

REPUBLIC OF AZERBAIJAN

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ABSTRACT

of the dissertation submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

**THE WORKS OF MAHAMMAD AMIN RASULZADE AS A
SOURCE FOR THE STUDY OF THE HISTORY OF
AZERBAIJAN'S NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT**

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I. GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE DISSERTATION

The relevance of the research topic and the extent of its academic exploration. The works of Mahammad Amin Rasolzade, who made crucial contributions to the national independence struggle of Azerbaijan, have been published many times and are still being published. The reason is that all the activities of this historical figure were devoted solely to the struggle for the independence of his nation. Regardless of where he was, he never gave up this struggle and wrote countless works. Many of these works have been published by researchers of M.A. Rasolzade's heritage, such as Shirmammad Huseynov¹, Nasiman Yagublu², Aydin Balayev³.

Although certain issues related to the history of the national independence struggle of the Azerbaijani people have been highlighted on the basis of M.A. Rasolzade's works, this problem has not been systematically and fully studied. This is one of the most important points that makes our topic relevant today. The separate and systematic study of M.A. Rasolzade's legacy against the backdrop of Azerbaijan, Iran, Turkiye, and European countries is relevant to find an answer to the question, "How should the culture

¹ Rəsulzadə, M.Ə. Əsərləri: [5 cilddə] / M.Ə.Rəsulzadə. – Bakı: Elm, – c. 3. – 2012. – 596 s.; Rəsulzadə, M.Ə. Əsərləri: [5 cilddə] / M.Ə.Rəsulzadə. – Bakı: Şirvanəşr, – c. 2. – 2001. – 528 s.; Rəsulzadə, M.Ə. Əsərləri: [5 cilddə] / M.Ə.Rəsulzadə. – Bakı: Təhsil, – c. 1. – 2014. – 480 s.; Rəsulzadə, M.Ə. Əsərləri: [5 cilddə] / M.Ə.Rəsulzadə. – Bakı: Qanun Nəşriyyatı, – c. 4. – 2013. – 456 s.; Rəsulzadə, M.Ə. Əsərləri: [5 cilddə] / M.Ə.Rəsulzadə. – Bakı: Qanun Nəşriyyatı, – c. 5. – 2014. – 564 s.

² Yaqublu, N. Azərbaycan mühacirət mətbuatı / N.Yaqublu. – Bakı: Elm və təhsil, – 2014. – 150 s.; Rəsulzadə, M.Ə. Əsərləri (Mühacirət dövrü): [2 cilddə] / M.Ə.Rəsulzadə. – Bakı: Qanun nəşriyyatı, – cild. 2. – 2021. – 680 s.; Rəsulzadə, M.Ə. Əsərləri. (Mühacirət dövrü): [2 cilddə] / M.Ə.Rəsulzadə. – Bakı: “OL” npkt, – cild. 1. – 2016. – 600 s.

³ Balayev, A. Məmməd Əmin Rəsulzadə. Qürbətdə Vətən davası. 1922-1943/ A.Balayev. – Bakı: “Pergament” Y.E., – 2019. – 200 s.; Rəsulzadə, M.Ə. Məktublar. Şəfəbəyçilik / tərtib edən, ön sözü və izahların müəllifi t.e.d. Aydın Balayev. – Bakı: KitabKlubu.org, – 2017. – 196 s.

and history of Azerbaijan's statehood be promoted?", which is still important today. Another point that makes the study of the problem we are studying necessary and relevant for our time is the countless answers given in the works of M.A. Rasulzade to the question "how to fight against the invaders?". Despite being presented sometimes as a Turkist, sometimes an Islamist, sometimes a Caucasian, M.A. Rasulzade, who was loyal to the struggle for independence until the end, waged a stubborn struggle against the Russian occupation, "which changed its name but did not change its essence," and remained faithful to this struggle until his last breath. Numerous works have been published on various aspects of the subject under study. However, it should be noted with regret that the works of M.A. Rasulzade have not become a general research object as a source on the history of the Azerbaijani national independence struggle, and have not been systematically involved in research with all its aspects. Despite all this, a number of his works have been published either separately or in a collective form by researchers such as Shirmammad Huseynov⁴, Nasiman Yagublu⁵, Yadigar Turkel⁶, who have studied the heritage of M.A. Rasulzade. We can especially distinguish the works of M.A. Rasulzade, which Shirmammad Huseynov published in 5 volumes. Thus, the number of

⁴ Rəsulzadə, M.Ə. Əsərləri: [5 cilddə] / M.Ə.Rəsulzadə. – Bakı: Elm, – c. 3. – 2012. – 596 s.; Rəsulzadə, M.Ə. Əsərləri: [5 cilddə] / M.Ə.Rəsulzadə. – Bakı: Şirvanəşr, – c. 2. – 2001. – 528 s.; Rəsulzadə, M.Ə. Əsərləri: [5 cilddə] / M.Ə.Rəsulzadə. – Bakı: Təhsil, – c. 1. – 2014. – 480 s.; Rəsulzadə, M.Ə. Əsərləri: [5 cilddə] / M.Ə.Rəsulzadə. – Bakı: Qanun Nəşriyyatı, – c. 4. – 2013. – 456 s.; Rəsulzadə, M.Ə. Əsərləri: [5 cilddə] / M.Ə.Rəsulzadə. – Bakı: Qanun Nəşriyyatı, – c. 5. – 2014. – 564 s.

⁵ Yaqublu, N. Azərbaycan mühacirət mətbuatı / N.Yaqublu. – Bakı: Elm və təhsil, – 2014. – 150 s.; Rəsulzadə, M.Ə. Əsərləri (Mühacirət dövrü): [2 cilddə] / M.Ə.Rəsulzadə. – Bakı: Qanun nəşriyyatı, – cild. 2. – 2021. – 680 s.; Rəsulzadə, M.Ə. Əsərləri. (Mühacirət dövrü): [2 cilddə] / M.Ə.Rəsulzadə. – Bakı: "OL" npkt, – cild. 1. – 2016. – 600 s.

⁶ Rəsulzadə, M.Ə. Qafqaz türkləri / İşləyib çap ed. Y. Türkel. – Bakı: Təknur, 2012. – 111 s.; Rəsulzadə, M.Ə. İran türkləri / İşləyib çap edən və ön söz. Y. Türkel. – Bakı: Təknur, 2013. – 99 s.

articles published in this collection in the newspapers "Shargi-Rus", "Hummat", "Devat", "Irshad", "Takamul", "Yoldash", "Teraqqi", and the magazines "Fuyuzat", "Volna" between 1903 and 1909 is about 280⁷. The second volume of the works reflects the works of M.A. Rasulzade published in 1909-1914. This collection includes about 140 works written by him in Tehran, Istanbul and Baku and published in the press or in the form of special books.⁸ The third volume of the works includes about 200 works written and published by M.A. Rasulzade in 1915-1916⁹. Volume IV of his works includes articles written by M.A. Rasulzade from January 1917 to April 1918, as well as the texts of speeches and reports he made at various events and published in the press.¹⁰ In Volume V of his works, it is possible to get acquainted with more than 100 of his works published both in the press and in official document collections from February 1918 to April 1920.¹¹ The works written by M.A. Rasulzade during his emigration, two volumes of which have been published by Nasiman Yagublu, are also an important source for the problem we are studying. The first volume of this collection covers M.A. Rasulzade's activities during his emigration in Turkiye in 1922-1929. It should be noted that the works "The bankruptcy of Revolutionary Socialism and the future of Democracy" and "The Turks of the Caucasus" in this volume were presented to the general public for the first time.¹² The second volume of the collection contains M.A. Rasulzade's

⁷ Rasulzade, M.A. Works: [in 5 volumes] / M.A. Rasulzade. – Baku: Tahsil, – vol. 1. – 2014. – 480 p.

⁸ Rəsulzadə, M.Ə. Əsərləri: [5 cilddə] / M.Ə.Rəsulzadə. – Bakı: Şirvanəşr, – c. 2. – 2001. – 528 s.

