

REPUBLIC OF AZERBAIJAN

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ABSTRACT

Submitted to receive the Doctor of Philosophy degree

**ESTABLISHMENT OF KUBAN AND DON REPUBLICS AND
THEIR RELATIONSHIP WITH AZERBAIJAN
DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC**

Speciality: 5507.01 – History of international relations

Field of science: History

Applicant: **Seyidmammad İlhami oğlu Mammadzade**

Baku – 2025

The Dissertation was performed at the "History of the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic" department of A.A.Bakikhanov Institute of History and Ethnology of the Azerbaijan National Academy of Sciences.

Scientific supervisor: Doctor of Historical Sciences, Professor
Ikram Karim oglu Agasiyev

Official opponents: Full member of ANAS, Doctor of
Historical Sciences, Professor.
Ismayil Mukhtar oglu Hajiyev

Doctor of Historical Sciences,
Associate Professor
Farhad Rafiq oglu Jabbarov

Doctor of Philosophy of History
Associate Professor
Shirinbay Hajjali oglu Aliyev

One-term Dissertation Council BED 1.30/1 of Supreme Attestation Commission under the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan operating at the Institute of History and Ethnology named after A.A.Bakikhanov of the 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
Hgar Vahid oglu Niftaliyev

Chairman of the Scientific
Seminar:

 Doctor of Historical Sciences, Professor
Ismayil Maharram oglu Musa

I. GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE DISSERTATION

Relevance of the topic and level of elaboration. The historical problems of the states that emerged in the Caucasus after the collapse of the Russian Empire are among the most actual and the most complex issues of recent history. Unfortunately, the study of the relations that existed between these states, including the People's – Republic of Kuban (PRK), the Don Republic (DR) and the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic (ADR), was left out of historical research due to the political conjuncture in the Soviet period .

The articles, dissertations and books written about the Kuban People's Republic and the Don Republic are mainly devoted to internal policy issues, the solution of the national and agricultural issues, and governmental establishment issues. Issues related to foreign policy of the Kuban and Don republics - various aspects of mutual relations with regional states and European countries - have not been studied yet. From this point of view, the relations of the Kuban and Don republics with the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic are not an exception; until now, neither Azerbaijan nor any foreign country's historiography has conducted a research on this issue , and no scientific opinions have been expressed.

One of the aspects determines both the complexity and relevance of the subject under study is that this problem has not yet been fully resolved in both theoretical and practical aspects of history. One of the most complex scientific issues is to classify a specific state body either in Kuban or the Don in 1918-1920. Even today, there is a question remains open in the historical literature - can the associations created by the anti-Bolshevik forces in the Don, Kuban and other regions of the North Caucasus be considered as a state organization in the classical sense of this concept? Here we are talking about the Great Don Army (GDA) - the Don Republic, the Kuban People's Republic (from August 1918 it was called the Kuban Land), the Mountainous Republic and the Southern Russian Armed Forces (SRAF) led by General Denikin. In our dissertation, the author characterized the Great Don Army and the Kuban People's Republic as "state institutions". The author's choice is based on the logic that although these are not yet fully independent states, they are no longer provinces of the Russian Empire. Although they did not yet have the attributes of an independent state - international status, legally recognized citizenship , they were not part of Soviet Russia. It should be noted

that 6 countries - the Ottoman state , Germany, Ukraine, Georgia, the Mountainous Republic and the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic - have established diplomatic relations at the representative level with Kuban . These state institutions had supreme state authorities, their external borders were defined, and the process of creating judicial and financial systems was underway. For the record, many politicians who lived during the period of these state institutions, even the Kuban government, called it "state institution" in their official documents ¹.

The relevance of this topic is also related to the fact that in the period we are looking at (1918-1920) a unique geopolitical situation emerged in the world. In light of all the processes such as the collapse of empires in Europe in the end of the World War I, the emerging of new independent states, the disruption in the balance of global political power and interests, and as a result, the change of the center of world politics, the role of the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic and the young Kuban and Don Republics emerging in the north of the Caucasus needs to be thoroughly investigated.

This relevance is also related to the events happening in our modern era. It includes the emergence of a new geopolitical situation in the world after the collapse of the USSR and the socialist bloc, the emergence of new independent states in the territories of the collapsed USSR , the resumption of the "cold war" between the United States, the West and Russia, Azerbaijan's position in the newly formed political system determined for the sake of the future and strengthening of the state, the right choice of political and economic partners, and etc. For the effective solution of the issues, it is important to investigate what happened in the Caucasus and the world in the first quarter of the 20th century.

Today, political, economic and cultural relations between the Republic of Azerbaijan and the Russian Federation are developing. Russian provinces play a special role in these relations, and cooperation with regional provinces is one of the prioritized directions for Azerbaijan. First of all, relations with the North Caucasus, Kuban, Don, Astrakhan, and Volga regions are more intense, and Kuban and Don regions occupy a special place in these relations. Let's take into account that the Armenian factor has important economic and political

¹ Меморандиум Кубанской Парламентской делегации. 15 мая 1919 года. Париж // Государственный Архив Краснодарского Края, Фонд № р-411, опись 1, дело № 263, лист-4.

foundations in these regions (more than 500,000 Armenians live in Krasnodar oblast alone – S.M.) and they create an obstacle to the activities of the Azerbaijani diaspora in this region. The investigation of Kuban and Don regions and their history of relations with - Azerbaijan this is not only deepening of economic, cultural, but also political relations with these regions in the future, as well as the state security of the Republic of Azerbaijan in general is important from this point of view.

Since the announcement of the ADR government, the establishment of a large-scale state structure has been started; the army has been created, the law on the official language has been adopted, state administration bodies, the financial system have been established and necessary measures have been taken . The main mission of the government in external affairs was to achieve an official recognition in the world. The biggest threat to the existence and recognition of ADR came from the north. All the Bolshevik Soviet Russia and the White Army's Kolchak government, the "Volunteer Army" and General Denikin did not even want to hear the state in the name of ADR. From this point of view, ADR's policy of establishing diplomatic relations with the Kuban and Don Republics, which were formed in the south of Russia, was very important because with this, ADR sent a message to the enemy forces that their independence is a serious will, not a temporary one. Through these states, the ADR created a buffer zone for themselves, also showed the allies that their intentions were serious, and sent a message that they would not return to the Russian Empire, no matter under which flag .

The scientific-practical relevance of the topic is that even today there are processes similar to those of 1918-1920 in world politics. In 1918-1920, the young states that emerged in the territories of the former Russian Empire were sooner or later occupied by the Red Army and joined the Soviet empire created under the guise of Bolshevism. Even today, despite the fact that 33 years have passed since the collapse of the USSR and the creation of new independent states, there are political circles that strive for the restoration of the old empire in one or another form. The threats created against the territorial integrity of Ukraine, Georgia, Moldova and Azerbaijan once again prove that the danger of being invaded by these states still remains and it is important to implement a correct policy against these forces without repeating the mistakes of the past . In 1918-1920, the investigation of the reason why the young states could not unite against the Bolshevik threat and the results obtained can theoretically

help post-Soviet states implement a better policy against the new imperial threats.

