



## MUSLIM CAUCASUS IN 1918-1920: IN THE KNOT OF THE ANGLO-TURKISH CONFRONTATION

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### Abstract

Based on Russian-language archival materials and memories of contemporaries, this study investigates the main lines of the Anglo-Turkish confrontation in the Muslim Caucasus in 1918-1920. British troops arrived in the Caucasus after the victory of the Entente in the First World War and the revolution of the Russian Bolsheviks in October 1917. As a result, the struggle for independence on the national outskirts of the former Russian Empire accelerated. This study deals with the Anglo-Turkish rivalry for the region based on specific examples and facts. Despite the Armistice of Mudros, the Turkish military remained in the Caucasus voluntarily and took part in the national liberation struggle of the Muslims of the Caucasus. Pro-Turkish sentiments were felt in the Muslim environment of Georgia, Azerbaijan, and the North Caucasus. It was not unacceptable for London to be in the Caucasus in any capacity whatsoever. Therefore, the anti-Turkish policy brought the positions of Moscow and London closer.

**Key Words:** British-Turkish relations, Caucasus, Soviet Russia, independent states of the Caucasus

The First World War divided the world into the supporters of the Entente on the one hand, and those of the Triple Alliance on the other. Among the representatives of the Caucasus, views on the war were polarised, especially regarding the participation of the Ottoman Empire. Muslims of Azerbaijan and the North Caucasus were sympathetic to their brethren in Turkey. With the growth of national and religious feelings, this thrust was especially significant. After the October Revolution of 1917 in Russia and the Decree on Peace, the Bolshevik Government withdrew troops from the front. Former allies in the Entente - Britain and France - became enemies of the new socialist state. Foreign intervention and the Civil War engulfed the territory of the former Russian Empire. The Bolsheviks, Mensheviks, Monarchists, Cadets, and Socialist-Revolutionaries stood on different sides. In addition, the state had decentralised, and the national outskirts disintegrated.<sup>2</sup>

In a problematic military-political situation, the Central Committee of the Union of United Mountainous People of the North Caucasus on 11 May 1918 proclaimed the independence of the Mountainous Republic and its separation from Russia.<sup>3</sup> On the same day, the first meeting of the Batumi Peace Conference was held, the aim of which was to conclude an agreement on peace and friendship between Germany, the Ottoman Empire, the

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<sup>2</sup> Декрет II Всероссийского съезда Советов о мире от 26 октября (8 ноября) 1917 г. // Декреты Советской власти. Т. I. Москва, Гос. изд-во полит. литературы, 1957. p. 12-16.

<sup>3</sup> Тахо-Годи А. На путях к «независимости». Махачкала, 1930. p. 13 – 14.



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Transcaucasian republics and the Union of the Mountainous Peoples of the Caucasus and Dagestan.<sup>4</sup>

On 13 May 1918, at a joint meeting of all Muslim Sejm factions, the Turkish Muslim population of Georgia and representatives of the Muslim peoples of the North Caucasus spoke in favour of joining the Ottoman Empire.<sup>5</sup> On the same day, on 13 May, the Prime Minister of the North Caucasus Republic Abdulmajid Tchermoeff and the Minister of Foreign Affairs Haydar Bammat sent a note from the Government of the Mountainous Republic to the Government of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic (RSFSR) declaring independence and secession from Russia.<sup>6</sup>

On 26 May 1918, the Georgian delegation announced its withdrawal from the Transcaucasian Sejm and the formation of an independent state. On 27 May, at an emergency meeting of the Muslim faction, the Provisional National Council was created, with the appointment of M.E. Rasulzade as chairman. On 28 May 1918, at the first meeting of the Azerbaijani National Council, an independent democratic state with a republican form of political structure was proclaimed. Fatali Khan Khoyski, as Prime Minister, was the head of the first government of the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic. The Ottoman Empire recognised the independence of the North Caucasian Republic and the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic.<sup>7</sup>

This official recognition provoked a protest from Soviet Russia. It should be emphasised here that since 25 April 1918, part of the territory of Azerbaijan, including Baku, was under the control of the Baku Commune, which did not recognise the independence of the Republic of Azerbaijan. In this regard, during the Batumi conference, the delegations of Azerbaijan and the Ottoman Empire signed an agreement of peace and friendship on 4 June. According to this agreement, Turkey was obliged to provide military assistance to Azerbaijan in case of a security threat. At the same time, there were Bolsheviks in the region, who occupied Vladikavkaz, the capital of the North Caucasian Republic, and Dagestan.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Документы и материалы по внешней политике Закавказья и Грузии. Тифлис, 1919. р. 312 – 313.

<sup>5</sup> Государственный Архив Азербайджанской Республики (ГААР). Ф. 970. Оп.1. I.1. L. 30 – 40.

<sup>6</sup> Нота Правительства Горской Республики правительству РСФСР об объявлении независимости и отделении от России от 13 мая 1918 г. // Союз объединенных горцев Северного Кавказа и Дагестана (1917-1918 гг.) и Горская Республика (1918-1920 гг.). Документы и материалы. Махачкала, 2013. р. 77.

<sup>7</sup> Декларация Независимости Азербайджана // Собрание узаконений и распоряжений правительства Азербайджанской Республики. Ст. 1. — 1919. — № 1. — Р. 4-6.

<sup>8</sup> Договор дружбы между императорским Оттоманским Правительством и Азербайджанской Республикой, Батум 4 июня 1918 г., *Азербайджанская Демократическая Республика. 1918 – 1920. Внешняя Политика. (Документы и материалы)*, Баку 1998.р. 13-14.



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In order to obtain military assistance against them, Foreign Minister Haydar Bammam conducted negotiations with the Turkish government in Istanbul. It was about the separation of military contingents from the troops under the command of Nuri Pasha to help the mountainous people in the liberation of their territories from the Bolshevik forces. According to Haydar Bammam,

"In order to revive our performance, we have raised the issue of appointing Yusuf Izzet Pasha to us and organising volunteer detachments from fugitive Circassian soldiers. Yusuf Izzet Pasha is leaving for us in other day - with him are regular officers. Lower ranks and non-commissioned officers, he will receive in Batumi. All technical supplies were given to him: radio, telegraph, telephone and funds. There are sufficient quantities of arms and ammunition. We must use the Nukha-Akhty road, get along it the maximum that is possible and confront Germany with the fait accompli of the uprising of our peoples [...] regarding the loan, about which I had a conversation with Talat Pasha; I must repeat that the Turks are raising this question in dependence on the political general position. Izzet Pasha received something for military expenses, Enver promised only to telegraph Izzet Pasha to give us 10,000 lira."<sup>9</sup>

On 31 August 1918, , reporting from Istanbul to Tchermoeff about Turkey's policy towards the Caucasus, also noted that Ali Bashamin, on behalf of Enver Pasha, Bammam spoke in favour of the unification of the North Caucasian Republic and Azerbaijan. Soon, power in Baku passed from the Bolsheviks to the government of the Centro-Caspian Dictatorship, which was supported by the British and General L. Bicherakhov.<sup>10</sup>

The government of the Republic of the Union of Mountain Peoples of the Caucasus sent captain Malsagov, and Officers Bagauddin Malsagov, Yusup Archakov, Magomet Tutaev and Karachay Shogenov to Ganja to Nuri Pasha, who was the Commander-in-Chief of the Muslim Army in the Caucasus (the name of the army according to the document is S.A.).<sup>11</sup> Two months later, the Chairman of the Government of the Republic of the Union of Mountain

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<sup>9</sup> Dağlı Hükümetinin diplomatik temsilcisi H. Bammamov'un hükümet başkanı A. Çermoyev'e Almanya ve Türkiye'nin Kafkasya ve Rusya'ya münasebeti hakkındaki mektubundan Konstantinopol, 5 Eylül 1918// *Союз Объединенных Горцев Северного Кавказа и Дагестана (1917 – 1918 гг.)*, Горская Республика (1918 – 1920 гг.), (Документы и материалы), Махачкала 1994, p. 88-90.

