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ABSTRACT

of the dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Sciences

**THE NATIONAL QUESTION AND PERSONNEL POLICY
IN THE AZERBAIJAN SSR (20-30s of the XX century)**

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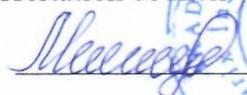
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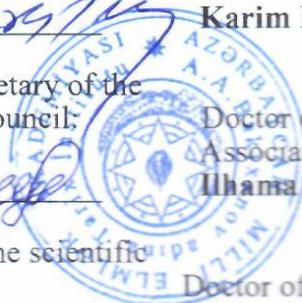
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I. GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE DISSERTATION

The relevance and degree of development of the topic.

Today, there is an urgent need in the domestic historiography to conduct a targeted analysis on the most acute scientific problems of the Soviet period history of Azerbaijan, which were among the little-studied areas previously. One of such problems is the Soviet national policy in the field of training, promotion and placement of personnel at various levels of party and state power, in the sphere of economy, science and education of the Azerbaijan SSR in the 20-30s of the 20th century. The appointment of personnel from local nationalities to leadership positions was one of the most important directions for solving the national issue in the outlying districts, carried out within the framework of a policy that received the name “nationalization” in party documents, and a little later “korenization (indigenization)”. During the period under study, in the conditions of the formation and strengthening of the Bolshevik regime in Azerbaijan, the process of forming program guidelines and methods for implementing the Soviet personnel policy in various fields was underway. The paradigms of personnel policy developed in the 20-30s of the 20th century, not taking into account the cosmetic changes that were made to it, became a program for the republican authorities to act at all subsequent stages of the Soviet period of Azerbaijan history.

Without studying the Soviet personnel policy, it is impossible to understand deeply what the Soviet regime was and what role the leading elite played in its formation and strengthening. Personnel policy in the USSR at all levels of party-state power was exclusively in the hands of the Communist Party, and within the party it was carried out by a group of people who had real power. Today in the historical literature they are called the ruling elite, the nomenclature. The truth is that for 70 years the process of formation of the supreme governing elite, its qualitative parameters has not been the object of study in Azerbaijani historiography. This topic was among the taboo ones, because it could lift the veils over many secrets of the Soviet

regime in Azerbaijan, tear off the masks from the faces of those leaders whose images were perpetuated, mythologized by Soviet historiography.

Analysis of the literature on personnel policy shows that in Soviet Azerbaijan historiography, a significant source base was accumulated on this topic and separate monographs were written, the contents of which differed in extremely ideologized conceptual frameworks. Limited by official ideological canons, these studies largely duplicated each other with content parameters, which led to a decrease in their quality. These works were mainly devoted to the history of the development of industry and the formation of the working class in Azerbaijan, socio-economic processes in the Azerbaijani countryside on the eve and during the years of collectivization, the history of public organizations, issues of cultural construction and the development of education. At the same time, there was an extreme lack of information in them regarding the personnel policy carried out in the highest party and state power structures of the Azerbaijan SSR. As a result, the historical processes represented the faceless activity of the “party and the people”. Simply, it was difficult to answer the question - who ruled Azerbaijan in the 1920-1930s. Because the names of some party leaders were doomed to oblivion during the cult of the personality of I.Stalin, and others, after the 20th Congress of the CPSU in 1956, when the cult of the “leader of the peoples” was debunked. In both cases, these were people who became victims of repression. Therefore, in this research, diverging from the previous abstract schemes, we tried to give a vivid picture of the Soviet political elite of Azerbaijan, consisting of living people with all their weaknesses and strengths, priorities and interests.

Within the framework of the investigation of this problem, fundamentally new approaches require an assessment of Soviet archival sources about Soviet personnel policy. It should be paid attention to the specific contribution made by foreign historiography, both in the formulation and development of this problem, since Western researchers were significantly ahead of the Soviet ones in

studying a number of issues of Soviet personnel policy and their understanding.

The relevance of the problem also lies in identifying the main features of the Soviet personnel policy at different stages of state-building, which was closely related to the scale of the socio-economic transformations taking place in the USSR. The process of personnel policy development has evolved simultaneously with these transformations. The study of this experience will make it possible in the modern conditions of state-building of independent Azerbaijan to avoid mistakes and deformations that were made in the Soviet personnel policy. From the viewpoint of the tasks being solved in the country today to strengthen the chain of command, increase the efficiency of public administration and achieve the socio-economic development of the country, many aspects of the Soviet personnel policy have not lost their relevance.

The historiography of staffing policy in Azerbaijan dates back to the 1920s. At the time, it consists of publications of articles on the pages of the party press by party and government officials on the most pressing issues of national policy in Azerbaijan. Most of the critical articles on national policy in Azerbaijan concerned the processes taking place within the party, the issues of nominating Turkic workers and peasants to state and economic bodies, the place and role of the Turkic language in state-building.¹

Among the individual papers of the Bolshevik leaders of Azerbaijan, a special place is occupied by the works of Nariman Narimanov, which are distinguished by a wide range of content; where problems are presented that have access to the practice of the

¹ Нариманов, Н. Ответ некоторым нашим товарищам // Бакинский рабочий.- 1922, 15 июня; Джабиев, Г. К очередной постановке национального вопроса в Азербайджане // Бакинский рабочий.-1924, 25 апреля; Джабиев, Г. Большевистское регулирование количественного состава нашей партии (К XIV съезду партии) //Бакинский рабочий.- 1925, 17 декабря; Джабиев, Г. За беспощадную борьбу с тюркским национализмом// Бакинский рабочий.- 1929, 8 августа; Ханбудагов, Э. К национальному вопросу// Бакинский рабочий.- 1924, 27 апреля.

Bolshevik power in the field of party-state relations.² The works of other prominent Transcaucasian Bolsheviks also belong to this group of works. Their value lies in the possibility of reconstructing the worldview and psychology of the communists of the 1920-1930s. In general, the motivation inherent in these authors was the desire to prove that the Soviet government and the new socio-economic system had done immeasurably more for the progress of the Caucasian peoples than the “lackeys of imperialism” did.³ The book of Bolshevik party member A.Ahmadov is dedicated to the issues of internal party struggle, the presence of various deviations in the party, against which political portraits are depicted and the views of well-known party leaders of Azerbaijan in 1920s century are revealed.⁴

Speaking about the investigation of questions of the Soviet national-state construction and personnel policy of the Bolsheviks, one cannot ignore the work of the leaders of the Communist Party and the Soviet state. Initially, the focus of attention of Soviet historians was the study of the views of V.I.Lenin and I.V.Stalin on the national question and personnel policy.⁵

² Нариманов, Н. Избранные произведения: [в 2-х томах]. Т. 2. Баку: 1989; Нариманов, Н К истории нашей революции на окраинах. Баку: 1990.

³ Багиров, М.Дж. Отчет о работе Бакинского комитета АКП (б). Баку:1934; Багиров, М.Дж. Отчет ЦК КП (б) Азербайджана. Баку: 1937; Багиров, М.Дж. Из истории большевистской организации Баку и Азербайджана. Москва: 1949; Берия, Л.П. К вопросу об истории большевистских организаций Закавказья. Москва: 1936; Орджоникидзе, Г.К. Избранные статьи и речи. 1918-1937. Москва: 1945; Мусабеков, Г. Избранные статьи и речи: [в 2-х томах] . Т. 1. (1920-1927). Баку: 1960; Мусабеков, Г. Избранные статьи и речи: [в 2-х томах]. Т. 2. (1928-1937). Баку: 1962; Axundov, R.Ə. Seçilmiş əsərləri. Bakı: 1977.

⁴ Ахмедов, А. Национальное движение, партии и общественные деятели Азербайджана в 1918-1925 годах глазами очевидца. Баку: 2006.

⁵ Сталин, И.В. Сочинения: [в 18 томах]. Т.5. Москва: 1947; Сталин, И.В. Сочинения: [в 18 томах]. Т.6. Москва: 1947; Сталин, И.В. Сочинения: [в 18 томах]. Т.11. Москва: 1949; Сталин, И.В. Сочинения: [в 18 томах]. Т.14. Москва: 2007; Сталин, И.В. Сочинения. [в 18 томах]. Т.18. Москва: 2006; Ленин, В.И. Полное собрание сочинений: [в 55 томах].Т.36. Москва: 1974;

The scientific historiography of Azerbaijan related to the problem being studied began to be formed after the war, from the 1950s. Basically, these works were devoted to the history of industrial development and the formation of the working class in Azerbaijan, social and economic processes in the Azerbaijani village on the eve of and during collectivization, the history of public organizations, issues of cultural construction and development of education. The value of these works was determined primarily by the presence in them of a significant stratum of factual material from the archives and periodicals. The theme of party affiliation, the level of education and the social background of the personnel was the focus of these studies. Listing the main party program decisions on the policy of nationalization and proletarianization of cadres, the authors tried to prove consistently with concrete figures how it was put into practice. At the same time, the absolute majority of authors varnished the reality to a certain extent, analyzed only positive phenomena, and the shortcomings were often passed over in silence. In the overwhelming majority of investigations, historical processes were the faceless activity of the “party and the masses”. The works listed successes in various areas of the national economy and education, but did not cite the names of the party and state leaders of the Azerbaijan SSR, under whose guidance they were achieved. Only occasionally could one find quotations from speeches by individual party leaders. Apparently, the campaign to combat the “personality cult” not only of I.Stalin, but also of other party leaders, who were previously widely quoted, and now were in disgrace or repressed, left a deep imprint on the historiography of this period.⁶

Ленин, В.И. Полное собрание сочинений: [в 55 томах]. Т.45. Москва: 1970; Ленин, В.И. Полное собрание сочинений: [в 55 томах]. Т.53 Москва: 1970; Ленин, В.И. Полное собрание сочинений: [в 55 томах]. Т.54. Москва: 1975.

⁶ Əliyev, X., Əlimirzəyev, X. Azərbaycan kənd təsərrüfatının kollektivləşdirilməsi tarixindən (1930-1934). Bakı: 1957; Əliyev, X. Azərbaycan Kommunist Partiyasının fəhlə-kəndli ittifaqının möhkəmləndirilməsi uğrunda mübarizəsi tarixindən. Bakı: 1961; Qurbanov, Ə.Q. Azərbaycan Kommunist Partiyasının kənd təsərrüfatının elliklə kollektivləşdirilməsi dövründə kənddə sovetlərin möhkəmləndirilməsi uğrunda mübarizəsi. Bakı: 1961; Məmmədov, E.İ. Kənd

Apart from some works⁷, in the Soviet Azerbaijan historiography there were no works on the problem of personnel

təsərrüfatının elliklə kollektivləşməsi illərində Azərbaycan kəndində sinfi mübarizə (1927-1929). Bakı: 1961; Məmmədov, E.İ. Kənd təsərrüfatının elliklə kollektivləşməsi illərində Azərbaycan kəndində sinfi mübarizə (1930-1937). Bakı: 1967; Əlimirzəyev, X. Azərbaycan kəndi Sovet hakimiyyəti illərində. Bakı: 1963; Алиева, С. М. Деятельность партийной организации Азербайджана по подготовке женских кадров в период строительства социализма (1920-1936 гг.): / автореферат диссертации на соискание ученой степени кандидата исторических наук/- Баку, - 1965; Пашаев, Н.А. Очерки истории культурного строительства Советского Азербайджана. Баку: 1965; Şixlinski, Z.B. Azərbaycan kəndində sovet quruculuğu (1933-1937). Bakı: 1965; Şixlinski, Z. B. Azərbaycan kəndində sovet quruculuğu (1926-1932). Bakı: 1975; Pzəev, A.K. Очерки истории высшего педагогического образования в Азербайджане. Баку: 1966; Мамедов, Н.М. Из истории развития животноводства в Советском Азербайджане (1920-1937): / автореферат диссертации на соискание ученой степени кандидата исторических наук/ - Баку: 1967; Очерки истории рабочего класса Азербайджанской ССР. Т. 1 (1917-1940). Баку: 1974; Мамедов, Н.З. Роль сельских советов в укреплении колхозного строя в Азербайджанской ССР (1933-июнь 1941 гг.): /автореферат диссертации на соискание ученой степени кандидата исторических наук/ - Баку: 1976; Мамедов, А.А. Рабочий класс Азербайджанской ССР (1926-1941 гг.): /автореферат диссертации на соискание ученой степени доктора исторических наук/ - Баку: 1980.