In 1918-1920, the history of the problem of the relations between the Kuban and Don Republic republics and Azerbaijan Democratic Republic has not yet been adequately studied. Heretofore, no scientific work has been written that systematically and comprehensively that reflects the problems related to the considered topic in the historiography of Soviet, post-Soviet and foreign countries .

After the analysis of the literature devoted to the historical conditions of the creation of the Kuban and Don republics and historical issues related to the creation and functioning of the republics , the historiography of the problem can be divided into the following periods: 1) until 1918; 2) 1918-1920 years; 3) 1921-1991 years; 4) 1992-2023 years.

Researches about the initial historical conditions of the formation of state bodies in Kuban and Don were carried out in Russia even before the February revolution. The authors of this period focused on the characteristics of internal organization based on the history of Cossack societies, people's administration and autonomy traditions ².

In 1918-1920, documents, speeches and studies about the Don and Kuban Cossacks, the white movement and its leaders began to be published in the conditions of the Civil War ³. In these studies, information about the internal and external politics of the Kuban and Don republics, the emergence and formation of parliamentarism, and other issues were reflected. By the direct participants of the events, these works were aimed at the ideological and scientific justification of the positions of the parties who were irreconcilable enemies in the Civil War, who could not get rid of subjectivism .

In Soviet historiography (1921-1991), the most productive period in terms of subject was 1921-1930. However, in the works

²Щербина Ф.А.История Кубанского казачьего войска / сост. Ф.А. Щербина. – Екатеринодар :1910–1913. –В 2–х томах. Т. 1 : История края. – 1910. -734 с.; Савельев Е.П. Казаки. История. Репринтное переиздание книги Е.П. Савельева «Древняя история казачества», выходявшей в городе Новочеркасске в 1915 г. – Владикавказ: Издание акционерного предприятия «Спас», –1991.– 184 с..

³Авраамов П. Генерал А.Г.Шкуро/ Авраамов П.-Ростов–на Дону: 1919. -16 с.; Локерман, А.74 дня советской власти [Текст] : (из истории диктатуры большевиков в г. Ростове н–Д) / Локерман, А. – Ростов–на–Дону : Донской ком. РСДРП, –1918. – 101 с.

written during this period, the achievements of the Red Army in the south of Russia were mostly reflected, the non-Bolshevik republics that emerged in the Don and the Kuban were noted to be reactionary in nature, and their activities were evaluated as counter-revolutionary and contrary to the interests of the working class ⁴.

The attitude have been relatively softened in the researches written about these republics because of the “moderation” period in the second half of 1950’s. However, in the works written in the 1950s and 1960s, the idea of superiority of the Soviet political and state system over the Cossack state institutions remained unchanged ⁵.

In the 1970s and 1980s, the extensive use of archives and the analysis of memoir literature made possible the emergence of new scientific works about the existing state institutions in the south of Russia. However, in the works of this period, the activities of both the Don and the Kuban republics were shown as counter-revolutionary activities, and the real nature of these states was considered secondary and was not analyzed ⁶.

Starting from the 1990s, many conceptual provisions in Russian historiography were revised, ideological dogmas were abandoned, and as a result, works that objectively reflect the activities of the Kuban and Don republics were published. There is no coincidence that the most meaningful works about the Kuban and Don Cossacks and the republics created by them were written in the fourth period, which is between 1992-2022.

⁴Анишев А. Очерки истории гражданской войны 1917–1920 гг. / Ан. Анишев; Военно–полит. Акад. им. Т. Толмачева РККА и РККФ, -Л : Гос. изд–во, 1925. – 288 с.; Тихомиров Б. Рабочий класс под игом белогвардейщины. 1918–1920 / Тихомиров Б. – Москва–Ленинград: Издательство «Московский рабочий»,– 1928. – 96 с.; Лихницкий И. Классовая борьба и кулачество на Кубани / Н. Т. Лихницкий. – Ростов–на–Дону : Северный Кавказ, –1931. – 191 с.

⁵Агурев К.В. Разгром белогвардейских войск Деникина (октябрь 1919 — март 1920 гг.)/ Агурев К.В. – М.: – Военное издательство Министерства Обороны Союза ССР, – 1961. –224 с.; Шерман И.Л. Советская историография Гражданской войны в СССР (1920–1931). Монография.– Харьков: Издательство Харьковского ордена Трудового Красного знамени Государственного университета им. А.М. Горького, –1964. –340 с

⁶Июффе Г.З. Крах российской монархической контрреволюции / Июффе Г.З. – Москва: издательство «Наука», – Москва: 1977. – 321 с.; Ермолин, А.П. Революция и казачество (1917 – 1920) / А.П.Ермолин. – М.: Мысль, – 1982. – 224 с.

A.V.Venkov, V.P.Trut, Q.M. Ippolitov and others wrote the most valuable works on the history of the Don Cossacks in the Russian Federation in 1918-1920 . In the mentioned works, the political processes taking place in the Don during the years of the Civil War , political parties in these processes and their influence on the Cossack population were studied ⁷ .

The works of A.A.Zaytsev, B.N.Ratushnyak, A.N. Nikitin, P.I. Ostapenko should be specially mentioned among the works written about the Kuban in Russian historiography in the post-Soviet period. New approaches to the analysis of Kuban history are reflected in these works ⁸ .

In recent years, a number of dissertations related to the history of the Kuban and the Don have been defended in Russia, and in these studies, the socio-economic, military-political aspects of the Civil War in the south of Russia have been investigated. Among these works, the works of A.A.Cherkasov, S.S.Kravchenko, V.V.Cherpakov, O.B. German , V.R. Averyanova can be mentioned ⁹ . Those research works

⁷Венков А.В. Вёшенское восстание / А.В. Венков. — М.: Вече, 2012. — 336 с.; Трут В.П. Казачество России в период революций 1917 года и на начальном этапе гражданской войны: // Автореферат диссертации на соискание ученой степени доктора исторических наук./ – Ростов-на-Дону, 2005. – 47 с.; Ипполитов Г.М. Военная и политическая деятельность А.И. Деникина, 1917–апрель 1920 г. /дис... канд. ист. наук / – М., 1994. – 260 с.; Федюк В.П. Белое движение на Юге России, 1917 – 1920 гг.: /дис. докт. ист. наук./– Ярославль, 1995. –383 с.