<sup>10</sup> АПП ОД УДПАР, ф. 277, оп. 2, і. 79, л. 1, 1об.; Бюллетени диктатуры Центрокаспия и президиума Временного Исполнительного комитета, 8 августа 1918, № 7; РГААО, ф.1678, оп.1, і. 39, л. 66, 67; Генерал-майор Денстервиль. Британский империализм в Баку и Персии 1917 – 1918 (воспоминания). Перевод с англ. Б. Руденко. Тифлис, 1925. p. 172 – 184.

<sup>11</sup> Председатель Правительства Республики Союза Горских народов Кавказа ротмистру Мальсагову от 31 мая 1918 года, г. Тифлис, № 64// ЦГА РД. Ф.р.621. Оп.1.І.4. Л. 31.



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Peoples of the Caucasus sent Usman Said-Nurov to Nuri Pasha's disposal to participate in the detachment's campaign against Dagestan.<sup>12</sup>

Tchermoeff sent several officers of the Ingush and Dagestanis and asked them to be an instructor detachment for the Dagestan and Terek regions. Colonel Dzhemal Danaguev, who was in Ganja at the time of Tchermoeff's letter, was appointed senior for the Dagestan Region. For the Terek Oblast, captain Sozurko Malsagov was appointed as senior. They had to follow the military instructions of Nuri Pasha, as well as consult with the commission from the Dagestan region, which included the Mufti of the Union of Mountainous People, and members and candidates of the former Central Committee of the Union of Mountain People. From the Terek region, they appointed the authorised mufti in Chechnya, Magomet Abdulkadyrov and Ali Mitaev, in Ingushetia to the military council. Tchermoeff also asked to provide the officers of the mountainous people with means of transportation and money allowance.<sup>13</sup>

On 15 September 1918, Baku, the capital of Azerbaijan, was liberated by the forces of the Caucasian Islamic Army, due to the Turkish command. The Azerbaijani government moved from Ganja to Baku, and established complete control over the entire territory of Azerbaijan, including the Baku province. Subsequently, the expedition to Dagestan was begun.<sup>14</sup>

On 6 October 1918, the city of Derbent was gained by units of the Turkish division under the command of the Turkish General Yusuf Izzet Pasha, who arrived from Baku. On 29 October, the Turks entered Temir-Khan-Shura and established the North Caucasian Republic, headed by Abdulmajid Tchermoeff. According to the grateful assessment of Heydar Bammat, "We remember too well and will never forget the blood that the Turkish soldiers shed in our joint struggle against the red and white invaders of our territory... This sacred debt cannot be paid by any hospitality."<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Родственника Гейдара Бамматова – министра иностранных дел Горской Республики// ЦГА РД. Ф.р.621. Оп.1.1.4. L. 32.

<sup>13</sup> Председатель Правительства Республики Союза Горских Народов Кавказа Главнокомандующему Мусульманской Армией на Кавказе от 31 июля 1918 года, № 65, г. Тифлис// ЦГА РД. Ф.Р.621. Оп.1.1.7. L.2.

<sup>14</sup> Министр-Председатель Правительства Республики Союза Горских Народов Кавказа Дипломатическому Представителю Азербайджанского Правительства М.Ю.Джафарову от 17 сентября 1918 года, № 130, г. Тифлис// ЦГА РД. Ф.Р.621. Оп.1.1.6. L.4.

<sup>15</sup> Мамулия Г., Вачагаев М., Доного Х. М., Гайдар Баммат и журнал «Кавказ». Сборник статей за период существования журнала 1934-1939 гг., р. 369.



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A red flag with a crescent moon was hoisted in Temir-Khan-Shura. "The arrival of the Turks was seen as an influence that would help create a solid government. Among the ardent supporters of the Turks - the clergy and the petty-bourgeois part, there were groups who wanted to be under the protectorate of Turkey or to be annexed to it", noted the representative of the national intelligentsia of Dagestan, Adil-Girey Daidbekov.<sup>16</sup>

In Gunib, the Turkish commander Ismail Hakki Bey held a congress, which was attended by representatives of all villages, all officers and intelligentsia. He urged to wait for the order of the Turkish high command. His next destination was Khunzakh.<sup>17</sup> On 7 November, Turkish military units, together with mountainous detachments, gained another Dagestan city - Petrovsk, eliminating a detachment of Cossacks and Armenians under the command of Colonel Lazar Bicherakhov. After that, the entire territory of Dagestan and Chechnya came under the control of the North Caucasian government.<sup>18</sup>

According to British intelligence, on 14 October 1918, the Turks proposed to form a single government for the ADR (Azerbaijan Democratic Republic) and the North Caucasus: "They fear that if these two states remain separate, they will be too weak to protect their independence."<sup>19</sup>

Turkish troops, led by Colonel Ismail Hakki Bey, together with mountainous national leaders, Prince Rashidkhanovs, Tarkovsky, Gotsinsky, and Sheikh Uzun-Khadzhi, launched an offensive against the Armed Forces of the South of Russia which headed by Denikin, who opposed the Bolsheviks and sought to conquer power in Russia. Meanwhile, Turkish generals continued helping the people of the North Caucasus. Ismail Pasha went to Dagestan and Chechnya and Shukri Bey to the Terek and Kuban regions. The General Staff of the British Army members carefully monitored and analysed the course and prospects of events. For

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<sup>16</sup> В объятиях красного дьявола. Сборник материалов и документов // Ответственный редактор и составитель Доного Х. М. Махачкала, 2011, р. 261; Полковник Магомед Джафаров... р. 128 – 133.

<sup>17</sup> Полковник Магомед Джафаров... р. 128 – 133.

<sup>18</sup> Германо-турецкое соглашение от 23 сентября 1918 г. и временная консолидация Союза объединенных горцев Северного Кавказа и Дагестана// Георгий Мамулия. В борьбе за Конфедерацию народов Кавказа. К вопросу о политической деятельности Гайдара Баммата в 1917-1921 гг. Гайдар Баммат – известный и неизвестный. Сборник документов и материалов. Баку, 2015, р. 82-84; Борьба за Советскую власть в Северной Осетии. Сборник документов и материалов. р. 459; Каспий, 8 октября (25 сентября) 1918, № 73; Самурский Н. (Эфендиев). Гражданская война в Дагестане (из воспоминаний). р. 7 – 8; Тахо-Годи А. На путях к «независимости». р. 26 – 27.

<sup>19</sup> Азербайджанская Демократическая Республика. Архивные документы Великобритании. Пер. на рус. яз., Баку 2011. р. 210.



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example, it was reported to London that the Dagestan delegation in Istanbul was divided in opinion on the unification of the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic and Dagestan.<sup>20</sup>

They had information that the commander of the Caucasian Islamic Army, Nuri Pasha, planned a visit to the North Caucasus in early October: "... Turks support Azerbaijan's alliance with the mountainous people as the most feasible option for maintaining independence, and as a strong centre for Turkish propaganda. Maybe Nuri is working on this, while simultaneously conducting operations against Becherakhov near Derbent."<sup>21</sup>

The British thought that the Ottomans intended to unite Azerbaijan and the North Caucasus under the leadership of a Muslim government for their "pan-Turkic" interests.<sup>22</sup> The General Staff of the British Army office believed that the Turks were misleading the British government by urging them to recognise the ADR. In fact, the Turks were trying to strengthen the ADR by "joining Dagestan and Persian Azerbaijan to it" to "keep the entire region under their control."<sup>23</sup> British authorities supported the idea of a "united Caucasian bloc," i.e., three republics of the South Caucasus.<sup>24</sup> However, they doubted this because of the intransigence between the South Caucasian republics. In the Memorandum of the Foreign Office of the British Foreign Affairs, it was concluded that "any federation of states on the Caspian Sea will be based on the Tatars (Turks - S.A). This territory can stretch from the Terek River to the Persian border."<sup>25</sup>

The British were determined to disrupt the plans of the Turks. After the withdrawal of Russian troops from the territory of Northern Persia and from the war in October 1917, there was a threat of filling the resulting emptiness with Turkish and German troops, which could further advance into Central Asia and threaten the British positions in India. The time was difficult, and the transfer of forces from other fronts was impossible. Major General Lionel Dunsterville was assigned to a mission called Dunsterforce, and his goal was Tbilisi. He had to create an army from specially selected officers of the local forces to resist the Turks. The venture should have transformed to the patriotic upsurge among the Transcaucasian peoples. However, this plan could not be implemented. Tiflis adhered to a pro-German orientation, and

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<sup>20</sup> Кузнецов, Б., 1918 год в Дагестане, Сопrotивление Большеви́зму 1917-1918 гг. Москва: Центрполиграф, 2001, <http://anyreads.com/read/#366084>.