⁷ Искендеров, М.С. Из истории борьбы Коммунистической партии Азербайджана за победу Советской власти. Баку: 1958; Гандилов, С.Т. Борьба КПСС за сохранение и укрепление единства своих рядов (1926-1929 гг.): (По материалам Азербайджанской партийной организации): /автореферат диссертации на соискание ученой степени кандидата исторических наук/- Баку: 1958; Гандилов, С.Т. Идеиное и организационное укрепление коммунистической партии Азербайджана в годы социалистического строительства (1920-1932 гг.): / автореферат диссертации на соискание ученой степени доктора исторических наук/ - Баку: 1967; Qəndilov, S.T. Azərbaycanca partiya quruculuğu məsələləri. Bakı: 1971; Ахмедов, Ф.Д. Борьба Коммунистической партии Азербайджана за регулирование состава своих рядов (1926-1929 гг.): /автореферат диссертации на соискание ученой степени кандидата исторических наук/ -Баку: 1964; Аббасов, М.А. Борьба Коммунистической партии Азербайджана за подготовку сельскохозяйственных кадров (1928-1937 г.г.): (По материалам АзССР): /автореферат диссертации на соискание ученой степени кандидата исторических наук/- Баку: 1965; Гулиев, Дж. Б. Борьба Коммунистической

policy in the party-state power bodies in the Azerbaijan SSR in the 1920-1930s. The historiography of inner-party life in its entire complex palette was represented extremely poorly. Any discussions in the party on the national question, the presence of deviations from the general line on this basis could only be judged by the resolutions adopted by the party plenary sessions and congresses, and the works of party leaders. Due to the framework existing in historiography, these works did not reflect issues related to the process of formation of the party and economic nomenclature. At the same time, they accumulate large amount of factual materials necessary for analyzing the principles of the Soviet personnel policy, which cannot be ignored.

After the decisions of the 20th Congress of the CPSU (1956), in the conditions of a warming political climate in the country, biographical studies appeared on the prominent figures of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan, who were victims of Stalinist repression. These works were more of a narrative character; they were not distinguished by a rich source base and scientific analysis. Usually, such works were timed to coincide with the anniversary of the establishment of Soviet power in Azerbaijan or to anniversaries of famous party leaders. This moment had a strong effect on the content of the works, the authors of which tried to portray their heroes only in bright colors, varnishing the controversial pages of their political career.⁸

партии за осуществление ленинской национальной политики в Азербайджане. Баку: 1970; Гулиев, Дж.Б. Под знаменем ленинской национальной политики. Баку: 1972; Гейдаров, И.И. Азербайджанский Совет Народных комиссаров Азербайджанской ССР (1921-1925): / автореферат на соискание ученой степени кандидата исторических наук/- Баку: 1975.

⁸ Активные борцы за Советскую власть в Азербайджане. Баку: 1957; Katibli, M.M. Qəzənfər Musabəyov. Bakı: 1958; Hüseynov, A.Ə. Levon Mirzoyan. Bakı: 1960; Каренин, А.А. Султан Меджид Эфендиев. Баку: 1963; İskəndərov, S.M. Kirov Azərbaycanında. Bakı: 1965; Багиров, М.М. Музаффар Нариманов. Баку: 1965; Аббакумова, В.Ф. Виктор Нанейшвили. Баку: 1966; Катибли, М.М. Чингиз Ильдрым. Баку: 1967; Qafarov, R.A. Muxtar Nəsiyev. Bakı: 1973; Hüseynov, A.Ə. Nəbib Cəbiyev. Bakı: 1975; Гусейнов, А.А. Алигейдар Караев.

Beginning from the second half of the 1980s, on the wake of perestroika (reconstruction) and the regular campaign to combat Stalin's cult of personality, publications appeared (though at the level of periodicals and party magazines) in Azerbaijan, in which the main object of research is the period of leadership of the republic by M.J.Bagirov. Such publications are usually again devoted to the fate of famous communist figures of Azerbaijan, who were victims of Stalinist repression. However, now, in contrast to the historiography of the "warming" period, the authors tried to more boldly cover the issues of the inner-party struggle, cited some details of the complex processes that took place in Soviet society in the 1920-30s, interesting facts from the political biography of M.J.Bagirov, his relations with other, well-known party leaders of Azerbaijan, which to a certain extent was the reason for their arrest and physical destruction.⁹ The common shortcoming of these works was once again attempts to idealize their heroes, to retouch their political portraits. The bulk of the works did not have a deep source base, reflecting an emotional rather than a scientific perception of the problem. The bulk of the works did not have a deep source base, reflected more emotional than scientific perception of the problem. The authors tried to link the shortcomings and deformations of the Soviet system in Azerbaijan exclusively with the personality of M.J.Bagirov, without going into the underlying causes of the formation of the Soviet totalitarian regime. In terms of preservation of the political power of the Communist Party, inertia of thinking and dogmatism still dominated in the minds of many historians. In most works, provisions were reproduced that had a traditional class vision of facts, and party membership was the highest criterion of truth.

Almost simultaneously with the beginning of the criticism of Stalinism, the works of former leaders of the Azerbaijan Democratic

Баку: 1976; Мəммədзадə, N.B. Həmid Sultanov. Bakı: 1977; Mədətov, Q. Ruhulla Axundov. Bakı: 1983.

⁹ Зейналов, Р., Хоменко, С. Правда без ретуши // - Баку: Коммунист Азербайджана, - 1990. № 3, - с.88-93 ; Правда и только правда (Белые пятна нашей истории). Баку: 1991.

Republic began to be published, whose names had remained banned for 70 years. Their authors were such prominent politicians as M.E.Rasulzadeh, M.B.Mammadzadeh, whose works, although not strictly scientific in nature, were aimed to highlight the events in chronological order, to give them generalizing explanations. Being already in emigration, they demonstrated a rare awareness of national projects of the Bolsheviks in state-building, the economic and cultural sphere.¹⁰

In the works on the history of Azerbaijan in the Soviet period published during the years of independence, the plots were more “lucky” and required thorough study and new understanding in the light of the rejection of the old ideological clichés and political trends. These topics were lucky, because they were actively developed in monographic terms. At the same time, for the works that were written in the first years of independence, due to the slow process of opening previously secret archival funds, it was characteristic that their authors could not expand the scope of research, to comprehend more deeply the processes that took place in the party and society in 1920- 1930s. It was also impossible to avoid such shortcomings as the one-sided use of a complex of sources, their absolutization, and, consequently, emotionality often prevailed over the impartiality of a scientist. Therefore, the work contained a lot of controversial judgments and conclusions. More fundamental research on the Soviet period of history appears in the 2000s. Undoubtedly, this was due to the increased access of researchers to new archival documents, the expansion of the topics and the chronological scope of research, and the elimination of many stereotypes in the assessment of events.

In the seven-volume “History of Azerbaijan”¹¹ published by the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic

¹⁰ Rəsulzadə, M.Ə. Əsrimizin Siyavuşu, Çağdaş Azərbaycan ədəbiyyatı, Çağdaş Azərbaycan tarixi. Bakı: 1990; Rəsulzadə, M.Ə. Bolşeviklərin Şərq siyasəti. Bakı: 1994; Rəsulzadə, M.Ə. Национальное движение в Азербайджане. Баку: 2009; Məmmədzadə, M.B. Milli Azərbaycan hərəkəti. Bakı: 1992.

¹¹ Azərbaycan tarixi: [7 cildlik]. VI cild (aprel 1920-iyun 1941). Bakı: 2000.

of Azerbaijan, an attempt was made to illuminate afresh the events of national history from ancient times to the present. Among the authors of this academic work were researchers who participated in the publication of the three-volume Soviet history. Naturally, taking advantage of this opportunity, these authors attempted to rethink some of their previous assessments and conclusions and significantly complemented the research with new topics and documentary facts. More over, various aspects of personnel policy in the Azerbaijan SSR in the 1920-1930s were studied in monographic terms: trade union, engineering, pedagogical and scientific personnel, the involvement of women in government bodies, etc. Many of these works were also a continuation of the research initiated by their authors during the Soviet period. Therefore, they tried to overcome the previously existing stereotypes, incorrect postulates, and from new positions, by attracting new documents, examined the problems raised in their previous works.¹²

¹² Умудов, И.М. Создание и деятельность политических учебных заведений в Азербайджане в начале 20-х годов: /автореферат диссертации на соискание ученой степени кандидата исторических наук/ - Баку: 1992; Гулиев, Дж. Б. К истории образования второй республики Азербайджана. Баку: 1997; Айдамиров, Т.С. Подготовка национальных кадров квалифицированных рабочих и инженерно-технических работников для промышленности Азербайджана. Баку: 2000; Айдамиров, Т.С. Подготовка инженерно-технических кадров для нефтяной промышленности Азербайджанской ССР (1938-1945). Баку: 2016; Həsənov, V.S. Azərbaycan həmkarlar ittifaqları inzibati-əmirlik rejimi dövründə (XX əsrin 20-30-cu illəri). Bakı: 2004; Керимова, Т. Из истории Академии наук Азербайджана. Баку: 2005; Qasımov, Ş.M. Azərbaycan SSR yaradıcılıq ittifaqlarının yaranması və fəaliyyəti (1920-30-cu illər). Bakı: 2007; Мурадова, А.Д. Вовлечение женщин Азербайджанской ССР в органы государственной власти (20-30-ые годы XX века). Баку: 2007; Ализаде, З. Развитие высшего исторического образования и подготовка кадров историков в Азербайджанской ССР (1920-1941 гг.). Баку: 2011; Məmmədov, N.Z. Azərbaycanın dövlətçiliyi tarixində Azərbaycan Mərkəzi İcrayyə Komitəsinin yeri və rolu (1921-1938-ci illər). Bakı: 2012; Rüstəmov, A. Azərbaycan SSR-də elmi-sahə kitabxanalarının yaranması və fəaliyyəti (1920-iyun 1941-ci illər). Bakı: 2014; Мусаева, Т.А. Культура Азербайджана на рубеже эпох (20-30-ые годы XX столетия). Баку: 2015; Назарли, А.Э. Кадровая политика

Among the new problems that were reflected in Azerbaijan historiography in the years of independence, it should be highlighted the theme of inner-party struggle in the party leadership of the Azerbaijan SSR in the 1920-1930s. Several dissertation researches are devoted to this topic, each of which covers a specific period of this problem. The authors introduce into scientific circulation a large number of archival documents, among which the main place is taken by the minutes of the meetings of the Central Committee of the AC (b) P, materials of congresses, correspondence of party leaders and materials of the periodical press. For the first time, the problem of inner-party struggle is considered through the prism of national policy in Azerbaijan, the struggle among different groups in the leadership on the issue of methods for pursuing this policy. These processes are revealed by the authors against the background of a vivid depiction of political portraits of the most active participants in this struggle, the collapse of some and the formation of other groups. Almost all authors are unanimous in their opinion that non-indigenous communists, who were mainly in the leadership of the Baku Party Committee, supported by the Transcaucasian and Moscow leadership played an important role in aggravating inner-party squabbles. The main reasons for the contradictions were differences of views on a whole range of issues vital for the development of the republic. Among them, the main place occupied: the solution of personnel issues, the level of economic sovereignty of the republic, attitude to the intelligentsia and the working class, politics in the Azerbaijani village.¹³

Азербайджанской ССР в культурно-просветительской сфере: библиотеки, избы-читальни, клубы (1920-1953). Москва: 2018.