⁹ Rəsulzadə, M.Ə. Əsərləri: [5 cilddə] / M.Ə.Rəsulzadə. – Bakı: Elm, – c. 3. – 2012. – 596 s.

¹⁰ Rəsulzadə, M.Ə. Əsərləri: [5 cilddə] / M.Ə.Rəsulzadə. – Bakı: Qanun Nəşriyyatı, – c. 4. – 2013. – 456 s.

¹¹ Rəsulzadə, M.Ə. Əsrimizin Siyavuşu. Çağdaş Azərbaycan ədəbiyyatı. Çağdaş Azərbaycan tarixi / M.Ə.Rəsulzadə. – Bakı: Gənclik, – 1991. – 112 s.

¹² Rəsulzadə, M.Ə. Əsərləri. (Mühacirət dövrü): [2 cilddə] / M.Ə.Rəsulzadə. – Bakı: "OL" npkt, – cild. 1. – 2016. – 600 s.

writings in the magazines "Yeni Qafqaziya", "Azeri Turk", "Odlu Yurd" and the newspaper "Bildirish" published in Turkiye between 1923 and 1931¹³ An interesting work has also been compiled by Vilayat Guliyev on M.A. Rasulzade's activities during the Polish period. This work includes a number of valuable articles.¹⁴ One of the greatest contributions of Nasiman Yagublu in the study of M.A. Rasulzade's legacy is undoubtedly the publication of the "Encyclopedia of Mahammad Amin Rasulzade". We can especially distinguish the publications of A. Balayev "Mammad Amin Rasulzade", "Qürbətə Vətən davası" (The struggle for the Motherland abroad), "1922-1943"¹⁵ and "Mammad Amin Rasulzade. Letters. Shafibeychilik"¹⁶ A. Balayev published a number of letters by M.A. Rasulzade, including the work "Shafibeychilik" published in Istanbul in 1934, in Azerbaijani in Latin script. Along with these works, we can mention the publication of M.A. Rasulzade's works by Yadigar Turkel, both separately and in a collection. The publication of M.A. Rasulzade's works "Azerbaijani poet Nizami"¹⁷, "Iranian Turks"¹⁸, "Siyavush of our century"¹⁹ and others by Yadigar Turkel were also included in the research. We can systematize the works we refer to in the

¹³ Rəsulzadə, M.Ə. Əsərləri (Mühacirət dövrü): [2 cildə] / M.Ə.Rəsulzadə. – Bakı: Qanun nəşriyyatı, – cild. 2. – 2021. – 680 s.

¹⁴ Yaqublu, N. Azərbaycan-Polşa əlaqələrində M.Ə.Rəsulzadənin rolu / N.Yaq ublu. – Bakı: Adiloğlu, – 2007. – 212 s. Из наследия политической эмиграции Азербайджана в Польше: 30-ые годы XX века / Сост. В.Гулиев. – Торунь: Изд-во Адама Маршалекa, –2010. – 565 с.

¹⁵ Balayev, A. Məmməd Əmin Rəsulzadə. Qürbətə Vətən davası. 1922-1943/ A.Balayev. – Bakı: "Pergament" Y.E., – 2019. – 200 s

¹⁶ Rəsulzadə, M.Ə. Məktublar. Şəfərbəyçilik / tərtib edən, ön sözü və izahların müəllifi t.e.d. Aydın Balayev. – Bakı: KitabKlubu.org, – 2017. – 196 s.

¹⁷ Rəsulzadə, M.Ə. Azərbaycan şairi Nizami / M.Ə.Rəsulzadə. – Bakı: Təknur, –2011. – 520 s.

¹⁸ Rəsulzadə, M.Ə. İran türkləri / İşləyib çap edən və ön söz. Y. Türkel. – Bakı: Təknur, 2013. – 99 s.

¹⁹ Rəsulzadə, M.Ə. Çağımızın Siyavuşu / M.Ə.Rəsulzadə. – Bakı: Təknur, – 2014. – 72 s.

study of M.A. Rasулzade's legacy into two groups: domestic and foreign historiography. Among those who have studied the legacy of M.A. Rasулzade in the historiography of the homeland, we can mention the research of Movsum Aliyev²⁰, Nasiman Yaqublu²¹, Nasib Nasibzade²², Aydin Balayev²³, Shirmammad Huseynov²⁴,

²⁰ Əliyev, M. Bu barədə ilk dəfə: Məhəmməd Əmin Rəsulzadə - 130 // Kəspi. – 2014, 30 yanvar. – s. 13. Əliyev, M. Məmməd Əmin Rəsulzadə // Odlar yurdu. – 1990. – s. Əliyev, M. M.Ə.Rəsulzadə // Odlar yurdu. – 1990, oktyabr. – s. 1. Əliyev, M. Məmməd Əmin Rəsulzadə // İncəsənət. – 1993, 16 dekabr. – s. 7.

²¹ Yaqublu, N. Azərbaycan mühacirət mətbuatı / N.Yaqublu. – Bakı: Elm və təhsil, – 2014. – 150 s.; Yaqublu, N. Azərbaycan milli istiqlal mübarizəsi və Məhəmməd Əmin Rəsulzadə / N.Yaqublu. – Bakı: Kitab TS, – 2001. – 154 s. Yaqublu, N. Azərbaycan-Polşa əlaqələrində M.Ə.Rəsulzadənin rolu / N.Yaqublu. – Bakı: Adiloğlu, – 2007. – 212 s.; Yaqublu, N. Cümhuriyyət qurucuları : 100 il / N.Yaqublu. – Bakı: Nurlar, – 2018. – 503 s.; Yaqublu, N. Məhəmməd Əmin Rəsulzadə, 1884-1955: Azərbaycan Xalq Cümhuriyyətinin banisi. Azərbaycan Milli Qurtuluş Hərəkatının ideoloqu / N.Yaqublu. – Bakı: Mütərcim, – 2014. – 104 s.; Yaqublu, N. Məmməd Əmin Rəsulzadə / N.Yaqublu. – Bakı: Gənclik, – 1991. – 308 s.; Yaqublu, N. Müsavat partiyasının tarixi: Müsavat Partiyasının 100 illiyinə / N.Yaqublu. – Bakı: Adiloğlu, – 2012. – 335 s.

²² Nəşibzadə, N. Azərbaycan Demokratik Respublikası : məqalələr və sənədlər / N. Nəşibzadə. – Bakı: Elm, – 1990. – 94 s. Nəşibzadə, N. Azərbaycanın xarici siyasəti: (1918-1920) / N.Nəşibzadə. – Bakı: Ay-Ulduz, – 1996. – 304 s.

²³ Balayev, A. Azərbaycan Cümhuriyyətinin doğuşu: 1917-1918-ci illər milli mücadiləsi / A.Balayev. – Bakı: JekoPrint, – 2022. – 367 s. Balayev, A. Məmməd Əmin Rəsulzadə və XX əsrin başlanğıcında Azərbaycan millət-dövlətinin yaranması / A.Balayev. – Bakı: JekoPrint, – 2020. – 99 s.; Balayev, A. Məmməd Əmin Rəsulzadə. Qürbətdə Vətən davası. 1922-1943/ A.Balayev. – Bakı: “Pergament” Y.E., – 2019. – 200 s.; Balayev, A. Məmməd Əmin Rəsulzadə: (1884-1955) / A.Balayev. – Bakı: JekoPrint, – 2023. – 303 s.

²⁴ Hüseynov, Ş.A. Azərbaycan təşəkkülündə “Müsavat”: Azərbaycan Xalq Cümhuriyyəti – 93: (M.Ə.Rəsulzadə əfəndinin mühazirəsi). // 525-ci qəzet.-2011, 14 may. – s. 24-25. Hüseynov, Ş.A. Həqiqət və ədalət carçısı / Ş.A.Hüseynov. – Bakı: – Azər nəşr, – 1988. – 192 s. Hüseynov, Ş.A. Mənəvi irsimiz və gerçəklik (“Günay” səhifələrində) / Ş.Hüseynov. – Bakı: Adiloğlu, – 2004. – 526 s. Rəsulzadə, M.Ə. Mühafizəkar və ya sosialist-mühafizəkar partiyalarının tənqidi / Nəşrə hazırlayan: Ş. A. Hüseynov; Farsçadan tərcümə edən: Səqəfi. – Bakı: Diplomat, 1997. – 40 s.

