

REPUBLIC OF AZERBAIJAN

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ABSTRACT

of the dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Science

NATIONAL POLICY OF THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE IN NORTH AZERBAIJAN AND MASSACRES OF 1905-1906

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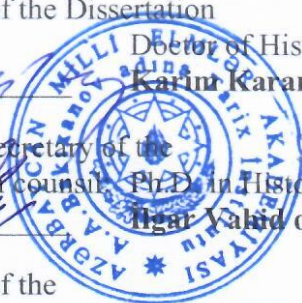
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I. THE GENERAL CHARACTERISTIC OF THE DISSERTATION

Relevance and development of the subject. At present, special attention is paid to the subject of Armenian-Azerbaijani relations in the historiography of motherland, and the main object of research is, as a rule, the 19th and 20th centuries. The importance and relevance of studying this subject and period is due to the impact of these relations on the modern socio-political life of Azerbaijan. Armenia's territorial claims to Daghlig Garabagh (Nagorno-Karabakh) at the end of the 20th century, gave impetus to the study of Armenian-Azerbaijani relations, the history of confrontations and armed conflicts between the two nations. The conflict that led to the war between the two countries and the occupation of 20% of Azerbaijan's territory, and later to the liberation of Azerbaijani lands, made it necessary to analyze the issue of relations from a new perspective and find answers to questions about the causes of the conflict. The continuing conflict and tensions, the root and origin of which begins from the Russian Empire and comes to the Soviet era have made the study of historical experience even more relevant.

The ban on objective illumination of this subject in Soviet historiography was one of the factors that stimulated this process. The ideological dogma that prevailed in Soviet history and the class approach to events led to the emergence of "closed topics". One of such topics was the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict of 1905-1906 - the first international conflict that covered many cities and districts of the South Caucasus. An in-depth analysis of the nature of this armed conflict, called "massacre" by its contemporaries due to the scale of the conflict and the number of casualties, the methods and means of struggle (use of heavy weapons, occupation of territories, economic damage, expulsion of the population) reveals that in the 1905-1906 a real war took place.

The relevance of the subject is primarily due to the fact that it has not been fully and comprehensively studied yet. Therefore, a comprehensive study of the causes and course of the conflict, the position of the parties to the conflict, the activities of the Azerbaijani

and Armenian communities, as well as the Russian government to eliminate the consequences of the massacres is of theoretical and practical importance. There are many gaps in the history of the Armenian-Azerbaijani massacres of 1905-1906, which need to be studied in depth, mainly with reference to primary sources. A re-examination and understanding of this “unknown” Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict, which was the beginning of further confrontations, will allow us to find the roots and origins of conflicts between nations and assess the experience of their predecessors in resolving them.

It should be taken into consideration that the inter-ethnic relations and contradictions in the South Caucasus is one of the most controversial issues in modern Caucasian studies. Various, sometimes completely contradictory interpretations and arguments are given in the explanation of the causes and course of the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict of 1905-1906. In this regard, the study of different approaches to events and facts, the discovery of erroneous and biased opinions is of scientific relevance and allows for objective illumination of the problem under study.

The studying of the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict of 1905-1906 cannot be complete without researching the role of the Russian Empire in the conflict, which at that time both people were the parts of the Russian empire. In this regard, the problem is becoming more widespread and makes it necessary to study Russia’s national policy, the legal status of Azerbaijanis and Armenians in the empire, differences in government approaches to the status of both nations, as well as other issues. The study of these aspects is relevant because the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict of the early 20th century contained traces of the policy pursued by the Russian Empire after the occupation of the South Caucasus. Armenians actively defended Russia during the occupation, but instead gained advantages in the economic and political life of the region during the Russian rule. In the next stage, the strengthening of Armenian nationalist-separatism led to a change in the government’s course to reduce the prestige of the Armenian-Gregorian Church and to strengthen its control over its material resources, which were often used to support extremist

organizations. In response, the struggle of the Armenian revolutionary organizations supported by church, bourgeoisie, intelligentsia, anti-government uprisings and the rapid armament of the Armenian population to prepare terror against the representatives of the Caucasian administration began. The fact that this event coincided with the preparation of the Armenian revolutionary committees for provocations and acts of terror against the Azerbaijani people, described as allies of tsarism, makes it necessary to study these processes in a cause-and-effect relationship. In other words, the massacres committed by Armenians in 1905-1906 were directed against both Azerbaijanis and the Russian Empire, so it is especially important to cover the events from this perspective. Such an approach provides an opportunity to analyze the new facts in the archival documents, which indicate the intention of the Armenian extremist forces to open a broad front of struggle against both the Russian government and the Azerbaijani people.

The massacres of 1905-1906, caused by a number of socio-economic and political conflicts between the two peoples, revealed numerous shortcomings in Russia's policy in the region, in the system of governance, and showed that the government was not ready for critical events. In this regard, the study of the impact of a number of socio-economic problems, shortcomings in the management system of the region on the emergence of tensions between Armenians and Azerbaijanis and the bloody conflict in four provinces of the South Caucasus (Baku, Yelizavetpol, Tiflis, Iravan) in the early 20th century seems very relevant.

In the context of studying Russia's national policy in the region and the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict of 1905-1906, the impact of national massacres on the process of political unification in Azerbaijani society, the position of Azerbaijani intellectuals on the rights of Muslims in the Russian Empire and relations between Armenians and Azerbaijanis is also relevant. Modern approaches to the events of that period make it urgent to shed light on external factors in the escalation of the ethnic conflict. Here we are talking about the relations of the Armenian "Dashnaktsutyun" party with the

British and Japanese special services on the eve of the Armenian-Azerbaijani clashes.

It is also important to study another issue that is widely discussed in Armenian, Russian and partly Western historiography. It is about the role of pan-Islamism, which allegedly incited Muslims to violence against Armenians and was described as almost a decisive factor during the massacres of 1905-1906. In other words, the relevance of the research is to clarify controversial, little-studied issues, to substantiate unfounded assumptions and facts that refute obvious falsifications.

The issues studied in the dissertation are reflected in the works of both local and foreign researchers. The first works on massacres in Azerbaijani historiography were of a journalistic nature. The authors of these works were famous public figures - A.Agayev (Agaoglu), A.Huseynzadeh, E.Sultanov, A.Topchubashov and others.¹ Their articles described in detail the events and causes that led to the massacres. These works also aimed to refute the negative opinion about Muslims formed under the influence of the Armenian and Russian press. Thus, at that time, Muslims were portrayed as a tool in the hands of the tsarist government, a fanatical mass that killed and looted Armenians, and Azerbaijani intellectuals fought to break this stereotype.

A more detailed description of the Armenian-Azerbaijani massacres of 1905-1906 in the motherland historiography began after the publication of special works on this subject. The works of M.R.Fana, M.M.Navvab and M.S.Ordubadı, written in 1906-1911 and republished in the late 20th-early 21st centuries, are of such works.² The afore-mentioned authors not only described the events,

¹ Ağayev, Ə. Məsəlmanlar barəsində təzə bir iftira və böhtan və bu iftira və böhtan üzrə olunan qorxulu bir intriqə // Nəyat. – 1905, 16 iyun. – s.2-3; Агаев, А. Наш позор // Каспий. – 1905, 13 февраля. – с.3; Гусейнзаде, А. К причинам позорных событий в Баку // Каспий. – 1905, 18 февраля. – с.3; Султанов Э. Правда об эриванских событиях // Каспий. – 1905, 9 июня. – с.2-3; Топчибашев, А. К событиям в Баку // Каспий. – 1905, 12 февраля. – с.4 və s.

² Fəna, M.R. 1905-ci il hadisəsi. – Bakı, – 2009; Nəvvab, M.M. 1905-1906-ci illərdə erməni-müsəlman davası. – Bakı, – 1993; Ордубади, М.С. Кровавые

assessed the causes and consequences of the events, but also presented an alternative position to Armenian propaganda. In a certain sense, their works also serve as a source for the study of the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict. For instance, M.S.Orudbadi wrote his book on the basis of more than 600 correspondent letters, newspaper articles and information received from places. M.M.Navvab, on the basis of the history of specific people, sometimes described the scene of inter-ethnic conflicts on the example of a settlement.

The Armenian side began to write the history of the massacres earlier than the Azerbaijanis, published special works on the subject, including source materials. Thanks to this, Russian and Western public opinion obtained information about the massacres from books and articles by Armenian authors and was formed under the influence of biased, one-sided facts. Another characteristic feature is that the works of Armenian authors are usually propaganda and glorify terrorism, described as the “national liberation movement of the Armenian people”, justify the natural incompatibility of Armenians and Azerbaijanis (in the broadest sense - Christians and Muslims), Azerbaijanis to Armenians which was allegedly manifested in the eternal hatred of the latter to the former. Armenian authors point to the Russian government as the main culprit in the massacres, which allegedly wanted to completely exterminate Azerbaijanis and Armenians from the Caucasus, but they remained silent about the provocations and terror of their compatriots.³

Some issues of the studied subject are reflected in the works of Russian authors published in the late 19th - early 20th centuries.

годы. История армяно-мусульманской войны на Кавказе в 1905-1906 годах. – Санкт-Петербург, – 2010.

³ Абэкад...эс. Армянский погром в Баку // Санкт-Петербургские ведомости. – 1905, 15 февраля. – с.1; Алибегов, И. Елисаветпольские кровавые дни перед судом общества. Завравшийся «публицист» и его общественные сподвижники. – Тифлис, – 1906; Араратский, В. Подвиги царизма. Кровавые февральские дни в Баку. – Женева, – 1905; Заварян, С. Экономические условия Карабага и голод 1906-1907 г. – Санкт-Петербург, – 1907; Чалхушьян, Г. Армянский вопрос и армянские погромы в России панисламизм). – Ростов на Дону, – 1905 вэ в.

Proponents of traditional patronage of Armenians claim that the massacres were organized by the government and allegedly perpetrated by Muslims who have long been at enmity with the Armenians, and these massacres were considered the highest stage of persecution against Armenians. As a rule, these authors believed that the Russification policy, which began in the 80s of the 19th century, had led to a negative change in the government's attitude towards Armenians. According to them, government measures such as the closure of Armenian religious schools and the transfer of church property to state control have further strengthened the revolutionary mood among Armenians and increased the prestige of the Dashnaks.⁴

Considering the Armenian movement as a threat to Russian statehood other Russian authors criticized the government for creating favorable conditions for Armenians, turning a blind eye to their interference in the economic life of the region, their dominance in city self- management, and the settlement of Armenian rebels of the Ottoman Empire in the Caucasus. Describing the conflict of 1905-1906, some of the authors believed that the massacres were committed by Armenians, who wanted to disturb the stability in the region and achieve concessions in such issues as school and church.⁵

Soviet historiography changed the direction of accents on the study of problems such as international relations, conflicts, and the national policy of tsarism. Many Soviet authors, focusing on the study of revolutionary and national movements in the Russian Empire, either subjectively studied the government's national policy or ignored it altogether. Among the most popular works on the

⁴ Амфитеатров, А.В. Армянский вопрос. – Санкт-Петербург, – 1906; Евреинов, Г.А. Национальные вопросы на инородческих окраинах России. – Санкт-Петербург, – 1908; Старосельский, В.А. Кавказская драма. – Санкт-Петербург, – 1906; Старцев, Г.Е. Кровавые дни на Кавказе. – Санкт-Петербург, – 1907 в 6.

