

# AZERBAJCAN'IN TOPLUMSAL BÜTÜNLÜĞÜNÜN İHLALİ- ZENGEZUR SORUNU VE TÜRKİYE



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## Özet

Bu makale, Zengezur'daki şiddetli çatışma hakkında bir tarihçe sunmaktadır. Yazar, zengin olgusal malzemeye dayanarak, Azerbaycan ile Ermenistan arasındaki bölgesel anlaşmazlıkların nedenlerine ışık tutmaya çalışıyor. Birinci dönem, Azerbaycan Demokratik Cumhuriyeti döneminde, ikinci dönem ise Azerbaycan'da Sovyet hükümetinin kurulmasından sonraki dönemde Zengezur'daki siyasi ilişkileri ele almaktadır. Gelecekteki çatışmanın temelleri işte bu sırada atıldı. Mayıs 1918'de Azerbaycan, Ermenistan ve Gürcistan'ın bağımsız devletlerinin ilanıyla, yeni kurulan cumhuriyetlerin her birine toprak sorunu özellikle şiddetli hale geldi. Bu dönemde Güney Kafkasya bölgesindeki illerde etnik olarak karışık nüfusa sahip birçok ilçe vardı. Sovyet Rusya'nın hegemonyasının kurulmasından sonra toprak iddiaları güçlendi. "Zengezur meselesi" Avrasya bölgesindeki tek Türk kuşağını yok etmeyi amaçlıyordu. Bu nedenle bölgesel ve siyasi sorunlar komşu Türkiye ile çözülmek zorundaydı. 1920 Nisan fethinden sonra Azerbaycan fiilen Moskova'dan Bakü'ye gönderilen Bolşevik ve Taşnak elçileri -S.Orjonikidze, S. Kirov, Mikoyan ve diğerleri tarafından yönetildi. N. Nerimanov liderliğindeki Azerbaycan hükümeti, ulusal çıkarları koruyacak durumda değildi. Azerbaycan'ı işgal eden 11. Kızıl Ordu, Taşnak Ermenistanı'nın Azerbaycan-Karabağ, Zengezur, Nahçıvan ve diğer bölgelere yönelik saldırılarını engellemek ve Müslüman nüfusu katletmek yerine, Azerbaycan sakinlerinin silahsızlandırılması ile meşguldü. Bu kez Sovyet Rusya, Azerbaycan Sovyet Sosyalist Cumhuriyeti'nin katılımı olmaksızın, Taşnak Ermenistanı ile toprak meselelerini gizlice müzakere etti. Sovyet Rusya ile Ermenistan Cumhuriyeti arasında 16 Ağustos 1920'de imzalanan altı maddelik anlaşmaya göre Şarur-Deralayaz bölgesi Ermeni toprağı olarak kabul edilmiş, Zengezur, Nahçıvan ve Karabağ bölgeleri ihtilafli kabul edilmişti. Bu konuda Azerbaycan hükümetinin lideri N. Narimanov şiddetle protesto etti. Bu anlaşmanın yazarı Vladimir Lenin, Sovyet Rusya Dışişleri Bakanı Chicherin, protestosuna kayıtsız kaldı.

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Azerbaycan'a karşı her zaman rakip siyaset yürüten Orcanikidze inisiyatifle şunları yazdı: “Eğer Dağlık Karabağ ve Zengezur bir an önce Ermenistan'a katılsa, kim Azerbaycan'ı diğer bölgelerden reddetmeye mecbur edebilir. Azerbaycan'a Dağlık Karabağ ve Zengezur'a özerklik vermesini sağlardım”. O zamanlar Sovyet Rusya ile ittifak halinde olan Türkiye'nin ordusu Mayıs 1920'den itibaren burada bulunuyordu. Veysel Paşa liderliğindeki Türk birlikleri, Nahçıvan'ın Ermeni saldırısından korunmasında belirleyici rol oynadı. Kızıl Ordu Temmuz 1920'de Nahçıvan topraklarına girdi ve 28 Temmuz'da Nahçıvan SSC kuruldu. Nahçıvan Devrimci Komitesi, Nahçıvan'ı Azerbaycan'ın ayrılmaz bir parçası ilan etti. 29 Kasım 1920'de Ermenistan'da Sovyet iktidarının kurulmasının ardından ihtilafli topraklar için mücadele yeni bir aşamaya girdi. 1 Aralık 1920'de N. Narimanov, Sovyet Ermenistanı'nın kurulmasına ilişkin bir bildiri yayımladı. Komünist Parti Merkez Komitesi Kafkasya Bürosu'nun aceleyle yazdığı bu bildiri de şunlar yazılıydı: “...Sovyet Azerbaycan bundan sonra hiçbir toprak sorununun iki komşu ulusun, Ermeniler ve Müslümanların karşılıklı kan dökmesine neden olamayacağını duyurur; Sovyet Ermenistan'ın ayrılmaz bir parçası olan Zengezur ve Nahçıvan bölgesi toprakları; Dağlık Karabağ köylüleri (Ermeniler) - kendi kaderini tayin etme hakkına sahiptir ve Zengezur sınırları içindeki tüm askerî faaliyetler askıya alınır, Sovyet Azerbaycan birlikleri Zengezur'dan çıkarılır.” Bu sorumsuz açıklama Türkiye tarafından sert bir şekilde kınandı ve Nahçıvan protestolara başladı.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Rusya, Ermeniler, Zangezur, İşgal, Müslüman Nüfusu, Siyasi Yönler.

