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## Projects Of The State Structure Of The Caucasus Of Emigrants-Caucasians In The International Space: Based On The Materials Of The Organization "Prometey".

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### ABSTRACT

In the article, based on the methods of the new intellectual history and the new local history, official documents of the Caucasian emigration were analyzed, which made it possible to reveal the evolution of the views of the emigre organizations' leaders on the structure of the Caucasian confederation, trace their literary and political practices in accordance with the ideas of the confederative organization of the republics of Azerbaijan, Armenia, Georgia and The North Caucasus. The study of sources related to the organizers and members of the organization Prometheus was able to get acquainted with its goals and plans, understand the nature of internal disagreements, the peculiarities of the international space of this movement.

**Keywords:** Caucasus, North Caucasus, federation, confederation, Union of United Highlanders of the North Caucasus, Dagestan and Abkhazia, Committee for the Liberation of the Caucasus, Committee for the Independence of the Caucasus, "Prometey" magazine.

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## INTRODUCTION

In the modern world, the problems of the correlation of globalization and glocaality, in the context of which the issues of the life of ethnic groups and their state existence are exacerbated, the history of national relations and national-state construction has become increasingly relevant both for science and for social practices. Ideas and projects on the structure of the future of the Caucasus both within Russia and in confrontation with it in the first half of the 20th century. more than once were the object of historiography in its various configurations from the works of Soviet and Russian researchers to the work of Caucasian emigrants.

However, the views of Caucasian politicians on the statehood of the Caucasus in the international space in the period from 1917 to the 1940s, although they attracted the attention of researchers, but the question of the international space remained unlighted, as did the evolution of these views.

## MATERIALS AND METHODS

The purpose of this article is to consider the process of the evolution of the idea of federation into the conceptions of the Caucasian confederation from the standpoint of a new intellectual history and a new local history in the sources of the Caucasian abroad, united by the "Prometey" movement. In order to understand the state of the minds of emigration on this subject, it was necessary to at least point out the views of the Caucasian elite during the years of the Russian Revolution and the Civil War. Therefore, the analysis is based on archives, as well as published materials of the Union of United Mountaineers of the North Caucasus, Dagestan and Abkhazia, as well as documents related to the organization "Prometey".

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The liquidation of the monarchy in Russia has become a catalyst for the growth of national self-consciousness of peoples on the national outskirts of the former Russian Empire. This fully applied to the Caucasus as a whole, and to the North Caucasus, in particular. The Caucasus in its new time has become a geopolitical object of many external players in the international arena. In this regard, as early as the beginning of the 20th century the issue of the state future of the Caucasus was raised both by the local public and by representatives of the liberal and left-wing intelligentsia. Despite the polyethnicity and socio-cultural and confessional diversity, the peoples of the Caucasus had a common historical destiny. The growth of the national identity of the outskirts of the Russian Empire, which was outlined in the course of political modernization during the first Russian revolution of 1905-1907, and became a response to the strengthening of Russification tendencies in government policy. This trend intensified under the influence of the 1917 revolution. One of the first to formally formulate the question of the state structure of the Caucasus was the delegates of the First Congress of the United Mountain People of the Caucasus in May 1917. At the beginning of the Russian revolution, representatives of mountain people in the Center and in the North Caucasus spoke of unity with Russia and simultaneously about the autonomy for the highlanders. Thus, the Ingush Vassan-Girey Dzhabagiyev, on behalf of the Committee of Mountaineers of the Caucasus in Petrograd, at the First Congress of United Mountaineers, said that the members of the committee "announce the desire of Russia's unity on the principles of confederation." In the welcoming speech of the chairman of the Central Committee of the United Mountaineers of the North Caucasus and Dagestan Balkar B.A. Shakhanov noted the readiness to go along with the proletariat, the Russian revolutionary army and the Russian leading public. At the same time, B. Shakhanov stated that "how each individual family has its own special corner, its needs and its special life, spiritual and economic, and a physiognomy different from the neighbors of the same village and city, and the people Russia, united in one state unit, have their own cultural and national-spiritual characteristics. "The mountaineers of the Caucasus should unite" into a powerful alliance in order to jointly defend their autonomy and create the All-Russian Union of All Autonomies, that is, a federative democratic republic. "In the Political Platform of the Union it was said that "while recognizing themselves as an indivisible part of the Great Russian State, the mountaineers, for their common welfare and for their own good and happiness, put at the head of all tasks at the head of all tasks the consolidation of the won freedoms and ensuring the free development of the state freed from oppression".