⁵ Алекторов, А.Е. Инородцы в России. – Санкт-Петербург, – 1906; Будилович, А.С. Может ли Россия отдать инородцам свои окраины? – Санкт-Петербург, – 1907; Величко, В.Л. Кавказ. Русское дело и междуплеменные вопросы. – Баку, – 2010; Гершельман, Ф. Причины неурядиц на Кавказе. – Санкт-Петербург, – 1908; Маевский, В.Т. Армяно-татарская смута на Кавказе, как один из фазисов армянского вопроса. – Тифлис, – 1915.

studied problem are the research of A.M.Arutyunyan, A.Ahmadov, G.A.Galoyan, Z.Ibrahimov, M.A.Gaziyev, N.Sarkisov and others.⁶ However, without examining the political and economic reasons of the conflict in depth, these authors touch on inter-ethnic clashes, and remain silent on the fact that there are ethnic conflicts between Armenians and Azerbaijanis.

At the end of the 20th century, the collapse of the USSR and the emergence of subsequent numerous ethnic conflicts in the post-Soviet space made the study of national relations and national policy problems especially relevant. The opening of previously closed archive funds to researchers and the emergence of new approaches freed from the harsh stereotypes of Soviet ideology have further expanded the opportunities for researchers.

Among the most important researches on the history of Armenian-Azerbaijani relations and the conflict of 1905-1906 in Azerbaijani historiography are E.Azizov, I.S.Bagirova, A.H.Balayev, F.V.Hajiyev (Valehoglu), J.P.Hasanli, M.J.Gasimli, EYJafarli, Kh. It is necessary to mention the works of Kh.Mammadov, B.I.Najafov, N.Y.Mustafayev, A.A.Pashayev, D.B.Seyidzadeh, S.Y.Suleymanova, F.R.Shafiyev and others.⁷ Most of the mentioned authors refrained

⁶ Арутюнян, А.М. Революционное движение в Армении в 1905-1907 гг. – Ереван, – 1970; Ахмедов, А. Азербайджанские турки в революции 1905 года. – Баку, – 2002; Галоян, Г.А. Сила интернационального единства (к событиям в Закавказье в начале 1905 года) // – Ереван: Историко-филологический журнал. – 1969. №1; Ибрагимов, З. Революция 1905-1907 гг. в Азербайджане. – Баку, – 1955; Казиев, М.А. Из истории революционной борьбы бакинского пролетариата (1905-1910). – Баку, – 1955 və b.

⁷ Cəfərli, E.Y. Naxçıvanda erməni-Azərbaycan münaqişəsi. – Bakı, – 2008; Əzizov, E. “Difai”: XX əsrin əvvəllərində erməni-azərbaycanlı münaqişəsinin ilkin tarixi şərtləri və səbəbləri. – Bakı, – 2009; Məmmədov, X. Azərbaycan milli hərəkatı (1875-1918-ci illər). – Bakı, – 1996; Mustafayev, N.Y. 1905-1906-cı illərdə İrəvan quberniyasında və Zəngəzur qəzasında ermənilərin azərbaycanlılara qarşı törətdikləri kütləvi qırğınlar: / tarix üzrə fəlsəfə doktoru dissertasiyasının avtoreferatı / – Bakı, 2014; Paşayev, A.Ə. XIX-XX əsrlərdə ermənilərin azərbaycanlılara qarşı ərazi iddiaları, soyqırımları və deportasiyalar (arxiv sənəd və materialları əsasında). – Bakı, – 2011; Seyidzadə, D. Azərbaycan XX əsrin əvvəllərində: müstəqilliyə aparən yollar. – Bakı, – 1998; Süleymanova, S.Y. Azərbaycan ictimai-siyasi hərəkat (XIX yüzilliyin sonu-XX yüzilliyin əvvəlləri).

from describing the Armenian-Azerbaijani massacres as a provocation committed by tsarism. Although they did not deny that the government was to blame for the conflict, they emphasized the leading role of the Armenian revolutionary organizations and, above all, the Dashnaktsutyun party. These works follow the stages of Armenian national-separatism, Armenian terror against the Azerbaijani people in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, and cover the activities of Azerbaijani political organizations formed under the direct influence of the 1905-1906 conflict.

Continuing the line of Armenian historians of the post-Soviet period, he focuses on the “persecution” of Armenians in the Russian Empire and approaches the conflict of 1905-1906 namely through this prism. At the same time, the traces of pan-Islamism and pan-Turkism in modern Armenian historiography are given as the main cause of the Armenian-Azerbaijani massacres of 1905-1906. Another novelty of Armenian historiography after the collapse of the USSR is that special attention is paid to the Dashnaktsutyun party, which presents the Dashnaks as a “savior force” of the Armenian people in the struggle against the Russian government and Azerbaijanis.⁸

– Bakı, – 1999; Valehoğlu, F. Tiflis quberniyasında azərbaycanlılara qarşı 1905-ci il kütləvi qırğınları. – Bakı, – 2013; Багирова, И.С. Политические партии и организации Азербайджана в начале XX века (1900-1917). – Баку, – 1997; Балаев, А.Г. Патриарх тюркизма. Ахмед бек Агаоглу (1869-1939). – Баку, – 2019; Гасанлы, Дж.П. Али Мардан-бек Топчибашев: Жизнь за идею. – Москва, – 2014; Гасымлы, М.Дж. Анатолия и Южный Кавказ в 1724-1920-е гг.: в поисках исторической истины. – Москва, –2014; Наджафов, Б. Лицо врага. История армянского национализма в Закавказье в конце XIX-начале XX вв.: [в 2-х ч.] – Баку, – Ч.1. – 1992; Шафиев, Ф. Истоки армяно-азербайджанского конфликта: события 1905-1906 годов // İrs-Наследие, – 2008. №4 (34), №5 (35) və b.

⁸ Варданыан Т. Коллективная память и репрезентация истории в контексте трансформирующихся потребностей социума (на основе материалов репрезентации истории армяно-татарских столкновений 1905-1906 гг. в контексте потребностей современного армянского и азербайджанского социумов): [Электронный ресурс]. URL:old.eu.spb/ru/reset/files/vardanyan.pdf.; Восканян, С.С. Очерк истории армяно-азербайджанских этнополитических отношений. – Волгоград, – 2002; Дадаян, Х. Армяне и Баку (1850-е гг.-1920 г.). – Ереван, – 2007; Оганесян, Э. Век борьбы. Очерк 100-летней истории

Russian historians also played an important role in the development of international relations in the South Caucasus and the national policy of the Russian Empire. Unlike their Azerbaijani and Armenian colleagues, they focused on the study of theoretical issues of interethnic relations and contradictions, the state of the national question in Russia, reforms in the government system in the South Caucasus, the restoration of vicariate, the activities of the governor-general of the Caucasus I.I.Vorontsov-Dashkov and other issues. Among these authors D.A.Amanjolova, M.A.Volkhonsky, L.S.Gatagova, V.S.Dyakin, D.I.Ismayilzadeh, S.M.Ishakov, O.Y.Kuznetsov, N.T.Rakhmanin, N.P.Plyaskin, P.I.Shekhtman and others can be mentioned.⁹

The issues researched in the dissertation are touched in the works of foreign researchers too. In the foreign historiography the first book which provided the information on the Armenian-Azerbaijani massacre was the one by the British journalist J.Henry and by Italian researcher, journalist and diplomat L.Villari, more inclined to see the injured side - the Armenians who were subjected

дашнакской партии и национально-освободительной борьбы армянского народа: [в 2 томах]. – Мюнхен-Москва, – Т. 1. – 1991.

⁹ Аманжолова, Д. Из истории межэтнических конфликтов в России (1905-1916 гг.): [Электронный ресурс]. / URL: <http://www.gumer.info>; Волхонский, М.А. Первая русская революция и восстановление Наместничества на Кавказе // – Москва: Кавказский сборник, – 2006. Т. 3 (35); Гагагова, Л.С. Межэтнические отношения / Россия в начале XX века. Под ред. акад. А.Н.Яковлева. – Москва, – 2002; Дякин, В.С. Национальный вопрос во внутренней политике царизма (XIX- начало XX вв.). – Санкт-Петербург, – 1998; Исмаил-Заде, Д.И. И.И.Воронцов-Дашков – администратор, реформатор. – Санкт-Петербург, – 2008; Исхаков, С.М. Первая русская революция и мусульмане Российской империи. – Москва, – 2007; Кузнецов, О.Ю. История транснационального армянского терроризма в XX столетии (историко-криминологическое исследование). – Баку, – 2015; Рахманин Н.Т., Пляскин В.П. Деятельность российских властей по преодолению социально-политического кризиса на Кавказе в 1905-1907 гг.: исторический опыт и уроки. – Электросталь, – 2013; Шехтман, П.И. Пламя давних пожаров: [Электронный ресурс]. URL: http://royallib.com/book/shehtman_pavel/plamya_davnih_pogarov.html.

to massacres and pogroms by the Azerbaijanis. At the same time the facts of mass killings of the Azerbaijanis were ignored by him.¹⁰

The version of the persecution of Armenians in Russia is supported by such modern European authors as J.Guyata, J.Hosking and A.Kappeler.¹¹ At the same time, there are works in foreign historiography containing an alternative explanation of national relations in the South Caucasus and the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict of 1905-1906, which emphasizes the main role of Armenian nationalist separatism and terror which caused the confrontation in the Caucasus. Among these works we can mention the researches by A.L.Altstadt, J.Baberovski, J. and C.Makkarti, N.Sariahmetoglu, T.Svietochovski, S.Sertchelik.¹²

The sources used in writing the dissertation can be divided into five groups: 1) archival materials; 2) collections of published documents; 3) official documents (accounts, reports, references); 4) memoirs and epistolary sources; 5) materials of periodical press. Documents from the funds of 5 archives of the Republic of Azerbaijan, Georgia and the Russian Federation were used in the dissertation.

The object and subject of the research. The national policy of the Russian Empire in North Azerbaijan and the first Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict in the history of the South Caucasus are the

¹⁰ Henry, J.D. Baku: an eventful history. – London, – 1905 (репринтное издание); Villari, L. Fire and Sword in the Caucasus. London, – 1906 [Electronic resource]. URL: <http://armenianhouse.org>.