¹³ Bayramova, R.M. *Azərbaycan rəhbərliyində ixtilaf və daxili siyasi çəkişmələr (1920-1925-ci illər)*. Bakı: 2007; Aslanova, T.A. *Azərbaycan rəhbərliyində siyasi qruplaşmalar və onun respublikanın ictimai-siyasi həyatına təsiri (XX əsrin 20-ci illərinin ikinci yarısı-30-cu illər): /tarix elmləri üzrə fəlsəfə doktoru dissertasiyasının avtoreferatı/* - Bakı: 2012; Ахмедова, Ф. Национальный вопрос и конфликты в большевистской элите в первые годы советизации Азербайджана // *Материалы VI международной научной конференции «Советские нации и национальная политика в 1920–1950-е годы»*, - Киев: -

Discussions about the role of certain political figures of the Soviet period do not subside among historians. The most heated discussions in the national historiography are conducted regarding the assessment of the activities of two major political figures of Soviet Azerbaijan - Nariman Narimanov¹⁴ and Mir Jafar Bagirov. If the socio-political activity of the former was studied sufficiently in detail in the Soviet period, then the name of M.J.Bagirov after the 20th Congress of the CPSU turned out to be practically erased and was banned in Soviet historiography. Today the name of M.J.Bagirov causes ambiguous assessment in Azerbaijan. In his political portrait, the negative perception of the Stalinist totalitarian system by the Azerbaijani historical consciousness is combined with a loyal attitude towards one of its main creators in Azerbaijan.¹⁵

After the collapse of the USSR, the works of foreign Sovietologists became available, whom Soviet historians for many years branded as bourgeois authors. For the first time, not through the criticism of Soviet historians some fragments of these authors' works, but in general, the entire text of their books, which were previously kept in special stores and were accessible only to few ones, became available to our historians. Getting acquainted with the works of these authors, we found that the topics that were under an

10–12 октября,- 2013, - Москва: 2014.- с. 620-631; Xəlilov, A. Azərbaycan SSR 1920-1930-cu illərdə: hakimiyyətdaxili qarşıdurmalar. Bakı: 2015.

¹⁴ Əhmədova, F.F. Nəriman Nərimanov-İdeal və gerçəklik (1920-ci il). Bakı: 1998; Həsənov, H.Ə. Nəriman Nərimanovun milli dövlətçilik baxışları və fəaliyyəti. Bakı: 2005.

¹⁵ Həsənov, C.P. “Ağ ləkə”lərin qara kölgəsi. Bakı: 1991; Bünyadov, Z.M. Qırmızı terror. Bakı: 1993; Mir Cəfər Vağirovun məhkəməsi. Bakı: 1993; Исмаилов, Э.Р. Власть и народ. Послевоенный сталинизм в Азербайджане 1945-1953. Баку: 2003; Исмаилов, Э.Р. Азербайджан: 1953-1956 гг. Первые годы «оттепели». Баку: 2006; Исмаилов, Э.Р. История «большого террора» в Азербайджане. Москва: 2015; Əhmədov, R.H. Mir Cəfər Vağirov (Dövrünün və şəxsiyyətinin siyasi portretinin cizgiləri). Bakı: 2004; Мамедова, Ш.Р. Интерпретация тоталитаризма. Сталинизм в Азербайджане 1920-1930 гг. Баку: 2004; Мамедова, Ш.Р. Azərbaycan SSR-də inzibati-amirlik sistemi (1920-1930-cu illər): / tarix üzrə elmlər doktoru elmi dərəcəsi almaq üçün dissertasiyanın avtorferatı/ - Bakı: 2014; Qurban, T. Düşmənlərindən güclü şəxsiyyət. Bakı: 2015.

ideological ban in our country, on the contrary, became the subject of research in foreign historical science.¹⁶

The interest in national issues caused by the collapse of the USSR, though with some delay, but led to the appearance of generalizing works on the history of national policy in the Soviet Union as a whole and its individual republics. At present, the process of creating a new, international historiography of the Soviet Union is underway, and this process became especially active in the 2000s. As a result, historians from different countries already have the opportunity to read the same historical literature, to use the same sources; there is a constant scientific communication and mutual enrichment of ideas among the multilingual outposts of modern historiography, etc.¹⁷

Thematic collections have become one of the forms of the study of the Soviet national policy. A characteristic feature of these

¹⁶ Джилас, М. Новый класс. Нью-Йорк: 1961; Карр, Э. История Советской России: [в 14 книгах]. Книга 1, том 1 и 2. Москва: 1990; Карр, Э. Русская революция от Ленина до Сталина. 1917-1929. Москва: 1990; Авторханов, А. Империя Кремля. Советский тип колониализма. Garmisch-Partenkirchen: 1991; Восленский, М.В. Номенклатура - господствующий класс Советского Союза. Москва: 1991; Хоскинг, Дж. История Советского Союза 1917-1991. Москва: 1994; Хоскинг, Дж. Правители и жертвы. Русские в Советском Союзе. Москва: 2012; Пайпс, Р. Русская революция: [в 3-х книгах]. Книга 3. - Россия под большевиками. 1918-1924. Москва: 2005.

¹⁷ Altstadt, A. L. The Azerbaijani Turks: power and identity under Russian rule. Stanford, California: 1992; Фицпатрик, Ш. Повседневный сталинизм. Социальная история Советской России в 30-е годы: город. Москва: 2008; Фицпатрик, Ш. Сталинские крестьяне. Социальная история Советской России в 30-е годы: деревня. Москва: 2008; Баберовски, Й. Враг есть везде. Сталинизм на Кавказе. Москва: 2010; Истер, Дж. М. Советское государственное строительство. Система личных связей и самоидентификация элиты в Советской России. Москва: 2010; Мартин, Т. Империя «положительной деятельности». Нации и национализм в СССР, 1923-1939. Москва: 2011; Шаттенберг, С. Инженеры Сталина: Жизнь между техникой и террором в 1930-е годы. Москва: 2011; Штудер, Б., Унффрид, Б. Сталинские партийные кадры. Практика идентификации и дискурсы в Советском Союзе 1930-х гг. Москва: 2011. Юинг, Е.Т. Учителя эпохи сталинизма: власть, политика и жизнь школы 1930-х гг. Москва: 2011.

collections was the fact that there were clearly outlined plots in them; they were associated with a specific period or event in the history of the Communist Party and the Soviet state. These collections included scientific articles on problems that were ignored for a long time. There were many interesting facts, information, judgments, sometimes incompatible. The significance of these collections lies, first of all, in the fact that they were able to quench the thirst of readers in unknown pages of history, awakened creative thought of the researchers.¹⁸

The main sources used in writing of the dissertation were documents from the archives of the Republic of Azerbaijan (AOPDUDPAR, GAAR) and the Russian Federation (RGASPI), materials of party congresses and conferences¹⁹, collections of

¹⁸ Некоторые вопросы истории Коммунистической партии Азербайджана в 20-30-е гг.: (Сб. науч. ст.). Баку: 1990; Американская русистика: Вехи историографии последних лет. Советский период: Антология. Самара: 2001; Новая имперская история постсоветского пространства. Сборник статей. Казань: 2004; История сталинизма: итоги и проблемы // Материалы международной научной конференции, - Москва: - 5-7 декабря, - 2008, - Москва: 2011; Советские нации и национальная политика в 1920–1950-е годы // Материалы VI международной научной конференции, - Киев: - 10-12 октября, - 2013, - Москва: 2014; Культура и власть в СССР. 1920-1950-е годы // Материалы IX международной научной конференции, - Санкт-Петербург: - 24-26 октября, - 2016, - Москва: 2017.

¹⁹ Первый Всеазербайджанский съезд Советов рабочих, крестьянских, красноармейских и матросских депутатов. Стенографический отчет. Баку: 1922; XIII Общебакинская партийная конференция. Стенографический отчет. Баку: 1924; Четвертый Всеазербайджанский съезд Советов рабочих, крестьянских, красноармейских и матросских депутатов. Стенографический отчет. Баку: 1925; XVI Общебакинская партийная конференция АКП(б). 27 декабря-6 января 1927 г. Стенографический отчет. Баку: 1927; XV съезд Всесоюзной Коммунистической партии (б). Стенографический отчет. Москва-Ленинград: 1928; XVIII Бакинская конференция Азербайджанской Коммунистической партии (б). 20-31 января 1929 г. Стенографический отчет. Баку: 1929; XVI съезд Всесоюзной Коммунистической партии (б). Стенографический отчет. Москва: 1930; XVII съезд Всесоюзной Коммунистической партии (б). Стенографический отчет. 26 января -10 февраля 1934 года. Москва: 1934; XVIII съезд Всесоюзной

documents²⁰, statistical collections²¹, materials from periodicals (“Bakinski Rabochi”, “Communist”, “Pravda”).

коммунистической партии (6). 10 – 21 марта 1939 г. Стенографический отчет. Москва: 1939; Первая сессия Верховного Совета Азербайджанской ССР первого созыва. 18-22 июня 1938 г. Стенографический отчет. Баку: 1939; Коммунистическая партия Советского Союза в резолюциях и решениях съездов, конференций и пленумов ЦК: [в 2 частях]. Часть 1 (1898-1925). Москва: 1953; Коммунистическая партия Советского Союза в резолюциях и решениях съездов, конференций и пленумов ЦК: [в 2 частях]. Часть 2 (1925-1953). Москва: 1953; Двенадцатый съезд РКП (б). 17-25 апреля 1923 года. Стенографический отчет. Москва: 1968; КПСС в резолюциях и решениях съездов, конференций и пленумов ЦК. Т.4. Москва: 1981; Тринадцатый съезд РКП(б). Май 1924 года. Стенографический отчет. Москва: 1983; Коммунистическая партия Азербайджана в резолюциях и решениях съездов, конференций и пленумов ЦК: [в 4 томах]. Т. 1(1920-1937). Баку: 1986; Тайны национальной политики ЦК РКП(б). Четвертое совещание ЦК РКП с ответственными работниками национальных республик и областей в Москве 9-12 июня 1923 г. Стенографический отчет. Москва: 1992.

²⁰ Большевицкое руководство. Переписка. 1912-1927. Сборник документов. Москва: 1996; Советское руководство. Переписка. 1928-1941 гг. Москва: 1999; Трагедия советской деревни. Коллективизация и раскулачивание. 1927-1939: Документы и материалы: [в 5 томах]. Т. 5 (1937—1939), кн. 2 (1938—1939). Москва: 2006; ЦК РКП (б) – ВКП (б) и национальный вопрос : [в 2-х книгах]. Кн 1. 1918-1933. Москва: 2005; ЦК ВКП (б) и национальный вопрос : [в 2-х книгах]. Кн. 2. 1933-1945. Москва: 2009.

²¹ Всероссийская перепись членов РКП 1922 года. Москва: 1924; Советский Азербайджан в цифрах на 1929 г. Баку: 1929; Национальная политика ВКП (б) в цифрах. Москва: 1930; Основные показатели народного хозяйства Азербайджанской ССР. Баку: 1934; Социалистическое строительство АССР. Статистический сборник. Баку: 1935; Достижения Советской власти за 40 лет в цифрах. Статистический сборник. Москва: 1957; Достижения Советского Азербайджана за 40 лет в цифрах. Статистический сборник. Баку: 1960; Промышленность Азербайджана за 40 лет (1920-1960). Баку: 1960; Борьба за победу Советской власти в Азербайджане 1918-1920. Документы и материалы. Баку: 1967; Коммунистическая партия Азербайджана в цифрах. Баку: 1970; Народное хозяйство Азербайджанской ССР к 50 летию СССР. Баку: 1972; Декреты Советской власти: [18 томов]. Т.6 Москва:1973; Ленинский призыв в Азербайджане: Документы и материалы. Баку: 1974. Декреты Азревкома (1920-1921). Баку: 1988; Azərbaycan İnkilab Komitəsi və Xalq Komissarları Soveti İclaslarının Protokolları 1920-1922-ci illər. Bakı: 2009.

The object and subject of the research. The object of the research is personnel policy as an integral part of the solution of the national issue in the Azerbaijan SSR in the 20-30s of the 20th century. The subject of the research is the essence and main stages of the policy of “korenization” (indigenization) of personnel as one of the forms of solving the national question in the Azerbaijan SSR, methods and forms of implementing personnel policy in the party apparatus, the highest bodies of state power, in the main sectors of the economy, in the field of education and science.

