

**Dilara Seyid-zade**

**Azerbaijan in the Beginning  
of XX Century: Roads  
Leading to Independence**

Second edition, renewed and with additions

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**Dedicated to the bright memory  
of the national leader of Azerbaijan  
Heydar Aliyev who led the  
country to independence**

Editor

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**Dilara Seyid-zade.** Azerbaijan in the Beginning of XX century:

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The period which covers the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries is one of the important moments of the struggle of the Azerbaijani people for independence. The outstanding representatives of the Azerbaijani entrepreneurs, their ideologists and intelligentsia, who emerged on the background of radical socio-political and economic changes taken place in the Czarist Russia after the reforms, headed the struggle for awakening the national self-consciousness of the people, for its enlightenment, for raising its political culture, for enabling it to enjoy all its civil rights by making use of all the opportunities. The Azerbaijani representatives elected in conditions of great difficulties and restrictions to the State Duma, the supreme legislative organ of Russia, were conveying to the whole Empire the voice of the Azerbaijani people for justice from the rostrum of this body.

This Book studies the period leading to the establishment of the People's Republic of Azerbaijan, the first democratic republic in the orient. The full panorama of the events and of the socio-political processes currenting in the beginning of the 20th century in Azerbaijan has found its reflection in the Book, and it has been analyzed in detail.

The Book is intended for the historians, researchers, students and broad masses of readers.

## *Foreword*

As a logical conclusion of its struggle for many centuries the Azerbaijani people achieved its sovereignty as a state only in the end of the 20th century. At present when the Azerbaijani people is marching steadily and resolutely along the road of independence, the study of the national experience and the road leading to independence, the study of the national liberation movement which began to revive in the beginning of the last century, acquire great importance.

The social collisions, which took place in Russia in the beginning of the 20th century, speeded the process of deepening the gap among the political forces in the society, activated all the political forces. The defeat of the czarism in the Russian-Japan war, large-scale strikes of broad masses in 1905, birth of the spirit of opposition in the higher social layers of the society proved that the regime of the absolute monarchy cannot live in its previous "pure" form.

Liberation movement was growing in the national outskirts of the Empire, including Azerbaijan. There has grown a situation of lawlessness, czarism implemented into life ruthless persecution for all kinds of free-mindedness and manifestations of national revival. Such a policy of colonialism of the czarism deepened the crisis in Azerbaijan.

The leaders of the national-liberation movement of Azerbaijan opposed the bandage of colonialism, called for the abolishment of national inequality, for the establishment of a federative system in the Caucasus, and also defended the idea of granting self-administration right to each region. They demanded independence in the sphere of culture and enlightenment, struggled for the independent development of the mother tongue and for the right to have education in each one's native language.

The colonial policy of czarism, the economic and political restrictions applied to the Azerbaijani intelligentsia created conditions for the birth and growth of the spirit and mood of opposition, for their merge with the laborers of their own nation. The Azerbaijani entrepreneur and their ideologists were hoping to achieve the fulfillment of their demands through the reforms promised by the czarist monarchy.

The Azerbaijani entrepreneurs, not yet mature from the political point of view and unable to defend their own interests, were compiling appeals and petitions in the late 19th and early 20th centuries and trying to get equal rights with the Russian entrepreneurs and landlords of Russia, to get their caste rights. Just in the early years of the 20th century, very live, full of excitement and agitation, the Azerbaijani entrepreneurs became active from ideological point of view, stepped into the political arena, began to express their interests and advance demands in the person of their leaders and ideologists. The political line of the national entrepreneur has its own sufficiently idiosyncratic and significant distinguishing features, nevertheless, it shared the inclinations inherent to the Russian entrepreneurs as a whole.

The analysis of the road traversed by the Azerbaijani entrepreneurs at beginning of the 20th century allows characterize the social and political image of this layer, determine their attitude to the socio-political events currenting in the country and their participation in them, the role played by them in the liberation movement.

The political conviction of the Azerbaijani entrepreneurs took shape in the period when the social processes aggravated and became strained. This political conviction found its reflection in the programmatic documents of political parties and organizations. It was conspicuous particularly in the speeches and activities of the Azerbaijani parliamentarians in the Russian State Duma. The Azerbaijani parliamentarians took part in the development of numerous bills and inquiries, in the discussion of issues raised in the State Duma and its commissions. They contributed to the birth and development of parliamentarianism in Russia.

This Book for the first time in the historical science of Azerbaijan reviews the activities of the Azerbaijani parliamentarians in the Russian State Duma and analyses their speeches made from the rostrum of the State Duma, enlightens their attempts to unite the efforts of all the Muslim parliamentarians in the State Duma and their hopes connected with the Cadets. But all their efforts were in vain, czarism, the State Duma did not take any measures for fulfilling their demands, for granting equal rights and respective privileges to the Muslim population of the outskirts, for liquidating legal restrictions and others. Local czar authorities were already unable to rule the country with the old methods, and their "humble letters" to the czar could not exert any influence on him. He didn't change the line even for an inch chosen by him in connection with "the alien nations", he was determined not to grant any right, any privilege to any of them. Thus, the representatives of the higher social layers of Azerbaijan were in conditions of political isolation and could not achieve their goal – liquidation of legal restrictions in the frames of the Russian Empire. They were fighting not only for their own privileges, but

also for the freedom of the national development. The main forms and methods of their struggle consisted of appeals and requests to the Czar and local czarist authorizes.

The period of development of the movement of liberation in Azerbaijan endowed the people with a brilliant team of talented, highly professional socio-political figures. Their goal in life was to defend the interests, freedom and independence of the nation. In conditions of ruthless political and economic lawlessness the Azerbaijani ideologists won the opportunity to speak from the high rostrum of the Russian State Duma – highest legislative body, for the first time and were trying to convey to each resident of the Empire the needs and demands of the people consistently and purposefully. Not any obstacle, which sometimes acquired even the form of humiliation and outrage, could prevent them from the struggle, could divert them from the chosen road.

The experience accumulated by the Azerbaijani parliamentarians in the process of the activities in the Russian State Duma allowed them join the efforts of all the progressive forces of the society, establish the Democratic Republic of Azerbaijan, lead the highest bodies of the national government and build the national statehood. Highly appreciating the great services of Alimardan bey Topchubashov, Fatali khan Khoisky and their comrades-in-arms in the establishment of the first democratic republic in Azerbaijan, the national leader Heydar Aliyev said: “The work performed by them acquires great importance for the present day of the Azerbaijani people. Their activity will always be dear to us. Their memory will remain in our hearts forever”<sup>1</sup>.

## Chapter I

### Azerbaijan on the crossroads of XIX – XX centuries



### **1.1. The policy of czarism and socio-economic and socio-political situation in Azerbaijan**

Being an occupied province of the Russian Empire, Azerbaijan was subjected to all the torments of political, religious and national oppression. As all the rest of the non-Russian population of the Empire the Azerbaijani people also bore the brand of “the alien nation”. For being Muslims, non-Christians, the Azerbaijanis were subjected to legal deprivations in all the spheres of life. Czarism committed obstacles against all the manifestations of independence in socio-political and economic spheres.

The policy of Czarism in relation to the Azerbaijanis, the local population of the territory, did not take shape all at once. Russia desired long ago to occupy the region and annex it. It was connected not only with the geographical location of Russia, not with its national goals in the Middle and Near East, but also with its economic interests. By occupying the coasts of the Caspian Sea, Peter I wanted to put an end to the rule of Iran in the Transcaucasus and to prevent the Ottoman Empire capture the territory, with this purpose he began his famous Caspian march in the 20s of XVIII century. But in those years the war for the Caucasus was not advantageous for Russia and all its attempts did not produce any yield.

Changes in the political line of the Czarist Russia began to take place at the beginning of XIX century. In 1803 the sultanate of Jar-Balakan, a territory very important from military-strategic point of view, was subjected to Russia. In 1804 it could break the resistance of the defenders of Ganja. In 1805 Garabagh and Zangazur, originally Azerbaijani territories, were occupied. These events became the reason of the break of the Russian-Iranian and Russian-Turkish wars for the Caucasus. As a consequence of these wars and according to the peace treaties of Gulustan (1813) and Turkmenchay (1828) the northern part of Azerbaijan became a part of the Russian Empire.

The occupation of Azerbaijan by Russia and its results were not unequivocal for its people. The positive importance of this historical event for the Azerbaijani people consisted of such a fact that they removed the danger of constant foreign invasions of Azerbaijan. It contributed to the stabilization of life, revival of craftsmanship and growth of the number of towns in the region to some degree. Liquidation of obstacles in inter-regional and inter-provincial customs, application of a single currency, as well as single units of measures and weight in the whole country, establishment of strong economic ties with the guberniyas (provinces) of Russia, development of entrepreneurial relations speeded the access of Azerbaijan to the Russian market and through it to the world market, thus, it allowed Azerbaijan join the world trade turnover.

But the negative consequences of the occupation for the Azerbaijani people were more grave and hard. As a result of the Russian occupation, a colonial system was established in Azerbaijan, the Azerbaijani people was forcibly divided into two: the larger part of the nation remained in the Iranian Azerbaijan, the smaller part – in the Caucasian Azerbaijan (in geographical terms it was also called northern Azerbaijan). The development of the national statehood in Azerbaijan was postponed for about one hundred years, its territorial integrity was violated, various parts of its territory were subjected to different guberniyas and other administrative units, and their borders were changed from time to time by the central government. The Russian monarchy committed discrimination in its policy against the Azerbaijani people and other Muslim peoples who lived under occupation. The rights of the Azerbaijanis were considerably restricted than those of others living in the outskirts of Russia (for instance, those of Georgians and Armenians), and the campaign of migration of Czarism radically changed the ethnic panorama of the region.

Czarism considered Azerbaijan as a source of raw materials; it pursued the line of a protectionist only in the attitude to the spheres necessary for its developing industry. In the 60s-70s of XIX century the Czarist government conducted changes in Azerbaijan by taking into account the demands of socio-economic development of the country, it gave a considerable liberty to the productive forces and contributed to the intensive development of new relations of production. Formation of a single Russian market led to serious changes in the social structure of population. Favorable economic and social conditions paved the way for the initiative and dexterity of businessmen.

New classes like masters, owners, entrepreneurs, hired workers and others appeared among various classes and castes on the scene of the socio-economic life. Being formed in conditions of colonialism they were not duly educated, lacked skills for the commercial production and big capital. Even their interests were not protected by the legislation. Artificial obstacles were created on the road of development of these classes. It was manifest in the discriminatory payment of wages because of nationality. Strong barriers were created for the national entrepreneurs who hardly removed them.

The activities of the national entrepreneurs were restricted so much that they could not compete with the developed enterprises in the central guberniyas of Russia. The government stimulated investment of capital to advanced and profitable spheres of economy, particularly Russian and foreign investment to the oil industry. The investors of the Russian and foreign capital paid a particular attention to the improvement of oil production and refining, to the improvement of its technology, transportation of oil and oil products, to the improvement of the means of oil transportation, to strengthening the position of the Baku oil in the world market. Along with the said, they also exploited the inexhaustible oil resources of Azerbaijan barbarously. They got enormous profits, but never thought of the perspectives of development of the rich underground resources of Azerbaijan. All the efforts for creating the processing enterprises were obstructed by all the means. The creation of cotton-cleaning industry, the history of construction of the first and the biggest cotton-cleaning plant in the Caucasus by Haji Zeynalabiddin Taghiyev is a good proof of it. In 1897 H.Z.Taghiyev appealed to the czarist government officials for the permission to found a stock-holding company for processing fibrous substances. First he was allowed, because the chief in charge of civil works in the Caucasus had written to the minister of finance that “according to the declaration of the governor of Baku the enterprise of the said association is very useful from commercial point of view and entrepreneur Taghiyev is a reliable person and the work promises to produce, completely successful results”<sup>2</sup>. But soon the issue took quite a reverse direction. The local authorities instructed to stop the construction of the plant, because it had been begun before getting the permission. H.Z. Taghiyev was fined for it for several times. The permission for the construction of the plant took three years<sup>3</sup>. Even when the construction was completed, H.Z.Taghiyev continued litigation with the government bodies for several years for hiring the land under the plant. In the June of 1906 Czar Nicolas II ordered to refuse “the request” of the representatives of H.Z.Taghiyev<sup>4</sup>. The officials of the Czar delayed the construction of the plant which was very much necessary for the region. They fulfilled the will of the Russian entrepreneurs who exerted pressure on certain instances of the government of the Empire and stopped the development of weaving industry in the outskirts of the Empire by all the means for a long time.

The textile factory was an uncommon commercial enterprise of H.Z. Taghiyev. Already in 1904 its commercial capacity was 2, 2 million rubles, and in 1911 together with its branch in Port-Petrovsk (now Makhachkala) its commercial capacity was about 3,5 million rubles. In the period of the World War I the factory produced only in 1915 about four million arshins (one arshin=28 inches) of coarse calico and 300 million arshins of canvas for the needs of the War Office. With the construction of this factory in Baku, H.Z.Taghiyev contributed to the birth of a new field of industry which produced expensive export goods and enormous amount of incomes in Azerbaijan. Operation of such a big enterprise meant the employment of thousands of poor people and free-of-charge houses for them. The factory had its own dispensary and school. The workers of the factory were given the opportunity to get primary education and to be drawn to public work which served the interests of the Azerbaijani population<sup>5</sup>.

The national entrepreneurs encountered various obstacles. So that in the January of 1908 the owners of ships appealed to the Department of Railways and asked to allow them directly join the Caucasian-Trans-Caspian and the Black Sea-Caucasian-Volzhsk-Trans-Caspian lines<sup>6</sup>. This appeal of serious competitors<sup>7</sup> worried greatly the popular Russian companies “The Caucasus and Mercury”, “Association of Oriental Commodity Storehouses” and “Hope”. It is necessary to note that in 1908 the commodity turnover of “The Caucasus and Mercury” in the port of Baku was 7,1 million poods (one pood=16,38 kg), that of “The Association of Oriental Commodity Storehouses” was 6,2 million poods. The commodity turnover of H.Z. Taghiyev’s “The Kura-Caspian” company increased and reached 5,2 million poods and approached to the commodity turnover of the above mentioned companies. It worried the monopolists; therefore, they were trying to control the convention on the transportation of goods by sea, river and railway. Resolved not to allow the national vessel owners join the convention, the representatives of syndicates were applying all kinds of pressure on the government. Such a thing attracts the attention that ship owners H.Z. Taghiyev and M. Rasulov declared their readiness to reduce the prices of transportation of goods for two kopecks for each pood in all the directions, as well as the term of transportation. But the companies of Petersburg refused to accept the proposal resolutely, because it was aimed against their interests. In their biased struggle they were not sparing any means. For example, in their appeal to the minister of finance and roads written in the July of 1910 they stressed particularly that the access of the non-Russian entrepreneurs to a part of transportations may affect the trade with Iran<sup>8</sup>. After great difficulties and efforts H.Z.Taghiyev and M.Rasulov could finally get permission for the said. But they had to meet severe terms – institution of long-term voyages on certain schedules for the newly admitted marine companies, attachment of the names of companies on the goods while being dispatched,



and finally, leave of mortgage in the sum of 300 000 roubles<sup>9</sup>. Nevertheless, neither H.Z.Taghiyev, nor M.Rasulov paid the sum of the mortgage for it. M. Rasulov did not have cash and H.Z.Taghiyev considered such a decision unjust<sup>10</sup>.

The appeals connected with it to various instances within eight years were refused. The boards of companies, which obstructed the consideration of appeals and positive solution of the case, did not conceal their chauvinist and super state positions. For instance, the board of "the Caspian and Mercury" company in the letter sent to all the members of the Council of Ministers enumerated all the services of the company to the government and drew the attention to such a thing that "the company is a purely national company, because all its employees beginning from its ordinary employees up to the shareholders consist only of the Russian subjects and the majority of them are real Russians. But it can not be said about the Kura-Caspian Company founded by H.Z.Taghiyev"<sup>11</sup>. The director of the Police Department informed that the reliable circles defended H.Z.Taghiyev, "an instruction has been received in order to include the company of H.Z.Taghiyev to the transportation routes, irrespective of the expected commercial yield it is expected to make use of it for some political goals, in the joint Iranian-Turkish operations in the Caucasus"<sup>12</sup>. Nevertheless, the issue was not discussed by the Council of Ministers.

H.Z.Taghiyev could not stand against such pressures and understood that each of his steps in the marine transportation would be met like that, therefore, he decided to stop the operations in that sphere of activity, and finally he was obliged to sell all his fleet to "the Caucasus and Mercury" and the syndicate of "Oriental Commodity Storehouses Company".

Another manifestation of the colonial policy of Czarism in the Caucasus, including Azerbaijan, was the campaign of migration. The government settled the Armenians, then the Russian peasants from the central guberniyas forcibly in the best lands of the region. The campaign, which began in the 30s of XIX century, gradually acquired a regular nature and turned into a purposeful policy. By the end of the century the Czarist government began to develop legislative acts on migration. On April 15, 1899, the Czar issued a law "On the permission of migration in the Transcaucasia"<sup>13</sup>. The new law, which was announced on December 22, 1900, allowed the chief in charge of civil works "settle the peasants of the Russian origin and Orthodox believers in the treasury lands"<sup>14</sup> by discussing their appeals in the first place. The local authorities fulfilled the instruction and began to determine the plots for migration in the March of 1901. In the July of 1904 a new law was issued which was titled "Provisional rules on the voluntary migration of the village residents and middle class farmers"<sup>15</sup>. According to this law only local people of the Russian origin and Orthodox believers were allowed settle in the Muslim outskirts of the Empire, including the Caucasus. The population of schismatic nature was also allowed settle in the said territories after the consideration of the case by the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the War Office and the chief in charge of civil works in the Caucasus. In the June of 1903 a special consultation was held for the discussion of the issue of migration, and it adopted a special document; it was attached to the above-mentioned law and submitted to the State Council. It said that "migration is conducted not only for solution of the agrarian issues in the central part of the country, it is a political issue aimed at increasing the number of the Russian population in the outskirts of the country"<sup>16</sup>.

Fertile lands were chosen for the migration. In Azerbaijan such lands were the plains of Mil and Mugan. The Czarist government conducted a whole program of irrigation system for the displaced persons from Russia in these lands. The government in advance announced that migrants would be settled in the treasury lands. Then under various pretexts it confiscated the plots of the local people gradually. The judicial, local and central organs of power were unanimous in this issue; therefore, the complaints of the Azerbaijani population were in vain. It is true that after numerous complaints and appeals special officials were sent for the investigation of the case, they examined the appeals and acknowledged the facts of violation of the rights of the local population, compiled documents and submitted to the central organs of power, but none of them produced any yield.

One of the terrible facts was migration of all the residents of the village of Alar of Lankaran uyezd (district) to the district of Javad. The Czarist government instructed to give the emptied lands to the displaced Russian residents of the villages of Pokrovka. The local people were removed without granting them lands instead of their ancestral lands. In 1905 Senator A.M.Kuzminsky, who came to inspect Baku and the Baku guberniya, had noted this fact<sup>17</sup>. Alimardan bey Topchubashov expressed his discontent with the said issue and published an article in the newspaper "Kaspiy" (Caspian). He criticized the bureaucrats engaged in the issuance of the instruction on the migration and wrote that "the bureaucrats in search of new pursuits for themselves write about the abundant fertile lands for the settlement of migrants in the Caucasus. In this way they lured their chiefs in Petersburg"<sup>18</sup>. Of course, the issue was not connected only with the bureaucracy of the authorities. It was above all connected with the colonial

regime established in Azerbaijan which reflected the arbitrariness of the Czarist authorities. A.M.Topchubashov not once drew the attention of the public to the biased attitude of the representatives of the Czarist organs of power to the peasants and showed that their lands were confiscated and given to the displaced migrants<sup>19</sup>. In the July of 1905, in his article titled "A Fair Measure", he criticized severely the migration policy of Czarism and noted that the said policy was put into life on the account of violation of the rights and interests of the Azerbaijani population. He wrote that uncertainty and confusion in the agrarian works were intentionally committed, land plots were not bordered, land shares of the peasants were not bought, but confiscated. Therefore, he appreciated the instruction of the vice-Roy in the Caucasus I.I.Vorontsov-Dashkov about the return of 3,3 thousands desyatinas (one desyatina = 2,7arches) of land to their previous owners in the uyezd of Gazakh in 1899 as "a fair and just measure". A.M. Topchubashov considered this step of the vice-Roy "as a decisive landmark in taking into account the desire of the local population"<sup>20</sup>. But in reality this instruction of the Czarist authorities was aimed at silencing the Azerbaijani peasants, at making them give up their desire fight for their rights.

The population forced to leave their ancestral lands by the organs of power very often settled in the territories with climates not fit for living. It often led to diseases and death of people. The discontent and riots among the peasantry of the country compelled the chief in charge of the affairs of migrants in the April of 1905 to stop the migration for some time. He also pointed out such a moment that the instruction did not refer to migrants who had already left their previous habitations forever and to those who were already moving to the place of their new habitations. It once more proved that migration was conducted consistently and due to the plan developed in advance, such instructions were issued only to soothe the ignorant and naïve local peasantry. Czarism never gave up its migration policy. On the contrary, "since XX century, particularly in 1905-1914, such an inclination was conspicuous that it conducted great economic building policy in the territories of economic importance along with migration. In connection with it the lands for the Russian migrants were clearly determined and territorially restricted. Hence, the Russian peasantry settled in the plain regions of the Eastern Transcaucasia of the Caucasus and in the lands of the Black Sea guberniya"<sup>21</sup>.

All the spheres of the national economy and press in the first place were subjected to restrictions. In 1906 Ismayil khan Ziyadkhanov said in State Duma: "The Muslims are said to be backward peoples, but it is not true, they are compelled to sleep and lag behind. Let me give an example. When the censorship rules were particularly strict, we were not allowed to publish newspapers. When the rules weakened, only last year 30 Muslim newspaper were published"<sup>22</sup>.

In 1875 Hasan bey Zardabi (Melikov) founded the newspaper "Ekinchi" (Plowman). It was the first newspaper published in the Azerbaijani language. In 1905 A.M.Topchubashov wrote: "Our educated and literate Muslims remember the newspaper "Ekinchi" with a great enthusiasm... many people remember well how the stamp of stagnation of the Muslims came into motion and the live word of media awakened them"<sup>23</sup>. This newspaper and the propagation of progressive, democratic and enlightening ideas in its pages, its influence on the formation of the ego and identity of the nation could not but worry the Czarist rule in the country. The Czarist censorship was looking for a pretext to close the newspaper. In 1877-1878, when the Russian-Turkish war began, the newspaper was banned to publish articles on political topics. In 1877 the Czarist government issued a decree on the closure of the newspaper.

Censorship restrictions were also applied to the newspaper "Kaspy" which was published in Russian. The newspaper was purchased by H.Z. Taghiyev in 1895 for 57000 roubles, and he became its owner<sup>24</sup>. Prominent public figure, lawyer, publicist Alimardan bey Topchubashov was its editor for many years. It became popular not only in Azerbaijan, but also beyond its borders. When it was owned and edited by the men of the Azerbaijani nationality, it excited the organs of the local power. We think that the position of the gendarmerie of the Baku guberniya in this regard is noteworthy. The gendarmerie "did not think it possible to give the only local newspaper at the disposal of the Tatars (Azerbaijanis-author), particularly to be owned by H.Z.Taghiyev, a man of great influence and reputation in Azerbaijan"<sup>25</sup>. The newspaper was published unofficially since 1897; perhaps the above-said was its reason<sup>26</sup>.



In 1879 the newspaper “Ziya” (Light) began to be published. In 1880 its name became “Ziyayi-Gafaziyye” (Light of the Caucasus). Simultaneously a newspaper by name of “Keshkul” (Dervish’s satchel), then in 1903 another newspaper by name of “Shargi-Rus” (Oriental Russia) were published.

The Caucasian Committee on the issue of periodicals applied strict censorship to periodicals. The censors of the Committee tried to obstruct the dissemination of newspapers in Azerbaijani and attempted to brand them with the stigma of “pan-Islamism” by all means. The term of “pan-Islamism” invented by the Censorship Committee in Tiflis (Tbilisi) was the topic of all the administrative organs of the Russian Empire beginning with the Police Department and the Chief Department of Gendarmerie ending with the police stations of all the remotest corners of the country populated by the Muslim population. Mirza Sharif Mirzayev, who observed the oriental press remembered: it was quite natural that any censor, who reported about the Muslim affairs, had to mention the topic of “pan-Islamism” in order to be distinguished in the eye of his chief<sup>27</sup>.

Many rich representatives of the Azerbaijani public faced such a negative attitude and sometimes the persecutions of the organs of power, therefore, they were afraid of rendering financial assistance to periodicals and not all the time supported the measures of enlightenment and charity. Hasan bey Zardabi faced the same problem when he decided to found a charitable association by making use of the sympathy of the vice-Roy and organs of local power to him<sup>28</sup>. He developed the by-laws of the association and appealed to influential men in Baku, Tiflis and Ganja, called them to support his initiative and render financial assistance to the association regularly. But the association was closed because of a very ordinary and at the same time of a very bitter reason for its founder – it had not fulfilled the main condition of its activity and had not submitted reports on its incomes and outcomes for two years.

In 1905 when he again attempted to found a charity association, the organs of power did not allow him do it. Ahmed bey wrote: “The Muslims of Baku 75 000 in number appealed for being allowed found a charity association, they were refused. But a month later the Georgians, who are very few in number in comparison with the Muslims, appealed to the organs of power with the same request, and they were allowed”<sup>29</sup>.

Czarism obstructed the opening of schools in native languages, banned the teaching of the mother tongue at schools, persecuted all the attempts to conduct teaching on most new methodologies, considered such efforts as an attempt against the existing regime<sup>30</sup>. The Muslims were not allowed teach at school not only in the Transcaucasus, but in the whole Russian Empire. A striking example is the fact that for 11 years A.Aghayev was refused to take the position of a teacher at the secondary school<sup>31</sup>. People with a secondary, or higher education had limited opportunities in making a choice of profession independently. Some higher schools did not admit the Azerbaijanis at all. They met obstacles in getting technical education. It is explained by such a consideration that the representatives of the Azerbaijani entrepreneurs were not completely represented in the Council of the Congress of Oil Industrialists and very weakly represented in the Baku Exchange Committee. The students had no right to get scholarships from the state. After the successful graduation from higher schools they were deprived of the right to occupy higher positions in those institutions. One of them was Alimardan bey Topchubashov. He graduated the law faculty of Petersburg University with excellent marks, but he could not occupy the position of a professor in the chair because of the said reason. He returned to Baku and devoted his life to public and political activities. His unordinary skill, deep professional knowledge won him worthy respect and reputation among all the layers of the Azerbaijani society. The graduates of the law faculty of Moscow University, residents of the Azerbaijani town of Yelizavetpol (now Ganja) Fatali khan Khoisky and Khalil bey Khasmammadov worked in the capacity of assistants of Yekaterinodar Provincial Court attorney for many years just because they had no right to work in their native region. The minister of justice had to approve the nomination if a Muslim wanted to be a member of a court of jury<sup>32</sup>. In the corporation of barristers the number of Muslims could not be more than five per cent of the whole number of barristers. It was banned to hold trials and execute court verdicts in Azerbaijani. There were not Azerbaijani members in the court of jury which was one of the significant elements in the judicial system. Ismayil khan Ziyadkhanov said at the session of the State Duma: “We have court buildings, judges and other persons, but not court of justice. Sentences on death in military courts, penal servitude in exiles are adopted not by the judges in our country, but by the interpreters and translators. The Muslim population do not know Russian, and the local authorities do not know our languages, therefore, the interpreters, who work for small payment (I have information that they get eight rubles per month), sentence people to the said punishments”<sup>33</sup>. While speaking about the officials, who implemented into life the policy of the absolute monarchy in Azerbaijan, I. Ziyadkhanov said: “Our administration, Messrs representatives of the



people, is beyond any criticism. If you imagine that Russia is a sea and the Transcaucasia is its shore, then everything dead and useless in it is run into the shore of our Caucasus and completes the morals of our administration which is immoral even without this addition. The ideal of our administration is to take bribes and torment the people”<sup>34</sup>. The Azerbaijanis were not drawn to the staff of functionaries of the state. The newspaper “Shargi-Rus” wrote: “Up to now the Muslims of Baku are cross with the chief of the town Mr. Novikov. As soon as there appears a vacancy, he at once appoints a Russian to that post, forgets the Muslims completely. To fill the vacancies he brings someone from the remote villages of Russia, pays them big and extra wages”<sup>35</sup>.

The rights of the Azerbaijanis were severely restricted in the self-administration of the town and in local self-administration bodies. According to the provisions of Article 44 of the By-laws of the Town of July 11, 1892, the number of the non-Christian members of the town дума could not be more than one-fifth of the total number of the members if even the Muslims formed the majority of population there. As a result of numerous appeals “in conformity with the order of His Excellency” an amendment was made in the By-laws on December 14, 1900. According to this amendment in the Caucasus the number of the non-Christian members of the dumas of towns could not be more than half of the total number of the members<sup>36</sup>.

The Muslims suffered restrictions in the sphere of religion, too. They encountered many obstacles. They were deprived to elect, or choose their figures of religion. The Czar administration wanted the figures of religion to be absolute executors of its will. Czarism skillfully used the contradictions between the Shiites and Sunnites in its own favor, sometimes sharpened these contradictions to the last degree. Finally, the lands of mosques were confiscated and given at the disposal of the administrative organs. At the crossroads of XIX-XX centuries sheer lack of rights, lawlessness, severe pressure and persecutions characterized the state of the society in Azerbaijan. In 1905 Ahmed bey Aghayev in his article “Necessary explanations on the petitions of Muslims” wrote about it like this: “One can say that none of the peoples has been so forgotten and subjected to pressures like the Muslims. It seems as if they have not even existed. None of their needs is satisfied. All their requests are being refused. It is also true that exceptional measures are not taken into consideration, they are thought not to be worthy of such exceptional measures. It is done like that because their life or death does not interest anyone, their views are not taken into account, they are completely ignored. That is why, the Muslims suffered not only as Muslims, but also as passive individuals. Because of the misunderstandings in the laws aimed at the restriction of the rights of others, because of indefinite expressions in them not anyone wanted to harm them in any form”<sup>37</sup>. Along with the said, A. Aghayev tried to disclose the reasons of such a situation and find out the ways out of it. He thought that in such a big country as Russia each nation “had to be able to make it be recognized, known to the government and the ruling nation”. He laid this noble mission on the intelligentsia and the rich. He wrote: “The intelligentsia help the people with their talent, wisdom, knowledge, skills and consciousness, make the ruling nation get acquainted with their people, with their structure, life and needs, and the rich support the intelligentsia financially in order to enable them to fulfill their task. He wrote with regret that only H.Z. Taghiyev out of the said rich “has understood that their wealth plays an important role for the nation and very few people among the intelligentsia attempt to acquaint the Russian society with the Muslims”. He also noted that “in some rare cases by waiting the rich shake hands with us, expect mercy, kindness, nobleness from them we cannot move forward, solve the problems radically, honestly in places where they could be solved, and manage to illuminate them as they are”<sup>38</sup>.

Along with it, the Azerbaijani entrepreneurs insisted and demanded to have equal rights and privileges with those of the Russian nationality. They were very active in the sphere of self-administration of the town. The Azerbaijani entrepreneurs were trying to strengthen their position there. It was connected with the voting in the concrete issues of industry and commerce in the towns. So that in 1902-1905 23 out of 48 members of the town дума of Baku were Azerbaijanis. Among them were the representatives of the national capitalists of Azerbaijan like H.Z. Taghiyev, M. Nahiyyev, Sh. Asadullayev, N.G. Sadigov, N. Mehdiyev, A. Dadashov and representatives of the Azerbaijani intelligentsia like A.M. Topchubashov, F. Vezirov, A. (candidate to the membership of the State Дума) and others<sup>39</sup>. Some of them took part in a number of commissions of the дума of Baku<sup>40</sup>. In Shamakhi six out of 12 members in the council of the town were Azerbaijanis, and they mainly consisted of the representatives of entrepreneurs<sup>41</sup>. In the town councils of Lankaran and Guba the number of Azerbaijanis was also identical<sup>42</sup>.

## **1.2. Position of the National Capital in the Economy of Azerbaijan**

In Russia the socio-economic and political changes necessitated the birth of different entrepreneurial relations which in their turn created favorable conditions for the development of industry and commerce. Such a situation allowed the representatives of the Azerbaijani entrepreneurs to found a number of big enterprises in the sphere of industry, commerce and transport for the development of the economy of Azerbaijan, for the creation of the centers of the Azerbaijani culture, for raising the intellectual potential of the society in Azerbaijan and its national identity and ego despite the said restrictions connected with the policy of Czarism, severe competition of the Russian and foreign entrepreneurs.

Transformation of the national capital from the sphere of turnover to the sphere of production was a characteristic feature of the socio-economic development of Azerbaijan in the second half of XIX century. Relatively within a short period of time the national capital occupied sufficiently a strong position in a number of important spheres of economy, particularly in the oil industry.

The capital invested to the oil industry can be classified into four main groups according to its sources: commercial capital, industrial capital, foreign capital, as well as the capital (money) invested by the militaries and the representatives of the Czarist administration<sup>43</sup>. National entrepreneurs like H.Z. Taghiyev, Sh.Asadullayev, M.Naghiyev and others belonged to the first group of capital investors. If the first group gave preference to the organization of traditional and ordinary enterprises in the form of trade houses, the representatives of the owners of the second and third group of capital, particularly the owners of the third group of capital, took the road of founding holding companies.

It is necessary to note that "since the birth of the oil industry one of its notable features was that the rich deposits, cheap manpower and land allowed build oil production by investing not a big amount of capital. Because of it there emerged lots of small firms. They were founded mainly by the local entrepreneurs. At the beginning of the 1870s they owned about 88 per cent of the oil wells, and 94,5 per cent of the amount of the money had been paid by them for the purchase of the oil bearing lands ". The representatives of the national capital occupied a very strong position in the oil refining industry. The Azerbaijanis owned 25 oil refineries out of 46 (about 54 per cent) located in Baku<sup>44</sup>. It proved that in the period after the reforms the development of the oil industry in Azerbaijan as an integral part of the process of the formation of the system of entrepreneurial relations in the scale of the country took place on the background of Russia as a whole, nevertheless, "it had its old local roots"<sup>45</sup>. But to ensure the development of the industry it was necessary to improve all its spheres from the point of view of technology. The local entrepreneurs learned the modern forms of organization of enterprises, applied the local experience and technical innovations into oil production, refining and transportation, and in this way they managed to develop their companies. As a result of it, these companies very soon joined the number of companies which were not very large. For instance, in 1883 there were 135 oil enterprises; 17 out of these companies belonged to the Azerbaijanis, including H.Z.Taghiyev, N.Salimkhanov, A.M.Jafarov, A. Garayev, H.B.Hashimov, I.Nuriyev and others<sup>46</sup>. By the end of the century 49 out of 167 oil companies and enterprises (29,3 per cent) belonged to the Azerbaijanis. But they were small enterprises. For example, in the group of enterprises with the capacity of 100.000 poods of oil per year, the share of the Azerbaijani entrepreneurs was only 33,3 per cent, in the group with the capacity of 100.000-500.000 poods of oil their share was 25 per cent, in the group of enterprises with the capacity over one million poods of oil only H.Z.Taghiyev, M.Naghiyev and Sh.Asadullayev were represented.

At the beginning of the XX century the position of the national entrepreneurs became rather strong. According to the information of 1914 about 58 Azerbaijani entrepreneurs owned 83 firms<sup>47</sup>.

Haji Zeynalabiddin Taghiyev was the biggest Azerbaijani entrepreneur and one of the most influential persons of the higher layers of the national entrepreneurs in the sphere industry, finance and commerce. He had great reputation in the government circles and among the officials. He took an active part in all the issues concerning the economic, socio-political life of Azerbaijan.

In 1878 an oil well gushed in the oil field of H.Z.Taghiyev. This oil field turned to a big enterprise, H.Z.Taghiyev himself became one of the richest persons in Azerbaijan. He occupied an important position in a number of spheres of industry, transport and commerce.

In the late months of 1897 H.Z.Taghiyev sold his oil fields, kerosene-lubricant plant, as well as his oil tankers in the Caspian Sea to a big British company headed by one of the directors of an English bank by name of E. Gubbardo for five million roubles. Besides the money he also bought the shares of an

English bank worth of 100.000 pound sterling (about one million roubles in those years) and became one of the directors of that bank<sup>48</sup>.

Being closely related to the English capital, H.Z.Taghiyev took part as a shareholder in other firms and companies instituted in Baku by the British entrepreneurs and financiers. Later in 1896 he became one the directors of an English firm established in London by name of Baku Russian Oil Association. Then this firm bought the oil fields of Arafelov and Budagov Brothers for 6,8 million roubles<sup>49</sup>. Within a certain period the English entrepreneurs used the name of H.Z.Taghiyev as a veil for purchasing the oil fields of Baku by ignoring the latest mild restrictions of the Czarist legislation<sup>50</sup>.

H.Z.Taghiyev took part in the solution of many important issues of the development of the oil industry of Azerbaijan. He was the initiator of the institution of a number of associations of the oil industrialists of Baku, of the signature of agreements of "the Baku Standard", "Alliance of the owners of the kerosene plants of Baku", "Alliance of the owners of the vessels in the Caspian". The goal of these groups was to resist the big companies in the internal market and to ensure the access to the world markets for the local products.<sup>51</sup>

By 1913 the position of the national capital in the oil industry had considerably strengthened. It is necessary to note that eight national firms were already producing over one million poods of oil each : "Musa Naghiyev"-6,8, "Shamsi Asadullayev"-6,7, "A.S.Melikov"-5,6, "M.T. Mirbabayev"-1,3, "the Amiraslanov Bothers"-1,2, "Melikov and Mahmudov"-1,5, "Bakht"-1,6, "Naftalan Oil Industry Association"-4,9 million poods. The millionaire firms of Baku produced about 30 per cent of oil. Among the oil industrialists which produced from 500.000 poods of oil to 100.000.000 poods were I.Hajinsky, the Ashurbeyov Brothers, M.Salimov, H.B. Alekperov. Totally the specific weight of the national enterprises reached 15 per cent and formed 1,6 per cent of the oil output of the Baku region.

Musa Hajiali oghlu Naghiyev began his entrepreneurial activities with the manufacture commerce. He opened a small shop in 1862. In the late years of XIX century he rented oil bearing plots in Balakhani, Sabunchu, Amirjan and Ramana. At first his work in oil fields was not very successful, but in the first years of XX century his oil wells gushed. It exerted a positive influence on "M.Naghiyev" firm founded in 1887. In 1913 it was already among the most stably working firms of Baku.

Shamsi Haji Asadulla oghlu Asadullayev accumulated a little money and rented a salt mine of the state in the late 60s and the early 70s of XIX century. At the same time he bought a fruit garden (vine yard) in Ramana together with Musa Naghiyev. Incomes from such a business allowed him begin a more profitable business. In 1872 the system of otkup (complete control of the state on the oil bearing plots) was liquidated<sup>52</sup>; it opened wide perspectives for the men who possessed the feelings of an initiator. One of such men was Shamsi Asadullayev. He bought a small plot in 1874 and founded an oil producing enterprise there. In 1893 his only well produced 23 million poods of oil. In 1895 one of his well gushed and produced 40 million poods of oil. As a result, his enterprise, which bore his own name, became a big enterprise, produced and refined oil. His enterprise soon joined the enterprises of oil industry, the capital of which was over 10 million roubles. At the beginning of XX century his enterprise turned into a holding company. This company consisted of 12 firms engaged in oil production in the Baku region and produced about 60 per cent of the oil in Baku<sup>53</sup>.

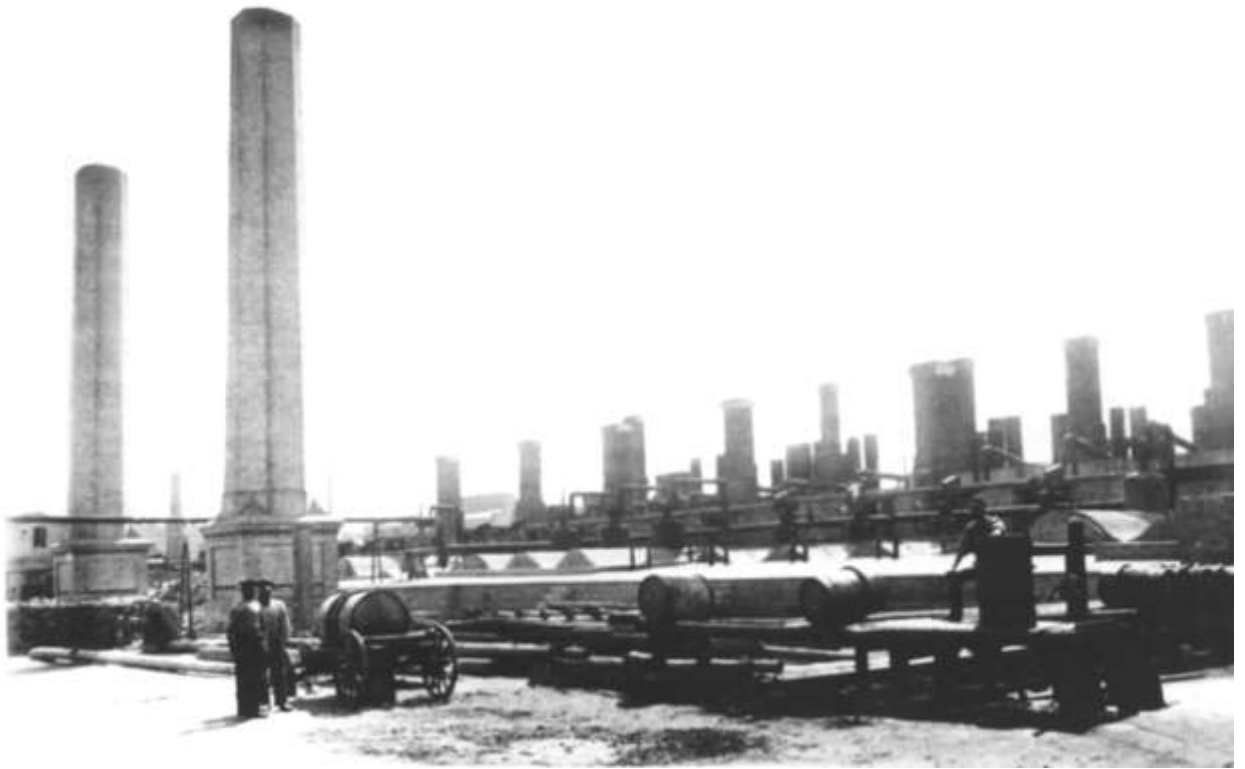
"Drilling Contractor" company is connected with the name Murtuza Mukhtarov, a national entrepreneur. At the end of XIX century he constructed a plant in Bibi-Heybat which produced drilling equipment. It was the first specialized plant in Russia which produced oil machinery. In 1906 M.Mukhtarov was one of the members of "the Syndicate of the Owners of Drilling Equipment" and of "the Association of Contractors for Drilling Oil Wells in Baku". His oil refinery founded in 1913 became a company, the stock capital of which was four million roubles. The company was engaged mainly in drilling of oil wells and repair of the oil equipment. Taken totally, the national entrepreneurs occupied sufficiently a strong position in this field of industry. The Azerbaijanis owned three out of 34 drilling companies, and in 1913 they owned seven out of 45 such companies<sup>54</sup>.

The specific weight of the Azerbaijani capital in the oil processing industry was growing day by day. In 1883 there were 100 kerosene producing plants, 41 of them belonged to the Azerbaijanis. Among the owners of these plants were H.Z.Taghiyev, N.Mehdiyev, A.M.Nuriyev, N.S.Sadigov and M. Khanlarov<sup>55</sup>. But the scale of production did not allow them occupy the foremost places in the oil refining industry. The owners of such enterprises, as well as those of oil-filling stations and bridges formed only 21 per cent<sup>56</sup>. They produced only 8,1 per cent of all the oil products<sup>57</sup>.





*H.Z. Taghiyev*





*H.Z.Taghiyev s house*

The decline of the number of the Azerbaijani entrepreneurs in the refining industry continued in the beginning of XX century. For instance, in 1904 the Azerbaijanis owned 19 refineries, 11 of them were rented by the entrepreneurs of other nations, four of them did not work within the year at all. Four of the functioning refineries belonged to the representatives of the big capital of Azerbaijan, namely, to Sh.Asadullayev, M.Naghiyev, H.M.Vezirov and I.Hajinsky<sup>58</sup>. The oil products produced in these refineries formed 4, 7 per cent of the total product produced in the region of Baku in 1904<sup>59</sup>. According to information of 1906 twenty out of 77 functioning enterprises belonged to the Azerbaijanis<sup>60</sup>, which was an indication of the consolidation of their positions. In 1913 the refineries of Sh. Asadullayev and M.Naghiyev were among the six biggest enterprises which produced 60 per cent of the oil products of Russia. These two entrepreneurs possessed about 45 per cent of the oil processing enterprises in Baku.

The development of chemical industry depended on the oil processing. At the beginning of XX century the Azerbaijani entrepreneurs formed ten per cent of the total owners of the chemical enterprises which produced sulfate acid, caustic soda and others.

In the engineering industry the national capital occupied a weak position because of the number of the enterprises, as well as because of the number of employees and production capacity<sup>61</sup>. In the metal processing industry the Azerbaijani capital was represented much more. H.Z.Taghiyev was one of the co-owners of one of the mechanical plants of Baku<sup>62</sup>. At the end of XIX century a considerable number of enterprises in this sphere owned by M. Mukhtarov, the Javanshirov Brothers and others<sup>63</sup> were specialized in the repair of drilling equipment. M.Mukhtarov had two mechanical plants engaged in drilling on contract. The biggest of them was the plant in Sabunchu. In these two huge enterprises a part of the employees were engaged in drilling works, the other part-in the production of drilling equipment and its repair<sup>64</sup>. The enterprises of M.Mukhtarov were gradually expanding. In 1913 another mechanical plant was constructed. It supplied the oil fields with big drilling equipment<sup>65</sup>.

At the beginning of XX century 12-14 engineering enterprises belonged to the national capital in Azerbaijan. They built their work mainly in conformity with the demands of oil processing<sup>66</sup>. Repair shops formed a considerable part of these industrial enterprises. The share of the national capital in them was approximately one-fourth.

The big enterprises, which produced steam-boilers, included the enterprise owned by M.Naghiyev, too. His steam-boiler producing plant employed about 1500-2000 workers<sup>67</sup>. Wholly, the national capital in this sphere at the beginning of XX century was presented by 14 small enterprises, each of them employed 15-20 workers<sup>68</sup>. Among the owners of hot and other forms of metal working plants were S.Abdullayev, M.Salimov and others<sup>69</sup>.

The national entrepreneurs had also enterprises in the sphere of ship repair, half of the 12 ship repair plants belonged to them. For instance, H.Z. Taghiyev had a ship repair shop, the heirs of A.A.Dadashov had a shipyard, mechanical shops and others<sup>70</sup>. In 1900-1903 the specific weight of the ship repair enterprises of the Azerbaijani entrepreneurs formed 18,2 per cent the volume of production<sup>71</sup>.

The Azerbaijani capital in the sphere of energy was presented by "Electriceskaya Sila" (Electric Power) holding company of H.Z.Taghiyev<sup>72</sup>. In 1907 he signed a contract with this company for the energy supply of his paper producing factory located in Ahmadi<sup>73</sup>. Besides, there were 12 private small power stations in the region of Baku at the beginning of XX century. They belonged to Sh.Asadullayev, H.B.Ashurov, T.Gulubeyov and others<sup>74</sup>. H.Z.Taghiyev had two power stations built. One of them supplied his textile factory with energy in Zykha, the other was in Olginskaya Street (the Old Department Store) in the centre of Baku<sup>75</sup>.

Distinct from other spheres of economy, in which the Azerbaijani capital had more or less an important share, the birth and development of silkworm breeding and silk producing industry were connected only with the Azerbaijani capital. In 1903 there existed 105 silk-spinning, silk weaving and other related enterprises in Azerbaijan, 57 of them belonged to the representatives of the national entrepreneurs. In Nukha (now Sheki) and in the district of Nukha two-third of the enterprises in this sphere belonged to A.H.Mammadov (he had a big factory with 142 workers), then to Mehdi Hajiabduloghlu, Hajisuleyman Husein oghlu, Abdulkerim Haji oghlu, Salam Latif oghlu and others<sup>76</sup>. In this sphere of industry "the Shamil and Aslan Brothers", "the Nadir and Haji Mammadov Brothers", "the Salimov Brothers", "the Bunyadov Brothers" and other trade houses occupied outstanding places<sup>77</sup>. In other silkworm breeding regions - Garabagh and Nakhchivan, the position of the Azerbaijani capital was relatively weak. It is necessary to mention the factories of R.Rzayev, H.I.Hajiyev, H.Babayev, H.Farajov and others in the town of Ordubad of Nakhchivan<sup>78</sup>. In 1908 there were 131 factories in Azerbaijan, they employed about six thousand workers and produced products worth of over 14 million roubles<sup>79</sup>. Azerbaijan produced high quality silk and, therefore, the silk produced in Azerbaijan was very popular in

the world. The raw silk obtained in the factories of the silk industrialists of Azerbaijan L.Latifov, A. Abdulrahmanov, the Rahimov Brothers, G.Mammadov, I.Naghiyev, R.Rzayev, M.Babayev and others were demonstrated in many international and Russian exhibitions, got silver and gold medals. The factory of K.Babayev got gold medals for 13 times for producing high quality products<sup>80</sup>.

By the end of the XIX century due to cultivation of cotton in Azerbaijan a new branch of industry - cotton-cleaning industry - emerged. A considerable part of the enterprises of this sphere belonged to the Azerbaijani entrepreneurs. H.Z.Taghiyev had the first big cotton textile factory built in Baku. It began to operate in 1900. In 1905 the factory produced products worth of 2,2 million roubles per year<sup>81</sup>. H.Z.Taghiyev had also a weaving factory. In 1912 20 (52 per cent) out of 52 cotton-cleaning factories located in the guberniyas of Baku and Yelisavetpol (Ganja) belonged to the Azerbaijani entrepreneurs. In the guberniya of Erevan (Yerevan) 80 out of 20 existing enterprises (40 per cent) belonged to the Azerbaijani capital, in the district of Nakhchivan half of all the factories and plants belonged to the Azerbaijani entrepreneurs<sup>82</sup>.

The Azerbaijani entrepreneurs invested capital to the cotton-cleaning industry of the neighbouring regions, too. It is necessary to note that probably all the textile industry in the Transcaucasia was controlled by the Azerbaijani entrepreneurs. The textile factory of the Mahmudbeyov and Mestan-zade Brothers in Tiflis lagged behind the factory of H.Z.Taghiyev located in Baku because of its capacity. There was also "Ibrahimbey Shirinbeyov and Ko company which had a great reputation in the industrial life of the town. The company had a special department in Yelisavetpol. In 1913 H.Z.Taghiyev bought "The Caspian Manufacture" company in Derbent. It first belonged to the Russian entrepreneurs. The specific weight of the Azerbaijani capital was great in the Central Asia, particularly in Turkmenistan. The first class merchants of Baku Kh.M.Movlamov and M.Naghiyev founded a cotton holding company in Gizilarvad. Its ownership capital was 1, 2 million roubles. In Moscow there were "M.S.Aliyev and Kh.B.Hajihassansky", "M.K.Mehdiyev and Sons" commercial houses. "The Aliyev Brothers" company had a cotton-cleaning factory in Ujar of Azerbaijan and commercial enterprises and their departments in many towns of Russia, including Moscow, Nizhny-Novgorod, as well as in Turkey, Iran and Greece<sup>83</sup>.

At the last quarter of XIX century grain-mills and paddy-cleaning enterprises emerged in Azerbaijan. Already in the 90s there were 12 grain mills in Baku. The national capital among the owners of these mills was represented by Hajimajid Hamid oghlu<sup>84</sup>. In 1896 Aghabala Guliyev had the biggest mill constructed. His entrepreneurial activity was not limited with the boundaries of Baku. The products of his mill were popular in the regions of Azerbaijan and the Transcaucasia, in the central cities of Russia as Moscow, Petersburg, in Warsaw, Rostov, Astrakhan and other places. Besides the mill and paddy-cleaning factory in Baku, he had three mills in Stavropol and Georgiyevsk. In 1915 he transformed his enterprises to "Aghabala Guliyev's Caucasian Grain-Mill and Paddy Cleaning Holding Company". His enterprises were equipped with the most update technology and modern machinery.

In 1914 in Baku 8 out of 24 grain mills and paddy-cleaning factories belonged to the Azerbaijanis. In 1905 this sphere of industry, which belonged to H.Z.Taghiyev, A.B.Guliyev, H.A.Rzayev, A.B.Aliyev, M.S. Kerimov, R.K.Babayev, M and A.Rasulov brothers, owned more than 25 per cent of the total product of this sphere<sup>85</sup>.

In 1907 there were 192 enterprises in Baku engaged in baking bread, buns and rolls. Most of them belonged to the Azerbaijanis<sup>86</sup>. The Azerbaijanis also owned a number of small enterprises engaged in the production of food - macaroni, mineral water, ice, confectionery and others.

At the end of XIX century M.G.Dadashov, Novruzov and Zulfugarov, who were the representatives of the national capital, owned the three tobacco factories operating in Nukha<sup>87</sup>. The owners of the two makhorka (a kind of shag) producing factories in Shamakhi were H.Abdullayev and Hasanov<sup>88</sup>. The Azerbaijani entrepreneurs had small tobacco factories in Yelisavetpol, Shusha and Guba<sup>89</sup>. H.Zeynalov and A. Sultanov had a cigarette-wrapping factory in Baku<sup>90</sup>. Since 1905 the tobacco factory of Azimbeyov in Baku began to work with the steam engine<sup>91</sup>. All these factories worked on local raw materials, some of them purchased tobacco from Kutaisi, too.

The Azerbaijani capital in the sphere of the production of building materials was represented by Hasanov, the Amiraslanov brothers, who had brickworks, and Babayev, the owner of a plasterworks, and others<sup>92</sup>. Ten out of 25 brickworks in Baku belonged to the Azerbaijanis<sup>93</sup>. On the account of the development of the fire-resistant clay deposit the copper-founding plants in Gadabay and Galakend were using fire-resistant bricks. This deposit belonged to Nesibbey Sultanov, a big land owner in the district of Gazakh<sup>94</sup>. At the beginning of XX century Mehdiyev's marble factories, Dadashov's concrete producing plant, Gadirov's marble and cement factories, Orujov's carpenter shop, Agha Gadirov's "Shams" factory of mosaic products and others were operating in Baku<sup>95</sup>.



*Musa Naghiyev*



**Musa Naghiyev s house**



The print houses of H.Z.Taghiyev and the Orujov Brothers were big enterprises in the sphere of polygraphy<sup>96</sup>.

Fishing industry was of great importance in Azerbaijan, the enterprises of this industry employed about 46.000 workers. The volume of annual production of these enterprises was worth of 77 million roubles<sup>97</sup>. At the end of the XIX century four out of the 12 biggest entrepreneurs were the Azerbaijanis- H.Z.Taghiyev, Sultanov, Ahmad Mustafa oghlu, Agha Mustafa oghlu. In 1906 M.Naghiyev, M.Mukhtarov, T.Safaraliyev, H.Z.Taghiyev and others paid a big amount of money and bought fisheries along the shore of the River Kura. On the same year M.Naghiyev, T.Safaraliyev and B.Rustambeyov founded the Kura Fishing Industry Company. In 1909 H.Z.Taghiyev invested about one million roubles to the development of fishing industry and in 1910 bought the Banka Fishery, one of the biggest fisheries of the River Kura<sup>99</sup>.

The Azerbaijani entrepreneurs were obliged to conduct the work in conditions of a strained competition. Nevertheless, they could protect the independence of all their fisheries of the River Kura. H.Z.Taghiyev, who owned well-equipped fisheries, instituted the Caspian-Taghiyev Fishing Industry and Trade Holding Company in 1916 on the basis of these fisheries. He possessed two-third of the ownership capital of the company. The Board of the Company was located in Baku<sup>100</sup>.

At the end of XIX century and the beginning of XX century a considerable part of the ships of the Caspian Marine Transport belonged to the Azerbaijani entrepreneurs. Among the big ship owners in the Caspian Sea were H.Sh., H.A. and A.A.Dadashovs, M.Rasulov, A.Useynov, M.S.Manafov, M. Naghiyev, H.Z.Taghiyev. Thirty-six steamers with the capacity of 18,5 thousand tons belonged to them<sup>101</sup>. The calculation of the preliminary cost of the ships of the Caspian Marine show that at the end of 1900 the expenses of the Azerbaijani capital for the building and purchase of steamers and sailors formed 17,4 million roubles<sup>102</sup>.

By the end of 1900 the progress in the number of the ship owners of the Caspian Marine according to their nationality shows that the Azerbaijani capital in the total number of ships, fuel-filling and cargo-passenger ships and in sailors occupied the first place. For instance, the specific weight of the Azerbaijani ship owners in the total number of ships formed 54,5 per cent, in the number of fuel-filling tankers-53,6 per cent, in the number of cargo-passenger ships-55,4 per cent, in the number of sailors-64,3 per cent<sup>103</sup>. In 1904 there were 60 ship companies, 32 of them belonged to the Azerbaijanis<sup>104</sup>.

According to the information of Senator Kuzminsky, "the Azerbaijani entrepreneurs were the biggest entrepreneurs in the field of navigation, some of them possessed over three-fourth of the incomes and duties of this sphere of industry"<sup>105</sup>. In 1902-1905 among the ship owners, who enjoyed the right to take part in the elections to the дума of Baku, were H.B. Ashurov, N.Mehdiyev, A.B.Najafgulyev, A.Iskenderov, H.A.Jabrayilov, A.G.Taghiyev and others besides the persons shown in the list<sup>106</sup>.

At the beginning of XX century 44,4 per cent of the Caspian Marine Ships and 42,1 per cent of their transportation capacity belonged to the representatives of the Azerbaijani capital<sup>107</sup>. In 1907 20 of 129 schooners of fuel-filling steamers belonged to the ship owners who had their own refineries – to the company of the Nobel Brothers, to Sh. Asadullayev, M.S. Manafov<sup>108</sup>. One of the southern ports of the Caspian Sea, which maintained transportation with Iran, was H.Z.Taghiyev's "the Kura-Caspian Company". The company had cargo-passenger, fuel-filling and cargo ships<sup>109</sup>. In 1903 on the initiative of H.Z.Taghiyev an agreement was signed on the institution of a company by name of "the Alliance of the Fuel-Filling Schooners" which was participated by ship owners Bunyadov, Ashurov, Manafov, Useynov and others. The company of the Nobel Brothers and the association "Mazut" also joined the alliance.

The members of this syndicate got orders from big companies in Russia for the transportation of oil in the internal market<sup>110</sup>. The fight against the big ship companies waged by the Azerbaijani entrepreneurs produced its yields. Already in 1914 fifty-five per cent of the streamers and 40,1 per cent of the transportation capacity belonged to them. The national capital in the fuel-filling marine in the Caspian Sea had a high specific weight and stable position<sup>111</sup>.

The commercial entrepreneurship was an integral part of the national capital accumulated in Baku, Yelisavetpol, Nukha, Shusha and other towns of Azerbaijan. A considerable part of the merchants of Azerbaijan was in Baku. In 1897 7,3 thousand out of 20 thousand merchants, that is 36,5 per cent, engaged in trade fell to the share of Baku and the district of Baku. Since the very beginning of the application of the guild rules in Baku, that is, since 1876, the big merchants of Azerbaijan got "certificates", some of them – H.Dadashov, H.Sh.Dadashov, H.K.Ashurov and H.M.Gadirov became merchants of the first guild (class) <sup>112</sup>. In 1899 there were already 72 merchants of the first guild in Baku, 14 of them were Azerbaijanis. Thirteen out of 122 second guild merchants were Azerbaijanis<sup>113</sup>.







*Shamsi Asadullayev*

In 1897 the commodity turnover of the Azerbaijani merchants in Baku was 21,5 million roubles, or 19,6 per cent of the commodity turnover of the whole Baku<sup>114</sup>. The merchants, who had a turnover of the whole Baku from 250.000 up to 1.000.000.000 roubles were of great specific weight (84,3 per cent). The Azerbaijanis formed 28 per cent of them, H.Z.Taghiyev, M.Naghiyev, Sh.Asadullayev, H.M. Gadirov, Zeynalov, Jafarov and others were among them<sup>115</sup>. In Baku 7084 out of 14945 merchants were Azerbaijanis<sup>116</sup>. In 1913 the Azerbaijanis possessed 53 per cent of all the commercial enterprises of Baku. A big part of these enterprises was the third and fourth rate enterprises engaged mainly in the retail sale of goods<sup>117</sup>.

Export of oil products occupied sufficiently an important place in the commercial operations of the merchants of Baku. The entrepreneurs of Baku, who had means of transports at their disposal, could transport oil products in big quantities and sell them in the Russian and world markets well.

The volume of oil products sold by Sh. Asadullayev, M.Naghiyev, and H.Z.Taghiyev was over 10 million poods a year. At the beginning of XX century the commercial firm of H.Z.Taghiyev had numerous missions in many towns of Russia. He bought a multi-storey house in Moscow and a caravansary in Iran for conducting commercial operations. The arcade of H.Z.Taghiyev in Baku was very popular among the customers<sup>118</sup>. His annual turnover in oil products was 5 million roubles.

At the beginning of XX century the commercial operations of Sh. Asadullayev's firm grew greatly. The commercial turnover of his enterprises was over 2 million roubles per year. He had storehouses in many industrial centres of Russia - in Povolzhye, Petersburg, Moscow, as well as in the Central Asia, Iran, Poland.

In 1898 the information on taxes collected from the guild commercial and industrial enterprises proves that the Azerbaijani capital occupied an important place in the commercial and industrial activity of other towns of the district of Baku. For instance, in Shamakhi 90 out of 114, in Lankaran 38 out of 54, in Guba 55 out of 102 tax payers were Azerbaijanis<sup>119</sup>. The representatives of the Azerbaijani merchants were investing capital in commerce in the guberniya of Yelisavetpol. For example, in 1895 in Yelisavetpol 45 out of 160 first and second guild merchants were Azerbaijanis. In the same year in Shusha 61 out of 319 merchants of this category, in Nukha 48 out of 83 merchants of the second guild were Azerbaijanis<sup>120</sup>. Among the representatives of the big commercial capital of Yelisavetpol were such Azerbaijanis as A.H.Askerov, H.B.Guliyev, I.H.Rahimov, K.A.Eldarov and others, in Shusha – H.I.Allahverdiyev, H.M.Safarov, Sh.M.Kazimov, A.K.Mammadov, M.Vezirov, and others, in Nukha – H.M.Hamidov, H.M.Khalilov, S.Y. Aliyev and others<sup>121</sup>.

According to the information of 1903, 406 out of 593 persons, who had got certificates for being engaged in commercial activities, that is, 68,4 per cent, were Azerbaijanis in the guberniya of Yelisavetpol<sup>122</sup>.

The representatives of the national capital accumulated in their hands all the wholesale commerce in the sphere of grains, grocery products, wool, leather and fruits. Traditional commerce with Iran was completely controlled by them. The position of the Azerbaijani merchants was not so strong in the trade of oil and oil products, metal and metal products and wood<sup>123</sup>.

Though the Azerbaijani capital was widely represented in commerce, the number of big commercial companies was few. According to the information of Senator Kuzminsky, three-fifth of small, retail commerce fell to the share of the commercial enterprises of the Azerbaijanis in the guberniya of Baku<sup>124</sup>. Along with it, at the beginning of XX century the Azerbaijani merchants had trade houses with big capital in Baku, Yelisavetpol, Shusha, Nukha and in some other towns of Azerbaijan: "Ali Aliyev Co" was engaged in the manufacture commerce, its annual turnover was 150.000 roubles, "Abdulla Dadashov and Ko" was engaged in the trade of perfumery, medicine, haberdashery and other goods, its annual turnover was 56.000 roubles and others<sup>125</sup>.

The representatives of national entrepreneurs H.Z.Taghiyev, M.Naghiyev, Sh.Asadullayev, H.Dadashov, H.B.Ashurov and others owned industrial enterprises, marine ships, commercial enterprises<sup>126</sup>, it strengthened the economic positions and evidenced that they had big capitals at their disposal.

At the end of XIX and the beginning of XX centuries there were not the representatives of national entrepreneurs among the bank owners in Azerbaijan, they used the services of the existing credit-bank institutions abundantly. Some of the national entrepreneurs (for instance, Sh.Asadullayev, M.Naghiyev and others) had their own banker's offices. In stock exchange association there were totally 14 (5 per cent) Azerbaijanis<sup>127</sup>. In 1904-1913 H.Z.Taghiyev's banker's office also entered the network of special

credit enterprises. H.Z.Taghiyev was elected member of the registration committee of the Baku Department of the State Bank. The big banks of Russia gave credits to him and to some representatives of the national capital. When giving credits in big sums to H.Z.Taghiyev, the Baku Department of the State Bank took into account that he possessed great wealth. In 1907 the wealth of H.Z.Taghiyev was valued in the sum of 16 million roubles<sup>128</sup>.



