**Azim Heydarov, doctoral candidate**

**Azerbaijan, Baku State University**

**+994505374860; azimheydar@gmail.com**

**The South Caucasus policy of RSFSR on the eve of the USSR and differences in this direction.**

**Abstract:** Resume: From the 18th century, Russia began to play an active role in the political arena of the South Caucasus. This region has always had an exceptional, vital place in Russia's geostrategic plans. After defeating the main rivals of the Soviet Russia in the civil war, his first task was to restore the former empire boundaries that were actually out of control as a result of the October 1917 revolution. This policy was also followed by the South Caucasus.

In this article, the author, on the basis of archival documents introduced into scientific circulation, described the complex process of the formation of the USSR in the South Caucasus. A special place here is allocated to the contradictions among the political elite (between Lenin and Stalin) of Soviet Russia.

**Key words:** South Caucasus, Russia, Soviet, occupation, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Georgia, USSR.

**Introduction:** This problem was not investigated at all in Soviet period did not receive its proper scientific coverage. This article highlights this little-studied problem. On the one hand, we see a serious political struggle for survival, and on the other hand in this article, the background of the intrigues of the Kremlin elite we see discriminatory policies of Soviet Russia in relation to the Azerbaijani people, which in this was a continuation of the policies of the Russian Empire. These little-explored pages of history need further research.

**Materials:** Archive materials (Archives of Political Documents of the Administration of the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan), Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR - Collection of Foreign Policy Documents Volume 1 (1917-1941). Volume 42 and 45 of Lenin's entire collection form the basis of his research work.

**Discussion**:  After defeating the main rivals of the Soviet Russia in the civil war, his first task was to restore the former empire boundaries that were actually out of control as a result of the October 1917 revolution. This policy was also followed by the South Caucasus.

The disintegration of Denik's troops and the occupation of the Red Army in Stavropol, Pyatigorsk, Armavir, and Novorossiysk in March changed the military-strategic situation in the region. Oil-rich Baku, as well as the desire to gain "much-needed" control over the entire South Caucasus, received unexpected support from Turkey, which, in turn, needed the support of its northern neighbor in its fight against Antanta. The successful Baku operation on April 27-28, led by the XI Red Army and the local bolsheviks, led to the abolition of the independence of the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic and the establishment of Soviet control over the entire western coast of the Caspian Sea to Astara. On April 28, the Provisional and Revolutionary Committee of the Soviet Republic of Azerbaijan held a meeting with the Chairman of the Russian People's Commissars' Union In a telegram sent to Lenin, he declared that the government of Musavat was treacherous and an enemy of Azerbaijani workers and independence, and that all relations with Russia's Antanta countries had been severed. Also, we offer Soviet allies for their inability to fight world imperialism and ask for red troops to be sent to help.” [Министерство Иностранных Дел СССР. Документы Внешней Политики СССР. 1 Том. М., 1958, p. 489–490].

After the occupation of the independent Azerbaijani state in May 1918, on April 28, 1920, all the attributes of the independent state were kept by the Bolsheviks, but the real internal and external control of the republic was in the hands of Moscow.

Soviet Russia did not intend to recognize its independence in the event of the 11th Army's neutralization to Georgia on the eve of its occupation of Azerbaijan, and to fulfill its pledges that all agreements signed with the ADR remain in force.

At a meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Republic of Azerbaijan on August 12, 1920, “Georgia did not release oil. Continuing the policy of extending old negotiations” [Archive of political documents of the Presidential Administration of the Republic of Azerbaijan: Fund №1, list №1, File №23 p. 7]. However, at the August 27 meeting of the same year, it was decided not to conclude a trade agreement with Georgia, to respond to the repression of Armenia against the communists, and to consult these issues with Chicher and Kirov [Archive of political documents of the Presidential Administration of the Republic of Azerbaijan: Fund №1, list №1, file №24 , p. 2]. At the meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Republic of Azerbaijan on July 15, 1920, along with Azerbaijani Communists Narimanov, Mirza David, Dadash Bunyadzade, representatives of Yegorov, Mikoyan, Ordzhenikidze, Stasov, Armenian delegation The agreement was discussed. It is based on the fact that Georgia sends Baku oil to Vrangel because it has a general economic policy of Azerbaijan with Russia, and only after Russia's full supply of oil and oil products can be discussed with Georgia as well [Archive of political documents of the Presidential Administration of the Republic of Azerbaijan: Fund №1, list №1, file №18, p. 14].

