

**REPUBLIC OF AZERBAIJAN**

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**ABSTRACT**

of the dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

**NATIONAL RELATIONS IN AZERBAIJAN SSR  
IN THE 20-30S OF 20<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY**

Specialty: 5503.02 – Fatherland history  
Field of science: – History

**Applicant: Jafar Vidadi Khanaliyev**

**Baku – 2024**

The work was performed at the department of the History of Azerbaijan (for humanitarian faculties) of Baku State University.

Scientific supervisor: Doctor of Historical Sciences, Professor  
**Ibrahim Khudaverdi Zeynalov**

Official opponents: Doctor of Historical Sciences, Professor  
**Jamal Mehdi Mustafayev**



Doctor of Historical Sciences, Associate professor  
**Adalat Gasim Gasimov**

PhD in History, Associate professor  
**Sevda Bahman Huseynova**

Dissertation Council ED 2.20 of Supreme Attestation Commission under the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan operating at the Faculty of History of Baku State University

Chairman of the Dissertation Council: Doctor of Historical Sciences, Professor  
**Ibrahim Khudaverdi Zeynalov**

Scientific secretary of the Dissertation Council: PhD in History, Associate professor  
**Kamala Telman Najafova**

Chairman of the scientific seminar: Doctor of Historical Sciences, Associate professor  
**Fazil Eynulla Bakhshaliyev**



## I. GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE DISSERTATION

**Relevance and elaboration of the topic.** A look at our recent historical past, studying it objectively in accordance with historical reality is important from the point of view of the problems of development of our modern era and the immediate prospects of our statehood. Thus, traces of a number of problems experienced today in our society, and most importantly, the pain of Armenian separatism, which lasted for more than 30 years, originate from the national policy of the Soviet-Bolshevik political system during the investigation period.

A comprehensive study and analysis of the period of the 1920-1930s, and the study of individual topics related to this period have become relevant. Among them are the most massive repressions, intra-party conflicts under the leadership of Azerbaijan, administrative-territorial division, collectivization, etc. Similar issues have been analyzed relatively widely, but the analysis of the influence of some topics, including Soviet national policy, the nature of national relations, on the socio-political situation in the republic has not been fully completed. From this point of view, a comprehensive analysis of the place of the national question and policy in the Bolshevik political system of the Azerbaijan SSR in the 1920-1930s is of great importance in the historiography of the Motherland. Naturally, in the 70-year Soviet empire, national policy went through various stages, sometimes improved and even gave a new effect, but its essence did not change. From this point of view, the first period of Soviet power in Azerbaijan, especially the 1920-1930s, is very different from other periods. Because, to put it mildly, it would be incorrect to compare the results and consequences of what happened in the first two decades of the new regime's existence with subsequent periods. The results of the Soviet national policy covered a wide range of areas and went down in our history as the most difficult and tragic period. Territorial losses, the physical destruction of our national intelligentsia, former statesmen, historical figures, the oblivion of our historical past, the traditions of national statehood, the destruction of our traditions, the internationalization of our natural resources, the entrusting of the long-

term management of the republic to representatives of other nations - this is only part of the list. All this and others should not be called simply results, but should be considered as our historical tragedy.

Although the collapse of the USSR in 1991 was an inevitable reality due to serious socio-political problems, the interethnic conflicts and military clashes that took place at the national level were among the reasons that accelerated and gave impetus to it. . One of the catastrophic consequences of this approach as a result of the imperialist national policy was the Armenian-Azerbaijani Nagorno-Karabakh war, the purpose of which was to strike at the people of Azerbaijan in the late 1980s.

True, this problem is based on the resettlement policy of tsarism, but later it was somewhat exacerbated during the period of half-hearted national policy in the 1920s and 1930s, when the Bolshevik regime was fully formed. For this reason, it is of great importance to eliminate possible problems that may arise in the near future, and at the same time to prevent problems that may arise in the future. Finally, the topic of our research is relevant today in terms of calls for the restoration of the former union in some political circles of the Russian Federation, as well as Russia's military intervention in the Republic of Ukraine, which has not ended since 2014. Everyone should know that today Azerbaijan is the master of its own destiny, and the 44-day victorious war and the restoration of our territorial integrity have once again proven this to the whole world. Among the reasons that increase the relevance of the topic of our research, first of all, throughout the Soviet regime, we still occasionally experience the pain of the consequences of the events associated with the transfer of our territories to our neighbors and this was written as a glorification of the friendship of peoples, and the recognition that the analysis of the conditions that led to this is too early to be considered complete. At the same time, it should be taken into account that there are facts and points that have not entered into scientific circulation in various archives, and sometimes even different ones.

At the same time, a more important point is that modern historical research takes as its basis the main tasks and goals of the ideology of Azerbaijanism, formed and implemented by the great leader Heydar

Aliyev. Archival and investigative documents of the 1920-1930s, studies on the leading party and Soviet figures of the Union and Union republics and other types of literature allow us to reveal to one degree or another the important aspects of the national policy of the Soviet state in the USSR. One of the main propaganda slogans of the political regime, the Soviet national policy, or the main goal of national Bolshevism, was considered to be something other than the formal service to "Soviet patriotism" among the masses. Police councils were aimed at achieving the integration of the Union republics in all spheres, and not at nationalism. In the arsenal of tools used to solve the main tasks of the Soviet national policy, among the most diverse formal ones, one of the areas to which we pay special attention in our research is the study of the roots of the tragedy of those who made important contributions to the establishment of the Soviet regime, but later the regime branded them as nationalists. On January 31, 1997, during his historic speech at ANAS, the great leader Heydar Aliyev especially emphasized the importance of studying the 19th and 20th centuries. Noting the distortions of historical science during the Soviet period, he concluded: *"I think that one of the tasks facing the Academy now is to write the history of the Yan people of the 19th and 20th centuries."*<sup>1</sup> But Hakim resumed the repressions of the 1920s and 1930s, characterized by pressure on the traditions and moral foundations of our people, characterized as the most turbulent and contradictory period in our history.

The establishment of Soviet power in Azerbaijan was one of the most popular topics in the Soviet historiography of Azerbaijan. Suffice it to say that the literature published before 1991 on this issue includes hundreds of literature, monographs, dissertations and other works. What almost all of them had in common was that they promoted the exceptional role of the Soviet regime in the history of our country, including the recognition that the Soviet national policy created moral unity and peace in society. The level, stages and directions of studying the problem in domestic and Soviet historiography were different and different. It should be noted that in the 1920s and 1930s, objective scientific research by historians was

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<sup>1</sup> Əliyev, H.Ə. Müstəqilliyimiz əbədidir: [46 cildə]/ H.Ə.Əliyev: – Bakı: Azərənşr, – 1997, – I c. – 570 s., – s.336.

impossible for ideological reasons. History, which is one of the ideological tools of the political system, could not objectively approach what was happening, since it carried out the tasks of the Bolshevik Party as a whole.