Over time, the political position of the Union's leaders began to change. In one of the resolutions of the Second Congress of the Union in the autumn of 1917, it was said not only about the autonomy of the

Caucasian peoples, but also about the Caucasian Federation. In the spring of 1918 in Batumi, the former leaders of the Central Committee of the Union of United Highlanders adopted the Declaration on the Independence of the Republic of the Union of Mountaineers of the North Caucasus and Dagestan and created the Gorsky government headed by the oilman Chechen A.M. Chermoev, and then Kabardin P. Kotsev. In the first paragraph of this document, the branch of the Union of Mountaineers of the North Caucasus and Dagestan was proclaimed from the territory of Russia and the creation of an independent North Caucasian state. However, under the attacks of A. Denikin's army, the Mountain Government self-destructed, and the Sovietization of Azerbaijan, Armenia and Georgia became the impetus for their emigration to Turkey and the West.

The idea of a unified Caucasus has gained new development in the minds of the Caucasians of emigrants. The slogan of the Caucasian Confederation was most fully developed in the framework of the activity of the emigrant organization "Prometheus". Preparation for the creation of such a structure began immediately after the departure of Caucasian emigrants to Europe and Turkey. The idea of a confederation of the Caucasus as an independent state was supported by Western countries. The creation of "Prometheus" was promoted by Poland in the person of J. Pilsudski, who hoped that the creation of a unified independent Caucasus would be a counterbalance to Poland's main external enemy, Russia. Not without the participation of Poland in Istanbul, the Confederate Committee of the Caucasus was established, which had a parallel organization in Paris. The basis of the projects of the united Caucasus was not only ideas about the Caucasian identity and the North Caucasian nation, but also political rationalism. Let us turn to the Declaration of the diplomatic representatives of the Caucasus republics in France, ie. members of the Azerbaijani, Georgian, Armenian and North Caucasian delegations at the Versailles Conference. Among them were well-known figures of the Union G. Bammatorov and A.M. Chermoyev. The Declaration proclaimed, first, the political independence of Azerbaijan, Armenia, Georgia and the North Caucasus as independent states on a democratic basis. Secondly, the need for an economic, diplomatic and military alliance was declared. Thus, according to the authors, the international significance of the Caucasus as a bridge linking Europe and Asia, the Christian and Muslim worlds could be ensured. It was also proposed "to establish friendly and good-neighborly relations with neighboring states on the basis of their complete independence and inviolability of their territories. Namely: with Russia, Turkey and Persia ". At the same time, they regarded the bolshevisation of the Caucasus as the occupation of the Caucasus. Between the lines of the Declaration reads the desire to create an independent North Caucasian state, t. implies its continuity with the Mountain Republic. At the same time, the authors turned to the international forces for help, without doubting that it would promote the development of "political, commercial and industrial relations with foreign states and create conditions conducive to the cooperation of foreign capitals for the purpose of exploiting the natural resources of the Caucasus".

Heads of diplomatic missions of the North Caucasus, Azerbaijan and Georgia in Paris, the Council of Three was established. Representatives of the "Council of Three" considered it necessary urgently to create political and economic unity of the four republics of the Caucasus. In parallel, in Constantinople (Istanbul), the Committee of the Caucasian Confederation (CCC) was established. From the North Caucasus Ingush V.-G. Djabagiev entered there, one of the central figures of the Mountain Republic, as well as the Ossetian-Muslim A. Cantemir, the diplomatic representative of the Union of United Mountaineers under the government of Azerbaijan, the ranks of supporters of the united Caucasus were replenished with new faces.

Simultaneously A.-M. Chermoyev, and G. Bammatorov, along with political figures of Azerbaijan and Georgia, continued their work on the creation of the Caucasian Confederation. Now this concept differed significantly from 1917. Then it was a confederation of the autonomous republics of the Caucasus under the auspices of Russia, but after the Bolsheviks came to power, the confederation began to mean a union of independent states that opposed both the Soviet and Denikin's Russia. In a letter of the Confederates to the Committee for the Liberation of the Caucasus of 1925 it was stated: "The hour of freedom of the Caucasian peoples will strike only when they act against Russia and the whole world as one single confederal state. Only in such a case will they be provided with the assistance of European states. " In this letter, the anti-Russian, and not only anti-Soviet idea sounds like the need to create a unified independent state of the Caucasus on the basis of a confederation. The CCP operatives offered a practical plan of action, which, along with the propaganda of the confederation in the press and illegal subversive and political work in the Caucasus, indicated the task of developing contacts with the diplomatic services of different countries. Recognizing disagreements in the Committees, the authors of the Committee for the Liberation of the Caucasus in the traditions of liberalism considered these contradictions a natural product of freedom of opinion. The basis of

