

определяют базовые принципы политических, экономических и культурных взаимоотношений.

Надежные и проверенные стратегические союзнические отношения, существующие между Азербайджанской и Турецкой диаспорами, превратила в историческую необходимость активизацию взаимного сотрудничества и построения их на уровне современных требований.

Различные силы, осуществляющие антитюркскую политику, долгие годы стремятся разлучить наши братские народы, изолировать нас от величественного исторического прошлого и блистательного культурного наследия. Однако сломать сформированную тысячелетиями тюркскую волю и решимость, поколебать тюркский дух, сыгравшего несравнимую роль в истории человечества еще не удавалось никому.

Ключевые слова: Тюркские народы, лобби, сотрудничество, объединение, одна нация, единая диаспора.

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MASSACRES COMMITTED BY ARMENIANS AGAINST TURKS–MUSLIMS IN 1918–1920 IN NAKHCHIVAN AND KARABAKH IN THE MEMORIES OF TURKISH INDEPENDENT SERVICEMEN

In the article is researched the massacres committed by Dashnak–Bolsheviks against Azerbaijanis in Nakhchevan and Karabakh in 1918–1920 on the basis of Turkish researchers' works. In these works were written as a «national war», «massacres», and also «genocide» abhorrent policy of the Dashnaks against the local Muslim population and also shown that ethnic cleansing of the Muslim population, as well as realizing faked «the great Armenia» has been a primary focus in the secret plans of the Dashnak leader S.Shaumyan and his delegations in the regions.

Keywords: Nakhchivan, massacre, historiography, turks–muslims population, Dashnaks, Bolsheviks.

(стаття друкується мовою оригіналу)

The memories of active participants of Turkey independence militaries kept the informations in the studying of massacres committed by dashnak–bolsheviks against turks–muslims in 1918–1920 in the separate regions of Azerbaijan. In these memorial works were reflected bloody events committed by Armenians in 1918–1920 in Zengezur, Irevan, Nakhchivan district of Azerbaijan and military operations of Ottoman troops in Caucasus in 1918–1920. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's speeches and articles [1], his companion–in–arms, Kazim Karabekir's memories should be noted in this regard. The positive aspect is that the memories of Kazim Karabekir, where his correspondence with Ataturk, with Rushdie, Kamal's commands and instructions, was given without interference, provided the original [2].

So, some works of author published from 1930s is important to learn Azerbaijani policy of Turkey Republic, as well massacres committed by Dashnak–Bolshevik froces against Turkish–Muslim population in 1918–1920. To tell the truth, the author don't use massacre word in these works, but use «execution», «massacres», tryied to show political situations in Azerbaijan, atrocities committed by Armenians from the first half of 1918 [3; 4; 5]. Among such works we make his memories called «Independent warfare». This work was published in 1925 by Turkish Printing House first, afterwards was published many times. The author wrote bad condition around Azerbaijan in summer of 1918, didn't agree with the policy of Young Turks, and even didn't want to comply to orders given by them: «My division was commanded to occupy Tebriz city on August 1, 1918. I understood that this movement was useless and its misfortune. I wrote to the army that not to cross to the south of Araz rive, to enter to Zengezur

situated between Nakhcievan and Turkish Azerbaijan and to defeat Dashnak militanats there. However, I entered to Tebriz city with hard commands» [2, p. 33]. Firstly, K.Karabekir did like serviceman simply, then like M. Kamal's companion–in–arms, and like politician and this give subjectiveness, contradistinction to his opinions. That is right, he didn't use massacre crimes directly, but expressed bloody crimes committed by Armenians in Azerbaijan.

Expressing bad situation in Azerbaijan K. Karabekir wrote that Caucasus Muslims initiated to establish independent state together with us. And they also initiated to contact with us. For helping them and to save Muslims from Dashnak forces and also strengthening ties connections between Muslims organization should be created in Baku [2, p. 33–34]. In his letter of Kazim Karabekir sent to Bayazid Army and 11th Army was said about unqovernability of Dashnaks in Nakhchivan region: «Massacres committed by Armenians in Nakhchivan was the result of arrogance. If the Armenians behaved politely with local population, then it would be better than before. However, local population of Nakhchivan shouldn't turn over the weapons...» [2, p. 65]. It was stated in author's other news on 5–6 July, 1917: «Armenians attacked to Great Vedi settlement near Irevan. This was Turkish village, but they were suffered a defeat. Many weapons falled into our hands. If we didn't interfere in time, local residents would be thrown into Araz river» [2, p. 68]. The author wrote: «Two English officers coming from Irevan tried to reconcile with Armenians and Muslims. However, local residents who didn't believe the officers wearing English uniforms didn't give weapons back. Armenians again went round the settlement. Armenians sworeid in the churches for killing Muslims» [2, p. 68–69]. So, we can see from the author's news the massacres against Muslims by Armenians became active with the helping of foreign powers directly. In the report of Kazim Karabekir to the Command of 20th Army Ali Fuad Pasha dated on 23 April, 1917, stated: «Mustafa Kamal is Erzurum. The situation here is well. Massacres in Kars were continuing by Armenians [2, p. 70]. On 4 July, 1917 Armenians attacked to Kars, Olty. This bandit forces were led by Arshak. Armenians also annihilated residents of Garakurd district» [2, p. 73]. As can be seen, Kazim Karabekir Pasha noted British intellegence service behind Dashnak forces, and he also informed Raulinson to stop Armenian aggressions against Muslims. In Kazim Karabekir Pasha's other report written from Erzurum on 28 July, 1917, stated: «Armenians killed all Muslims living in the Caucasus, the people who demonstrated opposition were burned alive. For this purpose, military forces were brought to Nakhchivan, Sharur district and also Kaghizman. According to the news given recently 500 hundred Armenian forces were moving forward Sarigamish [2, p. 96].