In the research work it is considered appropriate to clarify and analyze the essence and content of the Soviet national policy in the conditions of the establishment of a totalitarian regime in the political system of the Azerbaijan SSR in the 1920-1930s. The attitude to the national question, national policy was no less important for the regime than economic, social, religious and other important issues. In research works of H.Akhmedov, H.Aliyev, H.Alimirzayev, Z.Ibrahimov, M.Iskenderov, S.Gandilov, A.Gurbanov, E.Mamedov, M.Mirkhadiyev, P.Azizbekova, J.Guliyev and other authors of various Soviet states there are examined certain aspects of the topic of our research.<sup>2</sup> Despite the fact that these authors served the interests of the dominant ideology on national issues in their works, the factual materials they included in scientific circulation

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<sup>2</sup> Əhmədov, X. Azərbaycanca sovetlərin yaranması və möhkəmləndirilməsi (1920-1925-ci illər) / X.Əhmədov. – Bakı: Azər.SSR EA nəşr., – 1966. – 186 s.; Əliyev, X. Azərbaycan kənd təsərrüfatının kollektivləşdirilməsi tarixindən (1930-1934) / X.Əliyev, X.Əlimirzəyev. – Bakı: – 1957. – 273 s.; Əlimirzəyev, X.Ə. Azərbaycan kəndi sovet hakimiyyəti illərində / X.Ə.Əlimirzəyev. – Bakı: Azərənşr, – 1963. – 208 s.; İbrahimov, Z. V.İ.Lenin və Azərbaycanda sosialist inqilabının qələbəsi / Z.İbrahimov. – Bakı: Azərənşr, – 1970. – 527 s.; İsgəndərov, M. S.Kirov Azərbaycanda / M.İsgəndərov. – Bakı: Azərbaycan Dövlət nəşriyyatı, Bakı: – 1965. – 239 s.; Qəndilov, S. Azərbaycan partiya quruculuğu məsələləri / S.Qəndilov. – Bakı: Azərənşr, – 1971. – 292 s.; Qurbanov, Ə.Q. Azərbaycan Kommunist Partiyasının kənd təsərrüfatının elliklə kollektivləşdirilməsi dövründə kənddə sovetlərin möhkəmləndirilməsi uğrunda mübarizəsi / Ə.Q.Qurbanov. – Bakı: – 1961; Məmmədov, E.İ. Kənd təsərrüfatının elliklə kollektivləşməsi illərində Azərbaycan kəndində sinfi mübarizə (1927-1929). – Bakı: Azərb. SSR EA, – 1961. – 156 s.; Mirhadiyev, M. Leninin sosializm qurmaq planının Azərbaycanda qələbəsi / M.Mirhadiyev. – Bakı: Azərənşr, – 1956. – 135 s.; Azizbekova, П. В.И. Ленин и социалистические преобразования в Азербайджане (1920-1941 гг.). – Москва: Издательство Академии Наук СССР, – 1962. – 366 с.; Гулиев, Дж.Б. Борьба коммунистической партии за осуществления ленинской национальной политики в Азербайджане / Дж.Б.Гулиев. – Баку: Азербайджанское государственное издание, – 1970. – 705 с.; Гулиев, Дж.Б. Под знаменем Ленинской национальной политики / Дж.Б.Гулиев. – Баку: Азербайджанское государственное издательство, – 1972. – 458 с.

and their sometimes somewhat different approaches to the course of events could not fill the gap in an objective approach to Soviet national policy and its results. Despite the fact that these authors served the interests of the dominant ideology on national issues in their works, the factual materials they included in scientific circulation and their sometimes somewhat different approaches to the course of events could not fill the gap in an objective approach to Soviet national policy and its results. Although S. Gandilov's monograph in Soviet historiography, devoted to the analysis of party building and intra-party relations at that time, is generally devoted to the interpretation of intra-party discord and opposition formation, insincere relations between political leaders, we do not find an objective approach to Soviet national policy<sup>3</sup>.

Z. Bunyadov's work "Red Terror"<sup>4</sup> can be called one of the first steps of the conceptual approach to the study of some issues of the Soviet political system, including national policy. Although the work does not provide a deep and comprehensive analysis of the period, facts about some aspects of national relations in the 1920-1930s are found on the basis of factual materials. In modern Russian historiography on this topic, a number of works have been created devoted to these problems, and they demonstrate a more objective consideration of the problem<sup>5</sup>.

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<sup>3</sup> Qəndilov, S. Azərbaycan partiya quruculuğu məsələləri / S.Qəndilov. – Bakı: Azərneşr, – 1971. – 292 s.

<sup>4</sup> Bünyadov, Z. Qırmızı terror / Z.Bünyadov. – Bakı: Azərbaycan Dövlət Nəşriyyatı, – 1993. – 331 s.

<sup>5</sup> Ашнин, Ф.Д. Дело профессора. Б.В.Чобан-Заде/ Ф.Д.Ашнин, В.М.Алпатов // Восток. – 1998. №5, – с.125-133; Баберовски, Й. Враг есть везде. Сталинизм на Кавказе / Й.Баберовски. – Москва: – 2010, – 854 с.; Квашонкин, А.В. Советизация Закавказья в переписке большевистского руководства, 1920-1922 гг. // Cahiers du Monde Russe Année. – 1997. – 38-1-2, – pp. 163-194; Мартин, Т. Империя «положительной деятельности». Нации и национализм в СССР. 1923-1939 гг. Российская политическая энциклопедия (РОССПЭН) / Т.Мартин. Москва: – 2011. – 644 с.; Сагадеев, А.В. Мирсаит Султан-Галиев и идеология национально-освободительного движения / А.В.Сагадеев. – Москва: ИНИОН РАН, – 1990. – 141 с.; Фицпатрик, Ш. Повседневный сталинизм. Социальная история Советской России в 30-е годы / Ш.Фицпатрик. – Москва: Российская политическая энциклопедия (РОССПЭН). Фонд Б.Н.Ельцина, – 2008. – 336 с.

In the 1920-1930s, an objective approach to the true nature of the Soviet national policy and the content of national relations is more noticeably manifested in the historiography of the Fatherland. Among the works written during this period by such authors as H. Hasanov<sup>6</sup>, F. Ibrahimli<sup>7</sup>, I. Zeynalov<sup>8</sup>, J. Jafarov<sup>9</sup>, N. Mamedov<sup>10</sup>, E. Ismayilov<sup>11</sup>,

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<sup>6</sup> Həsənov, H. Nəriman Nərimanov - milli təmayüllü kommunist /H.Həsənov. – Bakı: Pedaqogika, – 2004. – 80 s.; yenə onun. Nəriman Nərimanovun tarixi missiyası /H.Həsənov. – Bakı: Pedaqogika, – 2005. – 88 s.; yenə onun. Nəriman Nərimanovun milli dövlətçilik baxışları və fəaliyyəti / H.Ə.Həsənov. – Bakı: Elm, – 2005. – 248 s.

<sup>7</sup> İbrahimli, F.F. Azərbaycanda 20-ci illərin birinci yarısında kəndə münasibətdə ixtilaflar // – Bakı: Tarix və onun problemləri, – 1997, № 1, – s.77-81; İbişov, F.F. (İbrahimli) Azərbaycan kəndində sosial-siyasi proseslər (1920-1930) / F.İbişov. – Bakı: Mütərcim, – 1996. – 168 s.

<sup>8</sup> Zeynalov, İ.X. Totalitar Sovet Cəmiyyəti: Tarixin ibrət dərsləri - Azərbaycan SSR XX əsrin 20-50-ci illərində / İ.X.Zeynalov. – Bakı: Ləman nəşriyyat poliqrafiya MMC, – 2017, – 720 s.

<sup>9</sup> Cəfərov, C.M. Stalinizm və Azərbaycan kəndi / C.M.Cəfərov. – Bakı: Elm, – 2012. – 144 s.; yenə onun. Azərbaycan kəndi kollektivləşmə illərində/ C.Cəfərov. – Bakı: Elm: – 2008. – 299 s.

<sup>10</sup> Məmmədov, N. Azərbaycan SSR Mərkəzi İcraiyyə Komitəsinin yaradılması və fəaliyyəti 1921-1938-ci illər / tarix üzrə e. d.-ru e. dər. al. üçün təq. ol. dis.:/ – Bakı: AMEA. – 2015. – 322 s.; yenə onun. Azərbaycan Mərkəzi İcraiyyə Komitəsi və Azərbaycan-Ermənistan ərazi məsələləri // – Bakı: Tarix və onun problemləri. №1-2. – 2009. – s.132-141; yenə onun. Hakimiyyət orqanlarının qolçomaqlara qarşı “düşmən” siyasəti (XX əsrin 20-30-cu illəri) // – Bakı: Bakı Universitetinin Xəbərləri. Humanitar elmlər seriyası. – 2010, №3. – s.107-113; yenə onun. Azərbaycanın dövlətçiliyi tarixində Azərbaycan Mərkəzi İcraiyyə Komitəsinin yeri və rolu (1921-1938-ci illər) / – Bakı: BDU-nun nəşriyyatı. – 2012. – 508 s.