solidarity of the movement recognized the unity of the anti-Bolshevik and anti-Russian front. The Confederates from Istanbul insisted on the creation of a single organization - the Committee of the Confederation of the Caucasus, with the preservation of former functions. In Paris - political and diplomatic work in Europe, and in Istanbul - agitation and propaganda in the Caucasus against the Russian-Soviet occupation and the establishment of relevant organizations in the region. This distinction was due to the location of the offices.

The Confederate Committee in Istanbul showed willingness to conduct clandestine work in the territory of the Soviet Caucasus for "practical actions with the aim of organizing and training the peoples of the Caucasus in the struggle for the restoration of the independence of the Caucasian republics (KNCs) and their union in a union based on a confederation." In the Statute of the Committee for the Independence of the Caucasus, a special place was given to conspiracy, and the Committee was declared a secret organization. The KNC tried to strengthen internal organizational discipline.

The international context of the activities of the confederation's supporters abroad included not only the importance of relations with European countries, but also the problem of rapprochement between the Confederates and the new Turkey, which caused heated controversy. The representatives of Armenia in exile were categorically against the rapprochement with Turkey of the Committee for the Independence of the Caucasus. However, under the pressure of "our friends, that is, Bolsheviks who pressed on Turkey with contractual obligations, in 1927 the magazine in the Turkish language "YeniKavkasia" was closed. In 1928, S.G. Mdivani Since 1932, judging by the Political Work Review of 1932 organizations that were part of the Prometheus League, Turkey has been cautiously but actively supporting the Caucasian emigrants.

The real help for the Caucasian confederation came mainly from Poland. So, between the Chairman of the Committee N. Ramishvili and the representative of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Poland T. Goluvko, correspondence was conducted about the financial support of the KNK printed body of the magazine Prometey. In 1930, the Conference of the "Council of Three" was held in Poland. Participants agreed that Warsaw is the most suitable place for the permanent location of the KNK after Istanbul.

The publication of the magazine Prometey, which began in 1926, caused disagreement between the Committee for the Independence of the Caucasus and the Council of the Three Caucasus Republics, which did not prevent the publication from becoming the center of the Promethean movement. In 1927, the Paris Rules adopted the Paris Rules. The movement included not only the representatives of the Caucasus, but also the figures from Central Asia (Turkestan) and Ukraine, ie. peoples "enslaved" by the Soviets. Despite internal disagreements on organizational issues, representatives of the Prometheus movement in the international space acted in solidarity, as evidenced by this. For example, representatives of the Prometheus peoples sent a telegram to participants of the international conference for peace delegates from enterprises and trade unions in Amsterdam in August 1932, in which they called for the protection of the freedom of these peoples.

## CONCLUSION

Throughout 1917 - 1920-ies. In the midst of the Caucasian intelligentsia, the idea of the autonomy of the peoples of the Caucasus within the framework of Russia began to evolve into the idea of the Confederation of Independent Caucasian Republics, including the North Caucasus.

The idea of a confederation of the Caucasus was developed by representatives of the Caucasian emigration, which had two organizational centers, between which were revealed not so much ideological as organizational disagreements. Internationally, the revived Committee for the Independence of the Caucasus has solidified around the ideas of the liberation of the Caucasus and other peoples from the Bolshevik "yoke" and the creation of the Caucasian Confederation.

These goals were served by the magazine "Prometey" and the same movement around it. It was supported morally by all the countries of Europe, and practical assistance was provided by Turkey and Poland, although Turkey under the pressure of the Soviet leadership refused to legally hold political Caucasian organizations on its territory, but later continued to sympathize with the Caucasian refugees, especially from Azerbaijan.

The old Caucasian emigration maintained diplomatic relations with a number of European countries, but Hitler's coming to power and the threat of the Second World War gave the issue of the Caucasian Confederation in the European orchestra a peripheral sound.

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