*Murtuza Mukhtarov*



*M. Mukhtarov's derricks and house*



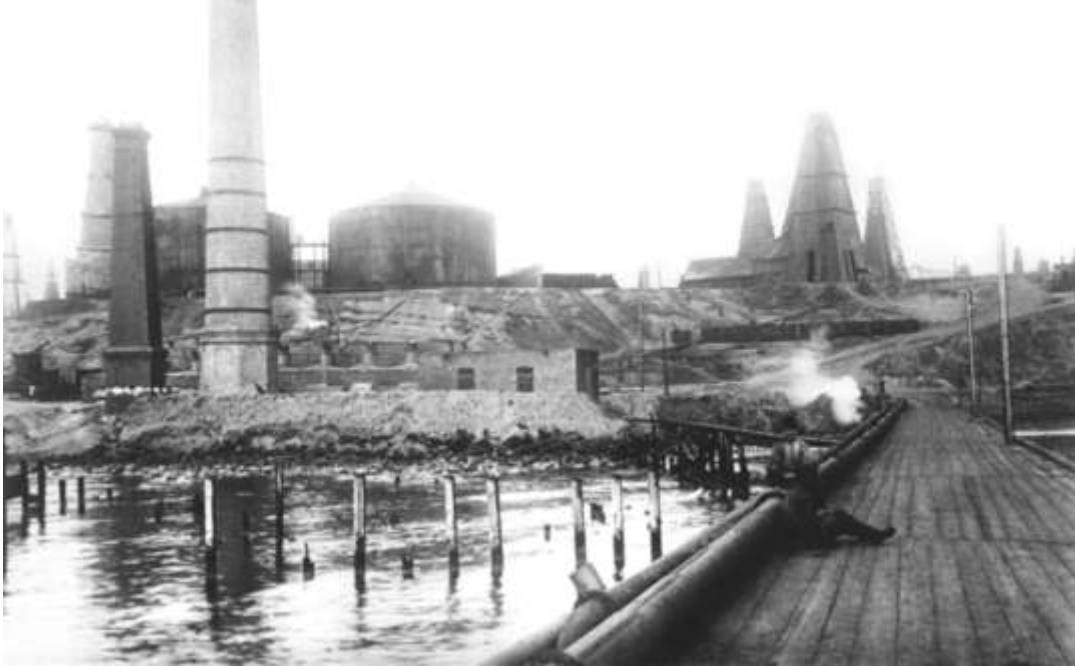
In 1914 with the active participation of H.Z.Taghiyev and M.Naghiyev the Baku Merchant Bank was founded, its ownership capital was in the sum of 3 million roubles<sup>129</sup>. The board of the bank included the representatives of the national capital such as H.Z.Taghiyev (chairman of the council), Sh. Asadullayev, G. Ahmadov, S.Z.Taghiyev, A.G.Taghiyev, the members of the board were M.Naghiyev (chairman of the board), F.Rustambeyov, the members of the revision commission were A.A.Kerimov, M.A.Miriyev<sup>130</sup>. The main goal of the founders of the bank was the funding of industrial and commercial enterprises and rendering assistance to the Azerbaijani entrepreneurs in the first place. They intended to assist the development of different spheres of economy, the enlargement of the network of cultural and educational institutions, and in future to open the branches of the bank in a number of towns of the country. In 1915 some other representatives of the Azerbaijani entrepreneurs (Alibey Ashurbeyov, Agha Mukhtarov, Zeynal bey Salimkhanov) were elected to the council of the bank<sup>131</sup>. Very soon there emerged a great demand to the shares of the bank among the crediting enterprises of the town. In its turn the bank also displayed interest in the shares of the Russian banks. It had very close relations with the Commercial Bank of Petrograd. By maintaining its independence the bank enlarged its relations with the bank of Petrograd. In 1915 in order to increase the funding of the wood industry, the Bank proposed the idea of the mergence of all the provincial banks of Russia. Inauguration of the Merchant Bank and its operation proved convincingly that the participation of the national capital in the development of the credit system was growing and one of the groups of financial oligarchs of Russia was forming in Azerbaijan<sup>132</sup>.

The representatives of the Azerbaijani entrepreneurs invested a considerable capital to the acquisition of real property. Tens of houses in their possession were the sources of stable incomes. This sphere was the passive form of capital investment, but very attractive from the point of view of management and simple in obtaining incomes. Even today the public buildings and living houses which beautify Baku and attach it a special appearance belonged to that category of houses. Many houses were rented to common people of the town. The barracks close to the oil fields and plants, in which the workers lived, also produced incomes.

According to the information of Senator Kuzminsky, in 1905 the Azerbaijanis possessed 82,3 per cent of the real property in Baku. But the cost of these buildings formed only 33,9 per cent of the total cost<sup>133</sup>. What concerned the owners of expensive buildings (50.000 roubles and more), the representatives of the Azerbaijani capital among them were 0, 9 per cent<sup>134</sup>. The specific weight of the Azerbaijanis who owned the estates of average prices (5000-50.000 roubles) was 8 per cent, of less lower prices (up to 5000 roubles)-91,1 per cent<sup>135</sup>. The owners of the majority of the expensive buildings and palaces used them for their own needs. Along with it, the real property owners had many other houses



*Teymur Ashurbeyov*





which produced incomes for them. In the regions of Azerbaijan the construction of such income-producer houses was not widely spread.

H.Z.Taghiyev, M.Naghiyev, Sh.Asadullayev, the Ashurbeyov brothers, M. Mukhtarov, Hajinsky and others were the biggest estate owners. Besides the estates in their native town, built pompously by not sparing finances, they had also beautiful houses and palaces in a number towns of Russia and Europe. They were mainly charity offices, mosques, cultural centres. The mosque in Vladikavkaz built on the account of the finances of M.Mukhtarov, the beautiful buildings in Kislovodsk and Florence, the building of the Tatar Cultural Centre in Moscow built on the account of finances of Sh.Asadullayev, the mosque in Petersburg (the biggest mosque in Europe even today) built with close participation of H.Z.Taghiyev should be noted particularly.

The main centre of the formation and development of the Azerbaijani entrepreneurs was Baku. At the end of XIX and the beginning of XX centuries the representatives of the biggest entrepreneurs and outstanding intelligentsia of Azerbaijan lived in Baku. The majority of newspapers and magazines were published in Baku. The entrepreneurs were engaged in commerce and industry in other provincial centres, too. The entrepreneurs of Yelisavetpol and Nukha were distinguished among them.

Thus, the owners of the enterprises in the sphere of oil, cotton cultivation, cotton-cleaning and textile, flour and paddy mills, silk production, marine transport and commerce formed the richest part of the Azerbaijani entrepreneurs. Among them H.Z.Taghiyev, M.Naghiyev, Sh.Asadullayev, M.Mukhtarov, A.Dadashov, M.Manafov, M.Rasulov, A.B.Guliyev, A.H. Mammadov, A.Aliyev and others must be mentioned first.

The middle class entrepreneurs of Azerbaijan were more numerous, they owned small and medium enterprises in the sphere of oil production and refining, machinery and mechanical works, sericulture, tobacco, building materials, as well as marine transport, mainly sailers of big capacity. This group also included the merchants of the second and third guild, owners of income producer houses.

Small entrepreneurs formed the most numerous part of the national entrepreneurs. The class of big national entrepreneurs grew and enlarged on the account of people who came out of this class.

In the period after the reforms the development of industry in Russia, the growing demand in oil, liquidation of the rental system in the oil industry in 1872 turned Baku to the biggest oil centre at the end of the century. In 1898 Baku left behind the United States of America because of the level of production of oil. The rich underground resources of Azerbaijan attracted the attention of all the entrepreneurs of the world. As a result of it the entrepreneurs, who had emerged in Azerbaijan, was heterogeneous from the point of view of their ethnicity. Besides the Azerbaijanis, there were the representatives of foreign capital. In conditions of bitter competition there were contradictions among various groups of entrepreneurs. Economic competition among the Azerbaijani entrepreneurs, on the one hand, among the Russian and foreign entrepreneurs, on the other hand, emerged only in some spheres of economy. At the end of XIX century the Azerbaijani and Russian entrepreneurs did not enjoy the same rights, and it caused discontent of the national entrepreneurs. This discontent was not sharp and open yet, but its sharpening was not excluded.



Confrontation between the Azerbaijani and Armenian entrepreneurs was growing by and by. Like the Russian entrepreneurs settled in Azerbaijan, the Armenian entrepreneurs also enjoyed the protection of the Czarist government; because of it they could occupy important positions in a number of spheres of economy. The economic competition and confrontation among these groups of entrepreneurs gradually penetrated into the socio-political life of Azerbaijan. The Czarist monarchy very often used such conflicts for making various nationalities living in Russia fight against each other. It was Russia's favourite and tested policy, it gave exceptional rights to one nation and deprived the others of ordinary legal norms.

The relation of the Azerbaijani entrepreneurs to the monarchy of Czarism was complicated and contradictory. The most progressive political circles were expressing their discontent with the colonial policy of Czarism which restricted the interests of the Azerbaijani entrepreneurs. This discontent proceeded from the followings: artificial obstacles were created for the Azerbaijani entrepreneurs in the sphere of oil refining; the participation of the Azerbaijani entrepreneurs in the self-administration organs of the town was restricted, and it reduced the circle of influence of the national entrepreneurs on the economic life of the town, there were pressures in the sphere of language, religion, culture and others, too.



National oppression and the Russian legislation severely restricted the activities of the owners of the national capital; nevertheless, the Azerbaijani entrepreneurs were strengthening their positions in a number of spheres of economy, increasing their capital, directing their finances to the development of the cultural and educational life of the society in Azerbaijan and to the creation of its intellectual potentials.

Their strong position in the sphere of economy allowed them increase their political influence in the society by and by. The periodicals printed on the account of their finances published articles devoted to national ideas, “revival” of the nation, development of enlightenment, creation of charity organizations. A whole group of intelligentsia educated in the higher schools of Russia and Europe joined the fight for the interests of the nation, it exerted influence on the revival of political life of the country and on the development of education. The entrepreneurs, who financed the education of their young compatriots in the above-mentioned higher schools and philanthropic events, supported their struggle. They were doing their best for raising the cultural level of the nation, for developing its national consciousness after the return to the motherland. On the crossroad of two centuries they wrote articles devoted to the lack of political rights and its reasons, to the legal restrictions applied to the Muslims, to the obstacles created for the Azerbaijanis in the sphere of socio-political activities. In this way they expressed their position as an opposition to the existing regime of the absolute monarchy. The intelligentsia was trying to develop the national consciousness of the people and raise it to struggle for freedom.

The revolutionary movement of 1905 in Russia gave an incentive to the rise to the struggle of people for freedom. There emerged objective conditions for the political activity of all the layers of society, for advancing national demands, for expressing the main views and interests of the people. In those years the Azerbaijani entrepreneurs already possessed necessary economic and intellectual potentials. Therefore, when the government issued decrees, instructions and prescripts and declared “the renewal” of the existing society, the prominent figures of Azerbaijan managed to assemble the progressive forces around themselves by using only legal, civil and peaceful methods of the bourgeois-liberal movement, by writing petitions and appeals to the highest instances of the state power, by developing national programs and submitting them to the echelons of supreme power. In the years, which followed, not only their ideas, but also the methods of struggle against the existing system underwent an evolution.

## Chapter II

### National Liberation Movement in Azerbaijan at the Beginning of XX Century



## 2.1. Revival in the National Movement

Aggravation of social relations, mass strikes of workers, the growing discontent of the peasantry created objective conditions for the political and ideological activization of all the layers of society in Azerbaijan at the beginning of XX century.

The maniacal great-power policy of the Czarist government, growth of the national oppression, all kinds of violation of the rights of peoples living in the outskirts of the Empire united around this issue all the layers of the society interested in its immediate solution. It proceeded from such a fact that the national problem was one of the most complicated social problems. The progressive part of the society, anxious about the fate of the nation, advanced the problem of the renewal of the existing system more seriously and demanded the conduction of reforms. The actions of workers, peasants and intelligentsia against the Czar and the government united them in the national liberation movement closely.

The beginning of XX century was remarkable with mass actions of the oil workers of Baku. The Azerbaijani workers took an active part in them. Their participation in the strike of the July of 1903, of the December of 1904 and others are proofs of it. The strike of the December of 1904 was of special importance, because as a result of it the wages of the oil field workers, including those of many Azerbaijani workers, were increased and a number of their economic demands were fulfilled. In conformity with the collective contract signed between the oil industrialists and the workers, the oil industrialists took the following obligations: to reduce the working hours till nine hours a day, to liquidate the extra work after the working hours which bore a daily character, to employ workers for the regular night works and determine working hours for them not more than eight hours, to apply a three shift work schedule for the bailers, operators of boilers, lubricators and diggers, to treat the workers politely, to determine the minimal sum of wages for the lubricators, operators of boilers, bailers and unskilled workers, etc.. The inclusion of a clause to the contract that the account book of workers should be filled in the native language of the workers, or in the language understood by them along with the Russian language, was a remarkable event. This clause of the contract along with other clauses exerted great influence on the development of political and national consciousness of the workers. Signature of the contract was a landmark in the struggle of the Azerbaijani workers for their rights and opened for them the perspectives to defend their interests and demands.

In the events of the December of 1914 "Hummet" (Support), which was the first social-democratic organization in the whole Islamic world, took part in the strikes together with the Baku Committee of the Democratic Socialist Workers Party of Russia. The initiative of the foundation of "Hummet" belonged to the representatives of the intelligentsia like S. Efendiyev, A.Akhundov, M.Movsumov, M.Azizbeyov, M.A.Rasul-zade, M.Mirgasimov, M.Hajiyev, A.Kazim-zade, M.Hajinsky and others. The social-democrats suggested the idea of self-determination of the nations and the right of establishment of autonomous provinces. It was included into the program of the Second Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Workers Party as a separate clause (Clause 9). It was consistent with the political goals of the part of intelligentsia of the most progressive thinking, and it led to their integration to the social-democratic movement more<sup>136</sup>. But a part of them soon understood that Clause 9 was nothing but a slogan, they left the organization and devoted themselves to the fight of abolition of all kinds of national oppression and inequality. The participation of these prominent politicians in "Hummet" contributed to the struggle of the Azerbaijani people and to the growth of its political activities in the initial stage of the birth of the national movement.

The conditions of the collective contract of 1904 very often were violated; it resulted in the frequent strikes of the workers in Baku. The Azerbaijani workers were more active in those strikes. From January 4 till the 20th of 1905 the workers of the big enterprises of Baku gave an incentive to the revolutionary actions in Russia and served a pretext for them. Perhaps there is some truth in it, because, the intolerable social and legal state of the peoples in the country led to the actions against the Empire.

Solution of the agrarian issue, struggle for land in the villages of Azerbaijan were accompanied with actions against the national oppression of Czarism, tyranny of functionaries. The peasants refused to fulfill the instructions of the organs of power, pay taxes to the treasury, fulfill the duties and obligations laid on them by the state, resisted to the organs of power taking to arms<sup>137</sup>. In the July of 1905 the chiefs of guberniyas informed the higher authorities that the events ongoing in Russia and the Caucasus had exerted their impact on the mood of the local population. There was instability in the guberniyas of Yelisavetpol and Baku<sup>138</sup>. They also mentioned the facts of hostility against the representatives of local authorities, forest-guards. There were mass fells and liquidation of woods, attempts of taking possession



*Ahmad bey Aghayev*

of arms, ignorance of the decisions of courts. The representatives of the judicial organs were met with hostility by the population; therefore, very often they refused to fulfill their duties.

Sometimes Czarism took to strict measures of repression and exterminated whole villages, nevertheless, it did not frighten the peasantry, the fight for freedom did not subside but grew more.

The revolutionary spirit engulfed all the layers of society in Azerbaijan. Middle class townsfolk, clerks, students and others joined the fight for their national interests. The teachers in Azerbaijan acted for the liquidation of restrictions existing in the sphere of education. In the December of 1905 a group of teachers of primary schools appealed to the vice-Roy with a letter<sup>139</sup> and demanded to permit them to teach in the native language of the children. They advanced other professional demands, too.

On January 9, 1905, in Petersburg the population organized a peaceful march to the Winter Palace of the Czar which met a hurricane of fire. It caused anger, rage, wrath and protest in the whole Empire. A number of industrial enterprises of Baku went on a strike. And the Duma of Baku did not ignore it. The press sufficed only with the publication of the official information of the Russian and Petersburg news agencies.

In those days of January the Azerbaijani entrepreneurs and intelligentsia began to display opposition.

The most active representatives of entrepreneurs and intelligentsia understood that the events, which had began in Russia, might be a starting point of a significant period in the life of the peoples living in the outskirts of the Empire. The periodicals in Azerbaijan began to publish articles explaining the importance of that moment for the future fate of society in Azerbaijan. The development of the national press, which played a decisive role in the formation of the national consciousness of the people, was connected with the activity of the prominent public figures and publicists who were the authors of a circle of articles. Ahmad bey Aghayev, who gave comprehensive analysis of the reasons leading to the deep crisis in all the spheres of socio-political life of the Russian society, resembled Russia to a huge tree with many branches, but rotten completely. He wrote that the Russian-Japan war showed that the reason of the rot was connected with the form of administration and internal policy of the state. He thought that only "His Excellency and His decrees" as a doctor was able to physic that tree<sup>140</sup>.

The Azerbaijani ideologists cherished great hopes in reforms and wrote about the issues which these reforms had to solve. They demanded the presentation of the local population in the organs of administration. On January 18, 1905, at the session of the Duma of Baku Ahmad bey Aghayev appealed in written form to the Ministry of Internal Affairs and suggested to give equal rights to the Muslims of the Transcaucasia with the Christians in the issue of election to public posts<sup>141</sup>. It was noted in the appeal that "restriction of the rights of the Muslims harms the activity of self-administration of the town<sup>142</sup>. The Duma considered the appeal of A. Aghayev on January 25, supported it by the majority of votes and adopted a decision to call all the organs of self-administration of the Transcaucasia to join the appeal<sup>143</sup>.

In the December of 1904 and January of 1905 the periodicals published critical articles about the state of the national culture. Ahmad bey Aghayev called the people to obey the laws of Islam, but at the same time acquire the best traditions of the nations of Europe. Speaking about the enlightenment of the people, he wrote that it was necessary to acquaint the people with the achievements of science and technology<sup>144</sup>. He called the people to acquire knowledge. He did not conceal that all the misfortunes of the nation derived from the colonial oppression, under which they lived for a long time, and ignorance. He blamed the Muslims themselves for backwardness in the sphere of culture<sup>145</sup>. He wrote: "Nobody can be equal to the Muslims, that is, to us in oratory. We like to use eloquent expressions and stormy speeches, to call us the supporters of enlightenment, culture and boast with it by beating our fists on our chests. But when it comes to the materialization of our thoughts, we occur in the state of a little child by telling that the duty to be performed is hard and not understandable. We miserably bend our head down and let our arms down helplessly. There is not even a particle of initiative, a brave idea in anyone and anywhere. Everyone revolves blindly around the hackneyed ideas and thoughts learnt by heart. The things like "culture", "enlightenment", "down with ignorance" and other identical things draw us like a magic and do not want let us go. By repeating these hackneyed ideas and words we please ourselves, and it seems to us as if we do something very important, as if we drive away ignorance, prejudice and fill their places with the light of civilization, and by doing it we think that we have fulfilled our duty. These are the features of our psychology, and of course, it is not worth of arguing with this psychology"<sup>146</sup>. In his articles about the morals of Muslims Alimardan bey Topchubashov wrote that "the nation has fallen under the spell of darkness because of reasons depending on it or not depending on it"<sup>147</sup>.

Ali bey Husein-zade also wrote about the pressures on the periodicals in the Turkic (Azerbaijani) language and about the censorship restrictions<sup>148</sup>. In his articles he enumerated the legal restrictions



*Alibey Husein-zade*

applied to the Muslims and explained the means and ways of removing the lawlessness. "It is high time for the Muslims or Russia to review the old values and change them... we must work and take care of our own selves, speak about our needs... occupy a respective place in the new life corresponding to our number and knowledge. For it we must put aside all the reasons which weaken us in the social life at once and without a delay That is, we must put aside: a) indifference, apathy, intrigues, personal enmity; b) give



preference to wisdom, efficiency, knowledge, honesty and not victimize them to kinsmanship and personal hostility, and finally; c) the Muslims must respect their own intelligentsia everywhere and in everything, rely on them, trust them, elect them their leaders, listen and obey their advice, because the intelligentsia is well aware of all the needs of the future life and the ways of how to satisfy these needs”<sup>149</sup>.

The ideas suggested by the ideologists sounded a little mildly, because the national movement had just started to gain scope, the pillars of the monarchy seemed to be unshakable. Nevertheless, the revolutionary movement expanded and began to worry the Czarist government seriously. On February 19, the rumours about the preparations for the political manifestations of the workers of Baku caused a serious agitation particularly<sup>150</sup>.

This time Czarism appealed to its favourable and time-tested policy, that is, instigated ethnic confrontation. On February 6-9 interethnic clashes were organized in Baku. This policy used the contradictions existing between the Armenian and Azerbaijani population. The Czar administration organized small groups of provocateurs and saboteurs for starting the clashes. The meetings of protest held in the town demanded the organizers to put an end to the bloodshed.

After the defeat in the Russian-Japan war the ruling circles displayed inclinations to renew the system of monarchy a little under the pressure of the opposite mood reigning in the society. The Czar was obliged to charge the minister of internal affairs A.G.Bulygin to develop the draft of a prescript for drawing the representatives of the public to the legislation. On February 18, 1905, Czar Nicolas II disclosed the text of the prescript at the sitting of the ministers and it was approved by them. The Czar declared his intention that “hence the most worthy and reliable persons elected by the people shall be drawn to the initial development of the drafts of the legislative acts and to their discussion on condition that the immunity of the basic laws of the Empire (monarchy) are preserved”<sup>151</sup>. The prescript also spoke about the institution of a special conference for the discussion of the ways of implementation of this decision of the Czar into life to be chaired by A.G.Bulygin.

A part of the liberal bourgeoisie appreciated the prescript of February 18 as “a landmark” in the history of Russia. If compared the prescript to a door behind of which the perspectives of a bright future was described”<sup>152</sup>. The dumas of towns, stock exchange committees, congresses of industrialists also maintained this position. The newspaper “Kaspiy” published the prescript of Czar Nicolas II to Bulygin and his decree to the Senate of February 18, 1905, under the title of “the Supreme Manifest”<sup>153</sup>. The editorial devoted to the prescript of the Czar called “the participation of the representatives of the public in the initial development and discussion of the acts of legislation the basic act, the main principle of all the events and reforms”<sup>154</sup>. Editors-in-chief of the newspapers of that year (the editor-in-chief of “Kaspiy” was A.M.Topchubashov then) appreciated the prescript as a means of liquidation of bureaucratic protectionism and restrictions in the economic, political and cultural life of the society.

In conditions of the censorship of the Czar the editorial of the newspaper did not touch upon the issue that Azerbaijan was under the colonial oppression of the monarch, and the stagnation in the life of society was explained with such a view that even the most experienced functionaries of the central offices of the capital were not able to understand the national-social needs and appreciate correctly the region which was far from the centre<sup>155</sup>. According to them, “only educated local people can understand and see these needs. Now they are to represent the people, help the government in its legislative work, which is very responsible”<sup>156</sup>. The newspaper thought that the ideas of prescript provided a strong fulcrum for zemstvo (elective district council) and for the self-administration of towns. The newspaper desired the application of the right of presentation in the outskirts, too<sup>157</sup>.

The same feelings were expressed in A.M.Topchubashov’s article devoted to the institution of vice-Royhood in the Caucasus in conformity with the prescript of the Czar. The article firmly advocated that the institution of vice-Royhood was a proof that “our region will not remain beyond the attention of the centre and like other provinces of the Russian Empire the rays of the sun of reforms of freedom, which rises from the lands of Russia, will illuminate our region,too”<sup>158</sup>. The author declared his belief that the participation of the most worthy persons, who had won the confidence of the people and elected from the people, in the initial development of the draft laws and in their discussion would be equally applied to the Caucasus, he also characterized it as a significant and remarkable act<sup>159</sup>.

Application of zemstvo self-administration, jury, assurance of equal rights to the population of the Caucasus with those of the population of the internal guberniyas of Russia, “as well as all the suggested principles... immunity of person and his property, freedom of conscience, press, word and free assembly of the people, which ensure the provisions of legislation, to the Caucasus was considered by A.M.Topchubashov as a significant condition “for the renewal of the life in the Caucasus”<sup>160</sup>.

Thus, in the person of A.M.Topchubashov the ideologists in Azerbaijan saw their prominent representative, through him they disclosed their attitude to the manifest of the Czar, to the content of his prescript to G.Y.Bulygin, to the institution of the vice-Royhood in the Caucasus, they considered the said as an important condition for the implementation of the hopes and desires of the people into life. The most significant issue which worried them was whether the provisions of the prescript of the Czar would be applied to the outskirts of the Empire, for instance, to Azerbaijan.

The representatives of the Azerbaijani entrepreneurs also hoped to take part in the promised Special Conference to be held on February 18. But the government announced that the intended Special Conference would not be held, the project would be developed at the Ministry of Internal Affairs and be directly submitted to the Council of Ministers, then the conference chaired by the Czar would consider it<sup>161</sup>.

The Czarist government sufficed with the institution of the post of the vice-Royhood in the Caucasus. It was aimed at strengthening the administrative management of the Czarism, at preventing the actions of people for freedom living in the outskirts and at taking immediate measures for it. The Czarist government appointed Count I.I.Vorontsov to the post of the vice-Roy in the Caucasus. The authorities were well aware that he was a cunning politician able to make use of promises and social demagoguery for his own interests. The communications of the representatives of socially higher levels of population with I.I.Vorontsov-Dashkov confirmed many times the farsightedness of the persons who had appointed him to the said post, that is, only these features of his character displayed themselves more conspicuously in the years of service in the Caucasus. The Azerbaijani entrepreneurs lost hope in the prescript of the Czar, nevertheless, they were positive to the appointment of I.I.Vorontsov-Dashkov and called him a "great reformer able to lead the Caucasus to a happy future".

On March 5, 1905, chief of the city of Baku K.A.Iretskoy appealed to the members of the duma of the town and declared that the prescript of February 18 as "the only elective institution in the region" and charged the public organizations of the town "to convey their considerations on the reforms necessary for the future substantiated and sustainable development of the region"<sup>162</sup>. On March 8 the session of the Baku duma discussed the election of representatives to take part in the Special Conference to be chaired by Bulygin which had been promised by the prescript of February 18. The members of the duma took an active part in the discussions concerning the number and powers of the elected representatives. When this issue was discussed, the representatives of the Azerbaijani entrepreneurs demonstrated solidarity with the members of duma who represented the interests of the entrepreneurs from other nationalities. A.Aghayev suggested not to restrict the number of the representatives and substantiated it with such a thing that each nation was distinguished with its own peculiarities, and educated people aware of politics and world affairs should be sent to the Conference. A.M.Topchubashov expressed such a desire that all kinds of efforts should be made not only to achieve the representation, but "also for the implementation of measures for addressing the demands of the region after the adoption of the new rules"<sup>163</sup>.

The duma displayed a rare unanimity and decided to send a telegram to the Minister of Internal Affairs to ask him to allow send three representatives to the said Conference "for getting an opportunity to speak at the Conference about the life conditions in the Transcaucasus which perhaps was in need of reforms more than other guberniyas of Russia<sup>164</sup>. The duma thought that the Conference would contribute greatly to the discussion of issues connected with the urgent internal changes in future"<sup>165</sup>. To support the appeal and to explain comprehensively the considerations of the duma to Bulygin a delegation of the members of the duma – chief of the town K.A. Iretskoy and two members of the duma (A.M. Topchubashov and P.O. Yukasov) was sent to Petersburg<sup>166</sup>.

The duma also approved the proposal of A. Aghayev to send telegrams to the chiefs of the towns of Yelisavetpol, Derbent, Erevan, Shusha, Nukha, Guba and Lankaran and ask them to support the decision of the duma<sup>167</sup>.

The town council of Lankaran discussed the proposal on March 15 and 16 and decided to receive the members of the Baku Duma "in order to pave the way for the representatives of our remote district, which is very particular because of its local conditions, to the future conference"<sup>168</sup>, and with such a request to send a telegram to the Minister of Internal Affairs.

The duma of Guba also joined the proposal of the Baku Duma and asked the delegation to be sent to Petersburg to raise the issue of laying a railway to Guba<sup>169</sup>.

At the end of March the delegation of the Baku State Duma came to Petersburg and was received by Bulygin on April 21<sup>70</sup>. The talk took 10-15 minutes. Though the reception of such an important mission took just a few minutes, the parliamentarians could explain the essence of the issue. The minister declared that it was necessary to conduct the reforms intended for the Central Asia in the Caucasus, too.

He also supported the election of the representatives to the Special Conference of the Caucasian nations. The minister told the delegation that the members of the Special Conference would be appointed by the Czar, he was unaware of its composition, but undoubtedly the local peculiarities of the Caucasus would be taken into account and the members of the towns of the Caucasus would be allowed take part in the Conference. He also expressed such an idea that it would be better to let the representatives of the дума of Baku attend the Conference, because Baku occupied a special place in the Empire<sup>171</sup>.

The delegation was received by Count I.I. Vorontsov-Dashkov who at the moment was in Petersburg, too. After the ceremony of congratulations the vice-Roy spoke of his plans for the period of his work in the Caucasus. For instance, he assured the delegation that he would care for the application of Zemstvo (elective district council) and jury in the Caucasus in the first place, convene a conference for the organization of public services and amenities in the region. He declared that in it he hoped to rely on the support of the local public figures<sup>172</sup>. He was ready to promise a lot in advance, but sometimes he also by chance mentioned that the said was not within his powers. In many things he seemed to be sincere, because in conditions of the absolute monarchy it was impossible to solve a problem in the regions independently. And it became evident later that he had no intention to fulfill his promises. As soon as the delegation returned, chief of the town K.A.Iretskoy, who was a member of the delegation, acquainted the members of the дума and town council with the results of the visit and the meetings they had held<sup>173</sup>.

The position of the socially higher layers of Yelisavetpol was more decisive. The economic and political restrictions united the Azerbaijani entrepreneurs in this town and in the neighbouring districts with the privileged groups, that is, with the big landowners who were the descendants of the local khans and beys. On this social basis "The Committee of the Turkic Revolutionary Social-Federalists" was instituted in Yelisavetpol. This committee with the embryo of a political party began its activity with the publication of two leaflets in the same month, two copies of which were discovered in the streets of the town on February 16 at night.

The leaflets began with an appeal to the Turkic-Muslim brothers. These proclamations protested against the Czarism, accused the government of the organization of ethnic clashes in Baku, of the prosecution of the Muslim clergy particularly, of conduction of the migration policy on the account of the Caucasus, called the Muslims to fight for their rights and against all kinds of injustice.

Development of national consciousness and the growth of political maturity paved the way for the development of a national program. Being a part of Russia and in conditions of political lawlessness, Azerbaijan was given the opportunity to convey their desires and hopes to the Czarist government. The most prominent representatives of the Azerbaijani intelligentsia took the responsibility of this noble mission.

Alimardan bey Topchubashov occupied a particular place in this work which required high professionalism and profound knowledge in the sphere of politology and jurisprudence. Probably all the petitions, applications, appeals to the highest instances were developed and submitted directly with the participation of this outstanding public figure. It was not accidental. A.M.Topchubashov had a perfect education in law, ability and competence of a professional in compiling program documents. His profound ability of analysis, broad world outlook, encyclopedic knowledge, political far-sightedness, coherency with high ideals and universal values won him a worthy reputation beyond the borders of Azerbaijan, too. He was one of the leaders of the Muslim movement in Russia. The party of Cadets, the most influential opposition party in Russia, took into consideration his views. The oil workers of Baku authorized him to take part in the conference chaired by the Minister of Finance V.N.Kokovtsov as their representative in the September of 1905.

The leaders of the Muslim movement charged him to develop the program and regulations of the Union of Muslims which was an all-Russian organization. After the dissolution of the First State Duma A.M. Topchubashov was banned to be engaged in the activities in the parliament for signing the Vyborg Declaration and for not obeying the will of the Emperor. He was deprived of the right to be elected to the State Duma. Nevertheless, he was invited to Petersburg to lead the Muslim Fraction in the State Duma in all its convocations, for taking part in its work, particularly when there was a necessity to advance proposals to important draft laws under discussion in the State Duma and in their adoption. When the government of Iran proposed to A.M.Topchubashov an important post at the Ministry of Justice, the newspaper "Terjuman" (Dragoman), which was very popular among the Muslims of Russia, wrote: "Topchubashov will be of great use in his new post, men like him among the Muslims can be counted by finger, the Muslims are in need of the experience, courage and knowledge of such a man themselves"<sup>174</sup>.

A.M.Topchubashov attached great importance to the events of 1905 which gave the hope to the nation to have simple rights and liberties. He thought it to be his duty to illuminate and analyze these events on the pages of the newspaper “Kaspiy” in which he was the editor-in-chief.

National leader Heydar Aliyev highly appreciated the services of A.M. Topchubashov to the Azerbaijani people and said: “Alimardan bey Topchubashov once was the chairman of the first parliament of our Democratic Republic of Azerbaijan, and as a diplomat he has also occupied his place. Now we have articles, memories about him. They describe him as an intelligent, cultured and prominent man. We are proud that there is such a man in our history”<sup>175</sup>.

On March 15, 1905, the representatives of the Azerbaijani entrepreneurs and intelligentsia held a conference in the palace of H.Z.Taghiyev. They discussed the necessity of conducting reforms in the Caucasian region and of sending a petition to the government<sup>176</sup>. The conference considered the necessity of sending the petition very important and supported the decision of the дума of Baku of March 8, and noted the importance of participation of the representative of the region in the Special Conference to be chaired by Bulygin particularly. It was decided to be expedient to send a delegation of the parliamentarians for submission of the petition on behalf of all the Muslims of the Caucasus. For this purpose the conference decided to send telegrams to all the big habitations of the region and ask them to propose their representatives for the inclusion to the delegation. In this way the conference made an attempt to unite around itself all the national forces, as well as all the Muslims of the Caucasus closely.

In the April of 1905, the petition of “the representatives of the Transcaucasian Muslims” compiled by A.M. Topchubashov was submitted to the committee of ministers<sup>177</sup>. The petition was signed by the representatives of the guberniyas of Baku and Yelisavetpol – Sh.Asadullayev, R.Shirvansky, A. Aghayev, M.R.Vekilov, A.M.Topchubashov, A.Ziyadkhanov, N.B.Zulgadarov and others. The petition was simultaneously submitted to the vice-Roy of the Caucasus I.I.Vorontsov-Dashkov. But the documents do not confirm it. It becomes apparent from the letter attached to the petition that the news about the submission of the petition was conveyed to the vice-Roy by the Committee of Ministers<sup>178</sup>. In the June of 1905 the vice-Roy got a new petition which reflected briefly the provisions of the April petition. The petition asked the vice-Roy on behalf of the delegation of the parliamentarians of the Transcaucasian Muslims to support the petition of April submitted to the highest organ of power<sup>179</sup>.

The petition to the Committee of Ministers is remarkable with such a fact that it was the first programmatic document submitted to the organs of the Czarist government from Azerbaijan. This document later began to play the role of a platform for all kinds of letters and appeals to the higher administrative instances. In such cases the content of its clauses were extended concretely.

The petition reflected the restrictions for the Muslims in their social and economic life in the first place. According to the rule determined by the Czarist government the number of the Muslims in the self-administrative organs of towns could not exceed half of its members. The high posts in all civil and military organizations were unattainable for the Muslims. There was a restriction in the choice of professions for the Muslims with high and higher education, they were not employed by the educational institutions, the Muslim students did not get scholarships of the state, and a number of higher schools refused to admit them. In some places the Muslims were not allowed live independently, buy real property and be engaged in commerce. They were deprived of the guild rights enjoyed by the Russian aristocrats and merchants<sup>180</sup>.

The representatives of the Azerbaijani society demanded the liquidation of such restrictions, presentation of the Muslims in all the legislative and other institutions. They displayed their special interest in the occupation of civil posts and posts in the state organs without any restriction. The petition also demanded the participation of the representatives of the Muslim population of the Caucasus in “the Conference of the Representatives of the People”<sup>181</sup>.

The petition gave rather a good space to the application of the institution of zemstvo (elective district council) on complete self-administration principles in the Caucasus without the interference of the administrative organs of the state, to the necessity of the participation of the Muslims in zemstvo and in the self-administration of towns. The authors of the petition thought that as in all the internal guberniyas of Russia it was possible in the Caucasus “to materialize the idea of complete self-administration”, liquidate all the restricting laws, determine a normal organization of civil administration, ensure guarantees of law in the administration, immunity of the person and his house, freedom of conscience, word and press (in the native and Russian languages)<sup>182</sup>, freedom of assembly and alliance, to apply general, compulsory and free-of-charge primary education in the native language and others.

The document noted that the regulations of the court applied in the Caucasus in 1864 functioned without the application of such an important institution as the jury. In conditions, when the judges did not know the local languages and were unaware of the social life of the local people in the Caucasus, the participation of the representative elected by the people in the court trials in the form of the jury was very important. The developers of the petition also supported the application of elective reconciliatory institution of judges, too<sup>183</sup>.

The petition sufficed by including a clause which concerned the extension of factory legislation and application of all acts to the improvement of social conditions of the oil field Muslim workers, too<sup>184</sup>. The petition did not ignore the issues connected with the life conditions of the peasantry, purchase of the share lands of the peasants, application of taxation by taking into account the local conditions, cease of migration in the Caucasus, allocation of land to landless peasants and to those who possessed very small plots, necessity of supplying the local peasantry with summer and winter pastures, woods and places for fishing<sup>185</sup>. But the petition did not mention what lands had to be given to the peasants, the norms of land to be given to them and other issues. This uncertainly was later removed by the parliamentarians in the State Duma when the issue had to be made concrete. The petition advocated the formation of organizations of the khans and beys, and asked to speed the solution of the issue concerning the right of the aristocracy.

The April petition reflected the interests of all the layers of the Azerbaijani society, was democratic in nature and against the national oppression. Therefore, this document may be considered as the program of the national movement for the reconstruction of the society from the democratic point of view and national liberation. The petition had an exceptional importance in the development of the national consciousness of the Azerbaijani people and played a significant role in the consolidation of all the national forces closely.

## **2.2. The important moments of the political life**

In the spring and summer of 1905 the petition campaign continued in Azerbaijan.

The decree of the Czar issued on April 17, 1905, ignored all the requests and demands expressed in the petition, and as if “all the Muslims have no any other care than to develop their spiritual and material values for the sake of the welfare of their own and the dear motherland”<sup>186</sup>. The only concession of the monarchy to the Muslims was that it allowed them elect their ghazis, muftis and the local clergy, declared the right of studying their religion and the freedom of conviction. With this decree the Czarism once more demonstrated its attitude to “the non-Russian nations” and made all kinds of efforts keep them under its oppression and in ignorance. This decree caused an obvious feeling of regret, nevertheless, “the most reputable Muslims of Baku” asked Governor-General I.Y. Amilakhori to convey their telegrams to the Czar through the vice-Roy. In the telegrams they asked the Czar to be sure in their boundless devotion, respect and gratitude for the mercy ... to them expressed in the decree of April 17”<sup>187</sup>.

The representatives of the Azerbaijani entrepreneurs and intelligentsia expressed their gratitude to the Czar; nevertheless, they did not cease their petition campaign after the Czar’s decree on April 17. So that by the end of the April of 1905 the petition of the Muslims of the guberniya of Yelisavetpol was submitted to the Council of Ministers<sup>188</sup>. The petition reflected more briefly all the demands of “all the Muslims of the Caucasus expressed in the April petition, but the issues of religion were moved to the fore front. The decree of the Czar had its effect. In the petition on behalf of the Muslim population of the region of Zagatala to the vice-Roy there were clauses concerning the religion and the economic-administrative life of the region<sup>189</sup>.

In the autumn of 1905 “the appeal of the population of the districts of Salyan and Javad” developed and signed by Alibey Husein-zade was submitted to the office of the vice-Roy of the Caucasus. The petition included issues of local nature along with those expressed in the April petition<sup>190</sup>. In the September of 1905 the appeal of the representatives of the inhabitants of Nukha was submitted to the vice-Roy. The appeal asked to conduct “the promised” reforms and to organize education for “all the Caucasians”<sup>191</sup>.

The representatives of the Azerbaijani entrepreneurs made use of the arrival of the Czar’s senator A.M. Kuzminsky in Baku for the revision of Baku and the Baku guberniya in the early days of the April of 1905 for explaining their demands. The delegation which the Senator “received consisted” of the representatives of the highest layer of population of Baku, intelligentsia and the rich, 12 in number”<sup>192</sup>. The delegation received by the Senator in June expressed such a desire that “the same political, civil, religious rights should be given to the Muslims as to other nations living in the Empire”<sup>193</sup>.

The applicants cherished great hopes in Count I.I.Vorontsov-Dashkov, vice-Roy of the Caucasus. On June 10, 1905, a delegation came to Tiflis on behalf of the Caucasian Muslims and was received by him<sup>194</sup>. From social point of view they were the representatives of the highest layer of population.

In the appeal submitted to the vice-Roy for this preliminary acquaintance the delegation expressed “its complete assurance that the government would meet with sympathy the desire of the Caucasian Muslims to join the main population of the Empire, and thus, they would enjoy equal political, civil and religious rights with the local Russian people and they would enjoy the reforms conducted in Russia”<sup>195</sup>.

Vice-Roy I.I.Vorontsov-Dashkov got acquainted with the appeal and received the delegation in order to discuss with them each clause of the appeal separately. The delegation submitted to him a petition at the reception. The petition was developed by A.M.Topchubashov. It briefly reflected all the items of the April petition and also included a number of demands which expressed the interests of the beys (a higher, rich social layer of the population) <sup>196</sup>. A.M.Topchubashov explained all the clauses of the petition and the vice-Roy considered all the desires expressed in the petition to be completely fair. He promised to pay a special attention to opening schools in the local languages, to schools for women and religious schools for the Muslims. He also promised to assist the publication of newspapers, magazines and books in the mother language and agreed in principle that it was possible to liquate some repressive conditions of the censorship. The analysis of the answer of the vice-Roy shows that he saved his bacon by giving empty promises, he thought that the majority of issues had to be solved by adopting legislative acts, which in reality meant an unending beurocratic procrastination in various departments of the organs of power of the Czarism. The vice-Roy declared that the fulfillment of even least important desires of the socially higher layers of the Muslims depended on “the stability” in the region<sup>197</sup>, and with it he had in mind the revolutionary movement of the masses in the region. The policy of the highest representatives of the Czarist government proceeded from such an objective facing him that to give promises abundantly to local influential people in order to rely on them and strengthen the alliance with them by making small concessions.

In the July of 1905 the appeal of the Muslims of Baku was submitted to the vice-Roy<sup>198</sup>. The Azerbaijani entrepreneurs asked for the immediate liquidation of restrictions for the Muslims in the elections to the дума of Baku and for stopping the election to be held for the term of 1905-1909. In this way they were trying to extend their rights. Along with the said, “the most influential and intelligent persons of the Moslem society of Baku” defended the national interests, sent an appeal to the vice-Roy to approve the regulations of the Charitable Association of Muslims and the Association of the Enlightenment of the Muslim Population attached to the Caucasian vice-Royhood. A.M.Topchubashov was charged to do everything for conveying and explaining the appeal to the vice-Roy<sup>199</sup>.

In the early days of the August all the three appeals were submitted to the vice-Roy by A.M.Topchubashov. The newspapers in Baku informed that “the appeals have been duly put into operation and there is hope that they will be solved positively”<sup>200</sup>.

In the May of 1905 in the elections to the State Duma of Yelisavetpol 55 Muslims were elected to the дума as a result of the consistent activities of the local entrepreneurs<sup>201</sup>. But the returns of the election were not approved, because the number of Muslims there exceeded the norm determined by the current law. It enraged the people. The newspapers published articles criticizing the discrimination<sup>202</sup>. In the conferences held in Yelisavetpol and Hajikend A.M.Topchubashov spoke “about the satisfaction of the needs of Muslims”, they elected a delegation consisting of the parliamentarians A.M. Topchubashov, A.Ziyadkhanov, A.Khasmammadov<sup>203</sup> and others for defending the appeals concerning the conduction of new elections till the organization of the social administration of the town and for the approval of the returns of elections<sup>204</sup>. On August 4, the said delegation was received by N.A. Sultan-Krim-Girey, assistant of the vice-Roy on civil issues. He declared that soon the issue concerning the liquidation of the law, which restricted the participation of the Muslims in the administration of the town, would be considered. They also raised the issue of giving permission to the institution of the Charitable Association of the Muslims in Yelisavetpol like the Baku Association of the Muslims.

The vice-Roy promised to fulfill the demands of the Muslims not once, he also drew the attention to such a thing that he did not see any reason for the restriction of the rights of Muslims in participating in the administration of towns; nevertheless, it was an issue common to the whole Empire. He could change the said rule temporarily by using his right in conformity with the Note in Article 44. But he did not hurry to fulfill his promise. In the March of 1907 the appeal sent collectively to the court by “the most influential and reputable Muslims of Baku” drew the attention to this provision of Article 44. The appeal said that two years before the дума of the town had raised the said issue before the vice-Roy. But as the problem remained unsolved, they were obliged to appeal to him once more<sup>205</sup>. When the issue of

liquidation of these restrictions wholly were raised, or to be sufficed with the request to remove the restrictions eight days before the next election, there appeared differences in the discussions among the members of the town council<sup>206</sup>. A part of them thought the issue wholly had to be solved at the State Duma and advised to wait for the decision of the State Duma and then act. Others, including H.Z.Taghiyev and A.Aghayev, proposed to act without delay. A.Aghayev insisted: "Let us imagine that the duma did not solve the problem, then the Muslims will be obliged to bear the previous situation and reconcile with it. We must declare our protest against it now and trumpet that we already cannot tolerate the policy of a regime, which is breathing its last, and do not want to be exterminated completely. Finally we must wake up and comprehend our human rights"<sup>207</sup>. According to the decision adopted by the duma the court sent a telegram to the vice-Roy and drew his attention to such a thing: "At present after the declaration of the right of conscience by His Excellency each citizen of the Empire is free to choose any religion for worshipping and the legislative sanction on this issue is waiting its solution in the nearest future". Because of it, the duma decided to appeal to him for removing the restrictions in the elections to be held on March 15. The purpose of it was "to allow the population elect people to the councils of towns, whom they considered to be more useful, irrespective of their religion"<sup>208</sup>. But the appeal was ignored, not paid attention. The landowners of the district of Nakhchivan sent a letter to Petersburg through their representatives Abbasgulu khan and Jafargulu khan on December 1, 1910. It was also ignored and paid no heed. There was a clause in the letter which asked equal rights with the Russian landlords<sup>209</sup>. In the February of 1913 the delegation of the beys and landlords of the guberniya of Yelisavetpol was received by the vice-Roy of the Caucasus, they appealed that the caste rights of the Russian aristocrats should be referred to them, too<sup>210</sup>. The appeal was rejected, and the meeting of the beys of the guberniya of Yelisavetpol held on the May of 1914 decided to institute an association of mutual assistance consisting of the people of the highest caste of the guberniya for advancing education and culture till the approval of the caste rights<sup>211</sup>.

The consideration of appeals for the institution of charitable associations was also delayed on various pretexts. So that the draft regulations of the Baku Charitable Association submitted to the vice-Roy in the July of 1905 for consideration by A.M.Topchubashov was approved only in the October of the same year. The permission for the foundation of the Charitable Association discussions on the re-settlement of the population from the oil field territories of Balakhani, Sabunchu, Ramana and Zabrat. Speaking in the discussions on this issue A.M.Topchubashov, I.Hajiyev, M.Khanlarov, F.Rustambeyov defended the interests of the Azerbaijani peasants and protested against the proposals of the companies of oil industry<sup>222</sup>. The desire to defend the interests of the local entrepreneurs who were the users of these lands also exerted its impact. Though these lands were not supposed to bear oil, they were in the close neighbourhood of rich oil deposits, and these territories could be used in future for industrial purposes.

The representatives of the oil industrialists of Azerbaijan protested against the confiscation of 300 desyatinas of land from the local people of those villages under the pretext of building settlements for the workers<sup>223</sup>. This proposal came from big oil industry companies of foreign nations who worked on the Azerbaijani lands and were eager to possess these lands of the Azerbaijani peasants under various pretexts. It is clear that such an attempt did not serve the interests of the workers of Baku, because it was possible to find unused treasury lands and lands of entrepreneurs in Apsheron<sup>224</sup>. Such proposals expressed the desires aimed at the violation of the rights and infringement of the interests of the local population.

A.Aghayev, then A.M.Topchubashov spoke in connection with this issue, expressed their protests, mentioned the facts that the villagers were closely tied to the lands on which they lived, and also the damages they would suffer. At the heat of discussions A.Aghayev touched upon the actions of the local population during the inter-ethnic clashes in August. He blamed the oil industrialists in these clashes in some degree and declared that the millions of incomes obtained from the cheaply purchased lands "had caused a desire in the local non-cultural elements to get compensations for the lost, or substitution of the loss with something"<sup>225</sup>.

As a result of discussions none of the problems was solved. The protest of the representatives of the Azerbaijani society, who consistently defended the interests of the local population, played its objective role, the proposals concerning the re-settlement of the villages and confiscation of a considerable part of the shares of land, which openly bore the features of colonialism, were not accepted. The Czarist government was afraid of the rise of the national liberation movement which began to unite all the layers of the Azerbaijani society, and it exerted impact on the rejection of the proposals. A.M. Topchubashov was charged to represent the Muslim workers at the Conference. The Conference recognized his powers,

and in one of the sessions of the conference V.N.Kokovtsov declared that the Muslim workers had charged A.M.Topchubashov to defend their rights<sup>226</sup>.

A.M.Topchubashov compiled a letter, which comprised the demands of the Muslim workers, and submitted it to the conference. The letter contained political demands as well. V.N.Kokovtsov charged not to discuss these demands; therefore, they remained unknown and unpublished. One among the declared demands concerned the appointment of a Muslim to the post of the second assistant of the office manager of the Congress of the Oil Industrialists of Baku<sup>227</sup>. The demands of the Muslim workers, which reflected their social problems, were also not fulfilled. Among these demands there were the building of separate bath-houses for the Muslims, construction of mosques and organization of a separate cemetery for them and other demands<sup>228</sup>. Even this scanty program proposed by A.M.Topchubashov on behalf of the workers seemed to be very dangerous to the Czarist functionaries because of unknown reasons and “a very big program”, and none of its items was fulfilled.

The public figures of Azerbaijan all the time raised the issue of the necessity of publication of newspapers in the native language of the local population, reduction of censorship in their appeals, requests, petitions to the higher instances and sounded the same when they were received by the high and influential officials of the Czarist government. Newspapers in the languages of local population were necessary for the formation of the national consciousness, for the propagation of national objectives, for the illumination of the important political events currenting in the Russian Empire and the world, for raising the general political awareness of the population and others.

The year of 1905 may be fairly called the year of progress of the national political press. On April 22, 1905, the office of the vice-Roy informed the Chief Department on Press that A.M.Topchubashov had been given permission to publish a daily newspaper in the Tatar (Azerbaijani) language by name of “Hayat” (Life) by subjecting it to censorship<sup>229</sup>. A.Aghayev and A.Husein-zade were appointed editors-in-charge of the newspaper.

The newspaper “Kaspiy” informed that the best Muslim forces from the Caucasus, Kazan, the Crimea, Ufa and others skilled in writing “have been attracted to the newspaper”<sup>230</sup>.

On the occasion of the publication of the newspaper “Hayat” a prayer ceremony was held on June 6<sup>231</sup>. The ghazi of the guberniya chaired the ceremony in which the merchants and popular citizens of Baku took part<sup>232</sup>. The ghazi was charged to acquaint the participants with the objectives and importance of the newspaper. The participants expressed their gratitude to H.Z.Taghiyev, who financed the publication of the newspaper and highly appreciated his “devotion to the nation”<sup>233</sup>.

It was informed at the ceremony that the secretary of the guberniya

A.Atamalibeyov had been appointed the state censor of the newspaper “Hayat”. On the same day a telegram of gratitude signed by H.Z.Taghiyev, editors of the newspaper A.Aghayev and A.Husein-zade was sent to the vice-Roy. They desired him “good health and power for the welfare of the whole Caucasus”<sup>234</sup>.

The first number of the newspaper published on June 7 acquainted the readers with its objectives. The principles declared in this number later became principles for all the organs of press. The principles were explained like the following: “We are the subjects of Russia, but Muslims, we want to achieve progress in the economic and political conditions of the Russian state!”. Then it was said a little below: “We are Muslims and want the progress of all our brothers in religion, we welcome their progress cordially, irrespective in what corner of the world they live. We are Turks; therefore, we wish development, progress and happiness to all the Turks everywhere”<sup>235</sup>. These principles appeared in the newspaper “Hayat” first, but later the newspaper “Irshad” (The Right Road), “Fuyuzat” (Abundance), “Tereggi” (Progress), “Achig Soz” (Openly Said Word), “Seda” (Echo), “Istiglal” (Independence) and other newspapers and magazines, their editors and publishers remained devoted to these principles. The periodicals published articles and correspondences reflecting the positions of various socio-political trends, nevertheless, these principles were given priority.

The national press was subjected to censorship restrictions. The publishers protested against these restrictions and cherished great hopes in the freedom of word and press promised in the manifest of the Czar of October 17, 1905, and the draft laws in the State Duma: “We close our eyes and remain blind to the obstacles and barriers of the modern publishing work, but we live with the hope of a better future which is not too far, a future in which the representation of the people will remove the heavy oppression of the arbitrary punishment and repression because of thought and word, a future in which the appreciation of the work of the press for “the violation” of the law on press in some degree will become a case of the civil court which has now lost its face and become crashed”<sup>236</sup>.





In those years the Azerbaijani public was more interested in the development of the literary language. Alibey Husein-zade in his article published in the newspaper "Tereggi" under the title "Our language, our writings and our two years" expressed the desire to accept the Ottoman Turkish as the literary language. But Jalil Mammadgulu-zade, Mirza Alakbar Sabir, as well as Abbas Sahhat, Firudin bey Kocharli and Abdurrahim bey Hagverdiyev thought that the colloquial language of "the Azeri" people must form the basis of the written literary language<sup>237</sup>.

There were hot discussions around the slogans "to be Europeanized, Islamicized and Turkicized"<sup>238</sup>. These discussions reflected the process of the national revival in some degree. The majority of the representatives of the progressive, democratic intelligentsia patriotic in spirit were taking part in the liberation movement of Azerbaijan. Writers, teachers, publicists and men-of-art, including Abdulla Shaig, Suleiman Sani Akhundov, Nariman Narimanov and others were among them<sup>239</sup>.

The organs of press were very often closed for their work in "the harmful direction". The reporters were subjected to restrictions because of the provisions of various "rules and resolutions" besides of those of the censorship. Later, for instance, in 1905, a criminal case was instigated against Mahammad Amin Rasul-zade because of his "harmful activity to the public order and stability" in the newspaper "Yeni Iqbal" (New Fate). He was arrested in conformity with Article 23 (notes) of the Rules concerning the places where the state of war was declared, and detained in the prison of Baku<sup>240</sup>. The investigators of gendarmerie of Baku, who studied his biography, informed that "he is a man of great reputation among the local Muslims and occupies the post of the secretary of the Muslim Charitable Association" and "is known as a harmful person for the public order because of his detrimental activity". With the decision of the local authorities in the July of 1915 M.A.Rasul-zade was banned to live within the boundaries of the Caucasus "in the period not declared the state of war"<sup>241</sup>. His personal correspondence was also searched, but "nothing was found to stain him"<sup>242</sup>.

M.A.Rasul-zade analyzed the materials published in the national press in the beginning of XX century and pointed out their following features:

1. The issue of the new method. Lessons at school must be conducted by the sound method system (that is, one sound=one letter), the programs of madrasas (religious schools for the Muslims) must include the teaching of modern sciences.
2. Inauguration of national schools. Teaching of the mother language in the existing mullah schools instead of the Persian. Inauguration of new schools of modern type.
3. Demands for the permission to teach mother language in public schools.
4. Transmission of all the property of all the religious bodies and charitable institutions of Muslims at the disposal and subjection of the clergy and officials of the department of religion elected by the Muslim population.
5. Permission to the organization of charitable, enlightening and other associations to the Muslims as in other nations.
6. Campaign against the restrictions which are applied to the Muslims in the elections to local self-administration institutions and to the State Duma.
7. Application of all civil and property rights to Muslims, and assurance of equal political and civil rights for Muslims together with other nations<sup>243</sup>.

Thus, the attention of the publicists was focused on the issues raised for many times by socially higher layers of Azerbaijan.

One of the demands in the campaign of petition was the application of zemstvo in Azerbaijan.

The letter of the vice-Roy in the July of 1905 to Y.D.Malame, chief of the Department on Civil Issues, noted the expediency and possibility of the application of the statute of zemstvo in the Caucasus. At the sitting of the council of the vice-Roy in Tiflis he made a long speech and explained separately the main principles of the zemstvo reform, which was intended to be exercised in the region, and he noted the necessity of development of a special statute on the said reform<sup>244</sup>. He also promised to call a conference in Tiflis with the participation of the representatives of all the towns and castes.

The promised conference was held on July 16, 1905. It was participated by 59 persons – representatives of the Czarist administration in the Caucasus, landlords and entrepreneurs, editors of big newspapers and others<sup>245</sup>.

The majority of speakers at the conference proposed to acquaint the population of the region with the Statute of 1864 more widely. According to this Statute the sphere of application of the activity of zemstvo was restricted with purely economic issues. The Statute was translated into Azerbaijani by A. Aghayev and published with the support of H.Z.Taghiyev in the August of 1905<sup>246</sup>.

The Azerbaijani entrepreneurs met the news of the application of zemstvo with joy. They wanted to occupy the main position in the institution of zemstvo together with landowners in the solution of local problems and benefit from it. They also cherished hope in having independence in the self-administration of the region and in the solution of economic problems.

Expressing the desires of the Azerbaijani entrepreneurs, A.M. Topchubashov called "the 16th of July an eternally unforgettable day in the annals of the Caucasus", considered it "the beginning of reforms" and welcomed the possibility and expediency of the application of zemstvo in the Caucasus<sup>247</sup>. He appreciated the conference an indicator of the desire of the vice-Roy to attract all the forces of the region, to the solution of this issue, irrespective of their religion and nationality<sup>248</sup>.

Soon after the conference the vice-Roy instructed that the Statute of zemstvo should be published. The Statute of 1864 formed the basis of the renewed one. The lowest zemstvo unit was the field zemstvo administration for all castes without any distinction. Unlike Russia, it was proposed to found small unities in villages in the Transcaucasus not numerous in number. Then they had to become zemstvos. The members of zemstvo had to be elected in special meetings of definite spheres, but the bigger zemstvos had to be elected in the special meetings in which the payers of the bigger zemstvo duties took part. The number of the members of zemstvos of guberniyas had to consist of the equal number of landowners and other participants.

The highest zemstvo instance had to be the provincial zemstvo with the participation of two representatives from each guberniya<sup>249</sup>. The provincial zemstvo had equal rights with those of the zemstvos in the guberniyas of the Central Russia. According to the project, there had to be a strict control on zemstvos which had to be conducted by the Ministry of Internal Affairs, governors and police chiefs of districts. It proved once more the colonial policy of the Czarism. According to the instruction of the vice-Roy the guberniyas and district conferences had to be held till September, and the records of the conferences had to be submitted to the office of the vice-Roy till the 15th of September<sup>250</sup>.

Allocation of less time for holding the conferences worried the representatives of the Azerbaijani entrepreneurs. They thought that the allocated time was not sufficient for grouping the forces and holding the elections on a due level<sup>251</sup>.

Nevertheless, they called the people to take an active part in the conferences. A.M. Topchubashov appealed with such challenges to the people in Yelisavetpol and Hajikend, and explained to them the necessity of application of zemstvo in the Transcaucasus. The prominent public figures of Azerbaijan in the beginning of XX century A.Ziyadkhanov, A.Rafibeyov, A.Khasmammadov, J.Khoisky took the obligation for the organization of the conferences connected with the application of zemstvo in the guberniya of Yelisavetpol<sup>252</sup>.

On August 17, 1905, the first conference on the application of zemstvo in the guberniya of Baku was held. It was participated by P.A. Lileyev, acting governor of Baku, active civil advisor (who also chaired the conference), K.Safaraliyev, acting police chief of the town, A.Atamalibeyov, secretary of the guberniyas office, and others<sup>253</sup>. The conference decided to hold the district conferences on August 28, and it was also decided to hold the gubernian conference of Baku from August 9 till August 13.

As it had been decided, at the end of August the conferences were held in the districts of Guba, Javad, Goranboy, Lankaran, Shamakhi of the guberniya of Baku. The representatives elected in those conferences to the conferences of guberniya and to the Council of the vice-Roy were landowners<sup>254</sup>. But in connection with the events in August the conference of the Baku guberniya was postponed. On August 19, at the special session of the members of the town council it was decided to elect the representatives to the guberniya conference (according to the instruction of the vice-Roy ten representatives could represent Baku in the guberniya conference) <sup>255</sup>. They had to be approved at the session of the дума of Baku on August 22. But as it was mentioned above, the events of August obstructed the session of the дума. Therefore, only in the district conference held on October 21<sup>256</sup> the interests of the Azerbaijani entrepreneurs were represented by K.Safaraliyev and M.H.Hajinsky who also chaired the conference<sup>257</sup>. The conference was also attended by the representatives of the owners of big and medium enterprises, landlords, industrial and commercial enterprises, owners of ships, ship companies and others<sup>258</sup>.

The conference appreciated the application of zemstvo as "an act of confidence of the government to the population" and expressed the gratitude of the participants to the vice-Roy. The conference protested against the division of landowners to big and small landowners, and the right of vote was granted to the owners of commercial and industrial enterprises whose annual turnover of commodity was over 6000 roubles. For the residents of the town property qualification was determined at least in the sum of 1000 roubles<sup>259</sup>. Therefore, only the representatives of the rich layers of population could be elected to zemstvos.

It is not surprising that the majority of the persons elected to the conference of guberniya were the representatives of higher layers from social point of view. Among them were I.Hajinsky, M.H.Hajinsky, R.Salimkhanov (he was elected to the Council of the vice-Roy, too), N.Narimanov, E.Mammadov and others<sup>260</sup>.

On September 27, the guberniya conference was held in Baku. It was attended by 33 representatives. With just a few exceptions they all were the representatives of the entrepreneurs<sup>261</sup>. M.H.Hajinsky, who chaired at the conference, declared that "all the population enjoyed the right to participate in the administration personally, along with it they also got the opportunity to work independently and develop his own initiative"<sup>262</sup>. Whether it is true or not, can be proved by such a fact that there was an education qualification in the conference, only persons with high education could be elected to the councils<sup>263</sup>.

The guberniya conference completed such a desire of the district conferences that a special council be elected out of the persons elected at the guberniya and district conferences for the solution of all the affairs of zemstvo in the Caucasus and it was attached to the office of the vice-Roy<sup>264</sup>. Thus, the desire of taking an active part in the discussion of the problems of the country and in their solution was expressed.

The guberniya conference elected M.H.Hajinsky, member of the Baku court, a representative to the Council of the vice-Roy<sup>265</sup>. Later this "representation", which was very limited, was increased after the special appeal of the Baku Duma. I.Hajiyev and A.Safarov also became the representatives of that Council; both of them were members of the Baku Duma<sup>266</sup>.

As the movement of peasants was growing in the guberniya of Yelisavetpol, it became impossible to hold the guberniya elections, and it violated the conduction of the guberniya conference<sup>267</sup>.

At the end of August of 1905 a conference was held in the district of Zagatala for the application of zemstvo<sup>268</sup>. The conference was participated by the owners of industrial and commercial enterprises, representatives of the town, villages and others. They expressed the desire of application of zemstvo in the district. The highest organ of zemstvo was the assembly of the Caucasian Zemstvo. The Caucasian zemstvo assembly had to unite the district and guberniya conferences, be engaged in the issues common for the region, such as the construction of roads, bridges, inauguration of higher schools, organization of medical service and supervision on it<sup>269</sup>.

The zemstvo campaign of 1905 did not produce notable yields. Taking the opportunity, the vice-Roy wrote an appeal to the governors in the Transcaucasia in 1909: "... as early as 1905, when I began to rule the region, I instructed the conduction of district and guberniya conferences connected with the application of zemstvo reforms and discussion of the related issues with the participation of the representatives elected by the population. But because of special circumstances of the time in some districts it became impossible to hold the conferences, and the conferences, which were held, could not propose necessary materials for the solution of the practical issues of zemstvo. These reasons ... did not give chance to materialize the intended changes"<sup>270</sup>.

The newspaper "Kaspiy" summarized the conferences as a preparatory stage for the application of zemstvo and explained "the failure of the zemstvo campaign with the common circumstances of the Russian life". At the same time, it made efforts to convince some people that zemstvo was a big step forward in the Transcaucasus, though it fulfilled only a part of the programmatic objectives of agrarian-economic nature<sup>271</sup>. This position of "Kaspiy", which demonstrated the moods of those years, undoubtedly, is noteworthy, because, the socially higher layers of the Azerbaijani society appreciated the application of zemstvo as the first stage towards the self-administration of the region, liquidation of political and national discrimination.

Zemstvo campaign was held in Azerbaijan in 1909. On November 12-15 the conference of the Baku guberniya was held, it was devoted to the application of zemstvo in Baku and the Baku guberniya. The conference was participated by 35 persons<sup>272</sup>. To make preparations for the conference, to develop the issues for the discussion a commission was elected. It was headed by A.M.Topchubashov. He reported to the conference about the work performed by the commission. The commission thought that it was necessary to add the following clauses to the Statute of Zemstvo of 1890: a) management of the local water sources; b) organization of legal service for the population; c) the right of election of conciliatory judges; d) management of school and education beyond school. The commission focused the attention on the necessity of principle of electiveness in the conciliatory institutions, it meant that all the judges did not know the languages of the local population, used the services of interpreters whose wrong interpretations very often led to wrong sentences, and this broke the confidence of the population to the fair court trial<sup>273</sup>. The majority of the clauses were adopted unanimously.

Such an idea of the chairman sounded in the conference caused a hot discussion and exchange of views: to discuss the possibility of the institution of a regional zemstvo instead of zemstvos of guberniyas common for all the guberniyas and provinces, that is, for the Transcaucasia and functioning in the entire Empire. A.M.Topchubashov declared to the participants of the conference that there had been differences in this issue in the commission: a part of the members of the commission thought that some provinces were very underdeveloped because of their cultural level and they needed a common zemstvo for all the provinces as a leading organ. Others protested against it and thought that there was no need for such a central organ. A.M.Topchubashov himself supported the idea of an extensive zemstvo and substantiated his position like this: "The interests of our region is very diverse, nevertheless, we must not forget our common needs which are not encountered in the guberniyas of Moscow and Ryazan. We are on the eve reforms, and from legal point of view we form a unit. It would have been better, for instance, if the questions connected with zemstvo had been raised not by the zemstvos of guberniyas separately, but by the central zemstvo organ. This organ will be the regulator not only of the economic life, but also that of the socio-political life. The institution of the regional zemstvo would have allowed Mr.vice-Roy conduct reforms in the region and give proofs conforming his ideas through the representatives of the region"<sup>274</sup>. A.M.Topchubashov supported the idea of control over the activities of zemstvos by the government: but only their activities and the legality of the decision adopted by them were subject to control<sup>275</sup>.

The conference also discussed the minimum limits of qualifications, curia, education qualifications which could allow people take part in the elections. A.M.Topchubashov raised the issue of expediency of attraction of the intelligentsia on behalf of the commission. His proposal met the protest of the participants, because in the curia system not any place was assigned for the intelligentsia. A.M.Topchubashov and M.H.Hajinsky demanded insistently to give place to educated people, and for this purpose to make changes even in the curia system and have special curia for the intelligentsia. All the office work and correspondences had to be conducted in Russian. Just because of it the participation of the educated people in zemstvos were particularly necessary. Besides, M.H.Hajinsky supposed that the right of election had to be given to those people who lived in the territory of zemstvo not less than three years<sup>276</sup>. The conference adopted a decision unanimously on the application of four curias – peasantry, townfolk, landowners and owners of commercial-industrial enterprises, the number of persons to be elected to zemstvo from each curia had to be proportional to the taxes paid by them<sup>277</sup>. Besides, A.M.Topchubashov proposed to reduce the tax qualification maximally, because high taxes did not allow many people to take part in the elections – "wide election rights are better than their restriction"<sup>278</sup>. To determine the said qualifications an auxiliary commission of ten persons was formed. A.M.Topchubashov, M.T.Aliyev, Sh. Shikhalibeyov and others were in the said commission<sup>279</sup>.