<sup>21</sup> Азербайджанская Демократическая Республика. Архивные документы Великобритании. Пер. на рус. яз., Баку 2011 р. 108 – 111.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid, p. 181.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid, p. 187.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid, p. 201.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid, p. 247.



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everyone was waiting for the final victory of Germany. Therefore, the direction was changed, and the purpose of the Dunsterville mission became Baku.<sup>26</sup>

On 24 August 1918, after the invitation of the Centro-Caspian Dictatorship, English soldiers arrived in Baku. According to the agreement on the delimitation of spheres of influence between Britain and France, British troops were to occupy the territory of the Caucasus and organise opposition attacks to Turkey in the region. Dunsterville did not stay long in Baku. He delayed the attacks of the Turks. The liberation of Baku on 15 September 1918 changed the situation dramatically. Turkish troops had to leave the territory of Dagestan and the South Caucasus urgently because of the defeat of the German bloc in the First World War and the withdrawal of the Ottoman Empire from the war in November 1918.<sup>27</sup>

On 30 October 1918, Turkey signed the Armistice of Mudros, in which it pledged to withdraw its troops from the South Caucasus. Turkey declared there as a sphere of influence of Great Britain. A month was given to the Turkish military to withdraw its forces from the Caucasus. British military units took their place. They took control of a part of the territories of the South and North Caucasus, the eastern coast of the Black Sea. All this was considered a military-strategic, political, and economic foothold for the dismemberment of the Russian Empire, no matter whether it was red or white. General W. M. Thompson was ordered to re-occupy Baku, and the city was handed over by representatives of the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic government.<sup>28</sup>

On 22 December 1918, Major General Forestier-Walker, at the head of the 27th division, arrived in Batumi. Within a few days, he took military control of Georgia, Armenia, and established contact with British troops in Baku. In December 1918, General Thompson addressed the peoples of the North Caucasus with an appeal that was anti-German and anti-Bolshevik in its content. In 1918 the commander of British troops in the South Caucasus General Thompson, called on the head of the North Caucasus Republic, Abdulmajid Tchermoeff, to conduct his orders without delay and to stop all strife in order to unite all

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<sup>26</sup> Dunsterville L.C. *The Adventures of Dunsterforce*. London: Edward Arnold. 1920, p. 193-195.

<sup>27</sup> Абазатов М. А. Борьба трудящихся Чечено-Ингушетии за Советскую власть (1917 – 1920 гг.). р. 64 – 65; Дагестан в период Октябрьской революции, иностранной интервенции и гражданской войны (апрель 1917 – март 1921). Махачкала, 1972. р. 10 – 13; Империалистическая интервенция на Дону и Северном Кавказе. р. 133.

<sup>28</sup> Dunsterville L.C. *The Adventures of Dunsterforce*. London: Edward Arnold. 1920, p.218-235.



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forces against the Bolsheviks. In the letter, there was also a demand to expel all Turks from the region.<sup>29</sup>

Unlike the Turks, who supported the national republics of the Caucasus and their independence from Russia, the British command supported the White Guards (the opponents of the Bolsheviks), who fought uncompromisingly against any manifestation of separatism. British Foreign Secretary Arthur Balfour and Prime Minister Lloyd George decided to support all independent states that arose on the national outskirts of Russia. Minister of War Alfred Milner attached significant importance to the South of Russia. During February-June 1919, the Head of the British Mission to the Armed Forces of the South of Russia (AFSR) Lieutenant General Charles James Briggs (1865-1941), maintained contact between General Denikin and the British War Office through General Milne, who was in Constantinople. The expansion of Bolsheviks in the South Caucasus and then Iran was seen as a serious threat to India. Therefore, after lengthy discussions, it was decided to take control of the railway network between the Black Sea and Caspian Sea. In 1919, the British Foreign Minister, A. Balfour, was replaced by G. Curzon, who, like Churchill, hated the Bolsheviks. However, Curzon considered it impossible to spend millions to support Denikin.<sup>30</sup>

To support the national forces of the ADR and the North Caucasus, Enver Pasha appointed Turkish officers to the Azerbaijani army and the military formations of the Mountainous Republic, and subordinated them at the disposal of Nuri Pasha.<sup>31</sup> British troops entered the capital of Azerbaijan under the command of W. Thompson who was declared the military governor of Baku. The British command did not want to recognise the Republic of Azerbaijan. They preferred to transfer the South Caucasus to Russian protectorate. But within a month, the British command radically changed its attitude towards the national government, recognising it as the only legitimate authority. On 7 December 1918 Azerbaijan Parliament was opened. The power of the British occupation command was established in the Caucasus. But at that time, Turkish officers unofficially continued to organise the anti-Bolshevik and anti-Whites (White Guards) struggle of the Muslim peoples, in the North Caucasus.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> Central State Archives of the Republic of North Ossetia-Alania (TsGARSOA), FundR-9, Inventory 1, File 8, L.2 (Центральный государственный архив Республики Северная Осетия-Алания. Ф. Р-9. Оп. 1. I. 8.

<sup>30</sup> Lauri Kopisto. The British Intervention in South Russia 1918 – 1920. Helsinki: Academic Dissertation, 2011, p.16, 78.

<sup>31</sup> Azərbaycan Demokratik Respublika. Arxivniye dokumenty Velikobritanii. p. 178 – 182.

<sup>32</sup> Azərbaycan Parlamenti nin açılışı, 7 dekabr 1918-ci il// Azərbaycan Xalq Cümhuriyyəti (1918-1920), Parlament (Stenoqrafik hesabatlar). 1 cild. Bakı, "Azərbaycan n" nəşriyyatı, 1998, p. 33-49.





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On 13 January 1919, British troops captured the city of Petrovsk, which had a railway connection with both Vladikavkaz and Baku. The south territory of Petrovsk was captured in accordance with the interests of England. An oil-bearing region was located between Petrovsk and Derbent, where British companies such as Nobel and McGarvey were operating at the Kayakent and Berikey stations before the war. Petrovsk was needed as an ancillary base for the British Royal Navy.<sup>33</sup>

The position of the British occupation command was ambivalent: while it supported the Volunteer Army, which defended the integrity and indivisibility of Russia, and local governments striving for independence on the one hand; at the same time. W. M. Thompson asked them to help Denikin's army in the fight against the Bolsheviks.<sup>34</sup>

The close relationship with Imam N. Gotsinski was continued by the Turkish officer Shukri Bey.<sup>35</sup> The Turkish command tried to regularise life in Dagestan. The Turkish command attempted to conduct the following measures:<sup>36</sup>

- 1) Turkization of the Dagestan schools. It was supported by the local intelligentsia.
- 2) Registration and seizure of weapons, which caused hostility among the population. Let's remind that the disarmament of the mountainous people has always been a severe problem (in Tsarism, under the Whites and the Bolsheviks period).
- 3) To mobilise the Dagestanis.
- 4) To introduce the Turkish military regulations.
- 5) The usage of Turkish forms was introduced.
- 6) To start teaching the Turkish military language.
- 7) After the withdrawal of the Russian officers, those who remained were given Turkish ranks.

