

ІСТОРИОГРАФІЯ, ДЖЕРЕЛОЗНАВСТВО ТА СПЕЦІАЛЬНІ ІСТОРИЧНІ ДИСЦИПЛІНИ

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THE PROBLEM OF SOCIO-POLITICAL ACTIVITY OF NARIMAN NARIMANOV IN AZERBAIJANI HISTORIOGRAPHY

In different periods there were published works devoted to different aspects of N. Narimanov's life activity. However, the socio-political activity of N. Narimanov has not been the object of study for a long time, which in turn requires its thorough study. In the historiography of the Russian Federation a number of monographs on the problem we study should be mentioned. The most significant among them is the work of Rudolf Ivanov. In this work, thanks to the materials of declassified archives, the details of N. Narimanov's struggle against the perversions of Bolshevism in Azerbaijan are revealed. On 20 February 2020, President of the Republic of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev signed a decree to celebrate the 150th anniversary of N. Narimanov. The decree served as a new impetus for the study of N. Narimanov's socio-political activities. The study of these issues is one of the current problems of historical science and will be important for a long time. Comprehensive study of the problem allows us to properly approach the scientific and methodological study of the environment in which N. Narimanov's socio-political views were formed. Perhaps the most important conclusion of a certain group of historians is that N. Narimanov supported the ADR for some time, but later, realizing the inevitability of the collapse of the republic, he sought ways out of the difficult situation. As a farsighted politician, he saw the causes of this situation in the socialist system, nationalist communist ideology, alliance with Soviet Russia, close ties with the Turkish state and the Turkish people. And it is from this position that he took responsibility for the fate of Azerbaijan.

Key words: *Nariman Narimanov, historiography, political activity, national interests.*

Introduction. After Azerbaijan regained state independence, many periods of our history had to be studied. The great leader Heydar Aliyev said: "I believe that one of the most important tasks now facing the Academy is to write the history of the Azerbaijani people of the XIX–XX centuries" [2, p. 370]. Despite the large number of books, monographs and articles dedicated to the study of N. Narimanov's sociopolitical activities in different years, there were quite different approaches and views on the problem under study. The problem of the historiography of N. Narimanov's socio-political activity has not yet been the subject of research and requires a special study. Many books, monographs, dissertations and scientific articles dedicated to various aspects of N. Narimanov's life and socio-political activities have been written in Azerbaijan so far, but they have not been fully reviewed.

The usage frequency of the topic. This work is extremely necessary because the historiography of N. Narimanov's socio-political activity covers various chronological boundaries. It means that approaches and conclusions on this issue cannot be completely the same, as the analysis of formation of political views of N. Narimanov was carried out for different periods. The aim of the study is to consider the main issues related to the problem of the historiography of the socio-political activity of N. Narimanov, as well as to analyze and systematize the generalized works. The article examines the historiography of the socio-political activity of N. Narimanov in different aspects, forms theoretical generalizations on this topic, and analyzes numerous works of the authors with the resulting conclusions. It should be noted that in Azerbaijan in the 20 years of the twentieth century, there was a struggle between leftist Bolsheviks and rightist nationalists within the framework of

socialist ideology. According to some researchers, N. Narimanov was one of the ideologists, founders of the national movement and a leading figure in the struggle among politicians of Turkic origin operating in Soviet Russia, and in the USSR as a whole.

Research methods. The choice of this topic, in turn, requires historians to address and research several other problems in parallel. Particularly important is the study of national problems that arose in the early years of Soviet power, the struggle of Turkic peoples living in Russia for statehood, the struggle of independent Soviet republics to preserve their independence, the preservation of national thinking and traditions under the domination of socialist ideology. Study and analysis of political views, activity of N. Narimanov in conditions of Bolshevik power is extremely necessary also from the point of view of modern state building. It is known that N. Narimanov had completely different views on both communist ideology and the process of formation and implementation of the socialist system.