<sup>11</sup> Исмаилов, Э.Р. Власть и народ. Послевоенный сталинизм в Азербайджане 1945-1953 гг. / Э.Р.Исмаилов. – Баку: Адилоглу, – 2003. – 344 с.; yenə onun. История «большого террора» в Азербайджане / Э.Р.Исмаилов. – Москва: РОССПЭН, – 2015. – 239 с.; yenə onun. Очерки по истории Азербайджана / Э.Р.Исмаилов. – Москва: Флинта, – 2010. – 424 с.; yenə onun. История «большого террора» в Азербайджане / Э.Р.Исмаилов. – Москва: Политическая энциклопедия, – 2015. – 239 с.



A. Nazarly<sup>12</sup>, M. Amrahov<sup>13</sup>, A. Muradova<sup>14</sup>, I. Niftaliyev<sup>15</sup>, Sh. Rahmanzade<sup>16</sup>, Sh. Mamedova<sup>17</sup>, S. Aliyeva<sup>18</sup> T. Aslanova<sup>19</sup>, T. Akhmedov<sup>20</sup>, R. Bayramova<sup>21</sup> and etc. there were reflected various problems that arose in the Azerbaijani society both during the period of study and during the years of Soviet power.

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<sup>12</sup> Назарли, А.Э. XI Красная Армия в Северном Азербайджане: оккупация, расправы, бесчинства / А.Э.Назарли. – Баку: Элм вятхасил, – 2014. – 392 с.

<sup>13</sup> Əmrahov, M. XX əsrdə Azərbaycanda milli azadlıq hərəkatı / M.Əmrahov. – Bakı: ADPU-nun nəşriyyatı, – 2018. – 371 s.; yenə onun. Aprel İşğalından Sonra Sovet Bolşevik Rejiminin Azərbaycan Xalqının Milli-Mənəvi Dəyərlərinə Qarşı Soyqırımı Siyasəti // Akademik Tarih ve Düşünce Dergisi. Eylül 2022. Cilt: 9 / Sayı: 3. – s.748-776.

<sup>14</sup> Мурадова, А.Дж. Вовлечение женщин Азербайджанской ССР в органы государственной власти (20-30-ые годы XX века) / А.Дж.Мурадова, – Баку: Нурлан, – 2007. – 176 с.

<sup>15</sup> Нифталиев, И.В. Кадровая политика в Азербайджанской ССР в 20 - 30-х гг. XX в. (правовой аспект) // Северо-Кавказский Юридический Вестник, – 2016. № 1, – с.114-126.

<sup>16</sup> Rəhmanzadə, Ş. Azərbaycan-Gürcüstan münasibətlərində ərazi məsələləri (Azərbaycanın şimal-qərb bölgəsinin materialları əsasında, 1917-1930-cu illərin əvvəlləri) / Ş.Rəhmanzadə. – Bakı: Aspoliqraf, – 2008. – 376 s.

<sup>17</sup> Мамедова, Ш.Р. Интерпретация тоталитаризма. Сталинизм в Азербайджане 1920-1930 гг. / Ш.Р. Мамедова. – Баку: Адилоглу, – 2004. – 320 с.

<sup>18</sup> Алиева, С.И. Из истории сталинских репрессий на Кавказе // Современная научная мысль. Научный журнал Истории, экономики и Права. – Москва: НИИ ИЭП, – 2013. – № 4. – с.138-157; yenə onun. Сталинские репрессии Азербайджанской ССР // АМЕА Тарих İnstitutunun Elmi Əsərləri. – 2017. – № 64, 65, 66. – s.95-107.

<sup>19</sup> Aslanova, T.A. Azərbaycan rəhbərliyində siyasi qruplaşmalar və onun respublikanın ictimai-siyasi həyatına təsiri (XX əsrin 20-ci illərinin ikinci yarısı-30-cu illər): / tarix elmləri üzrə fəlsəfə doktoru dissertasiyasının avtoreferatı/ – Bakı, 2012. – 28 s.; yenə onun. Azərbaycandakı milli siyasətin digər Cənubi Qafqaz respublikaları ilə müqayisəli təhlili (XX əsrin 20-30-cu illəri) // – Bakı: Bakı Universitetinin Xəbərləri. Humanitar elmləri seriyası. – 2015. №2, – s.123-129.

<sup>20</sup> Əhmədov, T.Ə. Nəriman Nərimanov (albom-kitab) / T.Ə.Əhmədov. – Bakı: Nurlar Nəşriyyat-Poliqrafiya Mərkəzi, – 2018. – 448 s.; yenə onun. Nəriman Nərimanovun “Müstəqil Sovet Azərbaycanı quruculuğu” (1920-1921-ci illər) // – Respublika. – 2019, 27 oktyabr. – s.7.

<sup>21</sup> Bayramova, R.M. Azərbaycan rəhbərliyində ixtilaflar və daxili siyasi çəkişmələr (1920-1925-ci illər) / R.M.Bayramova. – Bakı: Elm, – 2007. – 196 s.

The fact that the studies of G. Gasanov<sup>22</sup> mention deviations made in the Soviet national policy in Azerbaijan and the labeling of N. Narimanov and his supporters as one of its consequences testifies to an objective approach to the subject. The works of F. Akhmedova<sup>23</sup> can also be attributed to these ideas. In the studies of F. Ibrahimli, I. Zeynalov, J. Jafarov and N. Mamedov, specific results were obtained in the course of an objective analysis of the main socio-economic and political processes taking place in the Azerbaijani village during the period of our study. Deviations made in the Soviet national policy were also touched upon. Among the authors mentioned, the research work of I. Niftaliyev<sup>24</sup> should be especially noted, in which a number of issues related to the topic of our study are analyzed. The author spoke about personnel issues in Soviet national policy in the 20s and 30s of the 20th century, and spoke in detail and with facts about the role of the Soviet regime's relentless personnel policy in increasing political tension in Azerbaijani society.

After the restoration of state independence, it should also be noted that some dissertations on the historiography of the Motherland contain some interesting points related to the period of our research.

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<sup>22</sup> Həsənov, H.Ə. Nəriman Nərimanov - milli təmayüllü kommunist / – Bakı, Pedaqogika, – 2004. – 80 s.; yenə onun. Nəriman Nərimanovun tarixi missiyası / – Bakı: Pedaqogika, – 2005. – 88 s.; yenə onun. Nəriman Nərimanovun milli dövlətçilik baxışları və fəaliyyəti // – Bakı: Elm, – 2005. – 248 s.

<sup>23</sup> Əhmədova, F. Nəriman Nərimanov - ideal və gerçəklik / F.Əhmədova: – Bakı: Elm və həyat, – 1998. – 170 s.; yenə onun N.Nərimanovun siyasi fəaliyyəti. (1920-1922-ci illər): / tarix üzrə fəlsəfə doktoru elmi dərəcəsi almaq üçün dissertasiyanın avtoreferatı / – Bakı, 2000; – 29 s.; yenə onun. Национальный вопрос и конфликты в большевистской элите в первые годы советизации Азербайджана // Советские нации и национальная политика в 1920-1950-е годы: Материалы VI международной научной конференции. – Киев, 10-12 октября 2013 г. – Москва: Политическая энциклопедия; Фонд «Президентский центр Б.Н. Ельцина», – 2014. – с.620-631.

<sup>24</sup> Нифталиев, И.В. Кадровая политика в Азербайджанской ССР в 20 - 30-х гг. XX в. (правовой аспект) // Северо-Кавказский Юридический Вестник, – 2016. № 1, – с.114-126.

Among them, the most interesting is the research of Sh.Mammadova.<sup>25</sup>

The main results of the research are reflected in the works of J. Khanaliyev.<sup>26</sup>

Thus, the analysis of examples of Azerbaijani historiography devoted to the problem under study allows us to say once again that specific political, economic, social and psychological issues, analysis of the 1920-30s as an integral political system, political The regime, the mechanism of operation of the elements and structures included in its composition, and the patterns of development were ignored.

