

CAUCASUS HISTORY – 20th CENTURY

Overview

The conquest of the North and the South Caucasus and the incorporation of these regions during the Russian Empire made subsequent social, cultural, economic, and political changes in the region. With the Bolshevik Revolution a radical transformation of all aspects of life was carried out. New socialist structure, resistance, social conflicts, subjugation, cooperation, liberalization and democratization all these historical periods and events dramatically altered the fabric of society in the area.

EVENTS:

Tensions in the South Caucasus

The first Russian revolution took place in 1905. It started in St. Petersburg and gradually expanded to other major cities of the empire.



Genocide of Azerbaijanis 1905-1907

Inter-ethnic tensions grew among Azeris and Armenians, and there were clashes between them mainly in Baku, Nakhchivan, Nagorno Karabakh and Ganja.

World War I - the Caucasus Campaign

Battle of Sarykamysh (22 December 1914 -17 January 1915)

The *First World War* was an event which had a decisive influence not only on the subsequent development of the Ottoman Empire, but also the

Russian Empire, and played a major role in the world history of the 20th century.

By 1914, Russia was included in the system of international alliances that had developed in Europe, and could not remain aloof from a world conflict objectively; but also did not meet its national interests by pulling out of the war. The war, which was called the *Second Patriotic War* (*Vtoraja otechestvennaja vojna*) or the *Great World Patriotic War* (*Velikaja vseмирnaja otechestvennaja vojna*) in Russia, in many respects determined the historical destiny of Russia.

The *Sarykamysh Operation* was an operation which took place as part of the *Caucasus Campaign* during the First World War, and it was an engagement between the Russian and Ottoman empires which took place from December 22, 1914 to January 17, 1915.

The Ottoman Empire joined the Central Powers in August 1914. The main desire of the Ottoman Empire in the Caucasus was to regain control over its territories, Artvin, Ardahan, Kars, and the port of Batum in Eastern Anatolia that were lost during the *Russo-Turkish War* (1877–1878).

For the Russians, the Caucasus Front had secondary importance in comparison to the Eastern Front. They were afraid to campaign in the Caucasus to recapture Kars, and the port of Batum.



The Ottoman Empire along with Germany planned an offensive along the Caucasus mountains, aiming at diverting Russian forces and achieving some major breakthroughs. Germany and the Ottoman Empire believed that a Caucasus Campaign against Russia by the Ottoman forces, even if lesser in strength, would have a diversionary effect on the Russian forces.

Enver Pasha with German officers in the Caucasus Front

The Operation, started on December 22, 1914 in harsh winter conditions and was completed on January 17, 1915, with the Russian Caucasus army under command of the general A. Z.

Myshlayevsky against the 3rd Ottoman army under the leadership of the general of Enver-pasha.

At the beginning of the war, the Ottomans had their Third Army based in the region with Hasan Izzet Pasha as commander in chief of the 3rd army, while the Russians lined up their Caucasus Army under the command of the the Chief of Staff, General Nikolaj Yudenich. The deputy count Vorontsov-Dashkov was the nominal commander-in-chief. The assistant of the military unit was general Myshlayevsky.



Enver Pasha, supreme commander of the Ottoman armed forces, aimed at conquering the Russian Caucasus reaching Baku, where they could capture the oilfields and eventually extending Ottoman control over the whole of Central Asia and Afghanistan to threaten British India. He wanted to encircle the Russians, force them out of Ottoman territory, and take back Kars and Batumi. After this attack in winter, the Turks who were not killed, either froze to death or died from typhus.



The Sarykamysh Operation ended with the full defeat of the Third Army which was completely destroyed. While the operation resulted in a Russian victory, the Ottomans suffered severe casualties. The Ottoman Third Army had 118,000 men army and by January 1915, 15,000 died of typhus, 7,000 were taken prisoners, 10,000 were wounded, totalling 60,000 casualties. This was in part due to their lack of preparedness and equipment to cope with the harsh winter conditions,

thousands of soldiers died from hypothermia as they crossed the Allahüekber Mountains. Russians losses, on the other hand, were 16,000 killed in action and 12,000 dead of disease, mostly due to frostbite.

The Ottoman troops that occupied Tabriz in neutral Persia also were driven back by the Russian forces. The Russian forces started a new campaign on Eastern Anatolia in spring 1916 and began to control part of the southern Black Sea coast. Grand Duke Nikolaj (He was the grandson of Nicholas I), the Russian

commander, was ready for a major assault in the spring of 1917, but due to the February Revolution which resulted in the abdication of Nicholas II and the formation of a Provisional Government, he was forced to terminate his plans and the Russian forces had to withdraw from the Caucasus.

The South Caucasus in 1917

During the February Revolution of 1917, a Menshevik administration was established in the South Caucasus. When the Bolsheviks took power, the Menshevik administration in the South Caucasus did not recognize the Bolsheviks; and they formed an independent *Transcaucasian Commissariat* (Sejm)¹.

There were no open calls for independence in the Caucasus. When the Commissariat was formed, they refused to recognize the power of the Council of People's Commissariat led by Lenin.

But, the Southern states had no intention of completely separating from Russia. They were wanted to see the results of the elections to the *Constituent Assembly* that would be held on November, 1917. There were fifteen parties joined the election, among them *Georgian Social Democrats* (Mensheviks), Azerbaijani *Musavatists* and Armenian *Dashnaks*. All of the parties obtained 73% of the electoral votes. The Bolsheviks, on the other hand, received only 4.4% of the electorate.

The first *Transcaucasian Federative Republic* was created in April 1918. It lasted till May 1918. The Federation fell apart forming three republics of Azerbaijan, Armenia and Georgia.

Treaty of Brest–Litovsk

The Bolsheviks and the Central Powers signed the Treaty of Brest–Litovsk ending Russia's participation in World War I in March 1918. Through this treaty Russia gave away the Baltic States to Germany, and Kars, Ardahan and Batumi to the Ottoman Empire. Russia also had to recognize the independence of Ukraine. In April, the Ottomans also established control over western Armenia and Adjara in Georgia.

The Transcaucasian Sejm sent a telegram to Petrograd saying that they do not recognize the Brest-Litovsk Treaty, since they do not recognize the Bolsheviks.

First independent Democratic Federative Republic of Transcaucasia



On 22 April 1918, the first independent Democratic Federative Republic of Transcaucasia was established in the South Caucasus by the Menshevik Provisional Government, but it was abolished very soon in May 1918. The Federation fell apart forming three republics of Azerbaijan, Armenia and Georgia.

Right after the abolition of the Democratic Federative Republic of Transcaucasia, Georgia declared independence on 26 May 1918 and became a German protectorate in order to prevent Georgia from being occupied by the Ottomans. Azerbaijan government sided with

the Ottomans. And Armenia was getting help from the Russian and the British governments. Azerbaijan followed Georgia and declared their independence on 28 May 1918. Armenia also declared their independence on 28 May 1918.

¹ It is replaced in Nov. 1917 with OZAKOM (Special Transcaucasian Committee).

On 28 May 1918, at the *Battle of Sardarapat* the Armenians stopped the Ottoman advance and declared their independence. On 4 June 1918, Armenia was forced to sign the Treaty of Batum. They gave away Kars, Ardahan and Batum to the Ottomans.

On 4 June 1918, the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic and the Ottomans signed a *Peace and Friendship Agreement*. This agreement allowed the establishment of a Ottoman Military Mission in Ganja.

Battle of Baku (June – September 1918)

With help of the Ottomans Azerbaijani forces started their advance into Baku and captured the city.



The British forces established control over several oil fields and hold Baku in July and August, but were defeated by the Azerbaijani and the Ottoman army on 15 September 1918. The British was in the Caucasus to fight against Communism as a reaction to a threat from Germany and the Ottomans, and to protect India to stop pan-Islamism spreading from Afghanistan.

Baku was liberated from the Bolsheviks, Socialist Revolutionaries, Dashnaks, Mensheviks and British forces on 15 September 1918.

November 1918 brought the war to an end.

The *Armistice of Mudros* signed on 11

Pro-Ottoman *Southwest Caucasian Democratic Republic* was established in Kars in December, 1918 . However, it was abolished by the British in April 1919. The Kars province was put under Armenian rule in 1919.

Disputes in the South Caucasus

A war breaks out between Armenia and Georgia in the Javakheti region in 1918.

In order to stop the Ottoman advance, the Georgian troops entered Lori which was populated mostly by Armenians. Hostilities began between Armenia and Georgia.

There were also clashes in Nagorno-Karabakh. The Armenian forces captured Shusha and destroyed half of the city.

Treaty of Sèvres (10 August 1920)

The *Treaty of Sèvres* signed after defeat of Central Powers. It marks the beginning of the partitioning of the Ottoman Empire. The Ottomans paid compensations to Armenia and also recognized the independence of Armenia.

The Ottomans took Kars in October 1920. On 2 December 1920 Armenia and the



Ottoman Empire signed the *Treaty of Alexandropol* which restored the old border and end the war.

On 16 March 1921, Turkey and the Soviet Union signed the *Treaty of Moscow* which recognized the territory of Turkey under the terms of the National Oath (Misak-ı Milli). Turkey ceded Sarp and Batum to Georgia. Nakhchivan remained under Azerbaijan's protectorate. Full sovereignty and security of Turkey were recognized. *The Treaty of Kars*, which was signed 7 months later, recognized the today's borders between Turkey and the South Caucasus states.

The Civil War (1917–1921)

After the collapse of the Russian Empire, the Bolsheviks seized power. Since the beginning of the Revolution, there were many opponents against the Bolsheviks. Provisional Government which was control by the Mensheviks, Socialist Revolutionaries for a while supported the Bolsheviks. But, after the Constituent Assembly elections to form a new government where Bolsheviks won 175 and the Socialist Revolutionaries won 370 seats; and Lenin used Red army to close the Assembly, they took a different path and in summer of 1918, a group from the Socialist Revolutionaries, Kadets, Mensheviks monarchist and generals which were called the Whites, began a civil war against the the Bolshevik led Red forces.

There were still supporters of the Tsar, army officers were angry; and because Lenin had secretly signed the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk in March 1918. Not only it became unpopular in many circles, but also it had shown to many how weak the Bolsheviks were. The Treaty cost Russia about a million square miles. Russia was required to pay three billion roubles in war reparations.

North Caucasian Soviet Republic Mountain People's Republic

In January 1920, the Whites were defeated by the Bolsheviks and the North Caucasus fell under the Bolshevik control.

Several Bolshevik Soviet Republics was established in the North Caucasus by the Soviets in 1918. These republics later incorporated into the *North Caucasian Soviet Republic*.

In May 1918 a *Mountain People's Republic* was established by North Caucasian people to separate themselves from the Soviets.

The Mountain People's Republic later fell under the control of the North Caucasian Soviet Republic.

The White Army, led by the General Denikin by early 1919, took control over the North Caucasus, resulted in the dissolution of the North Caucasian Soviet Republic.

A *North Caucasian Emirate* was established by Uzun Haji. It was under the protection of the Ottoman Empire. It included Dagestan and Chechnya. They failed to drive White Army troops back and became dependent on the Bolsheviks.

South Caucasus under the Soviet Rule

The Southern states established a new provisional government, called the *Transcaucasian Commissariat*, which consists of three Armenians, three Azerbaijanis, and three Georgians. It lasted only a month. After that the regional authority of the Provisional Government in the South Caucasus *the Special Transcaucasian Committee* (OZAKOM) took control in the South Caucasus. However, this committee also had limited authority.

In 1918, in order to secure their borders, Azerbaijan, Georgia and Armenia did not want to break with the Bolsheviks until a new constitutional assembly was formed.



Since the Bolsheviks had support in Baku, they were able to form the Baku Commune in Baku in 1918, however, it was short-lived, and also they faced strong reaction from the Armenian *Dashnaks* and the Azerbaijani *Musavat Party*.

The Soviet Socialist Republic of Azerbaijan was established on 28 April 1920. The Soviet Socialist Republic of Armenia came into being on 20 November 1920. The Soviet Socialist Republic of Georgia came into existence on 25 February 1921. Abkhazia, South Ossetia, Nagorno-

Karabakh autonomies were created.

The three republics, Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan united on 13 December 1922 in the *Transcaucasian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic*. It was dissolved on 5 December 1936.

Stalin

After the February Revolution 1917, Stalin from Georgia was appointed as a commissar for nationalities to handle the issues in the South Caucasus. He also served as commissar for worker-peasant inspection. In 1921, he conducted forcible incorporation of his native Georgia into the Soviet Union. He crushed the Georgian cultural elite. Stalin was interested in the South Caucasus, because it was a source of raw materials, oil, and food supplies.

The Menshevik Georgia did not recognize the Bolsheviks. The Bolsheviks entered Georgia and captured Tiflis on February 25 1920, to suppress an uprising in the Armenian-populated district of Borchalo. Later, the Bolsheviks conquered western Georgia. Menshevik government fell.

At the beginning, the Bolsheviks did not touch the independence of the Caucasian republics. But, in 1921, they gained control of the entire Caucasus, and called their conquest a liberation from the oppressive nationalist bourgeois regimes.



The Soviets claimed that they conquered the Caucasus with the intention to modernize, industrialize, educate, but at the same time Sovietize the Caucasus and create a new Soviet nation. This meant to Sovietize all aspects of life. Modernization meant both the destruction of old traditions, increasing literacy, creating a new Soviet man, and emancipation for women and technological progress.

To create a new type of Soviet Caucasus identity the borders of the Transcaucasus were closed. They had no ties with the outside world.

When Stalin visited Georgia as the Bolshevik commissar for nationalities in July 1921, and he was given a hostile reception at two Party meetings because of his harsh methods he used against his nation.

When the *Transcaucasian Federation* had been set up, the Georgian Bolsheviks did not like forcible political and social transformation implemented by the central government in Georgia, and they resigned in October 1922. Georgians wanted to preserve autonomy from Moscow.

When the Bolsheviks consolidated their power in the Caucasus, Stalin began to crush all vestiges of Georgian nationalism. Although the independence of Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia was recognized by the Bolsheviks, Stalin closed all the independent institutions in Georgia and arrested all the dissent.

August Uprising 1924

Armenia's Dashnak and Azerbaijan's Musavat parties were both dissolved in 1923. The Menshevik Party was dissolved in 1924. Resistance was strongest in Georgia. There was an uprising in western Georgia in August 1924 aimed at restoring the independence. It was suppressed violently. The Cheka and the Red army, under the orders of Stalin, killed four thousand people, and sent thousands into exile in the far north of Russia.

But, even under this brutality of the new regime, the 1920s was regarded as an era of state-nation building and economic reconstruction in the Caucasus. With their policies the Bolsheviks aimed at creating a Soviet nation.

Korenizatsia (Nativization)

The Bolshevik policy towards the minority nationalities after the Revolution, *Korenizatsiya* (nativization), was designed to unite all the nations of the USSR into a single socialist community with a uniform national culture, in order to modernize and assist the non-Russian nationalities.

Within the broad framework of building socialism, this policy was intended to grant collective rights to national groups who had been the targets of Tsarist oppression and whose rights had been denied under the old regime.

The Commissariat of Enlightenment or *Narkompros* was charged with Russian instruction in non-Russian schools.

One aspect of this was the language policy, implemented by *Narkomnats* which was charged with the oversight of nationality and minority issues. It was established in 1917 to serve as an intermediary between the central Soviet organs and address such problems as standardizing each local language, spreading it as the common language of communication within the population, changing the lexicon to meet the needs of a modern industrial society, increasing literacy and creating new alphabets.

Lenin was more concerned about Russian nationalism as a danger than about the nationalisms of the minorities. The main goal was to raise the cultural level of the backward people to the level of the Russians so that it would be possible to create a genuine sense of Soviet nationalism.

In fact, the main purpose of the *korenizatsiya* was to create communist cadres for each nationality. To do this, they had to make Soviet power attractive to non-Russians, allow them to learn the new system with their own language and give them incentives to participate in the new political system. It also accelerated the cultural, economic, and political development of non-Russian peoples.

This policy strengthened national identity, encouraged the use of local languages, and created an native *nomenklatura* (people held key administrative positions, small elite group). After supporting the placement of non-Russians into leading positions in the party and integrating them into the Socialist order, the Bolsheviks began to introduce full-scale industrialization.



Korenizatsia basically meant raising a new generation from the non-Russians and raising their culture and literacy. The policy also was aimed at bringing local leaders to serve in the administration of the national republics with their own cadres and

strengthening the Soviet power over these nationalities.

The Azeri, Abkhaz, Ossetian, and Lezgin nations were all given a new Latin alphabet. Many people were able to receive an education for the first time in their mother tongues.



Local national cadres were joined into the labor unions and the party organs. These peoples had a chance to use their own languages, and to study in national academies.

During the period of national independence between 1918 and 1920, an important number of the national cadres were promoted to the ranks of the Bolsheviks.

The Soviets had created a hierarchy of nations. According to this hierarchy, the Armenians and Georgians were considered as advanced Western nationalities since they had an ancient written alphabet. This classification allowed the Armenians and Georgians to rapidly advance through the Soviet ranks. However, the Azerbaijanis were classified as a nation in formation, meaning that they were seen as a people in need of Soviet assistance in their development.



Collectivization

Collectivization was imposed from 1929 and was a brutal experiment. Stalin wanted to transfer all peasant land into new agricultural collective farms in which all peasants had to join and contribute their livestock and tools. The Collectivization system allowed Stalin establish control over the agricultural production of the whole country.

The peasants resisted by killing their livestock rather than submitting to the new collective farms, but the Caucasus got off lightly, compared to Ukraine and parts of Russia. Stalin called on the secret police and the army to crush resistance.

The peasants destroyed farm machinery and tools and killed their animals. Rich peasants, the Kulaks, escaped collectivization. Stalin considered the Kulaks dangerous enemies of socialism. Therefore, most Kulaks were deported to remote parts of the country. Many others were arrested and sent to the labor camps.

The Collectivization was aimed at increasing food production. The chaotic atmosphere and bad weather conditions resulted in poor harvest in both 1931 and 1932. The government continued to collect the grain. That left peasants without food in the regions of the Ukraine and north Caucasus. The result was catastrophic famine.

The Sovietization reached its peak in 1937–1938. To change the demography, Russians were resettled in the Caucasus republics to decrease the percentage of local inhabitants.

Religious practices were banned. Mosques, churches and madrasas were shut down, and religious leaders were persecuted. Russian became the only language of instruction.

Harsh Economic Measures - Stalin's Five-Year Plans

The government began to control every aspect of economic life. The Five-year plans were designed to transform the Soviet Union into an economic superpower. They placed emphasis on heavy industry, however, they all failed to reach the desired level of success.