Analyses. This step by N. Narimanov is characterised more by a desire to stabilise the situation than by a desire to come to power. Having come to power, he correctly assessed the socio-political situation in the country and sought to maximize the use of the socialist system in the interests of his people, to save his people from the tragedy of the Bolshevik revolution. The way he coped with this task has been investigated and evaluated by a number of historians. While assessing the results of socio-political activity of N. Narimanov under Bolshevik regime in historiography, it is necessary to mention his attitude to economic development, foreign relations, military construction, national-cultural development and religion issues. N. Narimanov paid great attention to the Azerbaijani language and contributed greatly to granting it the status of a state language. Also, it is necessary to note the attention of N. Narimanov to national intelligentsia, protection of them from the threat of death and persecution. It is noteworthy for historians to analyze those reasons why intellectuals of that time, members of ideologically opposite parties treated N. Narimanov with great respect and considered the possibility of working under his leadership.

It is important to study the activity of N. Narimanov for territorial integrity of Azerbaijan, analysis of real reasons of losses that took place at that time, historical realities of that period from the point of view of history and contemporaneity. Activity of N. Narimanov as a head of the government of Azerbaijan and his political line pursued by him against the claims of Soviet Russia is important for investiga-

tion. Though the soviet system collapsed, the study of this issue acquires actuality both from the viewpoint of objective study of our history and formation of the concept of modern international relations. General scientific methods were used in writing the article. Using the method of comparative analysis, various facts and materials were collected and studied, and theoretical generalizations and relevant scientific conclusions were made.

The methods and views of Marxism-Leninism applied in the study of topics related to N. Narimanov were rejected for many years, the issues were studied without leaving the historical context, and at the same time assessed from a general logical point of view. N. Narimanov openly fought against the forces opposing the statehood and national interests of Azerbaijan in Soviet Russia and in the fledgling USSR government. Despite numerous successes, N. Narimanov was dissatisfied with the results of his struggle and openly protested against the USSR leadership. He even declared that Azerbaijan was ready to sever relations with the USSR. There are archival materials about N. Narimanov's attempts to create a secret political organization. Dynamically developing his views on national statehood, he rejected pro-Russian socialist ideology (Bolshevism, which did not value national interests and saw inter-class struggle in bloody confrontation) and the socialist system (which ignored the interests of the petty and middle bourgeoisie). N. Narimanov saw the development of Azerbaijani national statehood in the ideology based on national traditions and in the pro-European socialist system.

Most importantly, all this is recognized by most representatives of the national historiography. Most of the authors who study the activities of N. Narimanov have a number of common features. First of all, the authors noted the essence of N. Narimanov's extraordinary views on the processes of Soviet state-building in Azerbaijan. The exceptional role of N. Narimanov in dismissal of anti-Azerbaijani politicians, training of national personnel involved in the affairs of statehood, preservation of national and cultural values of the Azerbaijani people and saving the nationally minded intelligentsia from the death penalty and persecution of the Soviet regime was also emphasized. Another conclusion is that the struggle for territorial integrity of Azerbaijan from February 1917 to 1923 was characterized by both political and military tensions, geopolitical interests of leading states, national confrontations, external influences and inexcusable territorial losses.

Soviet Russia's recognition of Baku as the capital of Azerbaijan, Zakatala as the territory of Azerbaijan,

registration of Daghlig Garabagh and Nakhichevan as the territory of Azerbaijan by international documents – all this is regarded as the merit of N. Narimanov. The study of social and political activity of N. Narimanov in the Soviet period, to a certain extent contributed to the study of the activities of people working in different spheres of statehood, science, education and culture, who led our people and state throughout our centuries-old history. The study of Azerbaijani Soviet historical literature shows that according to the conditions of that time, N. Narimanov was a true educator, socio-political figure and revolutionary. However, historiography of socio-political activity has not fully considered his activities in the sphere of national statehood. In the memoirs of the 20s, political documents and encyclopedic editions of the 30s, which we have mentioned above, N. Narimanov was regarded as a national dodger and tried to forget his personality.

Of great scientific and historical importance is the approach of historians to study the impact of socio-political activity of N. Narimanov on the formation of his views on the national statehood until 1920. In the 20s, in connection with the thirtieth anniversary of the scientific and social activity and death of N. Narimanov, the articles-memoirs were published. Memoirs of people, who worked together with N. Narimanov in public affairs or were his contemporaries, are very characteristic in terms of studying his national-state views [26, p. 55–57]. N. Narimanov's unconventional views and activities both during his lifetime and after his death were condemned with special emphasis as “nationalism”, “national-tentivism”, “Narimanovism”, i.e. were regarded as bourgeois-nationalist. In this regard, from the mid-20s to the mid-50s of the XX century the ideologists of communism made every effort to forget his name.