Teyyub Gurban²⁵, Mubariz Suleymanov²⁶, adigar Turkel²⁷, Faig Alakbarov²⁸, Bakhtiyar Najafov²⁹, Anar Isgandarov³⁰, Khagani Mammadov³¹, Jamil Hasanli³², Khaleddin Ibrahimli³³, Maryam Orujlu³⁴ and other researchers. In particular, in N. Yagublu's work "The National Independence Struggle of Azerbaijan and Mahammad Amin Rasulzade", the struggle of our people for national independence was extensively studied based on the works of M.A. Rasulzade³⁵.

The legacy of M.A. Rasulzade has also been widely studied in foreign historiography. In this direction, we can mention the works of Feyzi Akuzum³⁶ and Sabahattin Shimshir³⁷ in Turkiye, Tadeusz

²⁵ Teyyub, Q. Bir kərə yüksələn bayraq: Məhəmməd Əmin Rəsulzadənin anadan olmasının 130 illiyinə həsr olunur / Q.Teyyub. – Bakı: OL MMC, – 2014. – 189 s.

²⁶ Süleymanov, M. M.Ə.Rəsulzadə və Azərbaycan mədəniyyəti: Yaradıcılığının ilkin dövrü: sənətsünaslıq üzrə fəlsəfə doktoru dis./ – Bakı, 2000. – 164 s.

²⁷ Rəsulzadə, M.Ə. İran türkləri / İşləyib çap edən və ön söz. Y. Türkel. – Bakı: Təknur, 2013. – 99 s. Rəsulzadə, M.Ə. Qafqaz türkləri / İşləyib çap ed. Y. Türkel. – Bakı: Təknur, 2012. – 111 s.

²⁸ Ələkbərov, F. Məhəmməd Əmin Rəsulzadənin dünyagörüşü / F. Ələkbərov. – Bakı: Elm, – 2007. – 269 s.

²⁹ Nəcəfov, B.İ. Azərbaycan Demokratik Respublikası: daxili və xarici siyasət / B.İ.Nəcəfov. – Bakı: Bilik, – 1992. – 77 s.

³⁰ İsgəndərov, A.C. 1918-ci il mart qırğınının tarixşünaslığı / A.C.İsgəndərov. – Bakı: Mütərcim, – 1997. – 184 s. İsgəndərov, A.C. Azərbaycanda türk-müsəlman soyqırımını probleminin tarixşünaslığı 1918-1920 / A.C.İsgəndərov. – Bakı: Adiloğlu, – 2006. – 396 s.

³¹ Məmmədov, X. Azərbaycan xalqının milli istiqlal mübarizəsi: XIX yüzilliyin sonları-XX yüzilliyin əvvələri / X.Məmmədov. – Bakı: Elm, – 2005. – 249 s.

³² Həsənlı, C. Tarixi şəxsiyyətin tarixi: Əlimərdan bəy Topçubaşov / C.Həsənlı. – Bakı: Azərbaycan Diplomatik Akademiyası, – 2013. – 588 s.

³³ İbrahimli, X.C. Azərbaycan siyasi mühacirəti (1920-1991) / X.C.İbrahimli. – Bakı: Elm, – 1996. – 305 s.

³⁴ Oruclu, M. Azərbaycanda və mühacirətdə Müsavat Partiyasının fəaliyyəti (1911-1992) / M.R.Oruclu. – Bakı: Azər nəşr, – 2001. – 272 s.

³⁵ Yaqublu, N. Azərbaycan milli istiqlal mübarizəsi və Məhəmməd Əmin Rəsulzadə / N.Yaqublu. – Bakı: Kitab TS, – 2001. – 154 s.

³⁶ Aküzüm, F.M. Emin Resulzadəye göre çeşitli cepheleriyle Azerbaycan İstiklal Mücadelesi / F.M.Aküzüm. – Ankara, – 1977. – 20 s.

Svyatakhovsky³⁸ and Audrey Altstadt³⁹ in the USA, and the work of Ramiz Abutalibov from the Russian Federation together with Georgi Mamulia from Georgia⁴⁰. In Turkish historiography, it is also necessary to specifically mention the research of Jalal Metin, Saima Gokgoz and Suleyman Tekiner on the legacy of M.A. Rasулzade. In Saima Selenga Gokgoz's article titled "Azerbaijani Turkish political emigrant publishing house against the Soviets" she mainly tried to study the magazine "Yeni Qafqaziya" (1923-1927) published by M.A. Rasулzade while he was in exile in Turkiye. Feyzi Akuzum's booklet "Mahammad Amin Rasулzade and the Azerbaijan Independence struggle with various fronts" is a brief and clear indication of the high regard for M.A. Rasулzade in Turkish historiography.

As a whole, the study of M.A. Rasулzade's works in the direction we are studying cannot be summarized in just one dissertation.

Object and subject of the research. The study of the works of M.A. Rasулzade is the main research object of the dissertation work. The subject of the research is to consider the ideas about the history of the national-independence struggle of Azerbaijan, which are reflected in the works of M.A. Rasулzade, and to study how his views

³⁷ Şimşir, S. Azerbaycanın istiklal mücadelesi / S.Şimşir. – İstanbul: Alioğlu Matbaacılık, – 2013. – 280 s. Şimşir, S. Mehmet Emin Resулzade: Hayatı ve şahsiyeti / S.Şimşir. – İstanbul: Doğu kütüphanesi, – 2012. – 189 s. Şimşir, S. Mehmet Emin Resулzadenin Türkiyedeki hayatı, faaliyetleri ve düşünceleri / S.Şimşir. – Ankara: Türk Kültürünü Araştırma yayını, – 2019. – 176 s.

³⁸ Swietochowski, T. Russian Azerbaijan, 1905-1920: The Shaping of a National Identity in a Muslim Community / T.Swietochowski. – Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, – 2004. – 272 p.

³⁹ Altstadt, A. The Azerbaijani Turks Power and Identity Under Russian Rule / A.Altstadt. – Stanford, Calif.: Hoover Institution Press, Stanford University, – 1992. – 331 p.

⁴⁰ Мамулия, Г., Абуталыбов, Р. Страна огня. В борьбе за свободу и независимость. Политическая история азербайджанской эмиграции. 1920-1945 гг. / Г.Мамулия, Р.Абуталыбов. – Баку: CBS, – 2014. – 584 с.

gradually rose to the level of political nationalism - Azerbaijaniism.

The purpose and scope of the research. The main goal set in the dissertation work is to collect, systematize, analyze information from various sources and studies on the history of national-independence struggle in the works of M.A. Rasулzade, and to study the topic we are investigating in an objective form and as a single problem by summarizing the results obtained. The tasks set to achieve this goal are the following:

- To investigate the importance of M.A. Rasулzade's published works as a source for studying the history of our national-independence struggle;
- To identify the existing differences in his activities by separately examining M.A. Rasулzade's published works in Azerbaijan in two stages - before the proclamation of the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic and in 1918-1920;
- To determine the importance of M.A. Rasулzade's works published in emigration after the occupation of April 27, 1920, in terms of the national-independence struggle of the Azerbaijani people;
- – To separately study the works of M.A. Rasулzade published during the Constitutional Movement in Iran;
- To clarify the place and role of each of these stages in the struggle for independence of M.A. Rasулzade by studying his works published in Turkiye in 3 stages;
- To clarify the importance of these works for the history of the struggle for independence of Azerbaijan by examining his works published in Poland;
- In addition to studying M.A. Rasулzade's German heritage, to study his attitude towards Nazi Germany and the Azerbaijani legions;
- To study M.A. Rasулzade's efforts to solve the problem that arose between Azerbaijani immigrants in France and our immigrants in Turkiye against the background of his works;
- To study the activities of the press organizations he created in

various European countries and the articles published by M.A. Rasulzade in those organizations against the background of Azerbaijan's struggle for independence;

- One of the most important tasks of the research is, of course, to clarify M.A. Rasulzade's position in our history of the national struggle for independence.