⁸Зайцев А.А. Региональный политический процесс в условиях Гражданской войны 1917–1922 гг.: на материалах Дона и Кубано–Черноморья: / Автореферат диссертации на соискание ученой степени доктора исторических наук /– Москва – Краснодар, 2009, – 33 с.; Ратушняк О. В. Политические искания донского и кубанского казачества в годы Гражданской войны в России (1918—1920 гг.). // – Москва: Альманах «Белая гвардия» – 2005. № 8, – с. 17-23; Остапенко П. И. Казачьи государственные образования на юге России (Февраль 1917 – начало 1920 г.). (Историко – правовой анализ): / Автореферат диссертации на соискание ученой степени доктора юридических наук./ – Краснодар, 2004.– 55 с.; Никитин А.Н. Суверенная Кубань: Опыт отечественного парламентаризма (1917–1920 гг.). Часть первая / Никитин А.Н. – М.: Национальный институт бизнеса,– 2010. – 368 с.

⁹Черкасов А.А.Гражданская война н Кубани и Черноморье (1917 – 1922 гг.): "третья сила" в социально– политическом противостоянии: /автореферат диссертации на соискание ученой степени д–ра ист. наук / .–Ставрополь, 2007, 27 с.;Черпаков В.В., Исторический опыт деятельности представительных

made an important contribution to the study of the history of the establishment and development of state institutions in Don and Kuban. However, many issues of internal and especially foreign policy of the Don and Kuban republics were not studied in all these dissertations.

In the historiography of the subject, immigrant literature has a special significance¹⁰. The insufficient aspects of the mentioned works written by immigrants are that since archival documents are not used, there is a lack of information, and the works mostly reflect the personal views of the authors.

In Ukrainian historiography, V. Ivanis, R. Polyovoy, D. Bilyy dedicated several works to the history of Kuban¹¹. In the works of Ukrainian authors, Kuban is presented as a historical Ukrainian territory, and the Kuban People's Republic is characterized as a state

органов государственной власти Дона и Кубани (1917–1920 гг.): /автореферат диссертации на соискание ученой степени кандидата исторических наук. / – Краснодар, Издательско–полиграфический центр Кубанского государственного университета, 2013,–28 с.; Кравченко С.С. Казачье самоуправление в годы гражданской войны 1917–1920 гг.: на материалах Дона и Кубани: /дис.канд. ист. наук / – Кропоткин, 2008.– 17 с.; Аверьянов В.Р. Государственные образования на Кубани в 1917–1920 гг.: историко–правовой анализ /Автореферат диссертации на соискание ученой степени кандидата юридических наук. /– Москва, 2018, – 25 с.; Герман О.Б. Казаки и крестьяне Дона в 1917 – начале 1918 г.: /Дис. канд. ист. наук /– Ростов н/Д, 1999. –262 с.

¹⁰Витковский В. К. В борьбе за Россию. Воспоминания / Витковский В. К.– Сан–Франциско: 1963.– 80 с.; Даваць В. На Москву / Даваць В.– Париж: Типография акционерного общества И. Рираховский, – 1921.– 116 с.; Елисеев Ф.И. Партизан Шкуро. Февраль 1955 г./ Елисеев Ф.И. Нью–Йорк: 279 с.; Поляков И.А. Донские казаки в борьбе с большевиками : в 5 ч. /, Поляков И.А. – Мюнхен: 1962.– 388 с.; Сулятицкий П. Разгром Кубанской Краевой Рады в ноябре 1919 года / Сулятицкий П.–Прага: Видавництво «Кубанський Край», – 1931. – ч. 9. –34 с.

¹¹Іванис Василь. Боротьба Кубані за незалежність. / Іванис В.– Мюнхен: 1968.–137 с.; Батько українських самостійників Кубані Кузьма Безкровний // Ренат Польовий. Кубанська Україна. – Київ: Діокор, –2002. – с.52-57; Білий Д. Д. Кубанська народна республіка // Енциклопедія історії України: Т. 5: Кон — Кю. / Редкол.: В. А. Смолій (голова) та ін. НАН України. Інститут історії України. — К.: В–во «Наукова думка»,– 2008, – 568 с; Belyi D. D. Кубанська народна рес пу блика // Енциклопедия истории Украї ни: Т. 5: Кон — Куу. / Redcol.: В. А. Smolii (head) and in. НАН of Ukraine, Institute of History of Ukraine. — К.: В–во «Наукова думка»,– 2008, – 568 с.

created by Black Sea Cossacks of Ukrainian origin.

Until now, no comprehensive research work has been written in Azerbaijani historiography about the history of the Kuban and Don republics, as well as their relations with the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic. In the works of N. Nasibzadeh, J. Hasanli, and S. Yusifzadeh dedicated to the foreign policy of ADR, the general issues of this problem were mentioned¹².

On the historical issues of the Kuban and Don republics, the works written by I.K. Ağasiyev are commendable¹³. However, these works are also not complex in nature, most of the problems we considered in the dissertation were left out of the researcher's attention.

S. Aliyeva's articles on the relations between the ADR and the Mountainous Republic also covered issues of a regional nature. At the same time, her monograph published in 2020 briefly mentioned the relations between the ADR and the Kuban People's Republic¹⁴. In this work, the relations between the ADR and the Don Republic were not studied in general.

Therefore, the analysis of the existing historical literature and dissertation studies showed that this problem is one of the less studied issues in the historiography of Russia, Azerbaijan, and other countries. As can be seen from the analysis of the historiography of the subject, considerable scientific research was conducted in Russian

¹² Nəşibzadə N.L. Azərbaycanın xarici siyasəti (1918–1920–ci illər) / Nəşibzadə N.L.–Bakı: Ay–Ulduz, –1996. – 304 s.; Həsənli C.P. Azərbaycan Xalq Cümhuriyyətinin Xarici Siyasəti (1918– 1920) / Həsənli C.P.– Bakı: "GARISMA" MMC,– 2009. –576 s.; Юсифзаде С.З. Первая Азербайджанская Республика: история, события, Факты англо–азербайджанских отношений. / Юсифзаде С.З. – Баку: 1998. –208 с

¹³ Ağasiyev İ.K.Kuban Xalq Respublikasının Azərbaycan Xalq Cümhuriyyəti ilə əlaqələri (1918–1920)//– Bakı: Azərbaycan Milli Elmlər Akademiyası A.A. Bakıxanov adına Tarix İnstitutunun Elmi əsərləri, Xüsusi buraxılış, 2018.– № 74,75,76,- s. 24–29.; Ağasiyev İ.K. Kuban Xalq Respublikası (1918–1920) // Qafqazda ilk respublikalar (1918–1921) – Bakı: “Ideai–print” MMC, –2021. – s.353–379; Ağasiyev İ.K. Don Respublikasının yaranması və fəaliyyəti (1918–1920) // Qafqazda ilk respublikalar (1918–1921) – Bakı: “Ideai–print” MMC, –2021.– s.331–352.