## **VIOLATION OF THE TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF AZERBAIJAN-THE ZANGEZUR ISSUE AND TÜRKİYE**

### **Abstract**

This article provides a historical outlook on the violent conflict in Zangezur. Based on rich factual material, the author tries to shed light on the causes of territorial disputes between Azerbaijan and Armenia. The first period considers political relations in Zangezur during the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic, second period after the establishment of Soviet government in Azerbaijan. It was at this time that the foundations of the future conflict were laid. With the proclamation in May 1918 of the independent states of Azerbaijan, Armenia and Georgia, the question of territories to each of the newly formed republics became especially acute. This period in the provinces of the South Caucasus region were many districts with ethnically mixed populations. After the establishment of the hegemony of the Soviet Russia the territorial claims strengthened. The "Zangezur issue" was aimed at destroying the single Turkish belt in the Eurasian region. For this reason territorial and political issues had to be resolved with neighboring Türkiye. After the April conquest of 1920, actually Azerbaijan was ruled by Bolshevik and Dashnak emissaries - S.Orjonikidze, S. Kirov, Mikoyan and others who sent from Moscow to Baku. Azerbaijan government led by N. Nerimanov was not in a position to protect national interests. The 11<sup>th</sup> Red Army who occupied Azerbaijan, instead of preventing the aggression of Dashnak Armenia to the regions of Azerbaijan-Karabakh, Zangezur, Nakhchivan and other region and committed massacre of Muslim population, was busy with disarmament of the Azerbaijani residents. This time Soviet Russian negotiated in secret with Dashnak Armenia about the territorial problems without participation of Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic. According to the agreement with the six articles, which concluded on August 16, 1920, between Soviet Russian and Armenian Republic, the Sharur-Deralayaz region was confirmed as the Armenian territory, and the Zangezur, Nakhchivan and Karabakh regions were considered as controversial. In this regard the leader of the Azerbaijan government N. Narimanov expressed strong protest. Vladimir Lenin the author of this agreement, the minister of foreign affairs of Soviet Russia Chicherin, remained indifferent to his protest. Orcanikidze, who always conducted rival policy against Azerbaijan, wrote with initiative: "If Mountaneous Karabakh and Zangezur immediately join Armenia, who can oblige Azerbaijan to reject from other regions. I would make Azerbaijan

give autonomy to Mountaneous Karabakh and Zangezur". That time army of Türkiye, which was in alliance with the Soviet Russia, was located here since May of 1920. The Turkish troops, led by Veysel Pasha played a decisive role preservation of Nakhchivan from the Armenian aggression. The Red army entered the territory of Nakhchivan in July of 1920 and on July 28 Nakhchivan SSR was created. Nakhchivan revolutionary Committee declared Nakhchivan an integral part of Azerbaijan. After the establishment of the Soviet power in Armenia, on November 29, 1920, the struggle for the controversial territories entered a new phase. On December 1, 1920, N. Narimanov issued a declaration on the establishment of the Soviet Armenia. This declaration written in a hasty manner of the Caucasus Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist party, stated: "...the Soviet Azerbaijan announces that from now, no territorial issues can cause mutual bloodletting of two neighboring nations: the Armenians and Muslims; territory of Zangezur and Nakhchivan district inseparable part of Soviet Armenia; peasantry of Nagorno Karabakh (Armenians) -has the full right of self-determination and all military activities inside the Zangezur borders are suspended, the troops of Soviet Azerbaijan are removed from Zangezur." This irresponsible statement was sharply condemned by Türkiye and Nakhchivan began protests.