After the condemnation of the cult of Stalin at the XX Congress of the CPSU in February 1956, the life of society softened somewhat, the ban on the name of N. Narimanov was lifted, and articles about him began to be published almost a month later. The authors of the works that were published after mid 50's tried to study Narimanov's heritage by analyzing him as a person loyal to Marxist-Leninist worldview principles. Since the marked period, books about N. Narimanov begin to be published, and attempts are also made to make his study necessary. The work of M Rafili [30] covers the activities of N. Narimanov before the First World War; the work of M. Gaziyeu [12] provides general information about his life. The book of V. Mammadov [22], which was the most popular publication of the period, studied the life and activity of N. Narimanov.

An extensive article [15], written by J. Guliyev on the basis of rich archival material in the second half of the 50s, explores the activities of N. Narimanov as a party and Soviet statesman. A number of summarized works published in the 50s give a certain place to N. Narimanov's activity. These publications are regarded positively as the first steps in the study of N. Narimanov's life activities. However, analysis of works devoted to N. Narimanov in the 50s shows that Narimanovian study started its initial development at this time. That is, the emphasis was mainly on his activity as a revolutionary and writer, and only indirect notes were made about his state activity. During this period, works devoted to various aspects of N. Narimanov's activities began to appear. In this regard, we should especially note the monograph by F. Kocharli, dedicated to the life and political views of N. Narimanov [19].

Discussions. This work of the period can be considered one of the most valuable works devoted to Narimanov. H. Akhmedov's book focuses on the merits of N. Narimanov in the process of creating the Soviets [4], and in the work of M. Gaziyeu the historical periods of life and bibliography of N. Narimanov are presented in chronological order [13]. In the 70s, in connection with the 100th anniversary of N. Narimanov, extensive official government decisions and party documents were adopted for the first time. The active political and organizational activities of Heydar Aliyev, the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan in connection with the 100th anniversary of N. Narimanov played a decisive role in this work [25].

Particularly noteworthy was H. Aliyev's speech at a solemn meeting dedicated to the 100th anniversary of N. Narimanov, the opening of his monuments in Baku and Ulyanovsk as a tribute to his historical services. The national leader Heydar Aliyev was the initiator of celebrating the 100th anniversary of N. Narimanov, the construction of his monument in Baku, as well as the immortalization of his memory outside our country. The publication of these documents together is a valuable contribution to the study of N. Narimanov's activities [1]. After this event, new steps were taken in the field of in-depth scientific study of N. Narimanov's heritage, and works written on the basis of rich archival material appeared.

M. Mammadov's book is extremely valuable as one of the first steps in revealing the essence of N. Narimanov's attitude to the native language [23]. The bibliographical index prepared for the 100th anniversary of N. Narimanov's birth [26] played an undoubtedly important role in the study of N. Narimanov's life and

work. Akhmedova's book is dedicated to the revolutionary struggle of N. Narimanov, who left an indelible mark in history. Also, in the work of T. Akhmedova there is information about the difficult way of life, educational and democratic activities of N. Narimanov. [8]. N. Narimanov's pedagogical ideas are widely commented in the book by H. Akhmedov [5]. It is noteworthy that those who accused N. Narimanov of nationalism and those who defended him spoke from a Marxist-Leninist position. With the weakening of the Soviet system in the conditions of the late 1980s and early 1990s, research into N. Narimanov's legacy widened and the controversy characteristic of transitional periods in history emerged.

Some of the authors of the works, especially those who are well acquainted with N. Narimanov's legacy, the publication of which was banned during the Soviet era, have studied his previously unpublished works and provided an objective assessment of his national-klonist views based on new values. Others took a subjective stance, separating historical events and processes from the environment in which they existed, also denying historical truths in newspaper articles in which emotions prevailed over historical reality.

They unreasonably accused N. Narimanov of naivety towards communist ideology, ties with Russia and neglect of national interests. The hatred of some authors towards Bolshevism was unfairly and unjustifiably addressed to N. Narimanov. The approach of these authors stemmed from the contradictions of the transition period, hence, they were not capable of reflecting the objective historical reality. Also, they did not withstand even the slightest criticism, which contradicts the generally accepted methodological principles of historical research in the world. A. Gadzhieva first studied the topic "Attitude to religion in the theoretical and philosophical heritage of N. Narimanov" as the subject of her dissertation [9]. B. Gahramanov studied in detail the socio-political activities of N. Narimanov [14]. After the collapse of the USSR, restoration of state independence of the Azerbaijani people, elimination of Marxist-Leninist ideological stereotypes and restrictions, favourable conditions were created for the objective study of Soviet history and personalities.