The dissertation devoted to the study of the formation and strengthening of the Soviet national policy in Azerbaijan in the 1920-1930s is based on a rich source base. The specificity of the goals set in the research work necessitated a thorough analysis of various types of documentary sources.

The source base of the dissertation is: decisions and minutes of congresses, conferences, plenary sessions and meetings of central and local party organizations; materials and documents of government bodies. These are decisions and orders of the central and republican important state bodies (the Central Executive Committee of the Azerbaijan SSR, the Council of

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<sup>25</sup> Əhmədova, F. N. Nərimanovun siyasi fəaliyyəti. (1920-1922-ci illər): / tarix üzrə fəlsəfə doktoru elmi dərəcəsi almaq üçün dissertasiyanın avtoreferatı / – Bakı, 2000, – 29 s.; Məmmədova, Ş.R. Azərbaycan SSR-də inzibati-amirlik sistemi (1920-1930-cu illər) / tarix üzrə e. d-ru e. dər. al. üçün təq. ol. dis. / – Bakı. – 2014. – 372 s.; Məmmədova, Ş.R. Azərbaycan SSR-də inzibati-amirlik sistemi (1920-1930-cu illər): / tarix üzrə elmlər doktoru elmi dərəcəsi almaq üçün dissertasiyanın avtoreferatı / – Bakı: – 2014. – 52 s.

<sup>26</sup> Xanəliyev, C.V. 1920-ci ilin aprel işğalı və sovet hakimiyyətinin qurulması tarixşünaslıqda // – Bakı: Tarix və onun problemləri. Nəzəri, elmi, metodik jurnal. – 2015. № 2, – s.343-349; yenə onun. Aprel (1920-ci il) işğalı və Azərbaycanda “yeni” milli münasibətlərin formalaşması (1920-1922-ci illər) // – Bakı: Bakı Universitetinin Xəbərləri. Humanitar elmlər seriyası. – 2016. № 2, – s.168-174; yenə onun. Образование ЗСФСР как конец формальной независимости Азербайджанской ССР и «новый этап» в национальных отношениях // Slovak international scientific journal. – Bratislava, Slovakia. – 2023. № 74, – s.7-13; yenə onun. The politics of the nationalist stigma in mass repressions in the Azerbaijan SSR and its consequences // Вчені записки Таврійського Національного Університету імені В.І.Вернадського. Серія: Історичні науки. – Україна, – Київ. – 2023, с. 34 (73) № 3, – s.90-96 və s.

People's Commissars of the Azerbaijan SSR, the Extraordinary Commission of the Azerbaijan SSR, the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs of the Azerbaijan SSR, the Political Department and other bodies), reports, their correspondence with various bodies; Legislative documents; Statistical documents; Materials of periodicals; 1920-1930s transcripts of political trials, investigative documents, etc. Most of these sources are stored in the relevant funds of the State Archives of the Republic of Azerbaijan, the Archive of Socio-Political Documents of the Administrative Department of the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan. Separately, I would like to note the importance of decisions, orders and directives of the highest party bodies and other official bodies among legislative documents and documentary materials<sup>27</sup>.

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<sup>27</sup> Борьба за победу Советской власти в Азербайджане. 1918-1920 гг. /Документы и материалы. Издательство АН Азербайджанской ССР, – Баку, – 1967. – 569 с.; Декреты Советской власти. Том I. 25 октября 1917 г. – 16 марта 1918 г. – Москва: Политиздат, – 1957. – 640 с.; Декрет Ревкома Азербайджана о земле. 5 мая 1920 г. // – Баку. Коммунист. – 5 мая 1920 г. – с.1.; Из истории Гражданской войны в СССР (1918-1922) / Сб. док. и материалов [в 3 томах]. – Москва: Советская Россия, – 1961. – 720 с.; К истории образования Нагорно-Карабахской автономной области Азербайджанской ССР. 1918-1925: Документы и материалы. – Баку: Азернешр, – 1989. – 193 с.; Коммунистическая партия Советского Союза в резолюциях и решениях съездов, конференций и пленумов ЦК: [в 2 частях] / – Москва: Политиздат, – 1953. – Ч.2. – 638 с.; Коммунистическая партия Советского Союза в резолюциях и решениях съездов, конференций и пленумов ЦК: [в 2 частях]. Ч. 2. – Москва: Политиздат, – 1953. – 634 с.; Коммунистическая партия Азербайджана в резолюциях и решениях съездов, конференций и пленумов ЦК: [в 4 томах] / – Баку: Азернешр, – 1986. – т.1, – 673 с.; Национально-государственное строительство в СССР в переходный период от капитализма к социализму (1917-1936 гг.). т.1. – Москва: Мысль, – 1972. – 520 с.; Национальная политика ВКП(б) в цифрах. – Москва: Издательство Коммунистической Академии, – 1930. – 290 с.; Работа комиссии при Аз.ЦИК-е по вопросы культурно-экономического состояния работы и правового положения немецкого крестьянства в АССР / ARDA. Fond № 379, siyahı №.7, iş № 98; Садыхлы, М.З. Ответ даст тебе история: Геноцид азербайджанцев в цифрах, фактах, документах 20 в./ М.З.Садыхлы. – Баку: Мутарджим, –1995. – 312 с.; Трагедия советской деревни. Коллективизация и раскулачивание. т.1. (Май 1927 - ноябрь 1929 гг.). – Москва: РОССПЭН. – 1999. – 880 с.; Трагедия советской деревни. Коллективизация и раскулачивание / – Москва: РОССПЭН, – 2000. – т.2. – 923 с.; Трагедия советской деревни. Коллективизация и раскулачивание / – Москва: РОССПЭН. – т.3. – 2001.

The dissertation covers the political processes that took place in the field of national relations in the Azerbaijan SSR in the 20s and 30s of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

**Object and subject of research.** The subject of the research is the content of national relations in the Azerbaijan SSR in the 1920s and 1930s. The subject of the research is the main characteristics of national relations in the mentioned years.

**Goals and objectives of the study.** The purpose of this study is to determine the course of the process of formation of national policy in the Azerbaijan SSR in the 1920-1930s and the mechanisms of its hitherto unexplored aspects, to summarize the experience of solving national problems.

The dissertation attempts to solve the following problems:

- to determine the features of the national policy pursued by the Center in the 1920-1930s;
- to study the issues of participation of foreign personnel in the highest and local bodies of state administration;
- to determine the influence of national relations on the course of collective farm construction, mass political persecution and other complex processes;
- to determine the results of the application of the Soviet national policy in the suppression of national personnel, in the process of depersonalization, in the occurrence of territorial losses;
- to reveal the origin and causes of vices and tragic events in national relations in the specified period;
- to monitor the influence of national policy on the historical fate of other peoples living in the territory of the republic;
- to determine the potential for unity and division of society;
- to predict future trends in the development of national relations taking into account historical experience.

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– 1008 с.; Трагедия советской деревни. Коллективизация и раскулачивание / – Москва: РОССПЭН, – 2002. – т.4. – 1056 с.; ЦК РКП (б) - ВКП (б) и национальный вопрос: [в 2-х книгах]. – Москва: – 2005. – Кн 1. 1918-1933. – 784 с.; ЦК ВКП (б) и национальный вопрос: [в 2-х книгах]. – Москва: РОССПЭН, – 2009. – Кн. 2. 1933-1945. – 1095 с.

**Research methods.** Attraction to the research work of various types of written sources, especially the creation of historical sources of the Soviet period and the degree of objectivity of the information presented in them helped to determine the research methods of the dissertation. When analyzing sources, many methods were used, including historical-comparative and historical-typological ones.

**The main provisions of the defense:**

- The main features and consequences of the Soviet national policy conducted in the Azerbaijan SSR in the 1920-1930s;
- cases of connection between the national policy and the emergence of territorial losses;
- results of the contradiction between the views of N. Narimanov on the national policy and the positions of representatives of the "internationalist" republican leadership;
- the situation of national minorities, the situation of work with them along Soviet lines;
- the course and results of the struggle against national traditions and religion under the name of the Soviet national policy;
- work aimed at straining national relations in the process of collectivization;
- the results of the injustice from which our national cadres and intellectuals suffered during mass persecution.