¹¹ Гуйата, Дж. 1700 лет верности. История Армении и её церкви. – Москва, – 2005; Каппелер, А. Россия – многонациональная империя. Возникновение. История. Распад. – Москва, – 2000; Хоскинг, Дж. Россия: народ и империя (1552-1917). – Смоленск, – 2001.

¹² Sariahmetoğlu, N. Azeri-ermenî ilişkileri (1905-1920): / Doktora tezi / – İstanbul, 1996; Баберовски, Й. Цивилизаторская миссия и национализм в Закавказье: 1828-1914 гг. / Новая имперская история постсоветского пространства. Сб. статей. – Казань, – 2004; Свентоховский, Т. Русское правление, модернизаторские элиты и становление национальной идентичности в Азербайджане / Азербайджан и Россия: общества и государства. – Москва, – 2001; Altstadt, A.L. The Azerbaijani Turks: power and identity under Russian rule. – Stanford, – 1992 and others.

object of study. The subject of the research is the policy of the Russian Empire in relation to Azerbaijanis and Armenians, the contradictions that led to the confrontation between the two nations, the causes, course and consequences of the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict of 1905-1906.

The goals and objectives of the research. The main purpose of the dissertation is a comprehensive study of the national policy of the Russian Empire in relation to Azerbaijanis and Armenians, ethno-ethnic relations between Armenians and Azerbaijanis in the early 19th-20th centuries, the confrontation of Armenian nationalist extremism with the imperial government and the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict of 1905-1906. Proceeding from this general purpose, the following specific tasks was attempted to be solved in the dissertation:

- To follow the differences of national policy of the Russian Empire in the relation of Armenians and Azerbaijanis;

- To identify the factors that led the Armenians to take a leading position in the socio-economic and socio-political life of the South Caucasus;

- To show the change in the official political course of tsarism towards Armenians and its impact on the strengthening of Armenian extremism in the South Caucasus;

- To show the impact of the closure of church schools and the secularization of church property on the transfer of Armenian separatist activities from the territory of the Ottoman Empire to Russia;

- To analyze the attempts of the Armenian committees to involve Azerbaijanis in the struggle against the government, the acts of provocation that led to the aggravation of international relations;

- To show the role of external factors in the destabilization in the South Caucasus and the preparation of revolts against Russia, including the relations of the Armenian Dashnaks with the Japanese and British special services;

- To reveal the main reasons that led to the ethnic massacres of 1905-1906 and to determine the accuracy of describing the conflict as “Armenian massacre”;

- To investigate the version of “government provocation” as the cause of the massacre and to show the main role of the Dashnak party in the beginning of the conflict;

- On the basis of archival documents to show the tactics of terror of Armenians against the peaceful Muslim population in Baku, Yelizavetpol, Tiflis, Iravan provinces and the policy of the local government on the parties to the conflict;

- To analyze the position of the parties to the conflict and their assessment of the international massacres;

- To study the changes in the administrative structure of the South Caucasus under the influence of the Armenian-Azerbaijani massacres, the measures taken by the Caucasus administration to reconcile the parties and strengthen stability in the region;

- To reflect the positive change in the course of government in relation to the Armenian-Gregorian Church and the impact of the extremist activities of the Armenian revolutionary parties on this process;

- To trace the characteristics of social and political consolidation in the Azerbaijani society in 1905-1906 and the impact of national massacres on this process;

- To show the economic consequences of the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict;

- To show the connection of the events of 1905-1906 with the 1918 genocide against the Muslim population in North Azerbaijan.

The methods of the research. The methodology of the research is based on the methods of problem-chronological, logical, analysis and synthesis, which make possible to illuminate the subject through a comprehensive study of the mutual dynamics of ethnic, social, political and other factors as well as draw general conclusions. Particular attention in the dissertation was paid to the use of the comparative method. Thus, the application of this method in the analysis of archival materials allowed determining the objective and subjective approaches and assessments of specific events.

The main provisions of the defense:

1. The national policy of the Russian Empire in the South Caucasus, discrimination against Muslims, and patronage of Armenians led to conflicts between Armenians and Azerbaijanis;

2. The steps taken by the Russian government to prevent the strengthening of the Armenian-Gregorian Church led to the deterioration of the empire's relations with the Armenians and the strengthening of Armenian extremism in the South Caucasus;

3. The methods of terror and violence used by Armenian extremist circles against the government and peaceful Muslim population in the Ottoman state were also applied in the South Caucasus in the late 19th and early 20th centuries;

4. In order to undermine stability in the South Caucasus, Armenian extremist forces cooperated closely with intelligence service of Great Britain and Japan and got money and weapons from Japan during national massacres;

5. Historical facts prove that the previously existing concept of organizing the Armenian-Azerbaijani massacres of 1905-1906 by the tsarist government is not confirmed. The Dashnaktsutyun party and the Gregorian Church, the main perpetrators of the international conflict, prepared in advance for the massacres and carried out the action on purpose;

6. During the massacres of 1905-1906, Armenians not only exposed the peaceful Muslim population of the South Caucasus to physical terror, but also used economic blockades and expulsions from their lands;

7. Despite the claims of Armenian historiography, Armenians were not the only sufferers during the massacres, on the contrary, the losses of Muslims were no less, and sometimes even greater;

8. During the massacres of 1905-1906, the position and policy of the Russian Empire in the "Armenian question" changed, as a result of the direct efforts of I.I.Vorontsov-Dashkov, the viceroy of the Caucasus, previous alliance with Armenians was restored

9. Following the change in Russia's policy on the "Armenian question", from the summer of 1905 in some regions (eg., in Shusha and Nakhchivan) tsarist officials began openly to support the

Armenians and turn a blind eye to the massacres committed against the Azerbaijani people;

10. The massacres of 1905-1906 gave impetus to the unification and political organization of Azerbaijani society.

The scientific novelty of the research is first of all in the problem statement and its essence. During the study, the following issues were systematized and to some extent re-highlighted: changes in the policy of the tsarist government on the “Armenian question” (from cooperation with Armenians to confrontation, and then to re-cooperation); development of a policy on secularization of property belonging to the Armenian Church and closure of religious schools, stages of its implementation; expansion of Armenian extremism in the South Caucasus and attempts to involve Azerbaijanis in the struggle against the Russian government; the use of the Armenian factor by Japan and the United Kingdom, which have an interest in aggravating the political situation in the South Caucasus in order to weaken Russia; discussions on the role of the government in inciting the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict in 1905-1906; the number of dead people, unreasonable statement of government to show the happened slaughters by the fault of the Azerbaijanis instead of Armenians; the role of investigation materials in the illumination of the details of A.Babayev’s murder, as well as the individual episodes of clashes in Baku, Yelizavetpol, Iravan and Tiflis provinces; the policy of Armenians expelling Muslims from their places of residence along with mass terrorist acts; the struggle of the Azerbaijani national forces against the Dashnak terror and the anti-Muslim public opinion formed under the influence of the Armenian propaganda; the role of the public, especially intellectuals and religious figures, in preventing the massacre and reconciling the parties; similarities and differences between the massacres of 1905-1906 and the 1918 genocide committed by Armenians against the Muslim population.

Theoretical and practical importance of the research. The scientific-theoretical and practical results of the research can be applied to the study of the national policy of the Russian Empire in North Azerbaijan and the South Caucasus as a whole, the history of international relations, Armenian-Azerbaijani relations and conflicts.

As for the practical significance of the research, the facts presented in the dissertation gives us reason to use it in the illumination of controversial issues related to the subject. The main scientific results of the dissertation can be used in the writing of special and generalized works, textbooks, teaching aids on the history of Azerbaijan, the South Caucasus, Russia, Armenian-Azerbaijani relations, historical, analytical, informational information, survey on the policy of the Russian Empire in the South Caucasus, including North Azerbaijan.

Approbation of the research. The main results of the researched problem were approved in one monograph of the author, two collections of documents, more than 40 articles published in scientific journals of Azerbaijan, Russia and Georgia, materials of national and international conferences.

The name of the organization where the dissertation work was carried out. The work was carried out at National Museum of History of Azerbaijan, ANAS.

The total volume of the dissertation. The dissertation consists of 464663 signs (introduction – 31532, first chapter – 98314, second chapter – 101684, third chapter – 86772, fourth chapter – 110094, conclusion – 30704). The references consist of 65153, abbreviation list of 426 signs.

II. THE MAIN CONTENT OF THE DISSERTATION

The relevance and the level of studying of the subject, the methodological basis of the dissertation, scientific novelty, the main provisions of the defense, and the theoretical and practical significance of the research are defined in the **introduction**.

Chapter I of the dissertation entitled “**National policy of the Russian Empire in North Azerbaijan and the Armenian factor in its implementation**” consists of four paragraphs. The first paragraph of the chapter called “**General characteristics of the national policy of the Russian Empire in North Azerbaijan**” elucidates the main directions of the imperial policy in the ethno-demographic, administrative, economic, confessional and educational spheres. The

research of the above-mentioned issues shows that the national policy of the Russian Empire in North Azerbaijan was formed on the basis of distrust against the subjugated population. According to the ruling circles, in order to keep Muslims under constant control, it was necessary to apply the traditions of Russian rule in the region and to pursue a policy of assimilation.

Faced with an alien ethno-confessional and socio-political environment, the Russian Empire was thinking of creating a strong ethnic base in North Azerbaijan. To this end of view, after the invasion of the region, the imperial government began to implement a large-scale measure that led to significant changes in the ethnic composition of the population of North Azerbaijan - the resettlement of Armenians from Iran and the Ottoman Empire to the South Caucasus, first of all, to the area inhabited by Azerbaijanis.

Russia, which created conditions for the mass settlement of Armenians and their strengthening in the economic and political life of the South Caucasus, used the so-called “Armenian question” to its advantage in order to put pressure on the Ottoman state. The Armenians also had their own interests: after moving to the South Caucasus, they intended to establish their state with the help of Russia. Until the second half of the 19th century, the Russian Empire, which protected Armenians, on the contrary, openly distrusted Muslim Azerbaijanis and restricted their rights. The tsarist government, which used Armenians as a means to protect itself from the so-called “Muslim threat”, was clearly discriminating against the two peoples.

By establishing an administrative structure for Armenians in the territory of the former Nakhchivan and Iravan khanates, the “Armenian province”, the ruling circles of the empire for the first time actually created conditions for the establishment of the administrative-political definition of “Armenian” in the South Caucasus. As for the ethnic lands inhabited by Azerbaijanis, the Russian Empire pursued a completely different administrative policy. Although an administrative unit was created for the Armenians, reflecting their ethnic name, the Azerbaijanis were deprived of the right to maintain their statehood in the form of khanates. Subsequent

reforms in the South Caucasus were accompanied by the division of administrative-territorial units and the change of borders, which, in turn, led to further breaking of the territories inhabited by Azerbaijanis.