In this direction, first of all, we should mention the works of Sh. Gurbanov [16–18], F. Akhmedova [6–7], M. Sattarov [33], G. Hasanov [10; 11], G. Mammadli [24], Z. Farzaliyev [34]. Many works have been written about the life and activity of the outstanding public, political and state figure of the Azerbaijani people – N. Narimanov, who left an

unforgettable trace in our history. Although much has been written about the life and work of N. Narimanov, the historiography of his public and political activities for a long time has not been the subject of study, which in turn requires its careful study. The work of B. Rafiev [29] explores issues of direct relevance of N. Narimanov's activities over time, as well as providing a comprehensive response to the accusations made against him by some authors. The modern national historiography emphasizes that N. Narimanov had different views on the Turkistan policy of the Soviet Russia while working in Moscow. His critical approach to this policy, the Turkic position in activity, the attitude to Turkey, Turkic peoples and the Turkestan figure are immeasurably important to study. In general, the study of the same fate of many Turkic peoples in the twentieth century is important both from a historical point of view and in terms of benefiting from the relationship of independent Azerbaijan with Turkey, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan and Kyrgyzstan in our time. In the historiography of the Russian Federation we should mention a number of monographs on the problem we study. The most significant among them is the work of Rudolf Ivanov [19, p. 1].

This work, thanks to the materials of declassified archives, reveals details of Nariman Narimanov's struggle against the perversions of Bolshevism in Azerbaijan. N. Narimanov saw the future of Azerbaijan not only with his Turkic brothers, but also with his brothers in common fate and social share – the Russian Bolsheviks. The bibliographical index prepared for the 125th anniversary of N. Narimanov [27] undoubtedly became an important contribution to the study of the problem of historiography of socio-political activity of N. Narimanov. On February 20, 2020 President of the Republic of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev signed a decree on holding the 150th anniversary of Nariman Narimanov. The event highlighted the fact that: "Nariman Narimanov defended to the last the fateful interests of our people, as national interests for him were always above all. He paid special attention to preservation of the cultural heritage of our past, issues of purity of our native language, and made every effort to develop education and culture, respecting the personalities who were the bearers of the national ideology of the time".

The order served as a new impetus for the study of socio-political activities of N. Narimanov [31, p. 1]. After the Order, a number of valuable works and articles on the study of socio-political activity of N. Narimanov appeared. First of all, we should mention the work of R. Aliyev and many other authors

[3; 21; 28; 32]. The significance of these works is very high, as they introduced new valuable materials on this topic into scientific circulation.

Conclusions. The conducted researches on the problem of the historiography of the social and political activity of N. Narimanov allowed us to come to certain conclusions and note the following points:

– Different approach of historians of different generations to the attitude of N. Narimanov to the national issue after the February Revolution of 1917, to the October Revolution and the first years of Soviet power, to the situation in Azerbaijan on the eve of the April events, to the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic: – Analysis of socio-political activity of N. Narimanov before April 1920, studying the roots of his communist ideology as a nationalist dodger in the Soviet period, his views on the Turkestan policy of Soviet Russia, the essence of the national movement. Attempts to study the role of N. Narimanov in the formation and implementation of this political movement were more clearly observed in the 80–90s of the 20th century;

– Approaches and attitude of historians to study of territorial conflicts in South Caucasus after February Revolution, general situation of 1918–1920, April 1920 and 1920–1923 and struggle of N. Narimanov

for territorial integrity of Azerbaijan differ and sometimes even contradictory;

– Study of the activity of N. Narimanov in the process of Soviet state building, the views on national statehood, the essence of the contradictions with the Bolshevik policy, personnel policy, the position and policy of Turkism, the activities on national-cultural development, the care of the national intelligentsia, the policy of granting state status to the Azerbaijani language, Islam, the study of his attitude to religion, his position in establishing a socially oriented economic system and his policy against the attempts of loss of nationality;

– Relevance of the issues of the essence, results of socio-political activity of N. Narimanov, his positions in many other issues. The problem of how historians of the previous epoch were truthful in their approach to these issues. It means that the issues under consideration are waiting for their further investigation. Summing up our study, it should be noted that the article is the first step in the study of the problem of the historiography of socio-political activity of N. Narimanov. At the same time, it is expected that our conclusions and inferences will serve as an impetus to launch new research in this field.