A rather long discussion was devoted to ensuring the rights of minorities. A.M.Topchubashov informed that the first commission had expressed its negative attitude unanimously not only to ensuring the minority right to the Russian population, but also to other nations. The guberniya of Baku was populated mainly by the representatives of three nations: - Russians - about 7 per cent, Armenians – about 5 per cent, the majority was the local population<sup>280</sup>. M.T.Aliyev, who represented the town of Shamakhi, acquainted the participants with the national composition of the population: about 20.000 Muslims, about 800 Armenians and less than 200 Russians. The representatives of Russians were always elected to the дума of the town by the Muslims, M.T.Aliyev said: "What concerns the Russians, and to speak of ensuring the rights of the Russians, who form the minority in some places, is an offence to them. They are being protected without mentioning it"<sup>281</sup>. M.R.Vekilov, Sh.Shikhalibeyov, N.V.Raevsky, M.Y.Kerimov and others protested against the privileges to be given to the minorities and thought that such an attitude may sow the seeds of hostility. K.I.Khatsov protested against them and said: "When the Muslims demanded the assurance of their rights at the council of the congress and at the council attached to the chief of the town because of being in minority, it seemed to be completely natural, but when we talk about the assurance of the rights of Armenians, who form a minority, it is protested"<sup>282</sup>. A.M.Topchubashov conveyed the negative attitude of the commission to this issue to the participants of the conference and declared: "We shall not have a zemstvo which will serve the assurance of common interests and needs, but a hotbed of ceaseless discussions and intrigues. And we can expect nothing of it neither for zemstvo, not for the future prosperity of the region, in general... This principle ensures the rights of a minority united on some socio-economic and political principles and it is a fair regulator of relations in the correctly built coexistence of peoples... Assurance of rights like this in conditions of the Russian reality will lead only to the assurance of the rights of the national minorities. I think that to advance this slogan now in the Caucasus means that we are against zemstvo... But what is the situation in reality? If the population of a district or region wants to unite in one zemstvo in order to satisfy their local

economic needs by their common efforts more expediently and much better, then to what degree is it right to give this minority special privileges for being presented in zemstvo?"<sup>283</sup>.

Eleven persons voted for ensuring the interests of the minorities in zemstvo, 22 persons – against it and 2 persons abstained from voting<sup>284</sup>. The issue of the application of zemstvo in Azerbaijan was discussed very comprehensively; nevertheless, this conference like the previous and next ones did not produce any positive result. The demands for the application of zemstvo remained as one of the urgent needs of the society in Azerbaijan. Whenever there emerged a favourable opportunity, the attention of the Czarist government was drawn to it. In 1916 the issue of conduction of zemstvo conferences was again raised before the government. The local organs of the government gave their consent to it as in the previous years (1905, 1909), but they hoped to turn the common dissatisfaction of the population for diverting the attention from the main problems of Russia. The majority of the participants of conferences supported the application of the Statute of zemstvo of 1890 in the Caucasus<sup>285</sup>; the State Duma also defended the pretext that the state of war was not favourable for the conduction of reforms. Thus, despite all the efforts, the institution of zemstvo was not applied in Azerbaijan.

The press cherished great hopes in the institution of the State Duma. The editorial of the newspaper "Kaspiy" of August 5, 1905, appreciated the project proposed by Bulygin as "a historical act". The newspaper thought that the declaration of the project and its discussion "will remove all the suspicions and only contribute to the cause of renewal of our state system"<sup>286</sup>. The newspaper noted with a sense of satisfaction that the copy of Bulygin's project had been sent to the vice-Roy for review. The newspaper hoped that the vice-Roy of the Caucasus would draw "the local forces" to the discussion of the project.

On August 6, the telegraph disseminated news about the institution of the State Duma and acquainted the population with the Regulations of the Elections to the State Duma. In both of them the representation of the people was conspicuously falsified. The role of the State Duma was restricted with the development and discussion of the legislative acts, consideration of the expenses and incomes of the state<sup>287</sup>. The monarchy remained firm and unshakable. The Czar declared that "he took the obligation of improving the new institution completely".

By convening the Duma, the Czar government cherished the hope in strengthening the dreams of constitution among the population. The liberal entrepreneurs were not pleased with Bulygin's State Duma, nevertheless, they decided to take part in the State Duma. The entrepreneurs of Azerbaijan supported the idea more enthusiastically and hurried to welcome the news about the institution of the State Duma. The publicists expressed their joys like this: "The first steps in the sphere of radical changes", "great internal reforms have begun", "the old state system is gradually remaining in the history and the Russian society is on the eve of a bright, free life, strict rule and order, satisfactory labour and extensive control". They were justifying "the instruction on not allowing the outsiders take part in the sessions of the State Duma" and trying to explain it not as "the violation of transparency", but "as the demands and situation of the time"<sup>288</sup>.

It was clearly expressed in the regulations of elections to the State Duma that the ethnicities of the outskirts might elect their representatives to the State Duma in conformity with special rules to be developed later and "persons without the knowledge of the Russian language could not be elected to the State Duma"<sup>289</sup>. Nevertheless, the Azerbaijani ideologists were declaring that "it was not yet time to appreciate each clause of the Regulations separately"<sup>290</sup>. Along with it, the national entrepreneurs were cherishing hopes to be represented in the State Duma and were aspiring to get "the respective seats"<sup>291</sup>. In the process of discussions of the project the issues of the freedom of word and press, liquidation of censorship were raised repeatedly<sup>292</sup>.

The Azerbaijani entrepreneurs and their ideologists expressed their demands, hopes and needs in 1905 wholly, later they used every chance to raise these questions. So that at the congress convened by the vice-Roy in connection with the aggravation of inter-ethnic relations in 1906 probably each member of the Azerbaijani delegation mentioned in his speech the April Petition or at least a clause of it. It is necessary to note that in their speeches they concretized their demands and determined the ways of their implementation into life.

The Azerbaijani delegation at the congress was multi-national, the differences and contradictions among the groups of entrepreneurs representing various nations told of them conspicuously. The economic competition between the Azerbaijani and Armenian entrepreneurs was very often finding its expression in the socio-political life. The work of the congress was a bright example of it. Nevertheless, everybody cherished great hopes in the congress. The prominent public figures, which represented all the administrative centres of the region, were included into the delegation. The organs of press published different views on the perspectives of the congress and reflected the wide palette of the existing moods

and views in their pages. Uzeir Hajibeyov in his article published in the newspaper “Irshad” gave advice to the organizers of the congress, expressed such a belief that all the parties would do their best to reconcile the parties and cherished hope in the errands to be proposed by the congress<sup>293</sup>. The newspaper in the article titled “It is necessary to be careful” gave the analysis of the issue of presentation in the congress and expressed such a desire that it would have been better, if the representatives of places, where there were clashes and where people lived “like brothers”, had been invited to the congress. “Just these representatives will open your eyes, and only then you will see that there is no hostility between us”<sup>294</sup>.

The congress was held on February 20, 1906, in the big hall in the office of the vice-Royhood in Tiflis. The participants consisted of very reliable persons. It was participated by all the members of the Council of vice-Roy, governors, representatives of the Azerbaijanis and Armenians, and the clergy. The geography of the representation was very large, but its social composition was homogeneous, they consisted only of the representatives of the socially higher layers of population. The Azerbaijani delegation consisted of Barrister Mammad bey Shahmaliyev, Husein bey Yadigarov, Sherif Mirzayev, ghazi Movla-zade; from Erevan (Yerevan) – Aghakhan Erevansky, Abbasgulu bey Hajibeyov; from Nakhchivan – Eynalibey Sultanov, Mammadaga Shahtakhtinsky; from the guberniya of Yelisavetpol – Alekper bey Khasmammadov, Adilkhan Ziyadkhanov; from Zangazur – Jalil bey Sultanov; from the district of Shusha – Jahangir khan Nurubeyov, Galabey Isabeyov, Ismail Guliyev; from the district of Nukha – Haji Jalil; from the district of Gazakh – Ibrahim aga Vekilov; from the district of Aras – Sultan bey Sultanov; from the district of Akhalkalaki – Mammadaga Palavandov; from the district of Borchali – Rahim bey Akhundov, Abdurrahman Hagverdioghlu; from Baku – Ahmed bey Hajiyev, Alimardan bey Topchubashov, Gara bey Garabeyov, Kerbelayi Israfil Hajiyev, the representatives of the newspapers of “Tiflissky listok” (Tiflis news), “Kafkaz”, “Novoye Obozreniye” (New Review), “Mshak”, “Arach”, “Kaspiy” and “Ishad”<sup>295</sup>. The Armenians were represented by their representatives from Tiflis, Baku, Erevan, Shusha, Yelisavetpol, Kars, Gazakh, Boutumi, Alexandropol, and Nukha. High Czar officials General Malame, General Sultan-Krim-Girey, all the members of the vice-Roy’s Council, governors and the clergy took part in the congress. A.M.Topchubashov was elected chairman of the editorial commission of the congress.

Vice-Roy Count I.I.Vorontsov-Dashkov in his introductory speech noted that all his efforts within a year aimed at the prevention of “the senseless Armenian-Muslim clashes” had led “only to the localization of the misfortune and its subsidence”. “Now we have assembled to discuss the administrative measures which can produce effective results”. He came to such a conclusion: “The thing is not now who is guilty in these clashes, the thing is what means are the most effective for putting an end to this misfortune which destroyed the welfare of the country. This misfortune is only in favour of the robbers, outlaws and revolutionary organizations”<sup>296</sup>.

The Azerbaijani representatives of the congress were interested in the disclosure of the reasons of the wistful events taking place repeatedly in the inter-ethnic relations. A.Aghayev proposed to clarify the following issues: social condition of the Armenians and Muslims in the region, differences in their daily and social lives; common currents in the socio-political life in Russia in the recent years; the attitude of the Armenians and Muslims to these currents; the Armenian organizations. A.M.Topchubashov declared his discontent, because the congress did not have a definite program, and he tried to direct the discussions concerning the reasons of the Armenian-Muslim clashes. He said: “To find out the reasons of these clashes means to write the history since the annexation of the Caucasus by Russia. Here we have neither time, nor means to do it... Senator Kuzminsky relates these reasons to the existing national differences, economic and revolutionary situation. The reasons of the events can be discussed within these frames”<sup>297</sup>. When the reasons of the conflict were discussed, there emerged serious differences in the congress: the Armenians saw them in the inactiveness of the organs of power, the Azerbaijanis – in the armed Armenian organizations.

A.M.Topchubashov characterized the policy of the Empire about “the alien peoples”, which the government denounced as “the policy of the past regime” and wrote:” The molto of this policy was the old and time-tested principle of the Roman Empire “divide et impera” (divide and rule), that is, to urge one nation attack the other, to protect one nation, persecute the other, then change the front... Can there be an immoral policy than this?!... We witness now its results, the most wistful results, you are witnessing them now, particularly in the remote corners of the Empire. Estrangement of one nation from the other, disbelief of one nation in the other are the most grieving and the immediate results, and you witness it...”<sup>298</sup>.

The congress decided that each side (Armenian and Muslims) should have conferences separately, develop programs as a result of these conferences, then these programs be discussed jointly.

Vice-Roy I.I.Vorontsov-Dashkov charged General Malame to take part in those conferences and then report to him comprehensively about all the proposed considerations. On February 23, 1906, the programs were submitted to General Malame. The program developed by the Azerbaijani side was declared by A.Aghayev. He noted that when the program was compiled, the goal was “to have a lasting peace and fulfill the conditions of the peace as soon as possible”<sup>299</sup>.

The analysis of the clauses of the program shows that its compilers included into it proposals which could lead to peace and in the region, as well as the demands of democratic nature. In the discussions of the program Adil khan Ziyadkhanov noted that “when the representatives developed the program, they have not tried to reflect in it their political ideals, but included into it only those clauses, as we firmly believe, which can lead to peace in the region which is troubled and excited. To achieve a long-lasting and unshakable peace, it is necessary to use all the means, only then one may speak of the Czar’s manifest of October 17 and the liberties expressed there. As far as these bloody events are hanging over our heads like the sword of Damocles, it is not worth of speaking of any freedom, but the Muslims need the freedom as air and water”<sup>300</sup>.

The program of the Azerbaijani representatives began with the clarification of the reasons which had led to the inter-ethnic clashes. It demanded the necessity of disarmament of the conflicting parties. It could be done only after restoration of the peace in the region. The issue of the summer pastures was also raised there. The followings were proposed to ensure the security of the life and property of nomads, organization of a special commission consisting of the representatives of both nations under the guide of local authorities; organization of a commission consisting of the representatives of both nations chaired by a person of a neutral nation. The decisions of this commission had to be executed by the organs of state. Then the delegation demanded “to prevent the attacks against the functionaries and public figures, to obstacle the crimes on national grounds”, to take military and administrative measures – court decisions, administrative exiles and others only with the consent of such mixed commissions.

Additions were also made to the program on the same day. The Azerbaijani delegation decided to make use of the chance and included their demands into the program. These demands concerned the application of a general compulsory, free-of-charge primary education, equal rights for all the layers of population and others. There were also demands which ensured the performance of duties by the functionaries without any prevention. The delegation also proposed to create living conditions for the people compelled to leave their residences<sup>301</sup>.

The Azerbaijani representatives accused the Dashnaksutyn Party and the armed detachments of the Armenians of instigating inter-ethnic clashes and demanded their dismissal and liquidation. A.Ziyadkhanov said in his speech: “If the Dashnaksutyn Party does not dismiss its armed formations in the Caucasus, then the Muslims will also be obliged to form their own armed detachments gradually, then bloody clashes will be inescapable, and the flourishing Caucasus will swim in the pool of blood”<sup>302</sup>.

A.M.Topchubashov related all the discussed issues to the reasons of the clashes, creation of living conditions for the people compelled to live their houses and other issue to the general program of education organically. He demonstrated a complete solidarity with A.Aghayev. The latter sounded such a view that one could not find an educated, literate man among ten thousand of men and he considered that only by educating the population all such events could be put an end. For this purpose he proposed “to institute a special type of taxes which each Muslim in the Caucasus would be ready to pay”. A.M.Topchubashov noted the importance of propagation of general, compulsory, free-of-charge primary education in the region and explained: “All the political parties and political groups of Russia, irrespective of their inclinations, include education into their programs in the first rank of their demands, they think that education is the sign of prosperity in the country”<sup>303</sup>.

A.M.Topchubashov, who was very much skilled and experienced in the expression of demands, in compiling a good number of documents and petitions, announced this necessity and tried to give practical recommendations in the conference for their implementation into life. Among the demands was the application of general, free-of-charge compulsory education, conduction of education in the mother language in primary schools. “This principle has already been declared as the main principle by the vice-Roy Count I.I.Vorontsov-Dashkov and it meets the main demand of effective pedagogics”<sup>304</sup>. Resuming his speech A.M.Topchubashov said that the Muslim children were unable to enjoy the right of education in the mother language given to them, because they did not have a certain “institute for training teachers for them”. In the Tatar department of the Transcaucasian Teacher’s Seminary a policy of hegemony and police regime are reigning as in all holy education<sup>305</sup>. This department did not satisfy the interests of Muslims. A.M. Topchubashov proposed to move the Tatar department of Gori Seminary to one of the towns of Azerbaijan and to transform it to a teacher training institute, as well as to found a Muslim



Seminary<sup>306</sup>. He also raised such an issue that the views of Muslims had to be taken into account when the issues of vital importance for them were discussed, to ensure the rights of Muslims to take part not only in the economic life of schools, but also in the training process.

As it is known, N.Narimanov in his article published in the newspaper "Hayat" on June 18, 1906, raised the issue of moving the seminary of Gori to a central town populated by the Muslim population. He substantiated his idea with such an argument that it is necessary to change the training programs in the seminary. The seminary has to train teachers who know their mother language, literature, religion in order to enable them to teach the children in conformity with the demands of the time, to train educated children for the nation, for the motherland with healthy and pure morals. He proposed to increase the number of students in teacher training schools from 10 to 40. The problem can be solved by instituting two-three seminaries in the central towns of Azerbaijan populated mostly by the Muslims besides the seminary of Gori. No more than 60 pupils are admitted to the seminary in Gori, and we repeat that they are not permanently living Muslims there. If there is not any Muslim population permanently living there, then others will not come to Gori for education"<sup>307</sup>.

There were also discussions at the congress on general education, on the types of schools. G. Garabeyov expressed his anxiety that the scattered residents of the population in the region would make it difficult for the population to get general education. The governor of Tiflis Baron Rausch fon-Trauttenberg welcomed the application of the general education and its immediate materialization, and advised to use the experience of the Swiss and Finnish schools and organization of travelling schools. A.M. Topchubashov thought that it would have been possible if the society had been sufficiently independent and if the police rules at schools had been removed"<sup>308</sup>. I.Vekilov proposed one of the types of schools – to open common schools for the pupils of different nations in localities populated by various nationalities; religion had to be taught by the Muslim and Christian priests, but the languages had to be taught jointly, together. G.Garabeyov also proposed an alternative for grouping the pupils.

General Malame summarized the discussion of the clause of the education programs like this: "It is necessary to apply the general primary education in the region, and for this purpose the people is ready to pay necessary finances to the treasury as an assistance; it is necessary to move the teacher training schools to the Muslim centres, to open a theological seminary in the Muslim centre, not to obstacle the grouping of pupils, to merge the religious Shiite and Sunnite schools in Tiflis"<sup>309</sup>. Undoubtedly, his proposals were conspicuously very important, but they were never materialized.

The program of the Azerbaijani delegation also included a clause concerning the rights for the Muslims equal to those of other nations in the Caucasus. Most of all it concerned the liquidation of Article 44 of the Statute of the Towns. According to that Article the number of Muslims in the town council could not exceed half of its members. A.M.Topchubashov informed that in the elections to the council of the town in Yelisavetpol the said restriction had been removed on the initiative of the vice-Roy, nevertheless, Article 44 remained still valid. The restrictions remained in the elections to the Stock Exchange Committee of Baku and to the Court of Arbitration, too. A.M.Topchubashov noted that in such circumstances the reason of indifference of Muslims was completely clear.

Speaking about the necessity of removing the religious restrictions, A. Aghayev warned the participants of the congress that he had taught at secondary school for 11 years, but he had not been approved and appointed to that post because of his being a Muslim. He thought that inter-ethnic conflicts might be removed by granting equal rights to all the nations<sup>310</sup>. A. Ziyadkhanov said: "The Muslims can be jurors only after the approval of the minister of justice"<sup>311</sup>.

The program of the Azerbaijani delegation also raised the institution of a special conference by attaching it to the vice-Roy till the restoration of peace and tranquility in the region. A.M.Topchubashov explained the issue on behalf of his delegation that "it is very difficult and complicated to rule such a region populated by different and variegated nations. One of the reasons of underdevelopment of the region is this. The most prominent representatives of the Caucasus understand it". Continuing his speech he said: "If you even are very eager, yet you cannot duly understand the local peculiarities. And to fulfill the functions of an administrator one must be aware of such peculiarities, only local people are able to understand these peculiarities. The special conference proposed by us attached to the vice-Roy must consist just of this kind of people and represent the whole population. The Muslims propose this conference as a correction to the existing government structures in the region". A.M.Topchubashov expressed the hope that "the proposed conference may be attached to the vice-Roy, an organ with permanent members and may acquire the function of the Transcaucasian seim and be significant as the seim"<sup>312</sup>. He said: "For the sake of freedom for which we are longing very much, we must help the

assurance of stability and peace in the region, despite the practical difficulties of the proposed measures, we must do it”<sup>313</sup>.

The issue of the fair trial, which is the cornerstone of a legal state, of peace and stability in the country, was again raised at the conference.

A.M.Topchubashov cherished great hopes in the State Duma which had to begin its work with the reconsideration of the judicial legislation. The Court Regulations of 1864 were applied in the Caucasus in the shortened form, the principle of elective conciliatory judges and jurors was ignored and the organization of the preliminary investigation was abnormal. There were not professional investigators in the region, preliminary investigation was at the disposal of the candidates to the post of the conciliatory judges and assistants of the judges. A.M.Topchubashov declared that he wanted to see in the Caucasus “not the surrogate of the court investigators, but real court investigators, real judges independent and able to conduct important investigating functions”. According to him it was necessary to take into account that nine-tenth of investigators who conducted the preliminary investigation, or even more, did not know the languages of the local peoples, their morals, daily life and other peculiarities”. He wanted as a necessity to apply the court institution as the court police<sup>314</sup>.

A.Ziyadkhanov focused attention on three principles of the court regulations approved by Czar Alexander: immediate, real and merciful trial. He confessed that after the judicial reforms in Azerbaijan the judges “have become merciful and pro-truth” by name to a certain degree. But the judges are very slow. For instance, “the case of the landlord Shahmaliyev has been going on at least for 100 years”<sup>315</sup>, respectable and influential persons were not invited to court trials. There was not a single Muslim in the judicial organs of Yelisavetpol.

The resolution of the Azerbaijani delegation was announced in the Congress. The proposal of the delegation entirely consisted of the followings: 1) application of general, compulsory, free-of-charge education in primary schools, to give an opportunity to the population to form big groups in order to found new schools and maintain them; to open mixed schools in localities populated by the representatives of various nations; to allow organize travelling schools where it is possible; to grant legal rights to schools in the sphere of education and economic life, to found teacher and clergy training schools; 2) ensuring rights to the Muslims equal to those of other nations by legislation, reduction of the determined age for taking part in the public self-administration organs; 3) application of the elective principle for the jury and conciliatory judges, application of the institution of the experienced investigators, court police, elective jurors, strengthening the composition of investigators, selection of reliable interpreters by taking into account the education qualification, participation of attorneys at law in the process of preliminary investigation, etc. The participants of the congress cherished great hopes in the materialization of these measures, and in order to render a kind of assistance to him they proposed to institute a special conference elected by the population which had to be attached to the vice-Roy. A.M. Topchubashov believed that in the time when a strong voice from the peak of “the throne and crown” called the representatives of the Russian people to take part in the affairs of the state (the State Duma is meant), the voice of the population of the Caucasus would also be heard<sup>316</sup>, he hurried to make others believe it, too.

A special commission was elected for being engaged in the issues of the nomads, for ensuring their security while moving to the summer pastures and back. The commission was headed by Count V.F.Tizenhauzen, governor-general of Erevan. The commission also included governor-general of Tiflis Baron R.A.Rausch fon - Trautenberg, governor-general of Yelisavetpol A.A.Kalachov, chief veterinary of the Caucasus P.A. Zolotaryev. Azerbaijan was represented by A.M.Topchubashov, I.Vekilov, J.Sultanov, M.Eminov, and Sh.Mirzayev. The concrete proposals of the commission concerning the assurance of security of the farm workers in the fields and nomads were positively met by the representatives. Besides the said, the representatives thought that it was necessary to found a special organ (conference) under the office of the vice-Roy out of experienced persons in order to develop measures and help the nomads pass to the settled mode life. They also considered it to be necessary to render financial and other identical aids to the families suffered from the ethnic conflicts<sup>317</sup>. The reporter of the newspaper “Irshad” informed in connection with it that the Muslims proposed that the government should ensure the security of the nomads and their property, and the congress adopted a decision on it<sup>318</sup>.

The vice-Roy made a speech at the last session of the Congress. He noted that “the inter-ethnic conflicts were either instigated by the illegal armed organizations, or by the gangs of robbers headed very often by influential persons”. He said: “His Excellence the Emperor would have liked to put an end to the Armenian-Muslim clashes, and it must be put an end”<sup>319</sup>. The Vice-Roy declared his consent with the clauses of the proposals concerning the institution of conciliatory commissions, special conferences,

compensation of the suffered damages, assurance of the security of population, even a fair trial for everyone on the principles recommended by the congress. He noted that “the measures aimed at education and granting equal rights to the Muslims with other nations of the Empire considered by the congress have already being developed by the central government and one can suppose that they will be solved in the sense desired by the congress”. He also assured the participants of the congress that “he will do everything depending on him for the education of the population and for raising the school work to a due level”<sup>320</sup>. The vice-Roy also promised that he would immediately instruct to clarify the clauses in the Russian legislation and administrative resolutions concerning the pressures and restrictions applied to the Muslims and he would liquidate those which were in his competence. He intended to solve the rest of the clauses by appealing to higher instances in the duly form. The vice-Roy also spoke about the possibility of founding a teacher-training seminary in a place more suitable than Gori.

This time the delegates of the congress believed the representatives of the Czarist government so much that all of them unanimously approved the following statement of I. Hajiyeu: “As a memory of the present conference held with the participation and under the guide of the vice-Roy a higher school shall be instituted in Tiflis for the Caucasus in honour of the vice-Roy which shall also hear his name. It is necessary to collect donations in the whole region for this purpose”<sup>321</sup>. The congress completed its work in high spirits.

The representatives of the congress became sure of how much the vice-Roy was sincere in his promise before they reached home. At the conference held on March 6, the representatives of Azerbaijan were elected to the special conference attached to the vice-Roy. They were A.M. Topchubashov, I.Vekilov, A.Zulfugarov, M.Shahmaliyev, A.Kazanalipov (I.Ziyadkhanov and M.Eminov were candidates to representatives) <sup>322</sup>. But the office of the vice-Roy did not hurry to implement into life the decisions of the congress. On March 17, the director of the vice-Roy’s office declared that there was not any instruction on the institution of guberniya and district conciliatory commissions. Only on April 6 there came a telegram from the Vice-Roy on the institution of the conciliatory commissions, but the telegram declared that such commissions had the deliberate vote right in the regulation of all the issues concerning the regulation of all inter-ethnic relations. What concerns other problems discussed in the congress, none of them were solved.

The political conclusion of the congress was the foundation of a party by name of “Difai” (Defense). Many Azerbaijani representatives came to such a conclusion that the superiority of the Armenians in the Armenian-Muslim clashes in 1905-1906 was due to the existence of the Armenian Dashnaksutyn Party and its military formations. Taking this into account, they decided to unite their political forces in one political organization.

Thus, the birth and formation of political trends in Azerbaijan at the beginning of the 20th century were connected with the objective situation which had emerged in the country. In the person of their ideologists the Azerbaijani entrepreneurs got an opportunity to speak in conditions of sheer lawlessness, all kinds of prohibitions and restrictions, for the first time they had the chance to express their demands, desires and wishes, and submit them to the highest instances of the government. These demands, desires and wishes expressed first in the petition of 1905, then concreted in the appeals, applications and press expressed the interests of the nation and laid the foundations of the political platforms of the future parties and organizations.

### **2.3. Socio-Political Organizations**

The decree of the Czar of April 17, 1905, aimed at ensuring the freedom of religion, as well as the manifest of the Czar of October 17, 1905, which declared that all the population of the Empire had been ensured with “unshakable foundations of civil rights”, played an important role in the birth of political parties and organizations, charitable associations and others. The representatives of the national entrepreneurs and their ideologists played an active role in it.

In the spring and autumn of 1905 the political forces of the nations living in the Muslim outskirts of the Empire began to unite. The Azerbaijani representatives took an active part in the Muslim movement, particularly in the birth of the political organization of Muslims which called itself “Ittifagi-Muslimin” (Union of the Muslims) of Russia.

The initiators of the institution of this organization were the Tatars of the Crimea and Kazan - R.Ibrahimov, Y.Akchurin, I.Gasprinsky. A.M. Topchubashov also took an active part in the preparatory work of the organization.

The idea of the foundation of the Union of Muslims of Russia, the convocation of its institutional congress emerged as early as the beginning of 1905. In the July of 1905 in Chistopol at the assembly of 500 persons the organization was officially instituted. The pretext for the assembly was an event called "the Chistopol wedding" (officially Mollah Kamalov had his sister's wedding). The wedding party turned into a social event, and even a resolution was adopted there. The participants of the event defended the idea of the constitutional monarchy, supported the idea of ensuring the freedom of conscience, religion, word, press, free assembly, general and equal election rights, on these conditions they declared their consent to "the people's representation"<sup>323</sup>.

The supporters of the unity of the Muslims in the political platform felt the impact of the political groups and parties of the Russian-monarchy bourgeoisie who made attempts to unite the elements of various Russian liberal monarchy bourgeoisie under the banner of "neutrality".

The newspaper "Terjuman" (Dragoman), published and edited by I. Gasprinsky in Bakhchasaray, a man popular in the Muslim world, informed on the preparatory-organizational conference of the congress to be held in Nizhni-Novgorod on August 12, and noted that the conference was organized by the progressive Muslims<sup>324</sup>.

The first (institutional) congress of the Union of all the Muslims of Russia was held on August 15, 1905, in the days when there was a fair in Nizhni-Novgorod. The congress adopted a decision on the establishment of the "Ittifagi-Muslimin" (Union of the Muslims) Party<sup>325</sup>.

Various layers and groups of the Muslim population of Russia, intelligentsia and small entrepreneurs were largely represented at the congress. All the speakers mainly called "for the unity" of all the Muslims of Russia. As practical objectives in the first place the congress proposed to equalize the rights of the Muslim entrepreneurs to those of the ruling Russian classes. It could not but attract the attention of the representatives of the Azerbaijani entrepreneurs who all the time began all their appeals and petitions with those demands. It was noted in the resolutions of the congress that "the Muslims of Russia must be in solidarity in political, cultural issues, as well as in the issues which derived from the present situation in Russia<sup>326</sup>. It was decided to hold local meetings on regular basis for the fulfillment of the demands.<sup>327</sup>

It is obviously seen that the dependence of the Muslims on the Russian capital and lack of political organization exerted influence on the programmatic documents of the Union of the Muslims of Russia. Therefore, it was noted in the adopted documents that the fight for the liquidation of the pressures on the Muslims, against the violations of law in relation to them, for equal rights with the Russians in the sphere of religion, politics and property would be waged "with legal methods" in order to satisfy the needs of the Muslims, and while doing it "they would think of the present and future of Russia"<sup>328</sup>. The demands were presented as desires. There are such views in the documents: "The Muslims of common sense unanimous with the progressive minded Russian people would have liked to take part in the formation of such an order, in which the laws would have been developed by the representatives elected by the people". The documents also declared that "attempts would be made to develop the Muslims comprehensively by opening schools, by publishing books, newspapers and magazines."<sup>329</sup>

The second and the third congresses of the Union of Muslims strengthened it from organizational point of view. The Regulations of the Union were adopted and its program was determined.

The ideologists, who supported the position of the Azerbaijani entrepreneurs, took a close participation in these congresses. It is suffice to say that the Regulations and the Program of the Union were developed by A.M.Topchubashov.

The Second Congress was held in Petersburg on January 13-23, 1906, in illegal conditions, without the official permission of the government. About one hundred persons – representatives of the entrepreneurs, clergy and intelligentsia took part in it.<sup>330</sup>

Before coming to the congress the ideologists of the liberal trend of Tatars decided to achieve an agreement with the Russian Cadets on a common program and on the creation of a joint election bloc. Having the said in mind, the members of the Union of Muslims Y.Akchurin and S. Alkin took part in the congress of the Constitutional Democratic Party held in Petersburg in the January of 1906. They took part in it not as passive observers; they addressed the congress with a special statement that their Union was ready to accept the program of the Cadets. In the statement they wrote: "We think that the Constitutional Democratic Party is not a typical Russian organization, on the contrary, it is the party of different nations. A proof of it is the participation of the representatives of various nations in the congress. The ideas of the Party of Cadets are not widely spread among the Muslims, but the main motives of its program are met with great sympathy by them..."<sup>331</sup>.

Then it was declared on behalf of the Union of Muslims that if the Cadets included some additions and changes in their program in favor of the Muslims, they might be supported by the Muslims more. If it had been done, then separate Muslims and the Union of Muslims could have joined the Constitutional Democratic Party without any hesitation.

The representatives of the Constitutional Democratic Party thought that the statement of the representatives of the Union of Muslims coincided with the main ideas of the program of their party; therefore they accepted all the proposals of the Muslims. The leaders of the Cadets Gessen and Petrazhitzky also shared the views of the Muslims and called to accept their proposals. The newspaper of the Liberals of Kazan informed its readers with a sense of satisfaction: "The second congress of the Constitutional Democratic Party accepted probably all the proposals of the Muslims".<sup>332</sup>

The representatives of the Azerbaijani Muslims A.M.Topchubashov, physicians G.Garabeyov and A.Kh.Akhundov took part in the congress.<sup>333</sup>

The Congress discussed the Regulations and the Program of the Union, and the tactics to be used in the elections to the First State Duma. The Muslim Fraction in the State Duma built its activity in the direction determined by the Congress.

The Congress adopted the Regulations of the Union. In Clause 23 of the Regulations it was proposed to the Muslims of Russia to found a single political party and act as a single organization. The Congress foresaw the creation of 16 districts and their centers in the guberniyas of Russia populated by the Muslims: in the Caucasus – Baku, in the Crimea – Simferopol, in Moscow and Petersburg – Petersburg, in the upper pre-Volga – Kazan, in the lower pre-Volga – Astrakhan and others. The clauses of the Regulations envisaged the call of meetings to be subordinate to the All-Russian Congress and in the period between the congresses to be subordinate to the Chief Council of the Union. The Regulations also envisaged the collection of membership fees in the sum of beginning from 50 kopecks up to 5 rubles from each member and also acceptance of donations for the sake of God. The collected sum could be spent by the decision of the district meetings.

The Regulations provided the organization of the congress of the Union each year. Two representatives of the district meetings and one representative of the local (town) meetings had to take part in the congress with casting votes. The members of the Union took the obligation of obeying the decisions of the congress. The Congress adopted the provisional-intermediate program of the Union. This program was completely identical with that of the Cadet Party.

The Congress attached sufficiently great importance to the elections to the State Duma, adopted a decision unanimously to join the Cadets in tactical issues and declared that it was the most suitable decision for the Muslims. In this way the Union of Muslims legalized its bloc with the Cadets. In their turn the Cadets willingly joined the bloc of the nationalists consisting of local entrepreneurs. And these nationalists were attracted by the idea of "the creative nationalism" propagated eloquently by P.V.Struve, leader of the cadets-doctrinaires. They demanded to give up the methods of gross violence of Russianization and national oppression propagated by the rightist forces and to give the non-Russian nations the right to use their own languages in education, in courts and in the bodies of local self administration. But in reality, the goal of the "creative nationalism" was the same with that of the government, that is, to make the Empire much stronger, to ensure the wholeness and integrity of Russia. The difference was only in the choice of the methodology.<sup>334</sup>

Despite the final goals of the slogans suggested by the Cadets, they attracted the national entrepreneurs living in the outskirts of Russia who cherished hope in the extension of the rights and privileges in the boundaries of the Empire in the early years of the 20th century. The cadets insistently supported the teaching and inauguration of schools in the mother language. Development of the national language was of great importance for the formation and development of the nation, its intelligentsia and the intellectual potential of the society. Therefore, the struggle of the Muslims, including the Azerbaijani entrepreneurs and intelligentsia in this sphere, was of positive importance, though sometimes it was not successful. Nevertheless, this struggle met the great resistance of all the kinds of nationalists and reactionaries. The fact is that the struggle for the education in the mother language very often ended with the compromises of the nationalists. The discussion of the issue in the State Duma of the third convocation is an example of the said. On April 3, 1908, minister of enlightenment A.A.Shvarts introduced the view of the government on the plan of the defense of the state submitted by the War Office. The minister suggested to develop and strengthen the Russian national spirit at school and "to obstacle all the inclinations to nationalize the schools by the alien nations" A.A. Shvarts declared that "the schools must be national and conservative, and it is impossible to tolerate the relaxation of this process in any form".<sup>335</sup> Despite all the appeals, petitions and speeches of the representatives of the



the Muslims had to join their efforts with other nations living in Russia against the reactionary regime. He came to such a conclusion that it was hopeless to win with the efforts of the Muslims alone<sup>337</sup>.

The Third Congress of the Union of Muslims held in Nizhni-Novgorod on August 16-21, 1906, adopted the program of the Union. The Congress was attended by about 800 persons, consisting of the merchants who had come to the fair, industrialists, teachers, mullahs, publishers of the Muslim newspapers. The Congress was also attended by the reporters of the newspapers, including the reporters of the newspaper "Irshad"<sup>338</sup>. The Congress was chaired by A.M. Topchubashov.

The adoption of the program was the most important event in the work of the Congress. The program consisted of 11 sections and 79 paragraphs. The main provisions of the program of the Cadet Party formed the bulk of the program. In the first section devoted to the explanation of the political goals of the Union it was said that the main goal of the Union was to unite all the Muslims of Russia. The founders of the Union declared that the Union was beyond any "class affiliation", or "a non-national" organization, in this way they were hoping to draw to the Union the broad masses living in the outskirts of Russia.

As in the program of the Cadet Party the program of the Muslim Union also supported the idea of the constitutional monarchy.<sup>339</sup> The program declared the private property sacred. The program (Paragraph 60) thought that it was possible to allocate land plots to the peasants "on the account of the state, cabinet, monastery and principality lands of certain size" for the satisfaction of their needs. If there emerged the necessity of alienation of the lands of the landlords, the state had to pay "their prices fairly",<sup>340</sup> it was a compulsory condition for the materialization of the program. In this issue the Union of Muslims demonstrated complete unanimity with the Cadets. The program ignored the eight-hour

working day, but expressed the desire of determination of the normal maximum hours for it (Paragraph 67)<sup>341</sup>. Thus, the program of the Union of Muslims could not go far from the law of the Czar adopted under the pressure of the struggle of workers by the end of the 19th century.

The ideologists of the Union of Muslims advanced the demand of "national-cultural autonomy" (opening of schools, publication of newspapers, magazines and others in the mother language, etc).

A sufficiently good place was given to the reorganization of the religious institutions of Muslims. The project on the reform of the education system also served this issue. It was proposed to give the schools and the madrasas (religious schools) to the subordination of the religious institutions of Muslims by liberating them from the subordination of the Ministry of Enlightenment. There were also demands concerning the assurance of wide rights to the religious institutions of Muslims, equalization of the rights of the Muslim clergy to those of the Christian Orthodox clergy, regulation of the issues of (Muslim charitable institutions)<sup>342</sup>. These demands did not touch upon the foundations of the regime at all and reflected the bias of drawing the clergy to their side if possible.

The Congress elected the permanent bureau of its Central Committee consisting of 15 members. A.M. Topchubashov was one of them<sup>343</sup>. A decision on the cooptation of another five persons to the Central Committee was also adopted (three of them represented the Muslims from the guberniyas of Baku, Yelisavetpol and Erevan) <sup>344</sup>. The Union of Muslims charged all the members of the bureau of the Central Committee to propagate all the decisions of the Congress, the program and Regulations of the Union, to conduct explanatory work among the Muslims of Russia. The letter of the Union addressed to the members of the Central Committee said: "The Muslims of all the regions must act in conformity with the program of the Union, found regional unions in all the villages of the districts and regions and legalize them from the organizational point of view". Then the goals of the organization were explained: "The only goal of the Union of Muslims is to defend the interests of the people in material and social spheres, to develop a single course in the reforms conducted in the society and obey it"<sup>345</sup>. The newspaper "Bürhani-tərəqqi" published the challenge of the Union of Muslims addressed to the Muslims of Russia, it called them to honesty, justice, to obey the laws of the religion, to unity and brotherhood. The newspaper also informed that the organization had created a commission consisting of 23 members. The commission on religion included Alimardan bey Topchubashov, Abdurashid Ibrahimov, Khalil bey Khasmammadov from Azerbaijan.

The commission on economic issues included F. Khoisky, Sultanov, Molla Sabir Hasanov and others. The commission on law included A.M. Topchubashov, F. Khoisky, Kh. Khasmammadov<sup>346</sup>.

The Congress charged the Central Committee to develop the Regulations of the Muslim Party along with other duties. On November 18-20, 1906, in Moscow, the Regulations of the Party were considered at the conference of the Central Committee. On November 30 of the same year the Regulations were submitted to the special department on the issues of associations for consideration and registration in conformity with the provisional rules concerning the associations and unions of March 4,

1906. The draft of the Regulations was considered only on February 28, 1907, and on the basis of some formal things it was returned back. The fourth conference of the Central Committee was held on April 6, 1906, in Petersburg, a commission was set up for making necessary changes in the Regulations, and only then the Regulations were submitted to the said department again<sup>347</sup>. In the mid of April of 1907 the conference of the Central Committee elected a bureau of five persons in order to run the affairs of the Union and help the work of the Muslim Fraction in the State Duma in the issues beyond the State Duma<sup>348</sup>. The bureau included the editor of the newspaper "Kaspiy" A.M.Topchubashov, of "Ulfet" (Friendship) A.Ibrahimov, of "Kazansky Vestnik" (Kazan News) S.Alkin, M.F.Kerimov, of "Vagt" (Time) publicist Y.Akchurin<sup>349</sup>.

The Third All-Russian Congress of the Muslims adopted a resolution on inter-ethnic clashes. The resolution drew the attention of the public figures, politicians and the clergy to such a necessity that they are to take into their hands the mutual reconciliation of the Muslims of the Transcaucasia and Armenians, "and for the sake of humanity, for the sake of the common interests of all the nations of Russia put an end to the mutual bloodshed in the liberation movement and render assistance to the establishment of a conscious life in Russia on the principles of civic liberty and political freedom"<sup>350</sup>.

The Central Committee of the Union of Muslims controlled the activity of the Muslim Fraction in the State Duma, too. Its members were elected to the State Duma, took part in the discussion of the projects of law and in the development of programs. In doing the said they used as a guide the resolutions of the Congress of the Muslims of all the Russia.

The members of the Union conducted propagation in order to enlarge the geography of the organization. They were attaching great importance to Baku. In order to found the department of the Union there they sent their representative to Baku in the April of 1907. The intelligentsia of Baku supported their initiative. Such a challenge was published in the newspaper "Progress": "... everyone who has got at least a drop of love for his nation, who treats his environment consciously, who attentively follows the present advancement of the Muslims forward must spare all his might for the establishment of such amalgamable units, aspire for an environment where the idea of unity of Muslims will be common and sacred"<sup>351</sup>.

Along with it, the newspaper noted that "the indifference of the workers of Baku to the issues common for all the Muslims made the representative of the Union leave the town in disappointment". The influential Muslims did not come to the appointed meeting, and the participants of the meeting did not dare to consider the issue of the election of the committee<sup>352</sup>. The Union could not establish its department in Baku. It is necessary to note that the upper layer of the society in Baku demonstrated a strange indifference to All-Russian Muslim associations. The publisher of the newspaper "Achig soz" M.A.Rasul-zade, who appreciated the role and place of Baku in rendering assistance to the Muslim Fraction in the Fourth State Duma and in its bureau, wrote that "in the most responsible moment of our history, in the most serious moment of the Russian history, in the most dangerous moment of life... all the northern Russia hurried to render assistance"<sup>353</sup> and "...only Baku, this treasury of gold, this rich country remained outside"<sup>354</sup>.

In 1907-1908, the activity of the Union in uniting the Muslims in the fight against the existing regime weakened to a certain degree. In the August of 1909, the chief of the security division of Nizhni-Novgorod informed the special division of the Police Department that the members of the Muslim Fraction of the State Duma, including A.M.Topchubashov, had arrived at Nizhni-Novgorod fair for developing the program of the forthcoming congress and for discussing some organizational issues. He also informed that the Muslims called to convene a congress in order to unite all the conscious Muslims for a political fight against the existing state structure in the Empire which was an obstacle on the road of self-determination of nations<sup>355</sup>.

On August 21, 1909, the meeting of the Muslims participated by the representatives of Salyan and Shamakhi (Kh.Salahov, I.Veisov, A.Akhundov, Y.Vezirov) heard the information on the activity of the Muslim Fraction in the State Duma and decided to set up a bureau under the fraction. A commission was also set up in Orenburg for funding it. The meeting noted the role of A.M.Topchubashov in the activity of the State Dumas of the first and second convocations. The meeting also noted that "it is hard for A.M.Topchubashov to do all the responsible and complicated work of the fraction outside of the State Duma alone, who was also not rendered any financial assistance". Being afraid that the Muslim Fraction in the forthcoming session of the State Duma would be deprived of the assistance of A.M.Topchubashov, the meeting came to such a conclusion: to set up a bureau, to finance it and to ask the chairman of the fraction K.M.Tevkelev and A.M.Topchubashov "to go to various centers populated by the Muslims" for conducting necessary explanatory work. It was also decided to continue the



collection and systematization of the materials for the drafts of laws, for the reports and speeches of the members of the fractions in the commissions and sessions of the State Duma<sup>356</sup>. A.M.Topchubashov and K.M.Tevkelev visited Orenburg, Ufa, Yekatrinnburg, Perm and Petropavlovsk with this purpose<sup>357</sup>.

The next activity of the Union of Muslims was connected with the work of the Muslim Fraction in the State Duma. The fraction was a kind of coordinator of all the socio-political life of the Muslims of Russia. For instance, on the initiative of its members the regular congress of the Muslims was held in Petersburg in the June of 1914. Participants of the congress were not elected, but invited. A.M.Topchubashov informed the intelligentsia of Baku assembled for a special conference for this purpose. The issue of representation in the congress worried the intelligentsia. A.M.Topchubashov explained that they had sent invitations to all the towns for coming to the congress. The fraction determined the agenda of the congress and included into its agenda the issue of reorganization of the religious institutions of the Muslims of Russia and establishment of a single religious institution for them<sup>358</sup>.

The congress elected K.M.Tevkelev its chairman, A.M.Topchubashov and I. Akhtyamov his assistants.

M.Y.Jafarov made a report at the congress. He gave the historical review of the measures of the government on the organization of the spiritual-cultural issues, analyzed the existing legislation and mentioned the undesirability of the interference of the government into the spiritual life of the people. He stopped on the activity of General Yermolov "who with his repressive measures and interference into the spiritual life of the Muslims had given birth to a movement in the history of the Caucasus known as wisdom"<sup>359</sup>.

The Congress received a petition of the female attendants of the higher courses of Moscow and Petersburg. The petition noted the importance of the Congress for the public life of Muslims and drew the attention of the participants of the Congress to the hardest conditions of the Muslim women in families who were deprived of political and civil rights. They thought that it was impossible to achieve any social progress without the solution of the problems of women; they hoped that the legislators would defend their rights and asked the Congress to share their problems and defend them<sup>360</sup>.

The manifest of the Czar of October 17, 1905, was of great importance for the activation of the Azerbaijani society. The representatives of the Azerbaijani entrepreneurs welcomed it cheerfully; it expressed their hope that their demands would be fulfilled within the frames of the constitutional monarchy. After the declaration of the manifest and the freedoms expressed in it, there appeared a kind of resolution, exigency and opposition in the press.

The newspaper "Kaspiy" in its editorial wrote that the manifest would radically change the face of the social and public life of the country, which considered the purified "conservatism" its main objective, which in its turn had turned "such a big country to an open hotbed of terror and chaos"<sup>361</sup>, a country living under the control of police and in the narrow, destructive and restricting vices of the heavy bureaucratic protection. A.M.Topchubashov shared the view of the newspaper and wrote: "Now such a bright epoch has begun that each citizen of Russia has understood his human rights, irrespective of his religion and nationality"<sup>362</sup>. He exposed his joy particularly in connection with "the declaration of the freedom of religion" and recognition of Muslim citizens of Russia<sup>363</sup>. A.M.Topchubashov criticized the conditions of Muslims in Russia more resolutely and hoped that "the bright day of October 17 will allow each citizen of Russia feel his rights of a man and the Muslims will take part in the common construction work of the country"<sup>364</sup>. He wrote: "Now new horizons open for them for conscious socio-political life on the principles of civic and political freedoms"<sup>365</sup>.

The articles published in the newspaper "Hayat" also expressed such hopes: "We must join the public movement and take part in it. ...Because, our participation in it will only benefit us in future. In the perspective it will not damage us, but lend only happiness and benefits"<sup>366</sup>.

Attaching great importance to the manifest, the members of the duma of the town assembled for an urgent meeting on the 19th of October<sup>367</sup>. One of the members of the duma of the town speaking at the meeting declared joyously: "...Such a time has come that one can express what he desires without any fear. It is a great event in our life<sup>368</sup>. The meeting decided to send a telegram to S.Y.Vitte and ask him "to convey the gratitude of the duma to the Czar for the granted freedom"<sup>369</sup>. It was also said in the telegram that the duma "welcomes this act, which is the expression of great national wisdom with joy". The duma of Baku wrote that the manifest of October 17 had given all the methods of achieving "public order" in the country, "hence it is impossible to live without the public order", and also added that Czar Nicolas "is the czar of the free people"<sup>370</sup>. The reply telegram of S.Y.Vitte to the chief of the town

K.Safaraliyev said: "His Excellency Emperor kindly said that he is grateful to the Duma for the expressed feelings" 371.

The Azerbaijani entrepreneurs met this news with joy and "a feeling of great gratitude", thinking that after the declaration of the freedom of word and press in the Manifest the Vice-Roy of the Caucasus had removed "the chains and fetters of the censorship" 372. The entrepreneurs of Azerbaijan considered this step as the manifestation of "the humanist and purposeful program" 373, "of the far-sightedness and deep comprehension of the needs of the outskirts of the Caucasus by the Vice-Roy" 374. The representatives of the national entrepreneurs expressed the assurance that the liquidation of censorship would give them great opportunities to defend their interests in the pages of the press more widely and pave the way "for criticizing openly the wounds and pains of the society, for the struggle of the free press against all the misfortunes" 375.

After the declaration of the Manifest by the Czar manifestations were held in Baku. The marches organized in the town on October 18 and 19 were headed by the representatives of self-administration of the town 376. The demonstrators were greeted by the governor-general. On October 20, a prayer ceremony was held in the mosque of Teze Pir on the occasion of the adoption of the constitution, which was appreciated as "the gift and mercy of the Czar" 377. The Manifest was met with joy in other towns of Azerbaijan, too. Meetings and demonstrations were held in Yelisavetpol, Shusha, Nukha, Zagatala and other towns as well.

But very soon the joy of the Azerbaijani entrepreneurs in connection with the promises expressed in the Manifest of the Czar began to be substituted with the worry that the promises would not be fulfilled. As it is seen from the political actions of the Azerbaijani entrepreneurs, a part of them had already understood that there was a long struggle ahead for the materialization of the concessions declared by the Czar into life.

The requests and demands concerning the fulfillment of the promises were sounded in the meetings held in the streets of Baku and expressed in the articles published in newspapers. Already on the 3rd of November the newspaper "Kaspiy" in its editorial noted the necessity of implementation of promised freedoms, and wrote that "it would be a mistake to consider the temporary silence "the beginning of the internal peace in the country", "a complete internal peace in the country is possible only when there is a complete constitution in the country, not an incomplete one, and all the declared freedoms will really and actively be materialized" 378. Such an approach to the problem reflected the position of the entrepreneurs who cherished hopes in the conduction of reforms, in the constitutional form of struggle for the renewal of the existing system.

The editor of the newspaper "Kaspiy" A.M. Topchubashov appeared in the pages of the newspaper in the November of 1905 with articles written from this position. The articles noted the contradiction existing between "the declared freedom and the situation of oppression, particularly... the situation of oppression in the issues of the Caucasus" and pointed out that the tyranny of the organs of power, treachery of the officials, bribery, lawlessness in the region continued. He noted that even the staff of the organs of local power had remained the same. "There is no need for particular evidences in order to prove the said. The criticized police-bureaucratic rules of the old regime must be out-rooted completely, only then it is possible to renew our life on the principles of freedom declared by the movement of freedom." The representatives of the administration "occupy the first place among the violators of the law, among the corruptors of the morals of the society" 379. A.M. Topchubashov criticized the Vice-Roy for not fulfilling his promise to call the conference of the representatives of the population of the Caucasus and again looked upon such conferences as "an organ which will prepare the region for the civic and political freedoms". As an important means of uniting the upper social layers of the society and the intelligentsia, A.M. Topchubashov proposed to convene the congress of the representatives of the peoples of the Caucasus in order "to remove the existing misunderstandings" and to develop a plan of mutual actions" 380. He supported "the idea of application of a wide-scale self-administration in the region", "institution of a seim with legislative functions connected with the internal life of the region" 381. In this way he joined the program proposed by the representatives of the upper layers of the Georgian society. This program fully coincided with the interests of the Azerbaijani entrepreneurs in many issues.

Ahmed bey Aghayev in his article published in the newspaper "Hayat" on November 4, 1905, expressed his attitude to the political situation after the declaration of the Manifest more mildly. He wrote that after the declaration of the Manifest by the Czar "Russia has changed completely. The great Emperor has voluntarily given up his own rights, given his consent to the formation of the government of the people, given all kinds of freedoms and equalities to them. Hence, the governors, police chiefs will not have supreme power and behave as they want" 382. He called the people to be careful, to abstain from

actions, which might be “detrimental” to the “freedom” declared by the Czar, to the institution of associations of enlightenment, foundation of schools, publication of newspapers, translation of books.

The rallies held in the November and December of 1905 in Baku analyzed the political situation which had emerged after the manifest of the Czar. The speakers expressed their satisfaction with the declaration of the democratic liberties, at the same time their anxiety connected with the delay of the implementation of the provisions of the declaration. They demanded the execution of the provisions of the declaration without any delay and conduction of new reforms. In the rally held on November 18, Ahmed bey Aghayev noted the importance of rallies for the birth and development of political consciousness, pointed out “the necessity of freedom in general, particularly, the freedom of religion and conscience”<sup>383</sup> by quoting examples from the Holy Koran. He proved that the civic freedom was in complete harmony with the teaching of the Prophet. Najaf bey Vezirov in his speech criticized the government more severely. He said that “because of inability of the government and lack of discipline the Muslims did not have any imagination about freedom”, he declared that “the Muslims must make use of the freedom given to them”<sup>384</sup>. The participants of the rally held on the 27th of November came to such a conclusion that “the manifest is still remaining as a dead, lifeless act, only the people itself can achieve the implementation of the civic rights declared in the manifest, the people must achieve it”<sup>385</sup>. The rally discussed many socio-political issues. The speakers noted that “the constitution exists on the paper, but not in reality, at work”, they demanded the assurance of the rights in reality<sup>386</sup>. The members of the *duma* of Baku Kh.Kazimov, N.K.Sadigov and others demanded to have a proportional representation of Muslims in the State Duma of Russia <sup>387</sup>. I.Hajiyev even called the Azerbaijani youth to join the ranks of the fighters of freedom<sup>388</sup>. K.Safaraliyev, who spoke about the agrarian movement in Russia, proposed to include the distribution of the treasury lands among the peasants into the list of demands. Sh. Narimanov proposed to include into the list of demands the return of the lands of the religious institutions of Muslim<sup>389</sup>.

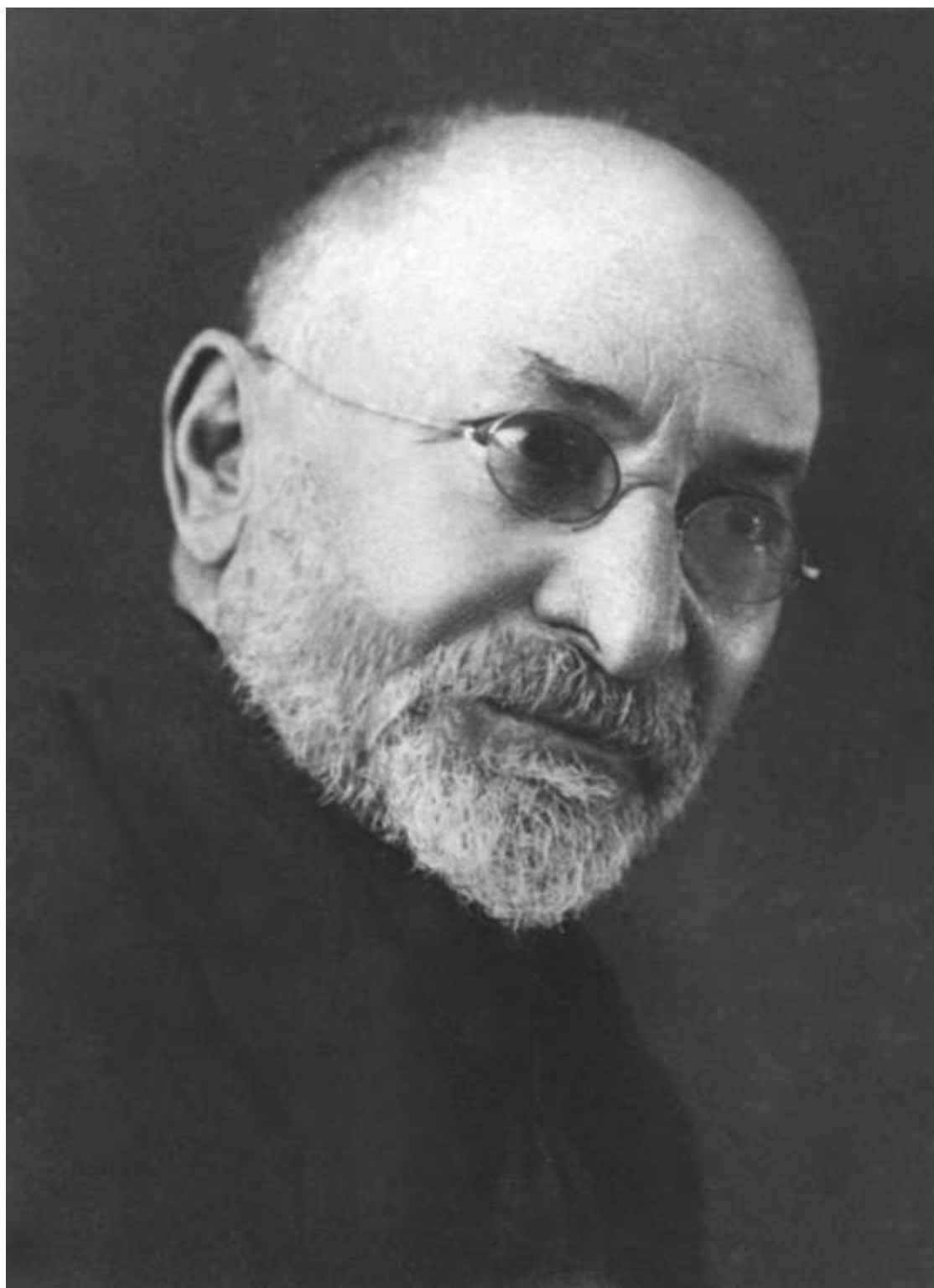
The decision adopted by the participants of the rally welcomed the manifest, demanded the materialization of the promised freedoms and pointed out that “the political and civic freedoms do not contradict the spirit of Islam, on the contrary, they form the foundations of Islam”<sup>390</sup>. The decision of the rally also included the demands of equal right of elections<sup>391</sup>, the proportional representation of Muslims in the State Duma<sup>392</sup>.

After the declaration of the October 17 manifest of the Czar a number of political parties and organizations emerged in Russia. In connection with it A.M.Topchubashov published a number of articles in the newspaper “Kaspiy”. One of them bore the title of “Parties”<sup>393</sup>. The author of the article noted in it that the movement of freedom in Russia had given a new life to the political parties. Some of them had already been molded, others had become noticeable. A.M.Topchubashov regarded the birth of such parties natural in principle, because they reflected the political ideal of various social groups<sup>394</sup>. But in conditions of Russia existing in the early November of 1905 he thought that it was necessary for all the parties to join in the demand for the implementation of the provisions of the declaration into life. The articles were written under the obvious influence of the Cadets. In such circumstances A. M.Topchubashov was for the institution of only one party – “the party of civic and political freedoms”<sup>395</sup>. He considered the parties, which demanded the overthrow of the monarchy, to be “destructive in nature”<sup>396</sup>.

A special article was devoted by A.M.Topchubashov to the congress of the *zemstvo* representatives of towns held in Moscow on November 6-13, 1905. He called the congress “the assembly of a political party of the advanced people of Russia, which the present government had to count with”<sup>397</sup>, the first constitution assembly of Russia. The article spoke about the party of Cadets and its program. When he characterized the program of the party, he noted particularly the right of the party to take part in the execution of the legislative power and its promise to ensure local autonomy and conduction of the assemblies of the representatives of regions. A.M. Topchubashov appreciated this clause of the program as “the reconstruction of Russia on federative principles”<sup>398</sup> and supported the idea. The article also mentioned the position of the Democratic Union of Constitutionalists instituted in Petersburg in this issue and pointed out that the program of the said Union provided “the application of self-administration in the whole space of Russia”<sup>399</sup> and extension of the functions of self-administration. He also noted that the rightist party headed by N.I.Guchkov was against the federalization of Russia and defended the idea of “the unity and indivisibility of Russia”.

These meditations of A.M.Topchubashov leave no grounds for doubt that the liberal circles of the Azerbaijani entrepreneurs sympathized with the Cadets. The newspaper “Irshad”, which began to be published since the December of 1905, supported the same position. The organization of the Baku

division of the Constitutionalist Democratic Party on the fourth of December of 1905 contributed to the formation of such groups of the local entrepreneurs from political point of view<sup>400</sup>. It was noted at the institutional session of the division that the admission of members to the Baku division was being continued. Among the persons authorized to conduct the admission were I.Hajinsky, K.Hajinsky, K.Efendiyev, M.S. Hasanov and others<sup>401</sup>.



*Najaf bey Vezirov*

The later activities of the Baku division of the Democratic Constitutionalist Party were connected with the events taken place in the beginning of 1906. At the sitting of the division held on the 7th of January the representatives of the Azerbaijani entrepreneurs and intelligentsia A.M. Topchubashov, I.Hajiyev, I.Hajinsky, K.Safaraliyev were elected members of the permanent bureau of the division<sup>402</sup>. The division had 300 members<sup>403</sup>. It was informed by the secretary of the Baku committee of Cadets to the central bureau of the party on January 19, 1906. He also wrote that “the martial law and the Armenian-Tatar relations obstacle the development of relations”<sup>404</sup>. As it becomes evident from the information sent to the centre that the activity of the Azerbaijani division in propagation work was very low and the image of the division had not yet molded<sup>405</sup>.

On the eve of elections to the State Duma the Cadets grew active. Prominent members of the party were invited to Baku to explain the provisions of the program of the party. Proceeding from the results of the election and the persons elected to the State Duma from Azerbaijan it is possible to say that their efforts were not in vain.

In the January of 1912 the governor of Yelisavetpol informed the Police Department that “all the intelligentsia in the guberniya is the Cadetists, in separate cases, in exceptional cases, according to their internal conviction they are serious Cadetists, the majority thinks that the platform of the Cadets is necessary for each intelligentsia. This spirit has penetrated to all political parties, press, and all other forms of enlightenment and cultural activities of the local population”<sup>406</sup>.

In the autumn of 1905 “The Association of National Defense and the Union of the Muslim Aristocracy, Intelligentsia and Upper Layers of the Society” was established<sup>407</sup>. The newspaper “Kaspiy” called this organization “The United Committee of Popular Defense of the Intelligentsia”. The appeal of this newly born organization was published in the newspapers “Kaspiy” and “Hayat” as the appeals of two completely different organizations, but it did not cause any doubt that they belonged to one and the same organization. The name of the organization published in the newspaper “Hayat” reflected the social layers of population more conspicuously which had joined it. As it was seen from its name, the organization united the representatives of the upper layers of the Azerbaijani society and the intelligentsia. It seems that the members of the Union established in the October of 1905 in Baku included the representatives of the socialist-revolutionaries, too.

The only, but sufficiently important fact about the activity of this organization is its appeal “To the Aristocrats and Influential People of Baku” published in the newspaper “Kaspiy”<sup>408</sup>. The authors of the appeal expressed their sympathy with the liberation movement directed against the government<sup>409</sup>. At the same time it was noted in the appeal that if attempts were done to use this movement against the Muslims, the forces in the Union would repulse it<sup>410</sup>.

In the August-September of 1906 the party of “Difai” (the Committee of all the Muslims of the Caucasus) was organized in the guberniyas of Baku and Yelisavetpol<sup>411</sup>. The aggravation of the Armenian-Azerbaijani relations in 1905 necessitated the establishment of a national political organization. In the “conciliatory” congress held in Tiflis in the February of 1906 the Azerbaijani speakers noted the necessity of the unison of the national forces, the role of the organizations, including that of the political organizations, in the defense of the interests of the people, in ensuring its security. One of the inferences obtained in the congress as a result of hot discussions was the necessity of creation of political parties and armed detachments to fight against the Armenian Dashnaksutyun and its military forces. Adil khan Ziyadkhanov protested against the Armenian K.I.Khatisov, who appreciated the position of Dashnaksutyun as an attempt of self defense in the latest bloody events. He declared: “...it is not like that, there are numerous evidences and facts that the attacking party was the Armenians, besides, the Muslims have not got any organization and military forces to fight”<sup>412</sup>.

“Difai” was founded by the outstanding public figure of Azerbaijan Ahmed bey Aghayev. A big preparatory and explanatory work was carried out before the foundation of the party. Institutional conferences were held in many regions of Azerbaijan, as a result of them there emerged divisions of the party called “commissions”. The office of the Central Committee of the party was in Baku<sup>413</sup>. It was headed by Ahmed bey Aghayev<sup>414</sup>. The Central Committee of the party included G.Garabeyov, M.H.Hajinsky, I. Ashurbeyov, B.Javanshir, N.Behbudov<sup>415</sup>. The divisions of the party were formed in Yelisavetpol, Shusha, Aghdam, Barda, Yevlakh, Tartar, Kars, Garyagin, Nakhchivan and in other places. There was such information in the gendarme reports that the party had a committee in Vladikavkaz, too<sup>416</sup>.

The leaflets of “Difai” were printed in Baku and sent to the divisions. In the August of 1906, then in the October of the same year “Difai” printed its leaflets in Azerbaijani and Russian. There was an appeal in these leaflets to the population of the region informing them that the Dashnaksutyun party

worked in concert with the government organs of the Czar, tried to slaughter the Muslim population, drive them out of the Caucasus, in order “to ensure an autonomy – a national administration for the Armenian population”. The leaflet then said that because of it thousands of youth from the Northern Caucasus, Dagestan and the Transcaucasia had decided to institute parties. The goal of these parties was “to save the Caucasian Muslims from the threat of eradication”. The appeal declared that enlightenment and mobilization of forces served this goal. The appeal added that these two means were necessary for enlightening the illiterate masses of population in order to give them a chance to be liberated from the tyranny of the organs of power<sup>417</sup>.

There was also a demand in the leaflet which expressed the desire of the peasantry: “The land must belong to the class of labourers”<sup>418</sup>.

The programmatic challenge of “Difai” was published in the newspaper “Irshad”<sup>419</sup>. The newspaper declared that it had eliminated some anti-government ideas of the challenge for the benefit of the common cause.