It should be noted here that the South Caucasus policy of the bolsheviks was different from that of Ukraine and central Russia as well. For example, in the aforementioned regions, food items from the population were forced upon the commission of the Center and the Soviet Army began to apply this rule in the early days of its arrival in Azerbaijan. mitigation The decision to be careful about food gathering in the Mugan region, and in the surrounding areas of Mugan, where nothing is collected from the population, it is decided to send 7 additional divisions to increase military strength and to mobilize the Muslim Communists [Ленин В.И. Полное собрание сочинений в 55 томах (5-е издание). Том 42., 1970, p. 47]. The last and most impressive chord of the war on the Caspian was the May 1920's Enzali Landing Operation. As a result, the 36th English Infantry Division was forced to retreat to Rasht. In early July 1920 the British abandoned Batumi. On November 29, 1920, the Republic of Armenia was captured by the XI Red Army from the humiliating peace treaty it had concluded with Turkey. Chairman of the RSFSR Council of People's Commissars V. Lenin in a telegram sent to the head of the Armenian Military Revolutionary Committee on December 2, referring to the conflict situation between Armenia and Azerbaijan "... I have no doubt that you are Armenian and turkish workers. You will do your best to create a solidarity with the brotherhood ” [Ленин В.И. Полное собрание сочинений в 55 томах (5-е издание). Том 42., 1970,, p. 54].

But from the very first days of its existence, Soviet Armenia began to show that it was not able to survive on its own resources. Thus, on December 13, 1920, after the delegation of the Armenian communists visited Moscow, the RSFSR People's Commissars' Council decided to help Armenia with 600 thousand rubles in gold. In the 1921-1922 years, Soviet Russia supplied Armenia with wheat, bread, daily household goods, sugar, and railways. Sending. During these years, along with Russia, Soviet Azerbaijan also supplied wheat, oil and oil products to Armenia as a donor state [История армянского народа древнейших времён до наших дней/под редакцией проф. М. Г. Нерсисяна., 1980, p. 306].

On February 25, 1921, Sergio Orcenikidze sent a letter from Lenin to the Leninist invasion by the Soviet army of Georgia. Long live Soviet Georgia ” [Рейфилд Д. Грузия. Перекресток империй. История длиной в три тысячи лет., 2017, p. 454]. Thus, the long-standing and intense military-political struggle for the South Caucasus ended in favor of Soviet Russia.

On December 2, 1920, Armenia passed, and on February 25, 1921, Georgia surrendered to the control of Soviet Russia. At the same time, the status of these new Soviet republics comes to the fore and provokes widespread discussion. On this occasion, the issue of the status and teaching of the Turkish language, especially in Azerbaijan, is beginning to be heard. It is precisely for these attacks that the first chairman of the Soviet People's Commissars' Soviet Union, N. Narimanov, in his speech to the Drama Theater in Baku in 1922 said: As for the legal side of the case, the Turkish language has been declared the state language of Azerbaijan, and it should use all the opportunities provided by its status. No one can have the strength and courage to overthrow it. Azerbaijan may compromise its territory and its natural resources for certain economic and political issues, but it will neither abandon its language nor allow its status to decline ” [Archive of political documents of the Presidential Administration of the Republic of Azerbaijan: Fund №1, list №3, file №10, p. 18].

  Under the auspices of the center, the Transcaucasian republics first united their railways (April 14, 1922) and foreign trade offices (June 2, 1922). Here, in comparison with Georgia and Azerbaijan, which have the most material resources in this area, it has taken into account the situation of Armenia that has nothing and cannot survive without these countries [Багирова И. Интеграционные процессы на Южном Кавказе и политика великих держав в исторической ретроспективе хх века. Кавказ & Глобализация, том 1 (2), 2007, p. 107].