The most difficult aspect of tsarist national policy in North Azerbaijan was the confessional issue. Taking into account the role of Islam in the lives of Azerbaijanis, the Russian government adopted laws to reorganize the religious institutions of Caucasian Muslims. Thus, the government, which concentrated its control over the activities of the clergy, limited the influence of the Muslim clergy among the population, by tying the material interests of the clergy to the service of the Russian government made them dependent on it.¹³

The policy of the tsarist government was completely different in regard to the Armenian-Gregorian Church. Unlike Muslim religious institutions, the church was completely independent of state power. If Muslim clerics were required to be Russian citizens, tsarism officially allowed the Echmiadzin throne to be gained by citizens of other states (primarily Ottoman subjects). This rule, which was in Russia's political interests, allowed the empire to maintain its means of influencing Armenians abroad, and to ensure political and religious position of Echmiadzin above that of the Armenian patriarchate in Istanbul.

The national policy of the Russian Empire was also reflected in education and culture. Armenians had an extensive network of religious schools, which allowed them to enter Russian higher education. Armenian schools, which had long been out of government control, were subject only to the Catholicos through the heads of eparchy. As for the existing education system in Azerbaijan, the colonial national policy of the empire in this area was more pronounced. Prior to the occupation, traditional schools and madrasahs were not accepted by the Russian government as educational institutions.

¹³ Национальная политика России: история и современность / Авторский коллектив: Кулешов С.В. (руководитель), Аманжолова Д.А., Волобуев О.В. и др. – Москва, – 1997. – с.94.

It was considered that these schools were taught by religious fanatics and were a major obstacle to the spread of European civilization.¹⁴ In such circumstances, unlike Armenians, Azerbaijanis could receive secular education only in Russian. The lack of an alternative in this matter was at the heart of Russia's national policy, as the imperial government considered the education system an important tool for establishing the dominance of the Russian cultural type among the peoples of the Caucasus.¹⁵

In researching these issues, it can be concluded that the national policy of the Russian Empire in North Azerbaijan often manifested itself in measures of discrimination against the local population and overt patronage of Armenians. Complex measures taken within the framework of national policy have led to conflicts between Azerbaijanis and Armenians.

The second paragraph, entitled **“Armenians in the policy of the Russian Empire: from cooperation to confrontation”** examines the long and controversial path of Armenians from close cooperation with the Russian government to a sharp confrontation. The research has shown that patronage of Armenians did not always meet the goals and interests of Russian policy, but sometimes seriously damaged it.

In the 60s and 70s of the 19th century, began an active phase of a serious confrontation between the Russian government and the Armenian-Gregorian Church over the school. The Armenian clergy tried to completely remove church schools from government control, give them a national character, and increase the number of those schools.¹⁶ The tsarist government implemented a number of legislative measures to strengthen control over education

¹⁴ Джаббаров, Ф.Р. Армянский экстремизм на Южном Кавказе: вторая половина XIX-начало XX вв. – Баку, – 2018. – с.104.

¹⁵ Джаббаров, Ф.Р. Армянский экстремизм на Южном Кавказе: вторая половина XIX-начало XX вв. – Баку, – 2018. – с.104.

¹⁶ Letter of A.P.Nikolai, Head of the Main Department Governor's of the Caucasus, of graf E.I.Sivers (Tiflis: 16 January 1874) // Russian State Historical Archive (RSHA), Found №821, register №7, file №62, paper 26.

institutions.¹⁷ Thus, tsarism aimed to prevent the Armenian education system from becoming a hotbed of nationalist separatism. At the meeting of the State Council on May 3, 1897, it was decided to subordinate all Armenian-Gregorian church schools to the Ministry of Public Education.¹⁸ The Armenian clergy obstructed the implementation of government decisions and sought to prove that school property belonged to churches on the basis of property rights. In this connection, the Chief Judge for the Civil Division of the Caucasus, Prince G.S.Golitsin proposed the immediate secularization of church property.¹⁹

On June 12, 1903, Emperor Nicholas II approved a law on the transfer of all property and capital belonging to the Armenian-Gregorian Church to the state.²⁰ Secularization was carried out under the strong resistance of the Armenians, who obstructed the government officials who carried out this measure. Armed clashes with police and troops took place in Tiflis, Yelizavetpol, Baku, Kars, Shusha, Nakhchivan, Alexandropol, as well as other cities and villages in the South Caucasus.²¹ These clashes showed that the Armenians protested against the decision to transfer state property to the church, and that no harsh government action against the Armenians would be able to prevent them. In fact, something unexpected happened to the tsarist government: for many years, all

¹⁷ Записка об армянских школах / сост. А.В.Петров – Санкт-Петербург, – 1911. – с.33-35.

¹⁸ Qafqazın mülki hissə üzrə baş hakimi Q.S.Qolitsının Bakı qubernatoruna məktubu (Tiflis: iyun, 1897) // Azərbaycan Respublikası Dövlət Tarix Arxivi (bundan sonra – ARDTA), Fond №45, siyahı №2, iş №266, vərəq 84.

¹⁹ Əcnəbi Dinlərin Ruhani İşləri Departamentinin məmuru İ.V.Platonikovun Rusiyadakı erməni-qriqorian kilsəsinə məxsus əmlakın dini təsisatlardan geri alınması haqqında məktubu (Sankt-Peterburq: mart, 1900) // RDTA, Fond №1022, siyahı №1, iş №10, vərəq 74.

²⁰ Stading order of the Committees of Minsters «Concentration of the property management of the Armenian Grigorian Church in Russia under the jurisdiction of government agencies» (St.Petersburg: 12 June 1903) // RSHA, Found №1022, register №1, file №9, papers 24-25.

²¹ Всеподданнейший отчёт о произведённой в 1905 году, по Высочайшему повелению, сенатором Кузминским ревизии города Баку и Бакинской губернии. – Санкт-Петербург, – 1906. – с.50-51.

sections of the people, who were confident in their loyalty, stood in opposition to it.

In the third paragraph, entitled **“The transfer of the activities of Armenian extremist organizations to the South Caucasus”** is stated that since the end of the 19th century, Armenian extremist organizations transferred their activities from the Ottoman Empire to the Caucasus, to the territories of Russian Empire and began to apply the methods of terror and violence they had tested in Ottoman territory. Both government officials and the peaceful Muslim population became victims of this terror and violence. Also, in the 80s and 90s of the 19th century, Armenian revolutionary organizations and parties (“Armenakan”, “Henchak” and “Dashnaktsutyun”) appeared. Armenian nationalist extremism was at its peak in the early 20th century. The main factor that prompted this undoubtedly was the law of June 12, 1903 on the secularization of the property of the Armenian-Gregorian Church. During the reception of the church property, all large and small clashes with the police and the army took place with the direct participation of the Henchakians and Dashnaks. In 1903-1904, the Russian Empire for the first time in the Caucasus felt the bitter result of its centuries-old policy of patronage to its most “reliable” ally.

The beginning of the struggle with the Russian government has also changed the strategy of the “Dashnaktsutyun” party. At the Second Congress held in February 1904, a decision was made to continue the party’s activities in the Caucasus. Propaganda, terrorism, rallies and armed resistance were chosen as the main methods of struggle.²² Chronologically, this event coincided with the rise of the workers’ movement in the South Caucasus, including its main industrial center, Baku. Taking advantage of the opportunity, the Armenian parties decided not to stay out of the process and join the ranks of political forces leading the strike movement. Of course, their goal was to use the strikes, which created additional

²² Киракосян, Н.Б. Создание и деятельность партии «Дашнакцутюн» (1890-1907 гг.) // История национальных политических партий России. Материалы международной конференции, – Москва: 21-22 мая, – 1997, – с.177.

opportunities in the fight against autocracy. In the context of studying this issue, another important aspect - the attitude of Armenian extremist parties to Azerbaijanis, is investigated in the paragraph. This attitude determined the tactics of the subsequent struggle of the Dashnaks and Henschakians in the South Caucasus and led to terror and violence against the peaceful population of Azerbaijan.

As is well known, Muslims were not only reluctant to take part in revolutionary actions, but also actively resisted attempts to involve them in it. On the eve of the massacres - in 1904-1905, the Dashnaks issued declarations calling Azerbaijanis to join the revolutionary parties fighting against tsarism. Azerbaijanis rejected such proposals, and Muslim workers grounding on the fact that they could be deprived of their salaries during the strikes were not interested in participating in the strikes. In response, the Armenians began to spread threatening statements, promising to kill influential Muslim figures.²³

However, such a harsh response from the Azerbaijanis was not only due to their lack of sympathy for the revolutionary actions. It was a logical reaction to the contradictions that had developed between the two nations over the years. Although these conflicts had never been accompanied by large-scale inter-ethnic clashes, local conflicts did occur. As can be seen from the archival documents, such conflicts between Armenians and Azerbaijanis became systematic from the summer of 1904. Such everyday life conflicts were complicated by years of contradictions and animosity, and were usually accompanied by armed conflicts and victims.²⁴ The increase

²³ Джаббаров, Ф.Р. Армянский террор против азербайджанцев накануне межнационального конфликта 1905-1906 гг. // – Баки: Milli Azərbaycan Tarixi Muzeyinin Elmi əsərləri, 2018. – с.154-168.

²⁴ Review of V.M.Voronov, prosecutor of the Baku district court, to Baku governor's office (11 March 1905) // SHARA, Found №484, register №3, file №4, paper 94; Report of Baku governor's M.A.Nakashidze about events 6-9 February 1905 in Baku (28 February 1905) // SHARA, Found №484, register №3, file №4, paper 120; Representation of V.M.Voronov, prosecutor of the Baku district court, to K.K.Alexandrov-Dolnik, prosecutor of the Tiflis judicial chamber (7 March 1905) // RSHA, Found №1405, register №107, file №11393, paper 37.

in Armenian provocations had an aim to achieve the Azerbaijanis response reaction and to create confrontation in the city. In doing so, the Armenians tried to achieve two goals: to start terror acts against the civilian Azerbaijani population and to take the fight against the government to a new level. Thus, the Armenians intended to apply in Baku the tactics that they had tried for decades in the Ottoman state - to carry out killings and violence against Muslims in parallel with the struggle against the government.

The last-fourth paragraph, entitled **“The Armenian nationalist extremism in the plans of foreign countries to disturb the stability in the South Caucasus”**, illuminates the relation of the Dashnaks with British and Japanese special services, which sought to weaken Russia and divide it from within. From the end of 1903, there were reports about Armenians’ provocations in the Caucasus prepared with the help of Great Britain.²⁵

The country, which the Armenian political forces established extensive relations with, was Japan, that started the war with Russia in 1904. Japanese intelligence paid special attention to plans to open an internal front against the tsar. The Armenian “Dashnaktsutyun” party, known for its radicalism and terrorism, was in Japan’s interest.