The program-challenge gave the characteristics of the current political situation in the region which had resulted in the persecution and eradication of the Azerbaijani people. It pointed out that the reason of all the said was the inter-ethnic clashes and the illiteracy of the masses. As a way out of this situation the challenge showed the necessity of application of measures by the government and enlightenment of the population. Then it was explained that the organs of local power and its representatives had become a miserable tool in the hands of Dashnaksutyun which had its troops, discipline and weapons. The advanced part of the Azerbaijani society was accused of indiscipline, lack of organization. It noted that the said part of the Azerbaijani society had not assisted to the unity of the national forces, not done anything for saving “the nation from ignorance and prejudice” and not taken any measures” against the government which trampled the rights of the nation and did not allow it develop”.

The program determined the main goal of the party like this: “to unite with other nations of the Caucasus, even with Dashnaksutyun party, and establish real brotherly relations on condition that” Dashnaksutyun should declare its program and consent with the rights and interests of all the nations and welfare of the Caucasus...”

The challenge warned the rich and popular men of Azerbaijan that the party would “apply dagger and bullet” and force them not to spare their lives and property for the care of the nation and serve the goals of its freedom”. It concerned particularly those persons, who” breed strife and panic in the society; sow the seeds of feud among various groups of the youth”. In this way they served the goal of leading the people to death and poverty<sup>420</sup>.

The challenge acquainted the readers with the emblem of the party. It was a hexagram (like the Star of David – Translator) with a crescent below, a cross of a pair of sabers with handles downwards and the name of the party “Difai” (National Fighting Party) inscribed between the crescent and the cross of sabers <sup>421</sup>.

The organizers of “Difai” understood that the masses needed a certain level of consciousness and discipline in order to understand the political goals and objectives propagated by them. Because of it they were engaged in the conduction of enlightening activities among the population. They drew the members of the charitable society established in Yelisavetpol in those years to the activity of the party.

The headquarters of “Difai” was located in the building of the charitable organizations of “Jamiyyati-Kheyriyya”(Charitable Society) and “Nashri- Maarif”(Enlightenment Print-House). Such a close cooperation proceeded from the necessity of conspiracy, because the party was persecuted by the organs of the state. The numerous reports of gendarmes to the Police Department are proofs of it. These reports contained the list of the print materials confiscated during the searches conducted in the houses of persons suspected in the membership of the party. For instance, one of the reports from the guberniya of Yelisavetpol contained the list of the confiscated literature, among which were the followings: The Azerbaijani translation of Olga Volkenshtein’ s booklet “What is the freedom of word and assembly for?”, the booklet of Ged and Lafarg “What do the social-democrats want?” in Russian, magazine “Kolokol”(Bell), “The Program of the Political Parties of Russia”, “Collection of the Programs of the Political Parties in Russia”, Kautsky’s “Social-Democrats in the Republic and France”, A.M.Topchubashov’s “The Muslim Fraction in the Parliament”, S.Rusov’s “How did the Bulgarians Gain Freedom”, I.Naumov’s “On the Agrarian Issue in Russia”, A.A.Nikolaev’s “Intelligentsia and People”, A.G.Bakhruruyev’s “How to Elect the Representatives of the People?”, D. Galev’s “Anarchism and Socialism”, G.Balitsky’s “Strike and Boycott”, as well as “On the Functionaries and the Power of the People”, and other books and booklets<sup>422</sup>.

The social base of the party consisted mainly of the persons belonging to the middle layers of the society – merchants, intelligentsia, peasants, students and others.

The local divisions of “Difai” won the sympathy of the population and had a good reputation. The functionaries of the Czar noted that since the birth of “Difai” the interest of the local population in public activities had grown, they appealed the party committees more than the organs of state power<sup>423</sup>. Besides, such a fact worried them that “when the Muslims unite under the influence of propagation, when they develop mentally and become “conscious”, undoubtedly, they will begin to propagate their goals against the government”<sup>424</sup>.

The divisions of the party were engaged in the financial issues, too. The fund of the party was formed on the account of the membership fees. When the fee was collected, the treasurers of the party had receipt pads with them. When they received the fees, they gave stamped receipts to the payers. The procedure of collection of fees was called “assistance to the starving Muslims” among the population. The treasurers of the party explained to the fee payers that the money was sent to the central charitable society of Muslims<sup>425</sup>. Besides the collection of fees, the divisions of the party were also engaged in the study of the cases in the courts, in the application of fines, in the solution of land conflicts, in the formation of armed detachment of workers.

In big guberniya centers the party had its divisions. In the villages they had auxiliary committees which were subject to the guberniya committees. The committees were headed by the representatives of the rich layer and intelligentsia.

In Yelisavetpol the party was headed by Alekper bey Rafibeyov, a great public and political figure. The organizational committee included the representatives of aristocracy and clergy Alekper bey and Alesker bey Khasmammadovs, Hasan bey Aghayev, sheik-ul Islam A.M.Pishnamaz-zade, Habib bey Usubbeyov, Adilkhan Ziyadkhanov and others<sup>426</sup>. The birth of the committee displeased the members of the Yelisavetpol court H.Israfilbeyov and J. Khoisky. They even threatened the founders of the committee to convey information to higher instances of the government<sup>427</sup>. Nevertheless, the division was organized, and as it is seen from the documents, the division conducted great work among the population and won their worthy respect. This in its turn worried the organs of local power very much. A functionary of the Czar government by name of Kovalev, who closely followed the activity of the division, declared that in the nearest future the division would play the role of the leader of “the Muslim masses”. The governor of Yelisavetpol characterized the members of Difai as being “clever, careful, consistent, honest and sincere”<sup>428</sup>.

In the uyezds(districts) of Zangazur and Jabrail the committees were headed by Mashadi Jafar, in Barda – by Mashadi Mehdigulu Sharif oghlu, in Aghdam – by Babash bey Kazimbeyov, Mashadi Shamil Hajiyev, in Yevlakh – by Asan Garaja oghlu, Ashraf Taghiyev, Saleh Huseinov, in Gusar – by the police ensign Gurban Efendi and estate owner Nadir Atabash-zade<sup>429</sup>.

In the March of 1907 the representatives of Muslims of the Transcaucasia, the Northern Caucasus and the Crimea held a congress in Yelisavetpol. The congress decided to organize the activities of Difai in Garabagh in reply to the Armenian organizations existing there; to buy the estates of Prince Uzmiyevs near Aghdam with the help of the Azerbaijani entrepreneurs H.Z.Taghiyev and Sh. Asadullayev and also buy all the lands from Aghdam till the station of Khojaly from the Armenians and populate the territory with the Muslims only; to turn Garabagh to a completely Muslim province; to make it a duty for the Azerbaijanis live in Shusha. The Police Department from Moscow informed about it to the governors of Simbirsk, Kazan, Astarkhan, Saratov, Ufa, Samara, Penza, Kostroma, Ryazan and the troops of the Don<sup>430</sup>.

The congress also decided to establish a division of the party in Garabagh by name of “Unity Assembly of Garabagh”. The Assembly functioned in Garabagh – in the uyezds of Javanshir, Garyagin, Shusha of the guberniya of Yelisavetpol. It was established by merchants, a part of intelligentsia, landlords and peasants. The main committee of the Assembly was located in Shusha. Its chairman was Kerim bey Mehmandarov, his deputy – Jahangir khan Nuribeyov, secretary – Khudush Guliyev<sup>431</sup>. The organization had an armed detachment of voluntaries 400 in number<sup>432</sup>.

The program of the Unity Assembly of Garabagh adopted its program consisting of 51 clauses. The program set the task of “developing the self identity consciousness among the Muslims” and called the Muslims to unity. It was written in the program that only the unity of Muslims could ensure the immunity of their property, material welfare, cultural development and national identity. The program determined the principles which regulated the activity of the organization. The program determined the posts of the chairman, his assistant and of a secretary in the organization. The fund of the organization consisted of

the collected fees and donations, which were registered in the book of incomes and expenses by the collectors.



The program determined both the political goals and the moral-ethic norms. It also determined the relations among the nations and was against the inter-ethnic clashes. The provisions of the program about the responsibility for the instigation of inter-ethnic hostilities, illegal acquisition of money, abuse of one's office, slander, breach of oath, intrigue, fines for groundless raise of prices and others proved that the Assembly was taking steps for improving the consciousness, discipline, feeling of responsibility in the masses, making attempts for cultivating in them the norms of political culture, principles of coexistence and mutual respect, mutual assistance. The Unity Assembly of Garabagh and its program were making their first, but not so brave steps towards the penetration of the law and legislation into the life of the society. The program also provided the organization of education on new methodologies, including the organization of the network of schools for women. There were clauses in the program which provided an order and system in the production of goods and in their sale. The element of mutual assistance was also present in them – it insisted on the institution of holding companies for the purchase of all the agricultural products produced by the Muslims. The Muslims also undertook the obligation of buying the industrial products from their own producers.

The program provided care for the poor. There was a warning to all who sold their houses and left the town. The property of such people passed at the disposal of the Assembly. The incomes obtained from such property were distributed among the poor. The Assembly had a certain role in the solution of all the debatable problems. In its general meetings the assembly considered the issue of election to the State Duma, without the consent of the Assembly nobody could be elected to the State Duma<sup>433</sup>.



Thus, the program of the Assembly provided the party to have in its possession the solution of all the issues of economic, political and cultural-spiritual life of the society. This program was a kind of document for building the society on the principles of law and legislation anew, and helped the political revival of the masses. The last time the gendarme reports mention the name of the Garabagh Unity Assembly at the end of the September of 1908<sup>434</sup>.

The Difai Party was persecuted by the organs of the Czar government. Since 1908 its activities began to be restricted. Most probably, it was connected with the departure of the founder of the party Ahmed bey Aghayev for Istanbul. In the April of 1908 the governor of Yelisavetpol issued an instruction on the exile of the leaders of Difai from the Transcaucasia to Astrakhan for the term of three years as persons belonging to the Muslim party, which “acted against the government”. And in the January of 1911 the vice-Roy of the Caucasus was informed that the said persons were exiled beyond the boundaries of the Transcaucasia on April 12, 1908. H.Usubbeyov was among the exiled, too<sup>435</sup>. In the March of the same year it was informed that Difai had not been engaged in any activity from the 1st of January, 1910, till the 1st of July, therefore it was necessary to think that the party had not any organization at all<sup>436</sup>. Nevertheless, the members of the party, particularly its leaders, were persecuted, searches were conducted in their houses, as a result, “illegal leaflets and booklets not undergone censorship”, as the gendarme said, were found. For instance, the search, which all of a sudden was conducted in the house of Sheik-ul Islam of the Transcaucasia A.M.Pishnamaz-zade in Nukha on the 21st of May, 1912, discovered 11 booklets and 17 leaflets in Azerbaijani<sup>437</sup>. In his letter to the chiefs of police of the guberniya, of May 22, 1912, the governor of Yelisavetpol informed them on the dissemination of the leaflets of Difai and proposed them “to follow very attentively the events ongoing in the Muslim environment”<sup>438</sup>. The chief of gendarme police of the railway department of the Transcaucasia sent a copy of the above-mentioned challenge in Azerbaijani to Tiflis on May 18, 1912, and informed that the challenges were disseminated on April 29, 1912, in the village of the uyezd of Arash at the meeting held in the evening<sup>439</sup>.

One may guess from the evidences and memoires that the members of Difai continued their activities in the years of the World War II, too. So that a man by name of Husammaddin Gugach, who fought in the war and was taken captive, on his return to Ganja after the revolution of 1917, wrote that among the fighters of the national army of Azerbaijan there were members of Difai<sup>440</sup>. The Turkish historian Abdulhalig Chay declares that later the members of Difai joined the Musavat Party. Along with it, Difai continued its activity till 1917<sup>441</sup>.

Another resolution of the congress of Muslims held in Yelisavetpol in 1907 was the institution of the Union of all the Muslims of the Transcaucasia to be headed by Ismail Khan Ziyadkhanov.



In the May of 1907, an organization by name of Müdafiyə (Defense) was instituted. It was headed by Ismail khan Ziyadkhanov, an outstanding public figure<sup>442</sup>. The organizers of Defense were village teachers A.Giyasbeyli, H.Saniyev, military topographer Lieutenant-Colonel Vekilov, notary-public Khalilbeyov and others<sup>443</sup>. The organization was engaged in activities mainly in the western part of the guberniya of Yelisavetpol and in one part of the guberniya of Tiflis<sup>444</sup>. The representatives of the privileged part of the population of the said guberniyas, landlords and beys, as well as the representatives of the village intelligentsia formed the social base of Defense. The goals and objectives of the organization were expressed in the Challenge published by it. The Challenge was developed by A.Giyasbeyli and H.Saniyev in Tiflis, approved by the Baku Central Muslim Committee, and then was sent to “the prominent representatives of the population and the police” in the uyezds of Azerbaijan<sup>445</sup>.

The Challenge determined the goals of the organization: demonstrate care for the men of education and culture, punish severely those who trample law, justice and honesty<sup>446</sup>. The Challenge said: “The party calls the healthy minded and noble part of the society for help in the struggle of the party for justice and freedom... Defense is a peaceful organization, but in case of necessity it will punish ruthlessly all those who trample law and honesty. Those who are guilty in the misfortunes of the nation can not escape the ruthless revenge. Defense and its armed hands will always remind like a menacing butcher that hence the Muslims shall not be offended.”

The Challenge pointed out that that the divisions of the party had to submit reports to the Central Committee of the party about the performed work<sup>447</sup>. The party declared one of its objectives the improvement of the welfare of the peasants, distribution of the lands of landlords among the peasants, overthrow of the existing system, liberation of the peasants from the payment of taxes to the landlords for the cultivated land, and from the payment of income taxes<sup>448</sup>.

There is only one copy of the Challenge of the said organization among the archive documents once submitted together with the report of gendarme. It is remarkable, because it bears the seal of the party on it. The seal bears the description of scales, a book, a sheaf and two sabers forming a cross below. The symbol of the party determined its goal: struggle for justice and knowledge, protection of the interests of the peasantry, and protection of the freedom of population from the attempts of “the executives with boundless avidity and ruthlessness”<sup>449</sup>. It was noted several times in the report of the governor of Yelisavetpol to the Police Department that Defense was an organization with a few number of members, without any program and not engaged in a special activity<sup>450</sup>.

The Muslim Democratic Party Musavat (Equality) played an important role in the political unity of the Azerbaijani people. Musavat was headed by a number of active public figures of Azerbaijan. These people were experienced in the struggle for the interests of the people and clearly imagined the goals and objectives of the national-liberation movement for the nearest years and for the perspective. In the early years of the 20th century Musavat lived the period of its flourishing, its activity took place mainly after the February of 1917. Musavat, the leader of the Party M. A. Rasul-zade, and the newspaper “Achig Soz” (Openly Said Word) published by him after the February of 1917, were very active in the political life of Azerbaijan.

Musavat was instituted in the October of 1911 in Baku. Its founders were the representatives of the intelligentsia – journalists and writers - Taghi Naghiyev, Mammadamin Rasul-zade and Abasgulu Kazim-zade, that is, a party cell of three persons<sup>451</sup>. Mirza Davud Huseinov, who published a book titled “The Present and Past of Musavat”, mentions the names of the merchant Gulam Rza Sharif-zade and Kerbelayi Veli Mikailov<sup>452</sup>. The party very soon managed to draw the intelligentsia, workers, peasants, clerks and the representatives of small entrepreneurs to its ranks<sup>453</sup>. The social base of the party was sufficiently broad. It allows recognize Musavat as a democratic party. Its founders also considered the party to be a democratic one. In 1912 the manifest-program of the party appeared. It consisted of eight clauses<sup>454</sup>. The program was short, nevertheless, irrespective of nationality and religion, it proposed important objectives of vital importance for all the nations – unity of the Muslim nations, rendering of material, moral and spiritual assistance to the Muslim nations which struggle for the restoration and protection of their independence. Musavat intended to cooperate with all the parties having the same objectives for the whole mankind, irrespective of their nationality. The party declared the ideas of equality and progress, independence and freedom. The objective of struggle for the protection and development of universal values enlarged the circle of its supporters.

The party adopted its program in 1912. Understanding that without economic pillar any struggle was doomed to failure, the party charged all its members with a special clause in the program “to increase the finances for the struggle of the Muslims, to render assistance to the development of their commerce, spheres of vocation and the entire economic life”<sup>455</sup>.



*Mahammadamin Rasul-zade*



M.A.Rasul-zade returned home in 1913 from exile making use of the amnesty on the occasion of the 300th anniversary of the rule of the dynasty of the Romanovs in Russia. He made great efforts to draw the broad masses of people to political struggle. The newspaper "Achig Soz" played an important role in it. "Achig Soz" continued the traditions of the Azerbaijani press before the revolution and gave a comprehensive analysis of the events ongoing in the country and abroad. In its articles devoted to the development of science and culture the newspaper disseminated the ideas of enlightenment fulfilling its mission in this sphere. For instance, the editorials devoted to each working day of the State Duma, which reflected the realities of the political life in Russia in those days, are very remarkable. The newspaper acquainted the readers with the speeches of the Azerbaijani parliamentarians and the activity of the Azerbaijani fraction in the State Duma. The newspaper drew the attention of the readers to the issues discussed in the State Duma and directed them to send necessary information on some problems to the parliamentarians. In this way the newspaper helped them to understand their functions and duties as electors, and cultivated in them the sense of being connected with the events ongoing in the country. The newspaper published a number of articles about the role and place of Baku in the Muslim movement of Russia. These articles sometimes severely criticized the impartiality of the local entrepreneurs to the growing liberation movement. In this way the newspaper and its editor cherished hopes in drawing the representatives of the Azerbaijani entrepreneurs to an active political struggle and at the same time to get from them material and spiritual support. The newspaper played an important role in the development of the national consciousness, in the upbringing of the young generation, particularly in that of the students by publishing numerous articles about the essence of the national, religious and ethnic affiliation.

Soon after its institution Musavat was obliged to break its activities temporarily because of persecutions. From 1913 till the February of 1917 Musavat went underground. But after the February of 1917 it revived again and became the ruling party.

Thus, at the beginning of the 20th century in the period of development of the liberation movement there emerged an objective situation for the formation of political organizations and parties in Azerbaijan. These organizations were variegated from social point of view and united probably all the layers of the population, and tried to express the interests of the whole Azerbaijani society. The provisions of the petitions and appeals, the programs of the parties and organizations reflected the hopes and desires of the people who lived in intolerable conditions full of lawlessness and deprivations for many years.

## **Chapter III**

### **The State Duma of Russia and Azerbaijan**



### **3.1. The Azerbaijani Parliamentarians in the First and Second State Dumas**

On December 11, 1905, the decree of the Czar for holding elections to the State Duma was announced. In conformity with the decree a part of the workers were granted the right of election. The decree provided the right of election for the peasants as well, but not completely. Preference was given mainly to the participation of the higher layers of the population in the elections.

Azerbaijan also got the right of being represented in the State Duma. The conduction of elections in Azerbaijan, as well as in the whole Caucasus was given at the disposal of the vice-Roy. He had the right to determine the date of elections in various uyezds and guberniyas according to his own considerations, to deprive a certain part of the population of the right of election, to form divisions in the election meetings of guberniyas, to determine the number of the parliamentarians from different regions on the basis of the total number of the parliamentarians provided from the center<sup>459</sup>.

The main opposition party was the Cadets. This party held pre-election campaign probably in all the guberniyas of the Empire, propagated its platform and won the elections. It was due to such a fact that the Cadets expressed the interests of the wide layers of population more. They declared not only “the unity and indivisibility of Russia”, but also tried to show the ways of achieving it. They accused the government of achieving it on the account of violence and declared that it was “impossible to achieve the unity of Russia with the help of bayonet and bullet”. They also declared that “they respected the customs and traditions, language and religion of each nation in Russia”<sup>460</sup>. Popular Liberation Party declared to the electors that it was for granting a wide self-administration, “an autonomy to all the regions with an idiosyncratic national life”, and supported “the general, compulsory and free-of-charge education for all”<sup>461</sup>. All this was very attractive for the Muslim outskirts of Russia, including the socially higher layers of the Azerbaijani society. Because, these problems had been raised in all their territories not once, and they cherished hopes only in the Cadets.

The Baku division of the Cadet Party conducted a wide propagation in connection with the elections to the State Duma. On April 29, 1906, it was noted in the general meeting of the members of the party that “the bureau of the party had developed an appeal to the Muslim electors in the Tatar (Azerbaijani – D.S.) language and given them chance to get acquainted with the program of the party and the objectives facing it in the election campaign”<sup>462</sup>. In the discussions of the bureau of the division the ideas of the party were propagated, and it was declared that the party was “for the equal rights of all the nations and wide autonomy in administration, for the liquidation of all kinds of pressures connected with one’s sex, origin and religion while entering a school”<sup>463</sup>. All the said allowed the Cadets achieve the desired results: The Congress of all the Muslims held in Petersburg considered the determination of the position of the Muslims of Russia its main duty in the forthcoming elections to the State Duma and decided to join the political platform of the Cadets<sup>464</sup>, and could in advance determine the position and party affiliation of the parliamentarians to be elected to the State Duma from the Muslim outskirts of Russia.

The elections were held on May 31, 1906, in the Baku guberniya<sup>465</sup>, on May 16, in the Yelisavetpol guberniya<sup>466</sup>, that is, after the beginning of the work of the First State Duma on April 27, 1906.

The Azerbaijani parliamentarians did not take part in the opening of the State Duma because of the late elections. Nevertheless, H.Z.Taghiyev sent a congratulatory telegram to S.A.Muromtsev, speaker of the State Duma, and declared that “all the Muslims of Baku assembled in the mosque and prayed God to endow happiness and long years of life to the representatives of the people for taking such a heavy and responsible duty on their shoulders. Along with it, we cordially want the Russian government strengthen the foundations of the freedom in the country without shedding blood”<sup>467</sup>.

The guberniyas of Baku and Yelisavetpol, the town of Baku were represented by Mammadtaghi Aliyev (aged 48, from the family of a merchant, graduate of Petrovsk Agricultural Academy, member of the eighth section of the State Duma, member of the Popular Liberation Party), Asadulla bey Muradkhanov (aged 40, from the family of a bey, graduate of the Teacher-Training Seminary, secretary in the Javad village department, member of the first section of the State Duma, member of the Popular Liberation Party), Alimardan bey Topchubashov (aged 41, from the family of a bey, juryman, graduate of the Law Faculty of Petersburg University, editor of the Newspaper “Kaspiy”, member of the town council of Baku, member of the Muslim Fraction in the parliament, member of the first section of the State Duma, member of the Popular Liberation Party), Ismail khan Abulfat khan oghlu Ziyadkhanov (aged 39,



*Mammadtaghi Aliyev*

landlord, graduate of the Law Faculty of Moscow University, assistant of the attorney in the county court of Tiflis, member of the bureau of the Muslim Fraction in the parliament, member of the Muslim group of the Popular Liberation Party), Abdurrahim bey Hagverdiyev(aged 36, from the family of a landlord, attendant of the courses of the Faculty of Oriental Studies of Petersburg University, outstanding playwright, writer, member of the fourth section of the State Duma,member of the Muslim group of the Popular Liberation Party)468.



The Cadets were the biggest party in the State Duma. In the term of activity of the State Duma the number of the Cadets grew on the account of the newly elected parliamentarians. They were mainly the persons who represented the socially higher layers of the Muslim outskirts of the Empire<sup>469</sup>.

The First State Duma functioned 72 days, it raised 301 issues, and 123 of them were very urgent<sup>470</sup>. The Cadets headed the sections in the State Duma. There were 11 such sections for examining the authorities of the members of the State Duma.

The Cadets headed about 30 permanent and interim committees. They were determining the directions of the political activity of the State Duma. The discussion of such issues as the immunity of the person, abolishment of the capital punishment, equality of citizens, political freedoms and others are evidences of the said.

The Azerbaijani representatives were in the Muslim group of the parliamentarians. This group united all the representatives of the Muslim outskirts of the Empire and had to be 36 in number. But as the elections were not held in time in some places of the Empire, particularly in the outskirts, the number of the parliamentarians in the Muslim Fraction was less than the norm. This group was one of the biggest groups in the State Duma, bigger than the Ukrainian, Polish and other groups.

The fraction was formed in its first meeting on July 21, 1906. The meeting elected its bureau consisting of seven persons. The bureau included A.M. Topchubashov and I. Ziyadkhanov from Azerbaijan. A.M. Topchubashov was elected chairman of the fraction. When the fraction was created, it had 22 members, because the parliamentarians elected from the provinces of Kyrkyzia, Turkistan, Pre-Caspian, Fergane, Semirechinsk, Syr-Derya, Ak-mola and Daghestan had not arrived yet. It worried very much the initiators of the creation of the fraction, because the State Duma had already begun to discuss such important issues like the agrarian issue, the freedom of conscience, civic equality, and the inquiries of the parliamentarians were submitted if it was signed by 30 of them. It was necessary to be organized and “disclose one’s attitude to these issues”<sup>471</sup>. The speaker of the State Duma was informed about the creation of the fraction, and a special room was assigned for it. But an official announcement was not made on the creation of the fraction and its activity was not well illuminated in the press.

The fraction decided to act unanimously with the Popular Liberation Party. A.M. Topchubashov informed P.N. Milyukov, chairman of the party, about it<sup>472</sup>. The meeting of the Popular Liberation Party accepted this proposal at once, and decided to allow the representative of the fraction join the fraction committee of the Cadets and to give the right to be elected to the Central Committee of the Cadets<sup>473</sup>.

What made the Muslim parliamentarians come close the Cadets was the slogan of “the equality of all nations”.

The fraction held several meetings. In the first meeting it was decided to discuss the reports on all the draft laws and inquiries submitted to the State Duma comprehensively. But not any of the intended objectives were fulfilled. The only sign of the activity of the fraction was the meeting held on June 24 in which the provisions of the agrarian reform were discussed<sup>474</sup>. The steps of the fraction were not courageous, and it could not do anything important for the activity of the agrarian commission, because of it the name of the fraction is not mentioned in the records of its sessions held from June 7 till July 8, that is, in other words, the commission ignored the proposals of the Muslim Fraction<sup>475</sup>. The project on the law of conscience was reported, but it was not discussed, because the State Duma had already been dissolved. The fraction charged A.M. Topchubashov to make a statement that the plunders in Belostok had been organized by the local authorities. But A.M. Topchubashov could not do it, because the discussions had been stopped, not any one could even get the floor<sup>476</sup>.

As the State Duma was dissolved, the inquiries of the fraction were not considered. The session of the fraction appointed for July 14 could not hear the report of A.M. Topchubashov on the composition and objectives of the fraction<sup>477</sup>. Determination of the restrictions provided by the laws of the Russian Empire concerning the Muslims, begun by the parliamentarians Aktyamov, Alkin and Topchubashov, was not completed<sup>478</sup>.

The main object of discussions of the First State Duma and of those which followed was the agrarian-peasantry issue. It was not accidental that the position of all the parties and fractions was clearly seen only in this issue.

On May 8, the Cadets submitted the draft of the agrarian law of “the 42s” to the discussion of the State Duma. The project partly allowed the compulsory alienation of the lands of the landlords. Instead of this law the draft of the Bolshevik agrarian law, called the draft of “the 104s”, demanded the complete confiscation of the lands of the big land owners, “creation of a common land fund”, that is, the nationalization of the land<sup>479</sup>.





*Asadulla bey Muradkhanov*

On June 24, the Muslim Fraction discussed the main provisions of the agrarian reform. It was pointed out in the project of the fraction that the lands of the Muslim religious institutions could not be alienated, the land shares could be increased on the account of the lands of the Emperor, cabinet and monasteries. Lands in the private ownership could be alienated only in cases "when there was a demand for it or on the account of the confiscated lands by paying a fair price for them". The project demanded the cease of migrations<sup>480</sup>.

On June 23, "an urgent" statement was submitted to the speaker of the State Duma. It expressed protest against the information of the Ministry on the Issues of Land published in the press. The information said as if the Land Code discredited the State Duma in the eye of the population by saying

that “the treasury, share, cabinet, monastery, church lands and the compulsorily confiscated lands would be given to the peasants”. This statement was signed by M.T.Aliyev, too<sup>481</sup>.

A.M.Topchubashov also took part in the discussions of the agrarian commission. He considered that the protest of the agrarian commission was completely to the point, but called to soften the tone of the protest, and at the same time, “as a parliamentarian from the outskirts” and “a Caucasian” proposed to disseminate the information of the agrarian commission widely, and to disseminate it not only in the official language of the country, but also in the local languages, if possible. “Let each nation – the Tatars, Armenians, Poles, Georgians and others read in the native languages what is being done here. Let each nation read in his mother language and know: what is the present Ministry and who obstacles the effective work of the representatives of the people?”<sup>482</sup>

Later in his article published in the newspaper “Kaspiy” A.M. Topchubashov pointed out that “it is impossible to give place to the issues of local-national nature, when the issues of the equality of all the Russian subjects, freedom of conscience, word, immunity of the person, provision of peasants with lands, issues common for the whole country are being developed. The interests of the nations of Russia do not allow it, all the conditions of the present period are against it”<sup>483</sup>.

The First State Duma could not solve the agrarian problem. The government eager to satisfy the interests of the landlords by the way of “legislation” could only issue several decrees which completely turned down the demands of compulsory alienation of the lands of landlords.

I.Ziyadkhanov answered the inquiries of the parliamentarians in connection with the inter-ethnic clashes in the guberniyas of Erevan and Yelisavetpol and also mentioned the agrarian issue. According to him the main misfortune was the migration policy of the Czar. Protesting against this policy, he said:” Like the Central Russia we are also in need of land. We also suffer from the scarcity and lack of land. But the administration solved the problem quite differently. There was no need for any commission or auxiliary commission at all. They think that their system is excellent: They left the fascinating Georgia under the trample of troops, but what concerns the provinces populated by the Armenians and Muslims, they instigated these two nations confront each other and decided that it is easy to wipe out the two nations from the earth in this way. Then, Messrs Gurko and Stishinsky, we ask you humbly to turn the bloody lands scattered with the bones of the brave sons of the Caucasus into the spaces of your migration”

In his speech I.Ziyadkhanov made efforts to express the desires and hopes of socially higher layers of population of Azerbaijan, too. In his sufficiently broad speech, he reflected all the demands of the Azerbaijani entrepreneurs expressed in all their petitions and appeals in the beginning of the 20th century. He expressed his protest against the political lawlessness in the frames of the Empire, demanded that the Azerbaijani entrepreneurs and landlords had to have equal rights with those of Russia. From the rostrum of the State Duma he accused the government of violence, informed about the restricted rights of the Muslim clergy. With a bitter ache in the heart he said:”Already such a time has come that we have also awoken and have no right to keep silent. One hundred years ago Russia conquered the Caucasus...If you touch upon any sphere of the socio-political and economic life, you will see only lawlessness... They have even taken the money of the Muslim charitable institutons. The mosques are being pulled down here, minarets fell down, how many years are necessary to get money for their restoration?” He drew attention to the absence of zemstvos, to the restrictions applied to the representatives of the local people in the elections to the organs of self-administration of towns. He expressed his anxiety that the Azerbaijanis with higher education were banned to occupy posts in the state organs. “It is not worth mentioning the education of the population...If you move in all four directions a distance of 100 versts (a verst=1,05km), you will not come across a single school”<sup>484</sup>.

The Azerbaijani and other parliamentarians of the State Duma were interested in the personal and property security of the population. On June 26, 1906, a group of parliamentarians, 31 in number, submitted an appeal to the Minister of Internal Affaires and expressed their anxiety with the strengthened protective measures in some places till the issue of the main laws (as it was declared on April of 1906). A.Hagverdiyev was among them<sup>485</sup>. In the inquiry of the parliamentarians concerning the measures for ensuring the security of the population and their property in the guberniyas of Erevan and Yelisavetpol the inquirers warned that such a situation had been continuing in the said guberniyas for more than a year and “it had resulted in the loss of thousands of human lives and led to the sheer impoverishment of the region”. They asked to send an inquiry to the vice-Roy of the Caucasus to inform on the measures for removing the anarchy and chaos. The fate of this inquiry was like this: The State Duma did not think it to be an urgent issue; it was discussed in the general meeting and sent to the chairman of the Council of Ministers<sup>486</sup>. On June 7, that is , on the eve of dissolution of the State Duma, the chairman of the Council



of Ministers Gorimykin replied to the chairman of the State Duma that “the post and powers of the vice-Roy are completely independent with regards to the Ministry of General Settlement of Population, and therefore the Council of Ministers has not any powers and necessary information to reply to the inquiries of the State Duma on the Caucasian region”<sup>487</sup>. Thus, the Council of Ministers demonstrated complete indifference to the fates of the Caucasian peoples and directed the authors of the inquiry to the vice-Roy. The events of the very 1906 showed that the vice-Roy was not eager to take any measures for ensuring the security and immunity of population in the region.

The Azerbaijani parliamentarians A.M.Topchubashov, I.Ziyadkhanov, M.T.Aliyev and A.Muradkhanov demonstrated unanimity with other members of the State Duma and appealed to its chairman on June 22, 1906, and asked him “to recall at once the strazhnks (policemen controlling the public order) consisting of the mountaineers from the province of Terek of the Caucasian administration who trained plunderers of the peaceful Russian citizens”<sup>488</sup>. In this way the Azerbaijani representatives in the State Duma wanted to obstacle the policy of the Czar administration which cherished hopes in stirring the feelings of hostility and hatred among the nations of the Russian Empire.

M.T.Aliyev together with 30 parliamentarians appealed to the chairman of the State Duma and demanded to punish the persons guilty in violence committed against the political prisoners and drove them to the degree of suicide<sup>489</sup>.

I.Ziyadkhanov joined the statement on the prevention of manifestations of tyranny in the pre-Baltic region and “on the necessity of measures for removing the wistful cases of lawlessness”<sup>490</sup>. The parliamentarians of the State Duma, including A.Hagverdiyev, informed the State Duma about the telegram from the residents of Novominsk. The telegram informed about the committed injustices and death penalty sentences, and demanded to stop their execution. T.M.Aliyev, A.Muradkhanov and others informed the chairman of the State Duma on the tyranny of the administration of the Sumy uyezd of the Kharkov guberniya and demanded to take measures for the punishment of the guilty<sup>491</sup>. The Crimean Tatars authorized A.M. Topchubashov to convey their petition to the State Duma in detail. Because of dissolution of the State Duma A.M.Topchubashov could not deliver their request to the State Duma.

The Azerbaijani parliamentarians took part in the discussion and submission of various inquiries and “legislative statements”. But they did not sign the appeal of the 45 parliamentarians on compulsory education at school. It was noted in the appeal that as a result of indifferent attitude to this issue “there is not such a huge contingent of illiterates in any country of Europe as in Russia. The attempts to open schools in the environment of one’s nation, in the mother language very often led to persecutions”<sup>492</sup>. Undoubtedly, the Azerbaijani parliamentarians joined such statements, because the demand of opening schools in the mother language was one of the provisions of the petitions of socially higher layers of the society. They included this demand to the programmatic documents of conferences and congresses. In addition, in his speech about the inquiry concerning the inter-ethnic clashes, I.Ziyadkhanov spoke about the restrictions, which the Muslims faced, and said:”There is a need for the enlightenment and improvement of the education of the people. In the villages there are no schools at all, all kinds of novelties are persecuted in schools, and some higher schools are banned to admit the Muslims. After graduating from the higher schools the Muslims are not allowed to teach at schools not only in the Transcaucasia, but in the whole Russian Empire”.



The political goal of all the Azerbaijani parliamentarians, as well as that of the Muslim Fraction in the First State Duma has been very exactly expressed in the article of A.M.Topchubashov titled "The parliament fraction of Muslims". "The program of Muslims is based fully on the Constitution and proposes to nationalize the lands of the province, to be granted complete autonomy in religious issues, to institute small self-administration units and regional conferences and to be given wide autonomy in administration"493. A.M.Topchubashov wrote that "... in the brief life of the State Duma, which lasted 72 days, there did not happen any incident or conflict on national grounds", he praised the representatives of the people, who "from the first step understood that they are to direct their activities to the solution of the issues of socio-political state building, which was common for all the nations of Russia"494. But in this way they were also eager to get some privileges for themselves. They cherished hopes in the liquidation of a number of restrictions for the Muslim population of the outskirts of Russia. In the August of 1905, in the First Congress of all the Muslims of Russia in Nizhni Novgorod they declared that "they were trying to renew all the civic life and the structure of the political life on the principles of freedom, truth and mercifulness, on the principles of the constitutional form of ruling the Russian Empire".

The Muslim Fraction took effective steps for acquainting the multi-million Muslim population with the activity of the First Russian State Duma by delivering lectures, holding talks, by publishing articles in the newspapers, by visiting the Muslim provinces, by convening congresses.

But the activity of the First State Duma, in which the parliamentarians from the Muslim outskirts cherished great hopes, ended ahead of time and sufficiently disgracefully. The Czar government was resolutely determined to close "the represented legislative organ". Later A.M.Topchubashov wrote: "...the government came to such a conclusion that the parliamentarians in the State Duma were not working well ...and what was more important that they were very hostile to the ministers. In connection with the dissolution of the First State Duma it was declared to the country that they needed quite different representatives to work with the government, representatives who had to be for the government, not against it"495.

On July 9 the doors of the Palace of Tavriya was closed. It was unexpected for the members of the State Duma, for the members of the Muslim Fraction of the State Duma. Because they had to have two meetings on that day: in the morning they had to have a meeting with the Muslims of Petersburg, in the afternoon they had the meeting of the bureau496.

On the initiative of the fraction of Cadets the parliamentarians declared their protest against the government a little. The fraction decided to hold the meetings in Vyborg and continue them together with the Trudoviks (Labourites) and Social-Democrats.

On July 9 and 10 the meetings were held in Vyborg497. They were attended by the Azerbaijani parliamentarians, too. It was decided to form a mixed commission for the development of the text of the appeal-challenge to the people. The project of the challenge of the representatives of the people to the nation developed by the fraction of the Cadets was signed by the participants of the meetings in Vyborg. Among the signatories were A.M. Topchubashov and I.Ziyadkhanov, too498.

The authors of the Vyborg Challenge declared to the citizens of Russia about the dissolution of the State Duma and warned them on the followings: "Fulfilling your errand and our duty we were developing laws for ensuring the freedom of the people, demanded to dismiss the irresponsible ministers who violated the laws, suffocated the freedom and remained unpunished, but before all, we were desiring to adopt a law for giving lands to the village laborers by compulsory alienation of the lands of landlords, including the treasury, emperor, cabinet, monastery and church lands. The government considered this law unacceptable. When the State Duma insistently approved its resolution on the compulsory alienation of the land for the second time, the State Duma was dissolved".

The Vyborg Challenge called all the population of Russia to resist against the dissolution of the State Duma, to refuse to pay taxes, to join the army, not to recognize the state loans. The document said: "...Without the representation of the people do not pay a single kopeck to the treasury, do not send anyone to the army. Keep firmly on your refusal, let everyone rise in the defense of his rights...In this obligatory, but inescapable struggle the people you have elected will be with you"499.

The Czar government and the local authorities were very much worried. On July 12, 1906, the vice-Roy of the Caucasus sent a telegram to the Minister of Internal Affairs: "I have reasons to say that the return of the members of the former State Duma will have some difficulties, therefore I ask you to inform me about the date of their return to the Caucasus in order to conduct observations, prevent the riots and take necessary measures in time"500.

The acting governor-general of Baku sent an instruction to all the editors and publishers of newspapers and the print houses and banned them to print the challenge of the former members of the

State Duma and threatened them with the most serious punishment<sup>501</sup>. And on July 31, the chief of gendarme of Baku asked the Police Department to send him a copy of the original of the Vyborg Challenge in order to determine the identity of the challenge of the former members of the State Duma, for the purpose of conducting investigations in the office entrusted to him<sup>502</sup>.

But the Cadets could not strengthen their response to the attacks of the government with their constructive actions. The Challenge remained hanging in the air. The participants of the Vyborg meetings were severely punished. Criminal cases were instigated against the signatories of the challenge for being trialed in court. Some of them, for instance, I. Ziyadkhanov and A.M. Topchubashov did not deny their participation in the development of the challenge and refused to give explanations on the essence of the accusation<sup>503</sup>. "Aristocrats by origin Alimardan bey Topchubashov from the guberniya of Baku aged 42, ... Ismail khan Abulfat khan oghlu Ziyadkhanov from the guberniya of Yelisavetpol, aged 39", are accused of enticing the population of Russia to disobedience and counter action against the law through the challenge addressed to the people, and disseminated many copies of the said challenge within the boundaries of Russia<sup>504</sup>.

The court trial held in the December of 1907 sentenced the accused to three months of imprisonment. One hundred and sixty-seven members of the State Duma, including A.M. Topchubashov and I. Ziyadkhanov were deprived of the right to be elected to the State Duma in future<sup>505</sup>. A.M. Topchubashov was removed from editing the newspaper "Kaspiy". On February 15, 1907, the duma of Baku considered the issue of his being removed from the membership of the town council. Some members of the council insisted "to consider him to be removed temporarily" on the basis of the example of the city council of Moscow<sup>507</sup>. Nevertheless, A.M. Topchubashov was removed from the post of the membership of the town council<sup>508</sup>.

On September 14, 1906, the Council of Ministers considered the issue of compatibility of the occupation of posts in the government offices with the affiliation in political parties. It was noted in the instruction sent to the organs of local power that it concerned "the persons who in their activities made efforts to fight against the government and called the population to the struggle, though they did not refer themselves openly to the revolutionary forces". Such a case is inadmissible, and it must not be allowed in any country<sup>509</sup>.

After the dissolution of the First State Duma the government announced the elections to the Second State Duma. In connection with it the newspaper "Kaspiy" explained to its readers that after the dissolution of the State Duma the government did everything to discredit the Cadets among the population, "but it was impossible to make the people believe that the best scholars, professors, publicists of Russia, figures of zemstvo and towns, who were the members of the Popular Liberation Party, had become real "rebellions" and "revolutionaries", if we even take into account the existence of the Vyborg Challenge. The names of the leaders of this party and those of the main political figures were disclosed to everybody and said that despite their mistakes in the tactics and program, the Cadets were the most serious Constitutionalists and the real supporters of the representation of the people<sup>510</sup>. Then the newspaper declared that the ministry headed by Stolypin had violated Article 87 of the Basic Law, which did not allow the changes in the election code in the interim period, and changed the composition of electors. It had increased the number of "the big landowners in the uyezds and entrepreneurs in the towns" instead of "the democratic elements". He was sure that anyone who approached the ballot-box would solve everything: "who had led the country to the spiritual-moral and economic destitution, ... who was right in the conflict between the government and the State Duma, and whom to send to the Second State Duma<sup>511</sup>.

To win the majority of votes the entrepreneurs used the pages of their own newspapers abundantly<sup>512</sup>. They were calling the "progressive forces "eager to restore the constitutional order in Russia" to put aside all the misunderstandings in the program and the tactical errors, debates, differences" and called "to display solidarity both in the elections<sup>513</sup> and in the State Duma<sup>514</sup> itself because of the birth of a common threat". The articles were blessing the future parliamentarians. It was written in one of them like this: "The Caucasus is an integral part of the Russian Empire; its peoples do not follow any separatist goal... The manifest of October 17 is the real implementation of the freedoms into life, it is the real participation of the representatives of the people in the legislation of the country, the ministries and the organs of self administration based on broad principles bear responsibility. By serious constitutional order we understand just the said. And in the present circumstances these must form the basis of the programs of all the progressive parties... The above-mentioned elements must use this slogan as a guide in the forthcoming elections<sup>515</sup>. The article reproached the extremely Leftist parties of the Caucasus, which tried to institute a single class party, irrespective of the nationality of its members, for fighting



against all the nationalistic elements for the sake of internationalism”, and expressed its displeasure “with some extreme Leftists, who considered that it was impossible to join the election agreement proposed by the newspaper”<sup>516</sup>.

A.M.Topchubashov appeared with a cycle of articles titled “Towards the Elections”. He wrote that “because of the reasons existing in the period of ignorance all the changes in the mood of the population have been denounced by the government itself, the change of the existing system on the principles of freedom of citizens and political freedoms is inescapable in favor of more insistent manifestations and must take place. This case in the language of the parliament is called “becoming a Leftist” or “strengthening the opposition”<sup>517</sup>. Being devoted to his own political conviction, A.M. Topchubashov expressed the hope that the Popular Liberation Party would play an important role in the Second State Duma, too. He thought that the Popular Liberation Party would be able to unite “the progressive elements” and in this way direct the majority of the activity of the State Duma to the adoption of legislative acts, which “would ensure the immunity of the citizens of Russia and ensure all their constitutional rights”<sup>518</sup>. A.M. Topchubashov blessed the new Azerbaijani parliamentarians of the State Duma as “the representatives of the peasantry” and charged them with an only objective: “They must bear in mind that only in unity with the best elements of the State Duma they may defend the interests of the peasants who have elected them, and those of the masses of laborers of the Baku guberniya, in general. The power of men is not only in their unity, in the present circumstances it is the only remedy, the only way of survival”<sup>519</sup>. Along with it, A.M.Topchubashov kept silent in many issues, including the differences existing in the agrarian issue between the Party of Trudoviks (Laborites) represented by Z.Zeynalov and the Cadets represented by M.Mahmudov.

The elections held in conformity with the interests of the socially higher layers of society already did not satisfy their own selves, too. The newspapers wrote about it like this: those persons known worthy of being elected to the State Duma “at least they are to be able to understand something, at least are to be able to explain their thoughts”<sup>520</sup>.As an example the newspapers mentioned the name of “the poor” Z.Zeynalov who had himself confessed that “he was not ready for being a parliamentarian”. Commenting this case the newspaper wrote: “Nevertheless, there was not anybody better than him and the responsible persons were obliged to choose him”<sup>521</sup>.

F.I.Khoisky, Kh.H.Khasmammadov, I. Z.Taghiyev, M.M.Shahtakhtinsky, M. H. Mahmudov, Z. E. Zeynalov were elected to the Second State Duma.

Fatali khan Iskender khan oghlu Khoisky - aged 31, landlord, college assessor, graduate of the Law Faculty of Moscow University, assistant of the attorney of the county court of Yekaterinburg, member of the second section, of the subcommittee of the State Duma, member of the Popular Liberation Party;Khalil bey Hajibala oghlu Khasmammadov – aged 34, landlord, college assessor, graduate of the Law Faculty of Moscow University, assistant of the attorney of the province court in Yekaterinodar, member of the second section of the State Duma and five of its commissions, member of the Popular Liberation Party; Ismail Zeynal oghlu Taghiyev – aged 42, official civil advisor, son of Haji Zeynalabdin Taghiyev,the biggest Azerbaijani entrepreneur, graduate of Baku High Technical School, businessman, member of the ninth section of the State Duma, non-partisan; Mahammad agha Mammadtaghi Sultan oghlu Shahtakhtinsky – aged 56, from the family of a landlord, attended courses of lectures in Sorbonne University of France, graduate of the Faculty of Philosophy of Leipzig University, publisher of the newspaper “Shargi-Rus”, member of the ninth section of the State Duma, member of the food and agrarian commissions, member of the Popular Liberation Party; Mustafa Hajimusa oghlu Mahmudov – aged 29, from the peasant’s family, graduate of the Teacher-Training Seminary in Gori, teacher of the first Russian-Tatar school in Baku, later its master, member of the ninth section and four commissions of the State Duma, member of the Popular Liberation Party; Zeynal Eynal oghlu Zeynalov – aged 29, from the peasant’s family, got his education at home, mechanic of the Caspian-Black Seas Association, chairman of the Muslim Fraction on labor, member of three commissions, member of the group of laborers<sup>522</sup>.

I.Z.Taghiyev, who was elected from Baku, did not go to Petersburg. On March 24, 1907, M. Shahtakhtinsky appealed to the editor of the newspaper “Progress” A.Aghayev to find out whether I.Taghiyev was eager to take part in the State Duma<sup>523</sup>. The newspaper “Progress” informed that “the parliamentarian has been elected by default, nobody has been aware of it in advance, nobody has demanded him to announce his program about his future activity in the State Duma, nobody recognizes him, in one word, though being elected from Baku he is still an enigma for the big part of the population”<sup>524</sup>. The newspaper “Progress” published an open letter of M. Shahtakhtinsky and A.Aghayev to I.Taghiyev. The letter said that if he officially declared his refusal to take part in the State

Duma, Baku would have the chance to elect a new parliamentarian. According to the information of M.Mahmudov, the Muslim parliamentarians had also joined the letter<sup>525</sup>. But the appeal remained unanswered.

I.Taghiyev preferred his business to the State Duma. But at first he wanted to go to the State Duma. The followings prove it, too. In the February of 1907 he got a congratulatory telegram from the chief of the town K.Safaraliyev and answered to it like this: "I am obliged to express my sincere gratitude to those who have elected me to the State Duma for their confidence and sympathy"<sup>526</sup>. While speaking about his candidacy to the State Duma at the meeting with M.H.Hajinsky (it is to the point to say that M. H.Hajinsky referred him to the right wing of the Cadets), he had declared that "as a parliamentarian from Baku it was his moral-spiritual duty to defend the interests of all the residents of Baku, irrespective of their nationality and religion"...In such a case it would have been impossible for him to take part in the activity of the Muslim party"<sup>527</sup>.

As a result, Baku was not represented in the State Duma. It worried very much the Russian Muslims who had the least number of parliamentarians in the State Duma. The central bureau of the Union of the Muslims of Russia sent its representative to Baku, but he returned without any result<sup>528</sup>.

The Second State Duma began its work on the 20th of February, 1907. F. A. Golovin from the party of Cadets was elected its chairman. The Azerbaijani entrepreneurs cherished great hopes in the new State Duma, they thought that "the 20th of February will be a day, which will mark the beginning of a new period in the country"<sup>529</sup>. The Azerbaijani entrepreneurs declared their assurance that the Russian parliamentarians of the State Duma would take into account the activities of the Azerbaijani parliamentarians in the First State Duma, particularly their unanimity with the Russian parliamentarians in the signature of the Vyborg Challenge, would hence understand them better and defend their position<sup>530</sup>. The members of the dumas of Baku and Yelisavetpol also welcomed the State Duma<sup>531</sup> and hoped that "the new representatives of the people will continue and lead to the end the mission of the First State Duma for ensuring freedom, law and order in the country, will create necessary grounds for speeding them".

The Azerbaijani entrepreneurs and their ideologists were sufficiently attentive to the elections, as well as to the activity of the new State Duma. The periodicals illuminated the events ongoing in the State Duma very comprehensively.

The Azerbaijani parliamentarian M.Shahtakhtinsky appreciated the necessity of the State Duma like this: "Everybody understands that in this present exciting and dangerous time, in which we live, even within the narrow political influence of the current law in force the activity of the representation of the people deserves high appreciation"<sup>532</sup>.

The magazine "Fuyuzat" blessed the parliamentarians and wrote: "... in order not to be deceived it is necessary to be careful with "the neutrals" and take the side of the parties which declare the goals of their programs...But our only desire is that the Muslims should have their own party and own program...At the same time we want that the equality and freedom of the Muslims should be ensured...We must join those parties which respect our religion and language. Our salvation, our rescue are in the unity of the parties which demand equal rights and freedom"<sup>533</sup>. Then the magazine promised the readers to convey information to the readers about the essence of the programs of all the parties.

The press charged the parliamentarians with errands: "Stand on the guard of the interests of your brothers in religion, in general, sacrifice your own interests for the life and progress of the citizens of Russia, particularly for the sake of the cultural development of the oppressed multi-million Muslim people"<sup>534</sup>. In his reply to the said M.Mahmudov assured the readers that "they will selflessly work for the freedom and cultural development of the multi-million suffering Muslim people"<sup>535</sup>.

The press appreciated the actions and speeches of the parliamentarians as well. The distribution of the seats in the presidium of the State Duma also did not escape from the attention of the press. The election of S.A.Magsudov assistant of the secretary was met with great satisfaction<sup>536</sup>. It was appreciated as the service of all the Muslim parliamentarians. At the meeting of the fraction of Cadets they managed the election of a representative of the Muslim outskirts one of the assistants of the secretary<sup>537</sup>. In connection with it the press expressed the hope that "the Muslims would get the same civil, political and religious rights together with the peoples of other nationalities"<sup>538</sup>. M.Mahmudov protested against the increase of the number of secretaries and in this case "he addressed not the accomplices of Solypin, but the representatives of the people"<sup>539</sup>, wrote the newspapers describing his displeasure. The newspapers wrote that each parliamentarian was free to express his views, but it was necessary to abstain from such actions"<sup>540</sup>.

The Azerbaijani parliamentarians participated in the parliament fraction of Muslims. F.Khoisky and Kh.Khasmammadov were members of its bureau<sup>541</sup>.The newspaper “Irshad” wrote:”Our Muslim parliamentarians must form a separate fraction first and foremost. That fraction must discuss the political, economic and other needs, after the discussions draft laws must be developed and submitted to the State Duma”<sup>542</sup>.



The former leader of the parliamentary fraction A.M.Topchubashov was taking an active part in the work of the fraction. Though he was officially banned to be engaged in the parliamentary activities after the signature of the Vyborg Challenge, he went to Petersburg several times and took part in the sittings of the Muslim parliamentary fraction, which developed the position of the fraction on the draft laws discussed in the State Duma and on the adopted laws, and he also took part in the meetings of the members of the Central Committee of the Union of All the Muslims of Russia, and even sometimes chaired them<sup>543</sup>. He even headed the bureau of this organization, which had to assist the activities of the fraction outside of the State Duma<sup>544</sup>. The fraction mainly maintained the position of the Cadets in its activities, fulfilled the errands of the Union of Muslims and continued the policy of the First State Duma.

The parliamentary fraction of Muslims developed their own program and printed it in the form of a separate booklet <sup>545</sup>. The program consisted of 11 sections; they defined the rights of citizens and contained provisions on the structure of the state, on religion, local self-administration, courts, education, finances, economy, issues of workers and peasants, as well as on the political goals and objectives of the party. The fraction called all the Muslim the citizens of Russia, all who shared their political ideas, made efforts to change the form of administration of the Russian Empire. The fraction considered the constitutional parliamentary monarchy the most suitable form of administration for Russia. In such a case the supreme power was transferred to the monarch, whose authorities were restricted with the constitution, and to one-chamber parliament consisting of the representatives of the people, "elected in general elections, on equal conditions, directly and by secret balloting", which had to be called the All-Russian State Duma or All-Russian Parliament. Returning to the problem of the representation of the Muslims in the State Duma, the fraction thought that it had to be proportional to the number of the Muslim population of Russia. The program also contained the demands expressed in the petitions submitted by the Azerbaijani entrepreneurs and their ideologists for many times at the beginning of the 20th century: equal civic and political rights for the Muslim population with the rest of the population of Russia, inclusion of these rights into the basic laws of the Empire, application of primary compulsory, free-of-charge education, assurance of education in the mother language, electiveness of the courts, institution of the jury, use of the local languages in all the local elective organs, in courts together with Russian in certain provinces of the Empire where the local population formed the majority. The program repeated the proposals of the Cadets concerning the alienation of the land and payment of its cost to its former owner in fair prices.

The representatives of the Muslim outskirts demanded the equality of political and civic rights, freedom of the union of workers, freedom of assembly, the right to go on a strike," "assurance of Fridays as non-working days for the Muslim workers by legislation, release of the Muslims from the celebration of the Christian holidays".

Just in the first sessions of the State Duma the fraction demonstrated its loyalty to the government. F.Khoisky defended the idea of the Cadets to meet in silence the statement of the government made by the chairman of the Council of Ministers P.A.Stolypin at the session of the State Duma on March 6 and declared on behalf of the Muslim Fraction that "the statement determines the road of the government for implementing into life its intended policy" and "the fraction thought it to be more expedient to postpone the disclosure of its considerations concerning the statement of the government till the submission of the drafts of separate legislative acts to the State Duma by the ministry"<sup>546</sup>. The Cadets and the representatives of the Muslim outskirts, who shared with them the same views, were trying to escape conflicts and hurried the parliamentarians to pass to other issues without the discussion of the statement of the government<sup>547</sup>. Appreciating this tactics A.M.Topchubashov wrote:" with it the State Duma proved that "the systemic and balanced nature of its work can not be violated with considerations and ideas deprived of firm and vital grounds, and it must not be violated"<sup>548</sup>. A.Aghayev disclosed his attitude to the position of the Cadets and wrote:"This party in essence follows only political goals, and therefore it includes social and economic objectives into its program. It is done only because of tactical considerations; its dubious and deceitful position derives from it, too. Each time when these objectives emerge with all their acuteness and urgency before the party and demand legislative sanctions, the party is at a loss, and tries to find rescue in "practical considerations", in "national necessity" and in "efficiency". These people who once gave priority to the issue of land, to compulsory alienation of the land, the issue of workers, the regulation of the relations between the capital and labor in their programs... who once signed the Vyborg Challenge... now tremble when they face these problems, and finally throw themselves into the bosom of Stolypin, into the bosom of the ministry, which drove away the demonstrators, which punished them ruthlessly, throw themselves into the bosom of drum-head court

martial. In confusion they stammer, repeat the words of Mr. Stolypin, the only difference is that Stolypin's speech is more interesting, more resolute, and the speaker's talent is more obvious"549.

In the March of 1907 the Muslim Fraction in the State Duma broke. Several members of the fraction, more exactly, Khasanov, Zeynalov, Atlasov, Nemetdinov, Magasutov550 (Magsudov is meant – D. S.) declared that they did not believe the efficiency of the work performed jointly by the ardent Cadets, "the parliamentarians, who have joined the program of the constitutional monarchy, and the Socialists"551. These parliamentarians considered themselves to be the friends of the peasants and, first and foremost, were displeased with the delay of the discussions of the agrarian issue, which was the main issue, by the fraction, "did not hurry to support the compulsory alienation of land"552, "have completely forgotten the workers and the peasants, and their program has been developed only for the rich"553. They appealed to their electors and explained the reasons of their break with the fraction and the merge with the Trudoviks (Laborites), they promised their electors that they would add to the platform of the Trudoviks the demand on the education in one's mother language. It is to the point to say that the electors approved such a behavior of the dissenters. It is proved by the letters of the electors, too554. The dissenters wrote in their explanation that "the leading circles of the Muslims of Russia" made use of the thorough comprehension of their interests on the part of various layers of the Muslim population and claimed that the Muslim landlords and Muslim peasants shared the same interests, stressed the necessity of breaking away "with the representatives of other nations fighting for freedom", and thus, they were trying to protect the Muslims from the influence of the politically more conscious elements of other nations of Russia "The dissenters confessed that the demands proposed by them would be obstructed by" the riff-raff of the monarchy of Russia". They related the fulfillment of these demands with "the close mutual relations of the masses and the unity of these masses in the State Duma around the demands of the people" and presented them as "the first and necessary steps" towards their implementation into life. They challenged "the democratic masses"555 not to an active struggle, but to peaceful cooperation with the State Duma. The merge in one single fraction caused suspicion in them. Proceeding from their ideas the newspaper "Rus" (Russia) wrote that "the creation of national groups in the State Duma is possible only if the national issue becomes the subject of consideration"556.

On March 11, the Laborist group of the Muslim Fraction headed by Z. Zeynalov declared its merge with the Labor group of the State Duma557. The statement published in the newspaper "Kaspiy" wrote in connection with it: "We, the parliamentarians elected from among the toilers, do not agree with the Muslim Fraction only in economic and political issues, in the rest of issues, particularly in purely Muslim ones we shall work together with the Muslim Fraction in conformity with the desire of the Muslims of Russia"558. By "the rest of issues" they meant "the clarification of the essence of *vəqf* (charitable religious institution) and its legal norms, "the issue of the restriction of the civic rights of the Muslims"559, and the fraction intended to take part in those commissions which were for the discussion and solution of these issues. In the April and May of 1907, Z. Zeynalov and G. Khasanov published the newspaper "State Duma" in Petersburg. Through the newspaper they tried to acquaint the readers with the attitude of the fraction to the issues discussed in the State Duma as much as possible. For instance, the article devoted to the social and other conditions of the workers of Baku by Z. Zeynalov was of that kind560.

F. Khoisky and Kh. Khasmammadov related themselves to "the Young Tatar Party with the leftist orientation" and declared the program of the said party to be "for the rich and the aristocrats"561, therefore they did not accept it wholly. In such circumstances the central bureau of the Union of Muslims appealed to the Muslim Fraction. The central bureau confessed certain "faults" in the program and called the Muslims to take the provisions of the program as a guide562.

The Azerbaijani parliamentarians were elected to different commissions of the State Duma from the Popular Liberation Party. For instance, M. Shahtakhtinsky was the member of the parliamentary fraction of this party in the State Duma and was elected to the following commissions: commission of national-religious equality, commission on local self-administration, commission for the development of the drafts of law for the elections to zemstvo institutions, agrarian commission, commission on the equality of peasants, commission on legislation, commission on education and commission on self-administration of the towns563. The parliamentarians Kh. Khasmammadov and F. Khoisky were members of the commission on national-religious equality564.

On March 9, the Cadets resorted to a new trick and submitted to the State Duma the new draft of law on drum-head court martial for consideration. They knew well that the term of validity of the drum-head court martial applied in the August of 1906 expired on April 20, 1907. This document was adopted by the State Duma, but refused by the Council of Ministers in May565. M. Mahmudov and

M.Shahtakhtinsky supported the liquidation of the drum-head court martial. M.Shahtakhtinsky wrote: "Legally the State Duma has the right to annul the existing permanent laws. Because of it the State Duma demanded the cancellation of this provisional law on the drum-head court martial. What was the result? The Council of Ministers did not support the demand of the State Duma, the proposal on the cancellation of the drum-head court martial did not pass". He then confessed: "Thus, as in this case, when the State Duma relies not on the letter, but on the spirit of the law, it encounters obstacles on its road in implementing its legislative activity into life"<sup>566</sup>. The Azerbaijani parliamentarians F.Khoisky, M.Mahmudov and Kh.Khasmammadov appealed to the minister of War for the mitigation of the capital punishment of persons sentenced by the Caucasian drum-head court martial. But the appeal was refused<sup>567</sup>.

On March 21, 1907, the Cadets decided at the sitting of the parliamentary fraction that not only the principle of partisanship, but also the principles of national and religious affiliation should be taken as a guide in the elections to the commission of the State Duma on the freedom of conscience and national equality. Taking it as a guide, they decided to elect a commission of 15 persons with three Muslims in it"<sup>568</sup>.

On March 28, the sitting of the parliamentary commission of the Cadets on national-religious issues heard the reports of the sub-commission of the Muslims. M.Shahtakhtinsky also took part in discussions. He supported the representative of the Kirghizians Garabayev and focused attention on the issues of self-administration in the towns, education and on restrictions applied to the Muslims in the admission to civil service. The commission proposed to the representatives of the national-religious groups to compile the list of the laws and the articles of these laws which restrict the rights of the Muslims subject to cancellation<sup>569</sup>. The Muslim Fraction had hurried in setting up a commission for the development of a law draft for the cancellation of these restrictions in future and in charging the commission to compile the list of restrictions<sup>570</sup>. Apparently, it was the next formal step. The speech of M.Shahtakhtinsky at the sitting of the fraction in the April 1907 proves how much consistent the Cadets were in their relation to the nations. At the sitting the parliamentarians were discussing the draft law on general elections. M.Shahtakhtinsky focused attention on such a fact that the draft did not touch upon the national needs and noted that the fraction of the Constitutional Democrats did not pay attention to the Muslims sufficiently<sup>571</sup>. N. V.Teslenko, one of the active members of the fraction, in reply to him declared that they had appealed to the Muslims many times, but they had not developed any concrete proposal. It was decided to draw the Muslims to the development of the draft laws<sup>572</sup>.

The speeches of the Muslim parliamentarians on various issues are proofs that they developed concrete proposals. For instance, Z.Zeynalov supported the Trudiviks (Labor Party) when they discussed the issue of rendering assistance to the starving population. He protested against the Cadets who proposed to differentiate this poor category of population and suggested to set up a single commission for rendering assistance to them. Z.Zeynalov informed the State Duma that when his electors saw him off, they charged him with such an errand: "We need land, we need freedom, we need bread, and we need jobs"<sup>573</sup>. By demonstrating concrete evidences in his speech, he pointed out that "if the strikers are not supplied with bread, if the starving people are not given the chance to have enough food, it would be impossible to obstacle the strikes". His view was also supported by the Social-Democrats openly who opposed the Cadets. The Cadets proposed to render assistance only to the unemployed who had suffered from "industrial crisis". They excluded from this category the persons who had been dismissed for taking part in the revolutionary demonstrations and strikes. The State Duma made corrections in the resolution developed by the Cadets on this issue with the majority of votes and excluded the words "sufferers from the industrial crisis" from the text of the resolution<sup>574</sup>. M.Shahtakhtinsky also spoke in the discussion of this issue. He joined the proposal on the creation of a parliamentary commission for rendering assistance to the starving people. He declared that the reason of the famine in the Caucasus was the absence of zemstvos, in the scarcity of crops and in the inter-ethnic conflicts<sup>575</sup>. He confessed and said: "This State Duma exposed its own self when it refused to be engaged in the issue of the supply of products. The parliamentarians elected by the people voted against the proposal of the parliamentarian Rodichev on the creation of a commission for controlling the distribution of finances allocated by the state. Such a commission, in full conformity with the letter and spirit of the law, would have served the people"<sup>576</sup>.

M.Shahtakhtinsky proposed to include the representatives of the Caucasus in to the commission<sup>577</sup>. M.Mahmudov, member of the commission on rendering assistance to the unemployed, appealed to the readers through the newspaper "Progrss" and asked them "to send information about the unemployed and about the sum of the necessary assistance<sup>578</sup>.

The position of the parliamentarians in the agrarian issue was contradictory from the class point of view. The Muslim Fraction attached great importance to the issue of the land. A.Topchubashov, G.Garabeyov and B.Akhundov were invited from Baku for taking part in the work of the agrarian commission<sup>579</sup>. F.Khoisky spoke on behalf of the Muslim Fraction. In a sufficiently broad statement he declared that “the peasants undoubtedly form such a foundation, such a base of the state that the people sitting on the benches have assembled here in order to serve them. Therefore, the solution of the land issue is very urgent and at the same time very complicated”. He said that the government did not want to solve the land problem of the peasants by transferring money and through the land bank operations. He resumed his speech saying that the bank operations led to the rise of prices, and as a result, the lands were taken by” those who were already land- owners” and “the landless and those who had small patches of lands” remained outside. Not making an attempt to disclose the nature of the transfer policy of Czarism, he criticized the implementation of this policy into life in the detriment of the interests of the local population and proposed to stop the transfers till the final solution of the land issue. Then, in fact, he repeated the agrarian program of the fraction developed for the previous State Duma, supported the idea of” the compulsory alienation of the lands by paying fair prices to their former owners”. He defended the position of the Cadets completely and declared:”The Muslim group thinks that the alienated lands must not form the common land fund of the state, but the provincial land fund within the boundaries of that province... the distribution of the land within the boundaries of that province and the settlement of the population must be given at the disposal of the organs of self-administration of the province organized on most democratic principles<sup>580</sup>. V.I.Lenin in his “The agrarian program of Social-Democrats in the first Russian revolution in 1905-1906” gave the outline of the speeches of “the nationalists” concerning the agrarian issue in the State Duma. He drew the attention particularly to the above-mentioned statement of F.Khoisky and wrote that “they had taken the obligation to protect the land funds of “various regions” and “provinces”. And these nationalists put aside the agrarian content of this provincialization and say: not any issue should be solved in advance, everything - the issue of payment, the issue of property and others should be given at the disposal of the autonomous seims, and to the organs of self-administration”<sup>581</sup>.