**Keywords:** Russia, Armenians, Zangezur, Conquest, Muslim Population, Political Aspects.

This article provides a historical account of the violent conflict in Zangezur, the ancestral land of Azerbaijan. Based on rich factual material, the author tries to shed light on the causes of territorial disputes between Azerbaijan and Armenia. The formation of the borders of the modern sovereign states of the Caucasus took place mainly in the period from 1918 to 1921 s. The Armenia-Azerbaijan conflict developed in the context of a tense geopolitical struggle in the region between Great Britain, France, Germany and Russia, at the epicenter of which was the struggle for control over Azerbaijan. The aim was to divide the Turkic world, so each of the interested powers tried to use the "Armenian factor" against Türkiye. The Armenia will always try to solve its problems with the intervention of external and dominant powers and will remain dependent on the outside in this sense<sup>1</sup>. The period from 1918 to 1921's deepening of territorial disputes between Azerbaijan and Armenia based on Russia. Russia -both Tsarists, Soviet period has been using Armenians and Armenia as pawns in her ambitious geopolitical games.<sup>2</sup> Russia had established ethnically mixed and politically problematic lands to avoid being caught alone which would have prevented states from uniting against it<sup>3</sup>. The first period considers political relations in Zangezur during the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic, the second period after the establishment of Soviet government in Azerbaijan. With the proclamation in May 1918 of the independent states of Azerbaijan, Armenia and Georgia, the question of territories to each of the newly-formed republics became especially acute. In this time, the Ottoman Empire played a decisive role in establishing borders of Azerbaijan and Armenia<sup>4</sup>. Russia wanted to build an Armenian state as Christian buffer between Türkiye and Azerbaijan.<sup>5</sup> It was at this time that the foundations of the future conflict were laid. After the decision of the National Council on May 29, 1918, Azerbaijan was made to transfer Erevan to Armenians as the capital, where

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<sup>1</sup> Худавердян Б.А.Из истории освобождения Зангезура//Вестник общественных наук Академии наук.,Армянской ССР, 1967,№2,с. 3-15.

<sup>2</sup> Andrew Andersen., A new turn of the Karabachos conflict the context of Armenian-Russian relations [https://www.academia.edu/44370851/A\\_NEW\\_TURN\\_OF\\_THE\\_KARABAKH\\_CONFLICT\\_IN\\_THE\\_CONTEXT\\_OF\\_ARMENIAN\\_RUSSIAN\\_RELATIONS](https://www.academia.edu/44370851/A_NEW_TURN_OF_THE_KARABAKH_CONFLICT_IN_THE_CONTEXT_OF_ARMENIAN_RUSSIAN_RELATIONS).

<sup>3</sup> Arkhipova, E., "Azerbaijano-Gruzinskaya granitsa: istoricheskie faktory povavleniya sporov" (The Azerbaijan-Georgia Borderline: Historical Factors of Current BorderlineTerritorial Disputes), Vestnik Volgogradskogo Gosudarstvennogo universiteta , Vol:4, No:2(22), History, 2012, pp.79-80.

<sup>4</sup> Киреев, И., "История Турции: XX век"., (Москва,2007),134-135p.

<sup>5</sup> Novikova Gayane.,The Russia-Turkey Confrontation and Its Implication for the South Caucasus[https://www.academia.edu/25063844/The\\_Russia\\_Turkey\\_Confrontation\\_and\\_Its\\_Implication\\_for\\_the\\_South\\_Caucasus?email\\_work\\_card=view-paper](https://www.academia.edu/25063844/The_Russia_Turkey_Confrontation_and_Its_Implication_for_the_South_Caucasus?email_work_card=view-paper).

they had created the Armenian (Ararat) Republic<sup>6</sup>, in response Armenia would give up claims to the part of the Yelizavetpol province, that is, to the mountainous part of Karabakh. In 1918 at the expense of Azerbaijan lands the Ararat Republic was established<sup>7</sup>. The 4 June 1918 Treaty of Batumi between the Turkish leadership with each individual republic only established their respective borders in relation to Ottoman Government itself<sup>8</sup>. The aim of the Ottoman Government in the Batumi negotiations was to strengthen its position against Britain and Soviet Russia in South Caucasus<sup>9</sup>. After the October Revolution of 1917, when the Russian army began to withdraw from Eastern Anatolia, Dashnak gangs of Andronik led an unsuccessful defense the fight against the Turkish army and the Armenians started to flee from the region<sup>10</sup>. Andranik with his armed started to occupy the lands up to Zangezur in the summer of 1918, breaking the boundaries of Azerbaijan Democratic Republic.<sup>11</sup> As a result, in Zangezur 115, in Javanshir, Jabrayil and Shusha uyezds 21, in Erevan province more than 60 Azerbaijani villages were destroyed and more than 100 thousand Muslim Turks became refugees, leaving their native lands.<sup>12</sup> Richard Hovannisian wrote: “By June 1918, the interethnic conflict in Zangezur escalated sharply. Andranik arrived in Zangezur with 12,000 men and 40,000 refugee followers. Whereas according to Hovannisian himself, there were about 30,000 Armenian refugees in Zangezur, 15,000 of whom were from Nakhchivan<sup>13</sup>. This became the main source of hope for the realization of the Armenian territorial aspirations. In his speech on this issue, the head of the government F. Kh. Khoysky noted that, “Andranik’s plan “to cleanse”

<sup>6</sup> Hasan J.P., “Rus Devrimi ve Azerbaycan: Bağımsızlığa Giden Zor Yol (1917-1920)”, (Moskova: Flint, 2011),47-49.

<sup>7</sup> Gozalova, Nigar., “The Karabakh issue in relation with Armenia and Azerbaijan (1918-1920)”, [https://www.academia.edu/40786403/THE\\_KARABAKH\\_ISSUE\\_IN\\_RELATION\\_WITH\\_ARMENIA\\_AND\\_AZERBAIJAN\\_1918\\_1920](https://www.academia.edu/40786403/THE_KARABAKH_ISSUE_IN_RELATION_WITH_ARMENIA_AND_AZERBAIJAN_1918_1920).