The first relations between the Dashnaks and the Japanese began in the summer of 1904, when Japanese intelligence officials were discussing preparations for an armed uprising in the South Caucasus. Interestingly, among the representatives of non-Russian parties with whom the Japanese had relations, the issue of anti-government uprisings was discussed with the Armenians.²⁶

In the autumn of 1905, Japan launched a special operation to bring a great delivery of weapons to the Caucasus via the Black Sea. At that time, Armenian terror was raging in Baku, Iravan, Shusha, Nakhchivan and Tiflis. Armenians trying to achieve their goals

²⁵ Гасымлы, М.Дж. Анатолия и Южный Кавказ в 1724-1920-е гг.: в поисках исторической истины. – Москва, –2014. – с.83-84, 93.

²⁶ Павлов, Д.Б. Японские деньги и первая русская революция. – Москва, – 2011. – с.55; Старков, Б.А. Охотники на шпионов. Контрразведка Российской империи. 1903-1914 гг. – Санкт-Петербург, – 2004: [Электронный ресурс]. URL: www.bookfb2.ru.

needed a lot of weapons. The ship “Sirius” was bought to deliver weapons to the Caucasus. Although there is no information in the sources and special literature about the Armenians use the weapons brought by “Sirius”, this can be assumed, because in late 1905-early 1906, the Armenian armed attacks on the Azerbaijani population intensified.²⁷

Chapter II, entitled “**The beginning of Armenians’ mass terror against Azerbaijanis - the events of 1905-1906**” consists of three paragraphs. The first paragraph, entitled “**The February massacres of 1905 in Baku**”, clarifies the details of the first Armenian-Azerbaijani clashes in Baku. The four-day massacre in the city was triggered by the murder of Baku resident Agarza Babayev on February 6, 1905. A detailed analysis of the investigation documents²⁸ on this criminal case showed that the incident played the role of a spark that caused a big explosion that escalated tensions between Armenians and Azerbaijanis and provoked the massacres that began on the same day.

In itself, the murder of A.Babayev was certainly not the main reason for the outrage of Azerbaijanis. They saw this case as the last drop of their patience. Numerous provocations by Armenians in the past, including the killing of civilians in the city, aggravated the situation, and therefore, according to one of the archival documents, “*the news of Babayev’s murder spread like lightning throughout the city, especially in Muslim quarters and alarmed the Tatar [Azerbaijani - F.J.] population*”.²⁹ Shooting and killings began in the city. The archival materials at our disposal categorically refute the claims of Armenian and pro-Armenian historians that Azerbaijanis

²⁷ Джаббаров, Ф.Р. К вопросу об «иностранном следе» в армяно-азербайджанской резне 1905 г. // – Bakı: Bakı Dövlət Universitetinin Xəbərləri, Humanitar elmlər seriyası, – 2016. №3, – с.79.

²⁸ Джаббаров, Ф.Р. Материалы следственного дела об убийстве Ага Рзы Бабаева как источник по изучению причин и хода февральской резни 1905 г. в Баку // – Bakı: АМЕА А.А.Вакıханов adına Tarix İnstitutunun Elmi əsərləri, – 2014. Cild 51, – с.152-168.

²⁹ Report of Baku governor’s M.A.Nakashidze about events 6-9 February 1905 in Baku (28 February 1905) // SHARA, Found №484, register №3, file №4, paper 114.

had always been the first to attack during the massacres. It turns out that the first murders in the days of the massacres were committed by Armenians. Another noteworthy point is that the killings took place in the morning, i.e., the first fire was opened by Armenians, and the Azerbaijanis were forced to respond.³⁰

The episodes of inter-ethnic clashes that lasted from 6th to 9th February, the two attempts of the Baku provincial administration to reach a truce and the repeated violations of these attempts by Armenians, the results of the February massacres and the assessment of the parties were investigated in detail.

The number of deaths in the February massacres was also analyzed in depth. Armenians and some authors in solidarity with them still try to substantiate the idea that the Armenian side suffered more victims during the massacres. References to statistics on the number of dead and wounded were always intended to justify the role of outside forces: the large number of Armenians allegedly injured in the massacres indicates that the government had a plan to massacre Armenians by the hands of Azerbaijanis. Our research shows that the figures for the number of deaths in bloody clashes are approximate and inaccurate. Official data really shows that the number of dead people from Armenian side was more. However, a very important point is not taken into account: as stated in the report of Baku Governor M.A.Nakashidze and the report of Senator A.M.Kuzminsky, the information on the number of Azerbaijanis killed and injured is inaccurate. The dead bodies of Muslims were often taken by relatives and buried immediately. As the bodies were not registered, it was not possible to calculate the exact number of dead and injured.³¹ As a result, it can be concluded that the losses of Azerbaijanis were no less than those of Armenians. For this reason, the use of statistics on the number of victims in the inter-ethnic

³⁰ Report of Grigorenko, chief of the Zavokzalni police station of the Baku city (19 February 1905) //SHARA, Found №185, register №11, file №80, papers 98-99; Report of M.Mamedbekov, police chief of the 1st station of the Baku city (16 February 1905) // SHARA, Found №185, register №11, file №80, papers 88-90.

³¹ Джаббаров, Ф.Р. Армянский экстремизм на Южном Кавказе, – с.233.

conflict requires researchers to take a critical approach and compare it with other historical sources.

In the second paragraph, entitled **“On the activities of the authorities during the February massacre and their role in elimination of its results”**, are investigated the measures taken by the local administration, police and troops to end the clashes. The government’s approach to inter-ethnic clashes as a premeditated and provoked action not only defines the priorities in the study of events, but also diverts researchers from investigating the real, deeper causes of inter-ethnic conflict, focusing on “exposing” the government. Of course, the dissertation does not aim to idealize the role of the tsarist government: the Russian authorities were aware of the growing tension between Armenians and Azerbaijanis, and thus they are directly responsible for what happened. However, it does not seem serious to accuse the government of trying to destroy an entire nation, because despite the fact that a long time has passed, no convincing and objective evidence in favor of this version has been found.

From the very beginning of the massacres, there were disagreements between the civilian and military authorities. According to archival documents, during the conflict, Baku Governor M.A.Nakashidze and garrison chief V.Y.Bal had different views on the use of troops.³² Police behavior during the February massacres was also an indication of the government’s weakness. The police was inactive, absent from work, involved in robberies, etc. However, there are some objective reasons that do not justify the police, but explain its ineffectiveness. It should be noted that the situation of the Baku police, both quantitatively and qualitatively,

³² Bakı qubernatoru M.A.Nakaşidzenin Bakıdakı 6-9 fevral 1905-ci il hadisələri haqqında məruzəsi (28 fevral 1905) // ARDTA, Fond №484, siyahı №3, iş №4, vərəq 120.

was completely unsatisfactory.³³ In addition, the police did not have pistols, although the Dashnaks were better armed than the police.³⁴

Thus, divergence of opinions between the military and civilian administrations, the small number of Baku garrison, and the weakness of the police were the main factors behind the ineffectiveness of the government during the Baku massacres.

In fact, the Armenians who caused and provoked the conflict, playing with the national and religious feelings of the Azerbaijanis, showed themselves as the victims of provocation by the tsarist government. Today, more than a hundred years later and with the opening of the archives, there are ample opportunities both to criticize Russia's ruling circles for organizing the Armenian-Azerbaijani massacre and to answer the question of who benefited from the 1905 years' inter-ethnic conflict in Baku.

The tsarist government was not particularly interested in undermining the foundations of power by inciting ethnic strife. At that time, it needed to have as few "hot spots" in the territory of the empire, especially in a conflicting region such as the Caucasus. Allegations that the government intended to prevent the strike of February 19 by promoting massacres are speculation. If so, the question inevitably arises: why did tsarism not take this step in July 1903 and December 1904 - during the powerful Baku strikes that shook all Russia? Why did the government resort to this unpopular measure in 1905, which could further reduce its prestige in society? Why did the governor M.A.Nakashidze, whom the Armenians blamed for organizing massacres and assassinated in May 1905, repeatedly ask the supreme government in the Caucasus to send additional troops in February? By the way, M.A.Nakashidze, who is accused of inciting the "Armenian massacres", in response to this, appealed before his opponents to Tiflis and St. Petersburg to send a

³³ Bakı qubernatoru M.A.Nakaşidzenin Bakıdakı 6-9 fevral 1905-ci il hadisələri haqqında məruzəsi (28 fevral 1905) // ARDTA, Fond №484, siyahı №3, iş №4, vərəq 110-119 arx.

³⁴ Bakı vitse-qubernatoru P.A.Lileyevin Bakı general-qubernatoru S.A.Fadəyevə məktubu (24 sentyabr 1905) // ARDTA, Fond №484, siyahı №1, iş №18, vərəqlər 10-11 arx.

commission to Baku to investigate the events of February 6-9 and repeated his request for many times. The question is: could a person whom the Armenian propaganda calls a “secret instigator and organizer of the massacres” be interested in sending a commission that could reveal the “facts” of his support for Azerbaijanis against Armenians? It should also be noted that during this period, Russia continued the war with Japan and was consistently defeated in battles. It is very doubtful that at such a difficult and controversial time, the government was interested in weakening the country’s political and economic foundations through ethnic massacres. It should be noted that the massacres began in Baku - the center of the oil industry, and the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict led to the destruction of hundreds of mines, the loss of workers and employees, the disruption of the oil industry.

Analysis of the events that took place on the eve of the February massacres and during the massacres shows that only one force, the Dashnaktsutyun party, was interested in destabilizing and inciting ethnic conflict. During the massacres, the Dashnaks fought against the main obstacle to their idea of a “Greater Armenia” - the Azerbaijanis, as well as the tsarist administration, which fought against Armenian extremism. It is no coincidence that Count I.I.Vorontsov-Dashkov, who was appointed governor-general of the Caucasus after the February massacres, noted that the Dashnaks played a key role in the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict.³⁵

The archival sources confirm that in 1905, 200.000 rubles from 500.000 to 600.000 rubles at the disposal of the “Dashnaktsutyun” party were spent on armaments.³⁶ The party, which created its armed forces, mobilized about 100.000 people during the massacres and

³⁵ Всеподданнейшая записка по управлению Кавказским краем генерал-адъютанта графа Воронцова-Дашкова. – Санкт-Петербург, – 1907. – с.11-13.

³⁶ Protocol of the meeting of the assembly district «Dashnaktsutyun» party» (Tiflis: 13 November 1905) // The Archive of Socio-Political Documents of the Presidential Administration of the Republic of Azerbaijan (ASPD PARA), Found №276, register №8, file №256, paper 5.

spent 100.000 rubles on their maintenance.³⁷ Thus, this big, well-armed force was fighting against the Azerbaijani people not only in Baku, but also in other regions of the South Caucasus.