In Dagestan, some local officers opposed the struggle of the Turks with the Bolsheviks and Russian officers. There were both supporters and opponents who were completely indifferent to the Turkization of the army in Dagestan. One of the adherents of the regiment's Turkization was officer Eldarushev. In Chechnya, Turkization was highly successful upon the

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<sup>33</sup> Тахо-Годи А.А. Революция и контрреволюция в Дагестане. Махачкала, 1927, р. 123.

<sup>34</sup> Заявление дипломатического представителя правительства Горской Республики при Правительстве Азербайджане А.Кантемира министру иностранных дел Горской Республики Г.Баммату о действиях на Северном Кавказе Добровольческой армии, Баку, 11 апреля 1919// ЦГАСО. Ф. 9. Д. 17. Л.6.

<sup>35</sup> Полковник Магомед Джафаров... р. 164 – 165.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid, р. 170, 173 – 177.



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arrival of Colonel Magomed Jafarov in this region - the commands started to be given in Turkish.<sup>37</sup>

According to the Colonel M. Jafarov, "In general, the work of the Turks in Dagestan, Chechnya and Baku was very active. Every (day) month the number of their agents increased. They were everywhere and directed the movement along a certain national-religious channel."<sup>38</sup>

The Turks tried to organise the national liberation struggle of the Muslims of the North Caucasus against the Russians, white and red. There were rumours in the region that help would come from Azerbaijan again. Having gained the territory of Chechnya and part of Ingushetia, the senior chief of the units of the Caucasian Volunteer Army, Major General Shatilov, sent a letter to the Azerbaijani Government on 13 February 1919 from Grozny and handed them out.<sup>39</sup>

In the proclamation, it was noted that the Azerbaijani troops would not come to the aid of the Chechens because their officer corps consisted of Russian officers who would not go against their compatriots. In addition, the British allies located in Baku and Petrovsk would not allow the Azerbaijani troops to do this.<sup>40</sup>

The commander of the British troops in Petrovsk assured the head of the North Caucasian government P. Kotsev that Denikin would not continue military operations. He had established an agreement with the Chechens, Ingush, Balkars and Ossetians to restore peace and was awaiting the decision of the Peace Conference on the independence and borders of the states formed on the parts of the Russian Empire. However, the North Caucasian government should have allowed the Volunteer Army to enter Petrovsk to fight the Bolsheviks and begin to search for them in cities and villages on the territory of the Mountainous Republic.<sup>41</sup>

On 5 March 1919, Azerbaijan announced a diplomatic protest before the allied powers against the violation of the rights of the mountainous people by Denikin.<sup>42</sup> On 6 March 1919, F. Khoyski, on behalf of the ADR government, sent a letter to the commander of the allied forces in Baku, Thompson, which contained a message from the representative of the

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<sup>37</sup> Ibid, p. 170, 173 – 177.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid, p. 167 – 168.

<sup>39</sup> ГААР, ф. 970, оп. 1, i. 23, l. 9 – 10.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid, p. 1 – 3.

<sup>41</sup> Апухтин В. Революционное движение 1905 г. среди горцев Северного Кавказа // Новый Восток, № 13 – 14. p. 160 – 163.

<sup>42</sup> Азербайджан, 9 марта (24 февраля) 1919, № 52.



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Mountainous Republic in the ADR on 26 February 1919. It noted a protest against the actions of the Volunteer Army.<sup>43</sup>

On 7 March 1919, the Georgian Foreign Ministry sent a letter to the diplomatic representative of the Azerbaijani Government in Georgia, noting in complete solidarity on the issue and condemnation of the actions of the Volunteer Army.<sup>44</sup> The representative of the ADR in the Mountainous Republic, A. Akhverdov, asked the Azerbaijani government to send Azerbaijani officers to help the Chechens who fought with the Russians. According to him, a detachment under the command of Kazim Bey, a former officer who served in Azerbaijani units and participated in the operation against the Bolsheviks in Kurdamir and Goychay district, went to defend the North Caucasian Republic.<sup>45</sup>

On 19 April 1919, the Dagestani officers submitted to the Parliament of the Mountainous Republic a statement on the unification of Dagestan to Azerbaijan. The issue was discussed by officers, members of Parliament, clergy, and intellectuals. At first, the officers suggested only joining of Dagestan to Azerbaijan. Thompson and F. Khoyski also discussed this issue. Thompson expressed the opinion that "the position of the Mountain Republic is fragile, and it is likely to disintegrate...But Dagestan should be uniting with Azerbaijan because Dagestan's economic, topographical and other conditions were linked with Azerbaijan."<sup>46</sup>

However, at this meeting, Thompson complained about the calls of the Azerbaijani government to help the North Caucasian government. According to Thompson, the organisation of such detachments had created an unfavourable impression in the eyes of the British command. Because the weakening of Denikin meant the strengthening of the Bolsheviks. Khoyski replied that Denikin threatened the independence of the Mountain Republic and could attack Azerbaijan.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> Министр-Председатель и министр иностранных дел АДР Ф. Хойский Его Превосходительству г. командующему Союзными силами в Баку генералу Томсону, от 6 марта 1919 г., № 2003 (2154), Archives d'Ali Mardan-bey Topchibachi, carton n 4/1. Le Centre d'études des mondesrusse, caucasienetcentre-européen, l'Ecole des hautesétudes en sciences sociales (Paris).

<sup>44</sup> Министерство Иностранных Дел Грузинской Республики в МИД Азербайджанской Республики от 7 марта 1919 г., № 1025, Тифлис. Archives d'AliMardan-beyTopchibachi, carton n° 4/1. Le Centre d'études des mondesrusse, caucasienetcentre-européen, l'Ecole des hautesétudes en sciences sociales (Paris).

<sup>45</sup> ГААР, ф. 970, оп. 1, i. 59, l. 13 – 17об.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., p. 21, 25; Азербайджанская Демократическая Республика. 1918 – 1920. Внешняя политика. (Документы и материалы). р. 196 – 198, 215 – 217.

<sup>47</sup> Азербайджан, 6 марта (21 февраля) 1919, № 49; Азербайджан, 9 марта (24 февраля) 1919, № 52; Деникин А.И. Очерки русской смуты. Вооруженные силы Юга России. Распад Российской империи. Октябрь 1918 - январь 1919. Воспоминания, мемуары. Минск: Харвест, 2002, с. 224.



After the capture of the Gudermes station by Volunteer Army, the English Colonel Rowlandson officially announced to the Governor of Chechnya, Colonel Jafarov, that the North Caucasus would enter the sphere of influence of the Volunteer Army, and Dagestan to England. In these conditions, the representatives of Dagestan asked the confirmation of Azerbaijan Government for the joining of Dagestan to the Azerbaijan Republic.<sup>48</sup> The Azerbaijani government could not decide to accept the joining of Mountainous Republic to its. This would mean another open front (there was already one in the west - the Armenian-Azerbaijani) and an even greater deterioration in relations with the Volunteer Army. Despite the assurances of the British, the Volunteer Army occupied Dagestan and took the control of Derbent.<sup>49</sup>

Meanwhile, in Dagestan, a religious-popular movement for independence developed under the leadership of Sheikh-ul-Islam of the Mountain Republic Ali-Haji Akushinsky and in Chechnya, under the leadership of Sheikh Uzun-Haji.<sup>50</sup> The North Caucasian Emirate (September 1919 - March 1920) went down in history as a theocratic state on the territory of Chechnya and Western Dagestan under the protectorate of the "Caliph of the Muslim world, His Majesty the Ottoman Emperor Mehmed Vahideddin VI". It was founded by the Avar sheikh Uzun-Haji.<sup>51</sup> At that time there were three respectable religious figures in the North Caucasus: Imam N. Gotsinski (against the Bolsheviks and a supporter of compromise with Denikin), Sheikh Ali-Haji Akushinsky (against the Whites but tend for cooperation with the Soviet government), Sheikh Uzun-Haji (against the Volunteer Army and the Bolsheviks).<sup>52</sup>

The Turkish officers were serving in the command staff of the Uzun-Haji army; Husein Debrelı (commander of the cavalry) and Ali-Rıza Çorumlu (commander of the artillery).