¹³ Əliyeva S. Azərbaycan Xalq Cümhuriyyəti və Şimali Qafqaz dövlətləri: müstəqillik illərində (1918–1920) / Əliyeva S. –Bakı:«Avropa»,– 2020.– 322 с.

¹⁴Aliyeva S. Azerbaijan Democratic Republic and North Caucasian states: in the years of independence (1918-1920) / Aliyeva S. - Baku: "Europe", - 2020. - 322 с.

historiography on the history of the Kuban and Don republics, and more attention was paid to the creation of the mentioned state - institutions , their socio-economic situation, internal politics and general regional problems. The foreign policy issues of these republics have not been studied much, and no general studies have been conducted about their relations with the ADR . In Russian - historiography, works dedicated to the creation and activity of the Kuban and Don republics were considered in the context of Russian regions with certain ethno-political characteristics, not as subjects - aiming for complete independence.

Except a few articles published in recent years in Azerbaijani historiography, no significant scientific research work has been written either on the general history of the Don and Kuban republics, or on their relations with the ADR.

Besides, there is a great need to investigate many issues of the history of diplomatic relations of the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic with the young states emerging in the territory of the former Russian Empire , as well as the relations of the Kuban and Don republics with the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic , against Denikin ,in particular , the cooperation of ADR delegation and Kuban and Don delegations at the Paris Peace Conference, the differences in the approach of Azerbaijan and the Kuban and Don republics regarding the "Russian issue", and other obscure current problems.

One of the factors that increase the scientific importance of the dissertation is numerous archival and other published sources are used. Most of the archival documents used by the author are included in the scientific circulation for the first time.

During the preparation of the dissertation, the materials of the funds of the State Archives of the Republic of Azerbaijan No. 894, 897, 970, Public-Political Documents Archive of the Office of the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan No. 277; State Archive of the Krasnodar Oblast of the Russian Federation No. p-6, 14, p-411 and p-1542 ; No.1864, 1861 and 1820 of the Central Historical Archive of Georgia were widely used.

Among the published sources, normative-legal acts reflecting the policy of state institutions against the Cossacks in different years, collections of documents and materials reflecting the events unfolding in the Don, the North Caucasus and Azerbaijan during the Russian Civil

War are of special importance ¹⁵.

Among the published sources, the periodical press has a special place. In the dissertation, the official state documents published in the "Azerbaijan" newspaper published in Russian and Azerbaijani languages in 1918-1920, as well as the "Kaspii" newspaper and the magazine "Volnoe Kozachestvo" published in Europe were widely used.

During the research, the author also used the memoirs of General A.I. Denikin, who was a direct participant in the political events taking place in the south of Russia, and the commander of the "Volunteer Army" and the Southern Russian Armed Forces, and his comrades-in-arms A.P. Bogayevsky, G. Pokrovsky, one of the leaders of the Kuban Rada, also used the memoirs of Kuban ataman A.P. Filimonov, ataman P.N. Krasnov, P.N. Wrangel, A.G. Shkuro and others.

Among the published sources, A.M. Topchubashov's "Paris Archive" consisting of 4 books was also used in writing the dissertation ¹⁶. Many of the mentioned sources are included in a scientific course for the first time.

On the basis of wide and diverse sources, the author studied the current issues of the history of the Don and Kuban republics, their relations with the ADR, and released numerous archival materials and published sources on this topic, which is almost not studied in Azerbaijani historiography, into scientific circulation.

¹⁵Azərbaycan Xalq Cümhuriyyətinin xarici siyasəti. Sənədlər məcmuəsi. Azərbaycan Respublikasının Xarici İşlər Nazirliyi. – Bakı: "Garisma" MMC, – 2009. – 352 s.; Azərbaycan Xalq Cümhuriyyəti (1918–1920). Parlament (Stenografik hesabatlar). I cild. – Bakı: "Azərbaycan" nəşriyyatı, – 01998-976 s.; Azərbaycanская Демократическая Республика. Внешняя политика. (Документы и материалы) – Баку: издательство "Азербайджан", – 1998. – 632 с.; Архив русской революции, издаваемый Г.В. Гессеном. В 22 –х томах. Т. XVI. Издание третье. – Берлин: Издательство «Слово», – 1925. – 296с.; Империалистическая интервенция на Дону и Северном Кавказе. Под общей редакцией академика И.И. Минца. – Москва: Наука, – 1988. – 261 с.; Союз объединенных горцев Северного Кавказа и Дагестана (1917–1918 гг.) и Горская Республика (1918–1920 гг.): Док. и материалы / ФГБУН Ин-т истории, археологии и этнографии Дагестан. науч. центра РАН; Сост. Г.И. Какагасанов, Л.Г. Каймарзова. – Махачкала: Алеф, – 2013, – 290 с.

¹⁶Топчибаши А. М. Парижский архив 1919–1940. В четырех книгах. – Книга первая 1919–1921. – Составители Г. Мамулия и Р. Абуталыбов. Введение, перевод и примечания Г. Мамулия. Научный редактор кандидат исторических наук Исмаил Агакишиев. — М.: Худож. лит., – 2016. - 568 с.

The object and the subject of the research. The object of the research work is the process of formation of the new states that existed in 1918-1920 - the Kuban People's Republic and the Don Republic and their complex relations with the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic. The subject of the research is the historical conditions, historical - geography, political structure, foreign policy, economic , political, investigation of diplomatic relations and evaluation of the processes taking place.

The thesis is based on the chronological problem principle and is limited to the years 1918-1920. However , the first chapter goes beyond the chronological framework. In this chapter, the ethno-political and historical-geographical situation of Kuban and Don regions before 1918, and etc. are reflected. The issues investigated in the first chapter created an opportunity for a deeper study and understanding of the processes that took place in the Kuban and the Don in 1918-1920 .

Objectives and tasks of the research . Based on the level of investigation of the problem we are looking at, the main goal of the research work has been identified as to distinguish and justify the conditions and directions of activity of the Kuban and Don Republics, the nature and characteristics of their relations with the ADR, the exposure of biased and distorted approaches to this process, political events to create an objective, scientific picture of political occasions.

The following specific tasks were performed based on a wide range of archival documents and published sources, including special literary materials :

- to determine the level of scientific investigation of the problem, the source base, the methodological basis of its study and, taking into account all this, its poorly developed aspects and perspectives of future research ;

- the historical-geographical situation of the Kuban and the Don before the February revolution of 1917 , to distinguish the historical roots of the ethno-political characteristics of these regions;

- to analyze the socio-political changes that created conditions for Kuban in Kuban and Don in the months after the February revolution;

- the activity of the political forces existing in Don, Kuban and other regions of South Russia for the creation of a federal state , to highlight the contradictions in the political self- determination of Don and Kuban Cossacks ;

- to analyze the historical conditions, internal and external

conditions of the establishment of the Kuban People's Republic;

- establishing diplomatic relations of the ADR with the Kuban People's Republic and covering the activity of the diplomatic mission;
- to examine the cooperation of the KPR and ADR representatives at the Paris Peace Conference and show the political platform that made this cooperation possible;
- to investigate the cooperation of the Kuban and Azerbaijan republics in the direction of solving the "Russian issue";
- to analyze the reasons for its incorporation into the Armed Forces of South Russia ;
- the goals and specifics of the struggle between the SRAF and the ADR for "influence on the Mountainous Republic" ;
- to investigate the reasons for the dissolution of the Kuban and Don republics and the impact of this event on the internal and external situation of the ADR;
- concluding the research work and making suggestions based on the results obtained.