**The scientific novelty of the research.** In addition to a comprehensive study of the mechanism of national relations that developed in society in the 1920s and 1930s, the presented dissertation can be considered an initiative to form a new attitude to this problem and existing conceptual problems in the historiography of the Motherland.

The scientific work is one of the first attempts at a comprehensive analysis of Soviet national policy and national relations in the Bolshevik political system of the 1920s and 1930s. For the first time in the years of research, against the background of the main features and characteristics of totalitarian regimes, the content and consequences of national relations during the formation and development of the political system in the Azerbaijan SSR were comprehensively studied.

During the study, Bolshevik measures implemented in the field of resolving national relations under Soviet power were analyzed, the

methods of work, steps of the Soviet party and state bureaucracy in the formation and strengthening of Soviet national relations were studied. At the same time, an attempt was made in the dissertation to consider the essence of the policy of the Soviet government in the national sphere, to study the process of gradual replacement of the ideas of internationalism with "Great Russian" chauvinism. One of the novelties of our research is the study of new facts about the reasons for the intensification of mass repressions, the mechanism and methods of their implementation, which did not bypass the content of national relations in the 1930s. In general, the dissertation includes in scientific circulation a number of historical sources previously kept under the heading "top secret", samples of scientific literature banned in Soviet times.

The results of political repressions that took place on the territory of the Azerbaijan SSR in the 1920-1930s, which intensified the class conflict within society, are analyzed. Over the years of research, the evolution of national relations during the period of mass repressions, attempts at the violent abolition of national customs and traditions, the factors that determine them and the mechanisms for their implementation are studied.

One of the important aspects of the relevance of this study is the clarification among the political leadership and the masses of the people of Azerbaijan of a number of details of the real attitude to the Bolshevik government and socialist ideals during the implementation of Soviet national policy.

**Theoretical and practical significance of the research.** In the dissertation work, a new review of a number of concepts existing in the field of national relations in modern homeland historiography was conducted, and objective scientific results were obtained on a number of controversial issues. These issues in themselves are the content of national relations in Azerbaijan, the principles of evolution, the national and religious policy of the Bolsheviks, the politicization of the masses, etc. is closely related to factors.

The scientific results of the dissertation and the source base used during the research, the rich materials collected, the generalizations made, the conclusions reached, the recommendations given can be used in the

textbooks, methodical and educational materials that will be compiled on the political history of the 20th century.

The practical importance of the dissertation is also determined by the obtained scientific results. The scientific and theoretical results obtained in the dissertation can help in the comparative and analytical analysis of the complex processes occurring in our modern world.

**Approbation and application.** The main provisions of the research have been reflected in the author's 7 scientific articles published in prestigious scientific journals in the republic and abroad and in his speeches at a number of international scientific-practical conferences.

**Name of the organization where the dissertation was carried out.** The dissertation work was carried out at the "Department of the History of Azerbaijan (for humanitarian faculties)" of Baku State University.

**The total volume of dissertation.** Dissertation consists of Introduction, 3 Chapters, 8 paragraphs, Conclusion, Literature Used. The total volume, excluding bibliography and appendices, is 282385 characters. Of these, Introduction - 23857, Chapter I - 86470, Chapter II - 82240, Chapter III - 73347, Conclusion - 16471 characters.

## II. MAIN CONTENT OF THE DISSERTATION

**In the introduction**, the relevance of the topic is justified, the sources and literatures used are extensively analyzed, the goals and objectives of the research, the scientific-theoretical and practical importance are determined, the methodological basis, scientific innovation and the main propositions defended are indicated.

The first chapter of the dissertation called "**April (1920) invasion and the national policy of the new government**" consists of three paragraphs. The first paragraph of the chapter is entitled "**Line and personnel policy of the Bolsheviks to "deface" Azerbaijan.**" During the research, it becomes clear that although the concept of nation and the expression of national relations were not developed until the end of the 19th century, although the experience used by tsarism in the field of national issues, conflicts and conflicts in the policy of the Soviet government, in creating and using them, became history, some aspects continued in other forms. was doing.



In the early 1920s, during the Sovietization process of Azerbaijan, when our citizens were enchanted by the ideas of a "bright and enlightened socialist society", many of those who considered themselves local communists did not even think that the happy and prosperous society and independent state promised by the Bolsheviks and Moscow was actually nothing more than propaganda. .

Before the establishment of the Soviet regime in Azerbaijan, when we look at the state of national relations in our country compared to other national regions of the Russian Empire, we should especially note that, except for the relations with the Armenians, who have always played the role of a submissive tool in the imperial policy, there were no ethnic and national conflicts in Azerbaijani cities and accident centers. Another issue on which the National Bolsheviks or Communists expressed their objections was their different attitude to the repetition of socialist changes and new state building in Azerbaijan as in the Center. What happened around this issue not only did not eliminate the contradictions in the leadership of the republic, but rather deepened it. With the direct "blessing" of the center, in fact, under its leadership, personnel policy, which is an important area in the socialist changes and new society-building measures implemented in the Azerbaijan SSR, is far from expectations and is somehow not adapted to the current situation, past national state-building traditions, and national values. , on the contrary, he denied it in most cases.

The Center, which wants as many representatives of Russians and other non-citizens as possible to occupy leading positions in the highest bodies of the Azerbaijani Communist (Bolshevik) Party, and has achieved this in all cases, in fact, instead of eliminating the contradictions and conflicts that are gradually deepening in the leadership of the republic, by its actions strengthens the policy it is pursuing. One of the bitter consequences of the Center's insensitive personnel policy was the dominance in the leadership of the Azerbaijani party and state structures of Armenians, outwardly Bolsheviks, but in fact Dashnaks, whom they considered more obedient. Such a well-thought-out personnel policy, stemming more from political considerations and goals, served to further increase political tension in the republic, and also made Azerbaijan faceless and headless.

The second paragraph of the first chapter is called **"Increasing political tension, nationalism and national resistance in the Republic"**. As is known, already from the first years of Soviet power, the Bolshevik-internationalist, but fundamentally biased personnel policy of the Center and its serious consequences increased political tension in the republic. The growth and year-on-year expansion of political tension became almost a common phenomenon in the first half of the 1920s. Political tension increased in the ranks of the real authority - the Bolshevik Party, in all management structures without exception, in a word, in the whole society, which, on the one hand, strengthened the position of the national communists who demanded The process of building socialism and revolutionary changes will be carried out subject to taking into account local conditions and national-historical traditions, gradually strengthening their defense, calling them "left communists", "nationalists", "nationalists" on the part of the leadership. "internationalist" republic, and on the other hand, contributed to the beginning of a new wave of the national resistance movement against the Soviet regime in Azerbaijan. It would be a mistake to think that the position of nationalism or a different approach to the prospects of socialist revolution in the territories inhabited by Turkic-Muslim peoples was formed differently in the speeches of N. Narimanov and his supporters.

A significant role in ensuring control of the Soviet government over the situation on the ground - during accidents - was played by the loyal position of ordinary people, who in each case looked at the Soviet government with certain hopes. However, beginning in mid-May 1920, the first alarm signals began to come from the localities<sup>28</sup>. The reasons for the beginning of the national resistance movement were not dissatisfaction with the first socialist reforms that had just been implemented, but the increasing arbitrariness of various prison bodies created by the Soviet government. The main target of the special penitentiary bodies of the 11th Red Army, which was the main driving force of the Soviet occupation of Azerbaijan, was, of course, first of all,

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<sup>28</sup> Назарли, А.Э. XI Красная Армия в Северном Азербайджане: оккупация, расправы, бесчинства / А.Э.Назарли. – Баку: ЭЛМ вЯ тахсил. – 2014. – 392 с., – s.45.

the overthrown AKP government and all members of the Musavat Party. First of all, for this reason, a campaign of terrorist acts and punitive measures was carried out against all national parties and political organizations known for their activities during the APC period under the pretext that the organizers of the wave of protests that began blindly at the local level were muwasatis and other national forces. During the punitive measures against Ahrar, Ittihad, the Islamic Sect and other national parties and organizations, their activities and the national resistance movement as a whole were practically paralyzed.<sup>29</sup>

Another form of the national resistance movement was the armed resistance, which was a continuation of the open political struggle in a more active and serious form. The period starting from the last ten days of May to the end of June in 1920 can be considered as the most intensive period of these speeches. During this period, the strong wave of anti-Soviet uprisings in Ganja, Tartar, Aghdam, Shusha by the outlawed APC National Army units, and in Zagatala with the participation of the civilian population, seriously worried the leadership of the Azerbaijan SSR.<sup>30</sup>

Thus, although at this stage of the national resistance movement the desired results were not achieved and the participants of the movement were destroyed, on the one hand, this showed how determined and persistent the people were in their struggle, and on the other hand, the Bolshevik government was at least confident in its activities and was forced to make changes.

