər, İctimai elmlər seriyası, – 2016. №2, – s.59–72
 7. Xəzər Hərbi Donanmasının Bakıda gedən siyasi mübarizədə mövqeyinə dair (mart 1917 – sentyabr 1918) //- Bakı: AMEA Xəbərlər, İctimai elmlər seriyası, –2017. №2, –s.46–59
 8. Bakıdakı bolşevik–daşnak rejiminin Lənkəran bölgəsində cinayətkar əməlləri bolşeviklərin xatirələrində / “XX əsrdə türk-müsəlman xalqlarına qarşı soyqırımları” mövzusunda həsr olunmuş IV Beynəlxalq elmi konfransın materialları, AMEA Tarix İnstitutunun Elmi Əsərlərinin xüsusi buraxılışı. № 64, 65, 66, – Lənkəran: – 23-27 aprel, –2017, – s. 384-391
 9. Azərbaycan milli siyasi xadimlərinin Bakı Şəhər Dumasında fəaliyyətinə dair (mart 1917 – mart 1918) / AXC-nin 100 illiyinə həsr olunmuş beynəlxalq elmi konfransın materialları, – Bakı: 21 may – 23 may, –1918, – s. 630-634
 10. Ərzaq məsələsinin Bakıda ictimai-siyasi vəziyyətə təsiri (mart 1917 – iyul 1918) //-Bakı: AMEA Xəbərlər, İctimai elmlər seriyası, – 2018. №1, – s.4-19.

11. 1917-1918-ci illərdə Azərbaycan ictimai-siyasi mühitində antimüsəlman əhval-ruhiyyə və onun siyasi hadisələrə təsiri barədə // -Bakı: AMEA Xəbərlər, İctimai elmlər seriyası, – 2018. №1, – s.43-53
12. Azərbaycan Xalq Cümhuriyyətinin yaranması ərəfəsində siyasi qüvvələrin fəaliyyətində Bakı mədənləri məsələsi / “Azərbaycan Xalq Cümhuriyyəti: Azərbaycanın dövlətçilik tarixinin parlaq səhifəsi” mövzusunda həsr olunmuş Beynəlxalq elmi konfransın materialları, AMEA Tarix İnstitutunun Elmi Əsərlərinin xüsusi buraxılışı. №74, 75, 76, – Gəncə: – 23 -27 iyun. – 2018, – s. 203-209
13. 1917-1918-ci illərdə Bakıda gedən siyasi mübarizədə mədəni rayonlarının şəhərə birləşdirilməsi məsələsi // -Bakı: Bakı Universitetinin Xəbərləri. Humanitar elmlər seriyası, – 2018. №4, – s.161 –172
14. Şamaxor hadisəsi və onun Azərbaycanda ictimai-siyasi vəziyyətə təsiri (yanvar 1918) // -Van: Van Yüslüncü Yıl Universiteti, Sosial bilimler Enstitüsü dergisi. – 2018. Özel sayı, – s.355-375
15. Bakıda Azərbaycan milli siyasi qüvvələri və sosialistlər arasında ziddiyyətlərə dair (mart-sentyabr 1917) // Akademik Tarih ve Düşünce dergisi, – 2019, 6-cı cild, say 5, (özel sayı, Yıl armağanı), – c.328-345. <https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/pub/atdd/issue/52084/689898>
16. 1917-1918-ci illərdə Bakıda baş verən hadisələrdə ingilis amili (dekabr 1917 – sentyabr 1918) // -Bakı: Azərbaycan Milli Elmlər Akademiyası. Sosial elmlər, –2021. №1, – s.18-33
17. 1917-ci ildə Bakı şəhərində keçirilən seçkilərdə azərbaycanlıların iştirakı // -Bakı: Dövlət idarəçiliyi: Nəzəriyyə və təcrübə, – 2021. №2(74), – s.155-166
18. Azərbaycan siyasi təşkilatlarının antimüsəlman fəaliyyətə və təbliğata qarşı mübarizəsi (noyabr 1917 – mart1918) // -Bakı: Tarix, insan və cəmiyyət, –2022. №3 –s.26-45
19. Azərbaycan siyasi qüvvələrin mübarizəsi və kəndli amili (fevral 1917-may 1918) // – Bakı: Azərbaycan tarixşünaslığı, –2021. № – s.57-84

20. Azərbaycan siyasi təşkilatları və Bakıda inqilabi-demokratik hakimiyyət (mart 1917-mart 1918) // Akademik tarix ve düşünce, – 2021, 8-ci cild, say 3, – s.831-853
21. The military-political situation in azerbaijan in conditions of the conflict of the bolsheviks and the national forces” // -Baku: Historical Studies, – 2023. vol.1, No 1.p. –54-68
22. Кризис власти и Диктатура Центрокаспия в Баку в1918 году // - Москва: Современная научная мысль, – 2023. №4–с.61-71.

Signed for print: 01.11.2023

Paper format: A5

Volume: 38.753

Number of hard copies: 20