Research methods. Various historical research methods were applied in the dissertation work. For example, based on the principle of historicity, the works published by M.A. Rasulzade during his activity, which began in Azerbaijan and ended in Turkiye, were systematically studied. Using this method allows us to trace the stages of the formation of the Azerbaijani struggle for independence, how the methods of struggle changed during these stages, and the emerging trends. The principle of historicity is also of great importance for a better understanding of the ideas put forward by M.A. Rasulzade in his works on the struggle for independence of Azerbaijan.

Because the principle of historicity creates the conditions for consistently following how his ideas have improved and become more perfect, and for drawing appropriate conclusions and generalizations. The dissertation also addresses the principle of scientific reliability. This method allows the problem to be investigated based on primary sources, extensive facts and solid scientific data and to obtain more reliable results.

Key provisions submitted for defense. These provisions consist of the following:

- The idea that M.A. Rasulzade's heritage was initially a social democrat and later a Turkist-nationalist is completely wrong. He was an Azerbaijani all his life and repeatedly stated this in his works;
- As a result of a comprehensive study of M.A. Rasulzade's works, it is proven that he was able to formulate the concept of Azerbaijan's struggle for independence based on the experience he gained in the Russian, Turkish and Iranian revolutions and the

knowledge he learned from the history of the freedom struggles of European peoples;

- M.A. Rasolzade, who understood the value of the press for a nation's struggle for independence, correctly assessed this factor regardless of where he was, and despite the pan-Caucasian, pan-Islamist, and pan-Turkist labels addressed to him, he was always an independence activist;
- Despite the promises of figures such as Joseph Stalin and Adolf Hitler and the conditions they created, he put the independence of his nation above his personal interests;
- M.A. Rasolzade correctly understood the importance of such factors as language, territory, nationality, and culture in a nation's struggle for independence, and always examined these factors in a unified manner in his works;
- He formed a rich school for a more objective study of not only the history of Azerbaijan's independence, but also the history of our statehood as a whole, and our national and spiritual values. For this reason, M.A. Rasolzade's independence ideas emerged victorious from the struggle against him during the Soviet era.

Scientific novelty of the research. The presented dissertation is the first research work on the activities of M.A. Rasolzade in the field of national independence struggle, which was involved in scientific circulation in terms of source studies:

- For the first time, M.A. Rasolzade's struggle for independence was studied on the basis of his works;
- For the first time, the thoughts of Turkism, Islamism and Caucasism were filtered through critical analysis on the basis of M.A. Rasolzade's works;
- For the first time, M.A. Rasolzade's initial initiatives in creating the foundations of the ideology of Azerbaijaniism were analyzed;
- For the first time, M.A. Rasolzade's works, including numerous articles, were involved in the research in terms of national independence struggle and their role as a source was determined.

Theoretical and practical significance of the research. The research work is of great importance both from a scientific-theoretical and practical point of view. Thus, the factual materials used in the dissertation work and the results obtained can be used in organizing and conducting master classes on the topic “The works of Mahammad Amin Rasulzade as a source for studying the history of the national-independence struggle of Azerbaijan” at the history faculties of individual higher educational institutions, in preparing teaching aids in this direction, in creating generalized works, and in organizing scientific conferences and seminars.

Approval and application. The research work was discussed at the meeting of the “Source Studies, Historiography and Methodology” department of the Faculty of History of Baku State University on 11.10.2023 and recommended for defense. The provisions covering the main content of the dissertation work were reflected in the author's scientific articles, as well as in his speeches at scientific conferences organized at the Faculty of History of Baku State University, other scientific and educational institutions of the country, as well as outside the country.

Affiliated institution. The dissertation work was performed at the Department of “Source Studies, Historiography and Methodology” of the Faculty of History of Baku State University.

Structure and length of the dissertation. Actually, it is 246,283 characters. Introduction: number of characters –21,596, Chapter I: number of characters – 67,194, Chapter II: number of characters – 101,969, Chapter III: number of characters – 45,771, Conclusion: number of characters – 9,753.

II. MAIN CONTENT OF THE DISSERTATION

In the introduction, the relevance of the topic has been substantiated, the sources and literature used have been analyzed, the aim and tasks of the dissertation have been identified, the obtained scientific innovations and key provisions submitted for defense have been outlined, and the theoretical-methodological foundation and practical significance of the study have been emphasized.

The first chapter, consisting of two subchapters, is entitled **“The works of Mahammad Amin Rasulzade published in Azerbaijan as a source for studying the history of the National Independence Struggle”**.

In the first subchapter, entitled **“The National Independence Struggle of Azerbaijan in the Works of M. A. Rasulzade Prior to the Establishment of the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic,”** attention is given to the works published by M. A. Rasulzade in Azerbaijan during the periods of 1903–1908 and 1913–1918, before the establishment of the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic. In order to better understand the prominent public and political figure’s ideas concerning the national struggle for independence, particular emphasis is placed on his plays such as **“Nagahan Bela”** (1907)⁴¹ and **“Qaranlıqda işıqlar (lights in the darkness)”**⁴² (1908), which are of significant importance.

Another important work is M. A. Rasulzade’s **“Two Views on the Form of Government”** (**“Şəkli-idarə haqqında iki baxış”**)⁴³, published in 1917 as a booklet by the *Achiq Soz* printing house.

In his 1917 work titled **“Community Governance”** (**“Cəmaət idarəsi”**)⁴⁴, M. A. Rasulzade also expressed his views on the concept

⁴¹ Rəsulzadə, M.Ə. Nagəhan bəla Gizlədilmiş ədəbiyyatımızdan nümunələr // Ədəbiyyat. – 1992, 10 iyul, – s. 3.

⁴² Yaqublu, N. Cümhuriyyət qurucuları : 100 il / N.Yaqublu. – Bakı: Nurlar, – 2018. – 503 s.

⁴³ Yaqublu, N. Cümhuriyyət qurucuları : 100 il / N.Yaqublu. – Bakı: Nurlar, – 2018. – 503 s.

of state governance, particularly focusing on how an independent state should be governed and structured.

Based on the article titled **“Himmat ar-Rijal Taqla al-Jibal,”** published in issue no. 3 of the newspaper *Hümmət* and also referenced in *Achiq Söz*, M. A. Rasulzade expressed several noteworthy ideas. *(It should be noted that a separate collection of articles dedicated to Haji Zeynalabdin Taghiyev, titled “Kitab-i Himam ar-Rijal Taqla al-Jibal,” was also published under this name.⁴⁵)*

In the article, Rasulzade emphasized that instead of isolating ourselves and forming separate communities that follow different paths, we must unite and keep each other informed of our ideas and actions⁴⁶. M.A. Rasulzade paid special attention to freedom of the press in his works. In this regard, it is enough to pay attention to his article entitled "Freedom of the Press", published in the "Takamul" newspaper in 1906⁴⁷.

In general, in the last years leading up to the Republic, M.A. Rasulzade tried to ignite the national-independence struggle as much as he could. It is no coincidence that in just 2 years, his valuable articles⁴⁸ proclaiming the freedom of Azerbaijan, such as “Hürriyyət qarşısında”, “Novruzı-hürriyyət”, “Baharı-hürriyyət”, “Cümhuriyyət”, “Cəmaət idarəsi”, “Hürriyyət borcu”, “Qafqaziya müsəlman qurultayında siyasi-milli məqsədlər”, “Ümumrusiya müsəlman syezdi”, “Millətlər qurultayı”, “Yürüdügümüz yol”, “Avazi-

⁴⁴ Rəsulzadə, M.Ə. Əsərləri: [5 cilddə]/ M.Ə.Rəsulzadə. – Bakı: Qanun Nəşriyyatı, – c. 4. – 2013. – 456 s.