Goals and objectives of the research. The main goal of the dissertation is to investigate the personnel policy as an integral part of the solution of the national question in the Azerbaijan SSR in the 1920-1930s, to determine the qualitative parameters, methods and forms of implementation of the personnel policy within the framework of the ongoing “korenization” (indigenization) policy. In order to achieve these goals, the author had to solve the following tasks:

- to reveal the essence and features of the implementation of the indigenization policy of personnel in the Azerbaijan SSR;

- to consider the organizational form and structure of the highest bodies of state power in the Azerbaijan SSR, to provide information on their leadership;

- to consider the organizational form and structure of the apparatus of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan, to provide information about its leadership, to determine the organizational party structures that ensured the registration and selection of personnel of the nomenclature

- to investigate the qualitative parameters of personnel policy, which included questions about the social, national composition and educational level of party cadres;

- to highlight the issue of the placement of party personnel in various sectors of the national economy;

- to investigate the issue of personnel training through the network of party and political education;

- to show the influence of party purges and the “Great Terror” on the change in the quantitative and qualitative composition of party cadres;

- to highlight the issue of training engineering, technical and working personnel for the industry and agriculture of Azerbaijan;

- to highlight the issue of the training of pedagogical and scientific intelligentsia.

Methods of research. The research is based on the principle of historicism, which considers all historical events in the process of their occurrence, development, changes in a specific historical situation, revealing their significance for subsequent historical development. The author collected facts and materials that were carefully compared by the method of comparative analysis, which allowed us to make generalizing judgments and conclusions.

The basic provisions for defense:

- personnel policy was one of the most important directions of solving the national question of the Bolsheviks in Azerbaijan and was carried out within the framework of the policy of korenization proclaimed by them in the early 1920s;

- the basic principles and qualitative parameters of the selection, nomination and appointment of personnel were determined exclusively by the Communist Party heads, which was the main core of state power, placing its members at all its levels;

- a strictly regulated and organizationally structured system of registration, selection and placement of nomenclature personnel was created;

- The policy of personnel korenization in Azerbaijan had been successful in representative government bodies and district party committees, but had been slow in the Baku party organization and central state institutions.

- an extensive and multilevel network of party and political education played an important role in the training of senior personnel of the nomenclature;

- mistakes and excesses made in personnel policy were one of the causes of inter-governmental conflicts in the 1920s - early 1930s;

- party purges and political repression were important elements in the complex of measures to control personnel;

- in conditions of a high level of illiteracy among the titular population, the proportion of Azerbaijanis in the teaching staff was higher than among technical specialists;

- at the origins of the creation of the first scientific institutions in Azerbaijan, various directions in the field of social and natural sciences were mainly teaching staff, invited mainly from the RSFSR;

- the expansion of the network of higher educational institutions, the creation of the Institute of Postgraduate Studies, the system of the Academy of Sciences and new branches of scientific institutions beginning in the 1930s played an important role in the training of national cadres of scientific intelligentsia.

The scientific novelty of the research. The dissertation work is the first comprehensive study on personnel policy in the Azerbaijan SSR in the 1920s-1930s in Russian historiography. In the dissertation, based on the involvement in scientific circulation of a large array of new archival documents from domestic and Russian archives, collections of documents, the following previously unexplored or poorly studied issues in Russian historiography were considered:

- the essence of the korenization policy, methods and forms of its implementation in the personnel sphere;

- the form of organization, structure, leadership of the party apparatus and the highest state authorities;

- organizational structures of regulation of the system of registration and selection of nomenclature personnel;

- the main qualitative parameters of recruitment and promotion of personnel;

- training of personnel through the network of party and political education;

- the influence of party purges and political repression on the qualitative and quantitative composition of party cadres.

- Personnel policy in industry and agriculture is revealed in the dissertation taking into account the peculiarities of the structure of

the economy, the national and social composition of the population of the republic. The work highlights the activities of the main educational institutions that trained personnel for the industry and agriculture of Azerbaijan.

- A separate object of the research is the Azerbaijani teachers, their social appearance. The issue of training scientific intelligentsia is studied in the dissertation at the level of organization of workers' courses, the creation of higher educational institutions, postgraduate studies, scientific societies and the system of the Academy of Sciences. Specific statistical data show qualitative and quantitative changes in the composition of the pedagogical and scientific intelligentsia.

The theoretical and practical significance of the research.

The period considered in the dissertation is an important stage in the study of Soviet personnel policy in the Azerbaijan SSR. The thesis identified the essence and main program documents of the nationalization policy in the 20-30s of the 20th century, methods and forms of implementation of personnel policy, the main criteria for the selection, nomination and appointment of personnel, the main power structures responsible for personnel policy. The scientific conclusions obtained in the dissertation in connection with staffing policy were relevant not only for the period under study, but also for the subsequent stages of the history of Soviet Azerbaijan. Therefore, the results of the research can be used when writing generalizing works and special works on the modern history of Azerbaijan, personnel policy in various spheres of socio-political, socio-economic and cultural development of Azerbaijan during the Soviet period.

Approbation and application. On the topic of the dissertation, the author published 1 monograph, 32 articles and a thesis in scientific journals and materials of scientific conferences held in the Republic of Azerbaijan, the Republic of Turkey, the Russian Federation, Georgia and Ukraine.

The name of the organization in which the dissertation work was performed. The dissertation was performed in the

department of “History of Azerbaijan under the Soviets” of A.A.Bakikhanov Institute of History of the Azerbaijan National Academy of Sciences.

The total volume of the dissertation. The structure of the dissertation consists of an Introduction, 5 chapters, 12 paragraphs, a Conclusion, a list of references and appendices. The total volume of the dissertation (excluding the list of references and appendices) is 482665 characters. Out of these, Introduction consists of 28690, Chapter I-74079, Chapter II-128487, Chapter III-96024, Chapter IV-63487, Chapter V-75222, Conclusion-14690 characters.

II. MAIN CONTENT OF THE DISSERTATION

The Introduction reveals the relevance and degree of development of the problem, defines the object and topic, goals and objectives of the study, research methods, the main provisions of the defense, scientific novelty, theoretical and practical significance of the dissertation.

Chapter I of the dissertation entitled “**The policy of personnel korenization as one of the forms of solving the national question in the Azerbaijan SSR (20-30s of the 20th century)**” consists of two paragraphs. The first paragraph, “**The essence of the personnel korenization policy and the peculiarities of its implementation in Azerbaijan**”, reveals the essence, main stages and forms of the solution of the national question by Bolsheviks in the outlying districts of the country in the 1920-1930s. Are given the main normative documents on the national policy of the Bolsheviks in the field of personnel policy, which was called “korenization” in the party language and schematically presented in the resolutions of the 12th Party Congress in April 1923 and the IV meeting of the Central Committee of the RC (b)P with executives of the national republics and regions in June 1923, as well as in the speeches of I.Stalin. According to the Bolshevik theory of korenization, the presence of a significant proportion of representatives of the titular ethnic group in

the leadership cadres of the Union republics served as one of the most important proofs of the achievement of equal rights of peoples in the country; it was supposed to embody and demonstrate the national character of statehood. Until the mid of 1926, the method of nationalization of apparatus in the Union republics was the method of the percentage rate. Plans were developed that for each institution established the percentage of national workers in the staff of this institution. However, the experience of nationalization of the apparatus according to the method of percentage norm showed that the plans for its implementation were not viable. Mechanical korenization had created a vacuum in the middle in the national republics. There was a high level of management korenization and the service sector with a minimal presence of indigenous people in positions requiring qualifications. This factor was the reason that at the end of 1926 Moscow replaced the mechanical form of korenization with a functional one. From now on, the quota system had to take into account the competence of the nominees and the personnel needs of the institutions. The system of functional korenization depended on the success of the indigenous population in the field of education. Insufficient level of education became a stumbling block for professional growth.

Basing on specific statistical data revealed from archival documents, specific figures are given on the results of the policy of personnel korenization in the highest structures of the party-state power, state institutions of the Azerbaijan SSR in the 1920-1930s. It is particularly noted that during the period under study, the indigenization of the party apparatus proceeded at a high pace outside of Baku. In 1939, Azerbaijanis made up 70.5 % of the first secretaries, 43.2% of the second secretaries and 54.5 % of the third secretaries in the composition of 88 secretaries of the district, city and regional committees of the C (b) P of Azerbaijan.²² In the Baku Party Committee, which, according to the data of January 1, 1940,

²² Статистические данные о национальном и социальном составе секретарей районных, городских и областных комитетов КП (б) Азербайджанской ССР (Баку:1939 год) //АОПДУДПАР, Фонд № 1, опись № 22, дело № 546, лист 39.

united 44% of the Communists of the republic in its ranks²³ Azerbaijanis shared the palm with Russians and Armenians. According to the data of 1939, in the Baku Party Committee, out of the 17 first secretaries of district committees, there were 8 Azerbaijanis, 3 Russians, 2 Armenians and 4 representatives of other nationalities.²⁴

According to the tradition that had developed since the first days of Soviet power and had been preserved throughout the subsequent period, the Azerbaijani Turks had an overwhelming majority in the composition of the legislative and executive branches of government. In April 1, 1929, Turks* made up 80% of the employees in the apparatus of the AzCEC (Central Executive Committee of Azerbaijan) staff.²⁵ In the 1920-1930s, the chairmen of the highest legislative body of the republic were exclusively Turkic communists. Most of the posts of people's commissars in the government of the Azerbaijan SSR were also occupied by the Turks. According to the data of December 1, 1939, there were 42 Azerbaijanis, 17 Russians, 13 Armenians, 2 Kazan Tatars, 2 Kurds, 2 Lezghins, 1 Greek-Tatar and 2 Jews among the people's commissars and high ranking republican officials of the Azerbaijan SSR.²⁶

The number of state institutions where the process of korenization proceeded slowly was Baku Soviet, trade unions and Azneft. Among the Soviet institutions, in the apparatus of which in the 1920s, it was not possible to reverse the situation in favor of the

²³ Коммунистическая партия Азербайджана в цифрах, с. 155-158.

²⁴ Статистические данные о национальном и социальном составе секретарей районных, городских и областных комитетов КП (б) Азербайджанской ССР (Баку: 1939 год) // АОПДУДПАР, Фонд № 1, опись № 22, дело № 546, лист 40.

* Before the adoption of the Constitution of the Azerbaijan SSR in 1937, Azerbaijanis were called Turks in official documents/

²⁵ Национальный состав государственных учреждений Азербайджанской ССР (Баку: апрель 1929 года) // АОПДУДПАР, Фонд № 1, опись № 77, дело № 65, лист 99.

²⁶ Национальный состав наркомов и руководящих республиканских работников Азербайджанской ССР (Баку: декабрь 1939 года // АОПДУДПАР, Фонд № 1, опись № 22, дело № 412, лист 103.

korenization of personnel, it should be singled out the people's commissariats of agriculture, labor, supplies, cotton cooperation, Azkolkhozsentr, etc.

Despite all the efforts of the authorities for korenization of the personnel, by the end of the studied period in the Azerbaijan SSR, the share of Azerbaijanis in leadership positions (50.3%) was still inferior to the percentage of their representation in the national composition of the population (58.4%).²⁷

From the very beginning, the Bolshevik leadership focusing on the nationality of future members of administrative staff, considered the language factor as one of the foundations of korenization. In the period under study, the Turkic language did not occupy the dominant position in office work in the central party-state apparatus. All the protocols of the Central Committee and the Baku Committee, their correspondence with the People's Commissariats, government institutions were conducted in Russian. Outside of Baku, in the lower levels of the Soviet apparatus and the apparatus of justice, Turkization of language proceeded more smoothly, since it was mainly Turks who worked there, who by the beginning of the 1930s had mastered the Turkic language in its Latinized form. The correspondence with the Armenian autonomy in Nagorno-Karabakh was conducted in Russian and Armenian. Relations with the regions where such nationalities as Tats, Talysh, Udins, Lezghins, Kurds, Avars, Sakhurs lived, were conducted in Turkic and Russian languages.

In the second paragraph, **“Personnel policy in the highest bodies of state power”**, it is noted that the mechanism of organizing the new Bolshevik government in Azerbaijan as a whole repeated the order applied in Russia. The practice of creating revolutionary committees turned out to be a very effective measure in the conditions of the growing resistance movement in Azerbaijan to the

²⁷ Всесоюзная перепись населения 1939 года: Основные итоги/ Москва: 1992. с. 200.

Bolsheviks, who imposed their power on the ground by very unpopular methods.

Throughout the entire period of its existence (April 1920 –May 1921), the Azerbaijan Provisional Revolutionary Committee functioned under the control of the party apparatus of the republic. Considering that some members of the Revkom (Revolutionary Committee) were at the same time members of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the AC (b) P, this control was of a synchronous nature. During the one-year period of existence of the central and local revolutionary committees, their personnel composition was periodically changed, the structure was expanded, and the search for the most acceptable forms of work was going on. Only the extraordinary nature of the activities of the revolutionary committees remained unchanged, which was partly inherited by the constitutional structures that replaced them.