<sup>8</sup> Щепотьев А., “О спорных Кавказских территориях, на которые имеют правосамоопределившиеся азербайджанские турки”, (Baku: Gənclik, 2016),57-59.

<sup>9</sup> Arkhipova, E., “Azerbayceno-Gruzinskaya granitsa: istoricheskie faktory poyavleniya spоров” (The Azerbaijan-Georgia Borderline: Historical Factors of Current BorderlineTerritorial Disputes), Vestnik Volgogradskogo Gosudarstvennogo universiteta , Vol:4, No:2(22), History, 2012, pp.79-80.

<sup>10</sup> Dzhabbarov F. “Güney Kafkasya’da Ermeni Aşırılığ: 19. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısı — 20. Yüzyılın Başlarında”, (Bakü: TEAS PRESS, 2018),.76.

<sup>11</sup> Markhulia Guram. “Dashnaksutun’ and its politics in 1918-1920.”Accessed January 17, 2018. <https://iberiana.wordpress.com/armenia-georgia/markhulia-6/>.

<sup>12</sup> Dzhamil Guliev, “K istorii obrazovaniia Nagorno-Karabakhskoi Avtonomnoi Oblasti Azerbaïdzhanskoy SSR 1918–1925”. Belgeler ve Materyaller (Baku:1989), 41.

<sup>13</sup> Richard G. Hovannisyan., “Ermenistan Cumhuriyeti”. C II: Versay’dan Londra’ya. 1919-1920. Londra: Kaliforniya Üniversitesi Yayınları, 1982.189-190.

Zangezur and Shusha from the Muslim population and tear these areas from the living body of Azerbaijan".<sup>14</sup> The Andranik's armed bands in the territory of Zangezur and Karabakh that continued intermittently from the summer of 1918 to the spring of 1919.<sup>15</sup> In a secret report to the Ministers of Armenia, signed on March 17, 1919, by the Levon Zarafyants wrote: "...to do everything possible so that Zangazur would now become an indisputable part of the Armenian Republic."<sup>16</sup> It was clear that, how Zangezur was important strategic position for Armenians. Andronik forces in Azerbaijan were suppressed by Ottomans troops.<sup>17</sup> After the departure of Turkish troops with the signing of the Armistice of Mudras, from the South Caucasus in early November 1918, control over the region passed into the hands of British troops.<sup>18</sup> This paved the way for Andranik and his forces to act in line with their ambitions in Zangezur again. On November 18th 1918, A. M. Topchubashov (1862-1934), the chair of the Parliament of the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic said: "The Karabakh issue raised by Armenians does not concern only 5 or 10 villages, it covers all four districts: Shusha, Djavanshir, Djebail and Zangezur. This territory belongs to only one nation and even though the number of Moslems and Armenians is not equal, there is no reason to talk in terms of domination of Armenians, because they are not native residents of these areas. These are those moving to the region from Türkiye after the war with Russia... Finally, Armenians do not live separately in Karabakh itself, they form mixed settlements with Azerbaijanis. Nevertheless, we stand for the peaceful settlement of the problem".<sup>19</sup> In 1918 November, the commander of the British contingent, General Thomson, proclaimed himself general-governor of Baku.<sup>20</sup> The British policy aim was to overthrow the soviet power and maintain its long-term influence in South Caucasus. In this process, Armenia, believing that

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<sup>14</sup> Hasan J.P., "Rus Devrimi ve Azerbaycan: Bağımsızlığa Giden Zor Yol (1917-1920)", (Moskova: Flint, 2011),47-49.

<sup>15</sup> İsgenderli A.C. "Azerbaycan Gerçekleri 1917-1920", (Bakü, Bilim -Teknik 2012),118.

<sup>16</sup> Халилов А., "Геноцид против мусульманского населения Закавказья в исторических источниках", (Баку.,2000),111-112с.

<sup>17</sup> Henry C. Thibault., "Genocide, Denial, and Domination: Armenian-Turkish Relations from Conflict Resolution to Just Transformation", Worcester State College, Massachusetts, htheriault@worcester.edu., September 2009,156-158p.

<sup>18</sup> Saparov Arsene, "From Conflict to Autonomy in the Caucasus. Soviet Union and the Making of Abkhazia, South Ossetia and Nagorno Karabakh", (London: Routledge, 2015), 123.

<sup>19</sup> Hasanov Hasan., "Топчибашев А.М. Избранные. Государственная и дипломатическая деятельность 1918-1920", (Baku,2000), 3-ий том,165.