In 1932, Stalin made Georgian secret police chief Lavrentiy Beria first Party secretary of the Transcaucasian Federation. Beria brought terror to the Caucasus and exterminated the intelligentsia of the Caucasus.

Beria exercised total control over the South Caucasus and began to use terror against the nations. He forced the Armenian party leader, Agahasi Khanjian into suicide. He poisoned the party leader of Abkhazia Lakoba. Most of the old Georgian Bolsheviks were killed - Budu Mdviani, the recipient of Lenin's last letter, and Abel Enukidze, the godfather of Stalin's first wife.

New Soviet Constitution of 1936

Article 13 of the new Soviet Constitution of 1936 dissolved the Transcaucasian Federation and recognized Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia as union republics.

From 1937, the Bolsheviks regarded Azerbaijanis as a separate nation and stopped categorizing them as Turks. The folklore, literature, and history of the three nationalities were promoted. Georgia gained primacy over its minorities in Abkhazia and South Ossetia, the Georgian script was imposed on the two nations, and Abkhazian and South Ossetian schools were closed.

“Friendship of Peoples”?

Stalin's ideology “the friendship of peoples,” meant that the dominant rhetoric of the Empire, “Russian patriotism”, made a comeback. Russian-language education became compulsory in non-Russian schools, and Russian history and literature were included in the curriculum. In the Caucasus, new Cyrillic alphabets were imposed on the Azeri, Lezgin, (North) Ossetian, and Talysh languages.

Deportations

One of the most traumatic events in the Caucasus was the deportation of one million people in the 1940s.



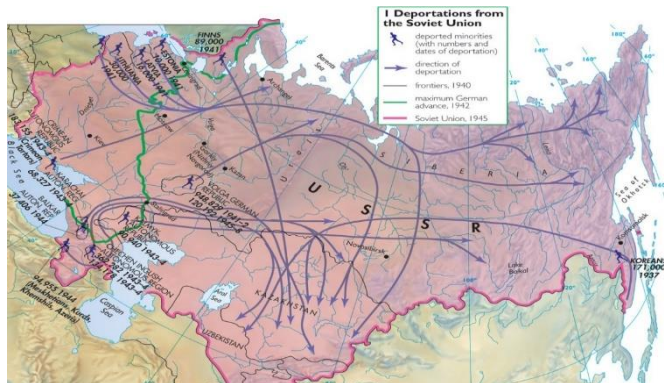
were deported to Central Asia and Siberia.

The Karachay were deported in the summer of 1943, and Chechens and Ingush on 23 February 1944. These people lost their autonomy and their lands were distributed to the neighbouring administrative units.

Balkars, Meskhetian Turks, and Kurds were deported on 8 March 1944.

The deportations created artificial national minorities in Central Asia and Siberia. These transplanted peoples from place to place had to cope with their new foreign environment and climatic settings. Many people died from cold and starvation.

Stalin and Beria organized the deportation of almost all ethnic groups with a Turkic connection from Georgia on account of their being allies of the Turks in a potential war with Turkey.



Their homelands were legally eliminated, their cemeteries destroyed, and their culture were erased from the official records. However, most were allowed to return home in the 1950s by Nikita Khrushchev.

Great War of the Fatherland (WWII) (1941-1945)

The Soviet Union was not prepared for the impending war when Hitler's armies entered Soviet territory. Stalin did not pay any attention to the warnings, since he was not expecting

any hostile act from Hitler, because the two parties had signed the Molotov-Ribbentrop non-aggression pact in Moscow in 1939. This pact was signed by Stalin to buy time to build up the Soviet army that was badly weakened by the purge of the army officers in 1937, while Hitler signed it to invade Poland, and then deal with France and Britain in the west without having to fight the Soviets on a second front in the east.

As a result of the Soviet armies' unpreparedness and poor organization the first stages of the war went well for the Germans.

After the Germans left the Caucasus, many Caucasian peoples were deported on the basis of their alleged collaboration with the Germans and harboring sympathies for foreign powers. This was the official justification for mass deportations between 1937 and 1949.

In 1937, thinking that a war with Germany was inevitable, Stalin ordered the deportation of the Armenians and Azerbaijanis to Central Asia.

In 1941, all German citizens living in the Caucasus



One army went through the Baltic states, and a second army went eastward to Poland threatening Moscow. In the south, a third army occupied western Ukraine. A smaller force moved to the south, occupied Kuban and advanced towards the Caucasus capturing Stavropol, Krasnodar, Maykop and Pyatigorsk and began to threaten Mozdok.

For Hitler the South Caucasus was very important, since it would provide Germany with fuel and oil. In fact, he had attacked Russia in 1941 to reach the South Caucasus region.



Operation Barbarossa was executed to advance towards Stalingrad and to knock the Soviet Union out of the war. On April 5, Hitler began to carry out the *Fall Blau* operation.

This operation was planned to reach the Volga and to capture the Caucasus oilfields of Baku, and the Germans were able to capture vast areas of land as well as several oil fields.

Hitler was particularly interested in Stalingrad, and decided to cut all the supplies going into Stalingrad. However, the Red Army defeated the Germans at Stalingrad through the *Operations Uranus* and

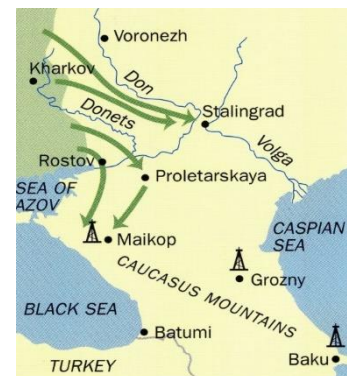
Little Saturn. This defeat forced the Germans and the other Axis powers to retreat from the Caucasus.

On 25 July, 1942, during the *Battle of the Caucasus*, there were short series of clashes in the North Caucasus between the Transcaucasian front, the Soviet North Caucasian front and the German troops.

The Germans also executed *Operation Edelweiss* to control of the Caucasus, to seize the oil fields of Azerbaijan, and to capture the Middle East and India. The German troops captured Cherkessk, Nalchik, Stavropol, Krasnodar, Maykop and Mozdok. However, they could not get oil from Maykop because the Soviets had demolished the oil fields before they left.

Battle of Stalingrad

The North Caucasian front was defeated by the Germans, but in September 1942, the Transcaucasian front was able to block the way to the Grozny oilfields and mountain passes fell under the control of the South Caucasus. In January 1943, the Soviets launched counter-attacks to liberate the North Caucasus. Finally, Hitler was defeated in *the Battle of Stalingrad* and had to pull his troops out of the Caucasus in April 1943.



Post-Stalin Period - Khrushchev's Thaw

Following Stalin's death in March 1953, a new stage of development at home and abroad began. National awakening and social development had taken place in the north and the south Caucasus, and there were frequent street protests and riots in the Caucasus. In 1956, there were riots in Tbilisi, Georgia and two years later in Sumgait, Azerbaijan. The Soviets suppressed the riots and protests brutally. Many people died during the incursion.



In 1956, most of the deported nations were allowed to return to their native lands, but they did not receive full rights. The Ingush could not go back to their Prigorodnyy Rayon, since the Ossetians had been forced to settle there. Similarly, the Chechens could not return to their Aukhovskiy Rayon, since the Laks had been forcibly settled there. In addition, the Meskhetian Turks could not return to Georgia till 1966.

Mikhail Gorbachev - Perestroika & Glasnost

In 1985, the Soviet Union was a shadow of its former self. It was still the massive, multinational, totalitarian state it had been for nearly 70 years, but the economy was crumbling. Oil was declining in both demand and value. Agriculture and industry were stagnating, major shortages and possibly even famine would follow.

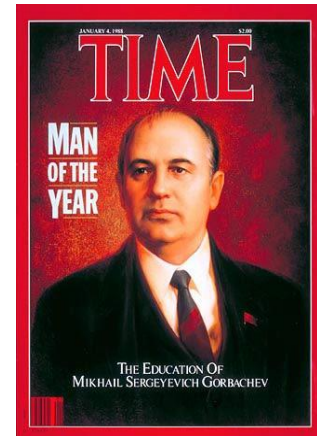
The Soviet command economy began to collapse. The Soviet republics were conducting 98 percent of their trade with other republics, and less than ten percent of the South Caucasus trade was conducted within the region itself. When the borders and railways were closed after 1989, it resulted in economic collapse. The Caucasian high-scaled shadow economy which involved goods and services paid in cash and not declared for tax, was competing with the legal one. This highly organized corruption became a part of the political system.

The war in Afghanistan was another major strain on both the national budget and Party legitimacy. It was in this climate that Gorbachev was appointed as the head of the Soviet Communist Party.

When he became the secretary-general of the Soviet Union in 1985, he executed the programmes of glasnost and perestroika which sparked nationalist and pro-independence movements in the Baltics, the Caucasus and Central Asia.

On 9 April 1991 the Republic of Georgia declared independence, but this was not recognized by the Soviet Union. Azerbaijan followed on 30 August and Armenia on 23 September, and the Soviet Union was officially dissolved on 8 December 1991.

The Soviet Union and the South Caucasus separated after a union that lasted two hundred years. For the three Caucasus states to reconstruct a functioning economy and security took at least a decade.





Collapse of the Soviet Union - North Caucasus - Hotbed for Different Political Groups

After the collapse of the Russian Empire, during the Bolshevik revolution of 1917, the North Caucasus found itself in turmoil and the fighting continued in the area till 1923.

In the North Caucasus, there were competing groups that were fighting over different political objectives. There were series of short-lived independent political entities operated in the area.

The leaders of the Soviet Union met with a serious challenge in controlling of the North Caucasus, promised Muslim communities national self-determination.

Through this policy, the Soviets were able to gain trust of the new revolutionary Muslim groups who were attracted to nationalist ideas.

Strategy of Divide and Rule

The Soviets initially were very cautious when they implement their policies in reducing the role of sharia law and religious institutions.

The Soviet Union leaders continued to use the imperial state's policy of divide and rule towards the Sufi religious leaders and the other religious leaders in the Caucasus.

Pressure on Religious Institutions

Towards the mid-1920s, the Soviets decided that they need to reshape the political and economic nature in the North Caucasus. They initiated a program to disarm the local people, to weaken the influence of the clergy and the nationalist people.

Sharia courts and muftiates were closed in 1926. The first muftiate was established during Catherine II the Great in 1788.

In 1928 there was a full-scale assault on religious authorities in parallel with the collectivization campaign. These policies created widespread violent resistance. In 1930s, the North Caucasus went through a wave of political arrests.

State schools followed a program to keep children away from religious influence and banned the Arabic language. The Soviets enforced its language and alphabet policy, and Latin alphabet instruction became obligatory at schools. Later the Latin alphabet was replaced with the Cyrillic script.

New Border Realignment and Creation of New Dependable Nations

A process of territorial and administrative demarcation was introduced between 1922 and 1936. This process established new ethno-territorial political entities, and it was followed by border adjustments and territorial transfers. This resulted in further resentment, and increased hostility between neighbouring communities.

The Circassian people of the north-western Caucasus were divided into the new nationalities of Adyge, Cherkess and Kabard. They combined different nationalities into single territorial units, such as the Kabardino-Balkarya autonomous oblast which was created in 1922. They removed some units altogether, for example they dissolved the Checheno-Ingush autonomous republic in 1944. The main part of Stalin's national policy was the creation of a new dependable nations.

Replacement of Local Leaders

In the first half of the 20th century most of the Communist Party and government leaders of the North Caucasus were removed and replaced with people loyal to Moscow. The new leaders began to extend Moscow's control over the region.

They also introduced a series of anti-Islam campaigns. Mosques were destroyed in the Muslim parts of the Caucasus.

Anti-Islam Campaigns



The anti-Islam campaigns of the 1920s and 1930s resulted in the destruction of much of the intellectual culture of Islam in the North Caucasus, which had flourished in the late 18th century and lasted until 1917.

They closed *maktabs* (Islamic elementary schools) and interrupted the Islamic religious education, while the alphabet change prevented the new generation from having access to Islamic culture and their past history. Deprived of their rights, people became confined to parallel (unofficial) Islam which was dominated by Sufism and local traditional practices.

The cover of the magazine Bezbozhnik in the League of Militant Atheists 1929.

The switch from the Arabic script to Latin ensured that new generations were away from Islamic literature.

Stalin and World War II

When the German forces continued advancing, the Soviet leaders began to fear that some Muslim communities might shift their loyalties.

They eased their earlier policy, relaxed restrictions against religion, and officially recognized Islam.

The German Army began to conquer the North Caucasus in 1942 and occupied some parts of the region till 1943. In order to get support from the local Muslims, Germans closed collective farms, opened mosques, and granted sovereignty to the people who were ready to cooperate. Between 1943-1944, Stalin loaded entire ethnic groups into cattle wagons, and exiled them to Central Asia and Siberia to punish them for their collaboration with the Germans. Thousands of people died.



*Germany Promises Support for Sovereignty
People of the Caucasus! We will Free You from the Bolshevik*

When Stalin died in 1953, in the North Caucasus, Islam enjoyed a relative stability and the *tariqas* turned into symbols of national affiliation and solidarity. Covert practices and networks developed among the younger generation.

Integration of Islam into the Soviet System

In the 1960s, Islam and its clerics fully integrated into the Soviet system. The muftiats were allowed greater freedom. In the late 1970s, there were 300 officially registered and 700 unregistered mosques in the Soviet Union.

In the 1980s, Soviet involvement in the war in Afghanistan raised tensions and the Soviets exercised strict controls on religion.

After Stalin, the Soviets began to promote national identities in the North Caucasus. The non-ethnic Russian groups started to make important social, economic and political progress. Republics offices were filled with national cadres. People were able to get higher education.

The advancement of the non-ethnic Russian populations weakened the position of the Russians and caused an outmigration of the Russians from the late 1960s. Their departure prevented the Soviets from finding loyal local cadres. The role of Russian language was weakened.

During the Perestroika, the weakness of central authority resulted in nationalist movements seeking political sovereignty. Cultural and linguistic demands increased in the North Caucasus.

There was a continuing border conflicts in Nagorno-Karabakh in Azerbaijan; in Abkhazia and South Ossetia in Georgia; in North Ossetia and Ingushetia in the Russian Federation.

To promote solidarity and unity among the peoples of the region, the *Confederation of the Peoples of the Caucasus* was founded in 1990 on the eve of the collapse of the Soviet Union. This Confederation later got involved in the 1992–1993 war in Abkhazia, Georgia.

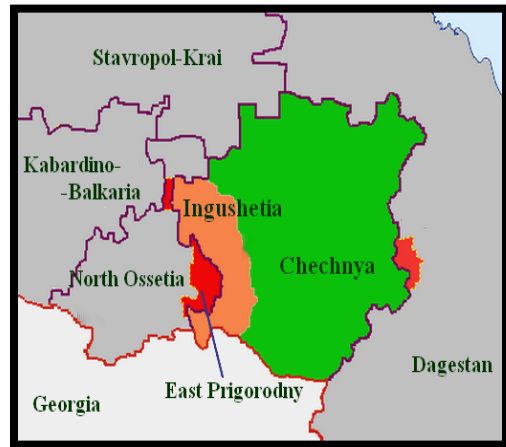
Newly Imported Movement – Salafism

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, the younger generation began to challenge the older Islamic elite. Political parties appeared inspired by different trends of Islamic thought.

Political liberalization and a relaxation of border control opened Muslims to external influences, Salafism (Wahhabism). Salafism first began to spread in the North Caucasus from Dagestan, later it spread to Chechnya. Salafists denied Sufism, they were Sunni and supported the implementation of Sharia.

The essence of the Soviet policy in the North Caucasus was to instigate fragmentation in the region and to create separate new national identities. The new authorities of the newly created nations had to get accustomed with a new system and had to promote national self-determination. Frequent border shifts and deportations increased the tension in the region. People began to demand territorial change and structural reform in the North Caucasus.

In the early 1990s, Boris Yeltsin called on regional leaders to “take all the sovereignty they could swallow”. It sped up nationalist mobilization in the North Caucasus, and this resulted in the declarations of sovereignty by autonomous republics, regions and districts. Chechnya proclaimed its independence in November 1991.



The Law on the Rehabilitation of Repressed Peoples was issued in 1991. Through this law the borders were altered and the status of many administrative units were changed in the North Caucasus.

Ingushetia was separated in 1992 from Chechnya (two nations had been joined administratively in 1934, and they gained the status of Chechen-Ingush Autonomous Republic in 1936), but the borders were not defined for the new republic of Ingushetia. This created a border conflict between the Chechens and Ingush over the district of Sunzhensky.

But the issue was resolved with the creation of two separate administrations each handling their own population.



There was also a border dispute between the Ingush and the North Ossetians over Prigorodny and part of Vladikavkaz. These two districts were populated by Ingush people. Trouble started when the Ingush Autonomous region merged with the Chechen Autonomous region, and Vladikavkaz went under the control of North Ossetia and Prigorodny became a part of the Chechen-Ingush Autonomous Soviet Republic. In 1944, the Prigorodny district was transferred to North Ossetia during World War II, when the Ingushs and the Chechens were accused of collaborating with the Nazis and deported to

Central Asia and Siberia.

When they returned to their homeland in 1957, Prigorodny was still under the control of North Ossetia. The Ingush demanded the reunification of the Prigorodny district. Tensions reignited towards the end of the Soviet Union in 1991. However, Prigorodny district remained as part of North Ossetia with a decree issued by Boris Yeltsin in 1992.

Kabardin-Balkar Conflict

Demands for ethnic sovereignty prompted by *the Territorial Rehabilitation Law* threatened to split Kabardino-Balkaria ASSR into two different territories: Kabardin (Circassian) and Balkar (Turkic). Stalin deported the entire Balkar population to Central Asia in 1944. They were accused of collaborating with Nazi Germany. When they returned to their homeland in 1957, disputes over land started. In 1992, the Balkars demanded secession from Kabardino-Balkaria. Russia rejected their demand. Tension is likely to continue.

Violent Conflict among Sufi Islam and Salafism

After the Soviet Union collapsed, Russia's power in the North Caucasus was weakened and the political influence of the local leaders was diminished. They urgently needed to strengthen their relationship with the local elites, rather than to build institutions to improve the conditions in the region. Yeltsin was concerned about regional leaders and their arbitrary attitude.

Russia's bilateral arrangements to keep the stability in the region increased the privileges of the executive leaders of the republics, rather than promoting democratization. As a result, the Russian government lost its control of the Muslim communities there.

This resulted in the emergence of fiefdoms legitimized by pseudo-democracy in the North Caucasus, and the appearance of fragmented Islamic religious groups: some were the adherents of traditional forms of Islam that emerged along ethnic lines like the Sufis, the others had a more radicalist approach like the Salafis. The supporters of traditional Islam did not want to accept the new muftis since it belonged to an Avar ethnic group in Dagestan. This resulted in a power struggle over who would control the Islamic institution. There were clerics in remote areas who stayed outside the control of the muftiat. They began to assert their influence in the region and to fight for legitimacy.