⁴⁵ Həşimoğlu, Ə., Bağırov, P., Əlioğlu, P. Hacı Zeynalabdin Tağıyev / Ə.Həşimoğlu, Ə.Bağırov, P.Əlioğlu. – Bakı: Azərnəşr, – 1993. – 144 s.

⁴⁶ Hüseynov, Ş.A. Həqiqət və ədalət carçısı /Ş.A.Hüseynov. – Bakı: – Azərnəşr, – 1988. – s. 64-65

⁴⁷ Rəsulzadə, M.Ə. Əsərləri: [5 cilddə] / M.Ə.Rəsulzadə. – Bakı: Təhsil, – c. 1. – 2014. – 480 s. Rəsulzadə, M.Ə. Cavanlarımıza // Təkamül. – 1906, 23 dekabr, №2, – s. 1.

⁴⁸ Rəsulzadə, M.Ə. Əsərləri: [5 cilddə]/ M.Ə.Rəsulzadə. – Bakı: Qanun Nəşriyyatı, – c. 4. – 2013. – 456 s.

Müsavat”, “Müsavatın mühazirəsi”, ““Nagəhan” bir qələbə”, Türk Ədəmi-Mərkəziyyət ürqəsi “Müsavat”, “Bizim muxtariyyətimiz və Bakı bolşevikləri” (In Front of Freedom", "Nowruz-Freedom", "Spring-Freedom", "Republic", "Community Administration", "Freedom Debt", "Political-National Goals in the Caucasian Muslim Congress", "All-Russian Muslim Congress", "Congress of Nations", "The Path We Walk", "Avazi-Musavat", "Musavat's Lecture", "Nagahan Victory", “the Turkish Human-Centralist Party "Musavat", "Our Autonomy and the Baku Bolsheviks") and others, were published.

In the second subchapter, entitled **“The Promotion of the Idea of Azerbaijani National Identity Alongside the Ideology of Independence in the Works of M. A. Rasulzade During the Period of the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic,”** Rasulzade’s valuable and content-rich works published between **1918 and 1920** are analyzed in relation to the research problem.

His articles published in the **"Azerbaijan"** newspaper in 1918 serve as important sources for the study of the history of Azerbaijan’s independence. In addition to more than one hundred articles, particular attention is given to his works **“The Capital of Azerbaijan,” “The Azerbaijan Republic,” “Musavat in the Formation of Azerbaijan,”** and **“The Siyavush of Our Century,”** which were published either in parts or in full between 1918 and 1920.

Considering that M.A. Rasulzade spoke at about 80 out of 145 meetings⁴⁹ of the Azerbaijani Parliament in 1919-1920, an even richer source base would have come to life before us at that time.

Although his work **“Azerbaijan Republic”**, published in the **“İstiqlal”** newspaper on May 28, 1919, was published in Istanbul as a book in 1923, it was also published in the **“İstiqlal”** newspaper, the

⁴⁹ Azərbaycan Xalq Cümhuriyyəti (1918-1920), Parlament (Stenoqrafik hesabatlar). I cild. – Bakı: Azərbaycan nəşriyyatı, – 1998. – 976 s.

organ of the “Turkish Humanist-Centralist Party” “Musavat”⁵⁰. As the prominent thinker explained, the area inhabited by Azerbaijani Turks was not limited to South Azerbaijan and also included North Azerbaijan⁵¹. With the expression “A different language, a different script!” he informs us about the influence of the population in the south of Azerbaijan on Persian, and in the north - on Russian⁵².

Highlighting the significance of the inauguration of the Parliament for the Republic, M. A. Rasулzade wrote:

“On December 7, the Parliament of Azerbaijan (Meclis-i Mebusan) was ceremoniously opened in the former girls’ school building adjacent to the burned Ismailiyya building. Our tricolor flag fluttered above us, heralding that our independence was on the verge of being freed from doubt and anxiety. Ultimately, it led to the de-facto recognition of Azerbaijan's independence by the Allied powers on January 11, 1920. M.A. Rasулzade, in his article "Our Eyes Are Clear!", expressed his reaction to this news as follows: "The Azeri Turk, who was determined to gain his independence with the honesty granted by the most sacred right, heard a long-awaited, inspiring voice: Azerbaijan's independence has been confirmed!"⁵³

As a result, on January 11, 1920, Azerbaijan's independence was recognized **de facto** by the Allied Powers. In his article titled “Good News!”, Mammad Amin Rasулzade expressed his reaction to this news as follows: “A long-awaited, soul-soothing voice finally reached the ears of the Azerbaijani Turk, who was determined to

50 Rəsulzadə, M.Ə. Əsərləri: [5 cildə]/ M.Ə.Rəsulzadə. – Bakı: Qanun Nəşriyyatı, – c. 5. – 2014. – 564 s. Rəsulzadə, M.Ə. Azərbaycan Cümhuriyyəti // İstiqlal. – 1919, 28 may, №1. – s. 1

51 Rəsulzadə, M.Ə. Bakı və Azərbaycan tarixinə dair əsərlər (1918-1919) / M.Ə.Rəsulzadə. – Bakı: Qanun Nəşriyyatı, – 2013. – 160 s.

52 Yənə orada.

53 Yənə orada.

*achieve independence with the righteousness granted by the most sacred right: Azerbaijan's independence has been recognized!"*⁵⁴

In confirming Azerbaijan's independence, M.A. Rasулzade specifically mentions the name of the British Foreign Minister Lord Curzon⁵⁵.

His work titled "The Capital of Azerbaijan", published in early 1919, is the first attempt to illuminate the history of Baku - the port city from ancient times to September 15, 1918⁵⁶.

M.A. Rasулzade's work "Musavat in the Formation of Azerbaijan" is also one of the valuable works published in Azerbaijan. This book⁵⁷, published in Baku by the government printing house of the "Azerbaijan" newspaper, contains M.A. Rasулzade's lecture on "Musavat in the Formation of Azerbaijan"⁵⁸ delivered to the representatives of the Second Congress of "Musavat" in December 1919, which sheds light on many unknown issues.

The second chapter, consisting of two subchapters, is entitled **"The works of Mahammad Amin Rasулzade published in Iran and Turkiye as a source for studying the history of the National Independence Struggle"**.

The first subchapter, titled **"M. A. Rasулzade's Participation in the Constitutional Movement in Iran,"** focuses on the works written by Rasулzade under the influence of Qajar Iran, where he spent the initial years of his political emigration. This period of exile coincided with the years of the Iranian Constitutional Revolution.

54 Rəsulzadə, M.Ə. Əsərləri: [5 cilddə]/ M.Ə.Rəsulzadə. – Bakı: Qanun Nəşriyyatı, – c. 5. – 2014. – 564 s. Rəsulzadə, M.Ə. Gözlərimiz aydın! // Azərbaycan. – 1920, 13 qanuni-sani (yanvar), №12. – s. 1.

55 Rəsulzadə, M.Ə. Hürriyyət qarşısında // Açıq söz. – 1917, 7 mart, №420, – s. 1.

56 Rəsulzadə, M.Ə. Əsərləri: [5 cilddə]/ M.Ə.Rəsulzadə. – Bakı: Qanun Nəşriyyatı, – c. 5. – 2014. – 564 s.

57 Yaqublu, N.Q. Məhəmməd Əmin Rəsulzadə Ensiklopediyası / N.Q.Yaqublu. – Bakı: Kitab klubu, – 2013. – 503 s.

58 Hüseynov, Ş.A. Azərbaycan təşəkkülündə "Müsavat": Azərbaycan Xalq Cümhuriyyəti – 93: (M.Ə.Rəsulzadə əfəndinin mühazirəsi). // 525-ci qəzet.-2011, 14 may. – s. 24-25

Particular attention is given to his series of **43 journalistic articles** published in the newspaper *Taraqqi* under the heading **“Letters from Iran.”⁵⁹**

On **May 28, 1909**, M. A. Rasulzade met with **Sattarkhan** in Tabriz, where he posed several questions that were answered directly by *Sardar-e Melli* (National Commander). Rasulzade later published an article in the newspaper *Taraqqi* titled **“Tabriz: A Meeting with Sattarkhan”** about this encounter⁶⁰.