<sup>20</sup> Hasanov, Hasan "На пути к Первой Азербайджанской Республике (1917-1918гг.)", (Baku.,2000),179

Britain would support it. However, with the intervention of the British, a ceasefire was achieved.<sup>21</sup> General Thompson directly supported Azerbaijan on the issue of Karabakh, Zangazur and Nakhchivan.<sup>22</sup> He demanded that the Armenian commander cease hostilities against the Azerbaijani population: “Inform all Armenians to quietly sit in their homes. In case of disobedience, you will be directly responsible for the spilled blood”.<sup>23</sup> In mid-January 1919 the British command chose a model of territorial isolation of the conflict area through establishing special administration of the Governor-General Karabakh and appointed Dr. Khosrov Bey Sultanov governor of Karabakh.<sup>24</sup> The general-governor-administered territories included the Shusha, Zangezur, Javanshir and the Jabrayil districts.<sup>25</sup> The Armenian authorities hurried to protest against this decision of the Azerbaijan government. Decisive action of Khosrov Bey Sultanov put an end to raids of Andronik and other Dashnak forces in Karabakh and Zangezur, hence all their supporters have been removed. Thus, the sovereign rights of Azerbaijan in Karabakh were restored.<sup>26</sup> British sources also give us a good picture of what happened in Zangezur during this period. The English journalist Scotland-Liddle, who visited the conflict areas in the Caucasus in 1919-1920, wrote in January 1919: “On November 23 a treaty was concluded in Tiflis and there came hope that both parties [i.e. Armenia and Azerbaijan] would live in peace until all the questions are solved by the Great Powers [in the Versailles Peace Conference]. However, immediately, almost following the signing of the treaty, Armenians, having benefited from the withdrawal of the Azerbaijani troops, treacherously attacked the Muslims.”<sup>27</sup> In summer 1919 the situation in Azerbaijan worsened again, as a result of threat of invasion

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<sup>21</sup> Gozalova, Nigar., “THE KARABAKH ISSUE IN RELATION WITH ARMENIA AND AZERBAIJAN (1918-1920)”, 2019, [https://www.academia.edu/40786403/THE\\_KARABAKH\\_ISSUE\\_IN\\_RELATION\\_WITH\\_ARMENIA\\_AND\\_AZERBAIJAN\\_1918\\_1920](https://www.academia.edu/40786403/THE_KARABAKH_ISSUE_IN_RELATION_WITH_ARMENIA_AND_AZERBAIJAN_1918_1920).

<sup>22</sup> Зейналова, Т.М. “Из истории национального государственного строительства в Азербайджане (1920—1930-е гг.)”, Баку, 2004. С. 33, 49.

<sup>23</sup> Мамедова Ш. “Интерпретация тоталитаризма. Сталинизм в Азербайджане. 1920—1930”., (Баку, 2004), 13.

<sup>24</sup> Hasanli, Jamil, “Foreign Policy of the Republic of Azerbaijan, The Difficult Road to Western Integration, 1918-1920”., (Baku, 1995), 79p.

<sup>25</sup> Shikhaliyev, Emin. “Britain’s Armenian policy in the South Caucasus and place of the Problem in UK Archives (1917-1920)”, IRS-Heritage 1, no.29(2016), 26-33.

<sup>26</sup> Мустафазаде Рахман., “Две республики. Азербайджано-российские отношения в 1918—1922 гг.”., (Москва., 2006), 78-79.

<sup>27</sup> Shikhaliyev, Emin. “Britain’s Armenian policy in the South Caucasus and place of the Problem in UK Archives (1917-1920)”, IRS-Heritage 4, no.27 (2017), 34-41.



of the general Denikin's White Guard Army from the north.<sup>28</sup> In June having benefited from this situation, the Armenian armed forces again intruded into Zangezur.<sup>29</sup> In connection with the aggression of Armenia, on December 30, 1919, the Azerbaijan government demanded that W. Huskell, High Commissioner of the Union States in the South Caucasus, take urgent measures to end the aggression against Azerbaijan population<sup>30</sup>. He started to support the idea that Zangezur and Karabakh were an integral part of Azerbaijan<sup>31</sup>. About a month after these developments, the Prime Minister of Armenia Alexander Khatisian sent an urgent telegram to the Armenian delegations at the Paris Peace Conference and reported that, by taking control of Zangezur, Azerbaijan was planning to establish contact with Türkiye<sup>32</sup>. Regular units of the Azerbaijan Army under the command of general-major Habib Salimov were started military operations to restore order in and around Zangezur<sup>33</sup>, defeated army of Armenians. Oliver Wardrop submitted to Lord Curzon a letter of the Prime Minister of the ADR of November 16, 1919 indicated: "Zangezur is the inalienable part of Azerbaijan Republic and was always considered, not only by us, but by Allies of British command and Colonel Haskell, high commissioner, peace conference reorganizing our inalienable right to Zangezur district in one of point's agreement".<sup>34</sup> In order to eliminate armed conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan in Zangezur and to establish friendly relations between the two neighboring countries, the negotiations with the mediation of USA culminated in the signing of the treaty on November 23, 1919 in Tbilisi.<sup>35</sup> The parties undertook not to use the weapons against each other and to resolve all outstanding issues through negotiations, and all the border issues

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<sup>28</sup> Абаскулиева, Еленора, "Военный альянс большевиков и дашнаков носил выраженный анти азербайджанский характер", Азербайджанские известия, 2012, 26 мая, 1-2р.