Research methods. In the dissertation, the principles of scientificity, objectivity and historicity were used as the methodological and theoretical basis of the research, which made it possible to apply the historical-evolutionary, historical-specificity approaches to the analysis of the researched topic.

During the research, the author also used historical-genetic, historical-comparative, historical-typological, historical-system and mathematical methods .

Numerous unpublished archival materials used during the research and included in the scientific circulation for the first time, including published written materials of various styles , periodical press materials form the basis of the dissertation work. Both the obtained sources and the research literature were critically reviewed and evaluated based on scientific research principles.

The main provisions of the defense. The scientific hypotheses submitted for defense are distinguished by their scientific innovation. According to the goals and tasks of the dissertation, the following hypotheses were made:

- the Don and Kuban territories, which claimed to establish their own state in 1918, were part of the states created mainly by tribes and peoples of Turkic origin in various periods of history, and this factor affected the ethnic composition, mentality, economic, political and cultural lifestyle of the population of the mentioned regions, led to the formation of the Cossack class, which is different from the general

Russian mass, and the attitude of the Cossacks to the processes that took place in Russia in 1917-1920 are reflected in the characteristics of their participation;

- in 1917-1920, the main reason for the dramatic nature of the events in the Cossack territories, such as the Kuban and the Don, was the complex relations between the Cossacks and the peasants, arising from the differences in their legal views, and the reasons for this conflict matured during the XIX century and the beginning of the XX century;

- cossacks in the Kuban and Don did not support the dubious legitimacy of the Provisional Government and later the Soviet government announced by the Bolsheviks , and created local Cossack self-government bodies. The main task of these self-governing bodies was to preserve the Cossack autonomy and freedom of the Kuban and Don territories, and to prevent anarchy and chaos entering these regions from Central Russia ;

- although there was an ideological split between the population in both Kuban and Don in 1917 , they agreed on the issue of granting autonomy to these regions within the framework of the democratic Russian Federation, but the beginning of the civil war in early 1918 and the threat of Sovietization put an end to the idea of autonomy. replaced with ideas of independence;

- in 1918-1920, in Kuban and Don, there were various state institutions of Bolshevik and anti-Bolshevik orientation according to their political nature, and the most politically long-lived and stable of these state institutions were the People's Republic of Kuban in Kuban and the Great Don Army in Don - the Republic of Don. These state institutions had the attributes of state sovereignty due to their territory, their citizenship, their military forces, their state symbols, and ADR established diplomatic relations with these two anti-Bolshevik republics;

- during their existence, these republics depended on the "Volunteer Army" first and then on the military-administrative institution called the Southern Russian Armed Forces; SRAF had an important influence on the internal and foreign policy course of these state institutions, including their relations with the ADR;

- the ADR considered the Civil War to be Russia's internal affair, and although it did not interfere in the processes taking place there, at the same time, it pursued an independent policy in the conditions of the inevitable danger expected from the Russian monarchists and the Bolsheviks, and it served the state interests of the ADR in the Don,

Kuban and other regions of the Caucasus. cooperated with the new states that did not implement conflicting policies and did not accept Bolshevism;

- although the activity of the diplomatic representation was dangerous due to the complexity of the internal political situation in Kuban and Don, the establishment of relations with these state institutions, which created a security zone between Soviet Russia and Azerbaijan, was important from the point of view of strengthening the state security of ADR;

- in January 1919, after the military-administrative body called SRAF, created under Denikin's command, brought the Kuban and Don republics under its sphere of influence, although the Kuban People's Republic was able to partially preserve its political independence, the Don Republic was completely incorporated into SRAF;

- ADR's relations with the Don Republic were established in the context of ADR-SRAF relations from the spring of 1919, and these relations were full of contrasts: although ADR and Don needed cooperation in economic matters and in the joint struggle against Bolshevism, in many principled issues - "the Russian issue ", their positions were different and irreconcilable regarding the solutions and perspectives of the Mountainous Republic, the distribution of the Caspian fleet and the issues arising from it;

- despite the active activity of the Kuban delegation , which fought for the independence of the Republic of Kuban in close cooperation with the ADR delegation at the Paris peace conference, Entente countries declined to recognize the Republic because they still hoped for the restoration of United Russia;

- the independent activity of the Kuban People's Republic at the Paris peace conference, as well as in other directions of international relations, was evaluated by Denikin as a betrayal of Russian interests, deepened the contradictions between the Kuban leadership and the leaders of the white movement, and increased political chaos. As a result, the fate of the Civil War in the North Caucasus was decided in favor of the Red Army, in the spring of 1920, the Soviet government was established in the Don, Kuban and the entire North Caucasus;

- the capture of the Don and Kuban republics by the Red Army had a negative impact on the internal and international situation of the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic and facilitated the occupation of the ADR by the Bolshevik forces;

- among the reasons for the fall of the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic, the Kuban, the Don Republics, and other young states that

emerged in the territories of the former Russian Empire, were the contradictions between the anti-Bolshevik forces and their inability to come together, which in the later years of the Soviet rule affected all the peoples of the USSR, including It cost thousands of victims to the population living in the North Caucasus.

Scientific novelty of the research. The scientific novelty of the dissertation consists of the following:

- the scientific novelty of the dissertation is determined by the fact that until now no complex studies dedicated to the relations of the Kuban and Don Republics with the ADR have been conducted in the historiography of Azerbaijan or other countries. The researched dissertation is the first research work dedicated to the complete study of the formation of the Kuban and Don republics and their relations with the ADR;

- the initial historical conditions and reasons for the formation of the Kuban and Don republics are fully shown, the facts and events unknown to the historiography of the Motherland related to this issue are highlighted ;

- for the first time, the diplomatic activity of the ADR government in the Kuban and Don Republics was investigated, the special importance of the ADR government to relations with the young states emerging in the territories of the Russian Empire was emphasized ;

- the activities of the Kuban and Don delegations at the Paris Peace Conference and their cooperation with the ADR delegation were studied;

- on the basis of extensive archival documents, the relations of the ADR with the Armed Forces of South Russia were investigated, facts little known to the scientific community were included in the scientific circulation ;

- ADR-Kuban, ADR-SRAF relations, one of the little-studied pages of the history of the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic - the emergence, essence, and main discussion stages of the issue of Dagestan's merger with Azerbaijan were studied, and the impact of this issue on the ADR's foreign relations was shown;

- included numerous and previously unused valuable documents stored in the archive funds of the Republic of Azerbaijan, the Russian Federation and the Republic of Georgia; press, epistolary and other factual materials published in Azerbaijani, Ukrainian, Russian, German languages ;

- numerous historical sources, the vast majority of which were included in the scientific circulation for the first time, the beginning of the development of a new direction in the study of the history of the ADR was actually started. Thus, in Azerbaijani historiography, the relations between the new young states that emerged in the territories of the former Russian Empire and the Soviet Union have been poorly studied, and this problem awaits its own researchers.