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<sup>48</sup> ГААР, ф. 970, оп. 1, і. 59, л. 31.

<sup>49</sup> ГААР, ф. 894, оп. 10, і. 62, л. 11, 15, 25, 42 – 42об.

<sup>50</sup> Сводки телеграмм, полученных штабом Главнокомандующего ВСЮР 1919 // РГВА. Ф. 39540. Оп. 1 І. 25. Л. 17, 47, 62, 73, 75, 77, 92; Авторханов А. Краткий историко-культурный очерк о Чечне. Ростов-на-Дону, 1931. р. 16 – 17.

<sup>51</sup> Род. в 1848 году в с. Салта Гунибского округа, мюрид Абдурахмана-Хаджи из Согратля, учился в Саудовской Аравии, Сирии и Турции. Участник восстания 1877 года, был арестован и сослан на 7 лет в Новозинский уезд Самарской губернии. Через 4 года сбежал и вернулся в Дагестан. Второй раз был арестован в 1910 году за постройку медресе в родном селении Салта. Находился под домашним арестом, потом год находился в Темир-Хан-Шуре. Через два года бежал из Астрахани. См. М. З. Нахибашев. р. 52, 55. (He was born in 1848 in Salta village which was situated in Gunib region. He was clergyman who was studied in Saudi Arabia, Syria, and Turkey. He was participant of 1877 uprising and was captured and exiled for 7 years to the Samara province. After 4 year he returned to Dagestan. The second time he was arrested in 1910 for the construction of a madrasah in his native village of Salta. He was under house arrest, then spent a year in Temir-Khan-Shura. Two years later, he fled from Astrakhan.)

<sup>52</sup> Нахибашев М. З. Узун-Хаджи Салтинский – общественно-политический и религиозный деятель Дагестана и Чечни. ИД «Эпоха», Махачкала, 2009. р. 56.



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Both of these officers stayed with Uzun-Haji until his death and the liquidation of the emirate. Nuri Pasha stayed connected with them.<sup>53</sup> Turkish officer Husein Efendi was appointed as a naib of Shatoev. After the removal from command of the Bolshevik commander, N. Gikalo took the post of commander of the 5th Army.<sup>54</sup>

The British command initially supported the Muslim monarchy of Uzun-Haji and hoped to use it to take the Grozny oil and prevent it from the access of Bolsheviks. The Allies acted in full accordance with 14 points of the plan for the "solution of the Russian problem" which drawn up by American President Woodrow Wilson. Wilson stated that "... in the near future, the essence of the Russian problem seems to boil down to the following: 1) recognition of temporary governments; 2) providing assistance to these governments and treating the Caucasus as part of the problem of the Turkish Empire" for which the US received a mandate.<sup>55</sup>

Military instructors headed by Kerim Bey arrived from Turkey through Georgia to the North Caucasian Emirate. They also brought weaponry.<sup>56</sup> Nuri Pasha organised the unification of the groups of Ali-Haji Akushinsky and Sheikh Uzun Haji.<sup>57</sup> The unexpected death of Sheikh Uzun-Haji thwarted the plans for the liberation of the Caucasus.<sup>58</sup>

Meanwhile, the commander of the British forces in the Transcaucasus, Major General G. N. Cory, had replaced Thomson in May. On behalf of the allies, he issued a note to Denikin expressing a protest. General Cory, in a message dated 11 June 1919, told N. B. Usubbekov that the British command had established a demarcation line between the Armed Forces of the South of Russia and the Caucasian republics. It was "from the mouth of the Bzyb river to the north along this river, to the border of Sukhum, to the east along the regions: Sukhum, Kutaisi, Tbilisi, Dagestan to a point which located five miles south of the Petrovsk-

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<sup>53</sup> Нахибашев М. З. Узун-Хаджи Салгинский. р. 90, 99, 113.

<sup>54</sup> Даудов А. Х., Месхидзе Д. И. Национальная государственность горских народов Северного Кавказа (1917 – 1924). СПб., 2009. р. 69.

<sup>55</sup> Notes of a Meeting held at Presidents Wilsons House in the Place des Etats-Unis, Paris. Wednesday, May 14, 1919, at P.M.// NA. CAB.29/38.Fol. 44.

<sup>56</sup> Рукописный фонд Института ИАЭ ДНЦ РАН. Ф. 2. Оп.1. I. 60. l. 125 – 126 // Союз объединенных горцев ... р. 350 – 351; Эмиров. р. 99 – 102.

<sup>57</sup> ГАРФ. Ф. 6144. Оп.1. Д. 11. Л. 1 – 10; Империалистическая интервенция на Дону и Северном Кавказе. / Под ред. И. И. Минца. М., 1988. р. 221 – 223; Рукописный фонд института ИАЭ ДНЦ РАН. Ф. 2. Оп.1. Д. 151. Л. 103 – 104 // Союз объединенных горцев... р. 338 – 339.

<sup>58</sup> Цит. по Даудов А. Х., Месхидзе Д. И... р. 74 – 75.



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Dagestan railway. From there to the southeast in parallel, but five miles south of the railway to a point on the Caspian coast, five miles south of Petrovsk."<sup>59</sup>

According to this, Denikin should not have moved south from this line, and Azerbaijan and Georgia - to the north. Thus, the British government was counting in most of the territory of Dagestan in the sphere of influence of Azerbaijan. Instead, the British government planned to expand its sphere of influence to an additional segment of the coastline, providing it with an advantage in the Caspian Sea. Thereby it was intended to strengthen the Transcaucasian defensive line.<sup>60</sup>

In early August 1919, the British command announced the establishment of a new demarcation line between Denikin's Volunteer Army and the Transcaucasian republics. This was established along the northern border of Azerbaijan, including the Qusar district. In a letter from G.N. Cory to the Chairman of the Council of Ministers N. Usubbekov which was written on 4 August 1919, it was reported:

"It was decided to change the demarcation line laid earlier between the Denikin and the Transcaucasian republics so that it includes Dagestan in the sphere of the Volunteer Army. The new demarcation line was like that: from the mouth of the Bzyb river to the north along northern border of the Sukhum, Kutaisi and Tiflis provinces, from here to the east, along the southern border of the Dagestan region."<sup>61</sup>

Thus, Dagestan passed into Denikin's sphere of influence. On 10 August 1919, Minister of Foreign Affairs M. Jafarov submitted a note to the commander of the allied forces in Baku, General Schatelwort. It was noted that the Azerbaijani government considered the establishment of a new line to be entirely unacceptable. Government insists on the previous one. The Georgian government decided to "work with the Azerbaijani government on the restoration of the old line to Petrovsk on the Dagestan front."<sup>62</sup> However, Denikin continued to defend that if hostile actions against the troops of the South of Russia did not follow from Azerbaijan, they would not cross the border of Dagestan along the Samur River. In general,

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<sup>59</sup> ГААР, ф. 970, оп. 3, д. 4, л. 11-11 об., АПП ОД УДПАР, ф. 277, оп. 2, і. 22, л. 103 – 105, 115 об.; Азербайджанская Демократическая Республика. 1918 – 1920. Внешняя политика. (Документы и материалы). С. 217, 266 – 268.

<sup>60</sup> ГААР, ф. 970, оп. 3, і. 4, л. 11 – 11об., 18; АПП ОД УДПАР, ф. 277, оп. 2, і. 22, л. 103 – 105, 115 об.; Азербайджанская Демократическая Республика. 1918 – 1920. Внешняя политика. (Документы и материалы). С. 217, 266 – 268; Раевский А. Английская интервенция и мусаватское правительство. Из истории интервенции и контрреволюции в Закавказье. Баку, 1927. р. 96 – 99, 103 – 104; Эмиров Н. П. Из истории военной интервенции и гражданской войны в Дагестане. Махачкала, 1972.р. 15 – 17.