The third paragraph of the first chapter is called **“Termination of the formal independence of the Republic, encroachment on territorial integrity and a "new stage" in national relations”**. The most difficult result of the Soviet national policy in Azerbaijan was the creation of the Soviet empire, which provided for the cessation of all manifestations of national independence and the possible inclusion of the national socialist republics in Soviet Russia in the context of the implementation of socialist changes, which began with the "game of independence", which

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<sup>29</sup> Yенə orada, s.92.

<sup>30</sup> Назарли, А.Э. XI Красная Армия в Северном Азербайджане: оккупация, расправы, бесчинства / А.Э.Назарли. – Баку: ЭЛМ вЯ тахсил. – 2014. – 392 с., – s.49.

was clearly accepted from the very first days of the Bolshevik rule, consisted in the complete deprivation of independence.

Another tragedy and historical disaster brought upon our people during the implementation of the Soviet national policy was the “donation” of ancient and historical Azerbaijani lands to the Soviet socialist republics of Armenia and Georgia in the name of proletarian solidarity and internationalism<sup>31</sup>. Even after the announcement of the completion of the "settlement" of the border and territorial claims between the Republics of Azerbaijan and Armenia, the Azerbaijani population repeatedly became refugees from the border areas, the socio-economic problems in the settlements of the Azerbaijanis remained within Armenia is becoming increasingly serious, and the local government is completely indifferent to this situation, separatist campaigns specially organized for the integration of predominantly Armenian-populated settlements along the borders of Azerbaijan with the Armenian SSR continued not only in those years, but also throughout the following decades. The 1920s are remembered as the saddest and most difficult period in the history of the cession of the historical lands of Azerbaijan to Armenia. Here it is appropriate to recall once again that the city of Yerevan received concessions to Armenia during the APC period. President of the Republic of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev, highly appreciating the place and importance of the MIC in our history, also said: *“I have repeatedly expressed my opinion on this decision of the National Council of the MIC. Even today I want to say that it was a big mistake and a big crime. But this is a historical fact.”*<sup>32</sup>.

Due to the difficulties of the process of socialist construction, the current enemy encirclement and other unreasonable considerations, a number of steps were eventually taken in the area of centralizing the management of transport, trade and other economic ties of the three Transcaucasian republics. 1920 and the first half of 1921. On March 12, 1922, with the joint participation of the highest legislative bodies of the

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<sup>31</sup> Azərbaycan SSR Ali Soveti (1920-1991-ci illər): [Elektron resurs] / URL: <https://www.meclis.gov.az/news-az.php?id=15&lang=az>.

<sup>32</sup> Əliyev, İ. İnkişaf məqsədimizdir: [124 cildə] / Əliyev, İ. – Bakı: Azərənəşr, – c.124. – 2022. – 372 s., – s.210.

three Transcaucasian socialist republics, an agreement was signed confirming the creation of their union. Although the terms of the union treaty provided for the unification of the three South Caucasian Soviet Socialist Republics into a single federation, the Transcaucasian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic (TSFSR) actually represented a single state instead of the South Caucasian national republics, which were deprived of almost all of their rights after a period of "short-term independence". The constitution of the new union was adopted at the First Congress of Transcaucasian Soviets, held on December 10-13, 1922.<sup>33</sup> Thus, the "formal" state independence of the Azerbaijan SSR was terminated, or there was a break in the history of national statehood that lasted almost 70 years.

The second chapter of the dissertation is called "**National Policy in Azerbaijan in the second half of the 1920s**". The chapter is divided into 3 sections. The first section of the chapter is called "**Disputes Around National Relations and National Issues**". During the study, it becomes clear that during this period, compared to the first years of Soviet power, there were no serious changes in the structures of the Soviets, as well as in their management activities. Beginning with the abolition of the Military Revolutionary Committee at the First Congress of Soviets of Azerbaijan in May 1921, the organization of the activities of the Soviets began, which was to become the political basis of the regime and the active participation of the masses in the life of the people. Society within the framework defined in a directive form "from above", was far from the principles promised by the Bolsheviks. Considering that among the works carried out among the national minorities of the Military-Industrial Complex of Azerbaijan, it is important to focus on several points, as one of them in the decision adopted on April 16, 1927, the approval of the composition of the Commission on National Affairs is mentioned. Minorities operating within the Military-Industrial Complex of

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<sup>33</sup> İsmayılov, X.C. Azərbaycanca sovet hüququnun inkişafı kontekstində konstitusion dəyişikliklər // – Bakı: Bakı Universitetinin Xəbərləri. Sosial-siyasi elmlər seriyası, – 2018. №1, – s.5-23., – s.6.

Azerbaijan<sup>34</sup>. The main thing that stands out here is the 27 representatives of 11 different nationalities, not counting the secretary of the commission. With 5 Armenian and 4 German workers on the commission, it is at least surprising that the Lezgi, Talysh and Jews are represented by only one representative each, while the Russians, who are more numerous in the republic, are not represented. In the second half of the 1920s, the results of elections to local Soviets showed that among those elected locally there were more representatives of national minorities<sup>35</sup>.

At the beginning of its creation, the composition of the CSI, which consisted of 17 commissariats, and the number and structure of which expanded in the following years, and the composition of its subordinate offices, was strictly controlled and accepted as the norm of its operation. While less than half of the 107 employees of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs of the Azerbaijan SSR were Azerbaijanis, Russians, Armenians and Georgians were more represented in its leadership<sup>36</sup>. The situation in the departments of the Commissariat was similar.

The minority of Azerbaijanis in the Soviets, especially in the central administrative bodies, was obvious. In 1924-1926, only 24.6 percent of those sent to work at various levels of the Soviets in Azerbaijan were Azerbaijanis<sup>37</sup>. The same situation manifested itself in the years 1923-1936, when Azerbaijan was included in the TSFSR. If in 1926-1930, the degree of participation of Azerbaijanis in the apparatus of the Transcaucasian Federation was stable, by the middle of the 30s, the difference and the process of decreasing the number of Azerbaijanis was intensifying. According to information from the end of the 1930s, *"in the leadership of the federation, Azerbaijanis were in the 4th place after*

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<sup>34</sup> Выписка из протокола заседания Президиума Аз.ЦИК-а от 16-го апреля 1927 г. О составе Комиссии Нацменьшинств при Аз.ЦИК-е // Azərbaycan Respublikası Dövlət Arxivi, Fond № 379, siyahı № 7, iş № 16, vərəq – 8.

<sup>35</sup> Резолюция о ходе отчетно-избирательной компании советов // Azərbaycan Respublikası Dövlət Arxivi, Fond № 1, siyahı № 17, iş № 43, vərəq – 143-146.

<sup>36</sup> Məmmədova, Ş.R. Cənubi Qafqaz XX əsrin Azərbaycan məsələləri / Ş.R.Məmmədova: – Bakı: Mütərcim, – 2020. – 377 s., – s.242-243.

<sup>37</sup> ЦК РКП (б) - ВКП (б) и национальный вопрос: [в 2-х книгах] / – Москва: – Кн. 1. – 2005. – 784 с., – s.51.