The activity of senator A.M.Kuzminski who was sent to Baku to investigate the reasons of February massacre is analyzed in the dissertation. The investigation of senator A.M.Kuzminski, as well as the investigation on the February massacres, did not reveal the names of the real organizers and supporters of the events. The perpetrators were not found and remained free, which had a direct impact on new inter-ethnic clashes in the region in 1905-1906. This fact can be considered the main failure of the investigation. The facts presented in senator A.M.Kuzminski's report were mostly based on the testimony of Armenians, who presented themselves as innocent victims and blamed the Azerbaijanis. However, the report does not provide any details about the attacks on Azerbaijanis, the looting of their homes and shops. The senator did not mention in his report that Azerbaijanis were fired upon from Armenian homes and that Azerbaijanis had to answer for their protection.³⁸

The fourth paragraph, entitled **“Intensification of the Armenian-Azerbaijani confrontation in the South Caucasus (February-July, 1905)”** deals with the impact of the February massacres on other regions of the South Caucasus, including Yelizavetpol, Tiflis and Iravan. The most dangerous situation was in Yelizavetpol province, where the conflict could have upraised not only the urban but also the rural population. According to sources, it would be impossible to prevent clashes due to the lack of troops in the province.³⁹ Although there were no large-scale Armenian-

³⁷ Information about organization and revolutionary activities of the «Dashnaksutyun» party (without date) // ASPDPARA, Found №276, register №8, file №259, paper 8.

³⁸ Джаббаров, Ф.Р. Материалы ревизии сенатора А.М.Кузминского как источник по изучению армяно-азербайджанской резни 1905 г. // – Ростов-на-Дону: Северо-Кавказский юридический вестник, – 2016. №4, – с. 137-140.

³⁹ Report of K.K.Alexandrov-Dolnik, prosecutor of the Tiflis judicial chamber, about revolutionary and nationalist movement in the South Caucasus (20 October 1904) // SHARA, Found №1, register №2, file №1, paper 8.

Azerbaijani clashes in the city of Yelizavetpol in the first half of 1905, the situation was different in the uyezds of Yelizavetpol province. In February-March 1905, local clashes took place in Shusha uyezd.⁴⁰

In February-June of 1905 the Iravan province became the main centre of inter-ethnic confrontation. In Baku, as well as in Iravan existed such a situation that one small spark would be enough to change mutual hostility and enmity from ordinary crime into a great tragedy. On February 21, Armenians began to attack Azerbaijanis. In less than half an hour, 7 Azerbaijanis were killed and 12 were injured. One person was killed and 6 were wounded by Armenians.⁴¹ According to witnesses, the shooting took place in the houses of Armenians, but the police could not find the shooters. Clashes ended on February 22, and a peace demonstration led by Armenian and Muslim clerics passed through the streets.⁴²

Along with the city of Iravan, Armenian-Azerbaijani clashes took place in the Iravan province as well. Tensions began to rise in Nakhchivan under the influence of the events in Baku and Iravan. In May 1905, it became the site of another bloody massacre. Armenian propaganda presented the Azerbaijani side as the culprit in the events in Nakhchivan and spread lies about the massacres of Armenians. In fact, according to sources, the attacking party in Nakhchivan was Armenians.⁴³

⁴⁰ Letter of N.A.Lutsau, Yelizavetpol's governments, to I.I.Vorontsov-Dashkov, Governor's of the Caucasus (14 May 1905) // SHARA, Found №524, register №1, file №12, paper 6.

⁴¹ Султанов, Э. Эриванские события // Каспий, – 1905, 2 марта. – с.3.

⁴² Letter of J.Nakchivanski, Nakchivan state head, to I.I.Vorontsov-Dashkov, Governor's of the Caucasus (5 Mai 1905) // Central State Historical Archive of the Georgia (CSHAG), Found №13, register №29, file №1, paper 20; Letter of Yakovlev, chief of the Iravan provincial gendarme office, to K.N.Ridzevski, chief of the gendarmes (12 Mai 1905) // State Archive of the Russian Federation, Found №102 ОО 1905 г., register №233 а, file №1350 chapter 73, papers 6, 8.

⁴³ Джаббаров, Ф.Р. К вопросу о «панисламистском следе» в межнациональном конфликте на Южном Кавказе в 1905-1906 гг. – // Махачкала: Исламоведение, – 2017. Т.8, №4, – с. 57.

During the massacres in Iravan province, the Armenians again resorted to a propaganda campaign in the press in order to present the other side as the cause of the conflict. The conflict in Nakhchivan and Iravan in May-June 1905 revealed a new feature of Armenian propaganda. If earlier Armenian public figures and publicists in their articles and statements presented the government as a common enemy of both Armenians and Azerbaijanis as the cause of ethnic clashes, now the emphasis was on another force that allegedly provoked the clashes. This time, the ideology of pan-Islamism was guilty. The supporters of pan-Islamism, who came to the Caucasus from the Ottoman state, allegedly propagated the idea of a common struggle against Christians among Azerbaijanis, and this struggle was aimed at the destruction of Armenians. The emergence of the Pan-Islamist factor was not accidental. By giving a religious tone to the ethnic conflicts, the Armenians wanted to draw public attention to the idea that if they were the first victims of fanatical Muslims, the next victims might be Russians and other Christians. Thus, by inciting anti-Muslim sentiment, the Armenians once again wanted to raise the idea that the Russian Empire and all Christians are faced with the threat of Islam.⁴⁴

The third chapter of the dissertation, entitled “**The second wave of Armenian terror (August 1905-1906)**”, is devoted to the events that began in the second half of 1905. The first paragraph, entitled “**The August massacre in 1905 in Shusha**”, states that the Dashnaks by enrolling new bandits and acquiring weapons had increased their forces, expanded both the scale and geography of terror against the Azerbaijani people. On August 16-20, 1905, ethnic massacres took place in Shusha district of Yelizavetpol province, and here, too, everything began with the attacks of the Dashnaks on the Azerbaijani population. The Azerbaijani side also took measures to be protected against Armenian terror. In response to the burning of houses, Azerbaijanis took the same steps, sometimes more actively than the Armenians. The capture of the church on August 17, which the Armenians turned into a strategic base and used as a firing point,

⁴⁴ Муслим. Шушинские события // Каспий. – 1905, 6 сентября. – с. 3-4.

can be considered a serious success for the Azerbaijani side.⁴⁵ During the fighting, Azerbaijani self-defense forces forced the Dashnaks to retreat, occupying a more favorable position in the heights of the city.

Despite the ceasefire, Armenian-Azerbaijani clashes in Shusha continued throughout the second half of 1905. Fearing the tactic of frequent attacks on Azerbaijani villages, the Armenians blocked the Muslim population of Shusha. Dashnak units blocked the Aghdam and Shusha road near Askaran. This was one of the longest sieges of Shusha, which began in August 1905 and continued in 1906. The complete severance of the connection left the population in danger of starvation and complete extinction. The closure of the road from Askaran Fortress and all roads from Aghdam to Shusha by Armenians deprived not only the city population, but also Muslims living in Shusha, Jabrayil and Zangazur districts of access to food and basic necessities.⁴⁶

The Shusha massacre, which marked the beginning of the second phase of the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict, attracts attention in several ways. First, it was during the massacres in Shusha in August 1905 that the Azerbaijani side suffered more significant losses for the first time in the history of ethnic clashes. This immediately affected the mood of Muslims in other regions of the South Caucasus, and sparked new clashes both in the Yelizavetpol province and beyond, including in Baku. Second, the Armenians, taking into account the reasons for their previous failures in Baku, Nakhchivan and Iravan, prepared more thoroughly for the Shusha massacres. Finally, it was in Shusha that Armenians began to organize attacks and killings to reduce the number of Azerbaijanis and expel them from their native lands. This is the only explanation

⁴⁵ Report of S.N.Fleysher, former Yelizavetpol's general-governments, to I.I.Vorontsov-Dashkov, Governor's of the Caucasus (2 March 1906) // CSHAG, Found №83, register №1, file №380, paper 137.

⁴⁶ Джаббаров, Ф.Р. Армянский экстремизм на Южном Кавказе, – с.485.

for the continuous attacks on the Muslim part of the city, the closure of vital roads and the blockade of Azerbaijani settlements.⁴⁷

The second paragraph, entitled “**The August and October massacres in 1905 in Baku**” illuminates the more severe and long-lasting phase of the Armenian-Azerbaijani massacres compared to the second, February events. The massacres in Baku in August 1905 began after an incident - a strike of employees of the city *konka* (horse-drawn tram), consisting mainly of Armenians. On August 19, the *konka* employees were replaced by soldiers of the Baku garrison. The strikers used various means to prevent the move of *konka* in the city. After the police prevented these actions and fired the *konka* employees, the Armenians opened fire on the soldiers who took their place and started riots.⁴⁸ However, the event of August 19 was the impetus for a large-scale provocation, and the target of this provocation was not the soldiers who started working in the fields, but the Azerbaijani population of Baku. This is confirmed by the shooting of Muslims in the streets from the Armenian houses immediately after the shooting. So, the provocation of August 19 was a kind of signal to a new stage of terror against Azerbaijanis. Another fact that confirmed the choice of Azerbaijanis, not soldiers, as the target, was that not a single employee was killed during the shooting, so the Armenians did not set such a goal. From August 20 to September 1, the Dashnaks committed large-scale killings, violence, looting and arson in Baku: 121 people were killed, $\frac{3}{4}$ of whom were Muslims (mostly locals and workers from South Azerbaijan).⁴⁹

⁴⁷ Report of A.V.Izbash, chief of the Baku police, to S.A.Fadeyev, Baku's general-governments (28 August 1905) // SHARA, Found №484, register №1, file №30, paper 173; Telegram of S.A.Fadeyev, Baku's general-governments, to I.I.Vorontsov-Dashkov, Governor's of the Caucasus (20 August 1905) // ASPDPARA, Found №456, register №7, file №94 6, paper 49.

⁴⁸ Bakı polismeysteri A.V.İzbaşın Bakı general-qubernatoru S.A.Fadeyevə raportu (28 avqust 1905) // ARDTA, Fond №484, siyahı №1, iş №30, vərəq 173; Bakı general-qubernatoru S.A.Fadeyevin Qafqaz canişini İ.İ.Vorontsov-Daşkova teleqramı (20 avqust 1905) // ARPİİİSSA, Fond №456, siyahı №7, iş №94 6, vərəq 49.