The Salafists, on the other hand, kept themselves outside the system and distanced themselves from the authorities and did not get involved in any ethnic competition.

A violent rivalry erupted between those who followed the traditional Islam and the defenders of radical Islam. Chechnya and Dagestan was a hotbed for this struggle.

The Federal government did not know how to handle this new situation and decided to support the traditionalists, the Sufi Islam, but the complex political and social situation in the region kept the Russians on the margins of the events.

Until Gorbachev, Islamic practices operated in its illegal form, but after 1990s, the North Caucasus experienced religious revival. Nationalist sentiments provided a major impulse for this religious revival.

However, the crime and corruption continued to spread because of the inability of the authorities and the traditional clerics to find any strategy to suppress the local conflicts.

Spreading crime and corruption in the region helped the Salafists. The Salafists appeared in Dagestan in the late 70s. Their main objectives were to attract young people with their radical ideology, especially with the movement's combination of religious faith. Socially active young people began to support them.

Salafism had influence on the insurgency in Chechnya from the mid-1990s.

To fight against the influence of the Salafism, religious and secular authorities decided to cooperate and declared Spiritual Board of Muslims of Dagestan in 1994 to be the only institution representing the interest of Dagestani people.

The Salafists began to receive financial help from international Islamic organizations. The government sent troops into Dagestan. They surrounded some villages in Dagestan and began to arrest Salafist imams, destroyed their buildings and mosques and burned all propaganda publications.

This policy sent the Salafists into hiding, and they stopped struggling with the Sufis, and began to struggle with the regional and central authorities causing further instability.

The radical Islamist movements began to spread across the region after the persecution of Salafists. However, their influence in the region was limited because they showed no tolerance to any national cultural traditions in the North Caucasus.

To avoid the government military operations many people began to migrate, and taking advantage of this situation, the Salafist shifted their location by joining the masses of migrants and began to operate in other republics.

The Salafists now appeared in the capitals of North Ossetia and Kabardino-Balkaria; in Nogay villages in Dagestan, Stavropolsky kray and Karachay-Cherkessia.

The Strategic Importance of Chechnya

Chechnya is a strategically important place in that it is a buffer zone for Russia against the Islamic world to its south. For Russia, main threat comes from the South Caucasus. Therefore, for Russia political control over the South Caucasus is a priority in the country's foreign policy.

Another reason that increases the political importance of Chechnya is oil industry. Chechnya is vital place in the transportation of Caspian oil from Azerbaijan and Kazakhstan. But, foreign companies do not transport oil from Chechnya via Grozny because it is unstable, and Chechnya is a hot-bed for international crime, narcotics, arm-trade and hijacking. The Russian government attempted to eliminate Dzhokhar Dudayev. A direct Russian military confrontation with the Dudayev's regime began in December 1994.



First Chechen War (1994 -1996)

The first of the important events before war was the seizure of power in the Checheno-Ingush Autonomous Republic by Dzhokhar Dudayev in 1991 who later proclaimed an independent Chechen Republic of Ichkeria. Russia and the international community did not recognize this republic.

There was continues fighting along the border between Chechnya and Ingushetia and the Russian government sent troops to the area.

In June 1992, the Russian government past a Law on the Formation of the Ingush Republic confirming the separation Ingushetia from Chechnya. In April 1993, Dudayev annuled the Chechen parliament and Chechnya found itself in disarray. Many ethnic Russian fled Chechnya.

In December 1994 federal troops were sent in to reinstate the federal government's authority in Chechnya. Grozny turned into a rubble. This sparked *the First Chechen War*.

Budyonovsk Hospital Hostage Crisis

During the First Chechen War, to end the war, the Chechen insurgents used guerrilla tactics and launched a series of hostage raids. In 1995, an ultimatum was issued by Shamil Basayev to cease hostilities and to start negotiations, otherwise they would conduct raids for hostages. They also demanded the Russian officials to bring a number of journalist to the scene.



The insurgents seized a hospital in the southern city of Budyonovsk in Stavropol Kray, taking around 2000 hostages. To show how serious they were in their demands, they killed one hostage. And then when the journalists did not appear at the scene on time, they killed five more hostages.

Hostages Released from the Hospital at Budyonovsk

President Boris Yeltsin sent Russian reinforcements to free the remaining hostages. The siege lasted three days. Special forces attacked the hospital compound on the fourth day. The insurgents showed fierce resistance. More than hundred people were killed

during crossfire. In the end, both sides began negotiations and signed a cease-fire agreement. After all the hostages were released, the Chechen rebels pulled back to their safe havens.

The first Chechen war destroyed Russia's connection with the region and ended in defeat of the Russian forces. It resulted in the emergence of authoritarian politics, the expansion of radical Islam, the increased corruption and criminality. Many ethnic Russians took refuge elsewhere in the Russian Federation. This resulted in the decline of social and economic life in the region.

Shift from Nationalist Agenda towards Islamist Aims

During the First Chechen War, international jihadi fighters were active in Chechnya. Some of them, under the leadership of an Arab Amir Khattab, joined in Chechnya's fight.

Chechen leaders such as Shamil Basayev, Arbi Barayev and Movladi Udugov cooperated with this group. The Chechen war transitioned from its nationalist objective towards more Islamist one.

Dzhokhar Dudayev was assassinated in a Russian rocket attack in April 1996. In May, President Yeltsin invited Dudayev's successor Zelimkhan Yanderbiev to the Kremlin. In June, Chechen and Russian authorities signed an agreement in Nazran, Ingushetia. The Russian troops left Chechnya.

However, the Russian government renewed its military operations right after the Russian presidential elections held in June 1996 annulling the Nazran agreement.

The Chechen insurgents gained control over Grozny in August 1996, and on 31 August, Russia and Chechnya signed a peace agreement in Khasavyurt, Dagestan.

Chechen Presidential Elections – Struggle for Power

In January 1997, presidential elections were held in Chechnya. Russia supported Aslan Maskhadov, and he won 60 per cent of the vote.

The animosity between Aslan Maskhadov and Shamil Basayev increased. It resulted in a struggle for power. They was no agreement on the status of the Chechen state, on the issue of the relations of Islam to the state, and on the degree of their relations with the federal state.

Basayev organized many guerrilla activities like Budyonnovsk hostage taking during the Chechen war. During the elections, he won 20 per cent of the vote and he became prime minister.

Pro-Russian Maskhadov was not able to consolidate his power. As a result, he lost control over the tribal groups (teip) and could not stop criminal activities.

In 1998, fighting intensified between the traditionalists and the radicals in Chechnya. Maskhadov had to discuss the situation with the federal government officials and felt the need to contact with other North Caucasus leaders.

Basayev sought to gain support from local fighters and wanted to start Islamization process in the North Caucasus.

Maskhadov lost control over the local forces. In order to reduce Basayev's monopoly over Islam, Maskhadov imposed Sharia law and a Shura in 1999.

Basayev's followers demanded that Chechnya should be united with Dagestan to built a single independent Islamic state.

On 2 August 1999, a Chechen headed army with a group of militants crossed Chechnya's border with Dagestan. The Chechen militants invaded Dagestan to help the local Chechen separatist and get support of them. Russian army was sent in Dagestan to fight against the Chechen militants. Chechen and Dagestani combined forces began to fight against Russian troops. The Chechen separatists were driven back to Chechnya.

The leaders of Dagestan condemned the Chechen invasion and demanded Maskhadov stop supporting the Chechen separatists.



In September 1999, over a ten day period, the Chechen militants bombed an apartment building in Dagestan, two in Moscow, and one in southern Russia, killing 300 people. There were several other explosions in Russia.

This gave Putin the pretext for launching an anti-terrorist operation to restore Russian authority in the region. He ordered the Russian army reenter Chechnya and and

this ignited *the Second Chechen War* in 1999.

To stabilize the situation in the North Caucasus, Putin appointed key regional officials loyal to Moscow. This operation was followed by territorial and administrative realignment of the region and increased militarization in the region. The Russian government carried out over a thousand operations.

Shifting the Balance of Power – Top-down Measures

In May 2000, Putin implemented a set of measures designed to consolidate central authority over the regions to reduce instability in the region. This was his justification for increased centralization.



Seven federal districts were created for the convenience of operations, and he appointed each district officials and state prosecutors to carry out the laws of the Russian Federation. All the federal institutions designed to adjust the new system. Putin also launched a policy of merging smaller regions into their larger neighbours.

The success in Chechnya increased Putin's popularity in the presidential election in March 2000. In June, Chechnya was placed under direct presidential rule.

He appointed the chief mufti of Chechnya, Akhmad Kadyrov as the head of the government in Chechnya.



Putin gave the Russian Government full authority to appoint or remove leaders of republics.

In 2002, Putin introduced a new set of economic and political reforms and indicated that all the regional leaders had agreed on these new arrangements.

Terrorist attacks by Chechen separatists against civilians in Russia increased. One of the incidents was the taking of hostages inside a Moscow theatre Dubrovka in October 2002. 912 people were held hostage in the theatre for

three days. 50 armed militants wearing explosives threatened to kill all the hostages if the Russian government did not end the aggression. The Russian special forces (Spetsnaz) stormed the theatre and killed 40 militants. 130 hostages died during the operation because of adverse reactions to the gas.

In 2001 Putin had replaced the president of Ingushetia, Ruslan Aushev, who had been a critic of Putin's approach to Chechnya and appointed Murat Zyazikov.



But, the Beslan school siege in North Ossetia in September 2004 gave Russia an excuse to abolish elections for regional leaders, and the leaders of Dagestan, Kabardino-Balkaria and North Ossetia were all replaced in 2005–2006 by Putin appointees. More than 300 civilians, police, and soldiers were killed. There was another terrorist attack in October 2005 to the town of Nalchik in Kabardino-Balkaria killing more than 50 people.

Putin's replacement of the local elites with his own candidates indicated that Russian government has imperialistic intentions to maintain control in the region. This policy was designed to suppress the political power of the regional elites to challenge Moscow.

However, his new set of reforms did not have profound impact. Some of the republics did not carry out his reforms.

Questions:

- 1- Describe which events brought Russia into the WWI? Why was the Caucasus Front important for Russia?
- 2- What was wrong with the policy implemented by the Russian government in Chechnya?
- 3- Why did the Menshevik administration and the Transcaucasian Sejm in the South Caucasus not recognize the Bolsheviks?
- 4- How were results of the elections for the *Constituent Assembly*? Why did Lenin abolish the Assembly?

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GOVERNMENT:

SOUTH CAUCASUS

GEORGIA: When the Bolsheviks came to power, the Russian Provisional Government established a *Special Transcaucasian Committee* (Ozakom) to govern the region in March 1917. In November 1917, the *Transcaucasian Commissariat* was replaced by a *Special Transcaucasian Committee*. They were anti-Bolshevik and sought the separation of Transcaucasia from the Bolshevik Russia.

From 1918 to 1921, Georgia was an independent state. The Red army occupied Tbilisi in February 1921, and the government of Georgia was forced to flee. From 1921 to 1991 the Soviet Socialist Republic of Georgia was one of the 15 republics of the Soviet Union.

First Secretaries of the Communist Party of Georgia began to rule from 1921 to 1991.

On 6 January 1992, Georgia was governed by a *Military Council* for two months. In 1995, the Constitution of Georgia was adopted and presidential and parliamentary elections were held to elect a president and his cabinet.

ARMENIA: After the fall of the Empire, the newly established Provisional Government abolished the Governor of the Transcaucasia in March, 1917 and formed the *Special Transcaucasian Committee*. Regional, provincial (marzer), city and rural commissariats were formed to act as local government institutions. In May 1919, the cabinet authorized the Ministry of Internal Affairs to organize Zemstvos (local assemblies). Local authority at the community level was held by mayors or village elders. There were also the district (gavarak) assemblies and the county (gavar) assemblies.

The Bolsheviks established the *Armenian Committee* (Armenkom) within the structure of the Russian Communist Party in September 1919. First Secretaries of the Communist Party of Armenia began to rule from 1920 to 1991.

In 1996, presidential elections were held to elect a president and his cabinet ministers.

AZERBAIJAN: A *Provisional Revolutionary Committee* took control in Azerbaijan on 28 April 1920, and established a new government called the *Council of People's Commissars of Azerbaijan SSR*.

However, after the announcement of the Constitution of Azerbaijan SSR in 1921, the *Revolutionary Committee* was abolished and *Central Executive Committee* took over as a supreme legislative body. The Central Executive Committee was also replaced with the legislative body *Supreme Soviet* in 1937.

In Azerbaijan SSR, the President was the head of state, and the state government was established on the principle of the division of powers: legislative, executive and judicial.

The *Milli Mejlis* (National Assembly) replaced the Supreme Soviet in 1994, and after a semi-presidential system was formed it was officially abolished in 1995.

NORTH CAUCASUS

CHECHNYA: During Soviet rule, Chechnya and Ingushetia were united to form the Chechen-Ingush Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic. A centralized form of government was established during the Soviet Union. With the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991, an independence *Chechen National Congress* (Chechen Republic of Ichkeria), was established. Some Chechen tribes were under the control of regional major *teips* which began to struggle for control the territory causing instability in the region. In October 1991, Dudayev became the elected president of the Chechen-Ingush Republic. On December 10, 1992, the Chechen-Ingush Republic was officially divided into the Ingush Republic and the Chechen Republic. Both republics were ruled by the Kremlin-appointed officials.

Besides the Russian controlled regional government, there was also a dual power, the secessionist government of Ichkeria which was not recognized by the Soviets. In 1991, Ichkeria became a member of the *Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization*. Aslan Maskhadov became president of the Republic of Ichkeria. The Republic lasted till 2000. Since the declaration of independence in 1991, there has been an continuing conflict between secessionist officials and federally appointed officials to establish control over the same territory.

MILITARY:

SOUTH CAUCASUS

GEORGIA:

Georgian Legion: The *Georgian Legion* was established in 1915 during the World War I by a former German vice-consul in Tbilisi, Count Friedrich Werner von der Schulenburg who received support from the German Empire-based Committee of Independent Georgia to restore Georgia's independence from the Soviet Union. The enlisted soldiers were Georgian émigrés and prisoners of war.

Tetri Giorgi: *Tetri Giorgi* was a military organization that was formed in the mid-1930s commanded by German officers and Georgian emigres.

National Guard: The Defence Forces were created on December 20, 1990 by order of President Zviad Gamsakhurdia. In January 1991, the Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev ordered Gamsakhurdia to stop the formation of the *National Guard*.

When the Soviet Union collapse, Georgia did not have military forces. National Guard and Land Forces were created on the basis of old Soviet formations. Military was composed of volunteers and Georgian officers served in the Soviet army.

The Soviet Army's 31st Army Corps stationed in Georgia left Kutaisi by the end of July 1993. The transferring of Transcaucasian Military District facilities, weapons and artillery began in 1992 and lasted till 1997.

The ground forces were comprised of five brigades: the 1st brigade (National Guard), the 2nd brigade stationed in Senaki, the 11th brigade stationed in Tbilisi, the 21st brigade stationed in Kutaisi, and the 25th brigade stationed in Adjara. There was also an artillery brigade, formed in November 1993.

ARMENIA: The Armenian Red Army was created in 1920 and provided the Soviet Red Army's 7th Guards Combined Arms Army of Transcaucasian Military District. It was composed of three ground brigades with three regiments and three battalions in each regiment, three cavalry regiments, three artillery regiments, five separate batteries, one plane, 3 motor rifle divisions, 10 cars, 20 trucks and two armored vehicles.

AZERBAIJAN:

Caucasian Native Cavalry Division: The Savage Division of the Imperial Army was formed in 1914 and was transformed into Caucasian Native Cavalry Division in 1917. It included Muslim volunteers of the Caucasus peoples.

Azerbaijani Special Corps: It was the first military unit of the Transcaucasian Commissariat created after Caucasian Native Cavalry Division in 1917 as part of. It was comprised of 5,000 men who served in the old Russian Imperial Army.

Red Army of Azerbaijan: In 1920, the Azerbaijani Red Army was created based on the Azerbaijan National Army of the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic.

Special Forces of Azerbaijan: The special forces were established in April 1999 under the Ministry of Defense. This unit consisted of officers and warrant officers who served in the First Nagorno-Karabakh War of 1991–1994.

NORTH CAUCASUS

CHECHNYA:

Kadyrovtsy: This is a personal paramilitary security force in Chechnya, loyal to the head of the Chechen Republic Akhmad Kadyrov. The Kadyrovtsy fought against the Russian Armed Forces in the First Chechen War, and in the Second Chechen War in 1999. After Akhmad Kadyrov was assassinated, his son Ramzan Kadyrov became the head of the Kadyrovtsy.

ECONOMY:

TRADE:

SOUTH CAUCASUS

GEORGIA: Having subtropical coastal regions, Georgia produced many of scarce and exotic goods for the Soviet Union. Fast growing Georgian trade networks provided trade throughout the Union. 95 percent of the tea and 90 percent of the citrus, flowers, tobacco and wine were produced in Georgia

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, the Georgian trade networks broke down in the changing political atmosphere. Georgian trade within Eurasia was limited with the newly established borders and international trade cut down the demand for Georgian products.

To increase trade relations between Georgia, Ukraine, Azerbaijan and Moldova, the *GUAM* (Organization for Democracy and Economic Development) was established in 1997.

ARMENIA: At the beginning of the 20th century, the copper industry was developed in Armenia and provided 28 percent of the total copper production of Russia. The second most exported productions were wines, vodka, and cognac. They also exported some agricultural products to Russia such as cheese, processed cotton and wool.

After the fall of the Soviet Union, many Armenian trade enterprises lost their markets. Also, the disruptions caused by the Nagorno-Karabakh war and the blockades to trade had a very bad impact on the national economy.

AZERBAIJAN: In 1912, the Azerbaijani internal and external trade conducted from Baku, Lankaran and Astara ports. In 1918, 1 million 300 thousand tons of oil were transported to the Soviet Union. Rice, cotton, silk, sugar, fruits, vegetables, tobacco and dried fish were also exported to the Russia.

The export of Azerbaijani oil provided through the Baku-Batumi oil pipeline and with the construction of the Baku-Julfa railway in 1919, Azerbaijan signed trade agreements with foreign companies and obtained the right to export Baku petroleum to the European countries through the Batumi port.

In 1941, Baku was occupied by the Germans, and the transporting of Baku oil was controlled by the Germans.

In 1994, foreign trade was liberalized. During the OSCE summit held in Istanbul on November 18, 1999, the presidents of Azerbaijan, Georgia and Turkey signed an agreement on the transportation of raw-oil via pipeline of Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan.