M.Shahtakhtinsky declared the necessity of the private property:”I am with those parliamentarians who demand the compulsory alienation of the lands of the landlords, but on condition that their fair price is paid”. He referred the cabinet and the royal lands to the group of the lands of the landlords. But he did not mention the lands of the churches and monasteries, in this way he excluded the alienation of the lands of the religious institutions. The lands of the religious institutions were untouchable for him<sup>582</sup>.

When the agrarian issue was discussed, Z.Zeynalov spoke on behalf of the Labor Muslim Fraction. He drew the attention of the parliamentarians to the hard living conditions of the peasants of Baku.”The peasants of the Baku guberniya are so poor that they can not buy the lands, it is necessary to give them the land free-of-charge. It is necessary to confiscate the private lands of landlords compulsorily and transfer them to the people’s fund for the use of all the citizens of Russia”<sup>583</sup>. In his speech Z.Zeynalov protested against all kinds of private property and payments. In the agrarian commission of the State Duma he spoke of the facts of confiscation of the lands of the peasants of Baku for building plants and other oil enterprises<sup>584</sup>. He defended the Laborites in the issue of institution of local land committees<sup>585</sup>. V.I.Lenin in his “The draft of the speech in the Second State Duma on the agrarian issue” written for the fraction of Social-Democrats paid great attention to the institution of local land committees through “general, independent, equal elections by ballot”<sup>586</sup>. This draft was identical with the provisions of the speech of Z.Zeynalov and it demanded the confiscation of the lands of the landlords like the Bolsheviks.

The discussions on the agrarian issue were a failure. As in the previous State Duma these discussions ended with the adoption of the formula of transition to the next issues. In that formula the Cadets thought that it was not necessary to include the demand of compulsory alienation of the lands of landlords.

The Muslim Fraction discussed in its sittings the draft laws on the freedom of conscience, local courts, self-administration, election code, reorganization of the Muslim institutions<sup>587</sup>. In the draft law on the property of vaqf the fraction mentioned the claim of the mosques to the incomes of this institution and demanded the liquidation of the vaqf commission and the department of vaqf property<sup>588</sup>. This project of law was only a fragment of the broad activity of the fraction aimed at the clarification of the legal and religious restrictions for other nations. This activity had to end with the development of the project of law on the liquidation of the restrictions in the rights of the people<sup>589</sup>.

The parliamentarians dwelt on the problems expressed in the previous petitions for many times, such as the application of zemstvo, self-administration, general primary education and others. All the parliamentarians from Azerbaijan appealed to the State Duma unanimously on May 21 for giving a week

of holiday to the Muslims working in the sphere of commerce and industry on the days considered to be holy in their religion.

F. Khoisky appealed to the State Duma with 173 parliamentarians and submitted the draft law on the liquidation of all restrictions in the political and civic rights connected with the nationality and religion. The project advanced the necessity of exclusion of all the legal restrictions from the provisions of all the laws, irrespective of the nationality and religion of citizens. It provided the right of choice of dwelling places, the right to move to any place, the right of choice of profession, equal rights in the admission to public and civil service, immunity of person, freedom of word, press, assembly, formation of associations and unions, the right of education and others for all the citizens of Russia. The speaker of the State Duma informed the parliamentarians about the draft and promised to hold discussions on it, thus the issue ended<sup>590</sup>.

The liquidation of restrictions in the sphere of self-administration was discussed in the sittings of the dumas of Yelisavetpol and Baku many times. In the period when the State Duma functioned, at the meeting held on March 6, 1907, the member of the town council of Baku A.Aghayev said: "When the whole Russia, the whole world is fighting for its basic rights... the Muslims must demand the liquidation of all the restrictions for ever". He was very anxious that the Senate had cancelled the results of elections to the organs of self-administration in Guba and Yelisavetpol, because the number of the elected Muslims exceeded the norm as it had been provided by Article 44 of the Statute of towns, that is, it was more than one-second of the members of the council. The fate of elections to the council of Baku was expecting the same. Therefore, he proposed to appeal to the State Duma to cancel all the restrictions concerning the Muslims. Speaking about this issue H.Z.Taghiyev noted that the main issue, that is, the reorganization of the public self-administration would be solved in the State Duma and it would concern the Muslims, too. The members of the State Duma decided to appeal to the vice-Roy for removing the restrictions in the elections to be held on March 15<sup>591</sup>. But their appeal was ignored this time, too.

The Muslim Fraction raised also the issue of the rights of the women in the State Duma. The discussions on this issue continued till the late of night. Some parliamentarians thought that their ideas contradicted the life style of the unconscious masses existing for many centuries and they would depart the fraction from the masses, and the fraction would become "a general without an army to command"<sup>592</sup>. After agreements with the council of mullahs and various religious instances the fraction determined: the women should be given the right to elect, but the pre-election meetings should be held separately<sup>593</sup>.

At the sitting of the fraction Kh.Khasmammadov raised the issue of amnesty and proposed to adopt it in the State Duma in the form of a legislative act<sup>594</sup>.

M.Mahmudov was the member of the commission on education, he spoke about the draft law on education submitted to the State Duma by the minister of enlightenment. He expressed his dissatisfaction with the speech of the minister because he did not utter a single word about the state of education among the multi-million Muslims. He drew the attention to the state of the Muslim teachers and said that "they form a special layer deprived of dignity and chance to occupy a position in the sphere of education". They were deprived of the right to speak in their mother languages, they were persecuted for it. M.Mahmudov supported the proposal of the Cadets to give the draft law to the commission and also proposed to include into the law the demand on general and compulsory primary education.

The report of the commission in the State Duma on local courts evoked great interest in F. Khoisky and Kh.Khasmammadov, who were professional lawyers. F.Khoisky was displeased with such a point that the reform in the sphere of local courts was applied only in those regions and territories, where zemstvo had already been applied. It meant that the reform would cover not the outskirts, but only the central part of Russia. He was also against the election of the conciliatory judges from among the local people. He considered his own class, that is, the aristocracy, "was relatively an intelligent and educated class in comparison with the peasants and other elements of the country", and he was anxious that it would be very difficult to find "appropriate" persons for being elected conciliatory judges. He thought that "there was no need at all to narrow the circle of persons who could be elected conciliatory judges and it was not expedient"<sup>595</sup>. Kh.Khasmammadov supported the idea of holding court trials in the languages of the local population, because "the justice executed by the mediation of interpreters, the commission of the State Duma confessed, too, was far from life, from live and direct intercourse"<sup>596</sup>.

In the April of 1907 the crews of the Caspian fleet went on a strike in the harbour. The inquiry connected with the strike was urgently discussed in the State Duma. It was informed during the discussion that "the riots have been directed against the interests of the government", therefore "the commander of the special corps of gendarme Major-General Taube was sent to Baku with special powers"<sup>597</sup>.



M.Mahmudov supported the immediate consideration of the inquiry and proposed “to institute a commission for avoiding the clashes between the strikers and the newly forming crew of the command”<sup>598</sup>. Z.Zeynalov expressed his solidarity with him and proposed to develop measures aimed at gaining an agreement between the workers and the industrialists<sup>599</sup>. The urgency of the inquiry was refused and it was sent to the inquiry commission. In its turn “the commission did not see any reason to submit an inquiry to the government about the illegality of its actions” and decided “not to submit the inquiry”, but understanding the importance of the oil industry of Baku decided to ask the government to inform the State Duma “about the situation in the region of Baku”. The commission also added that “it has been decided not to interfere into the conflict between labor and capital”<sup>600</sup>.

The Azerbaijani parliamentarians did not remain indifferent to a number of internal issues – regulation of the work in the State Duma, the rule of elections to the office of the State Duma and others. While discussing the issue of admission to a post in the office of the State Duma, F.Khoisky recognized the necessity of the education qualification, but did not agree with the qualification of the civil service. What worried him was the fact that persons with higher education, but not been at any civil service, who were fit to the service and could occupy the post of a chief of a department, or persons with sufficient practical knowledge to occupy any other post, for instance “the great caste of jurors” could not be allowed to work in the office of the State Duma<sup>601</sup>. This proposal was taken into consideration and adopted by the State Duma<sup>602</sup>.

The Second State Duma lived only 103 days. On March 3, 1907, the Czar issued a manifest on the dissolution of the State Duma. It was said in the manifest that the State Duma instituted for “calming” Russia did not justify the hopes, because a considerable part of the members of the parliament “are trying to create disorder and confusion in the country and want to destroy it”<sup>603</sup>.

As the first State Duma, the second one was also dissolved and could not solve any of the problems facing it. The efforts of the Azerbaijani parliamentarians in the State Duma to make use of the rostrum of the parliament for extending their rights and privileges again failed. The news about the dissolution of the State Duma was met differently in Azerbaijan. The governor of the Yelisavetpol guberniya informed the Police Department that “the local merchants and craftsmen of Shusha are making preparations to go on a strike as a protest to the dissolution of the Second State Duma of the second call”. In reply to it the police department of the district of Shusha “warned all the local merchants that they would be arrested if they went on a strike”. And it warned “the population if any manifestation was organized, very strict measures of punishment would be taken against them. Because of these measures the strike was not held”<sup>604</sup>. The governor of Baku informed the Police Department on May 14, 1907, that the population of Baku is not very passionate towards the State Duma and “high spirits and revolutionary propagation under the influence of the State Duma is not observed”<sup>605</sup>. Then it became obvious that the chief of Baku had been in haste in calming the Police Department on June 8, 1907, that it was peaceful in the town headed by him, the population “was indifferent to the dissolution of the State Duma”<sup>606</sup>. On June 17, there came information to the Police Department from the office of the vice-Roy that “it was peaceful in the town and in the oil fields if not to take into account the high spirits and the mood of expectation among the workers”<sup>607</sup>.

The second stage of the State Duma campaign ended in this way. This stage disappointed the Azerbaijani parliamentarians who could not achieve the solution of the problems proposed by them.

### **3.2. The Third and Fourth State Dumas and Azerbaijan**

Immediately after the dissolution of the Second State Duma the newspapers published the law on the elections to the Third State Duma<sup>608</sup>.

In conformity with the new election code the total number of the members of the State Duma was reduced from 524 to 442. On the account of the representatives of the laborers, that is, workers and peasants, the number of the electors from the landlords and big entrepreneurs to the State Duma was greatly increased. Only 15 per cent of the population had the right to elect. Many towns, including Baku, were deprived of representation. The number of the persons to be elected from the outskirts were reduced nearly to nil. For instance, the peoples of the Central Asia, the nomad population of the guberniyas of Astrakhan and Stavropol, non-Russian population of Trans-Baikal did not have their representatives in the State Duma. The Caucasus was also subjected to great restrictions. There were totally six election counties for holding the election. The electors were differentiated due to nationality. The Russian

population of the Transcaucasia elected separately their own representative to the State Duma. The elections were held by taking into account the castes: from the county meetings of the landlords, from the county meetings of the electors of the towns and villages. The election congresses of the landlords were participated by those landlords who paid at least 30 rubles of land duties (taxes) a year. Persons who paid less than 30 rubles were represented in the elections by proxy.

As in the elections to the previous State Dumas, the vice-Roy of the Caucasus was empowered to merge separate uyezds and counties or departments within the same guberniya and hold united election congresses for them, merge the congresses of the landlords and electors of the towns with the congresses of the identical electors of other counties and uyezds, or departments<sup>609</sup>.

When the news on the dissolution of the Second State Duma reached Baku through the agent telegram, the newspaper "Kaspiy" wrote that "this very important event was discussed in all the houses, clubs and other public locations the whole night and day. Everybody was interested in one question: what kind of election code will the next one be? <sup>610</sup> And the new election code caused disappointment among the electors: if in the previous State Dumas the guberniyas of Baku, Yelisavetpol and Erevan had three representatives each, now these guberniyas had to elect two representatives totally. In the previous State Duma the guberniya of Tiflis had four representatives, now it had to have only one. The reduction of the number of the representatives worried the socially higher layers of the society:"Remember the fact that the Caucasus has been subjected to restrictions: instead of 28 it will send 10 representatives to the State Duma. <sup>611</sup>" The newspapers informed the population like this and spread such a view that it would require a serious approach to the future elections, particularly to the "quality" of the future parliamentarians. "Now it is necessary to do so that the ten parliamentarians shall be equal to the 28 previous ones"<sup>612</sup>. The newspaper "Kaspiy" wrote: "It is necessary to elect such people that the idea of the power of the people is not a nonsense for them, the word parliamentarian is not a thing which adorns their names, a word which glorifies them, in one word, their duty before the people is like a holy oath. Only such a choice will not allow the Caucasus "feel poor and miserable"<sup>613</sup>. The author of the article analyzed the activeness of the parliamentarians and concluded that one-third of the parliamentarians did not take part at the sessions of the Second State Duma. He supposed that the same situation would emerge in the Third State Duma, too, and wrote that the ten parliamentarians from the Caucasus would form four per cent of the members of the State Duma, instead of the previous five per cent. Then the newspaper came to such a conclusion that "thus, the activeness of the future parliamentarians from the Caucasus may render harmless the influence of the new election law. Thus, we are the owners of our own destiny, and we call our citizens to take part in the new election campaign with a belief to the better future"<sup>614</sup>.

One of the articles in the newspaper "Kaspiy" was devoted to the position of Baku in the elections, and naturally to the place of Baku to be occupied in the Third State Duma. The article noted that if Baku and the guberniya of Baku each had one representative in the State Duma, hence the situation would be different in the elections. This situation would have its own peculiarities, and these peculiarities would consist of such things that there would be a national barrier among the members of the State Duma:"One of the two parliamentarians elected from this county (Baku, Erevan, Yelisavetpol) must be a Muslim, that is, a Tatar, or from the Muslim tribes close to them, the other will be the representative of other nations"<sup>615</sup>. The newspaper then wrote that the law had not defined the nationality of the second representative; nevertheless, taking into account the ethnic composition of the three guberniyas, one could determine probably that it would be an Armenian<sup>616</sup>. Now the duty is to find a person who possesses the highest qualities necessary for representing the people"<sup>617</sup>. The article confessed the superiority of Baku in commerce and industry, and drew the attention to such a thing that "such a situation can fully provide the reserve election votes for Baku, and in the first place it can give Baku activeness and consciousness of national identity able to solve everything. The representative of the Russian population must also be from Baku"<sup>618</sup>. But these expectations of the author of the article did not turn true...

Article 25 of the Statute of elections to the State Duma, which was approved on June 3, 1907, said that the election meeting would be common for the guberniyas of Baku, Yelisavetpol and Erevan, and control on the elections was laid on the governor of Yelisavetpol, and the election meeting had to be held in the town of Yelizavetpol<sup>619</sup>. As a result, Khalil Khasmammadov, who had been elected to the Second State Duma before, was again elected to the Third State Duma by the Muslim population of the said three guberniyas.

The fate of the new State Duma worried the socially higher layers of the society of Azerbaijan."Will it be the State Duma of the Prushkevichs, Krushevanes, or the a la zemstvo congress, or on the contrary?"<sup>620</sup> The newspaper analyzed the composition and the views of the electors in the guberniya election meetings and wrote:"The landlords and owners of great properties in the towns try to

win the absolute majority". The newspaper confessed that "taken together the peasants and the workers form the minority everywhere. Thus, the number of the parliamentarians in the future State Duma will be in the favor of the bourgeois layers of the society from the point of view of social groupings"621.

Appealing to the manifest on the dissolution of the State Duma the newspaper wrote that "in the period of the existence of the First and the Second State Dumas Russia could not find time and opportunity to ensure for itself everything constitutionally"622. The newspaper continued that "it will lead to such a state that the parties in the Third State Duma will unite not because of their "world outlooks", but because of their desire to ensure the constitutional necessities. Only then we shall begin to defend our own interests". The newspaper also pointed out such a thing: "If progressive currents rule among the landlords, then again an oppositional State Duma may emerge in the present division of the electors"623. "Thus, the rich classes will again form the majority in the Third State Duma, their interests will be expressed, the constitutional form of administration will be defended, this is the expectation", wrote the newspaper.

In its article devoted to the new election code the telegraph agency of Petersburg divided the population officially to "cultured and stable from social point of view", "and not cultured, ...completely, not ready to understand the issues of state administration and a considerable part of which was deprived of any education"624. It was also noted that "the new law had reduced the number of the representatives from the outskirts, including Poland and the Caucasus. As if these regions were not very much connected with the Empire and their parliamentarians could not understand the commonness of their interests with those of the main bulk of population. In the underdeveloped outskirts, in Turkestan, in the desert provinces and Yakut the elections were postponed temporarily"625. The government declared that on the account of these restrictions it promised to have a State Duma consisting of the parliamentarians with experience in the sphere of local self-administration and already got accustomed to peaceful and silent work"626.

The Third State Duma began its work on November 1, 1907. At its first sitting the chairman of the State Duma, his deputies, secretary and his assistants were elected. N.A.Khomyakov was elected chairman, and then this post was occupied by A.I.Guchkov and M.V.Rodzyanko in turn. They all were the Octoberists. It was an evidence that the Third State Duma would be with the right orientation more than the previous one, and soon it was proved. The State Duma elected eight permanent commissions: budget, finance, execution of the state incomes and expenses, editorial, inquiry, library, staff and instructions. There were over 25 interim commissions. The state security, product, education, migration issue, land, workers' issue, legislative proposals, issues of the Orthodox Church, judicial reforms, road building, commerce and industry, local self-administration and others were among them627. The newspaper "Bakinskiy Proletariy" wrote that the commissions developed law drafts and coordinated them with the representatives of the ministries, and it was the characteristic feature of the work of the State Duma. "The State Duma is the assembly of the commissions functioning on the directives of the ministries - this is the real panorama of the Third State Duma. If it is not a constitutional office attached to the Committee of Ministers, then what is it?"628

Azerbaijan, if it is expressed more exactly, the Muslim population of three guberniyas (Baku, Yelisavetpol, Erevan), was represented by one person in the State Duma. As it was mentioned above, the representative of the town of Yelisavetpol Khalil Khasmammadov, who referred himself to the Popular Liberation Party, was elected to the State Duma. The Armenian population elected I.Sagatelyan, who represented the Dashnaksutyun party. The Russian population was represented in the State Duma by Timoshkin, "a chance man from Astrakhan, who had become a Transcaucasian in accordance with the certificate produced by the bailiff", who belonged to the fraction with the rightist orientation and even was unaware of his election629.

Khali bey Khasmammadov was the member of the commission on the development of appeals to the Emperor, of the commissions on inquiries, migration issues and judicial reforms in the State Duma.

The socially higher layers of the Azerbaijani society were directing their parliamentarians to focus the attention on the clauses of the appeals not fulfilled in the previous State Duma and on the criticism of the existing situation in the region. The newspaper "Bakinskoye Ekho" wrote: "In this direction the parliamentarians from the Caucasus were supported by the much milder elements of the State Duma - the neutral, non-partisan Progressivists, Mirnoobnovlenniyists (supporters of the course of the peaceful renewal in the country) and the Octoberists of the rightist orientation". By this they hoped that the criticism would compel Stolypin "to begin the conduction of some reforms in order to satisfy the mere needs of the local administration and those of the outskirts. Let it be the first step, but if this first step is not taken, then it will be hard to wait for the further reforms. We think that the real policy to be followed

by our parliamentarians must be like this”<sup>630</sup>. But the reality demonstrated that even these minimal hopes did not justify themselves. Not any reform was conducted; the government of the Czar had no intention to conduct reforms.

On the day of the opening of the State Duma a commission was set up for developing an appeal to the Emperor. Kh.Khasmammadov was also among the 18 members of the commission<sup>631</sup>. At the meeting of the State Duma held on November 13 Kh.Khasmammadov made a speech and called the appeal “a very important document”. The appeal consisted of two parts: constituent and political parts.”As a person belonging to the group whose political credo is constitutional monarchy, I wholly support the first part of this appeal. We must express our feelings of love and devotion to our Emperor in the appeal and we do it; but I can not say these words about the political part of the appeal”. Taking the responsibility of expressing his considerations on behalf of the Caucasian Muslims he declared to the parliamentarians of the State Duma that “it is not absolutely important how to call the political structure of our state, for us the most important is whether this political structure is able to meet our demands and desires”<sup>632</sup>. “The desires” of his electors and those of his own self consisted of the implementation of “the freedoms” promised in the manifest of the Czar on October 17, 1905. Kh.Khasmammadov thought that in the manifest “there was a conspicuous line between the old and the new Russia”. Two years after the declaration of the manifest the non-Russian peoples were expecting the followings: civic freedom, equality of all the citizens from political and civic point of view, real popular representation, legality of the power, full participation of the representatives of the people in the legislative activities of the state<sup>633</sup>. Kh.Khasmammadov drew the attention of the parliamentarians to the fact that in the past two years nothing was done for the equalization of the rights of the Muslim population with those of the main part of population of the Empire, nothing was done for the enlightenment and for the improvement of the welfare of the Muslims<sup>634</sup>. In his speech he focused attention on the issue of migration and tried to convince the members of the State Duma that “if the local peasants, who have suffered so long from the lack of land, are provided with lands, it will embrace all the citizens of Russia, irrespective of their person and place of residence”. Such a fact proves how much the landlessness of the Azerbaijani peasants worried Kh.Khasmammadov. In reply to the propagation of the parliamentarians in support of the Emperor not to provide the peasants with lands 307 members of the State Duma shouted hurra on February 13, 1908. It meant that the main problem in the State Duma was “to be together with the Emperor against the workers and peasants”<sup>635</sup>.

Kh.Khasmammadov proposed to make corrections in the political part of the appeal, too. He advised to implement into life the fair desire of the nations living in Russia.”This correction is very necessary. With it the State Duma will prove to the Emperor that the State Duma shares this demand and desire, our demand and desire are not against the will of the Emperor. If after October 17 the old policy of Russia had not changed, we would have not insisted on this correction personally. From this point of view I must mention the act of June 3, according to that act our representation has been restricted, we have been deprived of representation completely...”<sup>636</sup>.

In the Third State Duma the Muslim parliamentarians formed a single fraction. It consisted of eight persons. The bureau of the fraction was headed by A.M.Topchubashov<sup>637</sup>. He was not the parliamentarian of the State Duma, nevertheless, he took a close participation in the activities of the Muslim Fraction, in the development of its inquiries and drafts of law. The members of the fraction were unanimous in many issues. They were unanimous in the defense of the initiatives of the Popular Liberation Party, too. S.Magsudov explained this unanimity like this:” There are 20 million Muslims in Russia. They serve the same religion and speak the same language, with an exception of some ethnicities of Dagestan”. He explained that the Muslims united in one union, but did not pursue pan-Islamist goals. The necessity of the sense of the national identity and the choice of the road of development had united them. Concluding his speech he said: “These two notions are holy for us and we shall implement them into life through enlightenment and culture<sup>638</sup>.

The special sittings of the fraction were devoted to the primary education in the mother language (the report on it was submitted to the sixth auxiliary commission of the State Duma) <sup>639</sup>, to the development of the position of the fraction to the application of the institution of zemstvo in the Caucasus<sup>640</sup>. The Muslim Fraction attached great significance to the freedom of religion as well. In connection with it the fraction adopted the decision to translate into the Tatar language the text of the report submitted to the State Duma<sup>641</sup>.

At the sitting of the Muslim Fraction held in the March of 1908 the members of the fraction discussed the issue of the primary education in the mother language. It was informed that the State Duma had rejected the “substantiated report” of the Muslim Fraction. This project was developed by “the

conference of the eight” formed by the third auxiliary commission for the thorough consideration of the issue of schools of “the non-Russian” peoples and submitted on behalf of the Muslim Fraction. This “comprehensively substantiated report” proved the necessity of the primary education in the mother language. The report was submitted to the sixth auxiliary commission of the State Duma for the second time for consideration. The members of the Muslim Fraction were making preparations to insist the adoption of the report in that auxiliary commission. They also thought that it was necessary to submit to the said commission the project of the “secondary primary schools” for the non-Russian peoples of the Empire for consideration<sup>642</sup>.

On March 10, 1908, the Muslim Fraction discussed the resolution of the Commission on the Religious Issues of the State Duma. It was noted that the issue of religion was the most painful problem in the life of the Muslims; they were waiting impatiently for the solution of this problem in the sense of the freedom of the propagation of the religion. It was decided to insist resolutely on the liquidation of Article 4 of the Regulations of the non-Orthodox Christian religions, because this article allowed the freedom of propagation of only the Orthodox Christian religion<sup>643</sup>.

On March 17, 1908, the Muslim Fraction returned to the issue of education again and discussed the issue of allocation of six million rubles for its needs. The proposal was voted and such a hope was expressed that the said sum would be directed to the institution of new schools, because “the Muslims were not eager to send their children to the schools of the old type, because they did not satisfy the needs of the Muslim population”<sup>644</sup>.

The members of the Muslim Fraction refused to leave for the Easter holidays and determined the circle of their activities and consideration of the issues in this period: “Development of the protest against the inquiry of the rightist forces on the situation in the vice-Roydom of the Caucasus”<sup>645</sup> and the application of the institute of zemstvo in the Caucasus. In his appeal to the Muslim electors and to the electors of Baku, Kh.Khasmammadov spoke about the participation of the representatives of Azerbaijan in the activities of the Muslim Fraction and about “the necessity of the close and more comprehensive contacts with it”. He called the electors of Baku to render financial and moral support to the fraction and its bureau”<sup>646</sup>.

The decision of the fraction not to leave for the Easter holidays was adopted by the members of the Muslim Fraction in the March of 1909. It was decided to hold discussions on various issues of the Muslim life with the participation of A.M.Topchubashov on the days of the Easter holiday<sup>647</sup>. In the March of 1909 the fraction informed its electors that the members of the fraction would vote against the application of “the rule of succession” for Muslims proceeding from the principles of the religious law <sup>648</sup>.

The activity of the parliamentarians of the Muslim Fraction, including the activity of the parliamentarian from Azerbaijan, consisted of the following: to participate in the discussions of all the draft laws in the State Duma, to develop the plan and the line of speeches in the meetings of the State Duma. The goal was to achieve the conduction of reforms, because, according to Kh.Khasmammadov, who very often spoke on behalf of the fraction, “only on the account of reforms it is possible to make the population confide in the government”<sup>649</sup>.

It is possible to analyze the speeches of Kh.Khasmammadov and find out on what issues they were mainly focused: civic and political rights for the Muslims, regulation of migration, education and execution of court trials in the mother language, application of zemstvo and others. The statement of Stolypin showed how much real the hopes of Kh.Khasmammadov were:” In the nearest future the government is going to submit to the discussion of the State Duma the draft law on of self-administration in some outskirts, in doing it the government will be guided by the principle of the unity and integrity of the state”<sup>650</sup>.

Kh.Khasmammadov’s speech on the so-called Caucasian issue is the most important among his speeches. In this speech all the issues raised by him in the sessions of the State Duma have found their reflection.

He appreciated the attempts of the highest government officials to propagate hostilities among the Caucasian peoples as the propagation against the state. Continuing his speech he had said:”We think that the government must not apply discrimination in treating the nations. We think that all the nations must share the same rights and bear the same responsibilities. Only on these conditions the peoples may confide in the government, without that it is impossible to have a healthy administration”<sup>651</sup>. Returning upon the issue of migration once more he said that all the population of the Transcaucasia was divided to the Christians and non-Christians. The Muslims were not trusted because of not being Christians, some

deprivations and restrictions were applied to them, they were not let occupy highest, very often even the lowest posts in the civil service. The road of the Muslims to education, which was “the means of the cultural development, was closed. The existing schools did not satisfy the population, because education in those schools was not in the mother language of the local population. The number of schools was very few. In the areas populated by the Muslims there was one school for 14.000 residents, in the areas populated by the Christians there was one school for 4.000 residents. The Muslims with higher education were not allowed to teach at schools, they could not work in the capacity of lawyers without the permission of the minister. The number of the Muslims was restricted in the organs of local self-administration with in conformity Article 44 of the Regulations of the towns. Kh.Khasmammadov focused the attention on the restrictions applied to the Muslim clergy, too:”The absence of any school for training people to occupy the posts in the religious institutions, reduction of the significance of the religious institutions and organs, and making them be dependent bodies have shaken radically the reputation of the religious institutions by depriving them and the Muslim society of the opportunity to render assistance to education, enlightenment and religion”652. Concluding his speech he said:” Several years ago the charitable Muslim institutions were taken from us, but, how to say, they are our national wealth”653.

Kh.Khasmammadov explained that as a result of the said the Muslims had lagged behind their neighbors from cultural point of view, “they have lagged behind them in industry, in commerce and in technical knowledge, too”654.

Kh.Khasmammadov compared the satisfaction of the cultural demands of the population of the Caucasus with those of the population of the European part of Russia, and relying on the statistical data he concluded: there fell one primary school to 55 square versts and to 1376 residents, one hospital to 777 square versts and to 19.000 residents, and one physician to 650 residents in Russia. The situation in the Transcaucasia was respectively like this: one school to 1218 square versts and 2965 residents, one hospital to 38.000 residents, one physician to 13.000 residents. There was not fair court trial in the Caucasus. Instead of the court interrogators there was the institution of conciliatory judges who conducted the investigation655. The investigators did not know the local languages and were unaware of the methods of the preliminary investigation which wholly depended on the illiterate interpreters. The conciliatory judges also did not know the local languages, customs and traditions; they also depended on the interpreters. If they even knew the local languages, still the documentation had to be conducted in the official language of the country656.

Touching upon the supreme power in the region Kh.Khasmammadov declared that the supreme power of the region had not “to treat the events from the purely Russian point of view, because such an approach was the position of national exceptionality and struggle against the non-Russian peoples”. On the contrary, the government had to be kind in its relations to the population, not discriminate the nations, had to bring them close to each other and awake in them love towards the government. Kh.Khasmammadov thought that the way out of the existing situation in the Caucasus was the conduction of necessary reforms, which the people had been demanding over 20 years, that is, the application of zemstvos, in the change of the local judges, in the fair administration, in the allotment of land plots to the population, etc. ”Only these reforms can change our region and bring peace to it, incite the population to be engaged in constructive work”657. The inquiry submitted by the fraction was neither adopted, nor refused, or taken back by its authors. The State Duma did not even put the issue to voting, and when a resolution was not adopted on a certain issue, it passed to the discussion of other issues658.

Speaking about various inquiries and issues in the whole period of the State Duma, Kh.Khasmammadov repeatedly returned to these problems. On March 28, 1908, he took part in the estimation of the expenses and incomes of the Migration Department. On behalf of the Muslim Fraction he declared that he considered the issue of migration to be an issue of national importance, which had to pursue two goals: first, the migrants had to be settled well in their new lands, and secondly, their settlement in the new lands had not to infringe the interests and the land rights of the local population. He pointed out that in reality the government did not have a clear and definite line in that issue. The government determined spots for migration in haste, sent the masses of migrants to those spots as it desired. “The government knew and wanted only one thing: to save itself from the needs and demands of the landless peasants, or peasants with few lands in the central guberniyas of Russia, drive out the population from their native lands, give their lands to the rich landlords, and it does not care at all for the landless peasants, or for those with few lands while executing its migration policy”. He was completely right when he proposed that the government had to provide the local population first659, then the rest should be given to the migrants. Informing the State Duma Kh.Khasmammadov declared that the vice-

Roy of the Caucasus “has witnessed such a hasty, inexpedient migration himself and asked the Central Department of Migration to stop the process. And it is true that the process was stopped a year and a half ago”<sup>660</sup>. He also demanded to stop the process of migration in Kirghizia where the local population lacked arable lands.

On the errand of the Muslim Fraction Kh.Khasmammadov declared in the State Duma that the issue of migration was closely connected with the issue of the land, without the solution of the land problem it was impossible to conduct a real and fare migration. Migration from the central guberniyas of Russia led to deprivation and restrictions of the local population in the use of lands. Therefore, the Muslim Fraction thought that migration to the plains in the provinces of the Transcaucasia and Turkestan had to be stopped till the solution of the agrarian problem<sup>661</sup>. In connection with it the newspaper “Kaspiy” in its editorial wrote:”It is necessary to clarify the provision of the peasants with lands and only on the basis of it it is necessary to make fair inferences”<sup>662</sup>.

In his speeches in the State Duma Kh.Khasmammadov returned repeatedly to the migration policy of the Czar government in the Caucasus. For example, in the March of 1910, when the estimate of the Migration Department was discussed, Kh.Khasmammadov pointed out that “the settlement of the migrants in the Caucasus is an untimely and unjust step, because the local population has not been provided with lands at all, they suffer both from landlessness and from having quite meager plots of lands”<sup>663</sup>. He declared once more that after provision of the local population with the land the rest of the lands might be assigned for the migrants and it should be assigned<sup>664</sup>.

It seems that such declarations impressed the vice-Roy, and in his report he noted that when allotting lands to the migrants, the neglected lands in need of irrigation had to be used in the eastern Transcaucasia most of all<sup>665</sup>. But just on his initiative there emerged a new inclination” in the settlement of the Russian migrants in the region”, “there appeared wide massives in separate habitations between the local population and the migrants, which was a proof that the new line in the settlement of the migrants bore a strategic importance for the government as well”<sup>666</sup>. This idea of the vice-Roy derived from the declaration of Suvchinsky, parliamentarian from the guberniya of Kiev, who also was the member of the migration commission of the State Duma:”...Each time when we consider the estimate of migration, the representatives of the Caucasus declare that because of the Russian migrants the local population is suppressed. Perhaps because of the erroneous actions of the administration such cases emerge, but it has nothing to do with the planned settlement of the Caucasus and this migration and settlement must be executed in the widest scale”<sup>667</sup>.

In the May of 1908, the parliamentarians representing the peasants in the State Duma, 42 in number, submitted a project to the State Duma. Later the project became known as the project of the 42s. The project proposed to alienate compulsorily the lands of the landlords not cultivated by their owners. It also proposed to set up local land commissions by the way of elections for the conduction of the land reform.

Kh.Khasmammadov took part in the discussions of the report of the Land Commission in connection with some additions and amendments in the decisions concerning the ownership of peasants to lands. He declared there that the law submitted on behalf of the Muslim Fraction on November 6, 1906, was directed to impeding the solution of the agrarian problem in favor of the land owners, which were few in number, and it pursued political goals, therefore he was saying that the Muslim Fraction was against the discussion of that law article by article. Kh.Khasmammadov noted that the law of the November 9 was destroying the communities in many regions of the country artificially, “though they have not yet lost their viability and are the most expedient forms of using the lands in the present conditions”<sup>668</sup>, the destruction of the communities in the form proposed in the law would lead to the loss of lands of the peasants and to the enrichment of a certain group of persons, the law tore the peasantry to classes and gave birth to the discord among them. He was trying to prove that the scattered settlement of peasants was detrimental to the peasant society and to the enlightening activities of the government as well. According to him, the said law was only a particle of the common agrarian legislation and it would hamper the use of the lands by the peasants in mass forms, and such a policy contradicted the moral-ethic objectives of the government which had to defend the poor, weak and the unfortunate<sup>669</sup>. The Bolshevik newspaper “Volna” (Wave) wrote like this in connection with the law of the November 9: ”...all the policy of the ruling classes stands on this whale and this whale conducts an intensive stratification instead of calming the village, sharpens the class relations, intensifies the proletarianization of the peasantry, that is, creates more intensive, more acute, more class struggle”<sup>670</sup>. If Kh. Khasmammadov thought that the law would negatively influence the enlightening activities”, the Bolsheviks thought that the law “... will illuminate the consciousness of the peasants more than in the

years of propagation and agitation, and compel them to act more resolutely for the defense of their interests”671.

Though the law was discussed article by article, the Muslim Fraction did not take part in it and the State Duma did not adopt any concrete decision on it.

The demand of the Azerbaijani parliamentarian for the application of zemstvo was also paid no attention. The State Duma considered the law drafts on the application of zemstvo in the western guberniyas of Russia, but its application in the Transcaucasia, including Azerbaijan, was ignored completely, it was not even included into the agenda.

In his speeches concerning the primary education, Kh.Khasmammadov defended the primary education in the mother language, but he also supported “the necessity of the knowledge of the official language of the country”. “As far as the primary school does not meet our daily needs and the peculiarities of our religion in our region, and the education is not conducted in our native Turkic-Tatar language, it is impossible to cherish hopes that the issue of school will be regulated and our youth will be brought up properly”672. Speaking about the teacher training, he drew the attention to such a fact that the Tatar departments of teacher training seminaries of the Transcaucasia are beyond Azerbaijan - in the town of Gori of the guberniya of Tiflis and in the guberniya of Erevan. Vacancy in these seminaries was very much limited; therefore, “it can not satisfy the Muslims anyhow. Education of teachers beyond Azerbaijan leads to the unawareness of national customs and traditions, history of the nation and country on the part of the future teachers, as a result, they become unable to communicate with the population duly”673. Because of it, Kh.Khasmammadov appealed to the ministry of enlightenment to move the Tatar department of the Transcaucasian seminary to Yelisavetpol, allow it function independently674. He also touched upon the education of women and declared that “there was not a single public school for the Muslim women in the region”, there were several schools, very few in number, and they belonged to different people. “It would have been better to set up a seminary for training the Muslim women teachers from the Muslim women”675.

In the October of 1910, speaking about the draft law submitted to the State Duma by the Ministry of Enlightenment, Kh.Khasmammadov declared that there might be differences in many issues of legislation submitted to the State Duma, “but there had not to be differences only in the issue of the primary education”676. Protesting against Article 16 of the draft law, he said:”Teaching in primary schools is conducted in Russian in accordance with the guides, instructions and teaching materials permitted by the Ministry of Enlightenment. Article 16 is “more unjust” in relation to the non-Russian population in comparison with other existing laws, for instance, in comparison with the rules of November of 1907. The rules of November 1907 allowed teaching in the mother language in the schools for the non-Russian population in primary schools for two years. Kh.Khasmammadov noted that the spirit of the dark reaction was evident in that draft of law. The draft law referred the teaching of the mother language only to the second category of subjects (there were only two categories), that is, some subjects in the curricula of schools could be taught in mother language “if it was possible”, with the permission of the school board or with the consent of the ministry. In conformity with Articles 31 and 36 of the draft law the teachers had to be the subjects of Russia and belong to the Orthodox Christians. There was also an item that in primary schools opened for the children from other religions “the teachers from other religions could also be chosen”. Kh.Khasmammadov thought the phrase “could be chosen” did not compel anybody to anything. He was grieved that the contingent of teachers would again consist of persons unaware of the customs, life and other national peculiarities of the local population. He declared in advance that in such a case “any initiative at school or in the school issue was doomed to death”677.

Kh.Khasmammadov was against the extreme administrative control on the religious institutions. Because, for the appointment of the teacher for teaching the religion it was necessary to get not only the permission of the religious bodies, but also the approval of the chief of the guberniya. He was also against the composition of the school boards, because the head of the board and more than half of the members of the boards had to be Christians. In connection with it he said:” When there are the acts of His Excellency Emperor of April 17 and October 17 on the freedom of religion, we think that these restrictions are inadmissible”. Touching upon this problem Kh. Khasmammadov proposed678 to exclude these restrictions from the law679. Speaking about the whole content of the project he noted:”We understand the hidden goals of the project. They are aimed at suffocating the desires and national peculiarities of other nations. It is useless; the past history of the schools of other nations proves it. My dears, as much as you try to exclude our languages from the life of the administration of the country, as much they will flourish in our hearts, in our daily life, in the prayer houses, in literature, in the places close to our soul and mind”680.”This project is very detrimental. Messrs, if you want the Third State Duma bear the name



of the State Duma of Enlightenment, make corrections in the draft law, and make it meet the demands of all the nations of Russia". When he finished his speech, he was applauded by "the Leftists" in the State Duma<sup>681</sup>.

Kh.Khasmammadov proposed to include the mother language into the curriculum after the compulsory subjects in Russian<sup>682</sup>. The proposal advanced on behalf of the Muslim Fraction was rejected by the State Duma<sup>683</sup>.

Kh.Khasmammadov demonstrated activeness in the discussions of the draft law on the freedom of conviction and supported the idea of increasing the number of the members of the Commission of Religion<sup>684</sup>. In the May of 1909 he made a speech in the State Duma in the discussions devoted to the draft law on the freedom of choice of any religion and sect. He declared that the freedom of the choice of the religion and sect was an issue of vital importance. "There can not be any compulsion in the sphere of religion"<sup>685</sup>. He also took part in the discussions devoted to workout days of the people on the days of holidays engaged in the sphere of commerce, and asked to give holidays to the Muslims on Fridays and in Muslim holidays proceeding from the law of April 17, 1905. He declared on behalf of the Muslim Fraction: "Determination of the days of holidays as the days for the rest is ... a religious-national issue for us, because they distinguish our life from that of other nations internally and externally. Therefore, all the multi-million Muslim population of the outskirts of Russia, irrespective of their class and wealth, "demands the solution of this problem"<sup>686</sup>. This appeal was supported by the fraction of the Popular Liberation Party, too, but the State Duma rejected it<sup>687</sup>. And as a sign of protest the Muslim Fraction left the hall of the session. The newspaper "Kaspiy" wrote about it like this: "The fraction, which was few in number and unable to form the majority, could do nothing else. The members of the fraction spoke very much, tried to convince others, but the majority was not eager to hear them. And as a result, the law adopted by the State Duma was an unordinary step backwards in comparison with the existing rules"<sup>688</sup>.

Kh.Khasmammadov took part in the discussion of the draft law on the transformation of the permanent militia of Terek to the security police of Terek and supported the position of the local population. The project said that only reliable persons from the local population might serve in that police. It meant that the local population was not reliable for the government. "Such a presumption is inadmissible and impossible, because it insults and accuses the whole nation"<sup>689</sup>. He proposed to exclude the word reliable from the text of the law; as a result, his proposal won the majority and was adopted.

His education in law allowed Kh.Khasmammadov take part in the discussion of all the draft laws. He was one the 45 parliamentarians elected to the commission on the issue of towns. He also spoke about the draft law on the application of the statute of towns in Kars submitted by the representative of the vice-Roy on May 21, 1909. He pointed out that the statute of the towns adopted in 1892 was imperfect; therefore, it was necessary to change it, to make the commission work on the new draft law and do necessary changes in it. Application of self-administration in Kars proved that the statute of 1892 provided the representation of Russians in the council more than the representatives of other nations<sup>690</sup>. Kh.Khasmammadov thought that it was necessary to enlarge the election code and to think about the presentation of the 2000 Turkish and Greeks living in Kars in the town council. "If the commission is for the proportional representation of only one nation, I must say that if the State Duma occupies such a position in the present situation in the Caucasus, then it will instigate the spirit of chauvinism in various nations, because, as we know, such a thing breeds strife, and such a thing can not be met positively by the highest state power and must not be met like that. If we even apply the curial election system temporarily, we must do everything in order to prevent the massacres and confrontations among the nations, and we must not irritate them"<sup>691</sup>. The draft law caused debates and was sent to the editorial commission<sup>692</sup>.

In the November 1909 Kh.Khasmammadov took part in the discussion of the draft law on the reforms in the system of local courts to be applied in 46 guberniyas. Such restrictions were explained by the absence of zemstvos in other guberniyas of the state. The draft laid the election of the local judges on zemstvos. Kh.Khasmammadov mentioned Article 11.1 of the draft in his speech<sup>693</sup>. According to this article the court trials had to be conducted in Russian<sup>694</sup>. He said that the article did not concern the outskirts, nevertheless, he supported the idea of conducting the court trials in the language of the local population. He also supported the idea of the application of local languages in the conciliatory courts in the areas populated by the non-Russian peoples<sup>695</sup>. He proposed to make corrections in Article 11.1, that is, the court interrogation should be conducted in the local, documentation in the Russian language. This proposal was the same with that of the Popular Liberation Party. But like the proposal on the local language it was also rejected<sup>696</sup>. The change in the draft law allowed receive oral requests and appeals in the local language where the majority of the population did not understand Russian<sup>697</sup>, but the

conciliatory judges had to speak to the local people through interpreters, the appeals and requests in local languages had also to be added. Thus, the court trials remained incomprehensible for the local people.

In the March of 1910, Kh.Khasmammadov drew the attention of the State Duma to such a thing that “the correction in Article 11.1 did not bear any political goal, but was aimed at raising the fair trial to the necessary level<sup>698</sup>. Returning once more on the correction proposed by him, he expressed his protest against the use of interpreters in the trials and thought that it was a misfortune for the fair and just trial. He compared the legislation of 1864 with the draft law under discussion and called it the wisest legislation. Because, it allowed the conflicting parties use the local language in the court trials on condition that the court investigator knew the local language<sup>699</sup>.

On November 30, 1911, speaking about the draft law on the general military service and the new contingent of soldiers, Kh. Khasmammadov repeated the idea proposed by the Muslim Fraction in the State Duma in 1908. Both in 1908 and in 1911, the Muslim Fraction spoke in favor of referring the general military service to the Muslims and against the payment of a special tax in the sum of 5000 rubles instead the military service<sup>700</sup>. The newspaper “Kaspiy” acquainted the readers how the problem stood in the State Duma: “All the citizens must serve in the army and defend the motherland,...in the whole territory of the country all the citizens must enjoy the same rights”. The newspaper continued: “If the country had enjoyed the freedom of word, freedom of religion, freedom of conviction and equal rights, which it has been waiting for six years, this “special” problem would have also been settled”<sup>701</sup>.

The newspaper followed the activity of the State Duma with great interest and expressed its position to the draft laws under discussion: “There is a lot to be done and discussed. There is the agrarian problem, which is connected with many other problems, which requires the solution of many problems taken together, not in isolation. The problem of transition to the new system of administration, a problem which has been waiting its solution, the problem of immunity of the person, problems of finance, economy, and industry are all interconnected and all must be solved in interconnection....And everywhere we see that there is an inclination to delay the solution of these problems and the responsible persons are waiting for the change of the situation. And nobody imagines clearly how the situation will change and what reasons will give birth to these changes. Only one thing is clear: the Third State Duma could say its final word and it will not be creative forces able to give a new life to the organism of the state”<sup>702</sup>.

In the March of 1911, the author of the editorial article of “Kaspiy” expressed his position to the election of M.V.Rodzyanko speaker of the State State Duma, did not share the views of his colleagues, who appreciated his election a blow to the constitutional structure of the country: “Constitutional structure is not the invention of a political party or a group. It is not a blank paper to write any constitution on it. It is a natural and necessary stage in the development of mankind and the bloom of the society. Everything contradicting this inescapable process is doomed to death”<sup>703</sup>. The newspaper was convincing its readers and writing: “Messrs Rodzyankos may exclude the word constitutional from their vocabularies, but they can not wipe it out from the minds of the citizens of Russia, because this idea is growing and strengthening in the consciousness from day to day”<sup>704</sup>.

On March 16, 1909, the State Duma discussed the situation in the oil industry. It was noted that the facts of violation in the exploration and rent of the oil bearing lands hinders the development of the oil industry. The parliamentarians approved such an idea of the Octoberist fraction that “the government had to purchase the oil-bearing treasury lands, the lands of the state peasants and other peasants and submit a draft law to the State Duma on the payment for the purchased lands”<sup>705</sup>. It meant that the peasants of the Apsheron Peninsula had to be driven from their ancestral lands. The parliamentarians from Azerbaijan displayed interest neither in this issue, nor in the inquiry submitted to the State Duma about the illegal confiscation of the oil-bearing lands in the Baku guberniya<sup>706</sup>. Facts of forgery were discovered in the discussions on the transfer of the oil-bearing lands of Bibiheybat and Sabunchu to “Caucasian Company” liquidated in 1900, in the transfer of the same lands to Basmatov who died in 1906, and to Shkhiyants, who died in 1908<sup>707</sup>. The discovery of the facts of forgery resulted in the resignation of the minister of Commerce and Industry V.I.Timiryazyev.

Kh.Khasmammadov did not take part in the discussion of the draft of law on the workers’ issue, in the discussion of the reports of the commission on the workers’ issue. He ignored completely the cases of violation of the existing laws, the statement of Poletayev, parliamentarian from the guberniya of Petersburg, about the unofficial delay of the payment of the wages of the workers of Baku<sup>708</sup>, the information was conveyed to him by the inspector of the factory. He also displayed indifference to the discussion of the draft law submitted by the representative of the vice-Roy of the Caucasus for prolonging the term of office of the chief of Baku. And the vice-Roy of the Caucasus asked the parliament to allocate

additional police for Baku, to separate the oil district of Baku from the main part of the town and to organize a special police department in connection with the riots which had exerted great material damages on the industry and commerce of the town<sup>709</sup>.

The revolutionary actions of the workers of the oil industry worried the government very much. There were differences on views in many issues between the State Duma and the government, but when it came to the movement of the workers, the State Duma stood on guard of the interests of the absolute monarchy, of the Czar. The State Duma approached the issue of protection of the oil fields and refineries very carefully, it thought that the assurance of security in the oil district of Baku, the issues of welfare and food supply of the workers, development of the projects of the compulsory resolutions and other "serious issues" can not be submitted to the discussion of the town council. It was noted in the State Duma that it was quite a new principle in the Russian legislation, and it was necessary to be very careful whether the council of the town had the right to adopt decisions on such issues<sup>710</sup>.

Kh.Khasmammadov did not take part in the discussion of the draft law on ensuring the workers from accidents, but when the issue of payment of compensations to the sufferers of the railway accidents (railway workers, masters and others working in that sphere, their family members), he protested against the discussion of the issue in haste<sup>711</sup>.

The oil industrialists of Baku also remained completely indifferent to the draft laws on the issues of workers. The council of the congress of the representatives of industry and commerce appealed to the council of the congress and to the labor exchange committee in the June of 1907 and asked to study the draft laws thoroughly and send their views about them. The Ministry of Commerce and Industry had to develop a letter on the legislation concerning the workers and submit it to the State Duma. In the September of the same year it was again reminded to the above-mentioned organs of the entrepreneurs of Baku. The newspaper "Baku" informed its readers that "the council of the congress and the Committee of the Labor Exchange neither discussed the said draft laws, nor were going to discuss them"<sup>712</sup>.

A group of the intelligentsia of Baku appealed to the members of the Muslim Fraction and asked to help the release of Doctor N.Narimanov who was detained in the castle of Metekh for six months without any accusation. But the members of the Muslim Fraction did not utter any word about it. The newspapers of Baku informed the readers about it and explained that "N.Narimanov has passed his high school examinations, graduated the medical faculty of the university and gone to Tiflis together with others hunting for a job, but on the fourth day of his stay there he has been arrested. All the arrested has been liberated, except N.Narimanov, he has remained in the castle prison and suffering"<sup>713</sup>.

On June 9, 1912, in conformity with the decree of the Czar sent to the Senate, the sessions of the State Duma were stopped.

The new Fourth State Duma was called on November 15, 1912. The elections were held on September 10, 1912.

What kind of Duma it would be? What tactics would be used in elections? These questions were directed by the newspaper "Kaspiy" to the parliamentarian I.B.Heydarov from Derbent, one of the active members of the Third State Duma. "In the period when the Third State Duma functioned, as the political experience shows, the Muslims did not have their own party in the narrow sense, there was only one progressive trend", therefore, "undoubtedly, it is necessary to promote and to elect to the Duma the persons, who are progressive in mind, devoted defenders of the constitutional interests, well-known with their public and political activities"<sup>714</sup>. The newspaper cherished the hope that "the persons, who promise to treat the needs of the Muslims more sensitively, who ensure support to their struggle for equal rights in the sphere of culture and law, will go hand in hand to the elections of the Fourth State Duma"<sup>715</sup>.

But the experience of the three previous convocations of the State Duma showed that the representatives of the outskirts of the Russian Empire had very few chances to solve the ripe national problems, it displayed itself in the advice given to electors of the Fourth State Duma, too.

On January 1, 1912, the newspaper "Kaspiy" wrote that the main event of the forthcoming year would be the elections to the Fourth State Duma: "But the situation is so that one can not hope that something will change. We can speak only about what we desire"<sup>716</sup>. And the desire "consisted of the unity of the progressive forces, abstention from the intrigues and debates of the parties and of reaching an agreement for the election campaign on some main issues common for all those who want the progress of the new Russia"<sup>717</sup>.

The articles in the newspapers devoted to the pre-election campaign analyzed the benefits of the previous Duma for the Muslim outskirts of Russia and the problems waiting their solution in the Fourth State Duma. Ahmed bey Aghayev wrote in the newspaper "Utro Rossi" (the Morning of Russia) published in Petersburg that none of the demands of the Muslims had been fulfilled, none of their needs

had been satisfied, and not any reform had been conducted, or even promised. "Our only and the smallest joy is that the mullahs have been released from the service in the army, this is the award of our obedience, humbleness of the whole century, the award of our peaceful behavior and patience in the riots, anarchy and chaos"<sup>718</sup>. The article determined the program of the future parliamentarians: struggle for the general primary education which would cover the study both of the Russian and the mother languages. The primary education in the outskirts had to be "organized in conformity with the religious, ethnographic and lifestyle of the population. Otherwise, the Muslims will be afraid of the schools which do not pay sufficient attention to the study of the mother language, do not allocate necessary finances for it, of the schools where completely alien persons to the population teach"<sup>719</sup>. Ahmed bey Aghayev noted the necessity of learning Russian for the Muslims, because it allowed the participation of the Muslims in economic and legal spheres and in the integration to the world culture, and he pointed out that one had not to reduce the importance of the mother language, too. "Dozens of newspapers with variegated contents, hundreds of books, even the progress in the colloquial language – all this ties the Muslims closely to their mother language. Only schools in mother language may win the sympathy of the population". The author mentioned a number of other draft laws interesting for the Muslims but ignored by the State Duma. Among them were draft laws on the holy days of the Muslims, on the elimination of restrictions in the elections to zemstvos, on the satisfaction of the religious and cultural needs of the Muslims, on the military service and on the situation in the army.

In the period of the Third State Duma the Muslim Fraction held several sittings in Petersburg. They were devoted to the forthcoming elections and to the determination of the platform of the Muslim Fraction in the elections. The fraction called all the Muslim citizens of Russia to use their franchise, to cooperate with all the organizations, parties and groups, which recognized the manifests of April 17, and of October 17, 1905, the equality of rights of all the nations, which approached the needs and demands of the Muslims sensitively, ready to support the fight of the Muslims for equal national and cultural rights<sup>720</sup>. Speaking about the needs of the Muslims and of the approach of the government to them, I.B.Heydarov, member of the Muslim Fraction, noted that the Duma trampled the rights of the Muslims by all means. For instance, the Duma declared the property right of the citizens a holy right, but its decision on migration in Kirghizia, Turkestan and the Caucasus deprived the Muslims of these regions from the right on land, gave the lands of the local people to the migrants generously<sup>721</sup>. Expressing his position to the Muslims and to their needs wholly, I.B.Heydarov wrote: "There are parliamentarians in the Duma who do not see any common feature between the Kirghiz and the Tatar, between the Tatar and the Azerbaijani, between the Lezghin and the Kumyk. The rightist fraction in the person of Prushkevich proposed an amendment in the draft law on primary education: " to allow the Muslims have education in their languages by dividing their languages into dozens of dialects, even by separating the Sunnites and Shiites"<sup>722</sup>.

The elections to the Fourth State Duma were held in Azerbaijan in the September-October of 1912. The representatives elected on the curial system had to come to the guberniya of Yelisavetpol and elect two parliamentarians from the Muslim and Armenian population. The parliamentarian from the Russian population of the Transcaucasia had to be elected in Tiflis. On October 20, 1912, M.Y.Jafarov and M.I.Papajanov were elected to the Fourth State Duma<sup>723</sup>. They both lived in Baku like M. M.Skobelev who represented the Russian population of the Transcaucasia.

Mammadyusif Hajibaba oghlu Jafarov was 27 years old; he was the graduate of Baku Alexandrovsk gymnasium and of the Law Faculty of Moscow University, assistant of the juror, member of the Muslim Fraction, of the fifth section and of the budget and migration commissions.

The Fourth State Duma began its work on November 15, 1912. M.V. Rodzyanko was elected chairman of the Duma. He represented the Cadet-Octoberist majority and declared himself to be the ardent supporter of the "constitutional structure"<sup>724</sup>.

In the Third State Duma there were nine Muslim parliamentarians, but in the fourth one it was reduced to seven: three parliamentarians from the guberniya of Ufa, one from Orenburg, one from the guberniyas of Baku, Yelisavetpol and Erevan, one from Dagestan and one from Samara. The newspaper "Kaspiy" characterized their party affiliation and wrote that "five of the parliamentarians were men with progressive convictions and they joined the party of Progressists<sup>725</sup>, the representative of Samara was a rightist, the representative of Dagestan – an Octoberist. As in the previous cases the Muslim Fraction was obliged to join other fractions and groups in order to build its activities. Sufficiently an anti-democratic rule – the statute on the inquiries compelled the members of the fraction to do it. Being few in number the Muslim Fraction could not be elected to commissions consisting of less than 66 members.

Immediately after the formation of the Muslim Fraction there emerged such a problem: “the Muslim parliamentarians, irrespective of belonging to the Cadets, Laborites or to any other fraction, had either to join a national political group and tie their hands with the clauses of their programs, or create their own national group”. In the said period Jeyhun bey Hajibeyov was in Petersburg, he attended the sessions of the Duma, followed the activities of the separate fractions, groups and parties and thought that “our parliamentarians had to create their own national group, because the restrictions in the civil rights did not allow them include the needs of their electors into those of the Russian electors, when the needs of the nation represented by them, they were not taken into consideration, or not paid due attention”<sup>725</sup>. The members of the fraction solved the problem quite differently, they joined the parties which formed the majority in the Duma and which promised to support them. One of such parties in the Fourth State Duma was the party of the Progressists<sup>726</sup>.

The Muslim fraction took part in 11 commissions of the Duma<sup>727</sup>; it had one representative in the presidium of the Duma. G.Kh.Yenikeyev, parliamentarian from Orenburg, was elected one of the assistants of secretary of the Duma<sup>728</sup>. The fraction thought that it was expedient to take part in the Russian group of the inter-parliamentary union. In the March of the same year at the sitting of the fraction K.M.Tevkelev and M.Y.Jafarov were included into that union. The latter was elected assistant of the secretary of the group<sup>729</sup>. I.Akhtyamov and M.Y.Jafarov were educated in law, they were good professionals and formed the nuclear of the fraction.

On December 9, 1912, the fraction held its institutional sitting. K.M. Tevkelov was elected chairman of the fraction, I.Akhtyamov – its secretary<sup>730</sup>. The fraction rented a room to use it as an office in order to maintain contacts with the electors ceaselessly and for becoming aware of their desires and appeals. It informed the electors about it and declared that they were expecting to get letters from them<sup>731</sup>.

The fraction suffered financially and spiritually. M.Y.Jafarov spoke about it at the meeting with the electors. He criticized the electors for being indifferent, saying that they were active and appealed the parliamentarians only when the problem concerned them. They did not take part in the delivery of necessary materials to the parliamentarians when the problems of national importance, when the problems common for all were touched upon, or discussed. The political bias and the number of the members of the fraction worried him, too. The number of the members of the Muslim Fraction in the Fourth State Duma was less than 66; because of it the fraction could not take part in the commissions on religion, inquiry, issues of towns and other important commissions. The majority of the parliamentarians in the Duma, particularly the rightist forces ignored the Muslim fraction, did not listen to what they said, tried to hinder the speeches of the Muslim parliamentarians whenever they raised the issue of ensuring the rights to the Muslims. Such cases were very frequent and the Muslim parliamentarians very often were afraid of their personal immunity and were obliged not to speak. Nevertheless, M.Y.Jafarov used every chance to speak of his plans as a parliamentarian. For example, he drew the attention to the restrictions in the admission to the bar of non-Christians, to the liquidation of Article 44 of the statute of the towns, even appealed the Duma of Baku to send him a substantial report on that issue<sup>732</sup>.

The fraction discussed the issues connected with various draft laws and determined its position at its sittings. The issues of individual nature “were taken into consideration”. The fraction gave concrete errands to its members connected with the draft laws under discussion, or connected with the budget. For instance, at its sitting held in the February of 1913 the fraction charged secretary Akhtyamov to compile the list of the draft laws in conformity with the desire of the fraction proposed by various national institutions or the initiative groups of the Duma, and submit them to the fraction for being included into its plan for discussion. At the same sitting the fraction determined its position to the expected discussion of the budget in the Duma. The fraction thought it to be necessary to disclose its position in the discussions of the estimates of the ministries of the internal affairs, education, agriculture and of the department of migration<sup>733</sup>.

Very often the Duma proposed the immediate discussion of a draft law. The fraction discussed it and declared that “if the State Duma does not want to become an office of legislation for the government, then it must take into consideration the draft laws initiated by the government on the inquiry of the population”. Taking this position as a guide, the fraction included into the list of the draft laws for the urgent discussion those ones, which expressed the interests of the Muslim population of the outskirts of the Empire. These draft laws were divided into two groups. The first group included the followings: Draft laws on the changes in the election code restricting the representation of Muslims in the elections, on ensuring the freedoms declared in the manifest of the Czar of October 17, 1905 - freedom of conscience, freedom of assembly, freedom of union, freedom of press, freedom of immunity, on the conduction of

reforms in the State Duma. The second group included the draft laws on the conduction of a number of reforms in the religious institutions of Muslims, on the religious schools of Muslims, on zemstvo and self-administration of towns, on general education, on the regulation of migration in the outskirts and in Kirghizia<sup>734</sup>. The fraction managed to discuss the mentioned draft laws at its sittings, returned one and the same thing repeatedly and heard the reports of the members of the fraction on each of them.

Unlike in the previous Dumas the activity of the Muslim Fraction was comprehensively illuminated in the press. Besides the official information taken from the news agencies and newspapers of the capital, there were special articles and correspondences devoted to the activity of the Muslim Fraction in the Fourth State Duma. The cycle of articles published in the newspaper "Kaspiy" under the title "Letters from Petersburg", "At the Muslim Fraction", and "The Muslim Notes" occupy a special place among them. The author of these articles was Jeyhun bey Hajibeyov, who lived in Petersburg then. In honor of his ancestors from Dagestan he wrote these articles under the pseudonym of Dagestan<sup>735</sup>. He acquainted the readers with the atmosphere reigning in the palace of Tavria, characterized the members of the Muslim fraction duly and analyzed their successes and failures comprehensively.

J.Hajibeyov mentioned the issue of the fraction in the Duma and said that the necessity of unity in the parliament on the basis of nationality proved that "the national issue is still debated and indefinite, perhaps in the stage of aggravation"<sup>736</sup>. It obliged to move to the forefront the individual interests in detriment to the common interests. He wrote that the unequal legal status, partiality in the treatment of the citizens belonging to different nationalities led to the birth of the national oppositional parties since the foundation of the representative organ of Russia. He gave the comparative analysis of the activity of the Muslim Fraction in the First and Second State Dumas and noted that in those dumas the fraction did not have its definite programs; therefore, its work did not produce the desired effect, besides, the uncertainty and indefiniteness in the legislative body because of the birth of reaction in the country also added to the fruitlessness of the work of the fraction. Nevertheless, he considered that the work of the Muslim Fraction in this Duma was much superior in quality, quantity and authority than in the previous ones<sup>737</sup>. The Election Code of June 3, 1907, reduced the number of the Muslim parliamentarians to nine or even to seven<sup>738</sup>. J.Hajibeyov noted that for the sake of justice it was necessary to confess that some of the members of the fraction, including those who represented Azerbaijan, fulfilled the tasks completely laid on them by the electors, though they were few in number. They were trying hard, making much effort, demonstrating profound knowledge and professionalism to cope with the task.

J.Hajibeyov willy-nilly compared the Muslim Fraction with other parties and fractions and noted that unlike other parties and fractions, which had won the sympathy of their electors, the Muslim Fraction was not rendered moral and financial support by the society, the society did not care for it and was not attentive to its needs, obviously, it could do nothing, or do very little without money, which was the driving force of the 20th century<sup>739</sup>.

Nevertheless, the existence of the fraction gave birth to hopes in the Muslims that they would win certain political rights. The fraction received petitions and appeals. The Muslims of Kirghizia asked to manage the liquidation of the law of June 3, 1907, which had deprived them of the election right. The parliamentarians of other Muslim outskirts had to represent their interests in the Fourth State Duma. The difficulty in this case was that the parliamentarians of other Muslim localities were not aware of the needs of the Kirghiz people. M.Y.Jafarov took the mission of defending the interests of the Kirghiz people in the Fourth State Duma, to convey to the members of the Duma their complaints concerning the settlement of the Russians and other migrants in their best lands, to declare their needs connected with education. Therefore, before the consideration of the estimate of the Chief Department of Agriculture and Land Structure he was obliged to study thoroughly the respective documents in order to speak about the issue of migration<sup>740</sup>.

In the May of 1913 the residents of the Azerbaijani town Shamakhi appealed to M.Y.Jafarov and asked him to clarify the fate of their letter sent to the minister of education in the October of 1911. In the letter they asked the minister that the government should pay the expenses of the technical high school functioning in Shamakhi. M.Y.Jafarov visited the director of the Department of High Schools of the ministry of education and learned that the letter had been sent to the vice-Roy and there was no hope for its positive solution<sup>741</sup>.

The Duma of the town of Maykop appealed to M.Y.Jafarov and asked him to defend their appeal on the institution of the county court in Maykop. But when the commission of the Duma on court reform discussed it, the appeal was refused. Because the Duma had already decided to institute a county court in the Northern Caucasus, in the Town of Pyatigorsk<sup>742</sup>.

While making preparations for his speeches in the Duma M.Y.Jafarov walked the towns and villages of Azerbaijan tirelessly. In the April of 1913 he came to Baku and acquainted the public of the town with the activity of the fraction. In connection with the alienation of the oil-bearing lands he visited Surakhani and got acquainted with the needs and life of the peasants, whether they had been given lands, whether the confiscation of the oil-bearing lands had worsened their life conditions<sup>743</sup>. The villagers of Khyrdalan appealed to him because the government had not paid to them duly for their confiscated lands, he promised them in the November of 1913 to help them to improve their life conditions.

M.Y.Jafarov visited Guba to collect necessary information for his speech on migration<sup>744</sup>. In the region of Mugan he got acquainted with the situation of the irrigation system and land use there. While being in Salyan, he acquainted the local people with the activity of his fraction in the first session of the State Duma<sup>745</sup>.