⁴⁹ Report of P.P.Globa, chief of the Baku provincial gendarme office, to Department of the police (3 September 1905) // ASPDPARA, Found №276,

Unlike the February massacres, the August events were more widespread in the suburbs - in the oil region, where they became one of the hotspots of the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict. According to the Chief of Baku uyezd D.A.Khechinov, the cause of the riots here was Armenians.⁵⁰ Azerbaijanis, who were worse armed and unprepared for Armenian terror, began burning oil fields in response. Left defenseless against a well-prepared enemy, they saw this means as the only way to respond to the Armenians. However, according to archival sources, contrary to some beliefs, the fires were started not only by Azerbaijanis, but by Armenians as well.⁵¹

The paragraph also deals in detail with the plan of governor-general I.I.Vorontsov-Dashkov to expel the Azerbaijani population from the oil fields of Baku. In our opinion, the reason for the emergence of such a plan could be the attitude to the events formed under the influence of Armenians. Armenians tried to put all the blame for the August massacres on the Azerbaijanis in order to cleanse the Baku villages from the Muslim population.⁵² However, due to the appeals of the population and the protests of the Azerbaijani public, I.I.Vorontsov-Dashkov, who understood the economic consequences of the step and its reaction among the Muslim population of the South Caucasus, postponed the resettlement. Later, the issue was removed from the agenda.

register №8, file №112, paper 61; Report of A.V.Izbash, chief of the Baku police, to S.A.Fadeyev, Baku's general-governments (28 August 1905) // SHARA, Found №484, register №1, file №30, paper 177.

⁵⁰ Report of P.P.Globa, chief of the Baku provincial gendarme office, to Department of the police (3 September 1905) // ASPDPARA, Found №276, register №8, file №112, paper 63; Letter of G.Eclund, head of the Baku branch of the Nobel brothers company, to direction of the company in St-Petersburg (Baku: 26 August 1905) // RSHA, Found №727, register №2, file №87, paper 9.

⁵¹ Bakı Quberniya Jandarm İdarəsinin rəisi P.P.Qlobanın Polis Departamentinə məlumatı (3 sentyabr 1905) // ARPIİSSA, Fond №276, siyahı №8, iş №112, vərəq 63; Nobel Qardaşları Şirkətinin Bakı şöbəsinin rəhbəri Q.Eklundun şirkətin Sankt-Peterburqdakı idarə heyətinə məktubu (Bakı: 26 avqust 1905) // RDTA, Fond №727, siyahı №2, iş №87, vərəq 9 arx.

⁵² Letter of I.I.Vorontsov-Dashkov, Governor's of the Caucasus, to S.A.Fadeyev, Baku's general-governments (Tiflis: 4 September 1906) // SHARA, Found №1, register №1, file №1219, paper 10.

In October 1905, the Armenians made a last attempt to cause unrest and massacre in Baku. This time they committed violence not only against the Azerbaijani population, but also against the Russians. During the demonstration in the city in connection with the announcement of the imperial manifesto on political freedoms on October 17, Armenians resorted to provocation. A crowd of mostly Russian workers and a group of Azerbaijani demonstrators who joined them came under fire from Armenian houses when the Russian workers and a few Azerbaijanis were marching during the demonstration in the streets with portraits of the emperor and state flags. Troops responded with fire, and some of the participants from the crowd began to burn those houses. According to archival documents, shells and bullets exploded in Armenian houses during the fires, indicating that Armenians were preparing for another riot in Baku. The purpose of the provocation was to aggravate the situation in the city once again and to retaliate against the protesters and soldiers. As before, the rumors about the “slaughter” of the Armenians were intended to be raised. The Caucasian administration described the October riots as Armenian massacres.⁵³ Such an approach and the pro-Armenian policy of the Caucasian administration undoubtedly created a favorable environment for Armenians. They felt that their attitude had changed for the better, and they used it to their advantage. Seeing the gradual softening of the policy in the “Armenian issue”, the Armenian extremist circles, feeling their impunity, further expanded the terrorist attacks against the Azerbaijani people. After failing to achieve significant success in Baku, they decided to expand their activities to the other three provinces of the South Caucasus - Yelizavetpol, Tiflis and Iravan.

The third paragraph, entitled “**Massacres in the autumn of 1905 - 1906 in Yelizavetpol Province**”, deals with the Armenian-Azerbaijani clashes in the city of Yelizavetpol and in the uyezds of the province. During the massacres in Yelizavetpol on November 18-

⁵³ Qafqazın polis rəisi Y.N.Şirinkinin Bakı general-qubernatoru S.A.Fadəyevə teleqramı (Tiflis: tarixsiz) // ARPIİSSA, Fond №456, siyahı №7, iş №94 a, vərəq 56.

24, the Azerbaijanis managed to repel the attacks of the Armenians and inflict heavy losses on them.⁵⁴ The events in Yelizavetpol had affected the whole province. Clashes in Shusha, Zangazur, Karyagin (formerly Jabrayil) and Javanshir uyezds since August had intensified under the influence of the Yelizavetpol massacre. During the massacres in Yelizavetpol province, the tactics of the Dashnaks were also aimed at clearing the territories of Muslims for living of the Armenian population. To some extent, they were able to do so in the mountainous part of the province.⁵⁵

In early 1906, the bloodiest events took place in Shusha uyezd of Yelizavetpol province. Armenians not only attacked Azerbaijanis, but also continued to block the road to Shusha.⁵⁶ The Azerbaijani population repeatedly appealed to the government to force the Armenians to open the road, but these appeals had remained unanswered for a long time.

The Shusha massacres were characterized by a change in the attitude of the local administration to the parties to the conflict. Major-General V.N.Goloshapov, who was appointed governor-general of some uyezds of Yelizavetpol province, took an obvious anti-Azerbaijani position. The governor-general's bias, turning a blind eye to the crimes of the Armenians and, conversely, bias against the Azerbaijanis caused just dissatisfaction among Muslims. In July 1906, a group of representatives of the Azerbaijani public appealed to Prime Minister P.A.Stolipov to recall V.N.Goloshapov, "*led by the Armenian Revolutionary Committee*", from Shusha.⁵⁷

⁵⁴ Ордубади, М.С. Кровавые годы. История армяно-мусульманской войны на Кавказе в 1905-1906 годах. – Санкт-Петербург, – 2010. – с. 130; Хасмамедов, А. Правда о елисаветпольских событиях // Каспий. – 1906, 2 февраля. – с. 3.

⁵⁵ Keçmiş Yelizavetpol general-qubernatoru V.A.Alftanın Qafqazdakı müasir vəziyyət haqqında qeydi (Tiflis: 23 iyul 1908) // ARPIİSSA, Fond №276, siyahı №8, iş №269, vərəq 93.

⁵⁶ Yelizavetpol Dairə Məhkəməsinin prokuroru A.A.Skulskinin Ədliyyə Nazirliyinə məruzəsi (5 yanvar 1906) // RDTA, Fond №1405, siyahı №110, iş №3461, vərəq 22-22 arx.

⁵⁷ Note of V.A.Alftan, former Yelizavetpol's general-governments about present situation in Caucasus (Tiflis: 23 July 1908) // ASPDPARA, Found №276, register №8, file №269, paper 93.

The dissatisfaction of the Azerbaijani public from V.N.Goloshapov was growing, and the police reported that the position of the Azerbaijanis was getting tougher. According to the government, the pro-Armenian position of the governor-general led to the rapid armament of Muslims.⁵⁸ This fact, as well as the consistent complaints of Azerbaijanis against the governor-general yield results. At the end of August 1906, V.N.Goloshapov was removed from his post.⁵⁹

The second stage of ethnic conflicts in the mentioned regions is analyzed in the paragraph entitled “**The massacres in Iravan and Tiflis provinces in the autumn of 1905-1906**”. According to the 1905 report of the governor of Iravan, the number of victims during the Armenian-Azerbaijani massacres in the province exceeded 600 (358 Muslims and 290 Armenians). 177 Muslims and 164 Armenians were injured, and the number of missing was 41 and 84, respectively.⁶⁰ The last stage of the massacres that began in Iravan in May 1906 was accompanied by more casualties among Azerbaijanis.⁶¹

At the end of 1905, a new stage of tension in Armenian-Azerbaijani relations began in Tiflis. Most of those killed during the massacres in Tiflis were Azerbaijanis.⁶² The ceasefire agreement reached on November 23 was not lasting; the Armenians violated the

⁵⁸ Appeal from representatives of the Muslim population to P.A.Stolipin, minister of internal affairs (Tiflis: July 1906) // ASPDPARA, Found №276, register №8, file №79, paper 17.

⁵⁹ Letter of M.T.Zaushkevich, chief of the Tiflis provincial gendarme office, to Y.N.Shirinkin, head of the police in Caucasus (2 August 1906) // ASPDPARA, Found №276, register №8, file №170, papers 4-5.

⁶⁰ «Армянский вопрос» на Кавказе. По материалам российских архивов и изданий. 1724-1914: [в 3 томах]. / Сост. и коммент.: Гейдаров Т.К., Багиев Т.Р., Шукюрюв К.К. – Санкт-Петербург, – т. 2: 1905-1906. – 2011. – с. 611.

⁶¹ 1906-cı ilin iyununda İrəvan şəhərində toqquşmalar haqqında məlumatlar // GMDTA, Fond №83, siyahı №1, iş №207, vərəqlər 137-138 arx.

⁶² Report of chief of the Tiflis police to Y.N.Shirinkin, head of the police in Caucasus (2 December 1905) // CSHAG, Found №83, register №1, file №53, paper 129.

peace and opened fire on the Azerbaijanis again, burning their houses and shops.

The Armenian-Azerbaijani massacres in Iravan and Tiflis provinces became one of the most tragic pages in the history of the ethnic conflicts. Despite the lack of accurate statistics on the number of victims, as well as the fact that the massacres in these regions were shorter than in Yelizavetpol province, the available sources give a clear idea on the scale of Armenian terror against the Muslim population in these two regions of the South Caucasus in 1905-1906.

Chapter IV of the dissertation is entitled **“The results and lessons of the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict of 1905-1906”**. The first paragraph, entitled **“The government measures for elimination the consequences of the massacres”** deals with the changes in the administrative policy of the Russian Empire in the regions where the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict took place. The main purpose of these changes was to establish peace as soon as possible, to put an end to the riots that took place both on the national level and on the basis of general revolutionary upheavals. To this end, the government resorted to the application of special regimes in the South Caucasus, declaring martial law in some regions and creating general-governorships. But without a doubt, the most important measure of the imperial government was the restoration of general-governorship in the Caucasus on February 26, 1905. Count I.I.Vorontsov-Dashkov was appointed governor-general of the Caucasus. He played a decisive role in changing the political course in relation to the Armenians, and was able to convince Nicholas II of the need to return the property of the Armenian Church, which came under state control. Emphasizing the international significance of the “Armenian question”, he wanted to weaken the separatism of the Armenians within the empire by making concessions and change the hostility of world Armenians against the dictatorship that “oppressed” the Armenian Church.