In 1997, in order to increase trade relations between Georgia, Ukraine, Azerbaijan and Moldova, the *GUAM Organization* was established.

NORTH CAUCASUS

CHECHNYA: Chechnya had political importance for Russia because of the oil industry. It is vital place in the transportation of Caspian oil from Azerbaijan and Kazakhstan. But, foreign companies do not transport oil from Chechnya via Grozny because it is unstable, and Chechnya is a hot-bed for international crime, narcotics, arms-trade and hijacking.

Questions:

- 1- Why did the *Special Transcaucasian Committee (Ozakom)* last only a short time?
- 2- When there were so many tribes in Chechnya that were under the control of regional major *teips*, how could the Russian state establish control over the territory and exercise their policies?

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CLASS:

SOUTH CAUCASUS:

GEORGIA: In the 1920s-1930s, all the classes existed during the Russian Empire (the nobels, clergy, merchants, townsman, rich peasants *kulaks*) were forcibly moved from their homeland, deprived of their possessions, or totally eliminated. The Proletariat was the new ruling class. After Lenin introduced the New Economic Policy (NEP) a new class, the so called *Nepman* (private entrepreneurs), appeared and it was liquidated as a class at the end of the 1920s.

The Soviet Union's official doctrine was to built classless society where everybody was equal, and to establish the *dictatorship of the proletariat*. However, after the 80s, this system changed and the ruling class became high-ranking party officials and the people who held key administrative positions called the *Nomenklatura*.

With the Collectivization during Stalin, there was a new class *kolkhozniki*, peasants who worked in collective farms. The other class *sluzhashchie* (white color employees).

ARMENIA:

The instrument of revolution was not the peasantry, but the urban working class. At the top of the social ladder was an urban bourgeoisie, merchants and industrialists. These groups also controlled the developing market economy in the Caucasus. The official Soviet Armenian threefold classification consisted of *sluzhashchie* (white color employees – state officials), workers and peasants. Baku had a developing Armenian middle class, that was loyal to the Russian administration. During Stalin's Collectivization, a new class of peasants, *kolkhozniki* were united in collective farms. The class of land owners was liquidated.

AZERBAIJAN: The majority of Azerbaijanis were peasants. In late 1918, Baku had a developing Armenian middle class. There was also a working class working in the oil industry. During Collectivization, peasants, *kolkhozniki* were united in collective farms.

NORTH CAUCASUS:

CHECHNYA: Chechen society was organized as a *tukkhum* (unions of clans) and there were about 100 mountain and 70 plain *teips*. Each *teip* had its own elected council of elders. The head of the council was a civilian chief (thamda). *Teips* are divided into *gar* (branches), and *gars* into *nekye* (patronymic families). During the Soviet Union, the village assemblies with their councils of elders were abolished. The Soviets weakened traditional *teip* institution. Since 1990, new *teip* structures were created. After the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991, the Chechen National Congress was formed and elected its president.

GENDER

SOUTH CAUCASUS:

GEORGIA: At the beginning of the 20th century, the national Georgian culture assigned women the role of breadwinner, housekeeper and mother. Under the Soviets, most urban women were allowed to work. Top-level political and business jobs were less available for women. Only few could have positions in the military, in the government and in law enforcement. The largest sector of female employment was agriculture. Women began to play a more active role in Georgian politics after the dissolution of the Soviet Union. Between 1995 and 2004, 18 female deputies were elected to the parliament. Women had equal access to education with men.

ARMENIA: In April 1917, a document issued by Catholicos Gevorg V urging the Armenian communities to respect the rights of women, their political participation in national affairs and their rights to vote for and to be elected into offices. Besides assigning role of motherhood and housekeeper, the Soviet authorities urged the liberation of women from housework and family life and encouraged women to work in political institutions. In 1990s, women made up 30 percent of the Armenian Supreme Soviet. Few women were allowed to have membership in the Politburo.

AZERBAIJAN: With establishment of the Democratic Republic of Azerbaijan in 1918, women become active members in public life. The Soviets encouraged women to become literate. The Institute of Pre-school education for Women established in 1921. In 1922, the Institute was converted into a Female Teacher-training Institute. In 1923, first women journal *Sharg Gadini* (Oriental Woman) was published in Azerbaijan .

Women substituted for men during the World War II when men went to the front. There were women pilots like Leyla Mamedbeyova and Zuleykha Seyidmamedova, and ship captains like Shovkat Salimova.

After independence, women's role in the society increased. However, the equal rights of women and the status of women in social and political life was not fully respected.

In 1995, Azerbaijan officially accepted the *Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women* (CEDAW).

Women's empowerment and enhancement of their status in society was emphasized at the first *Congress of Women of Azerbaijan* on the 25th of September 1998 which was the first women's forum held in Azerbaijan.

NORTH CAUCASUS

CHECHNYA: Chechens are patriarchal. But, women are highly respected and valued. During the Soviets, the Russian schools provided basic education for girls, and by 1932 more than 2,250 Chechen girls received education. By the late 1930s, some Chechen women with professional qualifications occupied responsible positions in the government and began to work as doctors, teachers and became party members.

The war in Chechnya had a profound effect on gender roles in Chechen society. When men were at war, women had to act as protectors of their families, and even can take leading roles in society which caused resentment among men.

Chechen women's status was lower, and their choices were much more limited than men. Their behaviour was under close scrutiny by both women and men.

Questions:

1- Although the Soviet authorities urged the liberation of women from housework and family life and encouraged women to join in public life, why was women's status still lower, and their choices were much more limited than men in all the Caucasus states?

Readings:

- 1- Layton, K.S., *Chechens Culture and Society*, Palgrave MacMillan, 2014.
- 2- Gachechiladze, R. "The Social Structure of the Population as a Social Dimension of the Democratic System (the Case Study of the Republic of Georgia)", NATO programme of "Democratic Institutions Fellowship", Department of Human Geography, Tbilisi State University, Tbilisi, Georgia, 1995-1997
- 3- Fitzpatrick, S. "Ascribing Class: The Construction of Social Identity in Soviet Russia", *The Journal of Modern History*, Dec., 1993, Vol. 65, No. 4 (Dec., 1993), pp. 745- 770
- 4- Payaslian, S., *The History of Armenia: From the Origins to the Present*, PalgraveMacMillan, 2007.
- 5- Jaimoukha, A., *The Chechens, A Handbook*, RoutledgeCurzon, 2005.

INNOVATION

SOUTH CAUCASUS:

GEORGIA: The *Georgian Academy of Sciences* was established in February of 1941. Physiologist Academician I. Beritashvili was one of the founders of the Institute of Physiology in 1935. There were discoveries in physical-chemical biology: discovery of isoprene emission from plants by G. Sanadze in the *Institute of Botany Georgian Academy of Sciences* in 1956; and the creation of differential scanning microcalorimetry to study thermodynamic characteristics of biological macromolecules in the *Institute of Physics Georgian Academy of Science* in 1965.

ARMENIA:

Ellipsoid method: Ellipsoid algorithm (polynomial-time algorithm) invented by Leonid Khachiyan was an iterative method for minimizing convex functions to solve linear programs.

Mergelyan's theorem: It is an analysis on the uniform approximation of functions of one complex variable by polynomials introduced by the mathematician Sergei Mergelyan in 1951.

Markarian galaxies: Astrophysist Benjamin Markarian discovered ultraviolet light from far galaxies.

BTA-6 Large Altazimuth Telescope: It is a 6 metre optical telescope was designed by Bagrat K. Ioannisiani in 1959 and placed at the *Special Astrophysical Observatory* in the Zelenchuksky District.

Cosmic Biology: Cosmic Biology was founded by Biochemist Norair Sissakian who made contributions to the biochemistry of sub-cell structures and technical biochemistry.

AZERBAIJAN:

Balaban: It is cylindrical-bore, double-reed wind instrument that was first used in Azerbaijan orchestra, when the *Orchestra of Folk Instrument* was established in Azerbaijan in 1931.

Meykhana: It is a literary and folk rap tradition appeared in 1920, including an improvised song performed by one or more people.

Neft Daslari: The oil platform *Neft Daslari* was built at 1,100 metres beneath the Caspian Sea in 1949 and it was the world's first offshore oil platform.

SCIENCE

SOUTH CAUCASUS

GEORGIA:

Georgian Historical-Ethnographic Society: The Georgian Historical-Ethnographic Society was established in 1907. The Society's members worked on the identification and protection of ancient Georgian historical monuments.

During Soviet rule, science, culture, and economy began to improve rapidly. New industrial facilities were built in Rustavi, Chiatura, Zestaponi, Batumi, and Tkibuli. There were Zemo-Avchala and Rioni hydroelectric stations were built, and the railroad network was expanded throughout the country.

The Menshevik government of Georgia established the Tbilisi State University in 1918 under the leadership of Georgian historian Ivane Javakhishvili. The Soviets also founded many institutes like the Georgian Polytechnic Institute, Georgian Agricultural Institute, Tbilisi Medical Institute, Tbilisi Academy of Arts etc.

The Faculty of Medicine of Tbilisi State University was built in September 1918 and many famous Georgian scientists and doctors studied in this University were M. Tsinamdzgvrishvili, V. Asatiani, K. Eristavi, V. Zhghenti, A. Tsulukidze, Av. Zurabashvili, P. Sarajishvili, and S. Khechinashvili.

In 1941, the Georgian National Academy of Sciences was established by a resolution of the Council of People's Commissars of the Georgian SSR.

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, scientific researches significantly dropped due to lack of funding for the development of science by the Georgian government.

Arnold Chikobava: Chikobava was a linguist and philologist. He was one of the founders of the Georgian Academy of Sciences. He was the opponent of Nicholas Marr's monogenetic "Japhetic" theory of language.

David Lordkipanidze: Lordkipanidze conducted excavation at Dmanisi and discovered the hominin fossil (skulls of an early hominin) named *Homo georgicus* (reclassified as *Homo erectus*).

ARMENIA:

Khachatour Koshtoyants: Koshtoyants was a physiologist who studied the theoretical foundations of evolutionary physiology and the problems of the evolution of functions of the organisms. In addition, he conducted research on the subject of neurotransmission.

Mikhail Chailakhyan: In 1936, Chailakhyan introduced the existence of a universal plant hormone, *florigen* in flowering. He worked on the agricultural applications of phytohormones and synthetic analogs.

Ezras Hasratyan: He was a neurophysiologist studying higher activity within the nervous system. He was well-known with his theory of adaptability of the nervous system.

AZERBAIJAN:

Mirali Seyidali oglu Qashqai: Qashqai was a geologist, who worked in the field of geomorphology and stratigraphy. He made valuable contribution to the studies of petrology and mineralogy studies in Azerbaijan.

Farman Gurban oglu Salmanov: Salmanov was a geologist who discovered big oil fields in Western Siberia in Tyumen Oblast in 1961.

Hajibey Farajulla oglu Sultanov: Sultanov was an astronomer and former head of the *Shamakhy Astrophysical Observatory*. Sultanov's main works tackle celestial mechanics and the genesis of the Solar System, as well as the origin, structure and evolution of the asteroid belt and minor planets. Sultanov developed the hypothesis that a ring of minor planets formed as a result of successive disintegrations of few larger primary bodies that emerged at the beginning of the evolution of protoplanetary material.

Ashraf Iskandar oglu Huseynov: Huseynov was a mathematician who made contributions to the studies of nonlinear singular integral equations, differential equations, potential theory and functional analysis.

NORTH CAUCASUS

CHECHNYA:

Vazif Meylanov: Mevlanov authored a mathematical theory of real-variable function "Sequences of closed sets of bounded variation converging in the deviation metric" published in 1974.

Questions:

1- Why after the demise of the Soviet Union, scientific researches significantly dropped in the Caucasus states?

Readings:

1-<http://kartvelologi.tsu.ge/public/en/arqive/3>

2- Boryskina, Y., "In focus: Georgia", Cell Cycle, 9:19, 3848-3850

PAINTING

SOUTH CAUCASUS

GEORGIA:

Niko Pirosmani: Pirosmani was a naïve painter focused mostly on the environment, people, animals, and food. He was the only Georgian animalist.



During the Soviet rule, the main themes of the artists were the life of the workers, patriotism, historical events, and the harmony between the surroundings and people.

Bagrat Shvelidze: Bagrat Shvelidze depicted the strong patriotism of young Georgians as in the *Remembering the Fallen Sons* (1972).

Radish Tordia: Tordia was a painter of figurative art. His romantic female portraits such as *Woman in Green* (1999) and *Melancoly* (1998), provided all the details of a woman's life, her moods, her feelings, and her expectations.



ARMENIA:

Alexander Bazhbeuk-Melikian: Melikian was a painter and sculpture depicted female figures dancing, working in a circus, magicians, jugglers, exotically dressed women, women at stage performances etc.



Martiros Sarian: Sarian was the best Armenian landscape painter who was also the founder of a modern Armenian national school of painting. Her paintings were known with their rich colors and simple natural forms.

Minas Avetisian: Avetisian was nature painter, who depicted the nature of his birth place Jajur, the religion, poor people, mountains, and fields.



AZERBAIJAN:



Azim Azimzade: Azim Azimzade was an illustrator, painter and caricaturist. In his paintings, he often used the themes of society's injustices, educational opportunities and women's rights. Azimzade created a thematic series where he examined social inequality, as in *Wedding of the Rich People* and *Wedding of the Poor People*.

Wedding of the Poor People, 1931

Gazanfar Khalykov: In his paintings, Khalykov depicted historical and modern themes.



Khalykov's self portrait

Sattar Bahlulzade: Bahlulzade was an artist of landscape painting who depicted nature with his surrealistic style.

Tahir Salahov: Salahov depicted real life without any idealization as in his *At the Caspian Sea*, 1967. He became the First Secretary of the Artists'



Union of the USSR (1973–1992), Vice-President of the Russian Academy of Arts.

NORTH CAUCASUS

CHECHNYA: Painting and graphic art in Chechnya were born only after 1917.

The Union of Painters of the Chechen-Ingush ASSR was established in 1943.

Amandi Asukhanov: Asukhanov was a landscape painter who depicted his native land in his works as in *Lilac Castle*, and *Views of My Native Land*.

Zamir Yushaev: Yushaev was a surrealist artist. He depicted his people and his native land as in *the Letter on Mother*.



SCULPTURE

SOUTH CAUCASUS



GEORGIA:



Zurab Tsereteli: Tsereteli was a painter, sculptor and architect who created the tallest statue in the world, *the statue of Peter the Great* in downtown Moscow. He served as the President of the Russian Academy of Arts since 1997.

Chronicle of Georgia: This monument was built by Zurab Tsereteli in 1985. It is located near the Tbilisi sea. At the top, Tsereteli depicted half features of the kings, queens and heroes, and on the bottom part, there were scenes from the life of Christ.



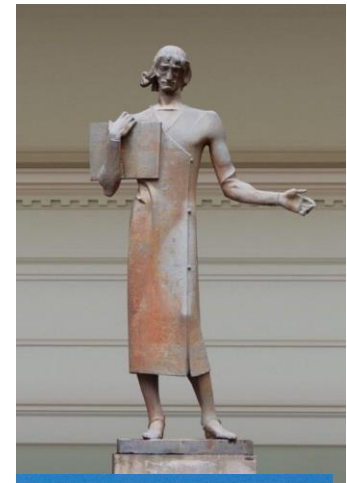
Iakob Nikoladze: In 1922, Nikoladze became the first teacher at the Faculty of Sculpture at the Tbilisi State Academy of Arts. His most famous sculptures were: *The Old Jew* (1896), *The Wind* (1905), *Salomea* (1906), and *Grieving Georgia* (1913).

Iakob Nikoladze Wind 1905



Kartlis Deda was a monument built by Elguja Amashukeli in Tbilisi in 1958. It stands on the top of Sololaki hill.

Merab Berdzenishvili: Georgian sculpture Merdzenishvili's monumental sculptures were monuments of David Guramishvili (1959), Shota Rustaveli (Tbilisi), Giorgi Saakadze (Kaspi), Medea (Bichvinta), Didgori Memorial (Digori), Soldier's Father (Gurjaani), Ketevan (Tbilisi), and King David *Aghmashenebeli* (Tbilisi).



Tamara Abakelia: Abakelia was a sculptor and theatre designer. She made works depicting WWII as in *We will revenge* (1944).

Merab Merabishvili: Merabishvili was a sculptor, and an academician. He created the *monuments of Alexander Griboedov* in Tbilisi (1961), *King Erekle II* in Telavi (1972), and *Peter Bagrationi* in Tbilisi (1984) and Moscow (1999).

King Erekle II



Aragveli monument, Zhinvali



300 Aragveli Monument was built in 1959 by A. Bakradze to immortalize 300 brave Georgian soldiers from the Aragvi Valley who sacrificed themselves for their country in the Krtsanisi battle near Tbilisi.

ARMENIA:

Aytsemnik Urartu: Urartu was another 20th century sculptor known with his statue *the Girl with Pitcher* in 1939.

Sargis Baghdasaryan: Baghdasaryan was a sculptor known with his work *We Are Our Mountains* (1967) a monument carved into the tuff outside Stepanakert.

Getik Baghdasaryan: Baghdasaryan was a sculptor in Yerevan created his work with tuff as in *The Pope's Monument* in Echmiadzin (1982), *Hazaran Blbul* in Arzni (1982), *Zitan* symposium in Ijevan (1985), *Zangezur Gateways* (1987) and many more.



Ghukas Chubaryan: Chubaryan was a sculptor of post-Stalin period famous with his basalt *Monument of Mesrop Mashtots*, the decorative ornaments on the government building (1950) and the facade of Yerevan Opera House (1980).

Monument of Mesrop Mashtots, 1962

Tereza Mirzoyan: Mirzoyan created the bust of Armenian physician Amirdovlat Amasiatsi and Bronze bust of the father of Armenian medicine of the 12th century *Mkhitar Heratsi* in Yerevan. She also created the sculpture called *Loves me, doesn't love me* in the late 1980s.



Ara Shiraz: Shiraz was an Armenian sculptor. He became the president of the *Artists' Union of Armenia* in 1987. He created many statues like the statue of Yeghishe Charents in Charentsavan (1977), the statue of Paruyr Sevak in Yerevan (1978), the statue of Aleksandr Miasnikian in Yerevan (1980), the statue of William Saroyan in Yerevan (1984), the statue of Tigran Petrosian in Yerevan (1989), the statue of Hovhannes Shiraz in Yerevan (1989) and the statue of Sergei Parajanov in Yerevan (1999).