<sup>61</sup> Азербайджанская Демократическая Республика. 1918 – 1920. Внешняя политика. (Документы и материалы). р. 308.

<sup>62</sup> ГААР, ф. 894, оп. 10, і. 62, л. 74.



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Denikin was considering Azerbaijan a part of Russia. However, before the decision of the issue by the All-Russian People's Assembly, he recognised the independence of Azerbaijan and assured that he had no hostile intentions.<sup>63</sup>

In November-December 1919, Denikin's main forces were defeated on the Southern and South-eastern Fronts by the Bolsheviks.<sup>64</sup> At the same time, the commander-in-chief of the North Caucasian front, Turkish General Nuri Pasha, in the event of the Russian Bolsheviks coming close to Dagestan, intended to unification Dagestan to the Republic of Azerbaijan. In this way, Dagestan could be preventing the annexation of its territory by Soviet Russia.<sup>65</sup>

Nuri Pasha was supposed to unite the scattered military units of the mountainous people under the banner of Islam to fight against the Bolsheviks (a new threat that arose after the defeat of the Whites). The Turkish general organised negotiations between the commanders and leaders of Dagestan and the North Caucasus, Ali-Haji Akushinsky, Ibrahim-Haji, Kazim-Bey, Najmuddin Gotsinski and Kaitmaz Alikhanov and promising them military assistance from Azerbaijan.<sup>66</sup>

In the mountains, Imam N. Gotsinski, with Turkish military units, fought against the Bolsheviks. The Bolsheviks noted that "the Dagestanis had a connection with Elisavetpol" and all anti-Bolshevik movements in places such as Lankaran, Tbilisi, and Petrovsk, were associated "with the action of the Elisavetopol Beys, khans, who clearly express a Turkish orientation... The Musavat Party led all the fighting of Muslims."<sup>67</sup>

The Azerbaijani representatives tried to conduct diplomatic negotiations with the British command for the liberation of Dagestan from the occupation. General Holmen, who replaced General Briggs as chief of the British mission at Denikin's headquarters, organised a meeting between the diplomatic representative of Azerbaijan at the Kuban government J. Rustambekov<sup>68</sup> and General Lukomsky. At that time, Denikin was not in Taganrog. But he also refused to negotiate the neutralisation of Dagestan but underlined that the Volunteer

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<sup>63</sup> Ibid., p. 72.

<sup>64</sup> Гайдар Баммат. Кавказ и русская революция (политический аспект), p. 29-30.

<sup>65</sup> Деникин А. И. Очерки русской смуты. Москва, 1991, p. 195-196.

<sup>66</sup> Самурский (Эфендиев) Н. Гражданская война в Дагестане. Махачкала, 1925, p. 11-12.

<sup>67</sup> РГАСПИ, ф. 71, оп. 33, i. 686, l. 5.

<sup>68</sup> Рустамбеков являлся сначала дипломатическим представителем Азербайджанской республики при Правительстве Кубанской Рады в Екатеринодаре, а затем – на Дону. (Rustambekov was first the diplomatic representative of the Republic of Azerbaijan in the Government of the Kuban Rada in Yekaterinodar, and then on the Don)



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Army did not intend to encroach on the integrity of Azerbaijan.<sup>69</sup> Thus, all kinds of negotiations did not lead to an agreement on the neutralisation of Dagestan.

Denikin's main forces were defeated by Bolsheviks in November-December.<sup>70</sup> The leaving of the Volunteer Army from the territory of the North Caucasus has been outlined. The retreat of the regular troops of the Whites from the territory was due to the commanders of the Armed Forces of the south of Russia being insufficient to introduce themselves to the population of the North Caucasus. The policy of Russification, double standards in many ways looked like the autocratic order of tsarist Russia. Denikin's great-power policy pushed the mountainous people away from him. It made it possible for the Bolsheviks, who proclaimed the idea of self-determination of nations, to win over a part of the Muslim population to their side. On the one hand, pragmatism and populist tactics on the other ultimately directed many peoples of the North Caucasus to the Bolsheviks ("The Declaration of the Rights of the Peoples of Russia" the right to self-determination preserving Sharia courts and such).<sup>71</sup>

The diplomatic representative of the ADR in the North Caucasus Republic A. Akhverdov appealed to the Chairman of the Allied Command with a demand to withdraw the Volunteer Army from the demarcation line. The ADR Foreign Minister appealed to the commander of the British forces in Baku with a protest against the demand of General Erdeli, which violates the decree of the British government and the rights of the Republic of Azerbaijan; "Temir-Khan-Shura lies south of the demarcation line which established by the British Government."<sup>72</sup>

The Azerbaijani side insisted that Dagestan had to be declared as a neutral zone. Usubbekov announced that the Azerbaijani government insists:

"First of all, that Dagestan had to become a neutral zone between Azerbaijan and the Volunteer Army. In accordance with this purpose units of volunteers had to leave area. We insist, we were promising to recognise the existing status quo. With a positive resolution of these basic issues, we

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<sup>69</sup> ГААР. Ф. 970. Оп. 1. I. 78. L. 22, 22 об., 23; АПДУПАР. Ф. 277. Оп. 2. I. 22. L. 120 - 121; Раевский А. р. 111–112.

<sup>70</sup> Аликберов Г.А. Победа социалистической революции в Дагестане. Махачкала, 1968. р. 230-231; Раевский А. Английская интервенция и мусаватское правительство. Из истории интервенции и контрреволюции в Закавказье. Баку, 1927. р. 165-166.

<sup>71</sup> Декларация прав народов России, 2(15) ноября 1917 г.// Декреты Советской власти. Т.1. М., Гос.изд-во полит.литературы, 1957, р. 39-41.

<sup>72</sup> ГААР, ф. 894, оп. 10, i. 62, l. 56 – 56 об., 58, 64 – 66, 67, 70, 79, 81; ГААР, ф. 970, оп. 1, i. 74, l. 9; ГААР, ф. 970, оп. 3, i. 4, l.18.





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conclude a trade agreement for the exchange of goods, a postal and telegraph convention, establish direct railway connections, etc."<sup>73</sup>

According to Usubbekov, the Whites' representative of the Volunteer Army in the South Caucasus, N. N. Baratov, responded: "He did not object to the neutralisation of Dagestan in the absence of aggressiveness on our part. Of course, there is no doubt about it."<sup>74</sup>

For the Transcaucasus issue, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the ADR M. Jafarov offered to the British High Commissioner Wardrop:

"There are three solutions. Firstly, General Denikin's army should leave territory of Dagestan and withdraw them beyond the demarcation line which established by the British command. This line stretches five miles south of the Vladikavkaz-Petrovsk and Petrovsk railway: 1) Temporarily control of the Dagestan region transferring to the government of the Republic of Azerbaijan, which assumes the obligation to fully provide the security of Denikin's army from the attacks of the Bolsheviks. 2) Providing the population of Dagestan with the opportunity to organise their own power under the control of the allied powers. 3) Establishing a special governor-general in Dagestan under the leadership of British or American governor-general."<sup>75</sup>

On 15 November 1919, in his memorandum, R. MacDonald informed his government that Azerbaijan had applied for a mandate to govern the country, and take "measures to secure the Denikin's army".<sup>76</sup> Wardrop reported that "If Azerbaijan could take control of Dagestan, the region could be saved from the Bolsheviks in a short time."<sup>77</sup>

In turn, the Allied Majlis of the Caucasus Mountaineers made a protest note to Gaskell against establishing a demarcation line between Dagestan and the Volunteer Army. The Majlis emphasised that they opposed the establishment of a demarcation line between a part of the Mountainous Republic and the Volunteer Army, not the entire territory of the Mountainous Republic.<sup>78</sup>

Baku was conducting diplomatic negotiations with the British occupation command. In the meantime, Turkish officers under the command of officer Kazim Bey were conducting military leadership of the national detachments of the Kaitag, Tabasarans, Lezgins, and

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<sup>73</sup> Азербайджанская Демократическая Республика. 1918 – 1920. Внешняя политика. (Документы и материалы). р. 338 – 339.