In the March of 1913 the Muslim Fraction was appealed by M.A.Shahtakhtinsky. In the said period he was the reviewer of the Muslim press in the official newspaper of the government "Rossiya" (Russia). He proposed the fraction to make all kinds of efforts for the institution of a newspaper in Russian in Petersburg in order to reflect the interests of the Muslims in it. I.Akhtyamov and M.Y.Jafarov supported the appeal. The fraction promised "to take it into consideration"<sup>746</sup>.

The fraction managed to fulfill the promise. The newspaper "Millet" (Nation) appeared in the April of 1914<sup>747</sup>. The newspaper was published by S.G.Janturin<sup>748</sup>. But it was not popular among the Caucasian Muslims. Only 14 subscribers out of 300 were from the Caucasus. This information was published in the newspaper "Kaspiy". It explained that the new newspaper was published in the dialect of the Tatars of Kazan. The desire of the Caucasians to have a newspaper like "Terjuman" (Dragoman), the language of which was close to Turkish, had not been taken into account<sup>749</sup>.

The activity of the Muslim Fraction outside the Duma was very variegated. They took part in the celebrations of the 300th anniversary of the rule of the dynasty of Romanovs. M.Y.Jafarov informed the Emir of Bukhara that he wanted to donate 20.000 rubles to the construction of the mosque in Petersburg. Because of this generosity he was awarded with the first class star order of the Emir<sup>750</sup>. The members of the fraction took part in the congresses of the Muslims held in Petersburg when the Fourth State Duma functioned; they met the students of the Muslim outskirts who studied there. Prominent public figures I.Gasprinsky, A.M.Topchubashov, A.Iskhakov and F.Kerimov were invited to these meetings<sup>751</sup>.

The study of the problems raised in the Duma required high professionalism of the members of the fraction. Since the beginning of the session of the Duma it became clear that it was necessary to have special commission of lawyers under the Duma able to help in the development of certain draft laws, inquiries and other necessary documents.

The bureau of the fraction was set up only in the February of 1916 at the joint conference of the members of fraction and the representatives of the public. The conference was chaired by M. Y. Jafarov and G. Kh. Yenikejev. The conference continued several days and was participated by the well-known politicians of the Muslim world, publicists, editors of newspapers, and others. Discussions were held on the position of the fraction, its mutual relations with other parliamentarians in the Duma. The conference decided to include four politically experienced persons, a secretary, three assistants of the secretary and a clerk into the bureau. The members of the bureau had to take part in the discussion of issues together with the parliamentarians, establish priorities, maintain relations with the electors, etc<sup>752</sup>. Like the parliamentarians of the Duma they got salaries in the sum of 350 rubles per month<sup>753</sup>. It was decided in advance to spend 27.000 rubles for the maintenance of the fraction and the bureau. The participants of the conference hoped to ask the Muslims of Russia for this money<sup>754</sup>. But it was a hard task. The Muslim electors helped their parliamentarians very reluctantly. All the press organs of the Russian Muslims wrote about it with excitement. The information published in the journal "Mir Islama" (Islamic World) asked the readers to send information on the activity of the fraction<sup>755</sup>. The newspaper "Achig Soz" (Openly Said Word) declared to its readers in surprise that the persons invited from Baku and Yelisavetpol had not found a chance to take part in the conference. With a sense of grief the newspaper wrote: "The institutional conference was held without our participation... The bureau was also set up. They can do and live without Baku and its millions, too"<sup>756</sup>. The newspaper was right; they could do and live without the support of Baku, though it was surprising and difficult to explain.

Some time later the newspaper "Achig Soz" disclosed its position about the role and place of Baku in rendering assistance to the Muslim Fraction in the Fourth State Duma and in the bureau of the fraction. The publisher of the newspaper M.A.Rasul-zade declared to the readers in surprise: "...in the most responsible moment of our history, in the most serious moment of the history of Russia, in the most

dangerous moment of the life...the whole northern Russia was hurrying to help the Muslim Fraction,"757 only Baku, this treasury of oil, this rich town remained outside"758.

As early as the February of 1913, when M.Y.Jafarov met J.Hajibeyov, he drew the attention to such a thing that the Muslim Fraction needed information from different bodies, institutions and electors for the development of statements and declarations. "At present I am busy with the development of a statement on the liquidation of the restrictions in the admission to the bar of the non-Christian persons. I am engaged in the collection of necessary documents in connection with it. Besides, I am developing a statement on the liquidation of the known Article 44 of the statute of the towns. According to that statute in the towns with mixed population the number of the non-Christian town-councilors can not exceed half of the number of all the town-councilors. Therefore I have written to Najaf bey Vezirov and asked him to send me the whole report of the Baku Duma"759.

The Muslim Fraction took part in the discussion of the statement of the government. It was noted in the statement of the government presented by the chairman of the Council of Ministers V.N.Kokovtsov that "that the government is eager to direct the activity of the Duma to the search of new ways for the comprehensive improvement of the social and public life of the whole Russia by observing strictly the legal foundations of the Manifest of His Excellency the Czar of October 17"760. The speakers around the statement of the government on behalf of the Muslim Fraction drew attention to such a thing that the statement did not say anything about the reforms which interested the Muslims, including the reforms in the sphere of education, migration policy, provision of the local population with lands, and the laws of 1910 and 1911 which had not been applied to the outskirts. They also spoke of the necessity of changing the Election Code of June 3, 1907, because it delayed the development the specific culture of the Muslims who were" the citizens of the modern state". Appealing to the members of the State Duma on behalf of the Muslim fraction, I.Akhtyamov, parliamentarian from Ufa said: "...release us from being citizens of the second class, raise us to your own level, if we say with the words of Mr.Chairman of the Council of Ministers, give the Muslims a nationality, make us a nation, a nation which thinks that Russia is its motherland, a nation which is ready for the peaceful labor, a nation which sees its happiness, even its existence in the unity with the Russian people. Give us a chance to develop culturally under the shade of the double-headed eagle and work in favor of the society together with all the Russian citizens"761.

Tryng to explain the essence of his statement, the chairman of the Council of Ministers was obliged to dwell on the ideas mentioned by the representative of the Muslim Fraction and made efforts to remove the doubts. He declared that when speaking about the equality and kindness of the law"the government did not refer it to the Muslim population". V.N. Kokovtsov appealed to the parliamentarians in surprise: "Has not the Muslim nation, which has been living in the lands subject to the Russian Empire for many centuries, felt the kind, careful and civil attitude of the Russian government to all the kind features and conviction of the Muslims? Has Russia ever humiliated and injured the dignity of the Muslims"762. His hypocrisy enraged the leader of the Cadets P. N.Milyukov, who declared: "...the words and expressions of the Prime Minister are abusive and provocative in nature... Law can be neither kind, nor unkind. Kindness and unkindness are moral qualities, and they should be alien to the law. There must be equality of rights, law must be equal, impartial and fair in relation to everybody"763.

On December 10, 1912, M.Y.Jafarov made a speech in the Duma and replied to V.N.Kokovtsov. He declared that he would convey to them the desires of the Muslim fraction. He presented these desires in the concrete form built on the issues in which the Caucasian Muslims were interested. Most and foremost he dwelt on the application of zemstvo self-administration in the Caucasus, because in the statement of the Prime Minister it was not mentioned. Though the statement gave the list of the provinces of Russia where self-administration and zemstvo had to be applied after the amendments in their statutes. The government considered zemstvo and self-administration "the best guarantee of the economic and cultural development of the motherland"764. M.Y.Jafarov drew the attention of the parliamentarians that the parliamentarians of the previous dumas had made statements about it many times. He had raised the problem in"his humble reports" not once, pointed out that it was high time for the application of zemstvo in the Caucasus, the primitive way of the rule of the Caucasus worried the highest local administration. M.Y.Jafarov dwelt on the issues of education, too. "We declare with a sense of grief that the government approaches this holy task, that is, the education of the population with bias. This problem has nothing to do with politics. Up to now under the pretext of enlightenment the government has tried to implement into life measures aimed at the Rusification of the Muslims"765. He noted the facts of closure of the charitable and educational institutions and of the schools attached to them, of the searches conducted in the houses of the intelligentsia and of their arrests, he appreciated this behaviour of the government as "the persecution of the inclination of integration into the Russian life and the Russian



culture” and as the manifestation of the distrust of the government to the people which formed ” the second majority in the Empire”.

M.Y.Jafarov disclosed his negative attitude to the policy of migration and said that “this policy of the government has been aimed at exerting pressure on the local elements and at strengthening the Russian elements in the outskirts” As “the representative of the outskirts” he called the government to try ” to strengthen the love, sympathy and confidence in the Russian element, Russian name...in the name of the state and its interests”<sup>766</sup>.



*Mammadyusif Jafarov*

M.Y.Jafarov attached great importance to the manifest of October 17, 1905, appreciated it as “the great charter of freedom” and “the beginning of transition to a system based on the election of the representatives of the people”. He also noted that the Muslims cherished great hopes in the said manifest connected with the existing restrictions for the Muslims, but instead of removing them the sphere of such restrictions had been expanded, for instance, there had emerged new restrictions in the judicial system. Being a professional lawyer it harmed the interests of the parliamentarian particularly. He was also not satisfied with the desire of the government to create a single legal norm as it was expressed in the statement of the government. By doing it the government wanted “to integrate more closely different parts of the Russian Empire” by applying them to Polish Czarism, to the guberniyas of the pre-Baltics and Bessarabia, but it did not take into account that there were still outskirts which were ruled not by the imperial laws of Russia common for all, but by military laws, for instance, by special military statutes”<sup>767</sup>. On February 27, 1913, when the draft law submitted by the vice-Roy of the Caucasus for prolonging the term of the law of June 17, 1909, which determined the number of the interim staff of police in Tiflis, M.Y.Jafarov again spoke of the necessity of the conduction of reforms<sup>768</sup>. But he did not support Social-Democrat Skobelev when the latter spoke about the changes in the Election Code of June 3, 1907, proposed by P.N.Milyukov on behalf of the fraction of Cadets<sup>769</sup>.

On March 17-18, 1913, there were manifestations in Petersburg, the police used violence against the participants of these manifestations. In connection with it an inquiry was developed for being sent to the minister of internal affairs. The inquiry was discussed in the State Duma. Taking part in the discussions M.Y.Jafarov declared on behalf of the Muslim fraction that the manifestation was peaceful and there was no need to take such strict and severe measures against the demonstrators. He also protested against Melnikov, parliamentarian from Volynsk, who was for sending the inquiry, because the latter said that “the manifestations were organized as an action of the Slavic peoples against the Muslims”. M.Y.Jafarov said: “Had it been the only case, I would have not paid attention to that, but the known part of the Russian press also focuses attention on it. Such an approach to the problem may give birth to antagonism between our compatriots – Muslims and Christians”<sup>770</sup>.

Making use of the documents given to him by the Chief Department of Agriculture in the June of 1913<sup>771</sup>, M.Y.Jafarov spoke in the Duma about the estimate of the Department of Migration for 1913: “As any national issue the issue of migration must also be approached from two points of view: from the principal point of view, that is, from the point of view of the purpose and objectives of migration, and from technical point of view, that is, from the point of view of the organization and materialization of this issue”<sup>772</sup>. Because of it he thought that the migration policy was biased and unilateral, the government wanted to reduce the density of population in the central guberniyas of Russia and did not take into account the information on the extra lands in the regions where the population had to be settled. According to him, it was the duty of the government to take into consideration the interests of the local population living in the provinces of Sahra, Turkestan, and the Transcaucasia. Proceeding from the information conveyed by Senator Palen on the situation connected with the migration in Turkestan, as well as on the materials of revision conducted in Baku and in the guberniya of Baku, he pointed out that there was not any effective system and planning in the migration issue, “there is a chaos in the allocation of lands, the local authorities do not listen to anyone’s complaint, do everything as they like, it paves the way for their unrestricted tyranny. When one imagines the realities of our migration work, willy-nilly there emerges such a question: can the migration be conducted in such a beastly manner in the civil, legal state?”<sup>773</sup>

Dwelling upon the situation in the Transcaucasia M.Y.Jafarov noted that there was an acute need in the land, particularly in its mountainous areas the population were in need of land, so that there was about 1,9 dessiatina (one dessiatina=2,7 acres) of land per capita in the guberniya of Tiflis, about 1,6 dessiatina per capita in the guberniya of Erevan, about 0,5 dessiatina of land per capita in Kutaisi, about 0,5 dessiatina per capita in four uyezds (Javanshir, Jabrail, Zangazur and Shusha) of the guberniya of Yelisavetpol, about 0,5 dessiatina per capita in the Lankaran uyezd of the Baku guberniya, about 0,9 dessiatina per capita in the uyezd of Guba<sup>774</sup>. In the process of settlement of the migrants from the central Russia the best arable lands in the valleys along the rivers of Araks and Kura were confiscated from the local population and given to the migrants. The law adopted in the State Duma for the irrigation of the plain of Mugan and settlement of the migrants deprived the local population of all their living resources. M.Y.Jafarov considered that the organization of migration in this form was not “a nationally important issue”, but “a national misfortune” aimed against the local people. He appreciated the migration as “an act of fair distribution of the lands among the different layers of population and regulation of the land issue by the state», and he thought that the lands in the outskirts of the Empire had

to be given to the migrants after being studied attentively, after the determination of their quantity and quality. He proposed to the government to submit to the discussion of the State Duma the draft of the promised law connected with "the provision of the local population with lands". "The necessity of removing the abnormal cases in the issue of migration is in favor not only of the local population, but also in that of the state as well, because the present migration policy of the government leads to clashes of the interests of various layers of population, makes them confront each other". "Such a policy must be denounced by the best part of the representatives of the people"<sup>775</sup>. At the end of his speech he declared on behalf of the Muslim Fraction that as a sign of protest to the migration policy of the government he would vote against the allocation of finances for the maintenance of the central organs of the Migration Department.

Parliamentarian Chkhekeli from the provinces of Kutaisi and Batumi, from the county of Sukhumi, supported M.Y.Jafarov in his declaration: "In the European part of Russia there fall 22,2 residents per one square verst (one verst=3500 feet), but in the Transcaucasia it is 26,4 residents to one verst"<sup>776</sup>.

This time the parliamentarians from the Transcaucasia could convince the Duma and it adopted such a decision: "not to violate the rights of the local population while settling the migrants" and "not settle the newcomers in the areas created on the account of extra lands unless the lands allocated for the associations and villages are ratified completely"<sup>777</sup>.

The representative of the supreme administration of the Czar in the Caucasus addressed the government to render assistance to the population in some places of the Transcaucasia who suffered from the lack of crops. Making use of it M.Y.Jafarov disclosed his position in the Duma on rendering assistance to the sufferers. He declared that in such cases the zemstvos were very helpful and it was necessary to apply it in the Caucasus without any delay. He reminded that the necessity of application of zemstvos in the Caucasus was supported by the majority in the Second State Duma. The majority in the Duma voted for the proposal of M.Y.Jafarov and adopted such a decision: "it is necessary to consider that the immediate application of zemstvo in the Caucasus is very necessary"<sup>778</sup>. The demand of the parliamentarians from the Transcaucasia connected with the application of zemstvo in the region was supported by a number of parliamentarians of the Duma, Duke D.I.Shakhovsky, one of the leaders of the Cadets, included this demand into his program.

M.Y.Jafarov spoke of the expediency of the application of zemstvo in the Transcaucasia not once; according to him the application of the institution of zemstvo was necessary for the development of the economy of the region. He used all the opportunities for the disclosure of his views in the Duma. He spoke in the April of 1914 when the Duma discussed the measures aimed at rendering assistance to the villagers in some places of the guberniya of Erevan because the severe frost had damaged the crop fields. He again spoke in the May of 1914, when the Duma discussed the estimate of the Department of Statistics of Agriculture. It was his principle to study the material thoroughly, to grasp it profoundly, then to speak about the issue. When the activity of the Department of Land Improvement was discussed by the Duma, he disclosed the essence of the activity of the Department and determined two directions in it: one of the directions concerned the central guberniyas of Russia, the second one – the outskirts of Russia. He drew the attention of the parliamentarians to such a fact that the said department ignored the needs of the local population and had concentrated its attention only on the irrigation of the state lands in the outskirts in order to solve the problem of the settlement of migrants, though its main duty was to increase the imperial land fund of arable lands by draining the swamps, by extending the irrigation system and by supplying water<sup>779</sup>. He also pointed out that the study of the allocation of credits had revealed that the majority of the credits had been directed to migration and to land improvement for the needs of migrants. He demonstrated many examples how the needs of the local population were ignored: "The sufferers are the local people, but the Department forgets their needs completely"<sup>780</sup>. "When the local people have the chance to water their fields, it is already too late. Though, for instance, in Magadan the irrigation canals and irrigation installations have been built not only on the account of the state, but also on the account of the finances of the zemstvos of the local people and on the account of natural payments. The local people very often are obliged to use the water from the private canals and paid one-third of the produced agricultural product to the owners of the private canals". M. Y.Jafarov analyzed comprehensively the activity of the above-mentioned Department and stressed the necessity of removing the existing deficiencies and of serving all the groups of the population, irrespective of their nationality and religion<sup>781</sup>.

In the February of 1916 the parliamentarians of the Duma appealed to the vice-Roy of the Caucasus and the minister of internal affairs with an inquiry about the events taken place in Baku and asked to explain the essence of the compulsory measures taken against the participants of the events.

Parliamentarians Jafarov, Skobelev and Papajanov from Baku spoke about the said events and declared that the events in Baku had taken place in connection with the rise of prices of all the consumer goods and food. The masses consisting mainly of women had rushed into the stores and shops, and carried away all the goods. The above-mentioned parliamentarians signified the special role of Baku in the defense of the country with its oil and oil products and asked to obstacle the food crisis, which was aggravating day by day. The Duma adopted the inquiry<sup>782</sup>.

Making use of the discussion of the estimate of the Ministry of Enlightenment one of the representatives of the Muslim Fraction announced the program of the fraction at the session of the Duma. The program expressed the desire of the parliamentarians to liquidate the legislative and administrative acts, which restricted the rights of the Muslims, to apply the mother language in the program of the primary education by giving certain hours to the Russian language, to permit private persons and associations to open schools in the mother language. The program also provided necessary measures for training the teaching staff for these schools and allocation of necessary funds from the treasury of the state for this purpose, which was of vital importance for the Muslims. The Duma declared that the solution of the said in the session of the Duma was difficult, nevertheless, it was decided to give the program to the education commission for the discussion with the consent of the Muslim Fraction<sup>783</sup>.

In the March of 1916, M.Y. Jafarov took part in the discussions on the report of the Commission of Local Self-Administration and spoke of the expediency of the solution of the application of zemstvo in the Transcaucasia on legal basis. He declared that the solution of the problem in the Transcaucasia was desired long ago; probably half of a century, he shared and supported the views of the parliamentarians Papajanov and Skobelev on the problem. In addition to their views he reminded that when the issue of application of zemstvo emerged, the central government said that the local population was not ready for that form of administration. "This time, that is, in 1916, it says that the war is going on and promises that the zemstvo self-administration will be applied after the end of the war". He mentioned the necessity of application of zemstvo, the needs of the rural population to well-built roads, medical service, agronomists and education. He said that he hoped that the Duma would make the government solve the problem and at least make it apply the statute of the 1890 in the Transcaucasia by taking into account the local peculiarities<sup>784</sup>.

The demand of the parliamentarians from the Transcaucasia concerning the application of zemstvo in the region was supported by a number of the members of the Duma. D. I. Shakhovskiy, one of the leftists of the Cadet Party, included that demand into his program as one of the closest demands of his party<sup>785</sup>.

On November 3, 1916, at the session of the Duma a number of parliamentarians declared vote of non-confidence in the government. So that parliamentarian Yefremov, from the province of the Don Troops who represented the fraction of the Progressists, declared that "at the present moment the main objective is to ensure victory over the foreign enemy. But this government is not capable to lead us to victory; it must be replaced by another government which suits the great Russia"<sup>786</sup>. Parliamentarian Karaulov from the province of Terek supported him and said: "The present government with its irresponsibility will never create a great Russia, but doom to death the existing one, too"<sup>787</sup>.

On behalf of the Muslim Fraction M.Y. Jafarov also joined the opposition in the appreciation of the government. Dwelling upon the nature of the war M.Y. Jafarov characterized it as "the war conducted for the sake of freedom" by using the words of the very government. He noted that "if the Russian army takes freedom to foreign nations, then this freedom must be declared for the numerous peoples living in the Russian Empire, too"<sup>788</sup>. "But the government has been treating the small nations more aggressively than ever. The miserable practice of the national oppression has never risen to such a level as in the period of the present struggle for freedom. The centralized ruthless bureaucratic mechanism has never insulted the national feelings of the non-Russian peoples as now and disfigured the features of the life, morals and spirituality"<sup>789</sup>. As a proof of the said he mentioned the fact that the male residents of the provinces of Turkestan, Sahra aged from 19 till 43 were summoned to serve in the army. The persons released from the service in the army before did not get any explanation from the persons working in the administrative structures and government institutions, it created panic among the population and it was appreciated as a mutiny, and because of it they were severely dealt with. Blood was shed, a tragedy took place, houses were burnt and destroyed. On the other hand, bribery, heavy taxes, violence became widely spread. M.Y. Jafarov thought that all this was due to "irresponsible bureaucracy" and "it must give its place to a government which bears responsibility before the representatives of the people. He proposed" to declare to all the peoples of Russia that the brilliant period of their future national revival has begun". He thought that it would bind the Russian people with the non-Russian peoples with much stronger and

unbreakable ties of brotherhood, will increase the strength of warriors fighting in the bloody battle fields, create in them the belief that the countless number of victims of the non-Russian peoples will widely open the doors of the common political life for them and they will enjoy equal rights”790.

The speech of M.Y.Jafarov caused interest in the public of Baku. There appeared articles in the newspapers “Achig Soz” and “Baku” with the analysis of his speech. The problem was that the censorship did not allow publish the whole text of his speech. Because of it, the author of the article in the newspaper “Achig Soz” warned the Muslim Fraction and its members that “it is necessary to weigh each word before uttering it in such existing period of chaos in the country”791, and also because “the parliamentarianism in Russia has not strengthened and taken root yet 792.

The chairman of the Muslim Fraction K.M.Tevkelev and parliamentarian M.Y.Jafarov appealed with a letter to the chairman of the Council of Ministers and asked him to regulate the issue of summoning the non-Russian citizens of Russia to the military service. They visited the Ministry of Internal Affairs and got necessary information on the enlistment of the Muslims to defense works793. Along with the said, they asked the government to take into account the business of the population in the season of harvest and to equal the family members of the population taking part in the harvest to those of the summoned to the army, to supply them with food, to organize their medical and age examination, and that the chiefs of the armed detachment of workers taking part in the defense works should know the language of the persons commanded by them794. Due to the efforts of the Muslim Fraction and its bureau the enlistment of the persons from non-Russian nationalities was postponed till the 15th of September795. The newspaper appreciated it as the service of the Muslim Fraction and noted that “the Caucasian Muslims felt the use of the Muslim Fraction and its bureau, though they do not benefit from us even a particle”796.

The reason of the letter of K.M.Tevkelev and M.Y.Jafarov to the Council of Ministers was the letter sent from Baku in the May of 1914 with the signature of “the Caucasian Muslims”. The letter asked to inform the chairman of the Council of Ministers about the needs of the Muslims, to draw his attention to the necessity of the service of the Muslims in the ranks of the Russian army and to request him to render assistance to its application among the Caucasian Muslims as soon as possible. The authors of the letter appreciated it as “a means of the development of the national consciousness of the Muslim people”, but they also did not deny the negative attitude of the Muslims to the general military service in the 80s of the 19th century and explained that in the said years “the Muslims did not have clear imagination about the military service in the army”. “But now if people see that his Christian neighbor, who is a worker or a shepherd, comes home after three years of military service and speaks Russian fluently, though he is half literate, will he not understand the use of the military service in the army?”797 “If a village with a hundred households sends 10-15 persons to the army and ten of them get education in Russian, learn Russian, learn various professions and return home, win reputation among his neighbors, he may exert influence on their lives, they will not set fire on each others houses, it will prevent the cases of robbery. As it is seen from the said, the Caucasian Muslims regarded the service in the army as an element of development of culture798.

During the term of the Fourth State Duma the national crisis was deepening. All the political forces represented in the Duma did not conceal their discontent. The hopes to the Czarism did not justify themselves, the promised reforms remained on paper, were not materialized. With the lapse of time the situation was becoming clearer: there will not be any reform. Hopes gave their place to disappointment, and this disappointment led to a discontent covering all the Duma.

In the August of 1915, a number of fractions of the Duma – Progressists, Cadets, Union of October 17, Zemstvoist Octoberists, nationalist, centralist fractions merged in the “progressive bloc”799. Two hundred and thirty-six parliamentarians out of 422 joined this bloc800. The idea of the unison of the fractions of the Duma belonged to the Cadets, but they were strongly supported by the forces of the leftist orientation. The draft of the program of the bloc had been developed by P.N.Milyukov. The commission which studied the program was also headed by him801. The basic demand in the program was the organization of a government consisting of the persons who had won the confidence of the country and able to fulfil a part of the said program within a brief period of time with the consent of legislative institutions. The slogan of “the Public Confidence Ministry” formed the core of this demand802. The fractions of the Duma decided to unite on the basis of compromises, trying to avoid their smallest desires in the national program. So that they proposed an idea which was very obscure and did not guarantee anything instead of the equality of rights for the Jews suggested by the Cadets: “to step on the road of liquidation of the laws restricting the rights of the Jews”. The provision “to re-consider the laws on the ownership on lands in Poland”803 sounded just the same.

What concerned the Muslims, their problems had not been included in the program. Just because of it the Muslim Fraction did not join “the progressive bloc”. Before the birth of this fraction M.Y.Jafarov represented the Muslim Fraction both in the Council of the Elders of the Duma, as well as in the sittings of inter-fractional conferences. He wrote about it comprehensively in his article titled “The progressive bloc and the Muslim Fraction”<sup>804</sup>. Speaking of the merge of fraction in one single block, he noted that “it was the working program of the State Duma which gave birth to the new bloc”. The objective of the bloc was “to develop draft laws and include into the program such issues,” which can satisfy the whole country, be able to create favourable conditions for the decisive victory over the enemy” and “thus, to unite the majority in the Duma for the adoption of the program”<sup>805</sup>.

After the initial discussions of the program by the fractions there was held a conference on the 9th of August. The conference had to adopt the program. On behalf of the Muslim Fraction M.Y.Jafarov proposed to include into the program the liquidation of the legal and administrative restrictions in the existing legislation concerning the Muslims, including the changes in the Election Code of June 3, which reduced the number of the Muslim parliamentarians in the State Duma sharply. But his proposals were not adopted. Hence, the representatives of the Muslim Fraction were not invited to the conferences of the bloc. The Muslim Fraction learned about the formation of the bloc and of the development of its program only from the newspapers on August 26. In the article published in the newspaper “Kaspiy” M.Y.Jafarov gave his own appreciation of the issue of “the non-Russian peoples” in the program. By quoting the respective clauses of the program he drew the attention to such a fact that the draft laws proposed by separate parliamentarians of different nations and the leftist groups in the Duma at the end of August on the liquidation of the religious and national restrictions were rejected by the majority of the Cadets and the Progressists. He wrote:” It was clearly seen that the fractions in opposition (the Cadets and Progressists), which supported the liquidation of the said restrictions all the time, now took the road of opportunism under the influence of the present situation, or some other reasons. In order to draw the groups with much more rightist orientation to the bloc the Octoberists they gave their consent not include into the program of the bloc the liquidation of the restrictions applied to the non-Russian nations. It is to the point to say that on June 20, in the session of the Duma the Octoberists and the members of the said bloc, who were much more rightists than the latter, voted against those restrictions”<sup>806</sup>.

The attitude of the Muslim Fraction to “the progressive bloc” caused great interest in the Russian public. The newspapers published views which contradicted each other completely. For instance, Sedri Efendi Magsudov, member of the Second and Third Dumas, well-known publicist, assistant of the juror, editor of the newspaper “Yulduz” (Star), published an article in the newspapers “Yulduz” and “Vagt” (Time) under the title “The Progressive Bloc and Our Fraction”. He considered that the non-alliance of the Muslim Fraction with the bloc at such an important moment of the history was a great political mistake. Advancing the slogan that “the nation not satisfied with its rights must speak about its needs everywhere and raise an alarm”, he wrote that “the Muslim Fraction must join the bloc, if the members of the bloc promise to fulfil at least the minimal needs of the Muslims”<sup>807</sup>. Entering into polemics with him, M.Y.Jafarov wrote: ”I can assure Sedri Efendi Magsudov that if the program of the bloc had included not only the said clause into its program ( according to him, inclusion into the program of only the clause concerning the liquidation of the restrictions applied to the non-Russian peoples had to make the Muslim Fraction join the bloc), but even it had the chance to make efforts to include into it any of the painful problems of the Muslims, we would have joined it, and as Sedri Efendi imagines, our pride would have not prevented us to appeal to them, to ask them”<sup>808</sup>.

Nevertheless, M.Y.Jafarov did not exclude that the Muslim Fraction might join the said bloc in future depending on the topicality of the bloc and its position to the Muslims. He explained the approach of the position of his fraction towards the bloc from two points of view: The fraction which represented the Muslims wanted the bloc to display interest in the issues having direct reference to the Muslims. At the same time he wrote:”Like the citizens of Russia we may support the bloc and its program, because, particularly now, when the country suffers hardships, the programs able to improve the situation in the country may not contradict the interests of the Muslims. But anyhow, one can not exclude our position towards the bloc like Muslim parliamentarians”<sup>809</sup>.

Unlike S.Magsudov, the authors of the articles published in the newspapers “Kaspiy” and “Achig Soz”, solidarized with the members of the Muslim Fraction. J.Hajibeyov wrote in his article “Notes of a Muslim. The Bloc and We” that “though our fraction is weak in the Duma because of the number of its members, it would be unjust to say that it lacks common sense, a healthy mind and does not desire the happiness of the elements represented by it”<sup>810</sup>. M.Y.Jafarov claimed that there were not persons and political organizations to represent them in the socio - political life of Russia<sup>811</sup>. Unlike him, the author

of a number of articles published in the newspaper "Achig Soz" drew the attention of the readers to the directives of the congresses of the Muslims of Russia. He noted that the program of the Muslim Fraction was the program of "the Ittifaqi- Muslimin"(Union of the Muslims),the provisions in the draft laws in the portfolio of the Muslim Fraction were taken from this program. He called the fraction to remain devoted to the program, to display flexibility and renew only the tactical methods of struggle. "The fraction must work independently, not join anyone". The author considered the bloc to be something interim and unstable, and therefore, he asked the members of the Muslim Fraction not to be deceived by any political trend or mood"812.

Being a member of the commission in the Duma, M.Y.Jafarov took part in the discussion of many issues.He collected materials on the restrictions applied to the non-Christians in the admission to the bar, materials for the commission to consider the draft law of the government concerning the enjoyment of equal rights in the payment of taxes per capita by persons belonging to different castes. The Cadets, Octobertists and Progressists promised to support the draft law. So that in the sittings of the Budget Commission813 M.Y.Jafarov clarified whether it is possible to give the oil-bearing lands to private persons without having an order for it, whether there was legal basis for the confiscation of the lands of the cattle-breeding population of the Gazakh uyezd, whether it was legal to violate the rights of the local population while conducting the migration policy in Kirghizia. He also developed and signed inquiries on the violence towards the workers of the gas plant of Warsaw, on the damages of the syndicate of several plants producing agricultural machinery and equipment, on rendering assistance to the pre-Volga population who had suffered from floods. M.Y.Jafarov also supported the liquidation of some restrictions in the rights of the ordinary peasants and the persons who belonged to the castes which paid per capita taxes, assurance of election rights to all the peasants who had property rights on the lands owned by them.

In the period of the World War I M.Y.Jafarov was appointed the representative of the State Duma in the infirmary for the members of the Duma, besides, he had also to visit the region of military operations in the Caucasus814. He took part in the special conference assembled for rendering assistance to the sufferers from the war, he was the representative of the charitable Muslim association in Baku, in the Caucasian committee for rendering assistance to refugees. He asked the government to demonstrate great mercy and demanded to organize shelters for the refugees and their children, to render all kinds of assistance to them, to allocate finances for the organization of shops which could sell food to the population on low prices815.

Thus, the activity of the Azerbaijani parliamentarians (all of them were the representatives of the higher layers of the population from social point of view) in all four convocations of the State Duma, their participation in the numerous basic and subsidiary commissions of the Duma, as well as the articles of the ideologists of the Azerbaijani entrepreneurs in the local and capital press prove that they aspired for the fulfillment of their demands in their petitions and appeals at the beginning of the 20th century, fought for the liquidation of all restrictions and tried for the application of the mother language in the system of education and in courts. They wanted to draw the broad masses of population to the fight for the political rights. They cherished great hopes to the conduction of reforms within the frames of the existing constitutional system of Russia. They declared that"it was not the invention of a group or party", but "a natural and necessary stage in the development and progress of co-existence of peoples", "and all the manifestations of opposition to this enescapable process are doomed to natural death"816. But Nariman Narimanov, prominent public and political figure of Azerbaijan, imagined the perspectives of the fight against all kinds of national and social restrictions quite differently. In the August of 1907, at the congress of the teachers in Baku he declared resolutely:"The thing whatever, wherever, whenever we meet is the policy of the absolute monarchy. Under the present regime one can speak neither of national self-determination, nor of legal equality of the languages. It is all unnatural".817

The history proved that the ideas uttered by N. Narimanov far-sightedly were completely true. All the efforts of the higher layers of the Azerbaijani society to achieve the liquidation of the legal restrictions in the frames of the Russian Empire failed. The regime of oppression and inequality inevitably led to the revolution of the February of 1917 in Russia. The revolution had no real alternative.

On March 1, 1917, the decrees of His Excellency were declared in the Senate: " In conformity with Article 99 of the basic laws of the state we order: To cease the sessions of the State Duma from February 26, and depending on the emergency cases to restore them no later than the April of 1917...Nicolas, the headquarters of the Czar, February 25, 1917".818 But neither the decree of the Czar, nor the hopes of the restoration of the session of the State Duma were materialized. On the 26th of February the Council of Elders of the State Duma got acquainted with the decree on the dissolution of the Duma and resolved:"The Duma shall not be dissolved. All the parliamentarians shall stay in their places".

The monarchy fell down. It was the natural consequence of the development of the socio-political processes in Russia. The social collisions at the crossroads of the two centuries, the revolutionary manifestations of 1905-1907, the World War I led the country to the crisis in all the spheres.

On the 27th of February the State Duma instituted its Executive Committee. It included Rodzyanko, Kerenskiy, Chkheidze, Shulgin, Milyukov, Karaulov, Konovalov, Dmitryukov, Rzhnevskiy, Shidlovskiy, Nekrasov and Lvov.<sup>819</sup> The newspapers informed that the Executive Committee was formed of the members of all the parties represented in the State Duma.<sup>820</sup> The Duma formed the government. Duke G.Y.Lvov was announced chairman of the Council of Ministers and the minister of Internal Affairs.<sup>821</sup> Chief of Baku L.L.Bych sent a telegram on behalf of the Duma of the town, welcomed the new government and declared that on the occasion of the event there was held a one-day congratulatory manifestation in the town.<sup>822</sup> Jeyhun bey Hajibeyov could not conceal his joy: "There is no the disgraceful brand of "the alien nation. There is only one honorable title for everybody now: citizen". M.A.Rasul-zade welcomed "the great overthrow", he declared that the overthrow would ensure the freedom of all the nations, called the Muslims to unite for the sake of freedom and to march together with all the citizens of Russia. He cherished great hopes in the Muslim Fraction of the Duma and declared: " Besides the Muslim Fraction of the Duma we had no any other political organization...All the Muslims of Russia must give up inertness and act together with their compatriots, they must say everywhere that they are ready to give their lives for this freedom, therefore, their voice must be heard everywhere and they must make themselves be recognized". M.A.Rasul-zade expressed his assurance that the Assembly of Enterprises would create conditions for all the peoples living in Russia. He considered that the best means for achieving equal rights for each nation is to support the government and join the free political parties<sup>823</sup>.

Telegrams were sent to the chairman of the Executive Committee of the State Duma M.Rodzyanko and to the chairman of the Muslim Fraction on behalf of 30 Muslim public organizations of Baku. On the day of Novruz Holiday (21st or 22nd of March) in the dinner party hosted by the charitable association of the Muslims of Baku F.Khoisky read the above-mentioned telegram. The dinner party was participated by the representatives of all the nations living in Baku. The guests were received by H.Z.Taghiyev, I.Safaraliyev and M.Asadullayev who were the members of the presidium of the association. The telegram welcomed the new state structure, and it was pointed out that the Muslims cherish great hopes in civil, political and national-religious freedoms and equality declared for all the citizens of Russia. The representatives of the workers and intelligentsia also spoke at the dinner party.<sup>824</sup> On March 11 a dinner party was organized for the Muslim women. The participants of this dinner party also sent telegrams of congratulation to M.Rodzyanko and the Muslim Fraction<sup>825</sup>.

On March 8, 1917, the Muslim Fraction submitted a statement to the Council of Ministers in connection with the plan of action of the provisional government published in the newspapers. The statement expressed satisfaction as a whole. The only thing which troubled the fraction was that the unawareness of the public and political figures of Russia of the features of the social life of the Muslim population of the outskirts and the pre-Volga could negatively affect the implementation of the program into life. This unawareness was manifest clearly in such a fact that the legislative institutions of Russia had not been able to satisfy the smallest needs of the Muslims in the course of many decades. The Fraction was anxious that the unawareness of the said institutions of the religion, languages, world outlook and social life of the Muslims might cause the apathy of the Muslims to the new state system. Therefore, the Muslim Fraction thought it to be necessary to convey to the attention of the provisional government that "when it organized the new body of the government to pay a special attention to the appointments in the ministries of internal affairs, justice, education, departments of war, marine and agriculture". Because the activity of these institutions were closely connected with the Muslim population, with the provinces of the Caucasus, Turkestan, Sahra, guberniyas of Astrakhan, Vyatka, Kazan, Orenburg, Ufa and others, where the Muslim population formed the majority. In appointing the persons to the said posts the Provisional Government must not repeat the mistakes of the previous regime; it must not proceed from the partisanship of the person, but of his awareness of the social life of the Muslim population, of their languages and other national peculiarities. Declaring itself the only political organization, the Muslims Fraction announced that for the sake of the Muslims the fraction might mention the names of the persons able to occupy those posts and work successfully<sup>826</sup>.

On March 9, 1917, the Provisional Government adopted the decision on the institution of "the Special Committee for the Organization of the Transcaucasian Region" consisting of the members of the State Duma V. M.Kharlamov (chairman), M.Y.Jafarov, M.I.Papajanov, P.A.Pereverzyev (members), empowered them with the rights and authorities of the Provisional Government. This committee had to



restore the order in the Transcaucasian region on the principles announced to the people on March 6, 1917, and organize the region". The Committee was also instituted for taking measures for the organization of the civil administration in the Caucasian front in the provinces where the war was going on<sup>827</sup>.

It was decided that the Special Transcaucasian Committee should be located in Tiflis. On their way to Tiflis the parliamentarians made a short stop in Baku on March 15, met the members of the executive committee of the town, its chairman L.L.Bych, members of the town council and representatives of various layers of population and held talks with them<sup>828</sup>. On March 16, M.Y.Jafarov made a speech at the meeting organized in the town. In his speech he greeted "the free citizens of the free Russia". Speaking about his powers he said that "they have been charged to fulfil a very difficult objective till the Assembly of Enterprises come together and develop the basic laws, that is, the provisional organization of the Caucasus"<sup>829</sup>. He welcomed the February Revolution, appreciated it as "a great cause" and declared: "Russia was liberated from the despotic way of administration. There is already no Czar in Russia, there is already no the rotten government which has dragged the mighty country to a crash"<sup>830</sup>. Then he called the participants of the meeting to defend the obtained freedom, to join the efforts for its protection: "Do not give up this freedom, hold it tightly, we shall speak of our internal problems later"<sup>831</sup>. When the congress of the executive committees of the region was going on in Tiflis, there was held a meeting in the town on March 24, 1917, in which M.Y.Jafarov made a speech and drew the attention of the participants of the meeting that it was not time to forward national slogans, all the national problems would be fulfilled by the Assembly of Enterprises. He called all the peoples of the Caucasus to unity.

The activity of the parliamentarians from Azerbaijan in four convocations of the State Duma was the striking manifestation of the intellectual potential of the Azerbaijani people in the beginning of the 20th century. The period of great flourishing of the national liberation movement brought up a whole detachment of brilliant personalities who tried to defend the interests of the people. The Azerbaijani public and its ideologists, who for the first time won the right to express its interests and needs in circumstances of severe political lawlessness, developed all kinds of appeals and petitions, and sent them to the Czar government since the beginning of the 20th century. All the demands and desires expressed in those documents were then published either in the periodicals, or were sounded in the sessions of the Duma, or in the discussions in the commissions and sub-commissions of the Duma. When one pays attention to the submission of the issues to the Duma, it allows make such an inference that if in the First State Duma the parliamentarians from Azerbaijan only dared to advance the problems, in the sessions of the Second State Duma they substantiated the advanced problems comprehensively, in the Third State Duma the advanced problems were strengthened by rich factual materials. On the eve of the overthrow of the Czar the Fourth State Duma, which was still functioning, created such a chance that M. Y. Jafarov could express the desire of the whole people, join his voice to that of the opposition and declare openly that "the centralized ruthless bureaucratic mechanism of the regime has offended the national feelings of the alien nations of Russia".

Thus, the prominent public figures of Azerbaijan did not spare all their efforts and skills for the overthrow of the existing system of the Russian Empire and took a close participation in this historically important event.

## AFTERWORD

The early years of the 20th century occupy a special place in the history of the Azerbaijani people, in the development of its national consciousness, in the expansion of its national liberation movement, in the increase of its economic and intellectual potential.

The representatives of the national entrepreneurs, who lived in circumstances of national oppression and in the severe clutches of restrictions of legislative acts of the Russian Empire, strengthened their positions in the whole number of spheres of economy, increased the volume of the national capital and directed a part of this capital to the development of the education and culture of the society in Azerbaijan, and to the creation of its intellectual layer. Consolidation of the economic position of the national entrepreneurs led to great changes in their political positions. These changes resulted in the growth of their reputation in the society and made them step into the road of national liberation movement.

The articles and other writings published in the periodicals founded or financed by the entrepreneurs of Azerbaijan advanced ideas of national importance, there were challenges in them which called for “the rivaval of the life”, for the spread of education, creation of charitable, cultural and educational institutions.

The brilliant, talented, highly professional representatives of intelligentsia educated in the higher schools of Europe and Russia began their public and political activities just in this very period. After getting higher education in foreign countries on the account of the philanthropist national entrepreneurs and returning home they were doing their best for the development of the political level and national consciousness of the people.

The events of 1905 greatly contributed to the development of the struggle for the national liberation, activated all the layers of the population from political point of view, and created favourable conditions for the development and submission of the demands to the government and for the objective expression of the needs and hopes of the people.

A number of decrees and rescripts of the Czar, and instructions of the government, which declared “the renewal” of the existing system, allowed the representatives of the Azerbaijani entrepreneurs submit petitions and appeals by using the legal and peaceful methods, go to the reception of the high officials of the Czar, convey all the desires and demands of the nation to the highest instances.

In those years the Azerbaijani entrepreneurs developed a number of petitions and appeals, and submitted them to the Czar government.

On March 15, 1905, the Azerbaijani entrepreneurs and intelligentsia held a conference in the palace of H. Z. Taghiyev. The conference decided to send a petition to the government in Petersburg through a Muslim delegation of the Caucasus<sup>832</sup>. For this purpose telegrams were sent to the main settlements of the region and proposed them to recommend their representatives for being included into that delegation. Such an attempt created conditions for the close unison of the national forces, as well as for that of all the Muslims of the Caucasus.

This petition was the first official document from Azerbaijan submitted to the organs of the Czar government. It contained a number of democratic demands, such as the application of the freedom of assembly and union to the Muslims, immunity of person and his residence, application of the compulsory free-of-charge general primary education in the mother language, institution of zemstvo and jury in the region, liquidation of all legal restrictions concerning the Muslims and some other demands<sup>833</sup>. Inclusion of these demands into the petition was of great importance, because it added democracy to its content, proved its orientation against the national oppression. The clauses, which reflected the interests of all the layers of population, attached the importance of a national program to it. Just because of it, later this petition became a kind of platform, basis for the appeals to various instances of the Czar government. The appeals and petitions, which followed, extended or made more precise the content of its separate clauses.

At the beginning of the 20th century the spirit of opposition inherent to the Azerbaijani entrepreneurs evolved, actions against the existing regime acquired various forms, the strategy and tactics of the struggle became more precise. Political polarization in the society grew.

The manifest of the Czar of October 17, 1905, had a great importance for the activation of the society in Azerbaijan from political point of view. The political publicism of those years shows that the manifest promised democratic freedoms, including the freedom of institution organizations; it gladdened the Azerbaijani entrepreneurs and those who expressed their interests. It proved once more that they hoped that their demands would be fulfilled within the frames of the constitutional monarchy. After the declaration of the manifest and the freedoms in it a certain determination, exactingness and oppositionalism were observed in the society. The speeches sounded in the political rallies held in the

November-December of 1905 approved the declaration of democratic freedoms by the Czar, on one hand, but also expressed the displeasure because of the delay of the said freedoms into life, on the other hand. They demanded the immediate implementation of these freedoms into life.

The situation existing in Azerbaijan at the beginning of the 20th century created objective conditions for the birth of various political and ideological platforms, for the formation of parties and organizations. These organizations were sufficiently variegated from social point of view; they were ready to join the representatives of all the layers of population ready to fight against the national oppression, they acquired national character and tried to reflect the interests of the whole nation in the programs.

In the autumn of 1905 there emerged an organization by name of “Association of National Defense and the Union of the Muslim Aristocrats, Intelligentsia and Higher Layers of the Society”. As it is seen from the name of the organization, it had a broad social base and reflected the interests of the higher layers of the society. The only publication of the organization at our disposal is called “Appeal to the aristocrats and influential men of Baku”<sup>834</sup>. This single document gives grounds to say that the higher layers of the Azerbaijani society, who cherished great hopes in the historical perspective, actively joined the growing liberation movement in Russia at the beginning of the 20th century.

A little later, in the December of 1905 and in the January of 1906 a whole group of the representatives of the Azerbaijani entrepreneurs and intelligentsia joined the Baku division of the Constitutional Democratic Party and its bureau. In the period of elections to the State Duma of Russia and when the Duma functioned, the sympathy to this party and to its program grew notably. In the January of 1912 the governor of the guberniya of Yelisavetpol informed the chief of police that “all the intelligentsia have become Cadetists, separately and in exceptional cases they are serious Cadetists, the majority somehow think that the platform of the Cadets is necessary for each intelligentsia. The political parties, the press and other types of educational-cultural activities of the local population are characterized by this feature”<sup>835</sup>.

The aggravated Armenian-Azerbaijani relations in 1905 demanded the close unity of the national forces. In the February- March of 1906, the vice-Roy of the Caucasus convened “a conciliatory” congress in Tiflis. The Azerbaijani representatives spoke of the threat to the territorial integrity, mentioned the special role of the organizations, including the political parties, in the unity of all the forces in the defense of the interests of the whole nation. As a result of hot discussions at the congress, it was declared that it was necessary for the Muslims to found their own political party and armed detachments in order to fight against the Armenian nationalist party Dashnaksutyun and its armed forces. This party was the party of “Difai” (Defense) instituted by Ahmad bey Aghayev in the August-September of 1906. The goal of the party was to defend and enlighten the people. The founders of the party understood that it was necessary to intensify the education of the people, to raise its level of consciousness and organizational ability in order to enable it to understand the political goals and objectives of the party. The members of the party conducted great enlightening work among the population. In this process they widely used the potentials of the charitable organizations created in the guberniyas of Baku and Yelisavetpol.

The geography of the divisions of Difai was very wide. The greatest of them was the Garabagh Assembly of Unity. The main committee of the Assembly was located in Shusha. Its program was sufficiently broad; it followed the goal of “development of the national unity among the Muslims”<sup>836</sup> and challenged the Muslims to unity. The Assembly thought that only unity is the basis of the immunity of their property, of their welfare, cultural development and survival of their national ego. The program said that the party had to solve all the problems connected with the economic, political and moral-spiritual problems of the society. This document was a kind of program for rebuilding the society on legal principles and law, and assisted to the political revival of the masses.

Prominent public figure Ismail khan Ziyadkhanov founded the organization “Mudafia” (Defense) in the March of 1907. The members of this organization were also for the rule of law, for enlightenment of the people and improvement of its welfare. The goal and objectives of this organization were reflected on its seal and in the leaflets with the challenge to the people – fight for justice and unity, protection of the interests of the peasants, as well as protection of the population from the attacks of local authorities of the Czarism and of the staff of functionaries and others.

The Muslim Democratic Party Musavat founded in 1911 played an important role in the close unity of the political potential of the Azerbaijani people. It was headed by a number of active public figures of Azerbaijan already experienced in the fight for the interests of the people, able to determine the goals and objectives of the national liberation movement both for the nearest years and for the perspective. In the studied by us period Musavat underwent only the process of evolution. Nevertheless, Musavat and its

leader Mammadamin Rasul-zade played an important role in the political life of Azerbaijan. The institution of this party was of great moral-spiritual significance for the liberation movement in Azerbaijan. It became evident particularly in the expression of hereditariness in the close political unity of the society, because, as the members of the party remembered, after the dissolution of Difai Party its members also joined Musavat. Only one goal united all these political parties – to defend the interests of the whole nation, to achieve equality and the rule of law. The parties were persecuted by the Czar government. Their members were subjected to arrests and exiles.

The persons, who expressed the interests of the Azerbaijani entrepreneurs and their ideologists, created their own political organization, along with it they took a close participation in the development of the program and regulations of the Ittifagi-Muslimin (Union of Muslims), which was the political organization of all the Muslims of Russia. It is sufficient to say that the program and regulations of the Union were written by Alimardan bey Topchubashov. The representatives of Azerbaijan closely participated in the congresses and in the commissions of this organization, which played an important role in the unity of all the political forces of the Muslims of Russia in the fight against the national oppression. The Central Committee of the Union of Muslims, which also included A. M. Topchubashov, controlled the activity of the Muslim Fraction in the State Duma. Its members were elected to the Duma, took part in the discussion of draft laws and in the development of the program. In doing all this they took as guide the decisions of the congresses of all the Muslims of Russia. One of such decisions concerned the unity with the Cadets in the elections to the State Duma. The Cadets advanced slogans against the use of violence in Russification, against the national oppression; they were for the application of the mother language in education, in courts and in zemstvos. Like the Cadets, the Union of Muslims supported the idea of the constitutional monarchy<sup>837</sup>, they also supported the demand of the Cadets to alienate the private lands of the landowners on condition that the government should pay them “fair prices”<sup>838</sup>.

In this way the Muslim parliamentarians formed a bloc with the Cadets and this bloc found its sufficiently striking expression in the activity of the Muslim parliamentary fraction in the State Duma of Russia, which also included the representatives of Azerbaijan. It was not accidental that as soon as the Azerbaijani parliamentarians arrived at the Duma, they were given an inquiry sheet where they had to indicate their party affiliation. And the Azerbaijani parliamentarians unanimously wrote that they belonged to the Popular Liberation Party, that is, to the Cadets.

When one studies the political history of Russia of the early years of the 20th century, he can witness that the monarchy suffered deep crisis, the old political system was incongruous with the existing socio-economic relations. The spirit of opposition to the existing regime had penetrated into all the layers of the society. The conflicts between the ruling clique and “the higher circles” reflected not only the main contradictions of the reality in Russia, but also influenced significantly the development of events. It was strikingly evident in the activity of the State Duma, too. Like other parliamentarians of the outskirts of the Empire, the Azerbaijani parliamentarians of the State Duma were sure that they represented the whole nation and expressed its interests; therefore, they supported the conduction of fundamental reforms in the sphere of socio-political relations.

The Azerbaijani parliamentarians demanded the equality of nations, conduction of radical changes in the sphere of education, agriculture and others. The Czarism demonstrated the essence of its super-state colonial policy, ignored the needs of the peoples living in the outskirts of the Empire, delayed the conduction of reforms by all the means, and thus, increased the gap between the political system, which had already been doomed to death, and the socio-economic and political development. On the other hand, by demonstrating obstinacy in the fulfillment of its unchanging course, that is, “not to give any privileges, any rights to the non-Russian peoples”, contributed to the growth of the oppositional spirit. In 1916, M. Y. Jafarov joined his voice to the voice of opposition against the government and declared resolutely: “The miserable practice of the national oppression has never risen to the level of the present period of the war for liberation. The centralized ruthless bureaucratic mechanism of Russia has never offended the national feelings of “the alien” nations so much as now and disfigured their social and spiritual-moral features”<sup>839</sup>.

The absolute monarchy in Russia was obliged to give up a part of its unlimited powers in favor of the parliament. The stormy waves of the revolution of the February of 1917 wiped out all the powers of the Czarism. It opened wide perspectives for the Azerbaijani people and other peoples of Russia for the social-economic, political and national development.

The representatives of Azerbaijan took a close participation in the development of parliamentarianism in Russia and acquired valuable experience. These experience allowed them join their efforts and establish the Democratic Republic of Azerbaijan very soon. The establishment of the

Democratic Republic is of great historical importance and it must be appreciated as the natural conclusion of the struggle of the Azerbaijani people led for freedom and independence at the beginning of the 20th century. The leaders of the national-liberation movement founded an independent state, headed its leading bodies and began to implement into life the objectives for which they had fought consistently and insistently. The first thing which they did was the adoption of the law on citizenship, applied the study of the mother language and began the training on the national cadres for all the spheres of the economy.



## **Attachments**

### **Speeches of the Representatives of Azerbaijan in the Sessions of the State Duma**

**First convocation, first session, 38th meeting, June 27, 1906**

#### **Discussions on the report of the Agrarian Commission concerning the information of the government on the agrarian issue**

Alimardan bey Topchubashov (Baku)

Messrs, the information which we are discussing now, is completely consistent to the goals of the Duma when it charged the Agrarian Commission to develop an answer to the information of the government. Because when the Commission was asked to do it, the Duma thought that it would just be a reply to what the government has done. We now find the full answer in the information. Perhaps, it needs some corrections, or just needs to soften the tone, or to strengthen it a little bit, but in any case, the Agrarian Commission has fulfilled the task laid on it by the Duma. The Commission is completely right in saying that the information of the government is aimed at an obvious blackening of the relation of the State Duma to the land issue. The refore, to remove the negative impact of the information such a form has been proposed. I think that it is necessary to adopt the information and to announce it to the whole country as soon as possible. As the representative of the outskirts of Russia, as a Caucasian, on my own behalf I propose to the Duma not to suffice with its publication in the Russian language only, but to make it be translated into the local languages in order to ensure its dissemination. Let each nation, be it the Tatar, the Armenian, the Polish, the Georgian or others read it in their native languages and know what is being done here. Let each people read in its mother language and know what is this ministry and who obstacles the effective activity of the representatives of the people. (Applause)

The State Duma , first convocation.

Shorthand records. First session, Sankt-Petersburg,1906, column 1994.

**First convocation, first session,  
25th meeting, June 12, 1906**

#### **Clashes taken place between the Tatars and Armenians in Erevan on May 27, 1906, discussions concerning the inquiry to the chairman of the Council of Ministers on the measures for ensuring the security of the population**

Ismail khan Ziyadkhanov (guberniya of Yelisavetpol)

Messrs representatives of the people! I support the urgency of this statement and suppose that if you allow me describe a small panorama of the ignominy, tyranny and provocation which are taking place mainly in the guberniyas of Erevan, Yelisavetpol and Baku, and then you will also support my view. In these days, on the second, or third day of my arrival, when I looked through the newspapers, in the illustrated attachment of the newspaper “Novoye vremya”(New Times), I saw the picture of a Tatar from the guberniya of Yelisavetpol in it. He has been hiding for five years. There is such an inscription under the picture:”Deli (brave, daredevil) Ali, the fra-shaitan of the Caucasus. There are numerous legends about his robbery”. The issue of “Novoye vremya” of June 1 published the article of Menshikov titled “The judicial power”. The author says that a very exciting situation is emerging and we must agree with it: the Asians are coming, it is necessary to take measures, only the Caucasus is sending about 70 revolutionaries to the State Duma, they will influence the whole parliament, the entire Russia. Messrs

representatives of the people, if this provocation had not reached its peak, I would have not mentioned the article and the picture in that newspaper. To tell the truth, I do not know what is more detrimental for us: the leaflets printed in the departments of the ministries, or the articles published in "Novoye vremya". It is a long time that the issue of the alien nations living in Russia occupies the most important places in this newspaper. The most important topic of the articles of this newspaper is sowing the seeds of feud and hostility among the nations. This newspaper has persecuted the Poles, Letts, Jews all the time, but treated the Muslims a little bit mildly, not because it sympathizes with the 20 million Muslims, but because we have been sleeping, or if I say more exactly, we have been compelled to be in the sleep of ignorance for 100 years. The ancient Romans said: "De mortuis aut bene, aut nihil", that is, the dead is either spoken well about, or is not spoken at all. "Novoye vremya" is not able to speak good about the alien nations, because of it has kept silence about us. Now the time has come and we have risen from the slumber and we have no right to keep silent. Russia occupied Azerbaijan one hundred years ago, in these one hundred years we have been a kind of military captives, and we have been under control like the military captives all the time, we had no any rights. In these hundred years we have been slaves in the real meaning of this word. If you mention any sphere of social, economic and political life, everywhere you will see only lack of rights. When our country was occupied, the occupants wanted to touch upon our most painful, most sensitive spot, they interfered our religion, did not allow us choose our religious figures, appointed Muslim clerks for us with the salary of 20 rubles. People did not respect, or love these men at all, and they have been our Muslim priests for nearly one hundred years. Even the money given by the believers for the maintenance of mosques and sanctuaries have taken away, the mosques and minarets are all in shatters, we need many years to save money for their repair, for their restoration. Messrs representatives of the people, I shall not speak long, I tell all this in order make you see everything yourselves: what a good material it was and what strings in our souls were being touched for provocation. We have no zemstvo in our region, what concerns the self-administration of the towns, we had the right to elect only one-fifth of its members. Only recently we have been allowed elect half of the council from Muslims, though the majority of the residents of the town is Muslims. There is nothing to think about education at all. There are no schools in our villages. You will not see a single school if you walk one hundred versts to the right, to the left, forward, or backwards. Then what happens to the money allocated for the education of the people? It is clear; they are spent on the production of the useless armored machinery, on the maintenance of the ministers whom we did not trust for hundred years, whom the Russian people do not trust now. When we want to apply new method of teaching in education, though it is even strange, they think of it as if we are making preparations for an armed revolt in order to overthrow the existing state structure. As a proof I shall tell you only one fact. Several years ago in the mosque in the town of Yelisavetpol there was a school consisting of several classes. Training there was conducted with the old method. There emerged people who wanted to supply the school with blackboards and benches in order not to make the pupils sit on the floor. What was the end? Our best people were arrested and put into prison; they were released only after two years, because no evidence was found to accuse them of the preparation to the armed revolt. After keeping them in prison for two years they were liberated and said "sorry, there has been some misunderstanding". Messrs representatives of the people! The doors of some higher schools are closed for us. We are able to enter other higher schools, for instance, the faculty of philology, in order to get a diploma about the graduation from the said faculty, and after coming home immediately to be engaged in the investigation of the quality of vodka, because as a Muslim we are not allowed teach in any high school. It is like that not only in the Transcaucasia, but in the whole Russian Empire. What about the civil service? Now you can not find a Muslim who works in his home. I am sorry to mention such an example. There is a conciliatory judge with higher education. If he, or anyone like him wants to work in some office, he is proposed to go to the north or to the central regions of the country. Very often it is said that the Muslims are very underdeveloped people, but it is not true, they have been compelled to be in slumber and lag behind. Let me give an example. When the censorship regulations were particularly severe, the Muslims were not allowed to publish newspapers. But when it weakened, only last year there appeared 30 Muslim publications. Messrs representatives of the people! The administration in our region is beyond any criticism. If you imagine that Russia is a sea and the Transcaucasia is its shore, then the waves of the sea throw into the shore all what is rotten and useless, and it completes the staff of the administration, which has already become immoral. The ideal of our administration is to take bribes and to make the people suffer. If a functionary is able too snatch from the hand of a 90-year old man a piece of beef, or ram, then he is considered the best functionary. "The damned Muslims" do not need anything else. If the prosecutor manages to tear off a man from the control of the administration protected by it with great jealousy, here the decision of the court or the resolution of

the board is not compulsory for the administration. The persons sentenced to imprisonment by the court are engaged in their own affairs; continue the execution of their previous duties, rule over the uyezds. I have witnessed such a thing recently myself. We have court buildings, judges in the region, but not fair court trial, not justice. Capital punishment sentences in court martial, sentences to hard labor in exiles in the civil courts are issued in our region not by the judges, but by the interpreters. The Muslim population does not know the Russian language and the officials of all levels do not know the local languages. Therefore, the interpreters and translators who work for very small wages, I have facts that they are paid eight rubles per month, issue these sentences. The agrarian problem is as hard in our region as in yours. As in the central Russia, there is a need in the land in our region, too. We also suffer from the lack and absence of the land. But the administration solved the problem quite differently. There was no need for any commission or subsidiary commission. The administration thinks that its system is excellent: the fascinating Georgia is under the trample of troops, but what concerns the provinces populated by the Armenians and the Muslims, these two nations were made to confront each other and decided that it is possible to wipe out them from the surface of the earth very easily only in this way. In such circumstances Messrs Gurko and the Stishinskies, we ask you humbly make the bloody lands of the Caucasus, which have been scattered with the bones of its brave sons, grounds for your migration. When the liberation movement began, Georgia was in its first ranks. When the acute land problem emerged, when the peasants began to murder the landlords and set fire on their estates, the administration was obliged to dispatch there troops. These events worried the administration very much. The administration was thinking what would happen if the Armenians and the multi-million Muslim population also joined the Georgians. Then there would be a lot to do there in comparison with the small Georgia. Just at this moment the administration took to its treacherous intentions. Taking as a guide the motto "Devide et impera", the administration began to implement into life its intentions. The execution of this hellish task was laid on the police agents. They said to the Muslims: You have been enslaved by the Armenians from economic point of view, they are going to found their czardom, therefore, they are purchasing weapons and making war preparations, one day you will see that you are already not existing. They said to the Armenians like this: the idea of pan-Islamism has been deeply rooted in all the layers of the Muslim society, one day the Muslims will cut you into pieces. Provocation of the administration was conducted in this way. When the first clashes and murders took place in Baku, the administration justified itself that it did not have sufficient number of troops and could not foresee the break of such clashes; then the administration used to say that all these confrontation and clashes had taken place on national-ethnic grounds. I declare that there is no any economic discord between the Muslims and the Armenians, we lived as kind neighbors and loved each other. You may ask: In what did this discord manifest itself? There have never been spontaneous armed clashes between us before, but what concerns the rare murder cases, they have been observed all the times, they continue now, too. But they have not acquired a spontaneous form. The members of the administration in the region are unaware of the social life, morals and psychology of the nation they rule over; they knew that there is a blood feud between us, they knew that we are brothers and we are related to each other with family and brotherhood ties. The Armenians maintain this position. What measures were taken in the guberniyas of Yelisavetpol, Erevan and Tiflis in order to prevent the plunders? Nothing was done. The administration was observing the planders like a spectacle, they needed it. Erevan and the close - lying area were in fire. Finally the fire penetrated to Shush and Yelisavetpol. Within three months two armed camps stood face to face there. Everyone able to carry an arm had a rifle in his hand, and it did not seem strange. In those days you got information only from the newspapers that the Armenians and the Muslims were exchanging the captive women. And it was taking place in the legal state, legal country!...On the bridge, in front of the eyes of many people the troops and administration were engaged in the exchange of 30-40 Muslim women to the same number of the Armenian women. I have already said that the reason of all this was the provocation and nothing has been undertaken in advance to obstacle this brotherly massacre. Our generals displayed sufficient heroism in the Japan-Russian war. But they justified themselves then that the enemy was strong and skilled in the art of war. But here, in their own motherland they are not able to rule over the people. Two months ago there were three governor-generals in the guberniya of Yelisavetpol: one of them headed one uyezd; the second one headed three uyezds, the third - four uyezds. And the number of the population in our region is not several millions, but 800.000 totally. There were three governor-generals and they were unable to do something. Both in the period of war and in the period of peace they demonstrated inability in the administration of the region. Messrs representatives of the people! Today we receive letters and telegrams; they write that all the population is excited and in terror. We know that the skirmish in Erevan is still going on. Yesterday one of our friends arrived here. He said that nearly hundreds of Cossacks and soldiers saw him



off to the station. It is unimaginable, impossible to live like that! We have been swimming in the pool of blood for two years and walking on the corpses. It is enough what we have already suffered!...We have witnessed that the enraged mass snatch off the kids from the bosom of their mothers, throw into the air and cut them with daggers; we saw that they stabbed the bellies of the pregnant women with daggers, when they drew back the daggers the hands of the infants burst out...Shame on the provocators who sow the seeds of hatred and feud orally and in the press. It is enough that they took delight from the flame of these fires! It is enough that they enjoyed the sight of the disfigured corpses, enjoyed the groans and weeps of our mothers and sisters!

The State Duma first convocation  
Shorthand reports, first session, Sankt-Petersburg,  
1906, column 1228-1231.

### **Second convocation, second session, ninth meeting March 13, 1907**

#### **Discussions on the draft law on the liquidation of courts martial**

Mustafa Mahmudov (guberniya of Baku)

Messrs representatives of the people! It is very difficult for me to add something to what was said here for two days. I can say only one thing: the entire great Russia resembles a field hospital with multi-million patients. You, the representatives of the people, are physicians, you have assembled here for a consultation, you are to diagnose them and begin the treatment at once...When a physician enters the field hospital, when a medical group leaves for the battle field, it renders the first aid to the most serious, but not completely hopeless patients first, pays attention to them. The victims of the courts martial are such patients. We must not lose time for finding their reasons. The facts say everything; we must begin the measures aimed at saving these patients. I fear, you, the representatives of the people, must also fear that the victims who appeal to us for saving their lives, but who do not get any reply, may accuse you if not of complicity with the criminals, at least of negligence. Messrs, hurry up with the work... Do not forget that the responsible persons hear our words with one ear; let them out from the other. When we declare our protest, demand the liquidation of all the military regulations firmly, only then we can say that we did something, only then our conscience will be pure, not fill guilty. Then these bloods will run in one direction and remain as a dark stain on the conscience of the persons thirsty for the warm human blood. With these words I finish my statement and ask you not to spend much time on explanations, let us begin with the main thing at once. The speech of any speaker, the time allocated for each speaker perhaps costs the lives of several men. I ask you to speak very briefly and let us begin with the topic at once. Yesterday a rightist speaker, defender of the courts martial, the ally of the ministry Shulgin appealed to the Popular Liberation Party with a request and question. He asked how to remove the death sentences of the opposite camp. I do not know what the Popular Liberation Party will answer to him, but I would have liked to say to him: the death sentences of the opposite camp are only replies to the murders, lawlessness, to the offences of the person and honour. Let us root out all this offences, lawlessness, only then these return fires will not sound,- this is my answer to him...