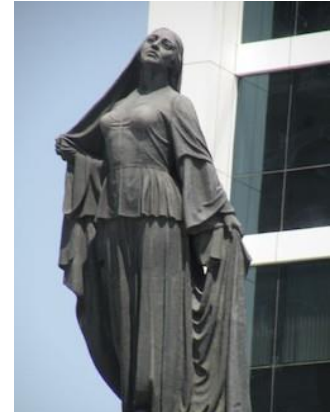
AZERBAIJAN:

In the early 20th century, numerous statues, decorative monuments and busts created by Azerbaijani sculptors.

Ibrahim Guliyev: He was famous with his monument called *Motherland* in Ganja. In 1955 he also created the portrait bust of V. Lenin.

Fuad Abdurrahmanov: Fuad Abdurrahmanov was one of the founders of Soviet monumental sculpture. He created monumental statue of *Nizami* (1946), statue of Samed Vurgun (1961), statue of Mehdi Huseynzadeh (1973) and many others.

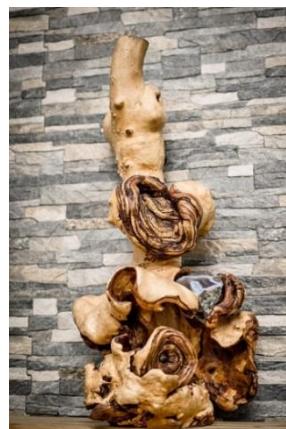
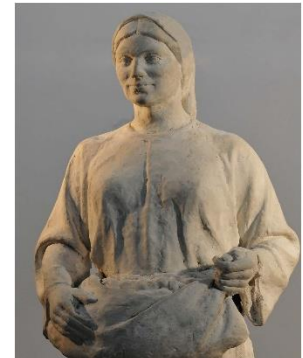
Jalal Garyaghdı: After Fuad Abdurrahmanov, Garyaghdı's statues made valuable contribution to the development of Azerbaijani monumental statue art. He is famous with his statue of Molla Penah Vagif (1939). Garyaghdı created a monument to the satirical poet Sabir in 1958 in Baku. He also made a portrait of Niyazi, Rashid Behbudov, Mirza Alakbar Sabir, Jahangir Jahangirov and Khurshidbanu Natavan.



Omar Hasan oglu Eldarov: Eldarov was another sculptor in Azerbaijan. He sculpted portrait of Sattar Bahlulzade, a bust of Muslim Mogomayev, monument of Huseyn Javid (1993), monument of Mammed Amin Rasulzade (1995) and memorial to Fizuli.

Tokay Habib oglu Mammadov was a sculptor and the head of the Union of Artists of Azerbaijan in 1970-1972. He was well-known with his bronze busts to veterans of war, Adil Guliyev, Bahaddin Mirzoyev; sculptural portrait of Samad Vurgun (1987), a monument to Nasimi (1979).

Zivar Mammadova: Mammadova was the first woman sculptor of Azerbaijan. Mammadova created portrait sculptures of eminent people in Azerbaijan like the sculptures of Azim Azimzade, Huseynqulu Sarabski, Meshadi Azizbayov, Idris Suleymanov, Uzeyir Hajibeyli and others. She was also known with her sculpture of the *Farmers women* (1940).



NORTH CAUCASUS

CHECHNYA:

Ilyas Dutaev: Dutaev was a wood-sculptor, and a pioneer in the art of miniature wood-carving. His works reflected national culture and traditions. His works included *Gluttons*, *Expectation of a Son* and *Dancing Son*.

Iles Tataev: Tataev was a wood-sculptor who created *The Tenth Wave*, *When a Man Loses His Head*, *A Radar of the Planet*, *A Lady with a Dog*, *An Idea*, *Danko*, *Salvador Dali—Symphony*, and *Motherhood*.

ARCHITECTURE

SOUTH CAUCASUS

GEORGIA: The 20th century Georgian architecture shows diversity from Modernism to Neo-Gothic and Neo-Romantic architecture. Radical change in architecture began.

Circular architecture was a common design used in Georgian Soviet architecture as in *Palace of Ceremonies* built by the architects V. Jorbenadze and V. Orbeladze under the influences of German avant-garde expressionism. The similar structure also was used in the *Archaeological Museum*.

Chronicle of Georgia: The monument was built by Zurab Tsereteli in 1985. It was a chronicle of the history of Georgia situated at the top of a large set of stairs. There are 16 pillars, at the top, there are figures of half kings, queens and heroes, at the bottom the life of Christ was depicted.



Late Soviet architecture shows futuristic elements as in the *Institute of Physiology* built in 1986 by architects V. Gelashvili, T. Todradze, D. Kostov, D. Tevdoradze, and O. Phanozashvili.



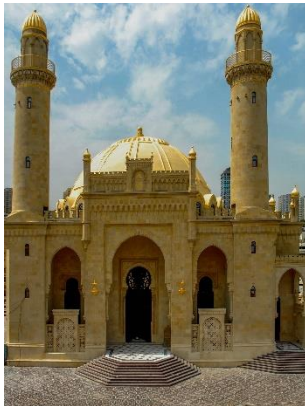
ARMENIA: One of the architects of the 20th century was Baghdasar Arzoumanian. He built many civil and church buildings in Armenia. He is the architecture of the *City Hall of Vanadzor*, *Erebuni Museum*, *David of Sassoun metro station* and the *Degustation Hall* at Yerevan Brandy Factory.



The other well-known architects were Rafael Israyelyan, G. Kochar, E. Tigranyan, S. Safaryan, etc. Today the masters of Armenian architecture are S.Gurzadyan, S. Kalashyan, L. Khristaforyan, and R. Asratyan.



AZERBAIJAN:



At the beginning of the 20th century, during the oil boom period, modern style architecture dominated the buildings in Azerbaijan carrying Mauritanian, Romanic and Gothic elements as in the *Ismailiyye Palace* and the *Theatre of Mailov Brothers*.

Zirvarbay Ahmadbayov was one of the early architects of the 20th century who built the *Baku-Blue Mosque*, *Taza Pir Mosque* and *Murtuza Mukhtarov Mosque*.

During the Soviet period, working settlements in Absheron, Binagadi, Rasulzade, Bakikhanov, Mammadyarov and Montino were all built by the Soviets.



The *Polytechnical Institute of Azerbaijan* was constructed in 1929. The architects S.Dadashov and M.Useyinov built the *the Oil Academy* in 1932 and the *Pedagogical Technical School in Gazakh* in 1933.





The Nizami Theatre and the former building of the Ministry of Food Industry of the Republic of Azerbaijan (1937-1939) built by S.Dadashov and M.Useynov combined the techniques of the antique Greek and Renaissance architecture with the national traditional architecture.

The characteristics of the Soviet style architecture were to be found in the building of the *Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of*

Azerbaijan built in the 50s. Other constructions that were built around the same time were *Lenin's Central Museum* built by H. Majidov in 1955, *M.F. Akhundov's Republican Library* built by M.Useynov in 1960, and the *Azerbaijan State Theater of Drama* built by G. Alizade and M. Mammadov in 1960.



The Soviet-engineered metro of the Baku was opened in



1967. The second line, the Nizami Subway, was opened in 1976. These subways have typical features of the Soviet style of architecture and fine arts blended with national Azerbaijani motifs. The other lines were completed in 1985 and in 1989.

NORTH CAUCASUS

CHECHNYA: In Chechnya, big towns, especially Grozny had Soviet style of architecture. After World War II, monotonous standard and utilitarian architecture began to appear in Chechnya. In the second half of the century, skyscrapers and prefabricated buildings were erected in Chechnya.

MUSIC

SOUTH CAUCASUS

GEORGIA:

Dimitri Arakishvili: Arakishvili was a Georgian composer who collected traditional music and 500 folk songs during his travels from 1901–1908. In 1918, he became the director of the Tbilisi Conservatory. He was well-known with his first book on *Georgian folk music* published in 1916 and his second book *East Georgian Folk Songs* published in 1948. He was also the director of the Union of Georgian Composers since 1932. He was the author of the opera *Tqmuleba Shota Rustavelze* (1914).

Zachary Paliashvili: Paliashvili served as a director of the Georgian Philharmonic Society from 1908–1917. In 1922, he became the chief conductor of the Tbilisi Opera Theater. He directed the Tbilisi Conservatory from 1919–1932. He was the author of the operas *Abesalom and Eteri* (1919), *Dusk* (1923), and *Latavra* (1928).

Meliton Antonovich Balanchivadze: Balanchivadze founded *the Kutaisi Music College* in 1918 and became the director of the Department of Music of the Georgian Commissariat of Education, directed the Batumi School of Music and the Kutaisi Music College from 1921–1937. He made valuable contributions to the development of the modern Georgian opera.

Konstantine Potskhverashvili: Potskhverashvili worked as a director of the State Academic Choir of Georgia between 1921–1935. He was the author of the operas *Manana* and *Armazi*, symphonic works *Overthrow of Idols* and *Amirani*, chorus songs *Song of Victory*, *Lashkruli*, *Adjarian Makruli*.

Vano Muradeli: Georgian composer Vano Muradeli wrote patriotic songs about his motherland. He composed the operas *The Great Friendship* (1948) and *October* (1961). He became the director of the Composers' Union of Georgia in 1938–1939.

Rustavi Ensemble: Rustavi Ensemble was a folk music ensemble established by a folklorist and singer Anzor Erkomaishvili in 1968. He united singers from various parts of Georgia to create choirs and a repertory of regional folk music.

National Anthem: The first Georgian national anthem, *Idide marad chveno samshblor* composed by Otar Taktakishvili was created in 1946 and used till 1991.

The second anthem, *Dideba zetsit kurtkheuls*, was created after the declaration of Georgia's independence in 1991.

Rustavi Choir: This choir was established in 1968, and performs traditional repertoires.

ARMENIA:

Komitas (Sghomon Sghomonian): Priest, composer and musicologist Komitas was the founder of the Armenian national school of music and father of ethnomusicology. He became the director of the Gevorgian Seminary choir. He collected, transcribed and annotated Armenian folk songs, and published a book consisted of 50 folks songs titled *One Thousand and One Songs* in 1903.

Armen Tigranian: Tigranian was a composer and conductor and he was the author of the five act opera *Anush*. His second opera *David Bek* was composed in 1940. He also wrote *Leily and Mejnun*, *Eastern Dance* for symphonic orchestra.

Sergei Zakharovich Aslamazyan: Aslamazyan was a composer, and a co-founder and a member of Komitas Quartet in 1925 - 1968. He created *Suite on Armenian Folk Songs* for string quartet in 1950, and *Variations on a Theme by Paganini* for string quartet in 1961.

Artemi (Harutyun) Ayvazyan: Ayvazyan was a composer, conductor, founder of the Armenian State Jazz Orchestra. He was the head of the Armenian State Estrada (Jazz) Orchestra till 1956.

Arno Babadjanian: Babadjanian was the follower of the Westernization trend combined with folkloric traditions in Armenia. Babadjanian wrote the *Heroic Ballade* for the piano and orchestra, and *Armenian Rhapsody*, for two pianos.

Aram Khachaturian: Khachaturian was another proponent of the Westernization of Armenian music. He wrote the Armenian state anthem, and composed the ballets *Gayane* in 1942 and *Spartacus* in 1956. He also wrote three symphonies and three concertos.

AZERBAIJAN:

Ashugs: The performances of Ashugs accompanied with musician with three-string violin, an eleven-string guitar, and a drum continued in the 20th century. The most popular song competitions among the ashugi called *dyishme*.

Azerbaijani songs were mostly performed solo. Choirs were not popular in Azerbaijan.

Mugham Mugham is an Azerbaijani modal system that has its roots in the Eastern musical culture.

There were mugham assemblies like *Mejlis-Faramushan* in Shusha, *Beytus-Safa* in Shamakhy and *Music Assembly of Mahmud Aga* in Baku.

Some Azerbaijani singers performing mugham during the Soviet Union were Alasgar Abdullayev, Gulu Astarov, Nariman Aliyev, Hagigat Rzayeva, Yavar Kalantarli and Zahra Rahimova.

Fikret Mashadi Jamil oghlu Amirov: Amirov was a composer who was the founder of symphonic mugam which was based on traditional folk songs.

He wrote symphonies *Shur* (1946), *Kurd Ovshari* (1949), *Azerbaijan Capriccio* (1961), *Gulistan Bayati-Shiraz* (1968), *The Legend of Nasimi* (1977) and an opera, *Sevil* (1953).

Uzeyir Gadjiyev: In the early 20th century, the Azerbaijani musicians began to blend Azerbaijani folk songs with the Western music genres. Uzeyir Gadjiyev was able to combine Eastern and Western traditions and became the first composer of classical music and opera. Under the influence of the Russian opera, he included songs from Russian operas by Ivan Glinka in his works. In 1908, Gadjiyev composed his first opera, *Leyli and Majnun*, then the second opera *Sheikh* in 1909. The other operas he wrote were *Rustam and Sohrab* (1910), *Asli and Karam* (1912), *Shah Abbas and Khurshid Banu* (1912), *Koroglu* and *Harun and Leyli* (1915). Gadjiyev also wrote the musical comedy *Arshin Mal Alan* in 1913, and composed the *National Anthem* of Azerbaijan in 1944. During the second half of the 20th century, with the initiative of Gadjiyev, tar and kamancha performances reached the higher level of development.

Kara Karayev: In the 1930s, Karayev combined the elements of the Western classical music with the elements of traditional Azerbaijani music and included folkloric instruments into the symphonic orchestra.

Muslim Magomayev: Magomayev was a composer and conductor. Magomayev wrote his first opera *Shah Ismail* under the influence of European opera written on the basis of an Azeri folk epic. He composed his second opera *Nargiz* in 1935 which consisted of Azerbaijani folk songs. Magomayev also wrote 15 rhapsodies. He gathered 300 Azerbaijani folk songs in a book called *The Collection of Azerbaijani Folk Songs*.

Afrasiyab Badal oghlu Badalbeyli: Composer Badalbeyli was the writer of librettos for the Azerbaijani opera *Bahadir va Sona* and the ballets *Giz Galasi*, *Garaja Giz* and *Gizil Achar*. Between 1950 – 1960, he wrote books on the history and development of classical music in Azerbaijan such as: *Discussions on Music and Musical Dictionary*.

NORTH CAUCASUS

CHECHNYA:

Ch'oedargoi (Bards): *Ch'oedargoi* were *bards* who composed and performed songs (including *illi*) like folk singer Imam Alimsultanov. Many songs were also written by bard Baudin Suleimanov.

Said-Emin Umarovich Dimayev: Folk musician, accordion (komuk or kekhat-pondur) player, composer. Dimayev served as an artistic director of the Chechen-Ingush State Philharmonic Society. He wrote chamber music, film music, overtures, and folk music.

Chechen-Ingush Philharmonic Society: Music schools opened in Grozny and in other towns in Chechnya during the Soviet rule. In 1936, the *Chechen-Ingush Philharmonic Society* and the *State Song and Dance Ensemble* were established. Musicians combined traditional Vainakh music with the Western classical music and gave public performances.

DANCE

SOUTH CAUCASUS

GEORGIA: Iliko Sukhishvili and Nina Ramishvili **were the founders of** Georgian national ballet.

Georgian State Dance Company: The *Georgian State Dance Company* was the first professional state dance company that performed folk dances and toured worldwide founded by Iliko Sukhishvili and Nina Ramishvili in 1945.

The Georgian Folk Dance Ensemble: Nino Ramishvili and Iliko Sukhishvili became artistic directors of



this Ensemble. In Georgian folk dances, the men leap high in the air and turn, clash the swords and throw the daggers on the floor. The women, in contrast, dances on their toes gracefully. Khevsuruli, Davruli, Khorumi, Suliko, Khanjluri, Kartuli, Svanuri, Mtiuluri, Samaia and Acharuli are among the folk dances performed by this Ensemble.

Rustavi Ensemble: The Rustavi Ensemble was created in 1968 by Anzor Erkomaishvili. Besides polyphonic singing, they perform national traditional dances.

Rustavi Ensemble dancers performing the Khevsuruli

Vakhtang Chabukiani: Chabukiani transformed the classical ballet by including Georgian characteristics. Chabukiani was not only a choreographer but he became an artistic director of the *Paliashvili Theatre of Opera and Ballet* (1941–1973). He became the ballet master and director of the *Tbilisi Choreographic Academy* (1950–1973). They staged the productions *Heart of the Mountains* (1941), *Sinatle* (1947), *Laurencia* (1948), *Gorda* (1950), *For Peace* (1953), *Othello* (1957), *Demon* (1961), *Bolero* (1971), *Hamlet* (1971), and *Apasionata* (1980).

ARMENIA: Traditional Armenian dances were performed with slow steps so that one could easily sing and dance simultaneously. The *barbashi* (dance leader) lead the people by facing and singing to the other dancers in the line. Dancing is always accompanied with a song, clapping of hands by the spectators, and musical instruments. Dancers might perform circle, solo or couple dances.

Many dance schools were established in Armenia in the 1920s: the *Alexandropol (Gyumri) Opera-Operetta Theater Group* (1923). *St. Mkhitarian's Household Dances* and *V. Avetikyan's Rhythm and Plastic Schools* (1923-1924). V. Aristakesyan opened the *State Dance Studio* in Yerevan in 1924.

The troupe of the Opera and Ballet Theater was opened in Yerevan in 1933, and in 1934, a ballet studio was created adjacent to the theater by V. Presnyakov.



Sabre Dance: The sabre dance was a dance performed by the dancers to display their skill with sabres as in the final act of Aram Khachaturian's ballet called *Gayane* (1942).

Norayr Mehrabyan: From 1973 to 1983 he was an artistic director of the Yerevan State Choreographic School. He was also the head of the State Dance Ensemble of Armenia. Between 1984 – 1986, he was an artistic director of the National Academic State Theatre of Opera and Ballet. He also created Barekamutyun Ensemble in 1987.

Barekamutyun Ensemble: Ensemble was created in 1987 by Norayr Mehrabyan. The *Barekamutyun* performs national folk dances and dances

of various nations.

AZERBAIJAN:

Kilim Arasy (Between the Rugs): During the folk dance *Kilim Arasy*, the dancer hides himself under a carpet makes gestures with his hands and his legs.

Maral Oyun (Deer Game): In *Maral oyun*, dancer wears a deer costume and imitates the animal's movements.

Afrasiyab Badal oğlu Badalbeyli: Badalbeyli wrote the first Azerbaijani ballet, *Giz Galasi* (Maiden Tower) in 1940 which was composed on basis of national dance music, mugham and classical ballet.

He also wrote *Khalg Gazabi* (The Popular Rage) in 1941, *Nizami* in 1948 and *Soyudlar aghlamaz* (Willows Don't Cry) in 1971. He authored a book on *The Azerbaijan State Opera and Ballet Theatre*.



The other composers Soltan Ismayil oghlu Hajibeyov who wrote second ballet *Gulshen* staged successfully at the Azerbaijan State Academic Opera and Ballet Theater in 1950; and Fikrat Amirov who wrote *Nizami* in 1947 and *Arabian Nights*, which premiered in 1979 were also valuable contributions to the history of the Azerbaijani ballet.