Theoretical and practical significance of research. The materials, proposals, results and general content of the presented dissertation can help in further development of theoretical ideas about - interstate, inter-national and inter-cultural relations .

The materials and results of the dissertation can be used as the main material in the writing of general works, textbooks and teaching aids on the history of Azerbaijan, Russia, including the Caucasus, Eastern European states, and in the compilation of lecture texts on ethnography, regional studies, and political science courses.

Approval and application of the research work. The provisions covering the content of the dissertation are reflected in the author's articles published in Azerbaijan, Turkey, Russia and Ukraine, as well as in the materials of international and republican level conferences .

The name of the organization where the dissertation work was carried out. The dissertation was discussed, approved and completed at the "History of the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic" department of the A.A. Bakikhanov Institute of History of the Azerbaijan National Academy of Sciences .

Dissertation structure and the total volume of the with a sign. The dissertation consists of an introduction, 3 chapters, a conclusion, a list of used literature and appendices. The volume of Introduction of the dissertation is 44382, Chapter I -45996, Chapter II-98075, Chapter III-82106, Conclusion-16887 and the total volume of the dissertation consists of 287446 marks.

II. MAIN CONTENT OF THE DISSERTATION

In the "**Introduction**" part of the dissertation, the relevance and scientific importance of the topic is substantiated, the level of processing of the problem and the bibliography of the subject are

explained, the goals and tasks of the research are defined. Also, the methods of the research, the main propositions defended and the theoretical-practical importance are indicated, and the scientific innovation is given.

The first chapter of the dissertation is called "**Kuban and Don provinces in 1917: revolutionary processes and the first steps in Kuban**". The chapter is divided into two subchapters. In the first subchapter called "**Ethno-political and historical-geographical situation of Kuban and Don regions before the February revolution**", the ethno-political and historical-geographical history of Kuban and Don regions was reviewed and the conclusion was reached that the Kuban and Don territories were the home of mainly Turkic and partly non-Turkish tribes since ancient time, and it was a part of various Turkic states until joining the Russian Empire. Before the annexation to Russia, the population of the mentioned regions mainly consisted of local Muslim peoples of the Caucasus, Nogais, Kalmyks, and refugees of Slavic origin, who lived a free life hiding from the tsarist government.

Our research shows that after joining the Russian Empire, tsarism purposefully implemented a policy of settling the population of Slavic origin and Christian faith in these regions. The settlement policy carried out by Tsarism in the Don and Kuban gradually changed the ethnic, religious, socio-political structure of the population of these regions, and as a result of complex ethnogenesis processes, both in the Don and in the Kuban, "Cossacks" with many characteristics, including the ability to organize politically brought to the formation of sub-ethnos. It was the "Cossack" factor that determined the regional political and legal characteristics of Kuban and Don in the period before 1917, and ultimately led to the formation of Cossack statehood in Kuban and Don.

The second sub-chapter of the first chapter is called "**Kuban and Don Army Provinces at the initial stage of Kuban (February-December 1917)**". This sub-chapter shows that the February revolution of 1917 and the overthrow of tsarism created an opportunity for a new stage of Kuban in the Kuban and the Don, and the process of democratization began. In the spring and summer of 1917, a struggle was waged for the establishment of a democratic, federal Russian state both in the Don and in the Kuban, and to achieve the autonomy of the Don and the Kuban within the framework of this state. In October 1917, the Don, Kuban, The people of the Northern Caucasus and the Great Steppe created the South-East Union in order

to build a democratic, federative, free Russia and to ensure the autonomy of their regions in this federation¹⁷. However, the government of the South-Eastern Union could not cope with acute social and national conflicts and could not solve the agricultural issue that concerned the main mass of the population - the peasants. As a result, at the beginning of 1918, in the background of the Sovietization of Kuban, the Don and other regions of South Russia, the South-Eastern Union quietly withdrew from the scene of history. The project of establishing a regional state in the south of Russia failed.

The second chapter of the dissertation work is called "**Emergence of the Kuban People's Republic and differences with the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic**". The first sub-chapter of the chapter entitled "**Proclamation of the Kuban People's Republic, its internal situation and foreign policy**" shows that the Kuban Rada announced the Kuban People's Republic on January 8, 1918. Conflicts between social classes led to the beginning of the civil war in Kuban and the establishment of Soviet power in most parts of the territory. The leaders of the young republic, which did not have sufficient armed forces for self-defense and operated as a "day-to-day government" in the Don, were forced to approach and enter into an alliance with the "Volunteer Army" commanded by monarchist - General Denikin¹⁸. This had a very serious impact on the subsequent fate of the Kuban Republic: first, the armed forces of Kuban, then the Kuban Parliament and the government began to come under Denikin's control. Political figures working for the independence of Kuban - started an open struggle against Denikin's dictatorship. The contradictions between Denikin and the Republic of Kuban revolved around the main issues: Kuban's claims to act as a free, sovereign republic, its relations with the United States, Germany, the Ottoman Empire, Attempts to establish relations with states such as Ukraine, Turkestan, Georgia, striving for close relations with the Mountainous Republic, especially with the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic - all this is General Denik's "unified and indivisible "Russia" slogan was out of context.

¹⁷Юго-Восточный Союз казачьих войск, горцев Кавказа и вольных народов степей. Союзный Договор от 20 октября 1917 года // Государственный Архив Краснодарского Края, Фонд № р-6, опись №1, дело № 48, листы – 28, 28 об..

¹⁸Памятная записка председателя делегации Л.Л. Быча, врученная американской миссии // Государственный Архив Краснодарского Края, Фонд № р-411, опись № 2, дело № 263, лист-9.

The second sub-chapter of the second chapter is called "**Organization and activity of the diplomatic representation of the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic in the Kuban People's Republic**". The first paragraph of the second sub-chapter is called "**Political-diplomatic activity of Azerbaijan's representative in the Kuban**" and it is noted here that diplomatic relations were established between the ADR and the Kuban Republic as early as March 1919. The relations with the Republic of Kuban were mainly of a political-diplomatic nature, and these relations were mainly established in several directions. The first of these directions was the joint struggle against Sovietization and bolshevism. The second important issue was the "Russian issue". There was no fundamental difference in the positions of the ADR and the Kuban People's Republic on this issue either - both the Kuban and the ADR opposed the restoration of the monarchy and the old Russian empire in Russia. As for the civil war, the ADR considers it an internal affair of the Russian side, and had no intention of getting involved in it¹⁹.