<sup>29</sup> Мамедова Ш. "Интерпретация тоталитаризма. Сталинизм в Азербайджане. 1920—1930", (Баку, 2004), 13-14.

<sup>30</sup> Gozalova, Nigar., "Massacre of the Azerbaijani Turkic population (1918-1920) according to the documents of the British diplomats"/// International Crimes and History Journal, 2017, <https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/download/article-file/700954>.

<sup>31</sup> Халилов, Аслан, "Геноцид против мусульманского населения Закавказья в исторических источниках", (Баку, 2000), 148с.

<sup>32</sup> Dağlık Karabağ 1918-1923 Yıllarında Belge ve Materyallerin Toplanması, Erivan, Ermenistan Tarihi, 1992.

<sup>33</sup> Segvard Harmandaryan., "Lenin ı stanovlenie Zakavkazskoi federatsii (1921-1923)", (Erivan: Aiastan, 1969), 99

<sup>34</sup> Мамедова Ш. "Интерпретация тоталитаризма. Сталинизм в Азербайджане. 1920—1930", (Баку, 2004), 15-16.

<sup>35</sup> Кузнецова С. И. "Установление советско-турецких отношений (К 40-летию Московского договора между РСФСР и Турцией)", Москва: Восточной литературы, 1961, 34-41с.

finally resolved at a peace conference.<sup>36</sup> The Azerbaijan Democratic Republic remaining faithful to the commitment it has taken, in accordance with the treaty, and trusting the Armenians, in a short time withdrew its troops from Zangezur. Taking advantage of this, the Armenian government advanced in Zangezur with the regular army of 7 thousand soldiers.<sup>37</sup> As a result, 40 Azerbaijani villages were destroyed in Zangezur, and the population was slaughtered.<sup>38</sup> On December 14-21, 1919, an Armenian-Azerbaijani peace conference was held in Baku,<sup>39</sup> its work without coming to any results.<sup>40</sup> In order to destroy the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic, the Armenian government in 1920 began secret negotiations with the Russian Bolsheviks.<sup>41</sup> On March 22 1920, Armenian nationalist groups organized a riot.<sup>42</sup> This separatist revolt was proposed by Bolsheviks, preparing to occupy Azerbaijan with the hand Armenians. The objective was to take control over Zangezur and Shusha.<sup>43</sup> These events caused the governmental crisis in Azerbaijan. The Bolsheviks used the situation to seize the power.<sup>44</sup> Involvement of the major forces of the Azerbaijan Army in the conflict with Armenia in the western borders made virtually helpless<sup>45</sup>. On April 27 the Russian XI Red Army intruded into Azerbaijan and on April 28 the Soviets came into the power in Baku.<sup>46</sup> Armenia after April overturn still was going to seize native lands of Azerbaijan as Nakchivan, Zangazur, Nagorno-Karabakh and Sharur Daralayaz<sup>47</sup>. On April 30, 1920, two days after the

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<sup>36</sup> Musaev İsmayil., “Azərbaycanın Naxçıvan və Zəngəzur bölgələrində siyasi vəziyyət və xarici dövlətlərin siyasəti (1917-1921-ci illər)”, (Bakı, 1996),122.

<sup>37</sup> Hasanlı, Jamil, “Foreign Policy of the Republic of Azerbaijan, The Difficult Road to Western Integration, 1918-1920”, (Baku, 1995), 94p.

<sup>38</sup> İsgenderli A.C. “Azərbaycan Gerçekleri 1917-1920”, (Bakü, Bilim -Teknik 2012), 89.

<sup>39</sup> Niftaliyev, İlqar., “How Azerbaijan Lost Zangezur” ., <https://1905.az/en/how-azerbaijan-lost-zangezur/>

<sup>40</sup> Sovyet Azərbaycan'ı: Efsaneler ve Gerçeklikler., (Bakü, 1987).156.

<sup>41</sup> Байков Б.Л. “Воспоминания о революции в Закавказье - Архив русской революции”, (Москва.,1991), т.9-10, с.114.

<sup>42</sup> “Last events in Karabakh”, Azerbaijan newspaper No 123, June 17 1919 / also: Documents and Publications p. 313 .(in Russian).

<sup>43</sup> Scotland, Liddel “War with Muslims, Armenians attack again”, January 30, 1919 / Central State Archive of Azerbaijan Republic reserve 894, inventory 10, folder (delo) 81, lists 9-10 / Documents and Publications... p. 257.

<sup>44</sup> Mustafayev, Beşir., “Rezultate Hükümeti Dönemi ve Yaşanan Terör Olayları (1918-1920).” *Avrasya İncelemeleri Dergisi*, II/1 (2013):206-231.

