

THE HISTORICAL STAGES OF AZERBAIJAN POLITICAL EMIGRATION

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"Muhajiret" - is an Arabic word, meaning "to migrate from one place to another". In 622 first Moslems migrated with the Prophet Mohammad from Mekka to Medina who was later called "muhajir". The Latin word "emigrere" used in Russian and Western languages also means "to migrate".

In the 19th century a new reason for emigration from Azerbaijan appeared - it was Russian occupation, which lasted for about two hundred years. The emigration, which was raised by the occupation, could be divided into three stages by its structure, characteristics and specific peculiarities.

The first stage, which started in 1803-1813, was the result of Russia's military occupation of Northern Azerbaijan. After the occupation many representatives of upper classes of Azerbaijan khanate emigrated. They tried to drive away the occupants from the country taking advantage of the new Russian-Iranian war, which began in 1826. M.B. Mammadzada wrote: "At that time some of Azerbaijan khans sold themselves to Russia, but then returned to the motherland and raised people against Russians."(8)

In 1809-1826 after the Turkmanchay peace treaty uprisings took place in Jar-Balaken, Zagatala (1830-1831), Talish (1831), Guba

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(1837) regions. Lots of people fell the victims of the uprising, thousands were imprisoned and exiled - the result was a new outflow of Azeris from their country. Russian cruel occupational regime gave a rise to economic and social difficulties and able-bodied part of the population emigrated for seeking a job. Together with political and economic emigrants, there were pious Moslem and clergymen who couldn't reconcile themselves to the situation of Christian Empire's slavery and left the country for the religious and personal motives.

After division of Azerbaijan, Russians moved by force local population from "rebellious" and bordering regions and started to resettle Russians and Armenians in these lands. Such artificial change of ethnodemographic situation also resulted in mass emigration.

In view of these processes following facts painted a graphic picture: "In the first quarter of the 20th century during the Russian-Iranian War 2628 Azerbaijani families only from Garabagh khanate became refugees, 2217 families were taken as hostages and exiled out of the country". (6)

At the beginning of the 20th century Russian explorer N.Shavrov explained the essence of resettlement policy in this way: "We started our colonial activity in the Southern Caucasus not by settling strange peoples. During two years after the 1829 - 1830 war we resettled in the Southern Caucasus more than 40,000 Armenians from Iran and more than 84,000 Armenians from Turkey and settled them in the best state lands of Elizavetpol (Ganja) and Iravan provinces, where Armenians were in significant minority"(1).

At the first stage Russians advocated Armenians' resettlement as a temporary measure. But soon repression against local landlords compelled them to forget, whether Armenian settlement was temporary or permanent.

Resettlement from other places, as well as repression against local inhabitants, continually gained in scope and in the end not only separate peoples and families, but also whole villages and clans left the country. The Kengerlis' fate, which lived for hundreds of years at valleys along the bank of Araz River and served in borders is a clear

example confirming facts cited above "1270 Kengerli families (about 6300 people) headed by Ehsan khan were oppressed. The government took away their traditional privileges. A visit of major general Ehsan khan to former Commander-in-Chief of Caucasus I. Pashkevich to Warsaw and petition forwarded by the latter to didn't an effect. Many Kengerlis were obliged to leave their lands and migrate to the other side." (1)

The emigration raised by the first and second Russian-Iranian wars was basically made for Southern Azerbaijan. M.B. Mammadzadeh during his trip to Iran met representatives of the third and fourth generation of emigrants. He remembered: "After Gulustan peace treaty concluded in 1813, since Talish war till today they have been living as emigrants near Ardabil." (9)

The Crimean (1853-1856) and Russian-Turkish (1877-1878) wars also resulted in mass streams of emigration. Especially this process was stimulated after defeat of Russians during the Crimean war. The Russians became a threat for Azerbaijan, which less rejoiced at Osmanlis' victory.