Ismayil Hidayetzade, Mehdi Mammadov, Adil Isgandarov, Sultan Dadashov and Firudin Safarov and conductors such as Niyazi, Ashraf Hasanov, Ahad Israfilzade, Rauf Abdullayev and Kamal Abdullayev were the directors who played a important role in the development of Azerbaijani ballet.

NORTH CAUCASUS

CHECHNYA:

Daymohk: The Children Dance Ensemble Daymohk consisted of 28 dancers who were chosen from school children aged 8 to 16 and five musicians from Grozny performed as duos or solos the traditional dances of Chechnya and other Caucasian nations. The Ensemble was established by Ramzan Akhmadov.

Lovzar: Lovzar was another Chechen children's dance ensemble founded in 1983 consisted of 30 boys and 30 girls performing traditional Chechen dance.

During the Soviet period, dance academies and choreographic institutes were established in Chechen-Ingushetia where the repertoires of the companies consisted of folkloric dances from the various nationalities in the North Caucasus.

State Folk Dance Ensemble *Vainakh*: The Chechen-Ingush State Folk Dance Ensemble was established in 1939 by Vakha Dakashev, Abdula Khamidov and Vakha Tataev. The Ensemble consisted of 15 dancers and a choir touring in different cities of the Soviet Union.

THEATRE

SOUTH CAUCASUS

GEORGIA:

Batumi Drama Society: In 1913, a Drama Society was established in Batumi, led by Ivane Meskhi. The management of the Drama Society formed a troupe of professional actors under the director Shalva Dadiani.

The development of Georgian theater was connected to an actor and director, Konstantine (Kote) Mardzhanishvili. He was the founder of the first national theater, which was named after him. Mardzhanishvili believed that the theater was an institution that could serve as a podium to present the most progressive ideas. He produced Oscar Wilde's *Salomé* in 1917. He was the head of the Rustaveli Theater in Tbilisi in 1922. He opened a drama theatre in Kutaisi in 1928. Later, the theatre was named after him and moved to Tbilisi in 1930. He staged his first play Ernest Toller's *Popola, We Are Living, The End of the "Nadezhda"* (1909), Dostoevsky's *Brothers Karamazov* (1910), Ibsen's *Per Gynt* (1912), Offenbach's *Die Schöne Helena* (1913), Mozart's *Entführung aus dem Serail* (1923), Eristavi's *Partition* (1823), Arakishvili's *The Tale of Shota Rustaveli* (1923), Shakespeare's *Hamlet* (1925), Kutateli's *Midnight Past* (1929), and Rossini's *William Tell* (1931) and many more. Marjanishvili had close contact with the Russian directors Stanislavsky and Nemirovich - Danchenko. He skillfully blended the features of the Russian and European theatrical tradition with the Georgian traditional features and worked on romantic and heroic themes.

Alexander (Sandro) Akhmeteli denounced Marjanishvili's support of the Soviet realism in Georgian artistic traditions, and he was against Stanislavski's system claiming that it was only suitable to Russian theater, but not to Georgian theater. After Marjanishvili, Akhmeteli became a theatre director of the Rustaveli theatre from 1926 to 1935. He also created his own artistic corporation called *Duruji*. Akhmeteli produced theater plays and operas such as Glebov's *Zagmuk* (1926), Shanshiashvili's *Anzor* (1928), Lavrenyov's *Break-up* (1928) Kirshon's *City of the Winds* (1929), Dadiani's *Tetnuldi* (1931), and Arakishvili's *The Tale of Shota Rustaveli*.

With the establishment of Bolshevik rule in Georgia, due to heavy censorship, theater plays shifted their focus on the life of peasants, workers, and Revolutionaries in the 1930s. During the World War II, Georgian theaters staged the plays that focused on Georgian past and nationalism. In the 1950s, theaters mostly staged works of European authors such as Shakespeare's *Othello*, *Antony and Cleopatra*, *Richard II*, and Sophocle's *Oedipus Rex* and many others.

In the 1960s–1980s, theaters began to part ways with realism and staged experimental performances. Robert Sturua was Georgian theater director who became famous with his own interpretation of classics like Shakespeare's plays *Richard III* (1979) and *King Lear* (1987), and Brecht's play *The Caucasian Chalk Circle* (1975). During the civil war in Georgia in the 1990s, the Rustaveli Theater staged the experimental plays such as *ABC*, *Macbeth*, *Lamara*, *Life Is a Dream*, *Irine's Happiness*, *Women-Snake* under the direction of Sturua.

Metekhi Youth Studio Theater: The theater was established in the 70s in Tbilisi in a church. They performed the Russian, Georgian and European classics like Ostrovsky's *How the Steel was Tempered*,

Shakespeare's *Hamlet* and *People*, a story called *Look at the Vine* which was based on a story by Sandro Mrevlishvili.

Tumanishvili Studio Theater of Film Actors: Theater opened by director Mikheil Tumanishvili in 1977. One of the most popular performances was *Chinchraka* that was based on actors' improvisation.

State Pantomime Theater: It was established in Tbilisi in 1982 under the directives of Amiran Shalikashvili.

Tbilisi Marionette Theater: Marionette theater was the only puppet-show theater established by director and screenwriter Rezo Gabriadze in 1981. Gabriadze made his puppets, costumes and designed the set and directed the shows. They performed not only Georgian, but also European and Russian classics like *Alfred and Violetta*, *The Autumn of my Spring* and *Marshal Fantiere's Diamonds*.

Youth Theater at Rustaveli Theater: The Youth theater was founded by the graduating class of academician Gizo Zhordania in 1986. They performed national and foreign dramas like the *Stepmother Samanishvili* and *The Diary of Anne Frank* in the memorial house where the playwright David Kldiashvili lived and took the actual objects and decoration from the museum.

ARMENIA: Armenian theater was based on the genre of psychological realism which emphasized the emotional environment of their personages.

New theatres were opened in Yerevan and other cities in the early 20th century. The Theatre of A. Mravyan was opened in Leninakan in 1928 and the Yerevan State Azerbaijan Theatre of J. Jabbarly was opened in 1928. Many theatres performed European dramas from Shakespeare, Schiller, Brecht and Ibsen. Playwright Gabriel Sundukyan was the founder of Armenian drama. He wrote his play *Love and Freedom* in 1910. He opened *Gabriel Sundukyan State Academic Theater* in 1922 in Yerevan, and it was named after him. The theater staged European (Camus's *Caligula*, Brecht's *Resistible Rise of Arturo Ui*), Russian (Chekhov's *Cherry Orchard*) and national plays (Sundukyan's *Testament*), and many others.

In the first half of the 20th century, the other playwrights and directors were Alexander Movsisian who adopted pen-name Shirvanzade who wrote the drama *Namus* (1911). Derenik Demirchian was a playwright who wrote *Nazar the Brave* (Kaj Nazar, 1923). Vardan Ajemyan was a director who opened the *Second Armenian State Theatre* (Gyumri State Theatre). He became a director of *Yerevan Sundukian Theatre* in 1939 and directed Alexander Shirvanzade's *For the Honour* (1939), Papazian's *Rock* (1944), Nairi Zarian's *Ara Geghetsik* (1946), William Saroyan's *My Heart is in the Mountains* (1961) and Aramashot Papayan's *The World, Yes, Turned Upside Down* (1967).

Paronyan Musical Comedy Theater: Paronyan Theater was founded in 1941 in Yerevan and it was named after Hakob Paronyan. Directors and actors Vardan Mkrtychi Ajemian and Karp Khachvankyan worked in this theater and opened the theater to a wide audience.

Yerevan State Institute of Theatrical Arts: In 1944, the Institute was established by the Armenian director Vavik Vardanyan in Yerevan. The Institute was merged with *State Academy of Fine Arts of Armenia* in 1953. In 1953, this Institute named *Yerevan State Institute of Art and Theater*. In 1994, it was divided into two separate institutions: *State Academy of Fine Arts of Armenia* and *Yerevan State Institute of Theater*.

AZERBAIJAN:

In the 20th century, the Azerbaijani writers N.Vezirov, A. Hagverdiyev, J. Mamedgulizade and S.S. Akhundov played an active role in the development of Azerbaijani theater, and the actors and producers such as N. Narimanov, U. Hadjybejov, M. Magomayev and J. Jabbarly made valuable contributions to

continued existence of national theater. Akhundov was the author of first Azerbaijani play *Vizier of Lankaran khanate*. He also wrote satirical plays and comedies.

During the first Russian Revolution of 1905, a realist drama troupe was formed under *Tekamul* newspaper. *Nijat Charity Union* established a united drama troupe in 1908 which performed the plays such as by A.Hagverdiyev's *Agha Muhammad Shah Qajar* (1907), S.Sami's *Blacksmith Gave* (1908), Mammadguluzade's *Robbers* (1907) and *Deadmen* (1916) in Taghiyev Theatre. When *Shafa Society* was established in 1912, they created a theatrical troupe. The Society invited actors from Nijat's troupe to take part in their theatrical performances.

Azerbaijan State Theatre was established in 1919 in Baku. All theaters were nationalized and they went under control of the government. In 1920, a *United State Theatre* was created which included Azerbaijani, Russian and Armenian drama and opera theatres. Troupes were closed, and Azerbaijani drama troupe was turned into *Azerbaijan State Academic Drama Theatre*. In 1923, this theater was renamed as *Baku Labor Theatre*. Theater staged Azerbaijani and Russian parodies and stage versions of Russian literature like N.V. Gogol's *The Overcoat*, A.S.Pushkin's *The little house in Kolomna*, *The Tale of the Priest and of His Workman Balda*, F.M.Dostoyevski's *The Grand Inquisitor* and many more. *Azerbaijan State Theatre of Young Spectators* opened in 1928 in Baku and *Azerbaijan State Theatre of Musical Comedy* was established in 1938.

Uzeir Hadjibeyov laid the foundation of Musical theater by staging of *Leyli and Majnun* in 1908. Hadjibeyov's musical comedies *Sheikh Senan*, *No matter this or that*, and *Arshyn Mal Alan*, Muslum Magomayev's *Shah Ismayil* and many others were performed in this theater.

Puppet Theatre was founded in 1931 by Jafar Jabbarly. The first play of the theater *Circus* staged in 1932. Puppet Theatre was performed at *Azerbaijan State Theatre of Young Spectators* in 1941-1946 and *Azerbaijan State Philharmonic Hall* in 1950.



There were no women-actresses in Azerbaijan, therefore the female roles were played by men. Ahmed Agdamski was one of the actors who played the female character *Leyli* in *Leyli and Majnun*, *Asli* role in *Asli and Karam*, *Minnat khanim* role in *Husband and wife* and *Tahmina* role in *Rustam and Zohrab*.

Professional theaters were established during the second decade of the 20th century. In the 1960s, new playwrights like G. Garayev took an experimental approach to theater with his play Shakespeare's *Antony and Cleopatra*.

In the 70s, young playwrights Nabi Khazri's plays like *Echo*, Anar's play *The Last Night of the Last Year* brought success to the development of Azerbaijan State Theater of Young Spectators.

Bakhtiyar Vahabzade made valuable contribution to the repertoire of the theatre with his plays like *The Sword on Our Way-Göktürk Tribe* (1998), *Where is the World Going* (1991), *The Second Sound* (1991).

NORTH CAUCASUS

CHECHNYA: The beginnings of Chechen theater were associated with Mahomet Mahomaev, Muslim Mahomaev and Nazarbek Sheripov. The writer Said Baduev was considered the founder of the Chechen national theatre. He was the author of the plays *The Red Fortress* (1930), *The Golden Lake*, and *Political Division* (1934).

Professional theater did not exist in Chechnya before 1917. The first Chechen professional theater companies were established in the 1920s performing Sultan Shadiev's and Magomed Gaisanov's *The Murid*, Danilbek Sheripov's *Alibek-Hajji of Zandak* and many others.

The first Chechen playwrights Said Baduyev, Arbi Mamakayev, Bilal Saidov and Khalid Oshayev were considered as the vanguards of the Chechen theater. Baduyev was well-known with his satirical comedies like *Every Day Is Not Bairam Even for a Mullah*, *Eid ul- Fitr* and his plays that he criticized the destruction of old customs, class struggle and collectivization as in his *The Changing Highlands*, *The Bolshevik Sewing Campaign*, *The Shepherd's Family*, *The Awakening* and *The Political Department*.

In 1931, *the Khanpasha Nuradilov Chechen Drama Theatre* was opened with the contributions of the stage directors Vladimir Shatov, Alexander Tuganov and Archil Chkhartishvili. The repertoire of the theater included plays written in the Chechen language.

A Puppet Theatre in Grozny was opened in 1935 under the directors Bilal Saidov, Garun Batukaev, and Khasan Shaipov performing the play *The Miraculous Rubber Shoes* and the first Chechen production *The Grey-Winged Dove*.

The *Zhukhurg Theatre* included comedies, dancing, pantomime performed during folk festivals and weddings by the actors wearing animal masks, animal skins or fur coats. Zhukhurg performances takes their inspiration from everyday life or from fairy tales.

The Chechen State Theater of the Young Spectator was established in 1937 in Chechnya. During the Chechen deportation in 1944, stage performances were stopped. It was not until 1958 the theaters began to open their stage in Chechnya.

In the 1980s, the playwrights dedicated their works to Chechen folklore and history as in the plays *The Black Plait* by Lechi Yakhiyev and *God Alone* by Said Hamzat Nunuyev.

CINEMA

SOUTH CAUCASUS

GEORGIA: The first Georgian movie was released on May 15, 1908. There were several movie theaters built in Georgia in the first half of the 20th century. The first documentary film *The Journey of Georgian Poet Akaki Tsereteli to Racha-Lechkhumi* (Akakis Mogzauroba) was released and directed by Vasili Amashukeli in 1912. The first feature film, *Berikaoba Keenoba* was directed by Aleksandre Tsutsunava in 1909. He also directed the other feature film *Christiné* in 1916.

In the 20s, there was a short period of commercialization, when the Soviet monopoly on movies was eased in Tbilisi, and the Georgian directors was able to make their own films, a mix of light entertainment and revolutionary ideology as in Ivan Perestiani's *Arsen Dzhordzhiashvili* (1921) and *Little Red Devils* (1923).

The Georgian film industry developed and was nationalized due to the establishment of the first film studio, *Goskinprom* (State Film Production organization) at *the Commissariat of People's Education* in 1921. *Arsena Jiorjashvili* (The Murder of General Griaznov) (1921) was the the first Georgian-made feature film directed by Ivan Perestiani. Perestiani also directed an adventure and action movie that depicted Civil War, *The Little Red Devils* (Tsiteli eshmakunebi) in 1923.

The Soviets began to crackdown on foreign films for the sake of ideological correctness in the 1930s and reduced the financial support. Movie theaters had material shortages, equipment was old, and the employees were underpaid. National cinema went into a state of dysfunction. The films were mostly

Russian productions and made in the Russian language with only a limited number being made in Georgian.

Socialist realism became the dominant theme especially between the 1930s and early 1950s and the cinema became a propaganda agent for Joseph Stalin. During World War II, the Soviets also started a campaign to promote patriotism. The films produced during the war depicted the Russians and other nationalities fighting together against fascist occupants as in *Georgii Saakadze* (1943).

The Tbilisi Cinematographic Studio was established in 1938. Large-scale historical epics were filmed in the 40s. Mikheil Chiaureli filmed *Georgii Zaakadze* (1943), who was the 17th century Georgian leader who defeated both the Turks and the Persians. Chiaureli also became Joseph Stalin's favorite director for his significant contribution to the creation of Stalin's personality cult. He produced *Velikoe Zarevo* (1938), *Giorgi Saakadze* (1942-1943), *Kliatva* (1946), *Padenie Berlina* (1950), and *Nezabivaemii god 1919* (1952) and the others.

After World War II, in Georgia a new generation of young artists and directors in movie industry was able to produce films free from official ideology. The Georgian film industry began to develop in the 50s - 60s, with the establishment of the *Gruziya Film Studio* and with the appearance of directors and screenwriters like *Tengiz Abuladze* and *Rezo Chkheidze* who together created the feature film *Magdanas Lurja* in 1954.

The directors Otar Ioseliani and Giorgi Shengelaia created short documentaries like *Tudzhi* (1964) without verbal commentary introducing a new wave in innovative feature films.

Between the late 60s and early 80s was considered as the golden age for the Georgian film industry. The film studios produced 60 films a year. *The Faculty of Cinema* was created at the *Shota Rustaveli Institute of Theater* in 1972, and later it became *the Tbilisi Institute of Theater and Film*. The screenwriter Rezo Gabriadze and the film director Eldar Shengelaia's collaborative films *Arachveulebrivi gamofena* (1968), *Sherekilebi* (1973) and *Tsiferi mtebi* (1983) were produced in this period.

This period also witnessed heavy censorship on movies. Some of the films like Otar Ioseliani's and Tengiz Abuladze's films were suppressed and kept away from public view. Abuladze's *Repentance* (1984) was banned for its semi-allegorical criticism of Stalin and its portrayal of the brutality of Stalin's purges. When the policy of *Glasnost* introduced in the Soviet Union in 1985, Abuladze's *Repentance* was released in 1987.

During the Georgian Civil War, due to economic crisis, the Georgian film industry began to decline in the early 1990s. In spite of that, film companies produced number of films and directors continued to stage films in Georgia. Géla Babluani directed *Udzinarta Mze* in 1992. Film director Dito Tsintsadze staged his film *Sakhli* (1991), *Stumrebi* (1991) and *Zghvarze* (1993). Many directors like Otar Ioseliani, Mikheil Kobakhidze, Nana Jorjadze and Dito Tsintsadze emigrated to Europe and Russia. The Georgian film industry began to flourish in 1993 and new film companies and film studios were opened. Private companies and international institutions also began to finance the production of documentaries, educational films and short movies.

ARMENIA: At the beginning the Armenian cinema was under the influence of the foreign filmmakers who traveled through the Caucasus.

The first movie filmed in Armenia was a documentary on the funeral of Khrimian Hayrig, Catholicos of all Armenians (1907), and the second was a documentary on the burial of Catholicos Matheos (1911) filmed in Etchmiadzin. In 1915, the first Armenian feature film directed by A. Minervin *Under the Rule of the Kurds* was released.

During the Soviet rule, the Armenian film industry was put under strict state control. In 1923, the *Armenian State Committee on Cinema*, *Goskino* was established to monitor all film production. In 1925, the first Armenian full-length feature film, realistic melodrama *Honor* (Namus) directed by Amo Bek-

Nazaryan was released. Nazaryan was also the writer and director of *Patricide* (1923), an innovative silent film *Zare* (1927), comedy *Shor and Shorshor* (1928), and the somber *Khaspush* (1928), the first Armenian sound film, the social drama *Pepo* (1935) and *Anahit* (1947).