*Russians, Armenians and Georgians in terms of numbers*”<sup>38</sup>. This simply meant a violation of the promises and guarantees that all peoples and nationalities would live equally, regardless of their religion, nationality, worldview and other factors that were promised in the propaganda of the Soviet power throughout its existence.

The second paragraph of the second chapter is called **"The fight against national traditions as one of the main directions of the Soviet national policy."** This chapter examines the current political disputes around the national question and mainly the issues of the fight against national traditions. In the national policy of the Soviet totalitarian regime, the policy of formalizing the goal of forming a new proletarian culture of entire peoples within the framework of demands meant the denial of national traditions and identity. Despite the promise of freedom of religious belief within the framework of the principle of "freedom of conscience" proclaimed in the official ideology of the Soviet state, given that for centuries people professed religion as an integral part of their psychology and way of life, the regime's attitude to religion served to create a deep chasm between the people and the Soviet power. The position of the Soviet government in national policy played a significant role in the growth of tension and conflicts around the national question. In the first years of Soviet power, the existence of national culture and its development were not opposed, but in the mid-1920s, the situation in this area changed completely. "Sovietization", "proletarianization" of national culture on the basis of proletarian internationalism of Soviet ideology, the glorification of friendship between peoples and other principles of ideological propaganda, and the alienation from national foundations and roots strengthened the propaganda and influence of the Russian language and culture in Azerbaijan. Achieving certain progress in the development of Azerbaijani culture, science and education, as well as creating conditions for its future prospects, "Sovietization" of these territories, the elimination of national roots and national values for the sake of adaptation to the requirements of the ruling ideology meant serious restrictions on Soviet national policy. In the second half of the 1920s, although formally,

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<sup>38</sup> ЦК ВКП (б) и национальный вопрос: [в 2-х книгах] / – Москва: РОССПЭН, – Кн. 2. – 2009. – 1095 с., – s.681.

certain work was carried out in Soviet national policy to reconcile some national values and traditions with the principles of the new socialist culture. One of them was to consider the possibilities of using the Turkish language, discuss the possibilities of expanding its use in cultural and educational institutions and schools, in scientific organizations. One of the topics of such discussions was the introduction of the Arabic script alphabet at the state level. Although the first steps in the transition to the new alphabet began in the early 1920s, the process was basically completed in 1929. The degree of application of the new alphabet, or rather its use in schools, the press, and government agencies, was uneven. At a time when all correspondence in government organizations was conducted in Russian, the use of the Turkish language in other areas, including the educational process in schools, occurred in the mid-1930s.

The third paragraph of the chapter is entitled "**Bolshevik line of strengthening the 'class struggle' and national tension**". In the second half of the 20s and in the first years after that, the conflicts in the leadership of the republic, the incessant debates of the internationalist cadres regarding the issues of the direction and speed of socialist changes, as well as the view of national relations, started to worry the Center, which feared that the situation would become even more tense at certain points. Starting from the middle of the 20s, the Center took a sharp position against the national-minded local Bolsheviks and put pressure on them in an open and covert form, which was related to a certain revival on the front of the national cadres in the republic.

In the second half of the 1920s, after the tensions arising from disputes over the content of national relations, the principles and implementation of the Soviet national policy, the disputes regarding the party's policy in the countryside sometimes even reached the level of sharp conflict. One area of the struggle against national traditions in the mentioned period was the abolition of illiteracy and the implementation of other measures in the course of the implementation of the cultural revolution. During these years, in the process of creating new Soviet customs, changing the household and lifestyle, another task determined from above was to increase attention to women's removal of veils and involvement in social and political activities.



In the second half of the 1920s, a new, more conflicting, sharp stage began in the internal political struggle of the Bolsheviks in the Azerbaijan SSR. Perhaps we can talk a lot about the reasons for this, and we can connect them with the socio-economic factors related to the progress of building socialism.

In these years, the opinions expressed in the speeches of representatives of the leadership, who were called "nationalist", did not mean that they were against the Soviet regime and socialist changes. Among these ideas are the establishment of the national socialist society, which was promised at the beginning of the existence of the Soviet government, the wide use of national personnel in the party and state administration, strengthening the status of the national language, reducing the import of foreign labor to industrial enterprises in the republic, regulating the export of food products from the republic, and national traditions. , protection of moral values, etc. it was deliberately misjudged by the implementers of the national policy and created a counter-effect. During this period, among the reasons for the tension in the political elite of Azerbaijan and the strengthening of disagreements, the mistakes made by the Center in the course of the national policy, the situation in the field of national relations, and the important role in ensuring political stability in the society as a whole, was an unpleasant or undesirable picture.

The third chapter of the thesis work is called **"National relations in the period of repression"**. In the first paragraph called **"Strengthening of political and national conflict during the campaign of collectivization by administrative methods"**, the process of collectivization of individual peasant farms by administrative methods, which was started in the late 1920s, is one of the processes that helps to determine what changes and how national relations were subjected in the Azerbaijan SSR has been investigated. Another aspect that created class conflict in the village and complicated the political situation during the period of collectivization was Moscow's demand for the unchanged implementation of template or directive requirements regarding national traditions, especially religious beliefs.

One of the results of the kolkhoz movement, which created class conflict in the countryside, was the deliberate policy of "abolition",

"disenchantment" against the wealthy peasants, who were the main producers of agricultural products in the village and were often called "kolchomag". There were various ways of fighting against kolchomoks. Opinions were expressed from time to time about the inadmissibility of such an open struggle of various organizations against golchomoks. District headquarters were organized for the abolition of the Golchomag clan<sup>39</sup>. After the task of eliminating the Kolchom in the villages had already been solved, even now the bourgeoisie, and in some cases the poor, were subject to punishment as political enemies, and later the "negligence" of some party and Soviet workers, etc. served to further exacerbate the contradictions between the rural population and the city.

The transition to the policy of eliminating the Kolchomags with the beginning of mass collectivization by violent methods meant a new stage of class confrontation in the village of Azerbaijan after a short break after the abolition of landlord land ownership. It should be noted that these circumstances, which complicated the political situation in society and exacerbated the conflict, were extremely dangerous in their consequences.

During collectivization in Azerbaijan, rich peasants, who were the main producers of goods, found themselves in such a desperate situation, were then exiled and subjected to various punishments, which became one of the most tragic pages of our history. Even after the announcement of the end of collectivization in the mid-1930s, "foreign" and "unreliable" elements were still found and punished in the villages. The continuation of this process during mass political repressions showed that the conflict in society continued even after the "complete victory of socialism."

In the second paragraph of the third chapter called **"The policy of 'nationalist stigma' in mass repressions and its consequences for the Republic"**, it is determined that the political situation in the Azerbaijan SSR became much more tense in the 1930s. It would not be correct to connect this only with the difficulties of the collectivization campaign in the Azerbaijani village. Mistakes made during the implementation of the political course were, strangely enough, explained by the leadership of

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<sup>39</sup> Cəfərov, C. Azərbaycan kəndi kollektivləşmə illərində /C.Cəfərov. – Bakı: Elm, – 2008. – 299 s., – s.63.

the republic, especially by the positions of its non-national majority against the national interests, as well as by the negligence and even criminal acts of the local party management bodies.

As in the Union, the organizer and inspirer of the repressive hysteria in Azerbaijan was the supreme Soviet leadership and, above all, Stalin<sup>40</sup>. The formal reasons for political persecution and the motives for fabricated sentences were very diverse. Hostility to the Soviet system, sabotage, connections with anti-Soviet elements and a number of other fictitious reasons were the most common accusations during the investigation.

In two stages of political persecution: 1) from the beginning of 1937 to September 1938; 2) During the stages from September to December 1938, the main target of the coup was the intelligentsia.