<sup>74</sup> Азербайджанская Демократическая Республика. 1918 – 1920. Внешняя политика. (Документы и материалы). р. 338 – 339.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid., р. 358 – 359.

<sup>76</sup> Азербайджанская Демократическая Республика. Архивные документы Великобритании. р. 443.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid., р. 467.

<sup>78</sup> № 41 Из протокола № 16 заседания Союзного меджлиса горцев Кавказа, 29 сентября 1919 г., Тифлис // Гражданская война в России и мусульмане. Сборник документов и материалов. р. 503.



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others. They launched a struggle against the Bolsheviks, liberated Madzhalis and Derbent. The commander-in-chief of the North Caucasian front, Nuri Pasha's task was to annex Dagestan to the Republic of Azerbaijan in the event of the Russian Bolsheviks approaching Dagestan. There were two Turkish officers under the command of Nuri Pasha: Colonel Rufat Bey and Colonel Haydar Bey (he was front supply chief). They began to form infantry divisions in Dagestan and cavalry divisions in Chechnya. A detachment of Turkish troops, a Turkish hospital, a treasury, and a commandant with 10 - 12 soldiers were formed in Gunib.<sup>79</sup>

According to the documents of 1920 Nuri Pasha was appointed – "Commander-in-Chief of the Dagestan Front" by the Defense Council of Dagestan and the North Caucasus.<sup>80</sup> He was supposed to unite the disparate national parts of the North Caucasus under the banner of Islam to fight the Bolsheviks (a new real threat after the Whites in the region). Nuri Pasha organised meetings between commanders and religious leaders of the region. He planned to liberate the territory of Dagestan, create a new temporary government, and then to gain the Terek region with Uzun-Haji. It was also planned to make an agreement with the Parliament of the North Caucasian Republic, whose members were in Tiflis at that time.<sup>81</sup>

On 28 November 1919, the British Intelligence Bureau in Constantinople reported to London about the constituent assembly of Dagestan, stating that a "decision was made on a meeting of representatives of Muslims of the former Russian Empire and Turkey."<sup>82</sup> The threat of Bolshevik Russia was growing day by day. Let's also again state that they defeated Denikin's army.<sup>83</sup>

On 11 January 1920, the Supreme Council of the Allied Powers in Versailles recognised the national and state sovereignty of Azerbaijan and Georgia *de facto*. Representatives of the Parliament of the Dagestan Republic negotiated with members of the delegations of the Entente powers in Paris. Meetings were about the seizure of the territory of the Terek and Dagestan regions by Soviet Russia in the event of Denikin's defeat, and the formation of the all-Caucasian federation. However, the allied governments considered the issue of the South

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<sup>79</sup> АПДУДПАР, ф. 277, оп. 2, і. 22, л. 60; Деникин А. И. Очерки русской смуты. М., 1991. р. 195 – 196.

<sup>80</sup> Главнокомандующему Дагестанским фронтом Нури паше // ЦГАРД, ф. р. 608, оп.1, і.12, л.111.

<sup>81</sup> АПП ОД УДПАР, Копийный фонд, №218, л. 1; АПП ОД УДПАР, Копийный фонд, №222, л. 1; Süleymanov M. Nuru Paşa. Bakı, 1999. р. 115 – 119; Империалистическая интервенция на Дону и Северном Кавказе. р. 221 – 223; Самурский Н. (Эфендиев). Гражданская война в Дагестане (из воспоминаний). р. 11 – 12.

<sup>82</sup> Азербайджанская Демократическая Республика. Архивные документы Великобритании. р. 430.

<sup>83</sup> АПП ОД УДПАР, ф. 277, оп. 2, і. 23, л. 17 – 17 об.; Кравченко И. Характерные черты наступательных операций Красной армии в гражданской войне // Военно-исторический журнал. М., 1976, № 3, л. 98 – 99.



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Caucasus resolved, and the recognition of the independence of the North Caucasian Republic was possible only within Azerbaijan.<sup>84</sup>

Subsequently, H. Bammatt (representative of the North Caucasian Republic in Paris) returned to the Caucasus and tried to negotiate the creation of the Caucasian Confederation with the Mountain Republic's right to autonomy within Azerbaijan. Foreign Minister of ADR F. Khoyski ordered A. Topchibashev to protect the interests of the mountainous people. In a special message, it was written that Wardrop did not find it possible to capture Dagestan by Azerbaijani troops.<sup>85</sup>

Under these conditions, A. Topchibashev suggested to Lloyd George *de facto* recognition of the Mountainous Republic and received a positive response for his arguments. The Supreme Council decided to *de facto* recognition of Dagestan. On 16 January 1920, he stated at the meeting in Paris with representatives of America, Great Britain, France, and Italy: "We hope that in order to protect the entire Transcaucasia, and especially Azerbaijan from the north, it is rational to recognise the republic of the mountaineers (Dagestan), which then forms a buffer state against the attacks of the Bolsheviks. These mountainous people are actually brave community."<sup>86</sup>

In February 1920, at a meeting of the Supreme Circle of the Don, Kuban and Terek (the new name of Denikin's organisation), Denikin recognised the independence of the North Caucasian republic.<sup>87</sup> This was due to the rapid onslaught of the Bolsheviks to the North Caucasus.<sup>88</sup> On the initiative of the High Commissioner of Transcaucasia, Colonel Gaskel, who defended the rights of the North Caucasian peoples at the Versailles Conference, the American section of the conference sent a request to the representative in Yekaterinodar about the entry of the Volunteer Army into Dagestan. "Is there a violation of the agreement with the North Caucasian republic of 23 April?" The answer was "the North Caucasian republic does

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<sup>84</sup> АПП...i. 22, 1. 144 – 146; Азербайджанская Демократическая Республика. 1918 – 1920. Внешняя политика. (Документы и материалы), 632. р. 436; Расулзаде М. Э. О пантуризме. р. 8 – 9.

<sup>85</sup> АПП... i. 22, 1. 144 – 146.

<sup>86</sup> Азербайджанская Демократическая Республика. Архивные документы Великобритании. р. 533.; ГААР. Ф. 897. Оп. 1. I. 31. L. 7 – 9; Грузия, 4 марта 1919, № 49; Кадишев А.Б. Интервенция и гражданская война в Закавказье. М., 1960. р. 320; Коренев Д.З. Там же. р. 225 - 229.

<sup>87</sup> АДР. 1918 – 1920. Внешняя политика...р. 545; Кравченко И. С. 98-99; Раевский А. р. 170 – 176; Эмиров Н.П. р. 144-147.

<sup>88</sup> Гагагова Л.С., Исмаилзаде Д.И., Котов В.И., Некрасов А.М., Трепавлов В.В. Россия – Северный Кавказ// Дипломатический вестник//<http://www.In.midru>; Казачество и горцы//<http://www.nasledie.ru>.



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not exist, and therefore no agreements were concluded with it. Dagestan was not occupied but recognised the Russian statehood voluntarily."<sup>89</sup>

In the spring of 1920 Denikin agreed to recognise the power of Nuri Pasha over Dagestan. On 7 February Denikin recognised the independence of Azerbaijan.<sup>90</sup> With the departure of the White Guards and the strengthening of the Bolsheviks, the composition of the Defense Council of Dagestan and the North Caucasus also changed. On 20 March 1920, the commander of the North Caucasian front, Nuri Pasha, returned from the North Caucasus to Azerbaijan with the staff officers and Azerbaijani volunteers. According to Mustapha Butbay, with the departure of the Turkish military, "the forces acting at the expense of Azerbaijan were dispersed."<sup>91</sup>

After the arrival of the Bolsheviks in the North Caucasus, a military occupation regime was established in the national and Cossack regions. The national independence movement was suppressed by the Bolsheviks, who then occupied Dagestan and approached the borders of the ADR in March-April 1920.<sup>92</sup> On 25 April 1920, the Bolsheviks occupied Derbent. They reported to Moscow that "there are no volunteer units in the entire Dagestan region. Only in the mountains Nuri Pasha was campaigning for the independence of Dagestan among the mountainous population with the Azerbaijani money."<sup>93</sup> The seizure of the North Caucasus was necessary for the Bolsheviks to reach the oil of Baku. Ordzhonikidze's noted to Lenin in his telegram: "Without the North Caucasus the capture of Baku and our strengthening there - is absurd."<sup>94</sup>

The North Caucasus was one of the attention points of Europe, but nothing was done to liberate it. For the interest of England to the petrol of the North Caucasus there was a meeting between Gotsinski and Williams (he was captain or major). Williams came with the Turkish

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<sup>89</sup> Деникин А. И. Очерки русской смуты. Вооруженные силы юга России. Заключительный период борьбы. Январь 1919 – март 1920. Воспоминания, мемуары. Минск: Харвест, 2002. p. 175.