It was the imagination of the Transcaucasian peoples that they wanted to form a political alliance. On November 3, 1921, the Caucasian bureau of the Central Committee of RK (b) P proposed the accession of these republics to the federated union, and the issue was "promptly discussed" and "approved" by party organizations and the Soviets. Those who say that the time for the creation of such a union has not yet been convinced are justified. these republics were first united in the Federative Union of Transcaucasian Soviet Socialist Republics (SSSRF). An authorized conference of the Central Executive Committees of Azerbaijan, Armenia and Georgia on March 12, 1922 ratified the federation agreement between these republics.

**Results:** The Union Council and the Supreme Economic Council, which defines economic policy, were tasked with managing the military, finance, foreign trade, roads, means of communication, and anti-revolution. The next step towards the withdrawal of the rights of the independent republics of the Transcaucasia was the establishment of the Soviet Federative Socialist Republic of Transcaucasia (ZSFSR), instead of the federation of these republics.

From August to September 1922, meetings were held regularly in Azerbaijan, Georgia and Armenia, expressing their “willingness” to join the RSFSR. In August, a meeting was held in Moscow on the organization of relations between the Soviet republics. A special commission has been set up, which includes the representation of the republics, including Azerbaijan. The same commission adopted the thesis on the republic's accession to the RSFSR. The author of the thesis was IV Stalin. However, the offer of autonomous status in Georgia, as well as the rough treatment of Sergio Orconikidze, who was sent from Moscow, were met with great opposition.

This tension occurred on September 15, 1922 by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Georgia. The debate on the proposal of Stalin's national republics to join the Soviet state with an autonomous status increased even further. The majority of the participants voted for Georgia to be included in the Soviet Union provided that "all the attributes of independence" were preserved. In a letter to Stalin Lenin on September 22, he wrote, "During our four-year civil war, we were liberal in national matters, and as a result, communists were raised by nationalists. They, in the true sense of the word, support independence and see any interference by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Russia as a falsehood and hypocrisy in Moscow ” [Капченко Н.И. Политическая биография Сталина. В 3-х томах: Том 1. 1879-1924. 2004, p. 673].

Stalin regarded the creation of independent states as a game that was accepted by the local communists. Although Lenin made the point of signing an alliance on equal grounds, he did not deny Stalin's ideas in the future and merely accused him of trying to "hurry." In response, Stalin accused him of "national liberalism." At a plenary session in Moscow on October 6, Stalin and his supporters were criticized.

However, the October plenary did not resolve the conflict, but rather aggravated it. Thus, on December 19, 1922, the Georgian Communist Party declared that the republics of the USSR would sign separate union treaties. Ordjenikidze, who was then the head of the Transcaucasian Territorial Committee, described it as a violation of inter-party discipline and was dismissed on the same day as the secretary of the Georgian Communist Party. As a sign of protest, all Georgian KP Central Committee resigns. He sends a commission headed by Dzerzhinsky to Georgia to investigate the matter. The Commission's conclusion supports Ordzhenikidze's position. Lenin suspected of the objectivity of the commission, himself familiarized himself with the materials of this commission and prepared a comprehensive letter on the "National issue, the case of Georgia." He specifically names his opponents in this letter and accuses them of "velikorus chauvinism," centrality [Ленин В.И. Полное собрание сочинений в 55 томах (5-е издание). Том 45., 1970, p. 356]. In the same letter, he points to Stalin's impatience and excessive administration in the administration of this issue in Georgia, suggesting that Orconikidze be punished for teaching the lesson [Ленин В.И. Полное собрание сочинений в 55 томах (5-е издание). Том 45., 1970, p. 357]. In his letter, Lenin described the dangers of the bureaucratic-chauvinist type in addressing national issues. He stated: "The right to withdraw from the union will not save other nations from the bureaucracy of the Russian bureaucrats". Later, he wrote Stalin, "that Georgian ... who ... is accused of inferior" social-nationalism ", in fact, violates the solidarity interests of the proletarian class ..." [Ленин В.И. Полное собрание сочинений в 55 томах (5-е издание). Том 45., 1970, p. 360]. Continuing this quote, Lenin decides to consider the "Georgian incident" in the XII convocation to teach Stalin in national matters. Lenin considered it necessary to "review all the Dzerzhinsky Commission materials that were being investigated or investigated" to "correct errors in the decisions made, which, of course, reflect many errors" [Ленин В.И. Полное собрание сочинений в 55 томах (5-е издание). Том 45., 1970, p. 361].