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Бахшалиев С.Ф. ПРОБЛЕМА ОБЩЕСТВЕННО-ПОЛИТИЧЕСКОЙ ДЕЯТЕЛЬНОСТИ НАРИМАНА НАРИМАНОВА В АЗЕРБАЙДЖАНСКОЙ ИСТОРИОГРАФИИ

В разные периоды издавались работы, посвященные разным сторонам жизнедеятельности Н. Нариманова. Общественно-политическая деятельность Н. Нариманова долгое время не была объектом изучения, что, в свою очередь, требует тщательного рассмотрения. В историографии Российской Федерации следует отметить ряд монографий по исследуемой нами проблеме. Самой значительной среди них является работа Рудольфа Иванова. В этой работе, благодаря материалам рассекреченных архивов, раскрываются подробности борьбы Н. Нариманова с извращениями большевизма в Азербайджане. 20 февраля 2020 года Президент Азербайджанской Республики Ильхам Алиев подписал указ о праздновании 150-летия Н. Нариманова. Указ послужил новым импульсом для изучения общественно-политической деятельности Н. Нариманова. Изучение этих вопросов – одна из актуальных проблем исторической науки, которая будет актуальной еще долгое время. Комплексное изучение проблемы позволяет правильно подойти к научно-методическому рассмотрению той среды, в которой формировались общественно-политические взгляды Н. Нариманова. Пожалуй, самым важным выводом определенной группы историков является то, что Н. Нариманов какое-то время поддерживал Азербайджанскую Демократическую Республику, но позже, осознавая неизбежность ее распада, искал пути выхода из сложной ситуации. Как дальновидный политик, он видел причины сложившейся ситуации в социалистической системе, националистической коммунистической идеологии, выход же – в союзе с Советской Россией, тесных связях с турецким государством и турецким народом. И именно с этой позиции он взял на себя ответственность за судьбу Азербайджана.

Ключевые слова: Нариман Нариманов, историография, политическая деятельность, национальные интересы.

Бахшалієв С.Ф. ПРОБЛЕМА СУСПІЛЬНО-ПОЛІТИЧНОЇ ДІЯЛЬНОСТІ НАРИМАНА НАРИМАНОВА В АЗЕРБАЙДЖАНСЬКІЙ ІСТОРІОГРАФІЇ

У різні періоди видавалися роботи, присвячені різним сторонам життєдіяльності Н. Наріманова. Суспільно-політична діяльність Н. Наріманова тривалий час не була об'єктом вивчення, що, своєю чергою, вимагає ретельного розгляду. В історіографії Російської Федерації варто зазначити низку монографій щодо досліджуваної нами проблеми. Найзначнішою є робота Рудольфа Іванова. У цій праці завдяки матеріалам розсекречених архівів розкриваються подробиці боротьби Н. Наріманова зі збоченнями більшовизму в Азербайджані. 20 лютого 2020 року Президент Азербайджанської Республіки Ільхам Алієв підписав указ про відзначення 150-річчя Н. Наріманова. Указ послужував новим імпульсом вивчення суспільно-політичної діяльності Н. Наріманова. Вивчення цих питань – одна

з актуальних проблем історичної науки, що буде актуальною ще довгий час. Комплексне вивчення проблеми дає змогу правильно підійти до науково-методичного розгляду того середовища, у якому формувалися суспільно-політичні погляди Н. Наріманова. Мабуть, найважливішим висновком певної групи істориків є те, що М. Наріманов якийсь час підтримував Азербайджанську Демократичну Республіку, але пізніше, усвідомлюючи неминучість її розпаду, шукав шляхи виходу зі складної ситуації. Як далекоглядний політик, він бачив причини ситуації, що склалася в соціалістичній системі, націоналістичній комуністичній ідеології, вихід же – у союзі з Радянською Росією, тісних зв'язках із турецькою державою та турецьким народом. І саме із цієї позиції він узяв на себе відповідальність за долю Азербайджану.

Ключові слова: Наріман Наріманов, історіографія, політична діяльність, національні інтереси.