The State Duma, the second convocation  
Shorthand reports, the second session, Sankt-Petersburg, 1907,  
volume 1, column 481-483

### **The second convocation, second session, tenth meeting March 15, 1907**

#### **Discussions concerning the draft law on rendering assistance to the unemployed**

Zeynal Zeynalov (guberniya of Baku)

...Messrs, I am a parliamentarian from the guberniya of Baku and have been working in the sphere of oil industry for 15 years. I am well aware of the situation of this industry. There are thousands of workers there. The government and the Russian people in general make multi-million profits from this industry. Messrs, I shall not speak about the thousands of desyatins of land confiscated from the population of Baku, about the millions of rubles of incomes taken from this industry, about the population who does not benefit from these incomes at all. I shall tell you only one thing: we have already suffered great damages, we have seen many strikes, and we have seen many plunders, for instance, as the events of August (Applause). During the August events the industry suffered about 24 million rubles of damages. After the August events 37 factories have been closed, as a result 3227 workers have been doomed to starvation. Messrs, what I am saying now is the statistics of the 1905, but now it is 1907. Messrs, I must declare to you that thousands of workers in Baku are jobless; there are thousands of starving workers in need of assistance. Messrs, I see that the parliamentarians speak too much here, it seems to me that there is no need to speak to much here, because everybody here knows that it is necessary to help both the hungry peasants and the desparate workers. Messrs, I shall not speak about the reasons and motives of the plunders. Of course, there is no need for it; I think if I had spoken about it, nobody would have been against it, because I am not speaking on behalf of any party, I am speaking on behalf of my electors. And these electors are the very workers and peasants. Messrs, when they saw us off, they all said that they needed land, they needed freedom, they needed bread, and they needed jobs. Messrs, I can say that our industrialists fear as much from both the strikes and the plunders in Baku as our workers. Neither the workers, nor the owners of the factories, nor the oil industrialists are gladdened by these occurances. I have heard many times from the oil industrialists that if they had been sure that the workers would not advance new demands, they would have fulfilled most of the demands with pleasure. Messrs, therefore, I hope that the State Duma will not allow the repetition of the terrible events of the August of 1905.

Imagine the hungry worker eager to live; if you do not give him an opportunity to have enough food as soon as possible, then the same things will be repeated, multi-million damages will be suffered again. Messrs, I hope that you will not allow it; you will treat the hungry, starving workers and the peasants in the same way. Messrs, you are to take into account that after the fires in the oil fields in Baku in the August events the industrialists got over 20 million rubles of loans from the government, but the workers did not get anything. Messrs, do you really think that the workers must not eat? You know, the workers are starving, I am not against the peasants, but anyhow they have a patch of land, perhaps not everyone, some of them had; but there are many workers who have neither patches of lands, no houses to live. Therefore, I ask you to render assistance to the workers and to the starving people as soon as possible, and I am sure that after all this the people will hear you, they will see that you want to do something for them, then the people will also allow you work (Applause).

The State Duma, second convocation  
Shorthand reports, second session, Sankt-Petersburg, 1907,  
volume 1, column 581-583

**The second convocation, second session, 20th meeting  
April 2, 1907**

**Discussions on the agrarian issue**

Fatali khan Khoisky (guberniya of Yelisavetpol)

Messrs representatives of the people! Now all the groups and trends of the Duma declared that it is necessary to disclose their principal position with regards to the agrarian issue. Therefore, the Muslim group thought it necessary to declare the provisions, which it has taken as a guide, concerning this issue through me. Over 20 million Muslim population of the Russian Empire approaches all the changes of the agrarian issue with the same sensitivity and as the rest of the population of the Russian Empire who is waiting for the solution of this problem impatiently... Messrs representatives of the people, there is no need to repeat to you that the peasants form undoubtedly such a base, such a foundation of the state that the people sitting here on the benches have assembled to serve them. Therefore, the issue of the land is very important, very urgent, and at the same time very complicated. This complicated issue, of course, will not be solved by the palliatives and measures proposed by the government, in reality they have been aimed at the distraction of the attention of the people from the issue... I would like to draw your attention

to the second row of measures proposed by the government, that is, to the issue of migration. It seems to me that the government must study the geographical, climatic conditions and the quality of the lands, everything connected with roads and communication there before moving the population to those lands. Only then it is possible to speak about the use, or effect of the migration of the population. In our Russia it is absolutely not like that, in such a case the migration can not produce a positive result. On the contrary, in such a case migration will produce only negative results. If you had been aware of the high rate of mortality among the infants of the migrants in the Caucasus, then you would have determined yourselves that migration brings only misfortune and economic impoverishment to the migrants. I think that migration has been invented in the boring atmosphere of bureaucratic studies and is the product of an unfortunate thought in the majority of cases. This thought or idea is aimed at the Russianization of various regions and territories of the country. You see, the major goal of migration is not the interests of the displaced persons; it is just the Russianization of the country. Recently migration has been conducted mainly in the Caucasus, in Turkistan and in the deserts populated by the Kirghiz. These are the main places into which whole masses and thousands of people have been moved. The government wants to assimilate the Muslim or some other nations in these areas, in other words, to Russianize them. Nevertheless, it seems to me that even in this sense the government has not reached its goal, this policy has led to negative consequences. It is completely natural that the local populations, where the migrants have settled, treat them with hostility, because the migrants deprive them of their last lump of bread. In reality these are the main measures proposed by the government and the representatives of the parties with the rightist orientation in the Duma. I think that none of them can produce the desired result and will lead to completely negative consequences. Therefore, we, the Muslims are absolutely sure that the agrarian problem will be more or less satisfactorily solved only when the celebrated holy foundations of the property will be shaken. What are these holy rights in essence? In what way, how have they emerged? Many leftist speakers spoke about it here to us. You were told here that for the birth of the suspected holy rights a number of the really holy rights of mankind have been trampled... Therefore, one can not speak here of any immunized holy property right, of course, neither from the point of view of the basic laws, nor from the point of view of the supreme justice. Let us put aside the treasury lands, the royal lands and other lands of this kind, we, the Muslims, in principle support the right of the compulsory alienation of the private property, but at the same time we think that this alienation must be carried out on fair prices. I shall not draw your attention to what made me to come to such a conclusion: my considerations fully coincide with those of Mr. Kutler, representative of the Popular Liberation Party. We fully share his arguments and think that in the process of alienation of the lands it is necessary to determine the prices of the lands to be alienated. To whom must the alienated lands belong? In this sense the Muslim group thinks that they must not be transferred to the land fund of the state, but to the land funds of the provinces within the borders of which they are. And the right to make use of the land must be given only to the permanent residents of those provinces. The distribution of the lands and settlement of the population within the borders of the province must be laid on the self-administration bodies of the province organized on wide democratic principles. Messrs representatives of the people! These are the main principles which the Muslim group is guided by, but there are also peculiarities concerning the localities populated by the Muslims. Therefore, I cannot but mention upon this point of the issue, too. Messrs representatives of the people! You may give as much lands to the population living in the eastern part of the Transcaucasia or Turkistan as possible; it is useless unless the people are not supplied with water. The water supply is the most important problem there, it is the problem of life and death... The Muslim group thinks that it is necessary to stop the process of migration till the solution of the land problem. These are the common principles and provisions which the Muslim group thought to be necessary to declare to the Duma. Today a commission will be elected for the solution of the land issue. We firmly believe and hope that the future commission will submit such a draft law to the Duma that it will save the multi-million peasants from misery and poverty of many centuries, direct them to the road of economic welfare, and only then the representatives of the people will be said to fulfill their duties in this sense, or at least by using all the said opportunities for fulfilling these duties may cherish hopes to win the support of the same people (Applause from the center).

The State Duma, the second convocation.  
Shorthand reports, the second session, Sankt-Petersburg,  
volume 1, column 1499-1505.

**The second convocation, the second session, the 24th meeting**

**April 9, 1907**

**Discussions on the agrarian issue**

Mahammadagha Shahtakhtinsky (guberniya of Erevan)

The essence of the agrarian issue, which is being discussed in several meetings of the State Duma, consists of the followings: a big part of lands necessary for the agriculture belong to the landlords, treasury, to share lands, to the cabinet of His Excellency, monasteries and churches, and partially to the Muslims, to the departments of vagf, that is, to the mosques and other religious institutions. Because of it, the peasants, who mainly live on the account of crop cultivation, do not have sufficient lands to feed themselves. Therefore, the present agrarian crisis in Russia may be characterized like this: a small number of influential and mighty persons have captured a big part of the lands necessary to feed a big part of the population and deprive the people of the opportunity to live. What to do in such a situation? We must do what is necessary to do when the stores are full of food and the population starves: it is necessary to confiscate the lands of those who do not cultivate them with their own labor and then give them to those who starve because of the lack of land. It is said that the land of the landlord is his private property; if the land is confiscated, his holy private property right will be violated, then the right of fist or violence will be established, and it will lead to the destruction of the society and culture. Personally I believe the necessity of the private property for everyone. Because of it I share the views of that part of the representatives of the people, who demand the compulsory alienation of the lands of the landowners on condition that the cost of the land is paid by a fair estimation of their prices... Has the government the right to alienate the lands of the landlords compulsorily on a fair price? For instance, the government alienates the lands for the construction of the railways. And you know that the railways ease the life and movement of a part of population, or the transportation of goods. In our case the land is necessary to ensure the life of the people. Then from the said it becomes evident that when the government alienates the land for building railroads on a fair price and compulsorily, the action of the government is completely lawful, but when it alienates the lands in favor of the landless peasants, in favor of the peasants who are in need of it, in favor of the peasants who constitute rather a great part of the population, then it is lawlessness. It is equal to saying that the convenience of the movement of the population, just the transportation of the goods is more important and precious than the life of the population... According to the Statute approved by His Excellency on May 14, 1870, the lands of the villages of landlords have been distributed among the villagers of those villages in the form of shares and they are intended to be bought by the villagers on their own account without the assistance of the treasury. The responsibility for determining the prices of these lands is laid on local authorities. The journal of the Council of the vice-Roy of May 15, 1880, gives an example of how to determine the prices. Before determining the prices it is necessary to find out the quantity of the natural product that the peasant pays to the landlord. In order to determine the quantity of this obligation in natural products the above-mentioned journal of the Council of the vice-Roy obliges the local authorities, whose duty is to determine the prices, to do such a thing: "The price of the land is determined not by the income it produces, but by the solvency of the buyer". Finally, the Statute approved by His Excellency allows sell the land not only to whole groups and associations, but also to separate persons, to separate households, and they are allowed pay for the purchased land not wholly at once, but in parts and by and by. Thus, the law allows the peasants living in the lands of the landlords buy their lands any time they want and pay not the whole price, but as much as they are able to pay and at a time convenient for them. It is impossible to imagine a better condition for the peasants than this. Nevertheless, since 1870 up to this day not any peasant has purchased the land. It may be explained like this: it is easy for the peasant to give 4/30th of the produced product to the landlord than to find a big sum to pay the landlord for the land... Thus, one can not speak of the improvement of the rights of the owners of lands in our part of the Transcaucasus, because in the present sense as I described now, the situation pleases them completely. But what concerns the payment of the obligation to landlords by the produced products in natural form, for instance, 4/30th of the product in the guberniya of Erevan, 1/10th of the product in the guberniya of Yelisavetpol, it would have been better if the government had helped the peasants in the payment of the cost of their lands for the normal and successful development of agriculture, because the peasants are not able to pay for the lands on their own account and means. Only in this case, the peasant may direct a part of the product, which he gives to the landlord, to the improvement of his farming activity...

The State Duma, the second convocation. Shorthand reports. The second session, Sankt-Petersburg,

**The second convocation, the second session**  
**April 12, 1907**  
**Discussions on the agrarian issue**

Zeynal Zeynalov (guberniya of Baku)

Messrs representatives of the people! It is said to us, the peasants, that we have a lot of lands, we starve not because we have no lands; we starve because we can not cultivate the land. Others say to us that we, the peasants, die not of hunger, but of hard drinking, because we drink a lot of vodka. Of course, it would be better if I answer it a little bit differently. Those who say that our peasants have enough shares of lands, they are not right; they simply do not want to comprehend it. There are cases that an association, a peasant has not got even an inch of land. Messrs, for instance, take the village of Mirzajamalli of the uyezd of Garyagin of the guberniya of Yelisavetpol. This village consisted of 44 households in 1886, they had the treasury lands at their disposal; the peasants paid quit-rents and other taxes for the land, but they never had an inch of land of their own and now do not have it either. Because of the lack of land ten households of this village moved to the land of a landlord in the border with the uyezd of Shusha 20-25 years ago. What do they do there now? How do they live there? Of course, everybody knows what they do and how they live there. This village has appealed to the government many times and showed that there spare lands near the village of Seyid Mahmudlu which is rented for 250-350 rubles per year, they asked the government to give this spare land to them for life use. But they got nothing. What concerns the second thing that we are accused of is that we can not cultivate the land: I would like to answer this accusation like this: Messrs, how can we, the peasants, cultivate the land when we do not know whether the land plot cultivated by us this year will be given to us for cultivation next year. Messrs, it is impossible. Now I shall give you an example from the guberniya of Baku. This year the peasants cultivate the land, the next year it is confiscated from them, sold to the Nobel Brothers or to some other company; what remains for the peasants to do? We, the villagers, are said to die not of hunger, but of hard drinking. I would have answered it like this: Messrs, if you had been right, then the government would have not spent several hundred million rubles for the food products produced by the Lidvals Company; this money would have been spent not for food products, but for something else. Now, Messrs, I pass to the issue of land in general and try to explain the difference of our Baku guberniya from others. Taken totally, the population of the guberniya of Baku is 1.046.000; the number of the residents able to cultivate the land is 735.000, number of the houses is 95.000, the area for the cultivation of agricultural plants by the peasants is totally 1.486.644 desyatins, 285.000 desyatins of which belong to the landlords. There remain only 125.000 desyatins for the peasants who live in the areas belonging to the landlords. What remains? There remain only 1.068.434 desyatins for the state villagers. Messrs, if we do not give the lands of the landowners (285.000 desyatins) to the peasants, the situation will remain as it is now, now about two desyatins of land falls to the share of each villager. It seems that it is necessary to give the 285.000 desyatins of the landlord lands to the peasants. As the number of the population in our Baku uyezd is 735.000 and the number of the households is 95.000, you may say that not all of them will be engaged in farming. Of course, I shall agree with you that only 50.000 out of 95.000 households will be engaged in farming. Thus, if 1.500.000 desyatins of land is distributed among 50.000 peasants, each of them will have 30 desyatins. Then there emerges a question: Where will you take that 285.000 desyatins of the landlord lands from and give it to the peasants? Our peasants think that they will pay the cost of the lands to be given to them by all means if only they have chances... It is clear that they do not have the chance to pay for it. What is the remedy? The remedy is to buy the land through the peasant-land bank... Thus, Messrs, we come to such a conclusion that though our peasants are eager to pay for the land, they will not be able to do it. They do not say to take the lands from the landlords by force and give them. They only say that they are unable to buy the lands, if you want to give them lands, give it to them free-of-charge... If the industrialists need lands, let them purchase it from the villagers. But the government interferes and compels the villagers to give to the industrialists the lands at the disposal of the villagers. Why does the government force the villagers to sell the lands to the industrialists not on prices desired by the villagers, but on the prices determined by the industrialists? It is also necessary to know that if the villagers give their lands, they will be deprived of them for ever, and because of it very soon half of the population of the uyezd of Baku will not live in the lands given to them as lots. At present approximately half of the peasants have become workers; and time will fly and they will not find place in the workers'

environment, too, because they will grow in number, then it will be necessary to exile them God knows where. And you know that not any peasant, not a whole village wants to be moved somewhere willingly. It concerns our villagers, too. The lands confiscated from the peasants of Balakhani, Sabunchu and Ramana, of course, are oil-bearing lands. The villagers had their fruit gardens on them, they had vineyards on them and these lands were about 2.000 desyatins. The villagers produced about 100 rubles of incomes from each desyatina of land per year, the peasants of the said villages got about 200.000 rubles of incomes from these lands. Now these lands have been confiscated without any compensation, and the villagers have been deprived of their incomes, they have got nothing for these fruit gardens and vineyards, they live in poverty, they have nothing to do except working as watchmen. Besides, Messrs, recently a kind of gas, they call it natural gas, has been discovered in the uyezd of Baku. It is in the spot called Ateshgah. This gas was discovered by Baku Oil Association first; then three or four years ago the government instructed that exploration work should be conducted in the place called the Eighth Field. The area of each of these spots is about 37,5 desyatins.

This spot may be described like this: the narrowest place is about two versts, the most broad place is about four versts, thus, is it approximately twenty four square versts, that is, about 2500 desyatins. In this spot the villagers have about 2000 gas wells. About 200 000 rubles have been spent on them. The villagers produce natural gas from them, burn lime there and live on the account of the means obtained from lime and gas. Gradually these wells are being confiscated from the villagers and the peasants become impoverished, they lose the incomes from the said. Now pay attention, seeing this difference our peasants say: we want to derive incomes from the underground as we did it from the surface of the land. This is not their guilt that there is gold underground necessary for the country. They fully agree that the government should use the underground wells but leave for them the surface of the land. Besides, they say that the government treats all its subjects equally; but in the guberniya of Baku quite differently. For instance, if we take the education of the population, you will see that the number of village schools of the Ministry of Enlightenment is twenty in the uyezd of Baku. The government spends 13.281 rubles for them, 420 Russians, 235 Armenians and totally 167 Muslims study in these schools. We have totally eight primary village schools. ...yes it is true, I departed from the first issue a bit, but I shall speak about the land issue again. Our villagers are not able to pay for the land. They need lands, but these lands must be given to them in some form free of charge, without paying for them, because they are not able to pay for them. (A voice from the right, in irony: bravo)

The State Duma. the second convocation.

Shorthand reports. the second session. Sankt-Petersburg. 1907, volume 1, column 1955-1961

**The second convocation, the second session, the 33rd meeting  
May 4, 1907**

**Discussions on the elections to the commission  
of education**

Mustafa Mahmudov (guberniya of Baku)

... Minister of Education, - initially I call him in this way, (Applause) he enumerated all the peoples in his speech, mentioned the differences in percents, but at the same time he kept silent and did not mention the twenty million Muslim population at all – perhaps he did it because he was ashamed of the percentage shown in his notes (Applause)... I am sure; I am sure very much that only the sense of modesty stopped it. Otherwise, he could not pass silently about twenty million Muslim population. To confirm my words I want to characterize the attitude of the Ministry of Education of the Russian Empire since the 80th up to the present day. Messrs, let me begin with these words that we, the Muslims, the Muslim teachers are inferior to the women in the eyes of the Ministry of Education... (Laughter).The female teachers have the right to teach in high schools, but the road of the Muslim male teachers to high schools is closed... (Applause).Now, pay attention yourselves, in what circumstances we live. Though it is surprising and amazing to us, though it does not win credit for the Ministry of Education, we, the Muslim male teachers, have been made a special category by the Ministry of Education deprived of the right of occupying any post in the sphere of education and of the sense of human dignity. What concerns the schools for the Muslim population, I would like to say one thing: in all the corners of the Russian Empire it is demanded, it is asked to open schools for people, but the schools opened by the Ministry of Education for the Muslim population are empty. It is asked why, what is the reason? You know, it is very

strange, how can it be? I must say that it is not only my words, it is a fact, and the minister of education may say them himself. Why are the schools of the ministry for the local people, for the Muslim population empty? They are empty because everything, which is holy, which is humane in them has been excluded from these schools; nothing holy has remained in them (Applause). In order to substantiate my words I must say that till the last years of the liberation movement the Muslims, the Muslim teachers were persecuted in all the educational institutions, punished, put in the punishment cell, they were deprived of vacations on holidays because they dared, or were not so careful as to speak in the mother language with a compatriot, to someone of the same religion with them (Shulgin from his place: If you were taught to speak only Russian, then why do you speak it so badly? Voice: Hush). In his draft law the minister of education speaks about the rise of the wages of the teachers. He looks upon this increase as a means of improving the activity of the teacher, as a means of ensuring the productivity of the activity of the teacher. I am against it. Teachers have served for eight rubles, for 25 rubles, they have served in the real meaning of this word and fulfilled the duty laid on them with dignity, honestly. Your small raise of the wages will not save them, your raise of wages will not save the people's school, and it will not revive the school, the life of the people. Only independent thinking and independent initiative will save them (Applause). The statement of the representative of Poland about the pitiful situation, about pure political attitude, about purely political documents sent to schools from the department of education is nothing in comparison with the terrors observed in the schools of local population, with the terrors observed among the local population. I have already mentioned in my speech before that everything holy in the schools of the local Muslim population has been excluded, the mother language has been excluded from school. What are the results of the exclusion of the mother language in the primary schools by the Ministry of Education? The mother language has been removed and replaced by the notorious "dumb method". According to his method the teacher may explain everything, even the abstract notions in Russian as he likes. Very often the teacher finds himself in a very ridiculous situation. For instance, in order to explain to the pupils the meaning of the sentence "The dog is barking", the teacher must bark in the class-room and then ask the pupils: "Now tell me please, what did I do?" (Voices: Bravo! Applause). In this way the teacher does not achieve anything within an hour, and the pupils leave the school with the impression that the teacher is barking like a dog. We cherish great hopes in the commission which the Ministry of Education suggested to be elected in the State Duma. If the Duma elects the commission, undoubtedly it will be elected, then I am sure, I am very sure, only the stumps of the draft law proposed by the Ministry of Education will remain in this commission, you and I know from our bitter experience that the sum of finances demanded by the Ministry of Education will not be spent on its assignment, on education, but on the organization of a laundry attached to an educational institution with the consideration of the Ministry of Education. I am sure that the State Duma will tell the Ministry of Education that it does not confide in it even a particle, the State Duma will refuse to allocate not only five or six million rubles for the Ministry of Education, but even several kopeks, unless the State Duma becomes sure that the allocated finances will be transferred at the disposal of the representatives of the people, at the disposal of the people, and the people will spend this sum on its own will and consideration on the needs of the people. Finally, taking the mentioned figures as a guide I want to draw your attention to the attitude of the Ministry of Education to the Transcaucasia. The Russian Empire spends each year for the maintenance of the police in the Transcaucasia 2.361.460 rubles, on education – 114.000 rubles. You may see from these figures the attitude of the Ministry of Education to the Caucasus. The Russian government spends each year 192.646 rubles for the maintenance and construction of prisons, for the transportation of convicts, this sum is only for the maintenance and construction of prisons, for the transportation of convicts, only 114.000 rubles are spent on education. The draft law proposed by the Ministry of Education speaks only about the general primary education. It does not satisfy the Caucasians, that is, us. We insist on general compulsory education, we shall ask for it, we shall speak about it when we submit the draft law developed by us to the commission elected by the State Duma (Applause from the left).

The State Duma, the second convocation.

Shorthand reports. the second session, Sankt-Petersburg, volume 2, column 163-166.

**The second convocation, the second session, 46th meeting  
May 24, 1907**

**Discussions on the inquiry concerning the subjection of the Muslims to fining by Bauer, acting governor of the town of Yelisavetpol in connection with the murder of Kleshinsky, member of the gubernian department**

Khalil bey Khsmammadov (guberniya of Yelisavetpol)

Messrs representatives of the people! The real reason of this inquiry is not so complicated at all: in the late of April this year in the town of Yelisavetpol the member of the gubernian department on the issue of peasants Kleshinsky was murdered. It was committed at two o'clock at night by an unknown person. He was murdered near the door of his house in the Muslim quarter of the town when he returned home from a public meeting. This is how the murder was committed. The acting governor-general of the town Bauer has fined the Muslim population of the town in the sum of 3.000 rubles and given an instruction for its immediate execution. When the Muslims became aware of the said, they considered the fine unjust and illegal. They sent a delegation to Bauer and asked him to cancel the fine. General Bauer answered them that he had fined the Muslims because the murder had been committed in the quarter of the town populated by the Muslims, as if the Muslims had been hiding the murderer, the murderer had to live in the Muslim quarter rather much before committing the crime. The general said that he had also fined the Armenian population two months before for the murder of Loladze, agent of the secret police. After analyzing the arguments of General Bauer I thought that it is my duty to declare that the Muslim quarter of the town where Kleshinsky has been murdered is populated not only by the Muslims, but by the representatives of other nations as well. The person accused of the murder of Kleshinsky has been discovered neither by the administrative investigation, nor by the initial investigation. The relation of the murderer to any of the punished residents has also not been discovered. And what concerns the murder of Loladze and punishment of the Armenian population by fining them in the sum of 8.000 rubles, as it is said by General Bauer, I shall not say anything about it now. We shall speak about it when we get an answer to this inquiry. Now I can only say that we consider this fine illegal and an administrative willfulness. Thus, Messrs representatives of the people! As you see, the fine by General Bauer is based not on facts, on the concrete information, but on mere and empty words... Our legislation speaks of the responsibility of certain persons for the violation of the law. It is clear, because it is consistent with the general principles adopted by our legislation. There is such a provision in the legislation: every punishment is individual, that is, only persons who have violated the law are subject to punishment. Our legislation does not recognize the group punishment for legal violation. If it is like this, then I would have asked General Bauer: Who has murdered Kleshinsky? If he says, declares that the murderer has not been discovered, and then I have the right to say that his action, that is, the punishment of the Muslim population of the town, which is 20.000, contradicts the law, the legislation. Distinguished representatives of the people, we have assembled here for the adoption of laws, but when the laws are violated by the persons who are to protect the law, who are to obey the law, then we bear the responsibility to protect the law. The commission discussed the inquiry and thinks that it is lawful and it proposes to the State Duma to appeal to the chairman of the Council of Ministers with the following inquiry: Is he aware of the above-mentioned illegal actions of the acting governor-general of the guberniya of Yelisavetpol and what measures is he thinking to take in order to save the population of his willfulness?

The State Duma, the second convocation.

Shorthand reports. the second session, Sankt-Petersburg, 1907,  
volume 2, column 1138-1141.

**Fatali khan Khoisky (guberniya of Yelisavetpol)**

Distinguished representatives of the people! We understand very well that it is very difficult for us to speak of legality or illegality of the actions of the government of our Russia, which is wholly ruled on the emergency and military regulations. The governors-general behave within the borders of their regions as rulers with unlimited powers and do what they like, ignore all the laws; they think that the laws have not been written for them. Nevertheless, there are certain frames, boundaries in our legislation, which the governors-general and such rulers with unlimited powers must not violate. Nevertheless, they violate these borders and trample them impudently. They do it not because they do not know the limits of their authorities; in the majority of cases they do it with complete certainty that the central government will remain blind to all their actions. In the previous inquiries we were assured in it. You have heard about the illegal actions of the governor-general of Moscow Gershelman. The central government justifies his



actions. If we submit inquiries about the illegal actions of the governors-general as much as we like, undoubtedly, the explanations of the representatives of the supreme power will justify their actions as if they found complete arguments for such justifications. But essentially the thing is not like that. For us the most important is not what the representatives of the government will answer to the representatives of the people, for us the most important is to pay attention to all the manifestations of the illegal actions of the government and to show to the people how the government violates the laws without any fear. In reality this inquiry has some moral-spiritual importance – to show the illegal actions of the governor-general of Yelisavetpol. What is the essence of the irresponsible decision which subjects to punishment the known part of the population of the town wholly for a crime not known by whom it has been committed, or whether it has been committed by one or several persons! The agents of the government will not find articles of law which determine the responsibility of the population in the form a group as long as they search for them, and this right has not been given to the acting governors-general either. It is true that they have the right to issue resolutions obligatory for all, the speaker before me spoke about it, but these obligatory resolutions must be within the frames of law, and they must not contradict the law at all. What is law? Law is a norm adopted by the legislative organ and ratified by the Monarch, the obligatory decisions or resolutions issued by the government institutions. How can the government adopt norms which contradict the law? Of course, there must not be such resolutions or decisions, they are inadmissible. But such obligatory resolutions are issued and they allow fine the whole population for the crime committed by someone. I suppose that neither me, nor anyone else, who approaches this case from the point of view of the law, can say that this resolution is lawful. It is doubtless that this resolution is completely illegal, evokes indignation and fury, each such action must be shown and discussed by the State Duma. As much as such actions are justified, each time we must say that we can not tolerate them anyhow and these actions will be appreciated by us as the violation of the law. Of course, the voice of the government is heard stronger than ours, we are powerless in comparison with it, but time will come when the voice of truth, the voice of the representatives of the people will deafen such voices, because they are produced by the false forces ( Applause from the center).

The State Duma. The second convocation.  
Shorthand reports. the second session, Sankt-Petersburg, 1907,  
volume 2, column 1142-1143

**The second convocation, the second session, the 50th meeting  
May 29, 1907  
Discussions on the reforms in the local courts**

Fatali khan Khoisky (guberniya of Yelisavetpol)

Messrs, when I was getting acquainted with the report of the commission of the Duma on the local courts, with a great sense of egoism peculiar to any person I was looking for such pages where it would have been said: this kind reform, perhaps some changes and additions are applied in all the territory of the Empire. But unfortunately, my hopes did not justify themselves. Instead of the thing which I wanted to see there I found there only some lines which said: this reform will be implemented into life in the guberniyas after the application of self-administration, after the application of zemstvos. It surprises me very much and I want to draw your attention for some minutes to this clause of this report first of all. Such a point of view in the draft law proposed by the ministry is clear to me. We think that it has always been clear to the population of the outskirts, that is, to us that our government built on bureaucratic foundations has forgotten the outskirts; it considers the outskirts as objects of exploitation and attached the name of “the alien peoples” to the residents of the outskirts, which is sufficiently strange and even a little abusive. These “alien nations” have only certain objectives; they do not enjoy equal rights with other nations (Applause). Such an attitude on the part of the government is completely clear from my point of view, because any challenge for local community, to any form of coexistence, - the local residents may take part in building their own lives, - undoubtedly, may develop the consciousness of the society and its legal consciousness, and it will evoke in them the desire to develop their civil and political rights more. From this point of view I would say that it is more useful and much better for the government to deprive the outskirts of the reforms applied in the central guberniyas. But what surprises me exceedingly is that the commission of the State Duma occupies the same position, I would say, a bureaucratic position. In reality what are its reasons? Are there any grounds for it? The argument of the commission of the State Duma is that zemstvo self-administration has not been applied in the outskirts, there are no zemstvo institutions in them, and the elections of the conciliatory judges are held only by the local organs of self-

administration existing in the central guberniyas. But the commission of the State Duma says that if the reform of the local courts is conducted before the reforms of the local self-administration organs on democratic basis, then special colleges or boards will be instituted and the conciliatory judges will be elected in them. I would like to ask the rapporteur of the commission of the State Duma: Why do think that it is impossible to establish such colleges in the places where there are no self-administration organs? Why can not the guberniyas, lacking the organs of self-administration establish the institutions able to elect the conciliatory judges as provided for the central guberniyas in the present case? This argument of the commission seems to me groundless and does not deserve any respect. If there had been a very close relation between the local courts and zemstvo self-administration, if one of them had not been able to function without the other, I would have understood it. But if we tell the truth, I do not see any organic relation between the courts and the zemstvos. Each of them function independently, they exist each one for its ownself... We are promised to apply the elective courts after the application of zemstvos in the outskirts. Well, we have heard these promises all the time. Several years ago we were promised to apply zemstvo as well. We have been waiting in vain and perhaps we shall not see that happy day of application of zemstvo. When the reform of 1864 was applied, we were promised that the reforms would be applied in the outskirts in full volume; too. Forty-five years have already passed since the application of this reform and we are still waiting. There are neither courts with jurors, nor elected conciliatory judges in the Caucasus. I do not argue, I agree with the commission of the State Duma partially that the application of the local courts in the outskirts creates some difficulties. In comparison with the central guberniyas the application of such courts in the outskirts is difficult for many times. Let us say that each guberniya in the outskirts may have its own peculiarities, there may be certain and exclusive forms of coexistence and they are to be taken into account. But the presence of some difficulties can not be the basis for postponing the conduction of reforms for an unknown time. We agree that there are certain difficulties, and the commission has been created in order to hear the views of different persons from different regions included into that commission, and in conformity with the said views to develop draft laws and laws which will be the basis for the application of the courts in the outskirts. Thus, none of the above-mentioned arguments of the commission of the State Duma is not convincing for me, on the contrary, if we proceed from them then it is possible to conclude that the local courts will be applied in the whole Empire simultaneously. And it is also true that new obligations, new taxes are applied, the government does not say to us: "Wait, we apply the new obligations and taxes only in the guberniyas where there are zemstvos, we shall apply them in your guberniyas later. The new taxes are applied everywhere simultaneously and even we are taxed more than the central guberniyas. But when it concerns the kind reforms, which replace the existing forms of coexistence with much better forms, they say to us: "Can you wait?" (Applause). I suppose that the State Duma can not appraise it. All this concerns the first clause of my protest. Now I want to draw your attention to one more issue which I think is wrong. The commission of the State Duma says in the second clause of its report that the conciliatory judges are elected only from among the local residents. I can not agree with it. Not only because of it. But also because of the fact that the commission does not define the notion of "the local resident", it leaves the right of defining this notion for its own self in future. Can we really agree with it? We are said: "Solve the problem so that the conciliatory judge is elected from among the local residents, then we shall tell you who the local resident is. I think that such an approach is completely inadmissible. If the notion of "the local resident" had been defined exactly, then we would have come to some agreement somehow, but if it has not been defined yet, then we have the right to suppose that the meaning of this notion perhaps would be restricted completely. What does the local resident mean? Does it mean the inhabitant, or resident of a certain guberniya, of a certain province, of a certain region? What do we understand when it is said like this? Must he live a settled life, or have the registration as the resident of a definite guberniya? Not a single word is said about it in the report. Therefore I say that the notion of "the local resident" must be excluded from the text completely. To justify this principle in the report such a view is expressed that the local resident is well aware of the social life and life conditions, with its morals, customs and traditions of the local population; he shares the same interests with the local population. Therefore he will win the confidence of the local population more. But allow me say: if the local resident was not elected by a certain society, does it mean that the society has lost confidence in him? Of what confidence can be spoken? I understand such a requirement that if we speak of the appointment of the judges, of their appointment by other persons, the judge must be a local resident. But when we elect the judges ourselves, it is clear that we shall elect the person whom we confide in, but he may not be a local resident as well. The man who is not confided in can not be elected. I think that it is completely clear, there is no reason to doubt that somebody from outside will be confided in by the local population more than the nominated

local resident. Why do you think that the person who has not lived in certain locality for some time will be less aware of the rights, traditions and customs, life conditions of that locality than the person who has been living there permanently? It may happen that the confidence in the first man will be more than in the second one. Restriction of the circle of persons to be elected local judges causes difficulties from practical point of view, too. If Russia had really consisted of the intelligentsia only, then it would have been possible to agree with the view expressed in the report. But we know that there is a certain contingent of persons everywhere, we may elect the local judges out of them. If we restrict the region with one guberniya, perhaps you may not find sufficient number of persons who meet the education qualification. We have such outskirts, such remote localities, where you may find very few educated persons. That is why, if we restrict the notion of “the local resident”, we shall not find people for being elected judges. There is no need to restrict the choice so much, because it creates additional difficulties and burden in the draft law on the local courts. Messrs representatives of the people! It will lead to more undesirable consequences: by restricting the circle of the persons to be elected local judges you create conditions for election of the representatives of the known class to the posts of the conciliatory judges. We must confess that the aristocracy is a more educated class in comparison with the peasants and other elements of the state. Undoubtedly, you will create such a situation that the law will be obliged to elect completely other persons, perhaps the persons not suitable for it, but the persons from the known circle. To my mind, one may suffice from these provisions that there is absolutely no need to restrict so much the circle of persons to be elected conciliatory judges and it is not expedient. Then, it seems to me that the view of the commission of the State Duma in another issue is not completely right. I mean the term of office of the conciliatory judges. In this issue I must agree with the view of the minister of justice. He proposed to elect the judges for much a longer term of office. He proposed six years; it is possible to suffice with five years, too. In any case the three-year term seems to me very short. I proceed from such considerations that in the three-year term you may not be able to draw the desired persons to the occupation of the said posts. It is true that a person with sufficient knowledge and with a certain occupation and engagement will hardly risk abandoning his existing life condition for three years, if he is not sure that he will be elected again in three years. The lack of guarantee to the future of the conciliatory judges may create another thing, a more undesirable thing, that is, their independence; they will be deprived of independence. Willy-nilly they will be obliged to win the sympathy of the influential persons, and I would say that this undoubtedly will shake the independence of the judges. Besides, we must not ignore the psychological considerations as well. When one is elected for a short period of time, the electors will be more negligent and careless to the elections and will hope that it will not last long, we do not tie ourselves with the man for a long term, and if he fails we may not elect him for the second term. But if you determine a much longer term, undoubtedly, the electors will be more careful in the elections and will feel that they are tying themselves with this person for a sufficiently long period of time. In such a case the population will be more careful and attentive to the elections. These considerations make me come to such a conclusion that the local judges must be elected not for the term of three years, but five years. Thus, I finish my remarks concerning the report on the local courts (Applause from the center).

The State Duma, the second convocation.

Shorthand reports, the second session, Sankt-Petersburg, 1907, volume two, column 1421-1427.

### **Khalil bey Khasmammadov (guberniya of Yelisavetpol)**

When I reviewed the principles determined by the commission of the State Duma for the organization of the local courts, I found out that it lacks one important and very necessary principle. As the modern pedagogies demand the teaching of the children at school in their mother language, the notion of the court also decisively dictates that the trials must be conducted in the local language. This principle is not a novelty for our legislation. The laws of the Emperor Alexander II allowed the court investigators to interrogate the accused and the witnesses in the language which they understood, irrespective of the official language, but they were charged to develop the records in the official language of the state. Thus, as you see, this principle was adopted as early as 1864. Messrs representatives of the people! If I raise this issue now, it must not seem that it is not a novelty. All kinds of fair court trials conducted with the help of the interpreters, as it was also confessed by the commission of the State Duma, are deprived of vitality - direct and live communication. In this sense I would have even said that the justice conducted with the participation of such a contingent of interpreters at the disposal of courts has not been insured against the

mistakes and even against some willfulness. I say that such cases are inevitable. The interpreters appointed from among the persons who lack sufficient education qualification very often are not able to convey the thoughts of the parties and of their witnesses in the court trial correctly, very often support one of the parties and distort their thoughts intentionally. Such a justice is deprived of a right court decision and sentence, because in such conditions the judges who conduct the trials are being deceived. All these my considerations are not abstract ideas, I have taken them from the life. I have served in the court for a long time. I remember that when I worked in the capacity of the secretary of the county court, very often I noticed the wrong interpretation of the thoughts of the witnesses and declared them to the judge in the breaks. When the trial was renewed, the judge interrogated the witnesses for the second time and was convinced at the truthfulness of my words. Messrs representatives of the people! If I say that very often my words became the basis for the adoption of a completely opposite decision, you must not be surprised. It was said to me by the judges not once, when the substantiated sentence was announced, I became assure of it myself. Now you see how important the conduction of the court trials in the mother language is. I may be said that the mistakes of the interpreters may be removed by the institution of interpreters or by some other institutions. I must tell you that such an attempt was made when Mr. Muravyov was the minister. The commission created for the conduction of the judicial reforms wanted to establish an institution of interpreters consisting of interpreters with a good education qualification and with a good financial sanding. But the establishment of such an institution itself was very difficult and the attitude of the local population to it was not positive, perhaps because of it the ministry ceased its initiatives in this direction. If we provide good wages for the interpreters, - now it is impossible to find honest interpreters for 25 or 35 rubles, - then the local courts will be very expensive. The interpreters then have to be paid as much as the judges. On the other hand, it is also not desirable because this will not create direct and live intercourse, as I said before, any kind of interpreter institution you establish.

The draft law of the ministry does not absolutely mention the language of the local courts. I suppose that the minister of justice will speak about it in his speech, not only because it is his duty, but also because the commission of the Duma has spoken about it. But here the commission of the Duma kept silent about it; because it knew that the application of a single language in all the corners of the wide Empire will be met negatively. The commission of the Duma did not discuss it because of two reasons: first, because as if the draft law under discussion concerns only the central guberniyas where there are zemstvo institutions, and secondly, because the knowledge of different languages would have been the necessary condition for the local judges in conditions of the Empire populated by many peoples speaking in various languages. I must say that in the central guberniyas, for instance, there are uyezds in the guberniyas of Ufa, Kazan, in the Crimea and other places where the whole population consist of one nation. We can not speak of many languages in the areas populated by the representatives of one nation only. The local judge must know the local language because he is elected from among the local population. Therefore, I think that it is my duty to add the followings to the basic principles developed by the commission of the Duma, that is: 1) the language of the local court must be the local language and 2) in places where it is difficult to apply this principle it must be allowed use the language of the majority in the local courts along with the official language of the country. I must say that the court deprived of the local language will not be met positively by the population, and thus, the goal and the objectives facing the local courts will not be achieved.

I also want to dwell upon the eighth clause of the basic principles. It says: "When investigating the civil cases the conciliatory judges must take as a guide the local customs and traditions with the consent of the both parties, because the customs and traditions do not contradict the prohibitions of common civil laws". I suppose that it is necessary to use the words "in the cases when it concerns the Muslims the laws of Shariat (Islamic laws)" after the words "local customs and traditions". I must say that it is not a novelty in our legislation. Article 1338 of the first part of the tenth volume says: "The cases of legacy of the Muslims are solved on the laws of Shariat". Thus, such a correction in the eighth clause of the basic principles is again not a novelty in our legislation. These were the remarks connected with the report of the commission which I thought them necessary to declare (Applause from the centre).

The State Duma, the second convocation.

Shorthand reports.the second session, Sankt-Petersburg, volume 2, column 1427-1429.

**The third convocation, the first session, the 44th meeting  
March 29, 1908**

**Discussions on the report of the Budget Commission on the  
and expense estimate of the Migration Departmen**

**income**

Khalil bey Khasmammadov (guberniyas of Bakı, Yelisavetpol and Erevan)

It is impossible to pass silently over the discussion of the income and expense estimate of the Migration Department, over the migration issue, in general, particularly over its impact on the outskirts. I mean the Transcaucasia, Turkistan and the Sahra (desert) provinces. The proper organization of the migration issue depends directly on the goals set forth. I suppose that migration is an issue of national importance, and it must serve two goals. First, the migrants must be settled properly in the new localities, secondly, the settlement of the migrants must not damage the interests and the land rights of the local population, not violate their rights and interests. It is clear that migration must be accompanied by proper technical and other measures. But when you get acquainted with the reality, I must declare with a sense of grief that the government does not have a definite and clear policy in this sphere. The government wants and knows only one thing: to save it from the landless and less-landed peasants in the central guberniyas. It did not think at all about the fates of the local population where the migrants have been sent and about the fates of the displaced persons. The government has determined territories for the migrants in haste and directed the migrants there. When these areas were determined, the government violated the land rights and other interests of the local population roughly. Very often their cultivated lands, fields, fruit gardens and the artificial underground water reservoirs were confiscated. As a proof of my words I want to demonstrate the event which has taken place in the village of Khonashen of the uyezd of Shusha in the guberniya of Yelisavetpol. Seven or eight years ago such a thing happened to the residents of the villages of the First Takla, the Second Takla, Chamanli, Khalaj, Veliagha-Leygonla. There were over 2000 households in these villages. The Muslim residents of these villages were driven to the plain of Mil. A part of them died there, the other part could not find any occupation in these thirsty lands, and not getting any support from the government they began the life of the wanderers. The situation is very grave in the Transcaucasia. Our peasants did not have sufficient lands, now they have become completely landless in some places. We have many villages where the residents are engaged in crop cultivation since the ancient times. At present they are deprived of arable lands. They are obliged to walk hundreds of versts for hiring the treasury lands. But their own lands are being given to the migrants. The undesirable events and hostilities between the migrants and local population derive just from it. The abnormal situation in the issue of migration derives just from this. First and foremost we say: first settle and accommodate our local population, then if there remain unused lands then our villagers will willingly meet their brothers and sisters from the central guberniyas. To substantiate my words I want to draw your attention to the statement of the Budget Commission. You will see how the distribution of the land has been conducted. The civil advisor in the Budget Commission said like this: "The areas for migration in the Caucasus were determined before; the lands for this purpose were 1.000.000 desyatins. Then it became known that a part of the local population of this region is in need of these lands. And this obliges the government to coordinate the issue of the allocation of lands to the migrants with that of the supply of the local peasants with lands. And now you see what is happening in our region. First the lands are determined for the migrants, when the migrants move and settle there, then the government remembers about the needs of the local population. The vice-Roy of the Caucasus has himself witnessed the mal-organization of migration and appealed to the central department to stop the process of migration. And really the migration process was stopped a year and a half ago. All what was said about the Transcaucasia can be equally referred to Turkistan as well. Because of the same reasons and grounds the migration process has been stopped there, too. But what concerns the Sahra provinces – Kirghizia, the migration has never created such aggravations, such grave consequences anywhere as in Kirghizia. The government has believed the rumors about the abundance of lands in these provinces and has directed the wave of migration to them and not studied the presence or absence of arable lands there. But when it became evident that the provinces do not have sufficient arable lands, the government began to confiscate the lands of the Kirghiz. Much has been spoken about it and this fact is known to everybody. The budget and migration commissions have paid necessary attention to the problem and proposed the government to develop a draft law on providing the Kirghiz with lands and submit it to the discussion of the State Duma as soon as possible. Of course, I welcome such an attitude of the budget and migration commissions. But I must say that this desire is only a platonic desire. The Kirghiz population may lose the lands which they have at present till the development of the draft law by the government and its submission to the legislative institutions. Therefore, because of justice, the migration of population to Kirghizia must immediately be stopped for the sake of the right of the Kirghiz people on the lands belonging to them for many centuries, for the sake of humanism... I continue my thoughts – The migration process in Kirghizia must be stopped and the needs of the Kirghiz people must be satisfied first, only after satisfaction of the

needs of the Kirghiz people to the land it is possible to direct the migration wave. The finances allocated by the State Duma for the propagation and maintenance of the institutions engaged in the distribution of lands there will be met and are being met by the population negatively from this point of view. Taking the said into account I have been authorized to declare on behalf of the Muslim fraction to the State Duma the followings (he reads the text of his substantiated declaration as he said it himself): “1) as the issue of migration is closely connected with the solution of the agrarian problem in general, till the development of the main provisions of the solution of the agrarian problem by the way of legislation it is impossible to organize the migration work duly; 2) it is impossible to distribute fairly and correctly the shares of land in the areas of migration without such basic provisions; 3) as the practice and experience of the Migration Department shows, distribution of the shares of lands to the migrants from the central guberniyas leads to the deprivation of the local population of the use of the land and to the restriction of their rights of the use of the land; 4) the local population has not been provided with sufficient quantity of lands, it has been deprived of the rights on the land and these rights are being restricted in the provinces of Kirghizia, in the Transcaucasia and Turkistan at present; 5) Because of it, the organization of the migration work in the Sahra provinces, in the Transcaucasia and in Turkistan, and the activity of the migration institutions in the said regions cause a negative attitude among the local population, it deprived the local population of the natural and legal right on the land, and because of it, it cannot be propagated in future by all means and is not worth of propagation. Taking into account the above enumerated, the Muslim Fraction declares that migration to the Sahra provinces, to the Transcaucasia and Turkistan must be stopped, the Muslim Fraction will vote for the approval of the estimate of the Migration Department of 1908 only for the parts not concerning the mentioned regions”.

The State Duma. the third convocation.  
Shorthand reports. the first session, Sankt-Petersburg, 1908,  
the second part, column 1243-1247.

**The third convocation, the second session, the 115th meeting  
May 21, 1909**

**Discussions on the report of the commission of the legislative proposals on the draft law advanced by the representative of the vice-Roy of His Excellency the Emperor in the Caucasus on the application of the statute of towns in the town of Kars**

Khali bey Khasmammadov (guberniyas of Baku, Yelisavetpol and Erevan)

Messrs members of the State Duma! The draft law under discussion includes new provisions known to us and these provisions change the statute of the towns of July 11, 1892, which is still valid, to a certain degree. I confess that the statute of the towns dated 1892 is imperfect and many things in it do not satisfy the demands, this statute must be radically changed. But this is next issue to be considered by the State Duma. For this purpose the State Duma has constituted a commission consisting of 45 members, and the commission must be engaged in the development of a new statute. Was it so necessary, so urgent to touch upon such an issue of principle importance because of such a simple, separate issue as the application of the statute of the towns of the 1892? It seems that there has not been any other intention in it; the only purpose was to excite the emotions and create intolerable situations in some places of the country. But the State Duma must not allow it. You know better that the goal of the application of this change is to ensure the participation of the Russian population in the self - administration of the town. Of course, not only the Russian population, but any other group must be represented in the local public institutions, and we must understand this objective, this desire fully and defend it by all the means. But how this goal is implemented into life in the draft law? What means are chosen for the implementation of this goal into life? It seems to me that in the present case the best way would have been the possible extension of the current election code. But if at present you do not support such a view, if you have chosen the proportional system of representation, in the present case, in the present situation it is impossible to take into account only the interests of the Russian population, the interests of one nation only. It is necessary to move this system to its logical conclusion, to think about the interests of other nations as well. As you see in the report, there are the representatives of other nations in Kars besides the Russians. Let us take just the Turkish population there, which number about 2000. What has been done to ensure the representation of this population? Parliamentarian Shervashidze said that besides the nations mentioned here by me there is a fourth nation living in Kars, that is, the Greeks. We may be asked: “What have you done for ensuring the representation of this part of population of the town?” The answer

is clear: "Nothing". In the present situation if the State Duma wants to ensure the proportional representation of only one nation, I must say that in the present circumstances in the Caucasus the State Duma will instigate the spirit of chauvinism in different nations by adopting such a point of view, because we know that such a case gives birth to differences and breeds strife, and this will not be and must not be met positively by the supreme administration of the country. If we even apply the curial election system temporarily, we must do everything in order not to allow clashes and massacres among the nations, we must not irritate them. My parliamentary colleague from the Transcaucasia Mr. Shevashidze was completely right when he noted that we determine privileges for a certain part of population in the town of Kars, in the close vicinity of Turkey, a state which has already ensured equal rights for all its citizens. If the rights of the Turkish population of Kars, who in the recent past was the subjects of Turkey, are not protected, are denied, how will they feel? Of course, such an attitude will offend them, and we must not choose this way. We are always reproached in the State Duma that separatism is growing in the outskirts of the Empire. And you know that such draft laws as this one, which we now are discussing, give rise to separatism, it distinguishes the Russian population as a special curia, a special Russian separatism emerges in the outskirts. Now my question is: Are we to continue this policy? The State Duma must decisively reject the draft law and not pass it. If you pay attention to the content of this draft law, you will see that all its motives are full of the feelings of hatred for man; it has been kneaded with the desire to aggravate the national relations. My parliamentary colleague from the Caucasus Mr. Chkheidze was right completely here when he said that it was absolutely necessary to remember about the inquiry which came from the Caucasus in order to substantiate this issue in this or other form in the development of the draft law. But the commission has taken such parts, such clauses which have been rejected both by the parliamentarians of the region and the representatives of the administration. Unfortunately, at present I have no the shorthand copy of the records of that meeting, but I remember the statement of the representative of the administration exactly. He told us here that in the recent seven-eight years there had not been any court verdict, any administrative investigating or any other act which had fixed the hostility of the local population to the Russian population. But now, as you see, after all these motives we are proposed a draft law and asked to adopt it. I think that the principles in the draft law, that is, the changes adopted by the commission of the State Duma, are changes against the state, and the State Duma must not approve such things. Because of the said I support the statements of the parliamentarians who spoke before me. The draft law must be returned to the commission of the 45s, because the issue raised in it is a very serious issue. The issue of the application of the statute of towns of June 11, 1892 to the self-administration of the town of Kars as a separate issue must not be solved at random; it must be studied carefully and thoroughly.

The State Duma. The third convocation.

Shorthand reports. The second session, Sankt-Petersburg, 1911, the fourth part, column 1649-1652.

**The third convocation, the third session, the 14th meeting  
November 6, 1909**

**Discussions on the draft law proposed by the minister of  
justice on the re-organization of the local courts**

**Khalil bey Khasmammadov (guberniyas of Baku, Yelisavetpol and Erevan)**

Messrs members of the State Duma! First of all I must express my feelings of regret that the reform of the local courts are being conducted not in the entire territory of the state and including the Transcaucasia, which is represented here not only by me, but in 46 central guberniyas of the country. I express my feelings of regret because the state of the conciliatory courts in our region is the worst and the most abnormal. The functions of the courts and investigation have been merged in the persons of the conciliatory judges. They also execute the duties of the notary public. Being appointed by the state, and not from the local population, the conciliatory judges do not know the local languages, the customs and traditions of the local population. The number of the conciliatory judges is very few; they are to investigate huge amount of cases. The courts of appeals have been centralized, that is, this instance is not the congress of the conciliatory judges. The county courts look upon the appeal cases as of secondary importance, as additional cases because of the peculiarities of their work. Now, of course, it is not the time and place to speak about all the deficiencies of the conciliatory courts in the Transcaucasia now, and I think that what has already been spoken here will be suffice to understand how much the population suffer from the activity of these courts and how much important is the conduction of the reform in this sphere. As it is seen from the draft law, the main reason restricting the application of the reform of the

local courts is the absence of zemstvo institutions in these regions of the country, and the draft law lays the election of the conciliatory judges on these zemstvo institutions. Whenever we talk of any reform, each time the residents of the outskirts, that is, we are said: wait, the reforms will be applied to you after the application of the local self-administration in your region. I know that it is impossible to apply many reforms in the absence of the institutions of local self-administration. But I do not understand one thing: if it is like that, then why does the government delay the submission of such a draft law to discussion? And you also know that when the State Duma discussed in its first session the estimate of the zemstvo of our region, it was declared that the State Duma desires very much the application of the zemstvo institutions in our region. We understand the delay of the government not in some other form, regretfully, only in one form: the government does not want to apply the reforms in our region. If the reforms are not conducted, all the cultural and economic life of the country will again remain in the undesirable state. What concerns the essence of the draft law under discussion, I shall not touch upon all the provisions of the draft law, which are to a certain degree debatable, because much has been spoken about them here. I shall suffice only with one issue mentioned neither in the report of the commission of the State Duma, nor by the speakers before. The issue, which I am going to speak now, is about a novelty in the draft law. Article 11.1 of the draft law for the first time defines as a general rule that the court trials must be conducted in the Russian language. There is nothing about it in the current Code of Court Laws, but there are identical rules in the articles of the second book, that is, in the code of the special court laws for the outskirts. It is to the point to say that the application of the Polish language along with that of Russian is allowed in the gmin (small district) court of the czardom of Poland. At present it would have been better to include into the law an article on the language of the courts on condition that the application of the local languages in our outskirts is allowed. This exception derives only out of the interests of justice and nothing else. At present the common opinion is that the courts must be within the reach, equal for everyone and simple. If there is no any difference about it, then I ask you: are not the oral communication and directness the most necessary and the most important qualities for the courts? Without these two qualities all forms of justice lose vital importance, their sense. There must not be a misunderstanding between the claimant and the judge; the latter must have the chance to speak orally and directly to the both of the parties. When the judge pretends to be deaf, that is, does not know the local language, there will not be the fair execution of the justice. Let us put it aside, in such cases there emerges a deep abyss between the judge and the claimant, it is impossible to lay a bridge on it. If anyhow a bridge is laid in the person of the interpreter, this bridge will not be reliable, but dangerous, because, the justice executed through the interpreter does not remove the said mistakes and deficiencies, but creates fertile grounds for new mistakes and abuse on the part of the judge, which are completely inadmissible. And if we also take into account the contingent of interpreters at the disposal of the local courts, such a situation will be inescapable. If we say in advance that this contingent will consist only of less educated persons with small wages, we shall not be mistaken. We must not forget that the draft law provides the conciliatory judges with 3.000 rubles per year, which includes the salary of the judge, of his secretary, office and travel expenses and others. In such circumstances the conciliatory judges will be obliged to employ interpreters only for 10-15 rubles a month. Who else will agree to occupy such posts except the less educated and persons perhaps with moral defects? In such cases the conciliatory judges will always be deceived because of the wrong interpretation, partially because of the lack of professionalism and knowledge, dishonesty and avidity of the interpreters. In such circumstances the conciliatory judges will issue wrong decisions and verdicts, in this way they will finally lose the confidence of the population. Is it good? In this sense the best example may serve the conciliatory courts in the Transcaucasia. I have spoken about it here in one of the previous sessions of the State Duma. I may be asked: If the reforms concern only the central guberniyas, why do you speak here about them? To protest against such a question I must say that there are also territories in the central guberniyas where not all the population knows the Russian language. There are not less areas in the guberniyas of the pre-Volga and in the Crimea. Hundred thousands of Tatars living there do not know the Russian language. Messrs, you must not forget that you liquidate the volost (small district) courts in such areas because the population has got used to speak to the judges in their mother languages. Will the Tatar peasants be pleased when they do not see the application of their language in the reformed courts? I think that they will not be pleased if exclusions are not made in Article 11.1 which defines the rules common for all the nations. Therefore, I suppose that it is necessary to make exclusions in Article 11.1 for the sake of the very justice and for avoiding the undesirable cases leading to the loss of confidence of the population in the courts which I have already mentioned. It is necessary to allow the application of the local languages in the conciliatory courts. The draft law lays the responsibility of the election of the conciliatory judges on the organs of local self-administration. These organs may



themselves determine which of the candidates to the post of the conciliatory judge knows the local language, or which language he has to know. The law which we are going to pass must ensure this right of the organs of self-administration. In this sense we must fully confide in the organs of self-administration, and I think that they will cope with the task. While reading the draft law article by article I shall tell of the corrections concerning my remarks. Now when I finish my speech, as a conclusion I must say that it will be clear only after reading the draft law article by article how much the defects in it have been removed after the proposed corrections. Only then it will become clear whether it is possible to adopt this draft law (Applause in the hall).

The State Duma, the third convocation.  
Shorthand reports. the third session, Sankt-Petersburg, 1909,  
part 1, column 1447-1450.

**The third convocation, the third session, the 73rd meeting  
March 16, 1910**

**Discussions on the draft of the state list of expenses for 1910 of the estimate of the Migration  
Department**

**Khalil bey Khasmammadov (guberniyas of Baku, Yelisavetpol  
and Erevan)**

I shall not speak about all the estimate of the Department of Migration, but suffice with some remarks concerning on its parts which refers to the migration in the Caucasus. The Department wants 703.091 rubles for the conduction of migration in the Caucasus in 1910. This sum is more for 100.000 rubles than the sum allocated for the same purpose last year. Now we see that the amount of the finances allocated for the conduction of migration is growing from year to year. Any unbiased judge aware of the past of the migration issue in the Caucasus must say that the government looks upon the migration in the Caucasus as a measure of the independent manifestation of the life and demand of the state, but not as a means of achieving this or other goals of the domestic policy. I shall not speak of the grave history of that migration, which subjected to sufficient damages both the migrants and the local residents, I shall tell you that the policy of the government in this sphere has not changed at all. What goal does the government pursue by settling the migrants in the Caucasus, more exactly, in the Transcaucasia, and what methods does the government use for implementing these goals into life? I want to focus your attention just on these very issues. To clarify these issues I shall appeal to official sources. Through Mr. Glinka, chief of the Migration Department, the government declares (he reads):" Settlement of a migrant family in the Caucasus costs to the government more than for the same thing in the Siberia, but the settlement of the Russian population in the Caucasus, though there are not sufficient unpopulated lands, is the goal of the government as the settlement of the Russian population in other regions. The thing is that only four per cent of the population in the Caucasus is the Russians, the rest 96 per cent is other nations. From this point of view the settlement of each Russian family there acquires a kind of national importance for the Russian issue. Therefore, the expenses of migration have been included into the estimate of migration not for drawing more families to migration, but for the purpose of easing the life of the migrant families who suffer great hardships, for building roads, for developing the medical service in case of necessity. In fact, the general program and the general plan of migration to the Caucasus are just like this; this plan consists of using any inch of the land for settling the Russian population". The underlying goals of the statement of the government, if we express them with the words of Mitskevich, former assistant of the vice-Roy in the Caucasus of His Excellency the Emperor, are explained and completed by our parliamentarian Mr. Timoshkin (he reads):"I think that,- the parliamentarian says,- from the point of view of the government, in general, such an idea must be taken into account in connection with the issue of migration to the outskirts, and perhaps it is being taken into account, that all the outskirts under the subjection of the Russian Emperor must be defended and protected by the Russian people as the occupant nation, because all the outskirts of Russia, its borders with other states must be occupied and settled by the Russian people. At present our government must pursue a policy aimed at strengthening the borders and outskirts by the Russian people, in such a case there will not be any danger for Russia as a state". Thus, the Russian population in the Caucasus is few in number, totally four per cent of the population of the region. Local population is rebellious, one can not rely on it, and therefore it is necessary to subject it to assimilation through migration. The statement of the government may be expressed in the ordinary,

simple language like this. Let me add something which has not been mentioned here yet. Migration is also necessary for thinning the population of the central part of Russia in order to lessen the tension connected with the agrarian issue. Thus, all the goals behind the settlement of migrants in the Caucasus are clear to us. And what concerns the methods with which the government implements into life the said goals, as you saw in the reference quoted by me now, the government declares that it is necessary to find lands in the Caucasus for migration and to make a possible use each inch of those lands. How the lands are found and how the areas for the settlement of migrants are created – we have spoken from this rostrum about it very much and shown how the rights of the local population on land are violated. Our thoughts are based on official sources, on irrefutable facts. I can not but remind to you an event as one of the said facts. The Muslim society can hardly forget it. In 1901-1905 in the area called Argai in the uyezd of Lankaran of the guberniya of Baku (the territory of this area is approximately 10.000 desyatins) in the period of the migration operations the Muslim population of the village of Alar was driven out forcibly from that territory without being provided with any other land, and the lands of the aboriginal population were given to migrants. The unfortunate population of Alar had their own mosque, cemetery and building of the local self-administration there. A part of them found shelter near the village of Takla, owing to the mercy of the residents of Takla settled there, the other part was obliged to move to the plain of Mil and perished in the thirsty lands. An event which this year has happened near Sukhumi, was added to the countless number of such events. This event is described in the newspaper “Sovremennoye slovo” (News of the Day, No 722) like this (he reads it): “There is a national fruit garden by name of Parnauti near Sukhumi. In the past the territory was populated by the Abkhazians who moved to Turkey in 1867. Later the lands there remained uninhabited for 30-35 years. Then the territory was proposed to the Russian peasants who refused to settle there because the area was mountainous and uncomfortable. Then the area was rented by the Mingrelians. They spent much time and labor on the cleaning and improvement of the neglected territory. Due to their tireless efforts Parnauti turned into a flourishing and fertile area. They hoped that they would live in peace on the account of the hard labor, which they had spent on the improvement of the territory, and benefit of their labor. But the fate adopted quite a different decision. The local authorities decided to populate the territory with the Russian migrants, but not by the local Mingrelians because of some unknown considerations. Not thinking even a particle, these miserable Mingrelians were driven away from the land improved and cultivated by them on the account of the sweat of their brows and blood. The women, children, the old were obliged to live in the open air under the heaven”. Thus, by summarizing the said we can not but come to such a conclusion that the domestic policy goals of the government, which it wants to reach by populating the Caucasus with the Russians, as well as the methods chosen for the execution of these goals offend the local population, are violence against them, trampling of their rights, and thus, they do not bear healthy statehood goals. Messrs, in connection with it the attitude of the Budget Commission to the considered issue is also characteristic. The Budget Commission, which spoke of the necessity of the protection of the interests of the local population in the process of migration all the time before, now is speaking of completely different things in its report. For instance, the member of the said commission declares his desire for the more confident settlement of the migrants in the Caucasus. From where does such a change in the mood of the Budget Commission originate? I could find an answer to this question neither in the report, nor in the oral explanation of the reporter. Anyhow, it is also an event not to be forgotten, and I thought it to be my duty to note it. Messrs, I would like to approach the issue under discussion from a different point of view, too, that is, if we take into account the state of the need of the local population in land and how it has been provided with it, then I may ask: is the settlement of the migrants in the Caucasus fair, and is it a measure taken in time? These questions may be answered only in negation. I know that the local population of the Caucasus has not been provided with lands at all, the people there suffer both from the lack of land and also from insufficiency of land. You may be sure in it also by several notes which I want to declare to you. There are 22.000 landless among the state villagers settled in the treasury lands in the Transcaucasia, 66.000 villagers have only about one desyatin of land shares, 254.000 persons have land shares from one to two desyatins of land each and 5.013 persons have from two to four desyatins of land shares per capita. What concerns the other layer of the peasants, their temporal properties, their lots are also not envious. For instance, 2, 3 desyatins of land fall to each person in average. This norm is quite meager in some places. For instance, there falls 1,64 desyatins of land to each male citizen in the uyezds of Lankaran, Javanshir, Shamakhi and Goychay of the guberniya of Baku, 0,9 desyatin in the uyezd of Guba, 0,6 desyatin of land to each male citizen in the guberniyas of Tiflis and Kutaisi, who has not yet purchased their land shares yet. Along with the said, the number of the landless peasants among this category of peasants is like this: in the guberniya of Yelisavetpol - 538 households or 3.857 persons from each sex, in

the guberniya of Baku – 1,996 households or 11.709 persons from each sex, in the guberniya of Erevan – 1.209 households or 5,211 persons from both sex. Messrs, the government does not take any measures for providing the peasants with lands in such state of the peasants, for cancelling the relations of temporal dependence between the landlords and the peasants, which bears the character of serfdom, delays the conduction of all kinds of reforms in this sphere each year because of the lack of finances, but spends millions of rubles for settling the Caucasus with migrants. In such circumstances the settlement of migrants in the region is, of course, both an unjust and untimely measure. I do not want to say at all that the Caucasus is for the Caucasians only. I only want to say that the migration to the Caucasus must be stopped, that is the first, and secondly, the government must begin to provide the local peasants with land at once and fairly. After providing the local population with land, the rest may be assigned for the migrants and it must be done. As nothing is being done in this regard, any kind of migration to the Transcaucasia is the violation of the natural rights of the local population, an act of trampling their rights; it will breed only complaint, fury and hatred among the local population. Is it good? Not, of course. It is necessary to create such conditions in which both the local population and the migrants could live and work in peace. Messrs, it is impossible to build the happiness of one part of the population on the misfortune of its other part in the country. We must not tolerate this principle and it must not be allowed (Applause from the left).