Comparative quietness existed at the end of the century, which was broken again by the first Russian Revolution, which had repercussions in Baku too. Repression started by suppression of the revolution, as well as limitation of political activity and prohibition of a number of newspapers forced many progressive persons such as Ali bey Huseynzadeh, Ahmad bey Agaoglu, Mammad Amin Rasulzadeh and others to leave the country. The reaction started by Stalin gave impetus to a new - second stage of Azerbaijan emigration. A. Agaoglu who avoided the reaction by emigration abroad remembered this stage, during which revolutionaries and nationalists were victimised equally: "I was among those, who were hardly persecuted. Matters turned in a way that not only I but also my family's composure and health were in danger. In 1908 the revolution occurred in Turkey. Some people, whom I know, came to power. On the other hand Vorontsov-Pashkov appointed governor-general of the Caucasus decided to arrest and exile me by every possible means. So in 1908 as soon as I learned it I

escaped to Istanbul. I.Gaspirali, Y. Akchura and other well-known Panturkist emigrated just in that period. Azerbaijan emigration was led by "such great persons as Ahmad bey Agaoglu and Ali bey Huseynzadeh " - M.A. Rasulzadeh wrote. (11)

The Turks who emigrated from Russia established relations with Osman's progressive intellectual persons who played an important role in setting up a number of societies. One of the first of this societies was "Turk damayi" (Turkish society) set up by the initiative of A. Agaoglu, A. Huseynzadeh, Y. Akchura, I. Gaspirali, N. Yusifbayli, F. Kopruluzadeh and others.

This society, which had the aim to give information about Turks living all over the world and to carry out studies aimed at solving problem of single language, which could be used by all Turks, also to publish own periodical of the same name.

Simultaneously this society playing an important role in formation of Panturanism ideology, suspended its activity because founders went to different parts of the country. But in 1911 A. Huseynzadeh and A. Agaoglu established a philanthropic society named "Turk Yurdu" which succeeded to the "Turk Derneyi". The fourth paragraph of regulations of the "Turk Yurdu" ran as follows: "The Society will open a boarding-school for Turkish children and will publish a newspaper, which would serve to rise Turks intellectuals and cultural level, initiative and improvement of the well-being." (7)

In 1912 the "Turk Ojaglari" society which also played an important role in formation of ideas of Panturkism and Panturanism was set up (exists today). "Turk Yurdu" published a periodical of the same name, which has become a body of the press of "Turk Ojaglari" since 1912. Among the founders of the society together with the intellectuals Mammad Emin Yurdagul, Ahmad Farid, Fuad Sabit there was also Azerbaijanian emigrant Ahmad bey Agaoglu. A. Agaoglu became an important figure in Turkey's political life. He was elected to Central Committee of ruling party of that period named "Unity and Progress" and was a member of Osmanli's Parliament from Afyongarahisar.

In 1908 M.A. Rasolzadeh trying to escape from persecution of tsar regime migrated to Iranian town Resht and then he joined mojaheds and went to Tehran. M.A. Rasolzadeh took an active part in revolutionary movement, which started in Iran, due to his great abilities attracted the attention and was offered to prepare a Programme of Democratic Party set up just that time and to become editor-in-chief of the Party's newspaper "Iran-e-Noy".

One of the most important political figures at the beginning of the century Seyid Hasan Tagizadeh wrote about the first emigration activity of M.A. Rasolzadeh as follows: "At the beginning of the Iran revolution he established relations with Iranian free-thinkers living in Baku and during the period of small regime (1908) went for trip to Resht. After Tehran's occupation in the middle of the same year he came to Tehran and soon after showed himself as an outstanding writer and he became an editor-in-chief of the well-known newspaper "Iran-e-Noy", which was the most popular newspaper of the second period and the Second Mejlis of the revolution. He created a European style of newspaper writing in Iran ." (13)

S.H. Tagizadeh also wrote that M.A. Rasolzadeh was one of the leaders of Democratic Party. The Russian Embassy required Iran to deliver up M.A. Rasolzadeh owing to negative attitude of the party to Russian occupation. Because of that Mohammad Velikhan Sepehsalar, who was a Prime Minister at that time ordered him to leave Iran.

After leaving Iran M.A. Rasolzadeh came to Istanbul and met his friend and comrade-in-arms S.H. Tagizadeh. During Turkish period of emigration M.A. Rasolzadeh gave Persian lessons and at the same time wrote interesting articles.

But he didn't live in Turkey for a long time. After amnesty of emigrants announced by the tsarist government in honour of 300-year anniversary of Romanov's house he returned to Baku and headed Musavat Party, which was set up in 1911.