On **August 23, 1909**, M. A. Rasulzade launched a European-style newspaper in Tehran named **Irani-Nov**. In one of his articles published in *Irani-Nov*, titled **“Sued Workers,”** he concluded with the powerful statement: *“Woe to the day when the oppressed unite!”⁶¹*

Rasulzade also discussed the necessary conditions for preserving independence in his article **“Under what circumstances is Parliament opened?”⁶²**, where he outlined these conditions point by point with reference to the situation in Iran. These ideas later influenced the formation of the **Azerbaijan Democratic Republic (ADR)** government.

In **1910**, Rasulzade published a work in Persian titled **“Critique of Conservative and Socialist-Conservative Parties”** through the *Faros* publishing house in Tehran. A year later, in **1911**, he published another book in Persian in Ardabil entitled **“Saadat-e Bashar”** (*The Happiness of Humanity*). Among these works, the **“Critique of Conservative and Socialist-Conservative Parties”**

⁵⁹ Rəsulzadə, M.Ə. Əsərləri: [5 cildə] / M.Ə.Rəsulzadə. – Bakı: Təhsil, – c. 1. – 2014. – 480 s.

⁶⁰ Rəsulzadə, M.Ə. Təbriz. Səttərxanla mülaqat // Tərəqqi. – 1909, 28 may. – s. 1.

⁶¹ Rəsulzadə, M.Ə. Sued fəhlələri // İrani-nov. – 1909, 31 avqust. – s. 1.

⁶² Rəsulzadə, M.Ə. Parlaman nə vəziyyətdə açılır? // İrani-nov. – 1909, 15 noyabr, №67, – s. 4.

stands out in particular for its depth of analysis⁶³. In the second subtitle, entitled **“The Struggle for the Survival of the History and Traditions of Azerbaijani Statehood in the Ottoman Empire and the Republic of Turkiye,”** M.A. Rasulzade’s works published in Turkiye were analyzed in 3 groups:

- 1911-1913 – as an emigrant during the Ottoman Empire; - 1918, June 18 – November 7 – as a special representative of the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic;

- 1922-1930 and 1947-1955, as an emigrant in the Republic of Turkiye.

The Istanbul period of M.A. Rasulzade's creativity was carefully studied by famous Turkish researchers such as Yavuz Akpınar, İrfan Murad Yıldırım, and Sabaheddin Çağın, and his articles published in the magazines “Türk yurdu” and 'Sabilurreshad' (The Right Path) were published as a separate book in Istanbul under the title "Iran Turks"⁶⁴. One of the main goals of M.A. Rasulzade's articles in "Iran Turks" was to inform Turkish society about the history and situation of Azerbaijani Turks living in Iran⁶⁵.

M.A. Rasulzade, comparing the situation of Azerbaijani Turks in Iran, where they live, and the situation of Azerbaijani Turks in Russian captivity, and even the situation of Turks in the Ottoman Empire, expresses the following opinion: "In Iran, Turks are neither a convict nation like in Russia nor a ruling nation like in Turkiye. Iranian Turks are equal citizens in law with Persians who are genuine

⁶³ Rəsulzadə, M.Ə. Mühafizəkar və ya sosialist-mühafizəkar partiyalarının tənqidi / Nəşrə hazırlayan: Ş. A. Hüseynov; Farscadan tərcümə edən: Səqəfi. – Bakı: Diplomat, 1997. – 40 s.

⁶⁴ Resulzade, M.E. İran Türkleri: Türk Yurdu ve Sebilürreşad'daki yazıları / hazırlayanlar Yavuz Akpınar, İrfan Murat Yıldırım, Sabahattin Çağın. – İstanbul: Türk Dünyası Araştırmalar Vakfı, – 1993. – 142 s.

⁶⁵ Akçuraoğlu, Y. Türk yılı. Türk ocaqları” mərkəzi heyəti tərəfindən nəşr olunmuşdur / Y.Akçuraoğlu. – İstanbul: Yeki mətbəə, – 1928. – 674 s. Rəsulzadə, M.Ə. İran türkləri // – Ankara: Türk yurdu. –1912, cilt 1, sayı 4, – s.106-111. Rəsulzadə, M.Ə. İran türkləri / İşləyib çap edən və ön söz. Y. Türkel. – Bakı: Təknur, 2013. – 99 s.

Iranians: they have the same rights, the same privileges, they do not suffer from discrimination"⁶⁶.

In 1912, M.A. Rasulzade translated Jamaledin Afghani's "Philosophy of National Unity" from Persian into Turkish and published it in the "Turkish Land" magazine⁶⁷.

In May 1923, M.A. Rasulzade's "The Republic of Azerbaijan (its quality-formation and current situation)" was published in Istanbul and was awarded the Ataturk Prize at the "Book Festival" exhibition and the "Economic Pact" program at the "Izmir Economic Congress" organized in Izmir that year. In general, in 1923-1925, M.A. Rasulzade published the books "Siyavush of our century", "The Ideology of Independence and Youth", and "The political situation in Russia" in Istanbul. In 1928, he published the book "The Bankruptcy of Revolutionary Socialism and the Future of Democracy"⁶⁸.

Among Rasulzade's works, "**Siyavush of Our Century**" deserves special distinction⁶⁹. In this work, M. A. Rasulzade outlines the achievements of the **Azerbaijan Democratic Republic** one by one, highlighting its historical and political significance⁷⁰.

A year after the publication of "*Siyavush of our century*", in **1924**, his next major work, "**The Ideal of Independence and Youth**", was published in the **Republic of Turkiye**. This work further developed and promoted the idea of national independence⁷¹.

His ideas were expanded in **1929** through the work "**Nationalism and Bolshevism,**" which served as a continuation of

⁶⁶ Rəsulzadə, M.Ə. Əsərləri: [5 cilddə] / M.Ə.Rəsulzadə. – Bakı: Şirvanneşr, – c. 2. – 2001. – 528 s. Rəsulzadə, M.Ə. İran türkləri // – Ankara: Türk yurdu. –1912, cilt 2, sayı 6 (18), – s.551-556. Rəsulzadə, M.Ə. İran türkləri / İşləyib çap edən və ön sözl. Y. Türkel. – Bakı: Təknur, 2013. – 99 s.

⁶⁷ Yaqublu, N.Q. Məhəmməd Əmin Rəsulzadə Ensiklopediyası / N.Q.Yaqublu. – Bakı: Kitab klubu, – 2013. – 503 s.

⁶⁸ Yənə orada.

⁶⁹ Rəsulzadə, M.Ə. Əsərləri. (Mühacirət dövrü): [2 cilddə] / M.Ə.Rəsulzadə. – Bakı: "OL" npkt, – cild. 1. – 2016. – 600 s.

⁷⁰ Yənə orada.

⁷¹ Rəsulzadə, M.Ə. İstiqlal məfkurəsi və gənclik // Azadlıq. – 1990, 31 dekabr. – s. 1.

his earlier publication **“The Failure of Revolutionary Socialism and the Future of Democracy.”** *“Nationalism and Bolshevism”* is a collection of articles, including significant essays such as **“The Eastern Policy of the Bolsheviks”** and **“Bolshevik Theories on the National Question.”**⁷²

Another of Rasулzade’s most important works published in Türkiye is **“The Turks of the Caucasus,”** which was first printed in 1928 in the annual journal **“Türk İli” (the year of turks)** edited and published by renowned Turkologist **Yusuf Akchuraoghlu**⁷³.

In 1950, Rasулzade published his scholarly work **“Contemporary Azerbaijani Literature,”**⁷⁴ and on **May 28, 1950,** he also delivered a public lecture titled **“Modern History of Azerbaijan.”**

In 1951, M.A. Rasулzade published the works **“Azerbaijani Poet Nizami”**⁷⁵. M.A. Rasулzade noted the place and importance of Azerbaijan and the Caucasus in the geopolitical life of the Middle East during the Nizami era⁷⁶.