Kuban and Mountainous Republic played the role of a buffer between Soviet Russia and the ADR. This was the issue of the state security of the ADR, and thus, the creation of a diplomatic - representation created conditions for cooperation not only in the political, but also in the economic and humanitarian fields between the PRK and the ADR.

The second paragraph of the second sub-chapter is called "**Kuban-Azerbaijani economic relations**". Economic relations between the two republics were studied here. The conclusion was that the economic relations between Kuban and Azerbaijan were more transit trade than objective reasons. There was no need for Kuban to import agricultural products from Azerbaijan. On the contrary, grain, vegetable oil and other important agricultural products were brought from Kuban to Azerbaijan through Georgia. As for industrial products, only oil products were exported from Azerbaijan to Kuban, as the Mozdok oil region did not fully meet Kuban's demand for oil products. Kuban, which has a great demand for high-quality light industrial products produced in the USA and European countries, obtained these products through Azerbaijan, Georgia, Ukraine, Poland and other

¹⁹Донесение дипломатического представителя Азербайджана в Кубани Дж. Рустамбекова министру иностранных дел М. Ю. Джафарову. 24 июня 1919 г. // Государственный Архив Азербайджанской Республики, Фонд № 897, опись № 1, дело № 38, лист -59-60.

republics, which have more access to the international markets. As it seems, in the period under consideration, relations between Azerbaijan and Kuban covered more political and humanitarian issues.

The third paragraph of the second sub-chapter is called "**Activities of the Kuban People's Republic and the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic in solving the refugee issue in the Caucasus**". In this paragraph, the issues of cooperation between the ADR and the PRK on the issue of refugees have been examined. Despite their difficult political and economic situation, in 1918-1920, the governments of the Republic of Kuban and the Republic of Azerbaijan provided assistance to refugees. One of the main forces that hindered this labor was the Russian National Council. The Russian National Council, operating both in Tbilisi and in Baku, acted separately and showed concern only for refugees of Slavic origin, and behind this "concern" there were political goals. Thus, the Russian National Council, which stands in the position of Russian chauvinism, used these refugees to strengthen the influence of "Volunteer Army", which had a hostile attitude towards ADR²⁰. This activity of the Russian National Council was not accepted by either the PRK or the ADR governments and having more independence, ADR was taking stricter measures in this matter.

The parliaments of the People's Republic of Kuban and the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic have kept the issue of resettlement of refugees on the agenda for the last few sessions and tried to solve this problem without national discrimination.

The cooperation of the representatives of the two republics in the international arena is discussed in the third half of the second chapter entitled "**Cooperation of the Kuban and Azerbaijani delegations at the Paris peace conference**". It is noted that both young states wanted to be recognized at the international level and become members of the League of Nations, thereby securing their political existence. In Paris, the ADR and PRK delegations cooperated closely, prepared joint memoranda and statements and presented them to the representatives of the Allied countries participating in the Paris Peace Conference, and fought for the de facto and de jure recognition of the young republics. However, the activity of the Kuban representatives did not lead to a concrete result - the Entente countries

²⁰Протоколы о приеме добровольцев в военные части. 7 января 1918 года. Тифлис // Государственный Исторический Архив Грузинской Республики, Фонд 1820, опись №1, дело №124, листы— 1—15.

refused to officially recognize Kuban, considering it a part of Russia, and thus once again emphasized their support for General Denikin. The free activity of the Kuban representatives at the Paris peace conference cost them their lives: Denikin started repression against them²¹, the progressive political elite of Kuban was destroyed, the Kuban republic came under the control of Denikin and the South Russian Armed Forces at the end of 1919-early 1920.

The third chapter of the dissertation work is called "**Great Don Army - the creation of the Don Republic and its relations with the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic**". The problems surrounding the chapter are reflected in three and a half chapters. In the first sub-chapter entitled "**The Great Don Army - the creation of the Don Republic, its internal and external policy**", the special features of the creation and activity of the Don Republic were investigated. In contrast to Kuban, the population of the Don was more fanatical about the Bolsheviks, and therefore, in early 1918, with the support of the non-Cossacks and the Red Cossacks, the Don was also declared under Soviet rule. However, at the beginning of May 1918, with the support of the German troops, the armies of General Krasnov suppressed the Bolsheviks and captured the Don, and the Great Don Army was declared - the Don Republic²². State establishment work began in the Don Republic led by General Krasnov. However, the events that took place in the international world and, first of all, the defeat of Germany in World War I, the revolution that began in Germany - all this led to the withdrawal of German troops from the Don, the decline of the authority of General Krasnov, and the strengthening of Denikin's position.

In the thirs chapter "**Incorporation of the Don Republic into the Southern Russian Armed Forces and contradictions in ADR-SRAF relations**", the issues during Denikin's dictatorship, the Don Republic being separated from the path of progressive development and becoming the main center of the struggle for "United and indivisible Russia", and also being the main source of political and military danger for the ADR and other young Caucasus republics and other issues have been investigated.

²¹ Атаманам Донскому, Кубанскому, Терскому. Телеграмма генерала А. Деникина от 26 октября 1919 года. Таганрог // Государственный Архив Краснодарского Края, Фонд № р-6, опись № 1, дело №126, лист-233.

²² Стариков Т. Этапы борьбы Дона за свою независимость. // – Прага: Вольное Казачество, –№137. – с.18.

Denikin, who turned the Don into his base territory and took control of the Kuban, tried to unite newly emerging republics such as Georgia and Azerbaijan . For this reason, from the spring of 1919 to the beginning of 1920, there was a heated diplomatic-political struggle between the ADR and the SRAF . The struggle mainly revolved around the "Russian issue", the sphere of influence in the Mountainous republic, and the distribution of the Caspian Navy and its surrounding issues.

There was also a period of moderation between the ADR and the SRAF. However, Denikin did not recognize the independence of the ADR, treated it as a region of Russia, abolished the Mountainous Republic in May 1919 , concentrated large military forces in the northern borders of the ADR ²³, and divided the Caspian fleet by - imperialist demands against the ADR's interests, consequently, at the end of November 1919, the diplomatic representative office of the ADR in the Don Republic was forced to stop its activities.

The third sub-chapter of the third chapter is called " **The occupation of the Don and Kuban by Soviet Russia and the position of the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic** ". In this half- - chapter, the occupation of the Kuban and Don republics by Soviet Russia in the spring of 1920, the influence of this occupation on the international situation of the ADR and, first of all, on its relations with Soviet Russia, and other issues were studied.