With the adoption of the Constitution in 1921, the Provisional Revolutionary Committee of Azerbaijan was abolished and the following system of supreme authorities was established: the All-Azerbaijan Congress of Soviets, the Central Executive Committee of Azerbaijan and the Soviet of People's Commissars. The leading role in this triad was occupied by the All-Azerbaijan Congress of Soviets of Workers', Peasants', Red Army and Sailors' Deputies. It acted as a representative body of the workers of Azerbaijan.

Within the years of 1921-1937, 9 congresses of the Soviets of Azerbaijan were convened. During the period between the All-Azerbaijan Congresses of Soviets, the Central Executive Committee of Azerbaijan (AzCEC) had the highest state power in the republic. It was the highest legislative, administrative and controlling authority, was elected directly at the congress and was completely subordinate to it. At the head of the AzCEC was the chairman, who was elected at the first meeting of an every new convocation for the term of office of this body. At the first All-Azerbaijan Congress of Soviets, Mukhtar Hajiyev (1921-1922) was elected the Chairman of the AzCEC. Later, the post of chairman of the AzCEC was held by S.Agamalioglu (1922-1929), G.Musabeyov (1929-1931) and

S.M.Efendiyev (1931-1937). The last two, like M.Hajiyev, became victims of the repressions of 1937-1938. Along with the chairman, the Deputy Chairman and the secretary of the AzCEC were elected.

The staff of the AzCEC members was replenished from among the party, government, economic and public institution heads. In terms of its social and national composition, the AzCEC corresponded to the ideological guidelines of the party. This meant that the presence of representatives of the advanced part of the workers, peasants and intellectuals, great national minorities of the republic (Russians and Armenians) was an obligatory element in its composition. In addition, there were representatives from the Nakhchivan ASSR and the NKAO, necessarily heads of a party organization, heads of leading industries or state institutions (Azneft, AzGPU, NKVD, Baksoviet). Members of the AzCEC were endowed with broad rights and had personal immunity. They could participate with an advisory vote at all meetings of local authorities, state institutions and public organizations.

In March 1937, the last 9th Congress of Soviets in the history of Soviet Azerbaijan was held, which adopted the new Constitution of the Azerbaijan SSR. It was compiled on the basis of the provisions of the USSR Constitution of 1936. The Basic Law introduced changes in the structure of the authorities. The Congress of Soviets was abolished, and instead of the AzCEC the supreme legislative body of state power in the republic - elected by the entire population and unicameral the Supreme Soviet of the Azerbaijan SSR was formed.

Before the war, elections to the Supreme Soviet of Azerbaijan were held only once - in 1938. Since the Supreme Soviet was considered the highest body of state power in the Azerbaijan SSR, it represented, first of all, the power of the titular people of the republic. The proportion of Azerbaijanis in the Supreme Soviet was higher than in the population. Along with Azerbaijanis, all the main national minorities of the republic and a small part of ethnic minorities were represented in the first Supreme Soviet. Out of 310 deputies, 206 Azerbaijanis, 38 Armenians, 36 Russians, 7

Ukrainians, 7 Jews, 7 Lezgins, 3 Georgians, 1 Kurd, 1 Udin, 1 Sakhur, 1 Avar, etc. were elected.²⁸

As before, in the Congress of Soviets, in the Supreme Soviet the main social classes of Soviet society were necessarily represented among the deputies: workers, collective farmers and intellectuals. The deputy status was assigned to the secretaries of the Central Committee, all members of the government, all the first secretaries of regional committees, city and district committees, the chairman of the CEC of the Nakhchivan ASSR and the chairman of the regional executive committee of the NKAO, the heads of the largest industrial associations and enterprises, scientific and creative institutions. They were mostly members and candidates for party members. The remaining places were provided to representatives of working collectives, collective farms and intellectuals who distinguished themselves in the production with high indicators of labor and creative activity. At the same time, the national composition of the delegates was programmed in advance, which, in addition to Azerbaijanis, included, first of all, representatives of the largest national minorities of the republic (Russians, Armenians).

The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Azerbaijan SSR was elected in the following composition: the Chairman of the Presidium, two of his deputies (the Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Nakhchivan ASSR and the chairman of the regional executive Committee of the NKAO), the secretary and 10 members of the Presidium. The Presidium also included the First Secretary and one of the secretaries of the Central Committee of the C (b)P of Azerbaijan. The Presidium was the main working body. The most significant figure in the leadership of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet was its chairman. The person who held this position was considered a full member of the top leadership, an indispensable member of the bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan. In fact, the head of the supreme legislative body,

²⁸ Первая сессия Верховного Совета Азербайджанской ССР первого созыва. 18-22 июня 1938 г. Стенографический отчет, с. 31.

although disenfranchised, called upon to stamp laws prepared in the Central Committee apparatus, served as a dummy personifying the supreme power. Mir Bashir Qasimov was elected the first chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Azerbaijan SSR in 1938. He held this post until 1949. Sessions of the Supreme Soviet were led by the Chairman of the Supreme Soviet. During the period under review, Mir Teymur Yagubov (1938-1941) was the Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Azerbaijan SSR.

A Government, the Soviet of People's Commissars (SPC), was created directly to manage the development of the economy and culture. It is interesting that in the first composition of the Soviet of People's Commissars - the highest executive body created on April 28, 1920, there were several members of the Provisional Revolutionary Committee – the highest legislative body, and N.Narimanov simultaneously held two positions-the chairman of the Azrevkom and the chairman of the Soviet of People's Commissars. Thus, the same people simultaneously sat in two branches of government-the legislative and the executive.

According to the Constitution of 1921, the Soviet of People's Commissars was the second most important authority in Azerbaijan, and its main leaders were considered as one of the main authorities of the republic. The Soviet of People's Commissars was formed as a part of the chairman, his deputy and People's commissars. In the following years, the composition of the government underwent changes due to the creation of some and the liquidation of other People's commissariats. In particular, after the entry of the Azerbaijan SSR into the ZSFSR and the USSR in 1922 and the liquidation of its formal independence, such positions as the People's Commissar of the Navy, foreign Affairs, and foreign trade were abolished in the government. The Chairman and some of his deputies were also members of the bureau of the Central Committee of the AC (b) P, or were candidates for members of this body. The Soviet of People's Commissars and its staff worked under the constant supervision of the Central Committee staff, secretaries and heads of departments, who were considered as superior to the relevant

officials in the management structure of the Soviet of People's Commissars.

According to the Constitution, the Soviet of People's Commissars was responsible for its activities, both before the All-Azerbaijan Congress of Soviets, and before the Central Executive Committee of Azerbaijan, and later the Supreme Soviet. In connection with the election of N.Narimanov in 1922 as one of the chairmen of the Transcaucasian Union Soviet, and later the CEC of the USSR, G.Musabeyov was appointed chairman of the Soviet of People's Commissars of the Azerbaijan SSR (April 1922 - March 1930). Later, the chairmen of the Government were D.Bunyadzadeh (March 1930-October 1932), M.J.Bagirov (October 1932-December 1933; April-July 1953), U.Rahmanov (December 1933-October 1937), T.Quliyev (October 1937-April 1953). Unlike the Prime minister, the staff of his deputies and People's Commissars was not so constant, but also mainly consisted of Azerbaijanis.²⁹

The office of Sovnarkom consisted of the business manager and the following departments: secretariat, general, financial, information, commandant's office, courier, legal and economic departments. In subsequent years, the departments of the Sovnarkom were supplemented and reorganized. As for the national composition of the SovNarkom apparatus, the Turks traditionally dominated here. According to the data of April 1, 1929, out of 41 employees of the Sovnarkom office, 24 were Turks.³⁰

Thus, during the formation of the highest state authorities in Azerbaijan after its Sovietization in April 1920, representative bodies were formally brought to the fore, which were actually under the full

²⁹ Национальный состав государственных учреждений Азербайджанской ССР (Баку: апрель 1929 года) // АОПДУДПАР, Фонд № 1, опись № 77, дело № 65, лист 45; Национальный состав наркомов и руководящих республиканских работников Азербайджанской ССР (Баку: декабрь 1939 года) // АОПДУДПАР, Фонд № 1, опись № 22, дело № 412, лист 103.

³⁰ . Национальный состав государственных учреждений Азербайджанской ССР (Баку: апрель 1929 года) // АОПДУДПАР, Фонд № 1, опись № 77, дело № 65, лист 45.

control of the party apparatus. At all levels of the legislative and executive branches of government, there were members of a single party, which thus turned into a structural element of state power. This led to the creation of a “party-state” mechanism, where legislative, distributive and control functions belonged to party bodies, and executive functions belonged to state bodies.

Chapter II of the dissertation entitled “**The Communist Party as the main structural element of power in the Azerbaijan SSR (20-30s of the 20th century)**” consists of three paragraphs. In the first paragraph – “**Communist Party of Azerbaijan: organizational form, structure and leadership**” is noted that the Communist Party of Azerbaijan, established in February 1920, had never been an independent party during its existence. Not having its own program and charter, it was entirely guided by the program and charter documents of the RC (b) P, and later the All-Union CP (b) and the CPSU. In organizational terms, the rights, duties and powers of the AC (b) P were determined by the charter of the RC (b) P as a regional organization. The main issues of party life were resolved at congresses, conferences, plenums, the presidium and the bureau of the AC (b) P. The highest body of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan was its congress. From 1920 to 1940, 16 congresses were convened. After the 13th Congress (June 1937), the party changed its abbreviation and became known as the C (b) P of Azerbaijan.

Members of the Central Committee were elected at congresses, which, in addition to party, Soviet and economic leaders, included workers, collective farmers, and representatives of the intelligentsia. All county and later district party organizations were directly connected with the Central Committee of the AC (b) P. In the same way, the Baku Committee, which was in the position of the capital committee, was also directly connected. The Politburo (Presidium, Bureau) of the Central Committee of the AC (b) P managed the daily life of the republic, formed the basis, the backbone of the party apparatus of power. Its composition was determined by the plenum of the Central Committee, which also had the authority to make changes. The bureau consisted of the most important officials of the

republic: the secretaries of the Central Committee, the chairman of the CEC (and later the Supreme Soviet), the chairman of the Soviet of People's Commissars, some of his deputies, the second secretary of the Baku Party Committee, the leaders of the QPU -NKVD. The decisions of the Presidium-Bureau of the Central Committee were final and were topic to strict execution for the legislative and executive authorities of all levels, trade unions, Komsomol (Young Communist League), economic organizations.

The Communist Party of Azerbaijan consisted of a set of party committees, starting from the lowest (district, city) and ending with the highest-the Central Committee. According to the content of its composition, the expression "party committee" was ambiguous. It denoted the totality of the committee members elected at the corresponding party conference, congress. These members of the committee did not form the committee as a special institution. Most of them worked in some other institutions. As members of this party committee, they participated only in periodically convened meetings (plenums) of the committee. Only a part of them became a permanent member of this party committee as a special business institution. These are mainly secretaries, employees of departments attached to the offices of the central, district, and city committees of the party. Thus, in the second sense, the expression "party committee" meant such a constantly operating institution.

The apparatus of the Central Committee and local committees of the party consisted of departments that were built according to the functional (1920-1934) or production- industrial principle (1934-1939), somewhat repeating the composition of the government. Among them, there were accounting and distributive, organizational and instructional, personnel, agricultural, industrial, transport, etc. departments. The circle of department heads changed mostly with the change of Central Committee secretaries. During the period under review, there were many non-indigenous people among the Central Committee secretaries and department heads, mainly from representatives of the main national minorities of the republic (Russians, Armenians). These persons were members of the highest

party nomenclature of the republic. The secretaries and heads of departments of the Central Committee carried out party leadership in certain areas of socio-economic development of the republic, had a lot of power, a large role in solving the fate of people. The central office of the party compiled a nomenclature of positions for which the appointment was made by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan.