During the period of persecution, our intellectuals, who were widely called "nationalists", were accused with standard labels - "pan-Turkists", "Islamists" and other false pretexts. One of the appeals of the group of those accused of "nationalism" and punished as enemies of the people among the collectives of various scientific organizations and institutes were employees of the Azerbaijan branch of the EA USSR. In May-June 1937, the closest object of attention was the Azerbaijan Soviet Union of Writers. Following the serious criticism of a group of Union members, great Azerbaijani writers H. Javid, A. Nazmi, T. Shahbazi, A. Razi, S. Huseyn and others spoke at an emergency meeting of the Union on June 3. They were arrested. 27 members of the Union of Writers of Azerbaijan were accused and sentenced to severe sentences. The loss of life of our famous and influential writers and poets such as S. Majid, E. Faig, Mammadkazim, S. Huseyn was a grave tragedy for us, our culture and our nation<sup>41</sup>.

This caused the gravest consequences for the following decades, perhaps for half a century - a demographic crisis, a sharp reduction in the number of educated people, not only the intelligentsia, but also

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<sup>40</sup> Исмаилов, Э.Р. История «большого террора» в Азербайджане / Э.Р.Исмаилов, – Москва: РОССПЭН. – 2015. – 239 с., – s.71.

<sup>41</sup> Исмаилов, Э. История «большого террора» в Азербайджане. / Э.Исмаилов, – Москва: Политическая энциклопедия. – 2015. – 239 с., – s.97.

engineering and technical personnel, a crushing blow to Azerbaijani science by depriving our famous scientists for decades, with the city. Violation of social harmony between the village, between people within the village, conflicts, etc. were the visible side of what the campaign did. The physical and psychological stress experienced by the persecuted themselves, their family members, relatives, the attitude of society towards them, etc. factors should not be ignored.

Following the analysis and generalizations carried out in the

Some ideas and results were put forward **in the Conclusion** of the dissertation:

- for the first time, the content and consequences of national relations during the formation and development of the political system in the Azerbaijan SSR in the 1920-1930s were comprehensively studied against the background of the main features and characteristics of totalitarian regimes;

- an attempt was made to consider the essence of the policy of the Soviet government in the national sphere, to study the process of gradual replacement of the ideas of internationalism with "Great Russian" chauvinism;

- One of the main innovations of the study is the study of new facts related to the reasons for the intensification of mass repressions, the mechanism and methods of their implementation, which did not bypass the content of national relations in the 1930s;

- a number of historical sources kept under the heading "top secret", samples of scientific literature banned in Soviet times were included in scientific circulation;

- the problems of preventing and destroying the process of formation and development of the national movement and national thinking of the Soviet national policy are investigated, thereby creating conditions and conditions that make it impossible to restore the traditions of independent statehood in Northern Azerbaijan. ;

- One of the main conclusions of the study is the consequences of political repressions that took place on the territory of the Azerbaijan SSR in the 1920-1930s, which intensified the class conflict within society;

- based on the study of the origins, goals and results of armed uprisings, rebellions and uprisings directed against the Soviet power,

especially during the years of collectivization, conditions are created for the formation of a new approach to a number of mysterious moments associated with political history;

- During the period of mass repressions of the 1920-1930s, the evolution of national relations, attempts at the violent abolition of national customs and traditions, the factors determining them and the mechanisms for their implementation were also studied. Upon completion of the dissertation, in the near future, some considerations and recommendations were put forward in the direction of further improvement of the normal harmony of national relations established after the restoration of our independence in our society.

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

1. 1920-ci ilin aprel işğalı və sovet hakimiyyətinin qurulması tarixşünaslıqda // – Bakı: Tarix və onun problemləri. Nəzəri, elmi, metodik jurnal. – 2015. № 2, – s.343-349.

2. Aprel (1920-ci il) işğalı və Azərbaycanda “yeni” milli münasibətlərin formalaşması (1920-1922-ci illər) // – Bakı: Bakı Universitetinin Xəbərləri. Humanitar elmlər seriyası. – 2016. № 2, – s.168-174.

3. Образование ЗСФСР как конец формальной независимости Азербайджанской ССР и «новый этап» в национальных отношениях //Slovak international scientific journal. – Bratislava, Slovakia. – 2023. № 74, – s.7-13.

4. The politics of the nationalist stigma in mass repressions in the Azerbaijan SSR and its consequences // Вчені записки Таврійського Національного Університету імені В.І.Вернадського. Серія: Історичні науки. Київ (Україна), – 2023, с. 34 (73) № 3, – s.90-96.

5. Bolşevizmin milli münasibətlərdə tutduğu mövqe və Azərbaycan SSR-də milli siyasətdə ilk əyintilər (1920-ci illərin I yarısı) // – Bakı: Tarix, insan və cəmiyyət. Elmi-nəzəri və elmi-metodik jurnal. – 2023. № 3 (40), – s.42-57.

6. Azərbaycan SSR-də sovet milli siyasəti ətrafında ixtilaflar və milli münasibətlərin kəskinləşməsi (1920-ci illərin ilk yarısı) // – Bakı:

Tarix və onun problemləri. Nəzəri, elmi, metodik jurnal. – 2023. № 4, – s.112-118.

7. Kommunist hakimiyyətinin din əleyhinə mübarizəsi şəraitində Azərbaycan SSR-də etnokonfessional proseslər (1920-ci illər) // “Mədəni müxtəliflik: Dünya və Azərbaycan”. Beynəlxalq elmi-praktik konfransın materialları. – Bakı. – 29 aprel, – 2016, – s.157-161.

8. Milli münasibətlərdə Bolşevizmin tutduğu mövqeyə qarşı N.Nərimanovun Azərbaycançılıq təşəbbüsü // Ulu öndərin anadan olmasına həsr olunmuş “Ulu öndər Heydər Əliyev irsində multikultural və tolerant dəyərlər” beynəlxalq elmi konfransın materialları. I hissə. BSU. – Bakı. – 3-5 may, – 2016, – s.402-405.

9. Sovet totalitar rejiminin Azərbaycanın tarixi ərazilərinin ermənilərə bağışlanması hesabına milli münasibətləri “tənzimləmək” siyasəti (1920-ci illər) // Ümummilli lider Heydər Əliyevin anadan olmasının 95-ci ildönümünə həsr edilmiş “Milli-mənəvi dəyərlər: ənənə və müasirlik” mövzusunda beynəlxalq elmi konfransın materialları. AzMIU. Azərbaycan, – Bakı, – 2018, – s.214-218.

10. Sovet Rusiyasının işğal rejiminə qarşı Azərbaycanda milli müqavimət hərəkəti: Milli Ordu hissələrinin mübarizəsi və xalq üsyanları (1920-1924-cü illər) // 3. Uluslararası 24 kasım başöğretmen eğitim ve yenilikçi bilimler Sempozyumu. 3. Beynəlxalq elm və təhsildə innovativ texnologiyalar Simpoziumu. –ADPU. – Bakı. – 24-25 may, – 2021. – s.75-93.

11. Azərbaycan SSR-də milli adət-ənənələrə qarşı mübarizə və bolşeviklərin Azərbaycan mədəniyyətinə mənfi münasibətləri (1920-1930-cu illər) // The XXXII International Scientific Symposium “Turk's Victory: from CHANAKKALE to KARABAKH”. – Kars-Eskishehir. – Turkey. The 26th of November. – 2022, KAFKARS EĞİTİM YAYINLARI, – s.225-231.

12. 1920-1930-cu illərdə Azərbaycan SSR-də dinə qarşı mübarizə // 6th International Black Sea Modern Scientific Research Congress. – Trabzon, Türkiyə. – August 23-25, 2024, – IKSAD Publications, – s.400-405.

The defence will be held on 4<sup>th</sup> December at 10<sup>00</sup> at the meeting of the Dissertation Council ED 2.20 of Supreme Attestation Commission under the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan operating at the Faculty of History of Baku State University.

**Address:** Az-1148, Baku city, Yasamal region., Zahid Khalilov st., 23.

Dissertation is accessible at Baku State University library.

Electronic versions of dissertation and its abstract are available on the official website of Baku State University.

Abstract was sent to the required addresses on 4<sup>th</sup> November

Signed for print: 16.10.2024

Paper format: A5

Volume: 41602

Number of hard copies: 20