<sup>90</sup> Азербайджанская Демократическая Республика. 1918 – 1920. Внешняя политика. (Документы и материалы). p. 545; Раевский А. Английская интервенция и мусаватское правительство. p. 170 – 176; Эмиров Н. П. Из истории военной интервенции и гражданской войны в Дагестане. p. 144 – 147.

<sup>91</sup> Бутбай Мустафа. Воспоминания о Кавказе / Пер. с тур. акад. З. М. Буниятова. Махачкала: журнал «Наш Дагестан», 1993. p. 32.

<sup>92</sup> Начдиву Куришко Начальник кавдивизии Военкомдив Кулешов, Темир-Хан-Шура, 13/4.1920 // РГВА. Ф. 7717. Оп.1 I. 60. L. 38. L. 164, 179 – 180, 213; Взятие Дербента и Петровска // Бюллетени Революционного Совета Оборона // ЦГАРД. Ф. Р. 608. Оп. 2. I. 3. L.1

<sup>93</sup> Киров и Орджоникидзе Тухачевскому по проводу// РГВА. Ф. 195. Оп. 3. i.198. Оперативные телеграммы. Весна 1920. L. 37 – 38.

<sup>94</sup> РГАСПИ. Ф. 71. Оп. 34. I.1280. L. 40.



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translator, Halil Efendi, and he also brought a letter from Ahmed Khan Avar. Britain wanted to see Gotsinski as an imam and agreed to support him on these conditions:

"That all the oil fields, mines, factories, railways, postal and telegraph networks will be transferred to England in payment of the tsar's debts, for 50 years. From this money, they will be pay 10,000 pounds a year, as well as the amount necessary for expenses. I agreed to these terms, but demanded that 50% of all profits must go to my government. Khasu-Haji and Ansaltinsky were attending at all the negotiations. Williams left after five days. Then Avarsky informed me that the League of Nations agreed for the occupation of the Caucasus by the British. The British were ready to support us if we will begin uprising."<sup>95</sup>

Grozny, the centre of the oil industry, also aroused interest among Russian forces of various directions; the Bolsheviks and Whites.<sup>96</sup> In 1918, British Foreign Secretary Balfour noted that: "The main railway which delivers oil from Baku to Batumi is the only thing that interests me in the Caucasus. I don't care if the locals cut each other to pieces."<sup>97</sup>

After the departure of the British occupation command from the Caucasus and the establishment of the power of the Bolsheviks in the region, Turkish officers and soldiers voluntarily continued to support the Muslims of the Caucasus in their anti-Soviet struggle. They became more active in Dagestan, in the Samur district. In the military reports of the Bolsheviks, it was noted that there are many Turkish spies and various illegal national groups in southern Dagestan. It was also proved that there was an abundance of Turkish gold lira in Dagestan.<sup>98</sup> Turkish emissaries illegally came for Gotsinski (Ali Khadzhiiev, Haji Zahid, Magomed Khalil, etc.). Rumours were spread that the Entente had declared war on Russia. Because of that, Britain and Turkey needed support. It was noted that Chechnya and Dagestan were divided into *naibs*, and Gotsinski strove for Sharia rule under the protectorate of Turkey or Britain.<sup>99</sup> It is difficult to decide the correctness of these statements.

The Bolsheviks cracked down brutally on the last leaders of the anti-Soviet movement. In 1924, the imam of the North Caucasus, Najmuddin Gotsinski, was arrested and then shot. Soviet power was established in the region, for seventy years. All the British and Turkish efforts were useless. Moreover, their rivalry was passed from the Caucasus region to the

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<sup>95</sup> Архивное уголовное дело № 7695 на Гоцинского Нажмуддина. Протокол допроса от 12.10.25 // В объятиях красного дьявола... р. 18 – 19.

<sup>96</sup> Гайдар Бамматов. Кавказ и русская революция. р. 32 – 33.

<sup>97</sup> Даудов А. Х., Месхидзе Д. И. р. 82.

<sup>98</sup> № 529/№ 249 (523) за 21 декабря 1922 г. // Советская деревня глазами ВЧК—ОГПУ—НКВД, 1918—1939. Документы и материалы. Т. 1. 1918—1922 гг. р. 714 – 715.

<sup>99</sup> Письмо секретаря оргбюро РКП(б) Чеченской области Азнарашвили секретарю Юго-Восточного бюро ЦК РКП(б) А. И. Микояну о ситуации в Чечне 22 октября 1923 г. // ЦК РКП(б) – ВКП(б) и национальный вопрос. Книга 1. 1918 – 1933 гг. р. 161.



territory of Turkey. Due to the resistance and struggle of the Turkish people for independence and national freedom, the British colonialists and their allies were finally expelled from Turkey. The power of the GNAT (Grand National Assembly of Turkey) was established under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Pasha.

### **Conclusion**

For centuries, Britain strove for rule over the East and, to achieve this goal, defended its interests toughly in Asia Minor, the Middle East, Central Asia, India, Iran, and the Caucasus. In this period, Britain was colliding with the interests of other great powers, including Russia. In the Caucasus, Britain and Russia fought "proxy wars", coming face to face with each other during the Crimean (Eastern) War (1853-1856). For Britain, the Caucasus was a part of the Greater India project. The First World War, Russia's withdrawal from it, the collapse of the Russian Empire, the change in the state system of Russia, the formation of independent states on the outskirts of the former Russian Empire (including the Caucasus) were the activated plans of London. At the end of March 1918, the so-called "Eastern Committee" was created in Britain under the chairmanship of Lord Curzon. One of the main policies of the committee was about the Caucasus (it must be noted here that during the First World War, Britain accounted for almost 60% of investments in the oil fields of the Caucasus region). Meanwhile, there was no consensus among the representatives of the British establishment about the future of the Caucasus region. According to Lord Curzon, "United Russia" was a threat to British interests in the East. On the other hand, his colleague on the Eastern Committee, Indian Affairs Minister Edward Montague, believed that the Caucasus was completely out of British interests. The representative of the British armed forces who arrived in the South Caucasus, General Thomson, in his first proclamations stated that his troops were "on the land of Russia." And he arrived in the Caucasus to "establish common security in this Russian territory located between the Black and Caspian Seas."<sup>100</sup> Despite the Caucasian War, British troops were actually in the region. Not only were they present, but they also had a serious impact on the entire regional alignment. In particular, they restrained Denikin's Volunteer Army in its advance, towards Georgia, played their game with representatives of the Mountainous People of the North Caucasus. After the Caucasus was sovietised in 1920, it ceased to be the territory of the Great Game of Great Britain. This was because there was no unity about the future of the Caucasus in London; in addition, the war consumed huge material, financial and human resources. Britain was forced to deal with its own domestic political problems and move to a diplomatic settlement of foreign policy tasks. For Britain,

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<sup>100</sup> Азербайджанская Демократическая Республика (1918-1920). Парламент. Стенографические отчеты Баку: Издательство Азербайджан, 1998, р. 7.



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Russia's presence in the region was more acceptable than the strengthening of Turkey's influence. A similar tactic of British foreign policy towards the Caucasus region also continues today.