During emigration period Azerbaijanis collaborated not only with Turkish-language emigrants from Russia but also with representatives of the Caucasus peoples. In 1915 emigrants from the Northern

Caucasus, Azerbaijan and Georgia set up an organisation named "Caucasian Committee" in Turkey. In December 1915 a delegation consisting of Isa Pasha, Aziz Meker, Fuad Pasha (Northern Caucasus), Selim bey Bahadurzadeh (Azerbaijan), Prince Machabeyli and Kamil bey Togridze (Georgia) went to Berlin and Vienna to deliver a memorandum to European states and governments. This document contained a request to European states "for help" the Caucasus Committee to rescue the Caucasus and establish confederation consisting of four states (including Armenia - X.I)." (8)

The Caucasian Committee headed by Northern Caucasus emigrant marshal Fuad Pasha fought for independence of the Caucasus and prepared theoretical principles of its formation as a confederate political organisation after its separation from Russia.

During a period of the Caucasian Committee's activity in Turkey, Germany, Austria, Hungary and Switzerland Y.Akchura set up in Istanbul a mass political organisation named "Committee on Rights of Defence of Turkish and Tatar Moslem Peoples Oppressed by Russia." The Committee active participant of which was A.Huseynzadeh also was named "Committee of Akchura-Huseynzadeh."

These organisations established by emigrants informed the World Community about violation of the rights of the Azerbaijan people as well as the other peoples oppressed by Russia and at the same time prepared ideological principles of intensifying national liberation struggle.

The third stage of Azerbaijan political emigration started after the fall of Azerbaijan Democratic Republic. Starting on 27 April 1920 with Bolshevik occupation tens of thousands of people left the country and migrated abroad for different reasons. In fact it was a small second wave of the large "white emigration" started in 1917 after the October revolution. This wave came into existence in 1919-1921 as a result of occupation national republics by the Red Army. Polish historian S.Mikulin wrote that "the Civil War forced to migrate abroad representatives of not only white Russians but also white Georgians, Ukrainians, Azerbaijanis, Turkmen and others." (14)

The data about quantity of peoples escaped from the former Russian Empire's territory abroad in 1917-1921 are at variance with each other. Pole A. Adam in his book "The role of emigration in the world" wrote that about 2 million people left their motherland, German scholar Rimmshe showed that they were 2 million 935 thousand and V.Akdanik Kosovski increased their quantity to 8-10 millions. (10)

Every defeat of White Army forced soldiers of Kolchak, Denikin, Vrangell and Petlura to join civil emigrants and every fall of national states caused increasing of emigrants, which worried neighbouring countries and especially Western States.

One of events which arouse the largest stream of emigration in the 20th was World War II.

In 1967 at the Conference of the League of Studies of emigration problem in Istanbul it was reported that after World War II 50 million people were refugees and 15 million from them were Europeans.

The major E. Fatalibayli who joined Germans during World War II showed that quantity of Azerbaijanians, who were taken prisoners during the war mounted to 150 thousands. (12) The data of quantity of soldiers not returned to motherland after World War II also are at variance with each other. One of the emigrants signed by "Khalil" wrote in an article in "Azerbaijan" magazine (Ankara) that during 50 years after 1920 only in Turkey more than 50 thousand Azerbaijan emigrants were living. (4) The author of "Muhajirler" book wrote that after the war about 50 thousand of Azerbaijani refused to return to motherland. (5)

What distinguished the stages of political emigration (and emigration as a whole) started by division of Azerbaijan and occupation of its Northern part by Russia at the beginning of the 20th century?

Firstly it should be noted that all three stages of emigrations were engendered by Russian occupations. The struggle which took place during all three stages was promoted by an idea of sovereignty of Azerbaijan.

From the very beginning the emigration started by Russian occupations had a political nature. The representatives of Azerbaijan

khanates who emigrated in 1803-1813 wanted to return to power and the khanates to be independent again. The main way chosen to achieve this object was war and armed revolt. An ideological and political struggle against Russian occupation had started at the end of the century exerted upon it was more than a little. The first emigrants laid foundations for the struggle against Russian occupation and then an ideology for the struggle was founded. The first emigration period studied poorly regarding the history of origin of the idea of single Azerbaijan and its development is of special interest.

The second stage of Azerbaijan emigration history was notable for its ideological and political nature and formation of political currents as Panturkism, Panturanism, nationalism played a key role in realisation of idea of Azerbaijan sovereignty, improved and ranked high in political practice. The scientific-theoretical and political-ideological foundations of the conception of Single Caucasus were laid.

Although very short the second stage of Azerbaijan emigration (1908-1918) was very important, complicated and discrepant. During ten years firstly Azerbaijan gained wide autonomy as a part of Russia, then the idea of full independence came into being and at last in 1918 this idea was realised. The fast evolution occurs, without debts, due to emigration, which played a historic role in fast quantitative changes in the life of the nation.