In generally, although Kazim Karabekir Pasha performed himself like serviceman, he also accused former Azerbaijani power which existed in 1918–1920 in some issues. For example, the author writes that Musavat Party is in power in Azerbaijan. This power is under the British influence. Will they deliver a blow on Belsheviks with this power? Their army is very small. Azerbaijani forces who didn't show resistance to Armenian forces would be show resistance to Denikin and Kolchak whose army were 100 thousands? This government was as our government as lead by Farid Pasha in Istanbul. Musavat power was in bad situation [2, p. 457]. Of, course, we can't agree with author's views. If we consider that Musavat power was recognized by England government as

an independent state at the end of 1918 after hard diplomatic struggle, even impediments for the opening of Azerbaijani Parliament was arisen, than we can note Kazim Karabekir's treating Entente coldly like politician.

Kazim Karabekir Pasha wrote that Armenians realized bloody crimes against Azerbaijani Turks in Karabakh with cruelty also. A week ago local Armenian forces attacked to Karabakh area, than to the centre of Karabakh Shusha. Surprise attacks of Armenians was not considered by the government, that is why Kahlil bay which coming 11 days ago was invited to Baku [2, p. 557].

In his above mentioned work of Kazim Karabekir Pasha was written genocide crimes against Muslims in Baku in March–April, 1918 committed by Armenians under the Bolshevik names. It was stated in his secret telegram on April 11, 1918: «All Azerbaijani people hate to Bolsheviks. So two years ago, before Turkish Army not to entering to Baku, Armenians forces ransacked Baku city, massacred local population. That is why, people hate to Bolsheviks. If our army doesn't attack, there will no remain any sign from Turkish and Islamic world. Azerbaijani people seek only way, this is Turkish military aid for Azerbaijan [2, p. 611]. It can be seen unlike his other colleagues Kazim Karabekir Pasha talks massacres committed by Armenians against Muslim in Baku on March of 1918 under the name of Bolshevik. But the author doesn't show exactly number of Muslims killed by Armenians. Generally, in the mentioned work there is no any information massacres in Kuba, Shamakhi, Lenkaran. The author draw the main attention on the massacres committed by Armenians in Karabakh, Nakhchivan, Irevan and Zangezour territory.

Rushetu Turkar, who was the officer of Caucasus Islamic Army, and eyewitness was the struggle for independence of Azerbaijan, also elucidated massacres committed by Dashnak forces in Azerbaijan in 1918–1920 on his memories. His valuable news called «In the road of Baku in the Great War» was published in 1934. The author's memories are sensible source related to the liberation of Baku today. Beside the forces in the Caucasus Islamic Army, in this work the author write connection with the ungovernability of Dashnak forces in Azerbaijan: «The forces of southern wing were: 4th infantry troops; 1st and 2nd battalion, 2 cavalry army, an army consist of Azerbaijani, 2 mountain and field artillery. Besides, Azerbaijani detachment of field artillery given to another troops didn't move outside of roadway because this troop carried out by ox. But these animals were more useful to hijack the armoured automobiles, armoured trains and also to make the enemy's artillery. These artileries were taken by Azerbaijani partisans from the soldiers going back to Russia from Turkey's front. The missiles of these artileries were taken like trophy and a lot of. The weapons of Azerbaijan Corps were made in Russia. That is why the weapons were enough. But the projectile used in Ottoman Army were not enough. During the battle Azerbaijani Government and Azerbaijani people supplied Ottoman Army with foods» [6, p. 92].