Since the beginning of 1920, Soviet Russia has been aggressively attacking the ADR , demanding that it participate in military operations against Denikin. However, the ADR government, adhering to the principle of not interfering in the internal affairs of other countries and nations, conveyed to the Soviet leadership that it would not interfere in the "Russian issue" and the Civil War was Russia's internal affair, which could not satisfy Moscow . In the North Caucasus, Denikin's armies continued to be defeated, and the Red Army was advancing southward day by day. In the dramatic circumstances that arose, in February 1920, Denikin announced that he recognized the ADR, but the chance for cooperation had already

²³Донесение дипломатического представителя Азербайджана в Горской Республике А.Ахвердова министру иностранных дел М.Ю. Джафарову о смене правительства в республике.19 мая 1919 г. // Государственный Архив Азербайджанской Республики, Фонд №970, опись №1, дело № 59, лист–29–30.

been lost. From the beginning of March 1920, the Red Army began a large-scale operation on the Don, in the Kuban, and in the North Caucasus, and by the end of March, the remnants of Denikin's troops were defeated. They were forced to flee to Crimea.

Thus, in April 1920, the Soviet power was restored in the Don, Kuban, and North Caucasus. After the invasion of the North Caucasus, the XI Red Army began to prepare for aggression against the ADR.

In the “**Conclusion**” section of the dissertation, the research was summarized, generalizations were made, and the results obtained were analyzed. It was concluded that one of the most important factors influencing the domestic and foreign policy of the Kuban and Don republics was the population, or more precisely, the ethnic affiliation of the population living here. The process of ethnogenesis that has been going on in this region for thousands of years has not been without results and has left a deep mark on the lifestyle, outlook, way of thinking, and value system of the population. The Ukrainian Zaporozhye Cossacks, who were resettled to the Black Sea coast of Kuban from the second half of the 18th century, and the Don Cossacks who settled in the central and northern borders of Kuban, became a decisive factor in the future history of Kuban.

The February Revolution of 1917 and the overthrow of tsarism opened the way for a new stage of state-building in the Kuban and Don, and the process of democratization began. After the October 1917 coup d'état in Russia and the Bolsheviks coming to power, the government of the South-Eastern Union, created by the peoples of the Don, Kuban, the North Caucasus and the Great Steppe, was unable to cope with acute social and national conflicts, and as a result, by January 1918, the South-Eastern Union had spontaneously disappeared from the political scene.

With the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly on January 8, 1918, the prospects for building a democratic Russia through a free parliament were shattered, and the Kuban and Don Republics embarked on their path to independence as sovereign republics. Despite the pressure of General Denikin, the Kuban and Don Republics tried to pursue an active foreign policy, and one of the

countries that cooperated with them the most in this area was the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic. The Azerbaijan Democratic Republic attached special importance to the establishment of diplomatic relations with the young states that emerged in the territories of the former Russian Empire, including the Kuban and Don Republics, and the establishment of political, diplomatic, and economic relations served the interests of all parties.

The independent foreign policy of the Kuban and Don republics, including cooperation with the ADR, was contrary to the interests of the South Russian Armed Forces created by Denikin, therefore Denikin began repressions against these republics. The Don Republic came under Denikin's control in February 1919, and the Kuban Republic in late 1919 - early 1920. Therefore, from the spring of 1919, a fierce diplomatic and political struggle took place between the ADR and the SRAF, and in late November 1919, the diplomatic representatives of the ADR in the Kuban and Don republics were forced to cease their activities.

From the beginning of March 1920, the Red Army began a large-scale operation in the Don, Kuban and North Caucasus, and by the end of March the remnants of Denikin's troops, which were crushed, were forced to flee to Crimea. Thus, in April 1920, Soviet power was established in the Don, Kuban and North Caucasus. After the occupation of the North Caucasus, the 11th Red Army launched an offensive against Azerbaijan , and the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic collapsed.

One of the main reasons for the collapse of the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic, the Kuban and Don republics, and other young states that emerged in the territories of the former Russian Empire was the contradictions between the anti-Bolshevik forces and their inability to come together. These mistakes cost the Azerbaijani people, as well as the peoples living in the USSR, thousands of victims in the later years of Soviet rule.

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

1. Отношения между Вооруженными Силами Юга России (ВСЮР) и Азербайджанской Демократической Республикой (1919–1920) // Вестник Майкопского государственного технологического университета.–Майкоп: Издательство ФГБОУ ВО «МГТУ».– 2021. – Том 13. – № 4, – с. 31–38.

2. 1918–1920-cu illərdə Ermənistan Qafqaz birliyi ideyasına təhdid kimi (tarixi–müqayisəli təhlil) // İkinci Qarabağ müharibəsi yeni nəsil müharibə kimi. 44 günlük Vətən müharibəsində qazanılan qələbənin ildönümünə həsr olunmuş Beynəlxalq elmi–praktik konfransın materialları, – Bakı: 21–22 oktyabr, – 2021– ci il,– s. 346–349.

3. Дипломатичні відносини Кубанської Народної Республіки з Азербайджанською Демократичною Республікою (1918–1920 рр.) //–Луцьк (Україна), Літопис Волині. Всеукраїнський науковий часопис . Видавничий дім «Гельветика», – 2021. №25, – с.74–79. (həmmüəllif Ağasıyev İ. K)

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7. Paris sülh konfransında Kuban nümayəndə heyətinin Azərbaycan nümayəndə heyəti ilə əməkdaşlığı // – Bakı: Tarix, İnsan, Cəmiyyət. Elmi-nəzəri və elmi-metodik jurnal, – 2022. №1(34), – s.128–136.

8. Отношения Азербайджанской республики с Горской республикой и Кубанским правительством (1918–1920 гг.) // Сборник материалов I Международной научной конференции «Кавказ и Ближний Восток: вопросы истории и источниковедения», посвященной памяти профессора Амри Рзаевича Шихсаидова (г. Махачкала, 24 ноября 2022 г.). – Махачкала: Издательство ДГУ, – 2022. – С.32–39.

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The defense will be held on at “13” February 2025 at 10⁰⁰ at the meeting of the One-term Dissertation Council BED 1.30/1 of Supreme Attestation Commission under the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan operating at at the Institute of History and Ethnology named after A.A.Bakikhanov of the Azerbaijan National Academy of Sciences.

Address: AZ-1073, Baku, H.Javid Ave., 115

Dissertation is accessible at the Scientific archive and library of the Institute of History and Ethnology named after A.A.Bakikhanov of the Azerbaijan National Academy of Sciences.

Electronic version of abstract are available on the official website of the Institute of History and Ethnology named after A.A.Bakikhanov of the Azerbaijan National Academy of Sciences.

Abstract was sent to the required addresses on “10” January 2025.

Anchor signed: 06.01-2025

Paper Format: A5

Volume:

Circulation: 20