Goskino (Armenkino, Yerevan Film Studio, Armenfilm, Hay film): In 1922, the *Armenian Council of People's Commissars* (Sovnarkom) passed a decree to nationalize all movie theaters. In 1923, *Sovnarkom* founded the *State Cinema Organization* (Goskino) and it became part of the *Commissariat of Political Education*, and the state appointed Daniel Dznuni as the director of the studio. The studio's name changed over the years. It was renamed as *Armenkino* in 1928, *Yerevan Film Studio* in 1938, *Armenfilm* in 1957 and *Hay film* named after Amo Bek-Nazarian. They also established a *State Photo and Film Factory* (Gosfotokino) was established in Yerevan creating a film laboratory that in 1924. This film factory was renamed as *Armenkino* in 1928.

There are other leading directors like Patvakan Barkhurdyan who directed *Evil Spirit* (1928), *Funeral of A. Spendiarov* (1928), *Five Right in the Target* (1928), *The Sixteenth* (1928), *Under the Black Wing* (1930), *Kikos* (1931), *A Child of Sun* (1933), and *The Guardsman's Wife* (1943); Amasi Martirosyan who directed *Gikor* (1934).

In the 50s and early 60s, every year the studio produced four feature films and they were mostly revolutionary fiction as in Erazm Karamyan's and Stepan Kevorkov's *Personally Known* (1958). Stepan Kevorkov also served as executive director of Armenfilm Studio between 1949-1951 and became the first secretary of the *Armenian Filmmakers' Union* 1956 to 1964.

By the mid-60s, Armenian national cinema experimented a new direction in film industry combining Soviet multinational framework with traditional one as in Frunze Dovlatyan's war story films *Hello, It's Me* (1966) and *The Brothers Saroyan* (1968); Henrik Malyan's *The Triangle* (1967) and *We and Our Mountains* (1970). Artavazd Peleshyan created radical aesthetic innovations by blending documentary film with poetic fiction as in his *The Color of Pomegranate* (1967).

Armenfilm was moved to a new studio in a Yerevan suburb in 1976. Director Edmond Keosayan was one of its directors who directed *The Elusive Avengers* (1966), *The New Adventures of the Elusive Avengers* (1968) and *The Crown of the Russian Empire or Once again the Elusive Avengers* (1971).

In the late 80s, with *Perestroika*, the strict control on the Armenian film industry was eased, however isolation from international markets continued.

After the independence, due to increasing economic hardships, Armenian film industry fell into a crisis similar to that in the former Soviet Union.

Some filmmakers such as Edgar Baghdasaryan, Albert Mkrtychyan, Armen Dovlatyan, and Suren Babayan were able to partner with foreign directors and have their film shown internationally.

AZERBAIJAN: The first Azerbaijani film *In the Realm of Oil and Millions* was produced in 1915 and directed by Boris Svetlov.

During the Soviets, the *Revolutionary Committee* of Azerbaijan issued a decree to nationalize all film studios in the country in 1920. With the Soviet monopoly on film industry, film studios made films combining Soviet ideology with casual entertainment. The government opened first film studio in Baku in 1922, and *Azerbaijani Photo and Film Administration* was founded in 1923.

The Legend of the Maiden Tower was the first Azerbaijani feature film released in 1924 and directed by Vladimir Balliuzek.

In 1926 - 1930, the studio was called *Azerbaijani State Cinema* (Azgoskino). The films produced in this studio were antireligious in tone as in *In the Name of God* (1925) by Abbas Mirza Sharif-Zade and in Bek-Nazaryan's *Sevil* (1929).

In 1930 - 1933, the studio was renamed as *Azkino*, and in 1933–1934 *Azfilm*. The films produced focused on forced industrialization as in the film *The First Komsomol Brigade* (1931).

In 1934–1935, the studio was called *Azgoskinprom*, and in 1935 - 1940 - *Azerfilm*. The studio produced its first sound film, *Baku's People* (1938) directed by Viktor Turin.

In 1941 - 1959, the studio was renamed as *Baku Film Studio*. One of the films produced in this studio was romantic musical-comedy *The Cloth-Peddler* (1945), based on an operetta *Arshin Mal Alan* written by Uzeyir Hajibeyov in 1910.

During World War II, the government started a campaign to promote patriotism and friendship in films by depicting the Russians and other ethnic groups fighting together against fascism as in *One Family* filmed in Baku in 1943 and to raise national pride by presenting struggles to unify the existing khanates by a hero in the film *Fatali Khan* directed by Efim Dzigan in 1947.

After World War II, film production was dropped drastically in Azerbaijan for more than ten years. By 1950, the film industry entered its most severe quantitative and qualitative crisis. After Stalin's death in 1953, the film industry began to flourish. Instead of state-manipulated propaganda films, the new generation of young directors, actors, and screenwriters began to create outspoken films about real people and their social problems. However, there were also remade movies like *The Twenty-six Commissars* (1965), *The Cloth-Peddler* (1966), and *Sevil* (1970) that showed a continuing financial crisis leading to restrictions on film production.

In the 1990s, with independence, the Soviet censorship was abolished and a new generation of filmmakers created the realist documentaries depicting political turmoil in Azerbaijan as in film *Broken Bridges* (1999) by director Rafiq Pooya.

NORTH CAUCASUS

CHECHNYA: During the Soviet rule, the film industry was controlled by the business of the State Committee of the USSR for Cinematography. This Committee discouraged any initiative and private projects, and the artists became puppets in the hands of the powerful bureaucrats.

There were film studios were built in towns and many villages of Chechen Ingushetia. Early actors were Dikalu Muzukaev and Dagon Omaev. Omaev was an actor played in *Gorets* directed by Murat Dzhusoyty who also directed *Kuryer na Vostok* in 1991.

Film directors, writers and crew of the industry had to be the members of the *Union of Soviet Film-Makers* and the *Union of Soviet Cinema Workers*.

The first national films were created during the Soviet rule, and Iles Tataev was Chechnya's first film director, who directed *Gorskaya Novella* in 1979. He was one of the founder of the Chechen-Ingush film studio (1995) and served as a director. Tataev authored over 30 musical, folklore, feature films and documentaries.

Film director, screenwriter Sulambek Mamilov worked at the Gorky Studio in Moscow in the late 1960s, and produced Russian-language documentary, musical and feature films like *Extremely Dangerous People* (1979), *Ladies' Tango* (1983), *Day of Wrath (Dies Irae)* (1985), based on S. Gansovsky's short story, *A Golden Cloud Spent the Night* (1989) based on a tragic story of deportation, *Murder on Zhdanovskaya Street* (1992), and *Good Luck Gentlemen!* (1992).

Questions:

1- Why did the film industry enter its most severe quantitative and qualitative crisis in the 50s?

2- By looking at the developments in cultural life in all Caucasus states, can we claim that the Soviets made a significant contribution to the development of the social and political life of all the states, or by introducing Socialist ideology did they separate people from their past?

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RELIGION

SOUTH CAUCASUS

GEORGIA: Following the Russian annexation of Georgia, the autocephaly of the Georgian Orthodox Church that was abolished by the Russian authorities in 1811. In March of 1917, the Georgian Orthodox Church regained its autonomy and Kirion became the new patriarch.

After a brief restoration in 1917–1921, the Church was once again suppressed under Soviet rule when it was placed under surveillance of the *Committee for State Security* (KGB).

The Georgian church regained its autonomy and appointed a new Catholicos-Patriarch was elected when Russian rule ended in 1918. The Soviet regime carried out severe purges among Church officials and executed constant repression against Orthodox worship. Over a thousand churches were closed or destroyed by *Joint State Political Directorate* (OGPU) and many priests and monks were shot.

The Cheka arrested the new patriarch, Ambrosi and his senior clerics, when they applied the Genoa Peace Conference in 1922 and they were tried for treason in 1924 and sent to prison. Ambrosi was released in 1927 and died shortly after.

Kristepore became a new Catholicos-Patriarch of All Georgia from 1927. When Kristepore died in 1931, Kalistrate became Catholicos-Patriarch of All Georgia from June 21, 1932. With the help of Stalin, the Russian church recognized the Georgian autocephaly in 1943.

Georgian workers were forced to join in an organization called *League of Militant Atheists*. The organization was abolished in Georgia in 1947.

When the patriarch Ilia II became the head of the Georgian Orthodox Church in the late 1970s, Georgian Orthodox Church experienced a revival. The new patriarch imposed order and a new morality in church affairs. However, he was enthroned as Catholicos-Patriarch of all Georgia in 1978.

In 1988, the Soviets allowed the patriarch to open closed churches and consecrate them.

After independence in 1991, the number of churches and monasteries increased. In 1993, around 65 percent of Georgians were Georgian Orthodox, 11 percent were Muslim (Adjara, Chechen Kists and Azeris), 10 percent Russian Orthodox, and 8 percent Armenian Apostolic.

Several Protestant churches were left open. Ethnic Armenians living in Georgia belong to the Gregorian Christian Church. Judaism was practiced by the Jews residing in Tbilisi and Kutaisi. There were smaller denominations like Baha'is, Hare Krishnas, Buddhists and Kurdish Yezidis.

The Georgian Constitution provided freedom of religion and guaranteed respect and equal treatment of all religious denominations. The separation of church and state was established.

ARMENIA: The government was convinced that the liberation movement was guided by the Armenian Church. In 1903, by the order of G. Golitsyn, the Governor of the Caucasus, all property of the Armenian Apostolic Church was requisitioned and Armenian schools were shut down.

The Catholicos of All Armenians Mkrtych Khrimian denounced the anti-Armenian policy of Tsarist Russia. Armenian political parties-Dashnaks and Hunchakians together with Russian social democrats got involved in the struggle against the Tsarist regime. During the summer of 1905 there were strikes in Kars, Alexandrapole, Alaverdi and other cities of Eastern Armenia. The Tsar's government, concerned about the developing revolution and Armenian resistance, canceled its previous decree and returned the property requisitioned from the Armenian Church.

The Soviets committed themselves to shifting the values from traditional and religious to secular and socialist ones. The government strategy was to separate Armenians from their loyalty to their national church and replace it with a commitment to building a socialist Armenia. Many churches were closed and many priests were persecuted. The Catholicos Kevork V refused to recognize the atheist Soviet regime till 1927.

In the 40s, the persecution of the church stopped and some of the closed churches were reopened, and exiled clergy were allowed to return from Siberia in the late 1942. The clergy supported the state in their struggle against fascism, and the church leaders raised funds for Armenian military forces.

Armenia is a secular country and church and State are separated. Although the Armenian Apostolic Church is considered as a State church, it does not receive state funds. Armenian constitution guarantees religious freedom with the law "On the Freedom of Conscience and Religious Organizations" enacted in 1991.

In Armenia, 95 % of the population belongs to the Armenian Apostolic Church. Other ethnic denominations in Armenia are Catholic Church, Protestant Church, Assyrian Church, Nestorianism, Eastern Orthodoxy, Molokans, Islam, Judaism, Bahá'í Faith, Yezidism and Hinduism.

Hetanism: Hetanism is a neo-paganist movement in Armenia which was based on the work of the early-20th-century politician and philosopher Garegin Nzhdeh and his doctrine of *Tseghakron* (rejuvenation through national religion).

AZERBAIJAN: Freedom of religion in Azerbaijan is guaranteed in the constitution. The majority religion in Azerbaijan is Islam; two thirds are considered Shia and one third are Sunni.

Azerbaijan is a secular country and its Constitution guarantees the freedom of religion and each religion is equal before the law.

Other ethnic denominations in Azerbaijan are Orthodox Sunni Islam, the Russian Orthodox Church, Judaism and various Christian sects like Orthodoxy, Catholicism and Protestantism. Azerbaijan also has Molokans, Judaism, and the Bahá'í Faith.

Islam: With the establishment of the Soviet rule in Azerbaijan, the authorities cancelled *the Ministry of Religious Conviction* and *Sheyhulislamism* on 15 May 1920. Many mosques were shot down, muslim seminaries were closed and their clerics were persecuted. Between 1928 - 1980, the number of mosques in Azerbaijan fell from 1,400 to 16. Due to differences in practices and beliefs the Sunni and the Shiite muslims generally do not pray together, however after the closure of many mosques in Azerbaijan, these two groups began to worship together in mosques that were left open.

During World War II, the Soviets reopened the mosques and used religion in their struggle against German fascism in 1943. The Soviet authorities allowed the Azerbaijanis to established the *Religious Department for Transcaucasia Muslims* was established in Baku and it became a center of all other religious communities of Islam. Akhund Agha Alizade was the first elected Sheyhulislam and he controlled *The Religious Department of Transcaucasia Muslims*.

Bahá'í Faith: In the early 20th century, the Bahá'í believers resided in Baku. During the Soviet rule, under the atheist policy of the state, the Bahá'í community almost disappeared and it was reactivated during Perestroika when state loosened controls on religions. The Bahá'í believers elected their own *National Spiritual Assembly* in 1992.

Traces of Zoroastrianism: Fire has strong associations in Azerbaijan. There are flares, 'eternal fires', arising from the surface seepage of oil and gas in Baku.

Fire also indicates that the peoples of Azerbaijan had under the cultural influences the fire-worshipping religion of Zoroastrianism or Mazdaism of Persia.

One of the great four fires that dominates the Zoroastrian world the King of Kings is located at Ganja in Azerbaijan (Land of Fire - Odlar Yurdu).



Zoroastrian Ateshgah (fire temple) is found in Baku and in Khinalig.

Zoroastrianism still manifested in the culture of Azerbaijan by lighting bonfires and candles on the eve of Novruz Holiday.

Even Caucasian Christianity still bear marks of the pagan and Zoroastrian world.

NORTH CAUCASUS

CHECHNYA: After the Soviet Union collapsed, Russia's power in the North Caucasus was weakened and the political influence of the local leaders was diminished. They urgently needed to strengthen their relationship with the local elites, rather than to build institutions to improve the conditions in the region. Yeltsin was concerned about regional leaders and their arbitrary attitude.

Russia's bilateral arrangements to keep stability in the region increased the privileges of the executive leaders of the republics, rather than promoting democratization. As a result, the Russian government lost control of the Muslim communities there.

This resulted in the emergence of fiefdoms legitimized by pseudo-democracy in the North Caucasus, and the appearance of fragmented Islamic religious groups: some were the adherents of traditional forms of Islam which emerged along ethnic lines like the Sufis, the others had a more radicalist approach like the Salafis.

Sufis (Traditional Islam): The supporters of traditional Islam did not want to accept the new muftis since they belonged to the Avar ethnic group in Dagestan. This resulted in a power struggle over who would control over Islamic institutions. There were clerics in remote areas who stayed outside the control of the muftiat. They began to assert their influence in the region and to fight for legitimacy.

Salafis (Wahhabists - Radical Islam): The Salafis appeared in Dagestan in the late 70s. Their main objectives were to attract young people with their radical ideology, especially with the movement's combination of religious faith and militantism. Socially active young people began to support them. Salafism had influence on the insurgency in Chechnya from the mid-90s. The Salafis kept themselves outside the system and distanced themselves from the authorities and did not get involved in any ethnic competition. A violent rivalry erupted between those who followed traditional Islam and the defenders of radical Islam. Spreading crime and corruption in the region helped the Salafists. The Federal government did not know how to handle this new situation and decided to support the traditionalists, Sufi Islam, but the complex political and social situation in the region kept the Russians on the margins of events.

Until Gorbachev, Islamic practices operated in its illegal form, but after the 1990s, the North Caucasus experienced a religious revival. Nationalist sentiments provided a major impulse for this religious revival. In addition, the spread of crime and corruption continued because of the inability of the authorities and the traditional clerics to develop any strategy to contain the local conflicts. The spreading crime and corruption in the region helped the Salafists

To fight against the influence of the Salafism, religious and secular authorities decided to cooperate and declared *Spiritual Board of Muslims of Dagestan* in 1994 to be the only institution representing the interest of the Dagestani people.

However, the Salafis began to receive financial help from international Islamic organizations. The government sent troops into Dagestan. They surrounded some villages in Dagestan and began to arrest Salafist imams, destroyed their buildings and mosques and burned all propaganda publications. This policy sent the Salafis into hiding, and they stopped struggling with the Sufis, and began to struggle with the regional and central authorities, causing further instability.

The radical Islamist movements began to spread across the region after the persecution of Salafis. However, their influence in the region was limited because they showed no tolerance to any national cultural traditions in the North Caucasus.

To avoid the government military operations many people began to migrate, and, taking advantage of this situation, the Salafis shifted their location by joining the masses of migrants and began to operate in other republics.

The Salafis now appeared in the capitals of North Ossetia and Kabardino-Balkaria; in Nogay villages in Dagestan, Stavropolsky kray and Karachay-Cherkessia.

Sharia Law: The animosity between pro-Russian Aslan Maskhadov and Shamil Basayev increased. It resulted in a struggle for power. Basayev sought to gain support from local fighters and wanted to start Islamization process in the North Caucasus. Pro-Russian Maskhadov lost control over the local forces. In order to reduce Basayev's monopoly over Islam, Maskhadov imposed Sharia law and a Shura in 1999.

PHILOSOPHY

SOUTH CAUCASUS

GEORGIA: Prior to the Soviets, there were philosophers who worked under the influence of German philosophy, especially, Kant. Geronti Kikodze published his work "Nation, Language and Aesthetic Culture" in 1909, "The Life and Ethical Ideal" in 1910 where he defended Kantian philosophy against Nietzschean and Marxist philosophies that spread in Georgia after 1901.

Shalva Nutsubidze: In 1918, the first philosophical society, the *Joane Petritsi Philosophical Society*, was founded in Tbilisi through Shalva Nutsubidze's efforts. Shalva Nutsubidze studied the history of Georgian philosophy in the 1930s. While he was in Germany, he created a philosophical doctrine, called *Alethiologian Realism*. He also developed the *Theory of the Eastern Renaissance* and the *Nutsubidze-Honigmann Theory*. Nutsubidze was also one of the founders of the Tbilisi State University, and he became the Dean of the Department of History of World Literature, Doctor of Philosophy (1944).

He authored: "Bolzano and the Theory of Science: The Principles of the Alethology" (1973), "An Introduction to Philosophy (The Problem of Knowledge)" (1974), "Peter the Iberian and the Philosophical Legacy of Antiquity" (1975), the first book *The History of Georgian Philosophy* (1983), the second book *The History of Georgian Philosophy* (1985).

In 1946, *the Institute of Philosophy* was founded at the Academy of Sciences. The philosophers Z. Kakabadze, N. Chavchavadze, V. Kvachakhia fought against the domination of the Socialist Realist depiction in Aesthetics.