From the beginning of the 1920s, a system of personnel registration and study had been formed under the Central Committee of the AC(b)P. The development of a single unified system for working with personnel made it possible to streamline the work on the selection and promotion of employees, to give it a more systematic and purposeful character. In fact, this rule also applied to those positions that were formally considered elective. The growth of nomenclature positions was facilitated by the gradual expansion and branching of the management apparatus. This, in turn, created difficulties in providing them with personnel.

In the period under study, as in the subsequent period, the greatest party organization of the republic was the Baku one. Throughout the pre-war period, the Baku Committee had the largest proletarian class in the party. In the pre-war years, the Baku Party Committee mainly consisted of non-Azerbaijani Bolshevik cadres. The multinational composition of the population of Baku (according to the results of the All-Union census of 1939 in the capital of the republic, the population was distributed according to the national composition as follows: Azerbaijanis-27.4 %, Russians -43.6 %, Armenians-15 % and others-14 % ³¹), a significant influx to the city in the 1920s- in the early 30s, migrants, especially from the RSFSR, the dominance of the Russian language in the capital's party structures and central state institutions, professional training and educational level, and the political activity of non-Azerbaijani party

³¹ Очерки истории рабочего класса Азербайджанской ССР, с. 236.

cadres ensured their numerical superiority in the Baku party organization throughout the pre-war period.

In the second paragraph, **“Personnel changes in the party leadership”**, it is noted that since the first years of Sovietization, secretaries began to occupy a leading place in the party hierarchy, who at first performed only the functions of organizers of the work of the Central Committee apparatus. The role of secretaries increases with the strengthening of the position of the party apparatus in public administration and the concentration of personnel issues in its hands. If in the 1920s there was no clear hierarchy between the secretaries of the Central Committee of the AC (b) P and it was difficult to determine their exact number, then since 1929 the positions of the first, second and third secretaries were officially introduced. Moreover, from now on, the first secretary of the Central Committee simultaneously headed the Baku Party Committee. Thus, the powers of the first secretary of the Central Committee were significantly expanded, and he was obliged to unite and ensure unity in the party ranks. After the introduction of the position of the first secretary of the BC in 1929, a little later the positions of the second and third secretaries were also approved. In the 1930s, the number of Central Committee secretaries was growing (from 1931, 4 secretaries, and from 1939, 5 secretaries), which was due to the bureaucratization of the management system, an increase in the volume of issues being solved, i.e. excessive government ownership and concentration of power in the hands of the party apparatus.

Prior to his appointment in 1933, M.J.Bagirov as the first secretary of the Central Committee, which he held for the longest time - until 1953, there is an intensive rotation of secretaries. Regarding the reasons for the intensive rotation of the secretaries of the Central Committee of the AC (b) P until 1933, it should be noted that the most universal of them were the inability to cope with intrigues and squabbles within the party, mistakes in personnel policy, failures made during the implementation of the party line for the development of agriculture and industry.

In the third paragraph, **“The Communist Party of Azerbaijan during the years of party cleansing and the Great Terror ”**, it is noted that during the studied period, in the complex of administrative and political events held by the central party leadership, aimed at ensuring the political credibility of the party nomenclature in remote areas of the country, remove those people from the management layer, which could be suspected of lack of loyalty to the system and committed to other ideological doctrines than socialism, an important place was occupied by periodic purges of the party. During the period of general party cleansing in 1921, 1929-1930 and 1933-1935 and the exchange of party documents in 1936, the number of Azerbaijani communists decreased noticeably. The purges were the prelude of the coming repressions of 1937-1938, the most culminating stage of the Bolshevik political terror, which was incomparable both in scale and degree of cruelty with other stages. While party cleansing of the 1920s - first half of the 1930s they touched mainly ordinary communists, functionaries in the lower classes, the repressions of 1937-1938 were directed primarily against leading cadres. In general, among the repressed were: the former secretaries of the District Committee of the C (b) P of Azerbaijan-52, the former chairmen of the District Executive Committee -34, directors of factories and trades - 7, the former people’s commissars and deputy people’s committees - 20, the head of the Central Committee - 3, etc.³²

Having destroyed the older generation of party members in the years of the “Great Terror”, Stalin’s personnel policy preferred the new generation to those who could have already be considered the genetic offspring of the new system. The new Stalinist generation of Azerbaijani communists did not belong to the participants of the revolutionary movement, to the so-called “fighters for the victory of the Soviet power in Azerbaijan”, their entry into the party and a rather rapid official rise took place in the second half of the 1930s,

³² Список участников «контрреволюционной националистической организации» (Баку: 1939 год) // АОПДУДПАР, Фонд № 1, опись № 22, дело № 296, лист 17.

when the new government was sufficiently established in the country.

From June 1, 1937 to June 1, 1938, 10739 people were nominated for leadership in Azerbaijan, including for the party work 2462³³. In general, the national composition of the new leading cadres was as follows: Azerbaijanis -63.6%, Russians-9.6%, Armenians-15%, others-11.8%.³⁴

According to the data of February 1939, among the secretaries of district, city, and regional committees on the party lineage, there was not one who had any pre-revolutionary experience. Only among the first secretaries there were 5 people (5.7% of the total number of 88 secretaries) with experience from 1918-1920. The rest had a party experience after the Sovietization of Azerbaijan in 1920.³⁵

Chapter III of the dissertation **“Qualitative parameters of personnel policy in the Communist Party of Azerbaijan (20-30s of the 20th century)”** consists of three paragraphs. The first paragraph, **“Party cadres in the social and national dimension”** illuminates the issue of regulating the social and national composition of the party that was traditionally been at the center of attention of the leadership of the republic’s party organization. The Communist Party invariably emphasized that it is, above all, a party of workers and collective farmers. Therefore, the promotion of workers “from the machine tool” and peasants “from the plow” to the state administration apparatus began to be implemented with inexorable consistency. The saturation of the apparatus by the workers and peasants was controlled by analyzing the reports received from the field, and those organizations that allowed indulgence in this regard were topic to harsh criticism.

³³ Очерки истории Коммунистической партии Азербайджана. Баку: 1963, с. 549.

³⁴ Очерки истории Коммунистической партии Азербайджана, с. 543.

³⁵ Статистические данные о национальном и социальном составе секретарей районных, городских и областных комитетов КП (б) Азербайджанской ССР (Баку: 1939 г.) //АОПДУДПАР, Фонд № 1, опись № 22, дело № 546, лист 33.

During the years of 1925-1933, in the Azerbaijan Party organization, workers held consistently leading positions among the communists by occupation, which was associated with the industrial development of the republic, the development of the oil industry, the opening of new industrial facilities and calls by the party leadership of the country to systematically improve the social composition of the party in order to achieve the absolute numerical predominance of industrial workers in it.

Beginning from 1934, workers by occupation in the Communist Party of Azerbaijan of Azerbaijan began to yield numerically to employees and intellectuals, who gradually firmly held leading positions in the social structure of the party organization of the republic. As a result, already on January 1, 1940, the share of workers by occupation among party members decreased to 21.9%.³⁶ However, the decline in the proportion of workers among party members did not mean at all that the leadership of the republic lost its vigilance and stopped accepting fewer workers into its ranks. And this, despite the fact that before the war, during the first and second five-year plans, new industrial facilities were built in the republic, special educational institutions were opened that trained specialized workers, and in connection with the mechanization of agriculture, a new stratum appeared - agricultural workers. The pace remained the same. There simply were objective reasons that were difficult to reflect in statistical reports. First, the party organs, figuring out the "social position" of a future party member, took as a basis the main profession or the main occupation of the candidate before he joined the party ranks. The main occupation of the candidate before joining the party most often did not coincide with his occupation at one time or another during the period of his stay in the party. Thus, a worker or a peasant, reaching a certain level of authority and remaining in the same category by descent, already became the representative of the Soviet employees, who gradually prevailed in the state apparatus

³⁶ Коммунистическая партия Азербайджана в цифрах, с. 30-31.

in the second half of the 1930s, by the nature of their professional activity. On the other hand, many workers, joining the party and occupying high positions, in order to fill education gaps and to maintain their official positions, tried to enter various party and civil universities. Having finished them, they began to replenish the ranks of the new “proletarian intelligentsia”. The reasons for the decline in the number of workers in the party can also be attributed to the termination of admission to the party in connection with party cleansing in 1929-1930 and 1933-1935, mobilization of workers to work in the village during the period of collectivization, study trips outside of Azerbaijan, expulsion from the party in connection with the exchange of party cards in 1936 and, finally, the repression of 1937-1938.

Before the war, the highest percentage of peasants by occupation was in the party in 1924 - 28.2%. However, starting from the mid-20s and up to the beginning of the 30s, there is a tendency to a sharp decrease in the share of peasants by occupation among the party members, which reached a crisis point in 1930 - 7.9%.³⁷ A great influence on this process was also taken, after the 12th Congress of the RC (b) P (1923), of an absolute increase in the composition of the party of industrial workers, at the same time regulation and various restrictions on the admission to the party of all other elements, including peasants. However, in the early 1930s, the peasants attached to collective farms with their primary party organizations gradually increased their share in the social composition of the party. The rapid growth in the percentage of farmers in the party organization of the republic, observed since 1933, reached its peak by 1935, at 27.3%. Change campaign of party cards in 1936, repressions of 1937-1938 hit hard on the peasantry of Azerbaijan. Thousands of ordinary collective farmers of the party members, who were labeled as kulak and anti-Soviet elements, became victims of political repression in the republic in 1937-1938.

³⁷ Коммунистическая партия Азербайджана в цифрах, с. 26, 30.

As a result, on January 1, 1940, the share of collective-farm peasants among party members again decreased, reaching 24.9%.³⁸

The incentives of the peasants to join the party remained identical with the motives of the workers. The peasants who joined the party sought to use it as a means to increase their material wealth and for social ascent, thus insuring themselves against future changes in the village. At the same time, despite the fact that more than half of the employed people of the republic were collective farmers, differences in the educational level of the urban and rural population of Azerbaijan were one of the determining factors in the traditionally low percentage of farmers in the party compared with workers and employees.

Although according to the official version, at the beginning of the 1920s, the apparatus of power and control was proletarian, working, in reality it consisted mainly of representatives of non-proletarian strata — employees. These were mainly representatives of the intelligentsia. The attitude of the authorities to this stratum in the early years of the Soviet power, when there was an acute shortage of qualified personnel, was rather cautious and had a number of features. In relation to employees and intellectuals, the party adhered to a rather strict framework of regulation. As follows from the contents of the circular documents of the Central Committee of the All-Union CP(b) of the mid 1920s, in contrast to the party, where the Bolsheviks, through purges, sought to achieve homogeneity of its composition, in state institutions, where the number of party workers was insignificant, the authorities were forced to manipulate and temporarily use intellectuals and elements belonging to other classes, even quite often, are completely alien, which the state apparatus could not manage without it. The calculation was that only as far as the training of personnel of “red” specialists from workers and peasants was made, they would replace the alien elements in the state apparatus. Beginning from 1934, the percentage of civil employees, intellectuals among the members of the Azerbaijan Communist Party

³⁸ Коммунистическая партия Азербайджана в цифрах, с. 31.

began to grow steadily, reaching 53.2% in January 1, 1940³⁹. But now a significant part of this stratum was the new Soviet intelligentsia, which came out from among the workers and peasants. This new Soviet intelligentsia already had other qualities, often being the opposite of the former.

By the beginning of the 1920s, the Communist Party of Azerbaijan was the most multinational in terms of its ethnic composition, and the second in the South Caucasus, after the Georgian one, by its size. According to the data for 1922, it united representatives of 40 nationalities in its ranks.⁴⁰ However, despite such a various ethnic content, the national composition of the party throughout its history was mainly formed from representatives of three main nationalities living in the republic: Turks, Armenians, and Russians. This alignment was a bright reflection of the national composition of the population of the republic. During the 1920 - 1930s, Armenians and Russians made up almost half of the members of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan. The active participation of Russians and Armenians in the pre-revolutionary socialist movement and the struggle for the establishment of Soviet power in Azerbaijan played a decisive role in shaping the national composition of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan and the proportion of the main national groups of the republic in it. During the period of 1922-1940, the number of Azerbaijani Turks in the party increased from 2.340 to 37.839 people, i.e. almost 16 times. At the same time, all the pre-war years, the proportion of Azerbaijanis among the communists of the republic did not reach half. On January 1, 1940, the percentage of Azerbaijanis (47.8%)⁴¹ in the national composition of the party organization was inferior to their share (58.4%)⁴² of the republic's population.