Trotsky continued the struggle for the settlement of the "Georgian conflict" in the spirit of Lenin at the March 26, 1923 meeting of the Political Bureau. Here Trotsky proposed to withdraw Orconikidze from the secretariat of the Southern Regional Commission, where the majority voted against.

Thus, Trotsky did his best to make Lenin's idea known and implemented in every party. At the same time, he did not raise the issue of the publication of this article.

What happened in the discussion of Lenin's article on this issue is evidence of further facts about the current atmosphere. At a meeting of the Presidency, Trotsky points out Lenin's refusal to present this article to other members of the Political Bureau: "Stalin will go to and compromise the rotten compromise." At the hearing, Stalin noted that an article on a national issue was "written by Lenin, sick of the influence of a woman." [Троцкий Л. Д. Завещание Ленина. Горизонт. 1990, № 6, p.47]

Nevertheless, the session was "as if it were a spontaneous issue", some of them noted the importance of the publication of Lenin's article "in the event of the elimination of extremely intense personal feelings."

**Conclusion:** At the same time, Stalin and his supporters confirmed the ban on Lenin's documents at plenary sessions, as well as the cancellation of the Georgian opposition's access to these documents. After the call, Lenin's article was published in the writings of the party members and even reached abroad, resulting in a December 17, 1923 issue of the Socialist News, which was published in the Menshevik Migrant Magazine. In the Soviet Union, the ban on its publication was lifted in 1956.

As a result of these events, Stalin formulated a confederate state of "equitable" Soviet republics, which formally had the "right to withdraw", as Lenin suggested.

Although RK (b) PK did not consider its relations with the Georgian Bolsheviks, Stalin was forced to abandon the issue of autonomy and from Lenin's point of view to create a union state. Although formal, within Lenin's state, Lenin had to maintain the "sovereignty and equality" of the republics, given the serious discontent in Georgia and Ukraine. At the first congress of the Soviet Socialist Republics it was decided to join the federation republic into the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). On December 30, 1922, the RSFSR, the Ukrainian SSR, the ZSFSR and the Belarusian SSR decided to “voluntarily” unite in the Soviet Union in the Soviet Union in Moscow.

         True, the USSR was created, including the Russian Federation, Ukraine, Belarus, and the Transcaucasian Soviet Socialist Republic, which included Georgia, Azerbaijan, and Armenia. However, Stalin still managed to turn the country into a unitary power-controlled Moscow. If the Constitution of the USSR of 1924 states that the declaration of establishment of the USSR was an agreement of December 30, 1922, Stalin's Basic Law of 1936 did not mention any of these documents.

Thus, on December 30, 1922, when all three South Caucasus republics became part of the USSR within the ZSFSR, they completely lost their formal independence. It was very convenient RSFSR. According to the 1936 constitution, the ZSFSR was generally abolished, and each of the South Caucasus republics were included in the USSR separately.

**Аннотация:** Резюме: С XVIII века Россия стала играть активную роль на политической арене Южного Кавказа. Этот регион всегда занимал исключительное, жизненно важное место в геостратегических планах России. После победы над главными соперниками Советской России в гражданской войне его первой задачей было восстановление границ бывшей империи, которые фактически вышли из-под контроля в результате революции в октябре 1917 года. Этой политике также включался и Южный Кавказ. В этой статье автор на основе архивных документов, введенных в научный оборот, описал сложный процесс становления СССР на Южном Кавказе. Особое место здесь отводится противоречиям между политической элитой (между Лениным и Сталиным) Советской России.

**Ключевые слова:** Южный Кавказ, Россия, Советский Союз, оккупация, Азербайджан, Армения, Грузия, СССР, ЗСФСР.

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