The author showed an interesting information in his memories: «The following remarks which was given while attacking to Baku were more useful from Caucasus Islamic Army to the command of fifth Caucasus division: Although you are 70 km far from these villages, there was no doubt, you would be supplied with food while attacking to Baku by Muslim villages close to Baku» [6, p. 113]. The author wrote then: «The Caucasus Islamic Army have endeavored hard for the liberation of Baku from the enemy forces. After scheduled

preparations Caucasus Islamic Army decided to move to Baku. The commands of the Caucasus Islamic Army came to Goychay from Ganja on June 19–20, 1918, after seeing the situation there, prepared the following information: 1. Number of enemy forces were seven thousand; 2. To oppress the enemy and to drive to Baku; a) to unite the forces to the division; b) Gathering 800 horsemen to the front; c) Sending of 4500 horsemen to the front under the Former Chief of Gazakh region Mahammad Bay, and being in Ganja Naghi Bay; d) Horsemen being in Goychay, Agdash, Barda and Ganja sent to the important wings; e) To send the forces to Guba and Shusha after the death blow in Kurdamir–Garamaryam line; f) The decree have to be prepared for realising above mentioned» [6, p. 56–57]. The author writes that Nuru Pasha tried to create both regulated army, and secured tranquility from the moment of arriving in Ganja. Azerbaijani National Council didn't continue his work because Baku was under the occupation of enemy forces. That is why Azerbaijan National Council choosed Ganja as his temporary capital. Ganja was the second large city which have population were 55 thousands of Azerbaijan after Baku. Kur beginning from north–east Anatolia platform in Turkey reach to Georgia and then to Azerbaijan. Ganja was situated on the both side of Ganja river which flows into Kur river. Nearly twenty thousand Armenians lived on the east coast of Ganja river, Turks and Russian minorities lived on the west coast of Ganja. Mass killings and massacres committed by Armenians in the Eastern Anatolia and Caucasus also were caused to excitement of Armenians living here. They also were worried coming of Turkish army to Caucasus. Tensions between Armenians and Turks living in Ganja were increasing. Because the Armenians living in Ganja were waiting for to arrive of Bolshevik Army under Shaumyan's power. When Russian occupation ended in Eastern Anatolia, Armenians living in Ganja created bandit groups which were six hundreds. Their hands had machine guns, weapons and riffles. Some Russian officers commanded by Shaumyan instructed them. They were waiting for to strike Turkish soldiers from behind. Nuru Pasha ordered a decree to collect weapons which were in Armenians hands. On June, 1918, Nuru Pasha's army crossing Ganja river encircled the Armenians behind. So, contact with the Armenian villages were broken and on June 11 siege began. After insuring of security in some villages situated in the south of city, the 2nd Cavalier Army were settled in the entry of Armenian village. They were given some information about the situation of city and armed forces. After this head lieutenant Salahaddin bay with Samad Bay going to the Armenian districts demanded Armenians to unconditional surrender, but the Armenians answered this demand with fire. Armenian militants attacked suddenly. Under this attack 9th Caucasus Army was obliged to recede. In this battle 13 soldiers were killed by Armenians, and also 7 soldiers including one officer were injured. Muchip Kamalyari wrote in his memory for subordinating and surrendering of Armenians living in Ganja: «As soon as time given to Armenians ended, the day after tomorrow military operation began. Everywhere was shot and was fired by Armenians. Armenians didn't want to surrender their guns, but Turkish Caucasus Army stood on his ground. While Armenians understanding their all attempts useless, at the end they decided to surrender. Ganja Army coming to Armenian districts on 13 June 1918, took the control completely and collected all weapons» [6, p. 32–33]. As can be seen from this point of view, notwithstanding the author drawn basic attention to the Caucasus Islamic Army, but didn't miss massacres committed by Armenians against Muslim people.

So, the works researching of comparative analysis of the memories of independent servicemen of Turkey show that Dashnak–Bolshevik forces committed massacres against Turks–Muslims in 1918–1920. In these memo books bloody events were in the centre of attention committed by Armenian forces in Nakhchivan, Zangezur, Irevan territories of Azerbaijan. Notwithstanding these bloody crimes against Muslims were not written as a genocide, but were written in the same meaning such as «national war», «mass killings», «massacres», also were shown ethnic cleansing by Dashnak leader Stepan Shaumyan.

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Геноцид вірменами проти турків–мусульман в 1918–1920 роках в Нахчівані і Карабасі у спогадах турецьких незалежних військовослужбовців

Досліджується геноцид проти азербайджанців в Нахчівані і Карабасі в 1918–1920 роках на основі робіт турецьких дослідників. У цих роботах були написані як «національні війни», «різанини», «геноцид» політики дашнаків проти місцевого мусульманського населення, про етнічні чистки мусульманського населення.

Ключові слова: Нахичевань, геноцид, історіографія, турки–мусульмани, населення, дашнаки, більшовики.