<sup>45</sup> Tsvetkova,Tsvetelina, “Turkish National Movement and Soviet Russia in Caucasus (1919-1922)”, *Journal of Balkan and Black Sea Studies Year I, Issue 1, Fall 2018*, 77-114.

<sup>46</sup> Hasan J.P. “Rus Devrimi ve Azərbaycan: Bağımsızlığa Giden Zor Yol (1917-1920)”, Moskova: Flint, 2011,121

<sup>47</sup> Мустафа, Озгюрк, “Советско-турецкие отношения на Кавказе в 1918-1923 гг.”., Баку, 2010,54.

Azerbaijan Soviet Republic issued a note to the Armenian government and demanded the withdrawal of Armenian troops from Zangezur and Karabakh: “1. Clear the territory of... Zangezur off your troops...2. Recede to your borders; 3. Cease interethnic carnage; otherwise, Revolutionary Committee of the Azerbaijan SSR will consider that it is in a state of war with the government of the Republic of Armenia.”<sup>48</sup> A reply to this note was any result. Ovanes Kachaznuni, Prime Minister of Dashnak Armenia (1918-1920) and one of the leaders of the Dashnaktsutyun party, later admitted that “Officially, we were not at war with Azerbaijan. We actually fought in Karabakh and there were also frequent clashes in Gazakh. A number of bloody battles occurred within the country with the local Muslim population in Agbab, Zod, Zangibasar, Vedi Bazaar, Sharur-Nakhchivan, Zangezur, etc.”<sup>49</sup> This was the beginning of a future tragedy. In solving the territorial problems the Soviet Russia defend only Dashnak Armenia. Lenin feared the Entente was planning to use Armenia as a staging ground for retaking Baku, which provided oil to the Soviets and the port of Batumi on the Black Sea.<sup>50</sup> Soviet Russia pursued a policy of Sovietization of Armenia at the expense of Azerbaijan lands.<sup>51</sup> By that time Soviet Russia realized that Türkiye would not interfere in the Caucasian developments.<sup>52</sup> Ankara was busy fighting a brutal war against the Greeks and French in Western and Southern Anatolia.<sup>53</sup> On June 19, protection of Armenians G. Ordzhonikidze (who represented the Military Revolutionary Council on the Caucasus Front) sent a cable to G. Chicherin (who served as People’s Commissar for Foreign Affairs of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic (RSFSR), “The Soviet government has been proclaimed in Zangezur and the above-mentioned territories consider themselves part of the Soviet Azerbaijan republic... Azerbaijan cannot do without... Zangezur by any means. Overall,

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<sup>48</sup> Нота Азербайджанского советского правительства правительствам Армении и Грузии. 30.04.1920 // Государственный архив Азербайджанской Республики (ГААР), ф. 28 с., сп.1, д. 99, л.12; Архив общенационально-политических документов при Управлении делами Президента Азербайджанской Республики (АОПДУДПАР), ф. 1, д. 99, л.12; Архив общенационально-политических документов при Управлении делами Президента Азербайджанской Республики (АОПДУДПАР), ф. 1, сп.169, д.249, л.8; ф.1, сп.31, д. 186а, л.9; Газ. “Коммунист”, Баку,01.05.1920, №1.

<sup>49</sup> Качазнуниев.В “Дашнакцутюн больше нечего делать!”, (Тифлис, 1927), с. 33.

<sup>50</sup> Балаев,Айдын, “Азербайджанское национальное движение в 1917-1918 гг”., (Баку: Елм,1988),77.

<sup>51</sup> Мустафаева Ситара., Советская Россия и формирование границ между государствами Кавказа(на примере Азербайджана и Армении)”, <https://cyberleninka.ru/article/n/sovetskaya-rossiya-i-formirovanie-granits-mezhdu-gosudarstvami-kavkaza-na-primere-azerbaydzhana-i-armenii>.

<sup>52</sup> Байков Б.Л. “Воспоминания о революции в Закавказье” - Архив русской революции. (Москва, 1991), т.9-10, с.114.

<sup>53</sup> Dzhabbarov F. “Güney Kafkasya'da Ermeni Aşırılığı: 19. yüzyılın ikinci yarısı — 20. yüzyılın başlarında”, (Bakü: TEAS PRESS, 2018).