“Memories of the Struggle with Stalin” was published in the 5th to 26th issues of the *“Dunya”* newspaper published in the Republic of Türkiye on May 27, 1954.

In this work, he recalls the events related to I. Stalin during the struggle against tsarism at the beginning of the 20th century, and

⁷² Yaqu블u, N.Q. Məhəmməd Əmin Rəsulzadə Ensiklopediyası / N.Q.Yaqu블u. – Bakı: Kitab klubu, – 2013. – 503 s.

⁷³ Akçuraoghlu, Y. Türk yılı. Türk ocaqları” mərkəzi heyəti tərəfindən nəşr olunmuşdur / Y.Akçuraoghlu. – İstanbul: Yeki mətbəə, – 1928. – 674 s. Rəsulzadə, M.Ə. Əsərləri. (Mühacirət dövrü): [2 cildə] / M.Ə.Rəsulzadə. – Bakı: “OL” npkt, – cild. 1. – 2016. – 600 s. Rəsulzadə, M.Ə. Kafkasya türkləri / Haz.Y. Akpınar, İ.M. Yıldırım, S.Çağın. – İstanbul: Türk Dünyası Araştırmaları Vakfı, – 1993. – 132 s.

⁷⁴ Şimşir, S. Mehmet Emin Resulzadenin Türkiyedeki hayatı, faaliyetleri və düşüncələri / S.Şimşir. – Ankara: Türk Kültürünü Araştırma yayın, – 2019. – 176 s.

⁷⁵ Rəsulzadə, M.Ə. Azərbaycan şairi Nizami / M.Ə.Rəsulzadə. – Bakı: Təknur, – 2011. – 520 s.

⁷⁶ Rəsulzadə, M.Ə. Azərbaycan şairi Nizami / M.Ə.Rəsulzadə. – Bakı: Təknur, – 2011. – 520 s.

M.A. Rasulzade creates a political portrait of I. Stalin against the background of the events in which he was a direct participant⁷⁷.

The third chapter, titled **“The Works of Mahammad Amin Rasulzade Published in Europe as a Source for Studying the History of the National Independence Struggle,”** is composed of three subchapters.

The first subchapter, **“Presenting the Azerbaijani Issue to European Public Opinion from Poland,”** focuses on the works written and published by M. A. Rasulzade during his exile in Warsaw, the capital of Poland, between **1930 and 1939**. This period of Rasulzade’s emigration has been studied separately in the research⁷⁸. The first work he published in Poland was **“Pan-Turanism and the Caucasus Problem.”**

In this work, Rasulzade argued that there is not a single unified Turkish nation, but rather various nations belonging to the Turkish race, each striving solely for the independence of its homeland and not for the disintegration of Russia⁷⁹. Toward the end of the work, he criticized the position of the Armenian émigrés, rightly stating that *“it is always beneficial to turn away from a mistaken path.”*⁸⁰

⁷⁷ Rəsulzadə, M.Ə. Stalinlə ixtilal xatirələri / M.Ə.Rəsulzadə. – Bakı: Elm, – 1991. – 84 s.

⁷⁸ Yaqublu, N. Azərbaycan-Polşa əlaqələrində M.Ə.Rəsulzadənin rolu / N.Yaqublu. – Bakı: Adiloğlu, – 2007. – 212 s. Из наследия политической эмиграции Азербайджана в Польше: 30-ые годы XX века / Сост. В.Гулиев. – Торунь: Изд-во Адама Маршалека, –2010. – 565 с.

⁷⁹ Расул-Заде М.Ə. О пантуризме. В связи с кавказской проблемой / М.Ə.Расул-Заде. – Оксфорд: К.Н.К., – 1985. – 93 с. Balayev, A. Məmməd Əmin Rəsulzadə. Qürbətdə Vətən davası. 1922-1943/ A.Balayev. – Bakı: “Pergament” Y.E., – 2019. – 200 s.

⁸⁰ Balayev, A. Məmməd Əmin Rəsulzadə. Qürbətdə Vətən davası. 1922-1943/ A.Balayev. – Bakı: “Pergament” Y.E., – 2019. – 200 s. Yaqublu, N. Məmməd Əmin Rəsulzadə / N.Yaqublu. – Bakı: Gənclik, – 1991. – 308 s.

His book “**Azerbaijan in the Struggle for Independence**” is divided into three parts: “*The Republic of Azerbaijan*,” “*The National Azerbaijani Movement*,” and “*Supplementary Articles*.”⁸¹

The outcomes of the **Musavat Party Congress**, held under Rasulzade’s leadership, were also published in Poland in 1936⁸². A noteworthy point in the resolution adopted at the congress was that in the event of a forthcoming war, **Musavat** would support international forces opposing the Soviets⁸³.

The second subchapter, titled “**The voice of Independence raised in Berlin on the eve and during World War II**,” examines the works published by Rasulzade in various German press outlets.

On **January 10, 1932**, he launched a newspaper called “**Istiqlal**” (**Independence**) in Berlin, Germany’s capital. Later, on **November 6, 1934**, he also managed to publish the journal “**Kurtulush**” (**Salvation**). “*Istiqlal*” was published until 1933, while “*Kurtulush*” continued until August 1939⁸⁴. Thirty articles authored by Rasulzade in “*Istiqlal*” are known today⁸⁵.

In Germany, Rasulzade also published “**Contemporary Azerbaijani Literature**” in 1936, and “**The Azerbaijani problem**” in 1938. The latter drew particular attention in Germany and was

⁸¹ Resulzade, M.E. *Azerbajdzan w walce o niepodległość* / M.E.Resulzade. – Warszawa: Azerbajdzkańskie Wydawn. Narodowe, – 1938. – 182 p.

⁸² Из наследия политической эмиграции Азербайджана в Польше: 30-ые годы XX века / Сост. В.Гулиев. – Торунь: Изд-во Адама Маршалекка, –2010. – 565 с.

⁸³ Из наследия политической эмиграции Азербайджана в Польше: 30-ые годы XX века / Сост. В.Гулиев. – Торунь: Изд-во Адама Маршалекка, –2010. – 565 с. Resulzade, M.A. *Works: [in 5 volumes]* / M.A. Resulzade. – Baku: Elm, – vol. 3. – 2012. – 596 p.

⁸⁴ Yaqublu, N.Q. *Məhəmməd Əmin Rəsulzadə Ensiklopediyası* / N.Q.Yaqublu. – Bakı: Kitab klubu, – 2013. – 503 s.

⁸⁵ Yaqublu, N.Q. *Məhəmməd Əmin Rəsulzadə Ensiklopediyası* / N.Q.Yaqublu. – Bakı: Kitab klubu, – 2013. – 503 s.

based on a lecture he delivered at the **Humboldt University Club** in Berlin on **May 21, 1937**⁸⁶.

Another significant work published by Rasulzade in Germany during the 1930s was the “**Musavat Bulletin**,” which was first issued in **September 1936** in Berlin.

One of Rasulzade’s remarkable later addresses took place in **1946 in Munich**, where he delivered a speech to the Azerbaijani Legionnaires. In this speech, he emphasized that although the Second World War had ended, the struggle for independence against Russian occupation was far from over. The resistance of the mujahideen would continue, he declared, because “**the Soviet communist regime, which occupied Azerbaijan, had managed to secure its place alongside the Allies.**”⁸⁷

M.A. Rasulzade visited France and Switzerland in different years and participated in events. In general, France has become a cultural and political center for Azerbaijani emigrants since the early 1920s. For this reason, the author's activities in France are given separately in the third half-chapter called “M.A. Rasulzade's activities in France, where disagreements arose among Azerbaijani emigrants”.

The correspondence between Alimardan bey Topshubashov and M.A. Rasulzade for 1923-1926 was published in a collection in 2012⁸⁸. In order to expand the support plan for émigré communities, the “**Prometey**” **Club** was established in **1926**, and the French-language journal “**Prometey**” began publication the same year. Among the editorial board and regular contributors of the journal

⁸⁶ Доклад Эмин Бей Расул-заде (Письмо из Берлина) // – Мюнхен: Şimali Kafkasiya-Северный Кавказ. – 1937, №37, – с. 27-28.