A new stage of Azerbaijan political emigration which started by occupation on 27 April 1920 and lasted during nearly whole the 20th century sharply differs from earlier stages. A struggle of emigrants who left the country after the fall of Azerbaijan democratic Republic, who outnumbered earliest streams of emigration, involving more countries and founding multinational organisations, periodicals and international leagues, was versatile, smooth-running and consistent. The emigrants of this stage were social and political figures and ideologists, who set up the national democratic state and ruled it during two years. At the same time many leaders who headed the third stage

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of emigration were well known and experienced representatives of the second stage.

The realisation of the idea of national sovereignty during two-years' existence of ADR gave impetus to struggle for the Azerbaijan sovereignty which was carried out, during the third stage the struggle for restoration of sovereignty took place and this struggle lasted without interruption until 1991-the date of adoption Bill of Constitution about Azerbaijan sovereignty. A mission of emigration started in 1920 came to an end in 1991.

A new wave of emigration which appeared used during World War II according to its structure is not a new stage. Thus, a reason of mass refusal to return to the motherland after the war in internal Soviet regime and just the Communist regime gave rise to the third stage of emigration as a whole. So the emigration engendered by World War II was a component part of the third emigration stage which involved years from 1920 to 1991.

In 1920-1991 Azerbaijan emigrants published more than 30 newspapers and magazines in various countries and set up several leagues, more than ten political and cultural organisations. The ideology of national sovereignty of Azerbaijan in emigration was developed and became more complete.

' At the end of 1980s this ideology put on the political agenda of national liberation movement which started in Azerbaijan and played an exceptional role in realisation of national sovereignty.

The emigration, which struggled during 70 years without interruption for restoration of Azerbaijan independence, made a valuable contribution to realisation of national sovereignty. The emigrants took part not only in practical activity but also in theoretical studies. According to its structure and quantity as well as quantity of literary production a scientific-theoretical, political-ideological and cultural heritage of Azerbaijan emigration is comparable with one of Russia and the Ukraine. Only M.B.Mammadzadeh wrote more than thousand works.

It should be noted that objective investigation of Azerbaijan history and creation of perfect national culturological conception would be impossible without study of this great heritage. In the 20th century there were two histories: one in the soviet state, and the other in emigration. Both two heritage's must be united and studied comparatively. Only then we can paint a complete picture of our history and culture. The heritage of the emigration is indivisible component part of history and culture of Azerbaijan. It should be studied and popularised.

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*Xülasə*AZƏRBAYCAN SİYASİ MÜHACİRƏTİNİN TARİXİ
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(Azərbaycan)

Azərbaycanın bolşeviklər tərəfindən 1920-ci il aprel işğalından sonra buradan müxtəlif ölkələrə kütləvi mühacir axınları başladı. Bu axınları yaradan başlıca səbəb Azərbaycan Xalq Cumhuriyyətinin devrilməsindən sonra bərqərar edilən bolşevik rejimi idi. 1920-ci ildən sonra yaranan mühacirət öz xarakterinə görə əsasən siyasi mühacirət hesab olunur. Çünki, xaricə üz tutanların başlıca məqsədi XI Ordunun işğalı ilə itirilmiş müstəqilliyin yenidən bərpası idi və bu istiqamətdə 1991-ci ilə qədər fasiləsiz olaraq mübarizə aparıldı.

Məqalədə 1920-ci ilə qədər mövcud olan Azərbaycan siyasi mühacirətinin də tarixinə nəzər salınır, onu yaradan səbəblər açıqlanır. Müəllif Azərbaycan tarixşünaslığında ilk dəfə mühacirət problemini araşdıraraq, onun mərhələlərini göstərir, bu mərhələləri bir-birindən fərqləndirən əsas cəhətlərin səciyyəsinə verir.

Məqalədə mühacirlərimizin ideoloji-siyasi fəaliyyətinə, onların yarandıqları zəngin mirasa, eyni zamanda müxtəlif ölkələrdə formalaşdırılmış mətbuat orqanlarına və siyasi, kulturoloji təşkilatlara, dəməklərə, bu qrupların fəaliyyətinə işıq salınır. İstiqlaliyyətimizin qazanılmasında Azərbaycan mühacirətinin yeri və rolu göstərilir.