The State Duma. The third convocation.  
Shorthand reports.the third session, Sankt-Petersburg, 1910,  
part 3, column 865-870.

**The third convocation, the sixth session, the sixth meeting  
October 25, 1910  
Discussions of the report of the Education Commission  
on the draft law on primary education advanced by  
the minister of education**

Khalil bey Khasmammadov (guberniyas of Baku, Yelisavetpol and Erevan)

As early as the first session of the State Duma when the draft law on the allocation of 6.900.000 rubles for the needs of the primary school proposed by the Ministry of Education was discussed, the reporter parliamentarian Kovalevsky said: “As everyone, who has devoted himself to the education of the people, I also hope that the toil of the assembly of the representatives of the third convocation will produce such results that they will allow our State Duma to be called the Duma of education in future”. Then there emerged such an imagination that our distinguished parliamentarian used the words “education of the people” in the meaning of enlightenment of the nations of the entire Empire without any exception. Messrs, we really thought that there would be many differences and clashes of views in many issues of legislation, but not in the issue of the primary education, everybody would be unanimous in the main provisions of this draft law and declare that they are consistent with the demands of the useful pedagogy and the needs of the population. Such a hope emerged from the statements of the centralist forces of the State Duma, too. They made such statements not once from this rostrum, as well as outside the Palace of Tavriya. I want to mention the most striking ones of those statements; those statements belong to Parliamentarian Mr. fon-Anrep. As you know, since the first days of the State Duma he has been heading the issues of education in the State Duma. When the discussions on the draft law on the allocation of 6.900.000 rubles for the needs of the education of the people and on the organization of the primary education, in general, began in the State Duma, the speaker of the centralist forces parliamentarian Mr. fon-Anrep rose to the rostrum and said like this in his reply to the remark of Parliamentarian Rodichev about giving up the prejudice concerning the schools of the alien nations: ”I can say with a clear conscience that I highly value the national principles, therefore, I treat the schools of other nations with great respect; if I had shared the views of Parliamentarian Rodichev concerning his prejudice, I would have also said that national languages must not be allowed in national schools. From the point of view of supreme truth and the merest pedagogical demands the teaching in the primary schools of the alien nations must be conducted in their mother languages”. After the lapse of a year the same parliamentarian Mr. fon-Anrep has said like this while discussing at the meeting of his party in Petersburg the draft law on national education:” The Russian Empire consists of different nations; those nations which have their own languages and cultures must be free from all kinds of attempts to their

languages and cultures. I think that education in the mother language is completely admissible". Messrs, the situation was like this before the Commission of Education began its work and when it began its work. At the end of the third session, when the attention was focused on the said issue, everything was forgotten, everything fell victim to the policy of the day. Therefore, when we saw such a draft law on the table of discussions, we can say, how it is said, we lost hope in everything, because, the idea of the primary education, which is very fine in its own self, became disfigured in comparison with other nations, it evokes only disgust and hatred, not any other emotions. If we pay attention to the essence of the draft law, it will not be difficult to believe that it is really like that. First and foremost I want to dwell upon the part of the draft law dedicated to primary schools. Article 16 of the draft law says: "Teaching in the primary schools must be conducted in the Russian language on the basis of the instructions and materials allowed by the Ministry of Education." This Article does not leave any space for doubts that the language of education in the schools of alien nations will not be the mother language of the pupils; it will be the Russian language, which is alien and not understandable to them. Thus, what was considered to be the supreme truth and a mere pedagogical demand yesterday, is already considered nonsense today. In this sense, the draft law has not gone beyond the laws infected by national chauvinism, including the rules of November 1, 1907, approved by His Excellency the Emperor. In conformity with those rules, it is allowed to conduct the teaching in the mother language in the first two years of education in the schools of the alien nations. But then the Commission as if has gained consciousness and included a note into the draft law. I shall read it because it is very characteristic: "The rights provided in the laws about the language of education till the publication of This Statute go beyond the rights provided by This Article (Article 17) in volume, therefore those laws retain their validity". Now you see how fine is our school reform, therefore we are obliged to appeal to such references! The spirit of the dark reaction, which has penetrated into the legislation, is seen conspicuously. The legislation does not move forward, but makes attempts move backwards. Messrs, you must know that the legislation does not develop, it is a lifeless legislation. Then, according to the draft law, the subjects taught in the primary school are divided into two categories: that is, 1) subjects to be taught obligatorily and 2) subjects included into the course of studies in case of possibility. As it is seen in Article 12, mother language was included into the second category of subjects, that is, into the group of subjects taught in case of possibility. And inclusion of the mother language into the curriculum had to be allowed with the consent of the school board, in those localities which did not have school boards – with the consent of the functionaries of the Ministry of Education. Can we regard such a treatment of the mother language in the draft law normal? Can we leave the solution of such an important issue for the functionaries of the ministry? We know in advance how they treat the local languages. I think that anyone not deprived of the sense of justice will answer these questions in negation. According to Article 14 of the draft law, in schools, where the pupils are of different nationalities and the non-Russians form the minority, the teaching of the religion for the minority is not provided, but it provides the teaching of the religion for the pupils of the Orthodox-Christian religion if they even form the minority in those schools. Messrs, besides the said, we read probably in each page of the draft law that the objective of the school is the cultivation of religious and spiritual upbringing. The missionary bias of the draft law is so strong that it has been provided in Article 31 and Article 36 like this: the teachers for the primary schools are elected from among the Russian subjects of the Orthodox faith. It is true that these articles contain a note. It says that for the primary schools of the children of other religions teachers may be chosen from among the persons of the same religion with the pupils. But this note also loses all its significance, because the phrase "may be chosen" does not oblige anyone to do anything. Thus, the contingent of teachers for our schools will be persons who have nothing to do with the environment, in which they will work. They will not be aware of the customs and traditions, of the social life and other peculiarities of the local population. Therefore they will not win the confidence of the population. If it is like this, any initiative in the sphere of education is doomed to death in advance. It is impossible to be blind to the disbelief in relation to our religious institutions demonstrated in the draft law.

The said article demands not only the consent of our religious institutions, but also that of the chiefs of guberniyas for the approval of our teachers of religion and the teachers who will teach the principles of the Islamic law. We think that such an administrative protection is completely inadmissible, because we think that only our religious institutions are competent in it and their consent will be suffice for it. Finally, we come across with another restriction in the draft law. That is, Article 62 determines that the chairman of the school board and at least half of the members of the board must be Christians by religion. We think that such restrictions are inadmissible when the acts of His Excellency the Emperor dated April 17 and October 17 are still in force. Messrs, the restrictions of our rights in the old legislation,

in the old regime have been kept unchanged in the draft law. Instead of removing these restrictions the legislators of the regime have applied new restrictions to us. These restrictions evoke disgust in our legal consciousness and they will meet the discontent of the Muslims. We declare our protest against such “restricting” legislation. Irrespective of it, in its missionary efforts the commission has forgotten that these restrictions reduce the rights of zemstvos and town councils in electing the members of the school board independently. We also declare our protest against the restriction of the rights of the public institutions of self-administration. The complete indefiniteness and non-clarity of the term “schools of alien nations” are also the deficiency of the draft law. Anyhow, the objective signs for the clarification of this term have not been shown. I ask the reporter: how will you call the school if 40 out of 50 of its pupils are Muslims and 10 are Orthodox Muslims? Will you call it the school of “the alien nation”, or not? It is very important, because the organization of teaching in this school depends on the solution of this problem in this or other way. Messrs, now I am speaking about the major defects of the draft law concerning the schools of the alien nations, sufficing with my remarks of general nature, but when we discuss it article by article, I shall speak of them more comprehensively. Therefore, I shall not dwell upon other defects of the draft law, for instance, about the rights of the functionaries, inspectors of the ministry and directors to expel the pupils from the primary schools willfully and others. Because they have already been spoken here and will be spoken further. I shall pass to other part of the draft law. That part refers to special educational institutions of lower level. It is true that education in the mother language is allowed in such schools, but instead of that, according to Article 1, as a special subject the mother language has been given a place not suiting its status. That is, these schools have limited rights to determine the volume of the teaching of the mother language. In this sense, the place of the mother language is below the place of the foreign languages, which have been given great opportunities. Then we see in the draft law such demands against these low level special educational institutions that they will serve not their development, on the contrary, their closure. So that we think that it is very restrictive in the draft law to say that the teachers of the low level special educational institutions must meet all the demands determined for the teachers of the primary schools. We understand that the higher is the education qualification of the teacher, the better is for the schools, in this case the latter wins, but we can not remain blind to such a fact that the number of the teachers with better education qualifications is few, it is truth. Where can we find such teachers? The teacher-training institutions in the Empire is very few, we do not say that they are completely absent. Then, the draft law gives excessive rights to the boards of teachers, in places where they do not exist, to the functionaries of the ministry in the sphere of management and control on the low level special educational institutions. The empowerment of the functionaries of the ministry with such authorities frightens us, because the bitter reality tells us that such authorities lead to the cases of abuse and willfulness. Thus, Messrs, the school reform does not promise anything positive to us, the Muslims. In the best case this reform legalizes all the existing things protested by the Muslims and which did not satisfy them. The draft law rejects the real goals of schools completely; these goals are not training of statesmen, lawyers, physicians and scholars, but to give chances to acquire knowledge and skills necessary in the ordinary life of the people speedily and within a short time. Messrs, it is possible only on condition that all the subjects in the primary schools are taught in the mother language of the pupils. Instead of it, the school reform legalizes the existing classes of the Russian language. These classes cripple our children; neither gives them common knowledge, nor teaches them the Russian language. We understand the hidden goals of the draft law. These goals have been aimed at suffocating the national identities and peculiarities of the alien nations. It is in vain, the whole past of the schools of the alien nations is a proof of it. My dears, as much as you try to oust our languages from the life of the state, as much as they will develop and find their places in the dearest to us spheres close to our souls and minds: in the family, in the prayer houses, in the literature. With such draft laws you can not kill and liquidate our languages. Messrs, do you remember the Austrians who for many centuries tried to wipe out the Slavic languages from the surface of the earth? What did they achieve? They only contributed to the development of these languages, strengthened them. The dams built by them could not stand against the resistance of water and flooded them. Messrs, it is high time to throw away such ideas which have already been denounced by the history. They will cause nothing except hatred, wrath and hostility. This draft law is not only against the demands of the Muslims for education, but also applies new restrictions by violating these demands grossly. This draft law is very detrimental. Messrs, if you want the State Duma of the third convocation to hope to be called the Duma of Education in future, then make corrections in your draft law and make it satisfactory for all the nations living in the Russian Empire (Applause in the hall).

The State Duma. The thirs convocation.

Shorthand reports. the fourth session, Sankt-Petersburg, 1910,  
part 1, column 414-420.

**The third convocation, the fifth session, the 33rd meeting  
November 30, 1911**

**Discussions on the report of the State Commission of Defense concerning the draft law  
proposed by the minister of war on the changes in the Regulations of the military service**

**Khalil bey Khasmammadov (guberniyas of Baku,  
Yelisavetpol and Erevan)**

Messrs members of the State Duma! We disclosed our attitude to the defense of the country as early as the first session of the State Duma when the draft law on the new contingent of soldiers was summoned in 1908. Then I noted and I confirm again now that the defense of the country is the holy duty of every citizen. The Muslims comprehend this duty clearly; they have taken part and are taking part in the defense of the country in the form required by the government. Now I do not feel a need to dwell upon a fact in detail known to everybody. Therefore I pass to another issue, an issue which is not great, but very important for the Muslims of the Transcaucasia. This issue has been mentioned in Page 4 of the report of the State Commission of Defense. The thing is like this: the general military service for the first time was applied in Russia in 1874; the Muslims of the pre-Volga, western regions and the Peninsula of the Crimea were drawn to the military service on common basis, but this law was not applied to the Muslims of the Transcaucasia. The motives and the feelings of fear which caused this exception were not only groundless, but also did not justify themselves in the past 35 years. Thus, the Muslims of the Transcaucasia remained in their former state before the application of this reform from the point of view of the execution of the military service. The Muslims of the Transcaucasia were sending to Petersburg the persons belonging to the castes of beys and khans, where they were included into the convoy of His Excellency the Emperor. Very often they joined the army voluntarily and served in the capacity of senior officers or officers in the headquarters in all the kinds of the troops. But in 1882 the practice of compulsory sending of this category of persons to Petersburg was liquidated. The next year the Muslims of the Transcaucasia were made to pay special taxes in the sum of 500.000 rubles instead of the service in the army. These Taxes are still in force. I do not want to speak about the technical errors of these taxes. The method of taxation itself has become trite, and therefore, very often separate tax-payers are subjected to unjust taxation. I think that it is my duty to declare that the Muslims of the Transcaucasia accept this tax as an offence, as a kind of humiliation of their dignity. We think that the personal military service is the highest duty of each person; I would even say that it is his natural right; therefore, nobody must be released from the military service on the account of such taxes. From this point of view one of the two ways may be chosen: the Muslims must either serve in the army, or must be released from the military service without any compensation in the form of money, because any equivalence of money violates the rights of citizens artificially and humiliates them. The feelings of the Muslims of the Transcaucasia is also damaged by such a fact that each autumn in their presence new contingent of soldiers are summoned to the military service from the youth of other nations living together with them in the same territory, but they are made to pay money instead of that. It demonstrates that the Muslim youth are not the sons of the common motherland like those of other nations, but step sons. I must declare to you as the representative of the Transcaucasian Muslims here that such an unjust treatment of the Muslims may move them off from statehood, create the atmosphere of detrimental negligence towards the defense of the motherland, and thus, when there arises the need of unity, there may emerge discord. The Muslims of Transcaucasia have not once declared about it to the representatives of the authorities of the Caucasus, they have shown it in the petition send to the Committee of Ministers in 1905 as well. Taking into consideration such a mood of the Muslims, the State Commission of Defense advanced such a desire as early as the first session of the State Duma, when the draft law on the new contingent of soldiers was discussed: "The population released from the natural military service shall gradually be drawn to the military service by taking decisive and urgent measures, besides, it is necessary to create service conditions for the representatives of the nations who for the first time are summoned to the service of the defense of the motherland in consistence with the peculiarities of their life, religion, climate and others". Then I welcomed the desire of the State Defense Commission and thought that it was right and fair. The State Duma approved this desire unanimously, and the representative of the Ministry of War declared that the

Ministry was ready to discuss the issue. More than three years have passed since, but we do not know what measures the Ministry of War has taken for the materialization of the desire of the State Duma. Again I draw the attention of the State Duma to the military service and to the abnormalities in this sphere connected with the Muslims of the Transcaucasia, I also remind the issue to the Ministry of War and leave the rostrum of the State Duma with the hope that the Ministry will hurry to submit its draft law on the said issue to the State Duma. And in this way the Muslims of the Transcaucasia will be released from the payment of the taxes for the military service, and at the same time they will be summoned to the military service. Messrs, I am sure that the Muslims of the Transcaucasia will not occupy the last place in the Russian army, and according to the opinion of the authoritative government organs, according to the opinion of the vice-Roy of the Caucasus the Russian army will get brave cavalry with the fighting spirit and excellent riflemen in their person (Applause from the center, from the right and left).

The State Duma.the third convocation.  
Shorthand reports. the fifth session,Sankt-Petersburg,1911,  
part 1, column 2933-2936.

**The fourth convocation, the first session, the tenth meeting  
December 10, 1912  
Discussions on the statement of the chairman of the  
Council of Ministers**

Mammadyusif Jafarov (guberniyas of Baku,Yelizavetpol and Erevan)

Messrs members of the State Duma! In addition to the words of my colleague from the Muslim Fraction Mr. Akhtyamov I want to say some words about the statement of the government which we have already heard. I do not want to return to the thoughts of general nature sounded by the first representative of the Muslim Fraction. I shall note here some moments which in some degree concerns the Muslims of the region which I represent here. I shall begin with the zemstvo self administration. Our offended Transcaucasia has not benefitted from this self-administration. When Mr. Chairman of the Council of Ministers explained here the plan of the future legislative issues, he pointed out that the government is going to re-consider the statute of zemstvo and self-administration of towns. The government thinks that zemstvo and self-administration of towns are the best guarantees of the economic and cultural development of our motherland. But Messrs, I was very much surprised that when the representative of the government mentioned the names of the regions and provinces, where the government wants to apply this “best guarantees of the economic and cultural development of our motherland”, he thought that it was too much for our Transcaucasia, as if we are not the due citizens for whom the government must care, though our region is one of the unfortunate regions which is ruled by primitive methods. Let us put aside the population who has long been waiting for the application of zemstvo, even the highest local administration has shown in his reports to His Excellency the Emperor that it is high time to apply the rule of zemstvo. It was said by the members of the Third State Duma from this rostrum many times, but this completely natural desire of the people, as it is seen from the statement of the chairman of the Council of Ministers, has remained as an “unanswered challenge”. Messrs, what concerns the statue of the towns, the chairman of the Council of Ministers informed us that it will be changed in the nearest future. I would like to express the hope that the restrictions concerning the Muslims as the citizens of Russia in the present statute in force will not exist in the new statute of self-administration. Mr. Chairman of the Council of Ministers promised very little to the education of the people. I shall not speak about it very comprehensively, but a few words about the policy of the government concerning our national schools. We declare with a sense of grief that the government treats this holy issue, that is, to the cause of the enlightenment of the people with bias. But there must not be politics in this issue. Up to now the government has pursued the policy of Russianization of the Muslim population under the pretext of its enlightenment. On the grounds of this policy in the recent times a kind of envy is apparent in relation to our schools. Institutions of charity and education, the schools opened by them are being closed. Searches are being conducted in the houses of the intelligentsia, very often they are arrested. As you see Messrs members of the State Duma, the integration of the Muslims to “the Russian life”, to “the Russian culture” is persecuted by the Russian government itself. Messrs, these are the words of Mr. Chairman of the Council of Ministers. This persecution is based on the distrust of the government to the Muslims. The government has not any reason not to trust the Muslim population which occupies the second place in the

Empire because of its number. Speaking about the migration plan of the government Mr. Chairman of the Council of Ministers declared that “when the local peasants are supplied with lands properly, the density of population in some places compels a part of the population to move to free lands. The government appreciates this tendency as a mighty means of populating the outskirts and of its integration to the common Russian life, attaches great importance to the better organization of migration and to the expedient use of the natural resources of the outskirts for the benefit of the Russian population”. With this statement the government shows that it pursues its old policy, that is, by exerting pressure on the local population of the outskirts wants to strengthen the Russian element there. Messrs, such measures can only enrage the local population against the authors and executors of this policy. I am against such a migration and would like to say to the government that it is not necessary to try to strengthen the Russian element in the outskirts for the sake of the interests of the state on which the policy of the government is based, on the contrary, it is necessary to strengthen the love, sympathy for Russia, confidence in Russia. Unfortunately, there were various restrictions in the rights of the Muslims in the old system. After the transition to the system of representatives, that is, after the declaration of the Russian Freedom Charter – issuance of the Manifest of October 17, we were waiting that the existing legal restrictions concerning the Muslims would be removed. But instead of it we see that the government is trying to enlarge the circle of such legal restrictions more. The Muslims did not encounter any obstacles if they wanted to become judges before. Unfortunately, restrictions in this sphere have also begun to be applied to the Muslims recently. Then Mr. Chairman of the Council of Ministers said that immediately after the proposed draft law on the votchina (ancestral lands) changes in the sphere of the civil law the government is going to submit to the discussion of State Duma a large package of civil laws. They will be resolutions about the compulsory rights, and they will concern all the territory of Russia, including the guberniyas of the Polish Czardom, pre-Baltic and Bessarabia. At present in these three guberniyas the special civil laws are in force. Nothing can be so strong as the application of single legal norms in the whole territory of the country. Messrs, if it is so, if the application of single legal norms stimulates the unity of all the territory and nations of the Empire, then why the very government, the representative of that government did not say that we have such whole regions, whole provinces ruled not by the laws of the Empire, but by the military law, for instance, by the military regulations. How can this disparity be explained? Taking into account the interests of the state the government wants to apply the civil laws in the czardom of Poland on the one hand, on the other hand, it does not say that it would be better if the laws of the Empire are applied in the outskirts where the special military laws are still effective. How can this disparity be explained? It seems to me that the government sees a certain sign of independence, signs of national independence, and wants to suffocate this independence. Messrs, our government has inherited from the late Stolypin the habit of suffocating all the kinds of independence in the sphere of culture, education wherever they appear. It seems to me that the last disparity in the statement of the chairman of the Council of Ministers is explained by this. At the end of my speech I want to declare that the Muslim Fraction thinks that the next duty of the government is to remove the disparity in the lives of Muslims of the Empire. The immediate and positive solution of this duty will be the special subject of care of the Muslim Fraction in the Fourth State Duma. The removal of this disparity would be better not only for the interests of Muslims, but for the whole country, for its successful development (Applause in the hall).

The State Duma. The fourth convocation.

Shorthand reports, the first session, part 1, Sankt-petersburg, 1913, column 518-521.

The fourth convocation, the first session, the 24th meeting

January 27, 1913

**Discussions on the report of the Commission of Legislative Proposals on the draft law proposed by the representative of the vice-Roy of His Excellency the Emperor in the Caucasus on the extension of the term of validity of the law dated June 17, 1909, on the determination of the temporal staff of the police in the town of Tiflis**

**Mammadyusif Jafarov (Guberniyas of Baku, Yelisavetpol and Erevan)**



The draft law concerning the term of validity of the law of June 17, 1909, on the determination of the temporal staff of the police in the town of Tiflis, as well as the draft law concerning the term of validity of the law of June 14, 1910, approved by His Excellency the Emperor on the determination of additional police staff in the ports of the towns of Baku, Batum, Novorossiysk, Petrovsk and Poti are expected to be extended for the term of three years, though the term of validity of such draft laws is prolonged for the term of one year. Here we see an exception to the general rule. We find the explanation for this exception in the letter which interprets the draft law. The letter says: "The Commission for the Legislative Proposals has taken into consideration that the general reform in police will not be referred to the Caucasian region at the beginning, because the peculiarities of this region demand additional considerations on the terms of application of the general principles of police as an institution to the region of the Caucasus. These considerations, undoubtedly, demand a long time, because they can not be developed within one year". Messrs, all this are old things. When a certain reform is applied in the central Russia, we always hear the same things: This reform is not applied in the Caucasus, because it requires additional time and work in order to adapt the reform to the peculiarities of the region. But not any additional work is conducted; of course, the Caucasus is deprived of all the reforms conducted in the central Russia. The talks about the reforms in police were going on for a long time. Had the government desired to apply this reform in the Caucasus, it would have done the additional work long ago and applied the reform in the Caucasus simultaneously with the central Russia. Of course, it is necessary to acquaint you with the official documents which speak about the state of police in the Caucasus. The main duty of the police is to ensure the security and public order. Now let us see whether the police in the Caucasus fulfill this duty. The senator, who conducted revision in the Baku police, writes: "One of the most important duties of the police is the assurance of security and public order. The police in the town is in the position lower than the middle class of the population, the staff of the police is rough and willful, they commit actions which contradict the law, and the situation is very grave and undesirable". The senator who revised the Baku police then writes: "In the recent years the police of Baku has not prevented any grave and big crime". Messrs, if we take into consideration that the police does not provide any observation on the suspected persons and does not pay attention to the gambling dens frequently visited by the criminals, very often the police functionaries maintain "friendly relations" with the owners of these dens, in such cases there can not be anything about the fight with the crime. Once in the past the police officer Borodin kept a whorehouse in Baku, it is also an evidence of the said. The revision of the senator also confirms it. The senator writes about another duty of the police – the conduction of searches for the capture of the suspected or criminals: "The work for the search of the suspected and criminals has not been organized duly. In reality the police does not conduct any interrogation, does not help the investigation with its work, on the contrary, spoils everything with its actions. One can hope for the success of the investigation only if the police is not quick enough and does not find time to interfere in the preliminary investigation and spoil everything". Then in his report addressed to His Excellency the Emperor the senator writes about the means used by the police in order to discover the crimes. They are threat, violence, and corporal pressure. According to the senator, they are completely "ordinary" things. Then the official document says that many supervisors of the quarters confess that they have joined the common current and take bribes, the activity of the police subjected to revision can not be compared with that of the Russian police; here, how to say, "dead and the live" are stripped; openly, completely by violence, in the mid of the day a real robbery takes place. The parts taken from the official documents respond to the question about the morals of the police functionaries partially; there can not be any doubt about the low level of their morals; the commission of the Third State Duma came to such a conclusion, I am sure that if the Fourth State Duma investigates this issue, it will arrive at the same conclusion. The report submitted to His Excellency the Emperor says the followings about it; it is to the point to say, member of the Duma Chkheidze said about it in one of the past meetings like this: "The police constables with high salaries surpass the zemstvo constables in the ability of making money. They are in close and direct relations with the peasantry; they form the lower, but at the same time the most ruthless, it is even possible to say that the uncontrolled part of the police, they are a real misfortune for the population, because the population is to carry them as a heavy burden on their shoulders. But in reality the police must ensure the security of the state and protect the welfare of the population. The latter complains that the police constables do not take even a step if they do not get bribes". Messrs, this is the general characteristics of our police based on official documents. Our police was like this several years ago, it is the same now, too. We do not pay a special attention to the intended reform in the organs of police, because, if a general, radical reform is not conducted, this reform will not produce any positive result. The partially conducted reform is like the new wine poured into the old wineskin... The draft law on the

reform in the police has not yet been submitted to the State Duma, it is just being developed (Voices from the hall: He is reading from the paper). Therefore, we think that it is early to say that the reform will not be applied to the Caucasus. Basing on the said and making an exception from the general rule I think that the extension of the term of the provisional staff of the police for three years instead of one is wrong and a step not consistent with the interests of the Caucasian region. The vice-Roy of His Excellency in Tiflis proposes to prolong the term of validity of the draft law on the provisional staff of police for an indefinite period of time, that is, till the application of the general reform of police in the Caucasus. In this sense the commission of the State Duma has made a step forward, it refused the extension of the term of validity of the draft law for an unknown time and proposed three years instead of it. We think that the State Duma will also make a step forward and adopt a general rule for such draft laws, it will extend the term of validity of the draft law for one year as we have proposed.

The State Duma.the fourth convocation.

Shorthand reports. the first session, part 1, Sankt-petersburg,1913, column 1753-1756.

**The fourth convocation, the first session, the 72nd meeting  
June 11, 1913**

**Discussions on the report of Budget Commission concerning the estimate expenses of the  
Migration Department for 1913**

**Mammadyusif Jafarov (guberniya of Baku, Yelisavetpol  
and Erevan)**

Messrs members of the State Duma! As any issue of national importance this issue of migration may be approached from two points of view: from the principle point of view which reflects the goal and objectives of the issue of migration, and from technical point of view, which reflects the organization and conduction of migration. The report of the Budget Commission on the estimate of the Migration Department, which we are discussing now, considers the activity of the government only from technical point of view, ignores the principle aspects of the issue completely. To ignore this important aspect creates such an imagination that the Commission does not protest against the partial and clearly biased policy of the government. This policy is implemented into life in the activity of the Migration Department very impudently and with a great zeal. Clarification of this principle aspect of the issue is of great national importance; therefore, the representatives of the people must pay attention to it and disclose their fair, authoritative opinion about the migration policy of the government. Particularly the Muslim population of the outskirts of the Russian Empire is waiting for this fair opinion of the State Duma, because the wave of migration has been directed to the outskirts populated wholly by the Muslims. Messrs members of the State Duma, if the migration derives, for instance, from the density of population in the central guberniyas due to the natural growth, then while thinning the density of population by moving them to those territories the availability of lands must be taken into account . If we lay the responsibility of investigation of this fundamental issue on the organizer of migration in the first place, nobody will object to it. Our government has been taken away by its own unilateral migration policy and not been able to clarify this issue. In such circumstances the justice requires that the State Duma, which consists of the representatives of the people, must disclose its impartial position on the problem and remind the organizers of migration that they must not violate and trample the rights and interests of the local population when taking the care of migrants. In the provin- ces of Sahra and Turkistan, as well as in the Transcaucasia, the interests of the local population have been neglected while conducting the migration, unfortunately, the same attitude is still continuing. The official information of the senators on the revision of the guberniya and town of Baku, of the province of Turkistan, the information coming to us from the population of those places are evidences of the said. We are obliged to express with a much more sense of regret that the grave consequencences of the organization of migration, which have been revealed by the senators, have not been removed, moreover, nothing has changed in the activity of the Migration Department since. The discovered violations of the law have not been sufficiently substantial to make the Migration Department give up its favorite system and accustomed rules. Now I want to draw your attention to some facts taken from the report of Senator Palen, who has conducted revision in the region of Turkistan in order to

characterize the activity of the Migration Department in the provinces of Kirghizia. A thick volume of papers has been devoted to the organization and conduction of migration there. The document exposes the activities of the organizers of migration, the vivid and striking scenes are described artfully, had it not been an official document, it would have been possible to think that that it is a partial, a biased exposure, because it is impossible to believe at all that the officials of the government allow such injustice in relation to a group of citizens of the same state for the sake of the interests of the same state. Messrs, look how the Senator characterizes the attitude of the Migration Department to the rights and interests of the Kirghiz whose lands have been cut and given to the migrants. The Senator writes:” The afore-said considerations confirm that the local nomad population of the province of Semirechensk used the whole space of the land attached to them legally and they had to be given to them legally and their rights on the these lands had to be ensured as their property, the rest of the lands had to be passed to the fund of the treasury lands. In conformity with it, the note concerning Article 120 of the Statute of Sahra (deserts) says that the lands not needed by the nomads pass at the disposal of the Ministry of Agriculture and State Property. This Note did not allow the ministry to confiscate the cultivated lands of the Kirghiz for an unknown term without the sanction of the organs of legislation, without supplying them with lands, by violating the rights of the law-obedient, civil nomad population, by ignoring the national interests of the country and the dignity of the Russian government first and foremost. All this considerations allow me come to such a conclusion that the system of norms built by willful alteration of the borders of the private lands is not consistent either with the basic laws of the Empire, or with the special rules expressed in the Statute of Sahra provinces”. Now pay attention to the methods of how the Migration Department studies the lands fit for cultivation and pastures and of how it determines the lands for settling the migrants: “According to the plan and description developed by the Migration Department the quality of lands is determined as fit and unfit (for cultivation and cattle-breeding).To my mind, this definition is not correct even from the point of view of quantity. So that vast areas of swamps and completely unfit reedy lands have been included into the group of lands fit for agricultural purposes; vast areas of deserts and ravines have also not been excluded from the territory of the lands fit for use. The useful lands also include vast areas of rocky lands and plains unfit for cultivation and irrigation. These areas are grown with a small quantity of grass for animals, but mainly by grass not fit for cattle. The low-grown grass of these lands are not fit for mowing, besides, this grass withers within a very short time in the hot sun and soon turns into ashes. All this lands have been included into the common fund of lands as being fit for agricultural purposes without any exception. It seems that it has been done like that in order to prove that more than 40 desyatins of land falls to the share of each Kirghiz. In order to complete the list of the strange methods used in the allocation of lands by the functionaries of Migration Department I shall acquaint you with an extract taken from the report developed for His Excellency. The extract shows that the alienation and the confiscation of the spare lands were conducted by gross violation of the rights of the local population and willfulness of the functionaries which caused fury and hatred of the people. It is to the point to mention what the chief of the uyezd of Saribaghish says about the designed territories for migration: “Nearly all the population here is engaged in sowing, because the only territory fit for cultivation is the one intended for the migrants. It shows that the lands intended for the migrants are cultivated completely by the Kirghiz. Then he asks such a question: If this population is moved to somewhere, I think that that the wail and groan of these displaced people will terrify the executors of this verdict. Then he asks again: Where are the lands for this people to be settled? Messrs, I drew your attention only to those parts in the report of Senator Palen which irrefutably prove that the settlement of the migrants in the Muslim outskirts of Turkistan is accompanied by terrible willfulness, gross violation of human and civil rights, causing wrath and hatred. The documents of the inspection also shows that there was nothing natural and an effective system in migration there, there was a chaos in the allocation of the shares of lands, the functionaries did it willfully and not taking into account the views and desires of anyone. Such a situation paved the way for all kinds of violence. When one imagines all this terrors of the reality of our migration, willy-nilly there emerges such questions: Can there really be allowed to conduct the migration in the legal state with such savage methods? Is it really considered to be completely natural? Has really the government sanctioned such a conduction of migration and sealed it with the stamp of the statehood? You may read the views and reports of the representatives of local administrations about the activities of the functionaries of the Migration Department in the report developed by Senator Palen. The facts terrorize them and they do not understand why the functionaries of the Migration Department allow themselves such willfulness. It is said in Page 50 of the report that large territories were confiscated for the settlement of migrants from Krasnorechinsk, Novopokrovsk and Baitykovsk, the small Kirghiz farms, auls (small mountain villages, winter pastures, as well as hundreds of other small villages), were not allowed change

their places, even three mosques were destroyed. The main reason of the said is that the spare lands may be given to the migrants after some improvement for cultivation, but it requires great expenses, time and toil. Creation of areas for the settlement of migrants in the lands cultivated by the local population is much easier and cheaper. The chief of the migration work in the region has approved a norm for supplying the local people with lands completely in other places of the province. Senator Palen writes on Page 131 of his report then: "After committing violence of law in their activities once, the functionaries of the Migration Department do not know any measure and boundary; they do the work approximately, by eye". It seems that there are many spare territories in the province of Semirechensk, the settled lands are few, it is necessary to settle the migrants, and there will remain sufficient areas of land for the Kirghiz. The areas for the settlement of migrants in the province are conducted on such groundless considerations. The best lands cultivated by the Kirghiz, their crop fields and houses are confiscated for the settlement of migrants in violation of the law. Then Senator Palen quotes the military governor of the province. It is said there: "In general, the result of these illegal and careless actions may be like this: Being exiled from their houses and native lands, and greatly excited, the Kirghiz will revolt". Messrs, if this willfulness has taken place like this, and if it has not caused any riots and discords, it is only due to the loyalty, tolerance and obedience of the Muslims of those outskirts. If the words of the military governor have not justified themselves, it is only due to the loyalty and tolerance of the Kirghiz. Nevertheless, it is necessary to admit that the vital interests of the Kirghiz suffer from the blows of the migration policy of the government; the terrors of this policy will leave the traces of offence in the hearts of the Kirghiz, and gradually there will emerge such an imagination in them about the government that the government is tyrannical and does not think of anything but oppress them. It may happen that they will say that it was like that before the revision, but now all the said deficiencies have been removed. It is to the point to say that when the estimate of the Migration Department was discussed, its representative tried hard to persuade us that the migration work has now been organized very well. According to him, wolves and lams are living very friendly on the same field. One may conclude from his words that so large areas have been allotted in some provinces of Turkistan that very often the local population refuse to take them, because they think that it is better not to legalize these lands in order to pay less taxes. Of course, speaking about large territories the representative of the Migration Department Mr. Glinka did not mention the quality of these large territories given to the local population. But from the practice of the Migration Department we know that the lands allocated to the local population means that the local population is driven from the lands cultivated by them to the lands unfit for cattle-breeding and crop-cultivation. Therefore, we may believe the representative of the Department that the local people do not legalize these large areas because it is not efficient. To tell the truth, if it is not possible to make use of these lands, it is impossible to make profits out of them, what is the sense of taking the obligation of payment of taxes for them? The situation of migration in the places in reality is not as good as the functionaries of Migration Department are trying to represent to us. The appeals addressed to the Muslim fraction from Turkistan and the provinces of Sahra say that the situation remains unchanged as it has been described in the report of Senator Palen. It is to the point to mention that the representatives elected from the Kirghiz uyezds, of the guberniya of Chimkent, of the province of Syr-Derya appealed to the government on January 8, 1912. It says:" Along with it, that is, along with the efforts of the functionaries to obstacle the transition of the Kirghiz to the settled manner of life, the Syr-Derya Migration Department confiscates our best arable lands, our best irrigation canals and water basins and gives them to migrants without supplying the local population with lands. It does not take into account how much the people has toiled, poured sweat for it, it does not take into account these preliminary conditions necessary for the cultivation of lands in Turkistan. We know that the Migration Department has been entitled to confiscate only the spare lands from us and give them to the fund of migration. We are also sure that the lands improved and irrigated by us in the course of many years on the account of our hard toil and efforts can not be considered spare lands. The Migration Department settles the migrants on our best lands and leaves us at the disposal of our own selves". Messrs, all this are completely identical with the examples which I had the honor to demonstrate to you from the report of Senator Palen. In such circumstances, unfortunately, we are obliged to say that grave exposures in the report of Senator Palen have not yet changed anything at work. The local population of the outskirts cherished great hope in the inspection, but it arose nothing except much useless ado. There is information of the Migration Department connected with the taxes to be paid for each nomad tent in Paragraph 1 of Article 5 of the report of the Budget Commission concerning the list of incomes of the state on the impact of the restriction of the use of lands on the Kirghiz. It is to the point to say to quote it:"The fair supply of the Kirghiz with lands will contribute to preserve their social manner of life and their sympathy to us, along with the said, it will

exert positive and favorable influence on the settlement in the Sahra region". The government has already confessed the necessity of supplying the Kirghiz with lands. The first experience of their being supplied with lands partially showed clearly that the Kirghiz are ready to pass to the settled mode of life. It also showed that it is necessary to supply them with lands in order to make the Kirghiz make transition from partial nomad life to full settled mode of life. This is the situation there. To the question concerning the situation connected with the supply of the Kirghiz with lands asked in another place, that is, in the Budget Commission, Mr. Glinka replied like this: "The law on the supply of the Kirghiz with lands has not yet been adopted. The settlement of the nomads in some places forever is completely unfavorable from the point of view of the expenses of the migration funds. We had to legalize such territories for them at the beginning that it would have been impossible to use those territories for the settlement of the migrants later. They are so enthusiastic, so eager to get lands that the local Migration Department is unable to fulfill the entire request, even half of them. It is obliged to refuse them, because the Department is deprived of the special credit for this purpose, and it also thinks that it is not necessary to hurry in this issue". This is completely clear and sincere. If the Department thinks that it is not necessary to hurry in this issue, if the Department thinks that the settlement of the nomads in some territories is completely unfavorable, then why is it necessary to pass a law on the supply of the Kirghiz with land? This is the state of migration in the region of Sahra and Turkistan. It is to the point to say that I want to say a few words about the judicial reform in the region of Turkistan connected with the speech of Mr. Kapnist II. His argument was that establishment of courts obstacles the transition of the Kirghiz to the settled life, this is the first; secondly, the establishment of the courts contributes to the Muslimization of the Kirghiz more. In connection with his first argument I want to say that it is seen from the information mentioned by me just now that it is not the court which obstacles the transition of the Kirghiz to the settled life, it is the very Migration Department. What concerns his second argument, I must say that the Kirghiz have adopted Islam since a long time and they are Muslims. And it is not worth speaking of the Muslimization of the Muslims. To speak of the Kirghiz as a tabula rasa from the point of the religion is completely groundless. After such a small deviation from the topic, if we appeal to another outskirts, that is, to the Transcaucasia, towards which the wave of migration has been directed, we shall observe the same scene which was seen in Sahra and the region of Turkistan. Here also the government has remained devoted to its rules and methods in the conduction of migration and continues the conduction of its known policy. As the number of terrible facts from the report of Senator Palen, which I had the honor to quote to you, I can also draw your attention to much more terrible facts from the report of Senator Kuzminsky, as well as from the report of the vice-Roy of the Caucasus developed for His Excellency the Emperor. But I think that there is no need for it, because the situation connected with the migration in the Caucasus has been described by the parliamentarians of the Caucasus many times in the Third State Duma, but the responsible persons have been deaf to the groans, protests and appeals of the Caucasians conveyed to the Duma by the parliamentarians. As it is seen, our Migration Department understands in the same way its past and present responsibilities. It thinks that the duty of the Migration Department is to commit willfulness, to destroy the lives of the local population, the manner of their lives, to doom them to the life of miserable and wanderers. Messrs, there are no spare lands in the Transcaucasia, particularly in its mountainous parts, even the local people is in great need of lands. So that in the guberniya of Tiflis there are about 1,9 desyatins of land per capita, about 1,6 desyatins in the guberniya of Erevan, about 0,5 desyatin in the guberniya of Kutaisi, about 0,6 desyatin in four uyezds of the guberniya of Yelisavetpol, that is in, in Javanshir, Jabrail, Zangazur and Shusha, 0,4 desyatin in the Lankaran uyezd of the guberniya of Baku, 0,9 desyatin in the uyezd of Guba, about 1,2 desyatins in Barushinsk of the Goychay uyezd, and finally, 1,14 desyatins in Kurdamir of the same uyezd. In such circumstances one can not speak of the spare lands for the purpose of migration in the Transcaucasia, but if the Migration Department thinks that it is necessary to settle the Russian migrants in the Transcaucasia, all the local and national interests become the victims of this policy. There are no spare lands for creating migration areas, such areas are created on the account of the patches of lands at the disposal of the local population, and to create such areas the government drives them out of their ancestral lands and homes. For instance, the lands at the disposal of the population living in the valleys along the rivers of Kura and Araks for many centuries have been transformed into migration areas. In such circumstances it is not worth of speaking about the supply of the local population with land shares. The Third State Duma has passed a law on the irrigation and settlement of the plain of Mugan. This law has ignored the landless local population and obstacles their entry to these territories. Messrs, as you see, the migration conducted now is not the issue conducted by the state, it is the misfortune of the state directed by the government towards the population of the outskirts of the Empire. The local population living in the outskirts is becoming the victims of the cult

reigning in the Migration Department. We can not support such an approach to the issue of migration; we can not accept that such rules are consistent with the interests of the state. Such a situation is inadmissible in the legal state, and there must not be such situations there. We think that migration is a measure taken by the state for the fair distribution of the land among various layers of population and fair regulation of the land issue. Therefore, we do not object at all to the apportionment of the spare lands not needed by the local population of the outskirts for the migration. But we demand that the said lands in the outskirts shall be examined first, their quality and quantity shall be determined in advance, the local population of the outskirts shall be provided with sufficient quantity of lands fit for cultivation and cattle-breeding depending on their needs and local conditions, only then the spare lands shall be apportioned for migration, the present method of willfulness shall be put an end in the conduction of migration and in future it shall be based on the fair statehood principles. Finally, the government must submit to the State Duma the draft law on the provision of the local population with land, which was promised by it long ago. Messrs, the necessity of removing the abnormalities in the issue of migration derives not only from the interests of the local population, but also from those of the state itself, because, the present migration policy of the government collides the interests of various layers of population and makes them rise against each other. The best part of the representatives of the people must denounce severely the policy which gives rise to discord among the citizens of the country. Ending my speech, it is an honor to me to declare that the Muslim Fraction of the Duma will vote against the funding of the central organizations of the Migration Department as a sign of protest against migration policy of the government (Applause in the hall).

The State Duma. The fourth convocation.

Shorthand reports. The first session, the third part, Sankt-Petersburg, 1913, column 1719-1729.

**The fourth convocation, the fourth session  
July 20, 1915**

**Discussions on the statements of the chairman of the Council of Ministers, chief of the War Ministry, ministers of Marine, Foreign Affairs and Finances**

**Mammadyusif Jafarov (guberniyas of Baku, Yelisavetpol and Erevan)**

Messrs members of the State Duma! The ministers, who spoke yesterday, described sufficiently the grave situation in the country. After these sufficiently comprehensive speeches we do not think that it is necessary to dwell upon it. None of the speakers drew the attention to the grave state of the Muslims in the Caucasian front. The representative of the government Mr. Chairman of the Council of Ministers remained blind to these events. We are deprived of the opportunity of drawing your attention more on these issues because of the state of war and military operations, therefore, we shall suffice with the statement on behalf of the Muslim Fraction "The critical events experienced by the country at present lay important national objectives for the state and obliges it to ensure security in the country and to unite everybody in the face of the growing danger. Nevertheless, the government pursues a policy in connection with the Muslims and the alien nations, in general, incompatible with the interests of the country at all. This policy is conspicuously manifest in the Transcaucasia, both in the territories where the military operations are going on and in the rear of the Caucasian front; it has reached the level of obvious persecution of the alien peoples. In the tumult and confusion of the war terrors have been and are being committed against the Muslim population. The population is completely defenseless. The security of life and property of the population is ensured by no means. Tearing money from Muslims, their plunder and murder are ordinary things there. The male population is being exiled in mass numbers; the remaining female population is humiliated, raped. The peasants of the destroyed villages live in fear; the population has become beggars, is starving, is in need of support and receives assistance from nowhere. In short, this is the state of the Muslims of the region. Because of the terms of the war time the life of the region has not been illuminated up to now. We have facts and information at our disposal, which prove the said, but we think that it is impossible to disclose them here. We shall speak about them in their own time. But now I want to note only that the organs of the local and central power are aware of the situation. But unfortunately, it has not changed the state of the Muslims. When the government declares the liberation of the foreign peoples and protection of the national resources as one of the slogans of the war, when our sons and brothers are shedding their blood for the sake of such a slogan, their relatives at home have

remained defenseless and being subjected to terror in the Caucasian front. How can such an attitude and such a policy impress the minds of all the Muslims of Russia, what feelings and emotions, what kind of moods and spirits can they evoke? The Empire has always looked at the alien nations through the fingers, it has not taken into account that Russia is a multi-national state and the Muslims occupy in it the second place because of their number. I repeat again that such a policy, detrimental from the point of view of the healthy interests of the state, is particularly malignant and dangerous when the state of emergency demands from the government to unite all the forces closely for the defense of the country. The Muslims, devoted to the motherland and ready to fulfill their debts, will hence defend her honor and integrity. They think that it is possible to win the war by uniting all the forces of the country, by removing all other obstacles which hinder this unity, including the removal of cases of violence and injustice committed against the Muslim population of Batumi and the province of Kars”(Applause in the hall).

The State Duma. The fourth convocation.  
Shorthand reports. The fourth session, Petrograd, 1915, column 153-154.

**The Fourth convocation, the fourth session, the 31st meeting  
March 4, 1916**

**Discussions on the report of the Budget Commission on the draft of the list of expenses of the state**

**Mammadyusif Jafarov (guberniyas of Baku, Yelisavetpol  
and Erevan)**

Messrs members of the State Duma! The grave manifestations inherent to our internal policy kept the country in tension when there reigned peace, and caused the displeasure of the population. Despite the demands of the period, interests and desires of the population, in the war time these manifestations did not weaken, but grew stronger, multiplied, and in some cases acquired an ugly and visible shape. The events, which have taken place in the Transcaucasia, in the provinces of Batumi and Kars, are to be noted as the best examples of it. In reply to the statement of the chairman of the Council of Ministers our statement has partly mentioned them. It is not suffice to attach a common name to the said events, because each of them is of great importance. These events acquired such a scale due to their character and scope that this great anxiety and trouble began to draw the attention of the Russian society and Russian press, let alone the Muslim population of the Empire. Unfortunately, because of the conditions of the war the real aspect of these events has remained in the shadow and not been illuminated duly. As the representative of the Muslims of the Transcaucasia this aspect of events lays on me the responsibility to illuminate them more comprehensively, because the present situation allows us do it. I think that it is necessary to do it now, because the estimate also includes the estimate of the vice-Roy of the Caucasus where those events had taken place. Messrs, as you know, the main blows of the war in the Caucasian front have fallen on the provinces of Kars and Batumi. The storm of the military operations has destroyed these provinces and turned them to ruins. Deprived of everything, the local population has impoverished completely and is in need of a piece of bread in many places. The state of the population has aggravated so much particularly because the government has not rendered necessary support and care to it, and left it at the disposal of the fate. Since the beginning of the military operations countless number of murders and plunders has been committed against the Muslim population. The government has not taken any measures to ensure the security of the life and property of the population remained blind to the plundering of the population, on the contrary, it has indirectly contributed to the criminal actions of the plunderers and reactionaries. Such crimes were rare first, but later when the government did not take measures against them, the crimes took a massive nature. And such an opinion was formed among the criminals that it was possible to commit violence and crime against the Muslims and remain unpunished. I shall not enumerate here the separate cases of crimes and violence against the Muslims; there have been lots of them. In order to acquaint you with the nature of the ongoing events I shall convey to you the information in the documents at my disposal. Here is the appeal of Second Lieutenant Zakarriyya Ajarsky to the former vice-Roy of the Caucasus. In his appeal he writes: “Deprived of all my property, saved hardly from disgraceful death, escaped with difficulty to bear the brand of the enemy of the motherland, I appeal to Your Excellency to have mercy on me and support and render assistance to me in connection with the great misfortune befallen on me. Look at the doings of the fate, I am the officer of the Russian army, I

have lost all my property, I have been robbed and plundered. We came here, to the village of Ur, six versts from the village of Erdagan, and assembled behind the Russian troops located near the village of Gulabert, we hoped to save ourselves from the attacks of the Turks, but misfortune came completely from the other side. On December 19, 1914, about one o'clock at night I put on my clothes and went out to see what was happening outside. I saw that my men were being taken from their rooms one by one and cut with sabers, I protested and tried to persuade them to have mercy on them, not to kill the innocent people. I hardly escaped the death because of my protest. They called me a German officer, insulted me with all the swear words, they said that I had stolen my military greatcoat from a Russian officer, they took it off. I asked them to enter the room and have a look at my documents, know my person, my tribe, which is a reliable and influential tribe in the region. But none of my requests produced any result. In front of my eyes they sabered twenty of my men, the remaining 12 men, including a 12-year old boy were murdered after my leave". He finishes his appeal to the former vice-Roy with the following words:" Your Excellency, the pain and grief of this terrible and ruthless misfortune befallen on me and my family is hard to describe. Not any government in the world is able to compensate our sufferings of these days, but in addition to this disgrace and slander we are also poor, we have lost all our property, we have nothing to eat. My tribe and my family have always been distinguished by the devotion to our common motherland, because of it with the order of His Excellency my late father Major-General Sheri bey was given over 6.000 desyatins of land as a gift in the form of property. Personally, I am the parliamentarian of the First State Duma, second lieutenant of the Russian army and have assembled detachment of one hundred men consisting of the Muslims with the errand of the governor-general of the province of Kars in the August of 1914 in order to fight against our common enemy in the ranks of our army. The whole administration of the guberniya knows how devoted our family and I are to the throne and the motherland, and I have been subjected to such a plunder. I do not dare to say what has been done to other not so well-recognized Adzharians. Your Excellency, our Emperor and you as His representative will not allow the devoted sons of Russia be exterminated and subjected to plunder because of belonging to a different religion". Messrs members of the State Duma, there is another document, which is more interesting than the previous one. This appeal is from the widows and orphans of Kars to His Excellency Georgi Mikhailovich, Grand Duke. Now listen to what they are writing:"On December 14, 1914, to find rescue from the Turkish troops all the commanding staff of Erdagan, headed by Nikolayev, chief of the county, left Erdagan for Akhalkalaki. At a distance of 70 versts from Erdagan they stopped to take breath in the village of Kenerben in the Chaldir area of the county of Erdagan. They were hosted there by Dervish agha, a local landlord. Before the departure the chief of the county proposed to Dervish agha allow him pay at least half of the expenses spent for such a great number of guests. The host refused to take the money. When the chief insisted again, Dervish agha asked him to give the money to the Red Cross. The fate of that money afterwards is not known". Then it is described that the next day Dervish agha, his son and nephew took food products and went to meet the Russian troops, but they were immediately murdered, then the rest of the villagers were sabered. Messrs, these women then have written very interesting things:"When the Turkish troops drew to Jinjiron, which is for eight versts far from Erdagan, the same persons from the Russian troops came to the village and demanded from Sharif agha to feed them. Sharif agha was awarded with two orders of the Georgian Cross in the previous Russian-Turkish war, and in the days of peace he had all the state awards. It is necessary to note that Sharif agha was aware that the defeat of the Turkish in the previous war, and they wanted to settle accounts with him. But now when he heard the news about the defeat of the Turkish again, on the same day he returned to the village from the uyezd of Akhalsykh with his family and the rest of the villagers. Sharif agha ordered to lay a rich table with the generosity and hospitality inherent to him, when the dinner was over, the uninvited guests demanded for more food and meals. The women and servants, who had arrived from the uyezd of Akhalsykh with Sharif agha, began to help his wife to prepare the additional meals. When the meals were ready and the servants with women brought them on the trays to the door, the hateful guests rose to their feet as if by a signal and in front of the eyes of Sharif agha's 70-year old wife beheaded the host and his only son with sabers, then they beheaded all the male residents of the village. Then they began violence against the women, raped them. The women in terror with their infants in their bosoms tried to hide themselves wherever happened. The cries of the infants exposed their mothers, not to be discovered in this way they strangled the infants. Three daughters of the hostess were raped on her corpse; one of them died just there. They raped 11-12 year old boys, too". Then they write:"It has deeply rooted in the minds of the functionaries that they will remain unpunished for the murder of Muslims. It can be seen from such a fact: On the road to the village of Jinjiron from the village of Erdagan a functionary on horseback was riding, accompanied by policemen. They met an old Muslim woman on the road, tired, hungry and grief-stricken.



The functionary ordered a policeman to kill her. The policeman beheaded the woman with the saber. On their road further they saw another woman killed, she was still bleeding. They write that the woman had a healthy baby on her chest sucking the milk from her breast. The same functionary ordered the policeman to kill the baby, too, and the policeman cut the throat of the baby with the dagger. The other policemen in the detachment, who evidenced the brutality, left the service and returned home to the province of Terek. The investigators of the case know the names of the functionary and the policemen". Messrs, I could tell you many other facts, partly as the witness of these events, partly as a person who was in the province of Kars when the slaughters of the Muslims took place there. The population of the province has informed me about these events. I can tell you many facts. For instance, 132 male residents, approximately all the male population of the village Khiva have been murdered, 51 refugees, who escaped the massacre of Erdagan, were all slaughtered on their road towards the village of Zurvuna. Messrs, I can say only one thing: One could easily observe such a scene that all the local Christian population of the provinces of Kars and Batumi bore crosses in order to be distinguished and escape the slaughters, because they are very identical with the Muslim population in appearance. In general, since the commencement of the military operations, our organs of power have been blind to the fate of the Muslim population, ignored their misfortunes and displayed incapability by observing them. Since the beginning of the military operations violence has started against the Muslim population of those provinces. When this violence began, the officials of the province of Kars were engaged in their own affairs. What were they doing? When it was decided to investigate the events in Kars, the administration of the province saw a source of profit for itself. The officials of the administration appealed to the rich residents:"Give money, otherwise, we shall present you as the traitors who have betrayed the country. If you give money, we shall leave you in peace". I have here the list of persons and how much each of them has paid. It is to the point to say that this information is not something fallen from the heaven. The investigation conducted by the assistant of the governor in the county of Erdagan has proved each item in detail. Then you may ask: What then happened to these functionaries, officials, police chiefs of the county and area? Instead of trying them in courts, instead of dismissing them, they were transferred to other provinces, or counties in order to allow them continue their previous "useful" actions. To substantiate the said I want to read to you an extract from the same letter of the women:"The clerks of the local administration abuse the illiteracy of the rich local Muslims, of their ignorance and unawareness of the law, of their not being bright begin to compel them personally, or through mediators to pay bribes, they frighten the Muslims that if they did not pay the money, death sentence is awaiting them, they will be calumniated, accused of things which they have not committed. In some areas all the people are forced to give bribes. Rich Muslim landlords of Karapapak living in the area of Chaldyr were made to pay 500-3.000 rubles each. To make them pay the bribe 32 of them were called personally to the chief of police. The chief of police frightened them by all the means first, the after getting the demanded sum promised to do nothing against them. But after the beginning of the investigation by the gendarme, the chief of police was afraid of the complaints and arrested many of these respected persons and slandered them in committing high treason. Where are they now? What happened to them? It is not known". Messrs, what can be said about it? The duty of the government is to ensure the security of citizens, to defend their interests, but instead of it the clerks and functionaries are engaged in plunders and robbery. I can say only this: there is no word to name their actions. Messrs, such was the situation in the provinces when chaos and willfulness reigned in them. Later, when the situation changed a bit for the better, how did the government behave and what did it do? The Muslim refugees were allowed return home, but when they returned, they saw that their houses had been destroyed, plundered and burned. Not mentioning the number of the villages burnt completely, 120 houses in the province of Kars, 160 houses in the province of Batumi have been plundered and robbed. Both, who had left the villages, and who had not, finds nothing to live on, they are in need of everything. In such circumstances the organs of local power do no render any assistance to them, but also obstacle the charitable Muslim institutions to render them support. Such was the state of the Muslim population in those provinces. After the arrival of Grand Duke Nikolay Nikolayevich in the Caucasus, the situation has changed a little for the better. It is to the point to note that in those days I submitted an appeal to the Supreme Commander-in-Chief on the events in those provinces. I sent the copies of that appeal to the ministers, and I personally visited the chairman of the Council of Ministers. I appealed and asked him to take measures for ensuring the security of Muslims. But what did he say to me?- The civil organs of power are weak to do anything in the territories where the military operations are going on, if he finds time to meet the chief of the headquarters of the Supreme Commander-in-Chief, he will speak to him about it. I also visited the former minister of war Sukhomlinov, too. I must say that he was more decisive and would report on it. Messrs members of the State Duma, when one reviews the events of Kars and

Batumi, willy-nilly there emerges such a question: Did these events have any reason? What concerns the behavior of the Muslim population who became the victims of those events, I shall read to you some fragments from the report of General Poroshin, who had conducted the special investigation of those events in the province of Batumi. Thus, this is what he writes in the report: "In this period in the province of Batumi the general mood of the Muslim population can be characterized like this: They were very much excited, the Adzharians were in fear, their life had been troubled, as if they had gone astray, were in confusion, but they were not hostile to the troops and the administration. Major-General Baranovich, chief of artillery of the castle, in his explanation to the military interrogator of Batumi dated December 15, 1914, said: "I have no facts evidencing the hostility of the Adzharians". It is also necessary to take into account that when mobilization was announced for completing the troops of the county, the Adzharians fulfilled all the errands of the military service accurately, exactly and without committing any deviation from the rule, there were not people among them to be exiled to Turkey, all the population lived in their own houses. There was not observed any signs of hostility towards the representatives of the administration of the province and of the plant functioning there, on the contrary, a desire to help the Russian organs of power was observed among the population. Some members of the administration used the local voluntary Muslims in reconnaissance and did not pay anything to them instead of it. The information acquired through them was always true. One of such agents was captured by the Turkish and executed (explanation of Lagdiya, chief of police in the Dzancil mines, dated January 30, 1915). In another place of the report it is said like this about the area called Ardanuch: "In the whole period the Muslim population was completely silent, fulfilled the obligations of the civil time and war time correctly, not any fact contradicting the law was discovered". Then the report continued: "It is necessary to note that they were left completely defenseless after the departure of the clerks of the administration, the clerks had not observed any action of enmity along the road and in Ardanuch on the part of the Muslims". The Muslims expressed a real sense of regret when the administration left. Agent Motiyevich wrote in his explanation written on January 22, 1915, like this: "On November 4, in the evening I left the plant and was crossing near the houses of our Muslims. Somebody called and invited me into the room. I saw that our wounded officer Georgiyev, ensign of the battalion, I think that his name was Didel, was ill in their house. The local residents were changing the bandages of his wound and taking care of him. Then they took him to the hospital of the plant, he was taken captive there". In the same report we read: "It is impossible not to remember some characteristic cases when fleeing from Artvin. Chief of the county Captain Zosimovich thought that it was necessary to take the icon of the St. Mary from the Catholic Church located in the Muslim part of the town in the quarter of Karzul. The icon deserved great respect. The priest had disappeared, the ktitor (manager) of the church Vartanj refused to take the icon off the wall, but the office manager of the county department Suleyman Efendi Tabakhize and other two local residents did it. All the three were Muslims. The Christians were at a loss when they saw that the Christian icon was taken away by the Muslims. They stood bare-headed. The icon was put into the only remaining there boat and shipped away". In another place of the report we read: "The same Muslims formed a detachment of 60 men and send several of them to the evacuated village of Pkhikur for its protection. Only as a result of their deed neither the village, nor the church and the houses were damaged. Then the Muslims had learned that there was a big detachment of the Turkish not far from the village, attacked them and drove them away". Messrs members of the State Duma! After all this examples, which I demonstrated, there is no need to speak in the defense of the Muslims. At the same time, this willfulness and violations of law, which caused these grave events and gave rise to their development, are clearly seen on the background of the events described to you now. We protest decisively against the policy of exerting pressure on the peoples of the outskirts occupied by Russia, against the application of violence to the civil population by the organs of power. Such violations of law, actions of brutality, irrespective of where they take place, in our motherland or abroad, cause the same feelings of wrath in our hearts. We declare that that the grave events as a result of reprisals against the civil Muslim population in the provinces of Batumi and Kars could take place only as a result of the criminal negligence and inactivity of the government. Had the government desired, it would have prevented and rooted them out. Therefore, we lay all the responsibility for these grave events on the government (Applause from different places of the hall).

The State Duma. the fourth convocation.

Shorthand reports. the fourth session. Petrograd, 1916, column 2749-2757.

The fourth convocation, the fourth session, the 38th meeting,

**March 17, 1916**

**Discussions on the report of the Commission of Local**

**Self-Administration on the expediency of the legislative proposal on the application of zemstvo institution in the Transcaucasia**

**Mammadyusif Jafarov (guberniysa Baku, Yelisavetpol and Erevan)**

Messrs members of the State Duma! The issue of application of the zemstvo self-administration in the Transcaucasia has a half of a century history. The member of the Duma Papajanov spoke to you about it in detail. Therefore, I shall not trouble you long and suffice with a few words. At the beginning when the issue of application of zemstvo self-administration in the Transcaucasia appeared, the government used to say all the time that the local population was not ready for it. Now it does not protest against it as before, but declare that it is impossible because of the military operations, that it will be applied after the war. Messrs, if you have enough imagination about the issues concerning zemstvo, then you will agree that the application of zemstvo in the Transcaucasia must not be delayed. For instance, let's take the railways. If we walk a little bit far from the railway, it seems that the feet of men have never touched upon this land (Voices in the hall: Yes, it is true). To substantiate my words I shall give several examples: The territory of the guberniya of Baku is dozens of thousands square versts, but it has only 120 versts of good macadam road. From the said you may conclude in what condition is the state of roads. What concerns the service of agronomists for the farmers; I can say that nothing has been done in this respect up to now. The state of education, enlightenment of the population is also not satisfactory. If you have ever been in the Caucasus in its rural, you will see that there are thousands of villages which do not have schools. It is not worth mentioning the medical service. The population has never seen a physician. If anyone dressed in the European style comes to the village, everybody thinks that he is a doctor; they surround him and show to him the sick children. Messrs, even such a surface acquaintance with the issue of zemstvo is enough to say that it is impossible to tolerate such a state of things. Therefore, I think that the application of zemstvo self-administration in the Transcaucasia must not be delayed. It is necessary to apply it at once. Today the population of the Transcaucasia is listening to what is being said from this rostrum and does not doubt at all that the State Duma will support the application of zemstvo and begin the development of the draft law on it, thus, it will make the government begin the solution of this issue and apply at once the Statute of 1890 in the Transcaucasia at least together with the changes deriving from the local peculiarities (Applause in the hall).

The State Duma. The fourth convocation.

Shorthand reports, the fourth session, Petrograd, 1916, column 3590-3591.

**The fourth convocation, the fifth session, the second meeting,  
November 3, 1916**

**Discussions on the information of the assistant of the chairman of the Budget Commission on the resolution of the Commission of  
October 6, 1916, to the chairman of the State Duma**

**Mammadyusif Jafarov (guberniyas of Baku, Yelisavetpol and Erevan)**

Messrs members of the State Duma! The Muslim Fraction shares the estimation of the activity of the government by the representatives of the opposition completely. Along with it, the Fraction charged me to declare the followings: "The World War, which demanded countless number of victims from mankind, has described such a slogan on its banner: the small nations have the right to enjoy the full right of the national life. Because of it the war itself is called the war of liberation; it creates great enthusiasm in the hearts of the people who see the bright horizons of the brotherly life of the peoples behind the bloody fog of the war. This meaning of the idea of the war is comprehended by the Russian society, too. The Russian government has also taken it as a motto. If the Russian army takes freedom to the foreign nations, then these freedoms must be declared to the numerous nations living in the Russian Empire, too. Hence the free national life right of these nations must be confirmed on unshakable foundations. But we

do not see any step of the present government taken for the liberation of the small captivated nations from the oppression, which is the demand of the Russian state life, on the contrary, the pitiful practice of the national oppression has never risen to the level of the period of the present war for liberation. Up to now the centralized ruthless bureaucratic mechanism of Russia has never insulted the national feelings of the alien nations so much and disfigured their social and spiritual peculiarities. The grave facts in the provinces of Sahra and Turkistan, which are known to everybody, show barely the work of this bureaucratic mechanism. Summon to the military service of all the male residents of the alien nations from 19 to 43 sounded like lightning over their heads. They did not understand what the government wanted, where and why the government was taking them by violating the rhythm of their daily life. They appealed to various instances, representatives of various administrations and asked for an explanation. But nobody gave them a concrete, an exact reply. There emerged rumors that digging trenches is only a pretext, the real purpose of mobilization is the use of the unarmed men like a live wall in front of the trenches. They were liberated from the military service by the decrees and orders of the Czar, the announcements of the administrations also confirmed it when such mobilizations were declared. Brought up in such an atmosphere the alien nations were in confusion, and the government took this confusion for a revolt. As a result, the population accustomed to peaceful life swam in the pools of blood and tears, villages and houses were burned into ashes. Bribery, violence and tearing money from the citizens by all the means reached the peak in the troubled water of confusion in the region. Who needed the aggravation of the life of the country in such a serious moment with these bloody events, sowing the seeds of mutual hatred and distrust among the nations, setting fire in the rear of the front? These facts show clearly that such a boundless empire as Russia can not be ruled by the irresponsible bureaucracy: this bureaucracy must give its place to a government, which bears responsibility before the representatives of the people. The national might of the country, as well as the happiness and welfare of its nations can be ensured only when these nations are given liberty, allow them develop their economic life independently, determine and develop the spiritual-moral values inherent to them. This objective can find its practical solution only after the termination of the war, but at present we think that Russia must declare the beginning of the future national revival of all the nations at once. It will unite the Russian people with other nations more closely with the unbroken ties of brotherhood; it will add power to the strength of the men fighting in the bloody battle fields. As a result of the present course pursued in connection with the alien nations in various parts of the country, it will remove the existing defects and disputes, which unfortunately are still observed. It will create confidence in the alien nations that that the numerous victims fallen for the sake of the motherland will open wide the doors of the life of common political equality". (Applause in the hall).

The State Duma. The fourth convocation.

Shorthand reports. The fifth session, Petrograd, 1916, column 84-86.

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