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Геноцид армянами против турок–мусульман в 1918–1920 годах в Нахичеване и Карабахе в воспоминаниях турецких независимых военнослужащих

Исследуется геноцид против азербайджанцев в Нахичеване и Карабахе в 1918–1920 годах на основе работ турецких исследователей. В этих работах были написаны как «национальные войны», «резни», «геноцид» политики дашнаков против местного мусульманского населения, про этнические чистки мусульманского населения.

Ключевые слова: Нахичевань, геноцид, историография, турки–мусульманы, население, дашнаки, большевики.

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ДОСЛІДЖЕННЯ ТОТАЛІТАРНОГО РЕЖИМУ В ЧЕХОСЛОВАЧЧИНІ НА РУБЕЖІ 40–Х – 50–Х РР. ХХ СТ.: ЧЕРЕЗ ПРИЗМУ ДОКУМЕНТАЛЬНОЇ НОВИЗНИ

Автор аналізує основні аспекти документальної новизни в суспільно–політичних перетвореннях в Чехословаччині у 1948–1953 роках, зокрема процес утвердження тоталітарного режиму. Основна мета публікації – показати, яку роль в комплексному аналізі відіграє масове розсекречення документів, відкриття нових фондів та архівів, формування їх потужної загальнодоступної електронної бази. А також як поява нових інформаційних матеріалів впливає на розвиток історичної науки.

Не відкидаючи позитиви формаційного методологічного підходу до наукового дослідження історії, автор вважає раціональним у статті застосувати цивілізаційний підхід для вивчення суспільно–політичних трансформаційних процесів у Чехословаччині. Методи системного аналізу і синтезу, на основі вивчення взаємозв'язку причин, передумов, найсуттєвіших факторів суспільно–політичних перетворень в Чехословаччині, відкрили можливість для наукового узагальнення і ґрунтовних висновків щодо специфіки теорії і практики утвердження тоталітарного режиму.

Ключові слова: Чехословаччина, тоталітаризм, архівні матеріали, Національний архів ЧР, Архів ЦК КПЧ, Архів Інституту історії КПЧ, Бюро документації та розслідування злочинів комунізму, опубліковані документи, Східна Європа в документах російських архівів, преса.

Глибокий науковий аналіз процесу становлення, утвердження і функціонування антидемократичного режиму в Чехословаччині на рубежі 40–х – 50–х років ХХ століття потребує застосування різних методологічних підходів і сучасного інструментарію, який є апробованим світовою історичною і політичною наукою.

У методологічному плані дослідження проблеми суспільно–політичних перетворень у Чехословаччині і науково–філософський підхід до вивчення економічних та суспільно–політичних явищ і процесів взагалі до середини 80–х років ХХ ст. не викликали дискусій, це було логічним наслідком панування однієї марксистської ідеології у історичній науці СРСР. Панування однієї марксистської методологічної конструкції у історичній науці дозволяє нам говорити про наявність кризи історичних знань і в тому числі про звуження тематичного поля історичних досліджень. Неможливо не погодитись з тезою відомого історика–теоретика А. Я. Гуревича про те, що марксистська методологія, в її догматизованій та вульгаризованій формі стала тим загальнообов'язковим «прокрустовим ложем», у яке історики–професіонали протягом декількох поколінь повинні були втискувати результати своїх суспільних досліджень [23, с. 6]. Ця ситуація певним чином пояснюється тим, що у Радянському Союзі, з «владної подачі» не передбачалося існування розбіжності між ставленням до марксизму як до офіційної ідеології, з одного боку, і наукової теорії – з іншого. Сучасний підхід до розуміння історії суспільно–політичних процесів по–новому ставить питання не тільки про можливість глибини і широти історії, але і про критерії об'єктивності і відповідальності з боку дослідника за власну творчу діяльність. Ні для кого не секрет, що бажання окремих дослідників остаточно відмовитися від формаційно–стадіального підходу і діяти з «чистого аркуша» може призвести до появи чергового методологічного міфу, в основі якого буде лежати знову одна ідея, але на цей раз цивілізаційна. Тому доповнення марксистської методології саме цивілізаційним компонентом може мати вагоме значення для комплексного дослідження такого етапу історії країн Східної Європи, як рубіж 40–х – 50–х років ХХ ст., а це сприятиме визначенню місця Чехословаччини у рамках історії європейської цивілізації.

Характеристика суспільно–політичних процесів в Чехословаччині на рубежі 40–х – 50–х років минулого століття протягом останніх десятиліть змінювалась у залежності від ідейно–політичної орієнтації, об'єктивності оцінок та рівня професіоналізму дослідників. Значну роль відіграла джерельна база, яка останніми роками розширюється у зв'язку з відкриттям раніше утаємничених документів та фондів національних і зарубіжних архівів.

На базі накопичених знань, введення у науковий обіг нових архівних джерел та наростання масиву конкретно–історичних публікацій формуються принципово нові