Analysis of archival data on the national composition of the party organizations in the regions of the Azerbaijan SSR shows that a

³⁹ Коммунистическая партия Азербайджана в цифрах, с. 31.

⁴⁰ Коммунистическая партия Азербайджана в цифрах, с. 14.

⁴¹ Коммунистическая партия Азербайджана в цифрах, с. 44.

⁴² Всесоюзная перепись населения 1939 года, с. 200.

high proportion, for example, of Armenians and Russians was observed in those places where the population was multinational. So, on April 1, 1924, Armenians comprised 14.7% of party members in the Baku party organization, 27.6% in Ganja, and 14% in Nakhchivan. The Armenian communists had absolute leadership in the party organization of NKAO – 94.2%.⁴³ As for the Russians, their numerical growth in the party in the 1920s was associated with the broad involvement of workers in the party and the migration of Russians from different regions of Russia. Only during the years of 1926-1939, the number of Russians in Azerbaijan SSR had increased 2.4 times (from 220.6 thousand people in 1926 to 528.3 thousand people in 1939).⁴⁴ Most of this population was concentrated in Baku, which led to the fact that in the capital of the republic, especially in its central and industrial areas, the Turks began to constitute only a third of the city's population. Until 1933, among the members of the party, Russians consistently occupied second place in numbers, after the Turks, after giving up this pedestal step to the Armenians.

Thus, the peculiarities of the development of the population's social structure, the educational level of party cadres, the formation of almost half of the party membership at the expense of members of the Baku Party Organization, where there was high political activity of Russians and Armenians, the slow growth of the status of the Azerbaijani language, demographic changes in the composition of the population were the determining factors that influenced the formation of the national composition of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan.

In the second paragraph entitled **“The educational level of party cadres and their placement in various sectors of the national economy”** is noted that the level of education was one of the key factors that influenced the formation of leading party cadres. The need to fill the vacancies of the leading party cadres with people

⁴³ Материалы Пленума ЦК АКП (б) VI созыва. (Баку: 15 сентября 1924 г.) // АОПДУДПАР, Фонд № 1, опись № 5, дело № 46, лист 31.

⁴⁴ Азербайджанцы: Историко-этнографический очерк. Баку:1998, с. 49-50.

having higher and secondary specialized education, specialists of the national economy was obvious: firstly, the competence of the leadership was increased, and secondly, the image of the authorities as the most educated part of society, and therefore really able to manage, was created.

In the early 1920s, half of the party members and candidates had education only at the school level, and one third did not have it at all. This social disadvantage played a decisive role in the formation of the worldview and behavior of a party member who, due to a favorable combination of circumstances, found himself in a particular leadership position. Even among the secretaries of the Central Committee of the Party Organization of the republic, only a few managed to enter higher educational institutions, which some never finished.

The situation changed somewhat by the end of the 1930s. Thus, by January 1, 1940, out of the total number of 79.032 members and candidates for membership of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan, 3.593 (4.5%) had higher education, 1.243 (1.6%) had incomplete higher education, 10.157 (12.9%) had secondary education, 11.622 (14.7%) had incomplete secondary education, 27.869 (35.2%) had primary education and 24.319 (30.7%)⁴⁵ had no primary education. Three-quarters of Communists – 53.591 people worked in the field of material production. Out of these, 18.237 worked in industry and 22.582 in agriculture.⁴⁶ Half of the communists employed in industry were in the oil industry - 9.600.⁴⁷ Out of the Communists employed in agriculture, the overwhelming majority worked in collective farms-19.690⁴⁸. There were 19022 communists working in non-productive sectors⁴⁹. As before, the low rate among them was specialists who had academic degrees of candidates and doctors of

⁴⁵ Коммунистическая партия Азербайджана в цифрах, с. 35.

⁴⁶ Коммунистическая партия Азербайджана в цифрах, с. 87.

⁴⁷ Коммунистическая партия Азербайджана в цифрах, с. 97.

⁴⁸ Коммунистическая партия Азербайджана в цифрах, с. 103.

⁴⁹ Коммунистическая партия Азербайджана в цифрах, с. 89.

sciences. However, the percentage of this stratum in the party has steadily grown, reaching a high level in the post-war period.

In the third paragraph, **“Training of personnel in the system of party and political education”**, is stated that the rapid growth in the number of party ranks, which began since the Sovietization of Azerbaijan, has put the Central Committee of the AC (b) P before the need to organize mass political education in its own ranks. In the Soviet system of training managerial personnel, various kinds of party schools, communist universities (communist institutes of higher education), advanced training courses, etc. played the primary roles. An important task facing these educational institutions was the education of ideologically mature leaders who were able to carry out the general line of the party.

By the decision of the Central Committee of the AC (b) P from September 23, 1920, party schools were established in Baku and the uyezds of the republic.⁵⁰ On November 30, 1921, the Central Committee of the AC (b) P passed a resolution on the opening of the Central Turkic Party-Soviet School in Baku. In 1921, the Higher Party School named after S. Shaumyan was organized under the Baku Committee of the AC (b) P with departments of the Turkic, Russian and Armenian languages.⁵¹ These schools had to train workers and peasants to work in party-Soviet, professional and cooperative organizations. The schools consisted of two courses: preparatory and basic. The preparatory course prepared personnel for the main course. The main course prepared heads for the uyezds. In the 1934/1935 academic year, there were 16 party schools throughout Azerbaijan (one in Baku, the rest in the districts).⁵²

The main criterion for recruiting the contingent of students of the party schools was the class approach and party affiliation, which

⁵⁰ Очерки истории Коммунистической партии Азербайджана, с. 339.

⁵¹ Очерки истории Коммунистической партии Азербайджана, с. 368.

⁵² Докладная записка А.Агрба М.Д. Багирову об итогах обследования и выпуска СПШ в 1934/1935 учебном году (Баку: 1934 г.)// АОПДУДПАР, Фонд № 1, опись № 17, дело № 596, лист 114.

characterized political educational institutions as a “closed” system focused on certain socio-political strata of society. Workers were the main source of personnel formation, whose representatives made up the majority of students of Soviet party schools. All the main national minorities of the republic were represented among the students of the party schools. At the same time, the training of personnel from the indigenous population was a priority in the activities of the party schools.

Beginning from the early 1930s, Communist universities were established in Azerbaijan. In 1930, the evening Azerbaijan Communist University was opened in Baku for theoretical training and retraining of party workers, which in 1932 was transformed into the Azerbaijan Higher Communist Agricultural School (AHCAS). The resolution of the Bureau of the Central Committee of the AC (b) P from April 11, 1932 approved the decision to establish the Azerbaijani branch of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism (AsIML) as a higher party educational institution on the type of the Institute of Red Professors. These educational institutions trained “red” specialists. In the 1930s, a tradition was developed – party leaders who “failed” were sent to such universities.

As the network of higher educational institutions training specialists in various branches of the national economy expanded, the number of certified party members increased. Therefore, from the second half of the 1930s, the system of communist universities was gradually curtailed.

As a result of the training of personnel in party schools, Communist universities, a whole galaxy of members of administrative staff and party officials from the lower classes grew up. The absolute majority of them were later in the leading party or Soviet work, and at a fairly high level.

Chapter IV of the dissertation entitled “**The main directions and forms of personnel training for industry and agriculture of the Azerbaijan SSR (20-30s of the 20th century)**” consists of two paragraphs. In the first paragraph, “**Formation of engineering and technical and working personnel for industry**”, is noted that the

deployment of large-scale industrialization in the USSR, starting from the second half of the 1920s, and the urgent need for training qualified specialists in engineering and technical profile in this regard required a revision of the state policy in the field of higher education.

During the period under study, engineering and technical personnel for the industry of the Azerbaijan SSR were trained by technical universities and industrial technical schools. By the end of the 1920s, there was only one technical university in the republic – the Polytechnic Institute. It was established by the decree of the Azerbaijan Revolutionary Committee from November 16, 1920. During the period of 1921-1929, this university trained only 71 engineers⁵³. Such low indicators for the graduation of specialists were primarily due to the excessive duration (7-8 years) of the students' training period at this HTEI.⁵⁴

However, in the conditions of increasing industrialization, the Polytechnic Institute could no longer meet the growing needs of various industries of the republic for certified engineers. Therefore, in 1930, the Azerbaijan Polytechnic Institute was transformed into the Azerbaijan Red Banner Oil Institute (AKNI) named after M.Azizbeyov. October 10, 1934 Azerbaijan Red Banner Oil Institute (AKNI) named after M.Azizbeyov was renamed the Azerbaijan Industrial Institute (AII) for the training of engineering personnel for mechanical engineering, energy and other industries. Accordingly, there were changes within the structure of the university, which now had a narrow industrial nature, which was aimed at solving problems associated with an acute shortage of personnel of engineering and technical workers. In the 1939/1940 academic year, there were 2242 students: Azerbaijanis - 555, Russians - 762, Armenians - 454, Jews - 330 people and others - 141 people. There were 92 Azerbaijani

⁵³ Azərbaycan tarixi. Yeddi cildlik. Cild 6 (aprel 1920-iyun 1941), c. 330.

⁵⁴ Мусаева, Т.А. Революция и народное образование в Азербайджане (Очерки истории развития народного образования в Азербайджане. 1920- 1940 годы). Баку: 1979, с. 285

women studying.⁵⁵ In total for the period of 1920-1930, more than 5 thousand specialists graduated from the Polytechnic, Oil, and then the Industrial Institute.

Secondary educational institutions played an important role in the training of technical personnel for the oil industry. Among the industrial technical schools of the oil profile were the Baku Oil Technical School named after October Revolution, Baku Oil Technical School named after Lassalle, Baku Technical School of Petroleum Engineering.

In the 1932/1933 academic year, there were already 3 industrial technical universities in the republic (oil, construction and Ganja textile), in which a total of 3.267 students studied.⁵⁶

In the 1930s, the S.Kirov Industrial Academy and the Baku Institute of Business Managers and Advanced Training of Engineering and Technical Workers were established in Baku, which trained, first of all, senior personnel for industry. Like other special educational institutions established in the 1930s, the main problem of these universities was the low throughput and high dropout rate among students, the reason for which were difficulties in combining study with work, material problems, etc. Therefore, in 1941, these special educational institutions ceased their activities.

Universities in Moscow, Leningrad and other cities of the Union provided some assistance in training qualified specialists for the national economy of Azerbaijan. However, in the mid 1930s, quotas for these universities for the republics began to decrease. The reason for this was that the Union republics sent very poorly trained personnel to study, moreover, they did not speak the Russian language in which the teaching was conducted, or the number of personnel sent was insufficient. On the other hand, those who still managed to successfully complete their studies were very reluctant to

⁵⁵ Айдамиров Т.С. Подготовка инженерно-технических кадров для нефтяной промышленности Азербайджанской ССР (1938-1945), с. 24.

⁵⁶ Очерки истории рабочего класса Азербайджанской ССР, с. 172.

return to their homeland, preferring to stay in the capital, where they hoped to make a more successful career for themselves.⁵⁷

As a result of the measures taken, at the end of the second five-year plan, the share of engineering and technical personnel in the composition of industrial workers of the republic underwent certain changes. In his speech at the 18th Congress of the All-Union CP (b) in March 1939, the first secretary of the Central Committee of the AC(b)P, M.J.Bagirov, noted that during the second five-year plan (1933-1937), the number of engineering and technical workers in the industry of the Azerbaijan SSR increased from 9.667 to 13.200 people.⁵⁸ However, the share of Azerbaijanis among the certified personnel of the engineering and technical profile remained low - 20.4 %.⁵⁹

The acute shortage of Azerbaijanis in the engineering and technical personnel of industrial enterprises was primarily due to the desire of the republic authorities to eliminate illiteracy and create a system of universal primary education in their native language in a short time. And this, in turn, led to the fact that most of the Azerbaijanis were sent to study at pedagogical universities, colleges, after which they taught in primary and secondary schools. This bias in favor of training specialists in the humanities persisted among Azerbaijanis in the subsequent period. Among other reasons, we can single out the conduct of the educational process in technical universities in Russian, the small number of national personnel among the technical teaching staff, the lack of educational literature in the Azerbaijani language, etc. The created vacuum was mainly filled by national minorities and, above all, Russians.