On August 1, 1905, the emperor signed a decree ordering the return of property and income from Armenian churches and

monasteries.⁶³ Thus, owing to I.I.Vorontsov-Dashkov, the Armenians re-formed the idea that, despite being an unreliable ally, the Russian Empire could not do without Armenians in its domestic and foreign policy. It is no coincidence that the prosecutor of the Echmiadzin Synod, L.A.Frankel, considered that in 1905, *“partly due to the requests of the Catholicos, and partly due to the letters of his governor-general, all the demands of the Armenians”* were met.⁶⁴

It is stated in the paragraph that the Caucasian administration also used political means to reconcile the parties of the conflict. Among these events, the Armenian-Azerbaijani peace congress held in Tiflis in 1906 should be especially noted. At the congress, Azerbaijani and Armenian representatives discussed the causes of the conflict and the prevention of future confrontations. Using the tribune of the congress, the Azerbaijani representatives exposed the lies of the Armenians, who were trying to remove the responsibility for their extremist organizations and present themselves as victims of government provocation and Muslim fanaticism.⁶⁵

The paragraph of the dissertation entitled **“The impact of the conflict on the socio-economic life of the South Caucasus”** elucidates that the conflict of 1905-1906 was a real test for the Baku oil industry. According to statistics, as a result of the August riots, 1994 oil wells were burned in the oil field,⁶⁶ the total amount of

⁶³ Decree of Emperor Nicholas II to the Governing Senate (St.Petersburg: 1 August 1905) // RSHA, Found №1276, register №19, file №2, papers 88-89.

⁶⁴ Eçmiədzin Sinodunun prokuroru L.A.Frenkelin Əcnəbi Dinlərin Ruhani İşləri Departamentinin direktoru V.V.Valdimirova məktubu (21 oktyabr 1907) // RDTA, Fond №821, siyahı №138, iş №90, vərəq 158 arx.

⁶⁵ Джаббаров, Ф.Р. По следам одной фотографии или еще раз об армяно-азербайджанском съезде 1906 г. // – Баки: Milli Azərbaycan Tarixi Muzeyinin Elmi əsərləri – 2017, – с.238-255.

⁶⁶ Нефтяное дело. – 1905, 11 октября, №16-17. – стлб. 1653; Обзор бакинской нефтяной промышленности за 1905 г.: [в 2 томах] – Баку, – Т. 1. – 1906. – с. II.

damage amounted to roughly 25 million rubles.⁶⁷ In November 1905, the Russian government, taking measures to restore the destroyed oil industry of Baku, allocated 20 million rubles from the treasury to the owners of fields and factories to restore work.⁶⁸ The tragedy of August 1905, which left a deep trace in the history of the Baku oil industry, pushed the industry back several decades and forever deprived the Russian Empire of its leading position in world oil production.

The Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict had serious economic consequences for Yelizavetpol and Iravan provinces. Unlike the Baku province, those regions were agrarian provinces. The damage caused by ethnic clashes to grain, viticulture, cotton and silk production is investigated in the dissertation. However, unlike the oil industry, the government did not provide assistance in these areas, and they were forced to rebuild the destroyed economy at their own expense. As a result, some sectors of the economy were lagging behind for a long time, which in turn had negatively affected the well-being of the population.

In the third paragraph, **“The impact of conflict on the socio-political consolidation of Azerbaijani society”** is noted that inter-ethnic clashes had stimulated public forces in North Azerbaijan not only to achieve peace, but also to protect their nation from armed attacks by Dashnaks, forced Muslims to unite to protect themselves from the blackmail of the Armenian and Russian press, which described Muslims as the instigators of the massacres and a tool in the hands of the tsarist regime. Later, the task of protecting the Azerbaijani population of Yelizavetpol province from the open pro-

⁶⁷ Telegram of I.I.Vorontsov-Dashkov, Governor's of the Caucasus, to Emperor Nicholas II (Tiflis: 11 September 1905) // RSHA, Found №1276, register №19, file №24, paper 1.

⁶⁸ Правила выдачи ссуд из казны нефтепромышленникам Бакинского района на предмет восстановления промысловых работ, установленные министрами финансов и торговли и промышленности, по соглашению с государственным контролёром, во исполнение § 2 и 8 Высочайше утверждённого 11 ноября 1905 года положения Комитета министров // Нефтяное дело. – 1905, 31 декабря, № 22-24. – стлб. 2164.

Armenian position and policy of some local officials was added to the task of defending from the Armenians as well.

The Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict gave impetus to the establishment of the first national political organizations in North Azerbaijan. The level of political organization of the Azerbaijani people became more pronounced in 1906. In August-September of the same year, the “Difai” party was formed in Baku.⁶⁹ The party founders saw its role in protecting the Muslim population from both Armenian terror and local administration officials, who severely deprived Muslims and promoted Armenian terror.

Azerbaijani public figures aimed to create a political party with armed self-defense forces capable of responding to Armenian terror. They realized that the struggle with a well-organized enemy would always end in favor of the latter, and they took into account that, with a few exceptions, the entire Armenian population of the South Caucasus was united in the struggle against the Azerbaijanis.⁷⁰

Founded in May 1907, the “Mudafie (Defense)” organization, which operated in the western part of the Yelizavetpol province and in the adjacent uyezds of Tiflis province, also declared the protection of the violated rights of Muslims as its main motto.⁷¹

The period of activities of “Difai” and “Mudafie” coincided with the changes in the views of some public and political figures of Azerbaijan on the Armenian-Azerbaijani massacre. Thus, if earlier they blamed the Armenians for inciting the ethnic massacres, now the emphasis had shifted to accusations against the government administration. This change took place under the influence of mass violence against Azerbaijanis in the western regions, especially in

⁶⁹ “Difai” Qafqaz Ümummüsəlman İttifaqı və “Müdafiə” partiyası haqqında məlumatlar (1908) // ARDTA, Fond №524, siyahı №1, iş №18, vərəq 10.

⁷⁰ Джаббаров, Ф.Р. Влияние армяно-азербайджанского конфликта 1905-1906 гг. на процесс общественно-политической самоорганизации азербайджанского социума // “XX əsrdə türk-müsəlman xalqlarına qarşı soyqırımları” V Beynəlxalq elmi konfransın materialları, – Qusar: – 26-27 aprel, – 2018, – s.132.

⁷¹ «Mudafie» party's appeal (1907) // SHARA, Found №524, register №1, file №18, paper 51.

Shusha, as a result of the pro-Armenian position of V.N.Goloshapov. Moreover, the indifference of the Caucasian administration and its governor to the complaints of Muslims, and the refusal to recall the governor-general, further complicated the situation. Under such circumstances, the government began to be perceived as the main culprit of the ongoing conflict.⁷²

The fourth paragraph, entitled “**The massacre of 1905-1906 as a prologue to genocide against Azerbaijanis in 1918**”, shows the parallels between the two bloody actions of the Armenians against the Azerbaijani people - the events of 1905 and 1918. These events were part of a chauvinist policy aimed at cleansing the South Caucasus of Muslims and establishing Armenian autonomy (later the state) in the lands inhabited by Azerbaijanis. There are other similarities between 1905 and 1918: the Armenians’ long preparation for bloody actions, strong armament, provocations against Azerbaijanis and the personal participation of rich Armenians in acts of violence, and so on. Armenian propaganda also remained unchanged: in both 1905 and 1918, Azerbaijanis were presented as the attacking party, and Armenians as victims.

However, there were fundamental differences between the events of 1905 and 1918. For instance, if there was an interethnic conflict in 1905, genocide was committed against Azerbaijanis in 1918. For the first time, the Armenian provocations, which turned into mass physical violence against Azerbaijanis, were resisted by the national self-defense forces. Therefore, in some regions of the South Caucasus, the losses of Armenians were greater than those of Azerbaijanis, while the Armenians were better prepared and better armed. In 1918, a pre-planned, deliberate genocide resulted in the loss of thousands of Azerbaijanis, more or less due to a lack of organized defense.

Armenians also massacred Azerbaijanis in 1918 as a kind of revenge action for 1905, because at that time their insidious plans did not realize. It should be noted that the events of 1905 and 1918 took

⁷² Джаббаров, Ф.Р. Влияние армяно-азербайджанского конфликта 1905-1906 гг., – с.133-134.

place in different historical conditions. In 1905, the Russian Empire existed and the government, using administrative resources, was able to quell the international conflict. In 1918 the situation was completely different. The separation of the South Caucasus from Russia, the instability in the region, the conflicts between the national factions in the Transcaucasian Seim, the de facto control of Baku by the Russian Bolsheviks created a tense situation and there was no third force to reconcile the parties of the conflict. Also, in 1905, the Armenians directed their terror not only against the Azerbaijanis, but also against the tsarist government, whereas in 1918 the main target of their bloody actions were only Azerbaijanis.⁷³

While preparing for the massacres against Muslims in 1918, the Armenians drew good lessons from the results of the previous conflict. One of them was that in 1905-1906, the Azerbaijanis were not as armed as the Armenians, but in some cases they were able to overcome the Dashnak units. So, in 1918, it was necessary to take weapons from the Azerbaijanis so that they could not resist, and the Armenians to achieve their political goals. It is no coincidence that in 1918 the Bolsheviks and Dashnaks disarmed Muslims everywhere and prepared bloody actions. The second lesson the Armenians got from the events of 1905-1906 was to be in close alliance with whoever had the real power. Due to hostility to the tsarist government on the eve of the massacre and in the first months, the Armenians were unable to carry out their plans to disturb stability in the Caucasus to some extent and to massacre the Azerbaijanis in order to create a mono-ethnic autonomy. In order to implement this plan in 1918, the Armenian armed forces entered into an alliance with the Bolshevik Baku Soviet, which had absolute power in the city and in the uyezds. It was this tandem that played a decisive role in the genocide against the peaceful Muslim population in Baku and in the uyezds.

⁷³ Джаббаров, Ф.Р. Террор и геноцид армян против азербайджанцев: исторические параллели событий 1905 и 1918 гг. // – Баки: Strateji təhlil, – 2016. № 1-2 (15-16), – с.65.

In the **Conclusion** of the dissertation the results of the research are presented, the main provisions are grouped, the connection of the studied events with the modern period is determined, recommendations and suggestions are given.

The main content of the dissertation is set out by the author in the following works:

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3. Армянский террор в Баку в августе 1905 г. (на основе двух рапортов Бакинского полицмейстера) // – Bakı: АМЕА-нын Хəбərləri, İctimai elmlər seriyası, – 2015. №2, – с. 49-59.
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10. Армяно-азербайджанский конфликт в феврале 1905 г. и его влияние на бакинскую нефтяную промышленность // – Москва: Вестник архивиста, – 2016. №4, – с. 161-179.
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