K. Bakradze: Bakradze under the influence of B. Russell, published the 2nd edition of his book *System and Method in Hegel's Philosophy* (1958). He also published his books *The Method of Analysis in Bourgeois Philosophy* (1960), *Modern Positivism* (1961), *The Problem of Origin of Cognition by Husserl and Russell* (1969).

A. Bochorishvili: Georgian philosopher A. Bochorishvili opened the Department of Philosophical Anthropology at the Institute of Philosophy in 1967. He authored three volume *Principles of Psychology* (1957-1962), *Phenomenological Aesthetics* (1966), *Theoretical Principles of Philosophical Anthropology* (1976).

Seit Devdariani: Devdariani was a philosopher who, due to his fervent political activities against Soviet rule, was executed during Joseph Stalin's Great Purge. Devdariani wrote several books on philosophy. One of them was a three-volume *History of Georgian Thought*. This book disappeared after his execution. Only one chapter on "18th-century Catholicos Anton I" survived and was published in 1989.

Merab Mamardashvili: Mamardashvili was a philosopher and was the chair of the Department of the Tsereteli Institute of Philosophy of the Georgian Academy of Sciences between 1987-1990. He was fired from many of his teaching posts and from the editorial board of the journal *Problems of Philosophy*. He was not allowed to travel abroad for two decades. Under the influence of the French philosopher René Descartes and Immanuel Kant, Mamardashvili devoted his works to analyse rationalist theory of perception, worked on philosophical gnoseology, metatheory of language and consciousness, the relationship between culture and consciousness and the fundamental role of consciousness in human experience. He was the author of *The Process of Analysis and Synthesis* (1958), *Forms and Contents of Thinking* (1968), *The Problem of Objective Method in Psychology* (1977), *The Arrow of Cognition* (1978), *Classic and Non-classic Ideals of Rationality* (1984), *Conscious and the Philosophical Calling* (1988), *Cartesian Meditations* 1993) and many others.

ARMENIA: In 1944, the *Sector of Philosophy* was founded in the Academy of Sciences. In 1969, the Sector was turned into *The Institute of Philosophy, Sociology and Law of National Academy of Sciences of Armenia*. The philosophers studied issues on the dialectic of the relations of production, the issues of the philosophy of labor and technology, social progress of socialist humanism, on issues of correlation between ideology and politics, of science-based management of the society etc.

With the spreading ideas of Marxism and Leninism, the works that were published gained a new perspective in dealing with the problems of societal evolution. The philosophers like Vladimir Osipov contributed to the social issues of the education system as well as of labor, technology and scientific and technological revolution. He authored *Socio-Philosophical Analysis of Contemporary Theory of Lifelong Education* (1989), *School - Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow* (1986), *Education System and Scientific-Technological Revolution* (1985) etc.

Other philosophers like Alakhverdian worked on sociological and political issues of the life while Gevorg Poghosyan studied on the issues of methodology and techniques of applied sociological research.

AZERBAIJAN: In the early 20th century, the Bolsheviks propagated Marxism in Baku. Marxist-Leninist ideology became dominant in Azerbaijan. When the Soviet power was established in Azerbaijan, all the activities of hostile ideologies and the study of non-Marxist philosophy were banned; dialectical and historical materialism became dominant ideology in philosophical thought. In the 20s, the philosophers Huseyn Javid, Jafar Jabbarli, Nariman Narimanov, Mammad Amin Rasulzadeh and Heydar Huseynov made valuable contributions to the development of this discipline.

Most of the researches were done at the Baku University, however, when the university closed between 1930-1934, all the researches transferred to the Azerbaijani Scientific Research Institute. The study of Philosophy was institutionalized in 1945 as part of Azerbaijani Academy of Science. The Institute included the departments Dialectical and Historical Materialism, History of Philosophy, Ethics and Esthetics, and Scientific Atheism. The philosophers worked in this institution studied both classics of western philosophy and Azerbaijani themes as in G.N. Guseinov's *19th century Azerbaijani Thought* published in 1952. The philosophers in this institution also studied classics of eastern philosophy and philosophical works of Nizami and Khagani.

In the 60s, the Institute began to increase their research on scientific atheism as in the articles "Science Refutes Religious Revelations" (1965), "The Formation of Aetheistic Worldview of Azerbaijani People" (1967), "The Ideology of Islam and its Critique in Azerbaijan in the Early 20th Century" (1973) and "Aetheistic Motifs in Azerbaijani Oral Tradition" (1973) etc.

One of the proponents of the Enlightenment, the supporter of the Marxist-Leninist philosophy, Nariman Narimanov discussed the principles of dialectical and historical materialism in his article "The path of knowledge of Communism" which was a manuscript written in the Azerbaijani and Russian. He also created philosophical terminology in the Azerbaijani language.

There were a group of Azerbaijani philosophers who opposed the proletarian dictatorship and Marxist philosophy in exile like the philosophers A. Agaoglu, A. Huseynzade M.E. Rasulzadeh, Hussein Baykara, Afandiyev Asif Gasim oglu and others.

Afandiyev Asif Gasim oglu (Asif Ata) founded the *Ethic and Aesthetic Moral Upbringing Club* in 1976. Based on Western philosophical thought, he created a doctrine that concerned with human morality and creation of a wise man, and advocated that without the moral improvement of man, the improvement of a society was not possible contradicting the Marxist theory.

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, the Marxist-Leninist ideology rapidly declined in popularity in Azerbaijan.

Questions:

1- After the Soviet Union collapsed, Russia's power in the North Caucasus was weakened and the political influence of the local leaders were diminished. They urgently needed to strengthen their relationship with the local elites, rather than to built institutions to improve the conditions in the region. Why would not the Russian authority try to promote democracy, rather than increasing the privileges of the executive leaders of the republics?

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LITERATURE

SOUTH CAUCASUS

GEORGIA:

In the early 20th century, the *Tsisperkantslebi group* was founded under the guidance of the poet Grigol Robakidze that played an important role in the development of the Georgian poetry and prose. The aim of this group was to combine the traditional Georgian culture with modern trends. They were under the influence of symbolism. Following the Bolshevik rule in Georgia, some of the members of the group emigrated to Europe like Grigol Robakidze who escaped to Germany. The authors works were banned in Georgia until the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991. Later the poets Paolo Iashvili, Titsian Tabidze, Galaktion Tabidze, Nikolo Mitsishvili, Kolau Nadiradze and Valerian Gaprindashvili joined this group.

During the Stalinist purge in the 1930s, those writers who did not use socialist themes in their works were persecuted by the Soviet authorities for their "decadent" style of lyrics that carried both symbolism and mysticism as seen in the poems of Titsian Tabidze and Paolo Iashvili. Tabidze was sent to prison and he died there, and Iashvili was pursued until he shot himself inside the building of the *Georgian Writers' Union* in July 1937. Another writer, Galaktion Tabidze, survived the purges, however, he committed suicide in 1959.

Regardless of strict censorship, the control on the content of the works and the strong emphasis on Socialist idealism, the Georgian writers never give up producing. One of these writers was Konstantine Gamsakhurdia. He wrote several historical novels *Dionisos ghimili*, *Mtvaris motatseba*, *Didostatis marjvena*, *Vazis kvaviloba* and *Davit Aghmashenebeli* and used a new style of phrasing and syntactic structure.

The other writers like Leo Kiacheli authored *Gvadi Bigva*, *Tavadis Kali Maya*, *Almasgir Kibulan* and *Khaki Adzba*. Anna Kalandadze wrote her short and personal poems in the 1940s. Grigol Abashidze wrote classical style poems combining the themes from past and present, historical symbolism and philosophy, and authored historical novels like *Lasharela*, *Didi ghame* and *Tsotne dadiani anu kartvelta datsema da amaghleba*.

In the late 1950s, during Khrushchev's Thaw period, the first secretary of Georgian Communist party, Vasili Mzhavanadze suppressed literary circles and censored the journals. The periodicals like *Literaturnaia Gruzia*, *Mnatobi*, and *Tsiskari* were put under control of party officials. In the 1960s and the early 1970s, book publishing was directly controlled by the Party.

The poet Mukhran Machavariani was a poet of this oppressive period and was the author of the poems *Poems* (1955), *The Red Sun and the Green Grass* (1958), *Silence Without You* (1958). He also translated many European writers' poems into Georgian.

The short story writer Giorgi Shatberashvili wrote his short stories like *Mkvdris mze* in 1959. Nodar Dumbadze published his first anthology of short stories *Sopleli bichi* in 1960.

With Eduard Shevardnadze's liberal tendencies, the government allocated more financial aid for the development of Georgian literature, cinema and theater. In the 1970s, there were number of literary journals published: *Kritika* (1972), *Saunje* (1974), and *Gantiadi* (1972).

The writer Chabua Amirejibi wrote his epic *Data Tutashkhia* in 1975 while he was in prison in Siberia. It was a story of the tragic life of a Georgian criminal, Data Tutashkhia, who lived in the Imperial Russian period. He also wrote *Gora Mborgali* in 1978 depicting his experiences in his whole life, but it was not published until 1995.

The writer Otar Chiladze wrote novels combining myth and history as in his *Gzaze erti katsi midioda* (1973), *Kovelman chmmena mpovnelman* (1976), and *Rkinis teatri* (1981). He also authored the novel *Avelum* (1995) that depicted the disastrous years of 1989-1991.

Rezo Mishveladze was known with his novelettes and short stories like *Mtsukhri* (1983), *Elda* (1987), *Ganachen* (1990), *Samotsdarva akhali novella* (1997), and *Ai kvekana* (1999).

ARMENIA: At the beginning of the 20th century, the development of lyrical poems dedicated to the writers like Avetik Isahakian who connected national views with European thought, depicting the conflict between society and the individual and the tragic lives of the Armenian people.

Yeghische Charents was another poet who combined new and traditional ideas in his poetry as shown in his *Dantesque Legend* (1916), *Soma* (1918), *Charents-Name* (1922), *Uncle Lenin* (1924), *Country of Nairi* (1926), *Epical Sunrise* (1930) and *Book of the Way* (1934). He became a victim of the Stalinist repressions.

The Armenian writers mostly used heroic stories like the struggle for independence and unification of the country in their work. Among those writers, there were the poets Rafael Patkanian, Hovhaness Hovhannisyanyan, Vahan Teryan, the prose writers and the poets Avetik Isahakian, Ghazaros Aghayan, Perch Proshian, the playwright Gabriel Soundukian, the novelists Nar-Dos and Muratsan.

The poet and prose writer Hovhaness Tumanian wrote lyrics, fables and epic poems. He was the author of the poems *David of Sassoun* (1902), *The Capture of Fort Tmuk* (1902), *A Drop of Honey* (1909), *The End of Evil* (1908). Under the Communist system, which restricted the freedom of expression of the writers, Tumanian wrote his *The Shah and the Peddler* (1917).

During the time of the minister of Public Education and Art Nikol Axbalyan of the First Republic of Armenia, a new political and cultural life began in 1918. Axbalyan formed an Armenian literary company that held literary and cultural activities, and also published books. However, when the First Republic ceased to exist as an independent state in 1921, the company's activities stopped.

During the Sovietization of Armenia, with the imposition of the official dogma of Socialist Realism, Armenians were subjected to restraints beyond their control, writers were not allowed to use nationalistic themes, and the Communist party implemented anti-Western and restrictionist sentiments in literature demanding only the promotion of Socialist Realism not only in literature but also in art. Armenian literature endured constant tension created by the Politburo of the Soviet Communist Party's Central Committee.

The writers who were not able to comply with party requirements were banned from publishing their works and they were even prosecuted. For instance, Aksel Bakunts was arrested due to his writing, a story of an old man who complained about land scarcity in Armenia.

Goskomizdat (The State Committee for Publishing) began to censor literature, banning any publication not conforming to official ideology. Some writers like Azat Vshtuni showed his support to the new regime with his poem *Dictator* (1925) encouraging worker solidarity. Early Soviet Armenian literature depicted the Communist ideology and centralized statehood.

In the early 30s, there was a new futurist literary society called *Three's Group*, founded by Yeghishe Charents, Gevorg Abov and Azat Vshtuni who rejected the artistic legacy of the past, used new language, new styles and new methods. In 1934, the Armenian Writers' Union was formed.

Poetry, historical novels and patriotic ballads distanced writers like Hovhannes Shiraz from Soviet realities. In the late 1950s, many Armenian writers condemned the Stalin's rule and raised questions of the Soviet reality in their works published in the *Armenian Writers' Journal* and in the Armenian weekly *Literary Journal*.

In the late 60s, a new generation of Armenian writers like Paruyr Sevak, Gevorg Emin, Silva Kaputikyan and Hovhannes Shiraz emerged criticising the corruption of the Soviet administration.

As Soviet censorship eased, Modernist and Avantgarde writers like Artem Harutyunyan wrote poetries like *Land of signs* (1977) and *Letter to Noah and other poems* (1997) that did not fit Socialist Realism.

AZERBAIJAN: At the beginning of the 20th century, Azeri literature was under the impact of the three revolutions: the *First Russian Revolution* (1905), the *Iranian Constitutional Revolution* (1906-1911), and the *Young Turk Revolution* (1908). The writers like Alakpar Sabir in Azerbaijan expressed their hopes of revolutionary awareness in their poetry. Sabir wrote satirical poems like *Hophop*, *Abunasr Şeybani* and advocated the linguistic independence of Azerbaijani from Turkish.

There were many magazines and periodicals published in Baku between 1905-1917. These periodicals published articles on the issue of purification of the language from the influence of Ottoman Turkish spread through the movement of Pan-Turkism. The writer Gasanbek Melikov promoted cultural unification and the creation of a unified Turkic language for Turkic people in his articles that were published in *Heyat* newspaper in 1905. The proponent of Pan-Turkism was Ali bey Huseynzade who published his views in his magazine called *Fuyuzat* criticising the policies of the Tsarist government. Jalil Mammad Quluzade founded the satirical magazine, *Molla Nasraddin* which depicted the social and economic life and criticized the obsolete customs practiced in the Caucasus in the early 20th century.

The poet Muhammad Hadi was considered the founder of Romanticism. He became a patriot for freedom under the influence of pan-Turkic tendencies and wrote poems *Neghmeyi-ehrarane*, *Dushizeyi-hurriyete*, *Huriyi-herriyete*, *Edvari-teceddud* and *Esari-inqilab* and published them in *Heyat*, *Fuyuzat* and *Burhani-Tereggi* journals.

Under the Soviets, especially in the 1930s, writers like Huseyn Javid, Salman Mumtaz, Qurban Musayev, Taqi Shahbazi, Ali Nazim, and Mikail Mushfiq who were the members of the Union of Writers of Azerbaijan became the victims of Stalin's purges. Artistic qualities declined due to the imposed norms of Socialist Realism and strict political monopoly. Among the writers who escaped Stalin's purges were Samad Vurgun, Jafar Jabbarli, and Ilyas Effendiyev.

During World War II, literature became the instrument for war propaganda. Many writers and poets who were members of the Union of Writers of Azerbaijan travelled to northern Iran and organized literary meetings between 1941-1946. Among these writers were the novelists Mammad Said Ordubadi and Mirza Ibrahimov, and the poets Suleiman Rustamov and Bakhtiar Vahabzade. However, Vahabzade also expressed critical sentiments against Stalin and the post World War II politics. He destroyed his early poetic works in 1952 due to his fear that they would be discovered by the authorities.

After the death of Stalin, during the de-Stalinization period, all the writers who suffered from the inhumane treatment of the state, had their reputations restored and their works were republished.

During the *Glasnost* period that aimed at reforming the outdated government and economic system, positive changes were effected in the cultural sphere in the sense that contact with the outside world increased and the banned writers were rehabilitated. The victims were portrayed as "the innocent" in the organ of the Writer's Union of Azerbaijan *Ababiyyat va Incasana*t. However, literature was still the exclusive possession of the Party and the writers' works were under strict control and were trapped within the prescribed boundaries.

NORTH CAUCASUS

CHECHNYA: In the early 20th century, the verse writers like S.Gaisumov, S.Sugaipov and A.Tuchaev wrote in Arabic.

Literature developed in Chechnya the 1920s with the contributions of the writers like A. Dudaev, S. Sagaipov, M. Salmurzaev, M. Mamakaev, S. Baduev and A. Nazhaev. Ahmat Nazhayev collected his stories in *Songs and Stories* published in 1923. The stories of the writers like Abdi Dudayev, Shirvani Sagaipov, Mahmad Salmurzayev and Issa Eldarkhanov were published in the newspaper *Serlo* in 1925.

The poet, prose-writer and playwright Said Baduyev was considered the founder of Chechen literature. In his works, he usually criticized the outdated customary laws, customs and traditions and their destructive impacts on people as in his short stories *Adats*, written in the 1920s. He also wrote the first Chechen novel, *Petimat* that depicted a woman who was fighting for her freedom.

In the 1930s, there were writers like Khalid Oshayev, Said-Bei Arsanov, Magomet Mamakayev and Shamsuddin Aiskhanov whose works portrayed the real life and the psychological effects of politics in Chechnya. Arsanov's novel *Two Generations*, published in 1931 depicting the peasants who joined the revolution. The poems *Gory Mountains* and *A Conversation with Mother* written by Magomet Mamakayev, *Guerrillas* written by Said Baduyev and *In the Chechen Mountains* written by Arbi Mamakayev all portrayed people hunted and downtrodden for centuries.

During Stalin's collectivization programme, Russian troops destroyed public and private library collections and thousands of books and their records were confiscated and obliterated during the deportation of the Chechen people in 1944; only a small number of teptars were rescued.

From the late 1950s till the early 1980s, new generation writers along with the old ones made valuable contributions to the development of the Chechen literature. Said-Bei Arsanov's novel *How You Get to Know What Friendship Means* shed the light on conflicts and clashes with the Russian administration, human relations and personal experiences. The Chechen writer Khalid Oshayev's novel *The Fiery Years* portrayed the Revolution in the margins of documentary records.

The prose writer and poet Magomet Mamakayev wrote his narrative poem *Talking With Mother* (1934) provided an insight into his boyhood years. In his books *The Ice Has Broken* (1958) and *The Motherland's Road* (1960) he used the genres of travelogue and essay. His epic novels were devoted to the Civil War as in *The Myriad of the Revolution* (1963) and a noble hero as in *Zelimkhan* (1967).

Questions:

- 1- Why did literature stay the exclusive possession of the Party and writers' works were kept under strict control in Azerbaijan even after the demise of the Soviet Union?
- 2- Regardless of strict censorship, the control on the content of the works and the strong emphasis on Socialist idealism, writers in all the Caucasus states never gave up producing. Does this show that the Soviets failed to create a genuine socialist society, but built a pseudo-socialism?

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