The main educational institutions for the training of skilled workers were factory apprenticeship schools (FAS) and vocational courses, the vast majority of which provided personnel, primarily, to

⁵⁷ Мартин, Т. Империя положительной деятельности. Нация и национализм в СССР, 1923-1939, с. 239-240.

⁵⁸ XVIII съезд Всесоюзной коммунистической партии (б). 10 – 21 марта 1939 г. Стенографический отчет, с. 84.

⁵⁹ Всесоюзная перепись населения 1939 года, с. 201.

the oil industry. Since the second half of the 1930s, the FAS have turned into pronounced professional schools of skilled workers, which were mainly created at individual enterprises and the main emphasis in personnel training was placed on the preparation of those professions that this enterprise needed.

Despite the fact that the geography of the working class of the Azerbaijan SSR changed in the 1920-1930s, the main share of workers fell on Baku, where, according to the 1939 census, the percentage of workers and employees employed in industry was up to 80%.⁶⁰

The lion's share of the republic's working personnel was employed in the oil industry of the Azerbaijan SSR. The growth of the percentage of Turks in the composition of workers in the oil industry remained low. By August 1, 1934, the proportion of Turks among the workers of the oil industry was 20.2 %, and in 1939 - 25.2 %⁶¹. Considering the national composition of the workers of the oil industry, it is also necessary to take into account the fact that the statistics of the 1920-1930s, like the pre-revolutionary ones, separated the Turks who came to work from Southern Azerbaijan from the local Turks and included in the column "Persians" or "Iranians". At the same time, the main criterion was that they were Iranian subjects. At the same time, Soviet sources give very contradictory information about the number of Turks from Southern Azerbaijan, who mainly lived and worked in Baku. During the period under study, the share of Azerbaijanis in the composition of such working professions as a turner, milling machine operator, metalworker, welder, steel maker, foundry worker, etc. was extremely insignificant.⁶²

In the 1920-1930s, Russians were the most qualified part of the working class of Azerbaijan. During the first five-year plan, the number of Russian workers in the oil industry of the republic increased significantly. For January 1, 1933, they were 55.7 %

⁶⁰ Очерки истории рабочего класса Азербайджанской ССР, с. 241.

⁶¹ Очерки истории рабочего класса Азербайджанской ССР, с. 235.

⁶² Всесоюзная перепись населения Азербайджана 1939 года, с. 202.

against 42.2 % as for October 1, 1926, i.e. their number increased by 13.5%⁶³. The main source of replenishment of the oil industry by Russian workers was visitors from the RSFSR.⁶⁴ In Soviet historiography, this fact was interpreted as fraternal assistance.

In the second paragraph, **“Qualitative and quantitative parameters of agricultural personnel”**, it is noted that by the time of Sovietization in April 1920, Azerbaijan remained an agrarian country, three-quarters of whose population lived in the villages. The Azerbaijani village needed reforms that required the availability of qualified personnel, which the Bolsheviks chronically lacked. Therefore, as in other areas, we had to call on the help of old specialists, at the same time starting to train new ones. To solve the problem with personnel, Azrevkom adopted a number of decrees on the mobilization of available agricultural specialists.⁶⁵

At the time of Sovietization, there was no separate university for training personnel for agriculture in the Azerbaijan SSR. In 1920, an agricultural faculty was established at the Azerbaijan Polytechnic Institute. However, this faculty did not meet the growing needs of the republic's agriculture for qualified personnel. Therefore, short-term training courses for agricultural personnel were organized in Baku and Ganja. For the training of specialists with secondary education, five agricultural technical schools were opened, which trained medical assistants -veterinarians and animal technicians. However, all these measures, after the beginning of the policy of collectivization of agriculture in 1929-1930, which the republican leadership was allowed only a few years to fully transition to on the scale of the whole of Azerbaijan, could no longer provide the needs of the village with qualified personnel.

On May 12, 1929, the Soviet of People's Commissars of the Azerbaijan SSR made a decision to transform the Faculty of Agriculture of the Polytechnic Institute into an independent

⁶³ 15 лет азербайджанской нефтяной промышленности (1920-1935). Краткий статистический справочник. Баку-Москва: 1935, с. 76.

⁶⁴ Очерки истории рабочего класса Азербайджанской ССР, с. 158.

⁶⁵ Декреты Азревкома (1920-1921), с. 74-75, 80-82, 90-91, 309-310, 318-319.

Azerbaijan Agricultural Institute (AAI), which was moved from Baku to Ganja in 1930. One of the main tasks of transferring the Institute to Ganja was to link it directly with agriculture. In the early 1930s, engineering-meliorative, cotton and veterinary-zootechnical institutes were also opened in Ganja. In 1933, the Ganja engineering-meliorative, cotton and veterinary-zootechnical and AAI were merged into a single institute - the Azerbaijan Agricultural Institute. In a short period of activity, on the eve of the war, AAI made a significant contribution to the training of personnel in various branches of agriculture. According to the data for 1939, Azerbaijanis were represented as follows among certified agricultural specialists: agronomists - 61.3%, veterinarians - 47.4%, agricultural technicians - 45.1% and zootechnicians - 61.8%.⁶⁶

A special position in the training of personnel for the village was occupied by educational institutions of party and political education, which were obliged to prepare politically savvy leaders of collective farms, state farms and MTS, who would ensure the organization of the implementation of state procurement plans by collective farmers in the prescribed time. The problem of agricultural personnel was also solved by transferring communists and Komsomol members from Baku to the village.

Chapter V of the dissertation entitled **“Training of pedagogical and scientific intelligentsia in the Azerbaijan SSR (20-30s of the 20th century)”** consists of two paragraphs. In the first paragraph, **“Training and social characteristics of teachers”**, it is noted that by the time the Bolsheviks came to power in Azerbaijan, there were no developed plans for reforming the old system of public education and a sufficient number of qualified teachers, moreover, ready to teach in the new Soviet school. Therefore, when creating a new Soviet school, at first, the traditions and cadres of the pre-revolutionary school were partially used and new Soviet ideas were gradually introduced. As a result, the 1920-1930 years can be

⁶⁶ Всесоюзная перепись населения 1939 года, с. 201.

characterized as a time of various experiments and innovations, introducing which the authorities acted by trial and mistakes.

In the period under study, according to the political characteristics of the authorities, Soviet teaching in Azerbaijan was divided into old pre - revolutionary teaching, post-revolutionary rural teaching involved in school work during the Soviet period, and young teaching-graduates of Soviet educational institutions.⁶⁷

In the early years of Soviet power in Azerbaijan, in the conditions of an acute shortage of pedagogical personnel, much attention was paid to the return to pedagogical activity of teachers who graduated from various higher educational institutes, seminaries during the tsarist government and the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic. This layer formed the main part of qualified teaching. These teachers worked mainly in cities, in secondary educational institutions, and along with their native language, they also spoke Russian fluently. Among them there were many teachers who were invited from Turkey during the ADR period. In 1920, only 3% of the Turkic teachers in the Azerbaijan SSR had higher and secondary education.⁶⁸ The attitude of the new authorities to the old cadres of teachers was far from ambiguous. Very often, the authorities saw them as bearers of “Musavat ideas”, the documents noted the high political activity of “Musavat teachers”, especially in the uyezds.⁶⁹

The acute shortage of teaching staff in the uyezds, and even in the conditions of mass illiteracy of the rural Turkic population, forced the authorities to take the most radical measures. In order to solve this problem, short-term courses were feverishly created in the Azerbaijan SSR, which, according to the authorities themselves, prepared two-month and three-month teachers – “miscarriages”.

⁶⁷ Докладная записка Народного комиссара Просвещения Азербайджанской ССР М.Кулиева секретарю ЦК АКП(б) Л. Мирзояну. Политическая характеристика Азербайджанского учительства (Баку: 1926 г.) // АОПДУДПАР, Фонд № 1, опись № 74, дело № 194, листы 205-209.

⁶⁸ Народное образование в Азербайджане. 1920-1927. Баку: 1928, с. 25.

⁶⁹ Рафиев, Б.Дж. Если снять гриф секретности. (Очерки новейшей истории Азербайджана). Глазов: 2008, с. 79-80.

Having hastily completed the course program, they formed the first group of Turkish teachers who were trained and joined mass schools of the 1st stage.

At the same time, there was a process of gradual formation of a “new teaching”, mainly at the expense of young people. When there was the only Higher Pedagogical Institute in the republic in the 1920s, organized in 1923 as a result of the merger of male and female Pedagogical Institutes, the young Azerbaijani teachers of the Soviet formation initially mainly consisted of graduates of pedagogical technical schools and short-term courses, who recruited future teachers mainly from among peasant and working-class children. Without preparatory departments, higher educational institutions could not complete the composition of students. The main reason for this was the weak level of training in secondary schools. By the second half of the 1930s, teachers with higher education in the Azerbaijan SSR were trained by the Higher Pedagogical Institute, the Azerbaijan State University, and the Correspondence Pedagogical Institute. Besides, two-year pedagogical institutes were opened in Baku, Kirovabad, Nakhchivan, Nukha, Shusha and Khankendi (NKAO). The main share of teaching staff for primary and secondary schools was still prepared at the expense of pedagogical technical schools, the number of which by the end of the 1930s was 25.⁷⁰

As a result, by January 1, 1939, there were more than 19 thousand teachers in the schools of the republic, out of which only 2098 had a higher education.⁷¹ The main part of teachers with higher education was concentrated in Baku. By number, Azerbaijanis made up the overwhelming majority among the rural teachers. According to the All-Union Census of 1939, among the teachers of primary and all secondary educational institutions and courses, Azerbaijanis

⁷⁰Нифталиев, И.В. Социальный облик советского учительства в Азербайджанской ССР в 1920-1930-е годы // Материалы IX международной научной конференции «Культура и власть в СССР. 1920-1950-е годы», с. 405.

⁷¹ Мусаева, Т.А. Культура Азербайджана на рубеже эпох, с. 78.

accounted for 12030 people (including 1816 women) or 57.2% of the total teaching staff.⁷²

In the second paragraph entitled **“Peculiarities of the formation of scientific intelligentsia cadres”**, it is noted that in the 1920s, the training of national intelligentsia cadres took place within the framework of several institutes of higher education, pedagogical technical schools. Rabfaks (workers’ courses) played an important role in the proletarianization and nationalization of institutes of higher education. The slow growth of the national intelligentsia was greatly influenced by the lack of specialists with higher education and scientific literature in their native language, the preservation of leading positions in the system of higher education of the Russian language. These factors greatly determined the national composition of the academic staff of higher education institutes, which consisted mainly of professorial personnel invited from the RSFSR. These same cadres were at the origins of the creation of the first scientific institutions in Azerbaijan, various directions in the field of social and natural sciences. The expansion of the network of higher educational institutions, which since the 1930s were built on the sectoral principle and were oriented to a narrow specialization, the creation of the Institute of postgraduate studies, the Academy of Sciences system and new branch scientific institutions, played a major role in the training of national cadres of scientific intelligentsia. Azerbaijanis according to the data for 1939, they accounted for 42.8% (766 people, including 95 women) among researchers, professors and teachers of institutes of higher education.⁷³ A significant role in the rejuvenation of the academic staff of institutes of higher education and scientific institutions was played by the mass repressions of the second half of the 1930s, which further accelerated the influx of the younger generation of national scientific personnel into science.

⁷² Всесоюзная перепись населения 1939 года, с. 201.

⁷³ Всесоюзная перепись населения 1939 года, с. 201.

In the **Conclusion** of the dissertation, the results of the research are summarized, a generalizing analysis of the Soviet national policy in the preparation, nomination and placement of personnel in the party-state authorities, in industry, agriculture, in the field of science and education of the Azerbaijan SSR in the 20-30s of the 20th century is carried out.

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

1. Некоторые особенности формирования национального и социального состава руководящих партийных кадров Азербайджанской ССР в 20-30-гг. XX века // -Баку: Азербайджан и азербайджанцы,- 2008. № 5-8,- с.219-228.
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6. Партийно-государственная власть в Азербайджанской ССР: структура, форма организации и руководство (20-30-е годы XX века) // -Москва: Историческое пространство,- 2012. № 1,- с.219-229.
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