⁸⁷ Yaqublu, N.Q. Məhəmməd Əmin Rəsulzadə Ensiklopediyası / N.Q.Yaqublu. – Bakı: Kitab klubu, – 2013. – 503 s.

⁸⁸ А.М.Топчибаши и М.Э.Расулзаде: Переписка. 1923–1926 гг. / Сост., предисл. и прим. С.М.Исхаков. – М.: Издательство «Социально-политическая МЫСЛЬ», – 2012. – 148 с.

was **M. A. Rasolzade**⁸⁹. It is noteworthy that “*Prometey*” was published continuously in Paris from **1926 to 1938**⁹⁰. In this journal, Rasolzade published articles such as “*The Republic of Azerbaijan,*” “*Bolshevik Policy in the East,*” “*The Caucasus Union,*” “*The Character of the National Azerbaijani Movement,*” and “*A Politician Against a Historian.*”⁹¹”

In the **Conclusion** section of the dissertation, the research is summarized, and the scholarly innovations achieved are generalized. Throughout Azerbaijani history, many distinguished individuals have fought against authoritarian regimes. Among them, **Mammad Amin Rasolzade** not only fought for independence but also documented this struggle through his writings and conveyed it to future generations. For this reason, we have attempted to study the history of our national independence movement based on his works.

Initially, Rasolzade’s works published in **Azerbaijan** were analyzed in two parts: those written **prior to the establishment of the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic** and those from **the years of the Republic’s existence (1918–1920)**. His early writings reveal that he was not only a passionate patriot but also someone who sought to determine how a future independent Azerbaijani state could best be governed. In particular, Rasolzade emphasized **constitutional governance**, and he convincingly explained in his writings why he considered this the most appropriate system.

⁸⁹ İbrahimli, X.C. Azərbaycan siyasi mühacirəti (1920-1991) / X.C.İbrahimli. –Bakı: Elm, – 1996. – 305 s.

⁹⁰ Şimşir, S. Mehmet Emin Resolzade: Hayatı ve şahsiyeti / S.Şimşir. – İstanbul: Doğu kütüphanesi, – 2012. – 189 s.

⁹¹ Rəsulzadə, M.Ə. Siyasətçi tarixçiyə qarşı // Varşava: Prometey, – 1931. №51, – s. 6-8. Rəsulzadə, M.Ə. Azərbaycan Respublikası // Varşava: Prometey, – 1926, №1, – s. 25-31. Rəsulzadə, M.Ə. Bolşeviklərin Şərqi siyasəti // – Varşava: Prometey. – 1928, №21, – s. 6-11. Rəsulzadə, M.Ə. Bolşeviklərin Şərqi siyasəti // – Varşava: Prometey. – 1928, №20, – s. 10-14. Rəsulzadə, M.Ə. Qafqaz Birliyi // – Varşava: Prometey. – 1929, №36, – s. 5-7. Rəsulzadə, M.Ə. Millət vəkilləri // İrani-nov. – 1909, 15 noyabr, №67, – s. 4.

The separate chapter dedicated to his works published in **Iran and Turkiye** reflects the significance of these periods in his intellectual and political life. Notably, both periods of emigration coincided with the **struggles for constitutional reform** in each respective country. Rasalzade personally witnessed the implementation of systems in Iran and Turkiye that mirrored what he envisioned for Azerbaijan. These experiences allowed him to critically assess the shortcomings of both revolutionary movements and to draw valuable conclusions for his own vision. Finally, Rasalzade's works published in Europe were discussed in a distinct chapter. Their relevance to the study was demonstrated through direct references from his publications. The research clearly reveals that regardless of the country he resided in, Rasalzade consistently strove to promote the truth about Azerbaijan and remained committed to the struggle for its independence.

The core substance of the dissertation is extensively embodied and substantiated in the author's published scholarly works listed below:

1. About Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict at the beginning of 20th century in the work of Mahammad Amin Rasulzadeh // Вчені Записки Таврійського національного університету імені В.І.Вернадського Серія: Історичні науки, – Том 33(72) –2022. №1, – p.137-142
2. Məhəmməd Əmin Rəsulzadənin qələmindən İosif Vissarionoviç Stalinin kimliyi // – Bakı: Tarix və onun problemləri, – 2021, №3. – s.242-246.
3. Məhəmməd Əmin Rəsulzadənin əsərlərində Qarabağ tarixinə nəzər // – Bakı: Geostrategiya, – 2021, №02(62), – s.17-20
4. Məhəmməd Əmin Rəsulzadənin əsərlərində milli dövlətçilik // – Bakı: Tarix və onun problemləri, – 2022, №2, – s. 266-270.
5. Məhəmməd Əmin Rəsulzadənin İranda nəşr olunmuş əsərləri // – Bakı: Geostrategiya (Beynəlxalq ictimai-siyasi, elmi-nəzəri jurnal) –2023, № 03(75), – s.79-85.
6. Məhəmməd Əmin Rəsulzadənin əsərlərinə bir baxış (“Əsrimizin Səyavuşu” əsəri əsasında) // Bakı: Dünya Azərbaycanlıları: Tarix və Müasirlik-3, – c.2. – 2023, – s.124-130.
7. Məhəmməd Əmin Rəsulzadənin əsərlərinin Azərbaycan tarixşünaslığında yeri // Doktorantların və Gənc tədqiqatçıların XXII Respublika elmi konfransı – Bakı: – 22 – 23 noyabr 2018, – c.2, – s.84-86
8. Azərbaycan-Türkiyə münasibətləri: Məhəmməd Əmin Rəsulzadə və Mustafa Kamal Atatürkün baxışlarında // Doktorantların və Gənc tədqiqatçıların XXIII Respublika elmi konfransı, – c. 2. – 2019, – s. 64-66.
9. Məhəmməd Əmin Rəsulzadənin əsərlərində Azərbaycan Xalq Cümhuriyyəti ilə Osmanlı imperiyası arasındakı qardaşlığın təsviri // Doktorantların və Gənc tədqiqatçıların XXIV Respublika elmi konfransı Azərbaycan Xalq Cümhuriyyətinin yaranmasının 103-cü ildönümünə həsr olunmuş “Azərbaycan Xalq Cümhuriyyəti

tarixi tədqiqatlarda” mövzusunda respublika elmi konfransının materialları, – 2021, – s. 99-102.

10. Məhəmməd Əmin Rəsulzadənin əsərlərində milli dövlət quruculuğu məsələləri, Azərbaycanın dövlət müstəqilliyinin 30 illiyi: Mənbəşünaslıq və tarixşünaslıq elminin uğurları və perspektivləri respublika elmi konfransının materialları, – Bakı: – 17 – 19 noyabr, – 2022. – s.91-93

11. Məhəmməd Əmin Rəsulzadənin əsərlərində ədəbiyyat və tarix fənlərinin inteqrasiyası // Beynəlxalq elmi və praktik internet konfransı. Dünyaya inteqrasiya və elmlər arası əlaqə, – Bakı: – noyabr, – 2020, – s.41-42

12. Published Works of Mohammedamin Rasulzade in Poland // Агентство Международных Исследований. Научная Трансформация-основа устойчивого Инновационного Развития общества, – 03 июня – 2023, – с.102-105

13. Произведения Мамед Эмина Расул-Заде, опубликованные в Европе, для изучения история борьбы Азербайджанского народа за национальную независимость // Актуальные научные исследования: сборник статей XII Международной научно-практической конференции, – Пенза: – 5 июня – 2023, с. 116-12

14. Məhəmməd Əmin Rəsulzadənin irsində 1918-ci il Mart soyqırımını // 31 Mart Azərbaycanlıların Soyqırımını Gününün 105-ci İldönümünə Həsər Olunmuş “1918-ci il Mart Soyqırımını Tarixi Tədqiqatlarda” Mövzusunda Respublika Elmi Konfransının Materialları, – Bakı: – 31 mart, – 2023. s. 37-42

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