in my opinion, a representative of Azerbaijan should be summoned to Moscow so that we could jointly resolve all outstanding issues regarding Azerbaijan and Armenia,” the message reads.<sup>54</sup> G. Chicherin, in turn, sent a cable to G. Ordzhonikidze, on July 2, 1920, the cable said: “The Armenian peaceful delegation adamantly disagrees with the disputed status of Zangezur... hoping that most of this territory will sooner or later be handed over to them after long-lasting resistance. On the other hand, it is necessary to concur with the government of Azerbaijan that our agreement with Armenia does not run counter to the demands of the Azerbaijani government. Since you wield tremendous influence in Baku, we request that you put it to use and achieve ... recognition of Zangezur as disputed territory by the Azerbaijani government”.<sup>55</sup> Iosif Stalin (from 1917-22, headed the Commissariat for Ethnicities of the Soviet Russia) first laid out his position on the Armenian-Azerbaijani territorial conflict in a telegram to Ordzhonikidze on 8 July 1920: “My opinion is that one cannot endlessly maneuvers between the sides. One should back one of the sides, in this case - Azerbaijan and Türkiye. I have spoken to Lenin, he doesn’t mind”.<sup>56</sup> At this time, the Russian government was operating on the basis of leading Communist Ordzhonikidze’s thesis: “... We may need Armenia in certain political situations. Azerbaijan is keen on unification...with Zangezur immediately and without negotiations. In my opinion, this must be done. Both districts lean toward Baku economically. In particular, these areas are currently completely separated from Erivan -- after the Turkish Bayazet division wedged itself in. In case these districts remain disputed, they will undoubtedly be taken over by the Turks and the Armenian population will be entirely annihilated. We will not be able to prevent it from happening in any way.”<sup>57</sup> According to chairman of the Revolutionary Military Council of Armenia S. Ter Gabrielyan: “Armenian representatives would definitely go for it. If the solution of this issue takes such a turn, Azerbaijan may be forced to relinquish other provinces. I believe that Zangezur ought to join Azerbaijan immediately. I will prompt Azerbaijan to declare autonomy of these provinces, but that idea should be put forward by Azerbaijan and it

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<sup>54</sup> Телеграмма С.Орджоникидзе Г.Чичерину. 19.06.1920 // РГАСПИ, ф.85, оп.13, д.32, л.3.

<sup>55</sup> Телеграмма Чичерина Орджоникидзе. 02.07.1920 // Российский Государственный Архив Социально-Политической Истории (РГАСПИ), ф.85, оп.3 с., д. 2, л. 3.

<sup>56</sup> “Нагорный Карабах 1918-1923 гг”. Сборник документов. Ереван, 1992 // [www.arsakhworld.com](http://www.arsakhworld.com)

<sup>57</sup> Musayev Ismayil., “Azerbaycan'ın Nahçıvan ve Zengezur bölgelerinde yabancı devletlerin siyasi durumu ve politikaları (1917-1921 yılları)”, (Bakü, 1996), 85.

should not be cited in the agreement under any circumstances.”<sup>58</sup> In response to this Chicherin wrote on 8 July cable addressed to Ordzhonikidze: “What can we accomplish in the first place? Currently, Zangezur may be declared as disputed territory, which requires consent of the Azerbaijani government. This is vital for us and we should definitely conclude an agreement with Armenia. This is crucial given the current situation internationally and this necessitates announcing Zangezur as disputed territory as well, to say the least.”<sup>59</sup> On July 10, 1920, a letter pertaining to the Zangezur issue was sent to the central body of the Bolshevik Communist Party by Nariman Narimanov, chairman of the Council of People’s Commissars of the Azerbaijan Soviet Republic who played an important role in the overthrow of Azerbaijan Democratic Republic.<sup>60</sup> He played a key role in this issue. Soviet Russia used the Bolshevik Nariman Narimanov in Azerbaijan, “as a kind of flag and decoration”.<sup>61</sup> He understood that independence of the Soviet Azerbaijan is a fake promise but it was late. He warned about Zangezur issue that: “The situation is terrible. The Center has recognized the independence of Georgia and Armenia, it has recognized the independence of Azerbaijan, but at the same time, the Center is giving completely undisputed Azerbaijani territory to Armenia. If these territories were ceded to Georgia, it would be somewhat possible to resist public opinion, but giving them to Armenia and Dashnaks is an irreparable, fatal mistake.”<sup>62</sup> Diplomatic dispatch sent to N. Narimanov by G. Chicherin on 20 July says with sarcasm: “So far, neither you nor Ordzhonikidze have explained in any of your telegrams why the occupation of Karabakh and Zangezur by Russian units does not satisfy you and other communists that are there and why formal annexation to Azerbaijan is required... We need to improve relations with Armenia, because it may happen that if Türkiye turns against us, even Dashnak Armenia will be an outpost in the fight against the advancing Turks”.<sup>63</sup> Soviet Russia negotiated in secret with Dashnak Armenia about the

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<sup>58</sup> Azərbaycan SSR-nin Dağlık Karabağ Özerk Bölgesi'nin oluşum tarihine. 1918-1925. Belgeler ve materyaller. (Bakü, 1989), 119.

<sup>59</sup> Телеграмма Чичерина Орджоникидзе. 08.07.1920// РГАСПИ, ф. 64, оп.1, д.17, л. 60.). Ответ Орджоникидзе по прямому проводу Чичерину. Июль 1920 // РГАСПИ, ф. 85, оп. 3 с., д. 2, л. 6; АРПІІІSSA, f. 1, siy. 31, iş 186 a, v. 38.

<sup>60</sup> Balayev Aydin., “Zengezur:zabitie urioki istoriyi”., Azərbaycan qezeti,1990, 10 avqust.

<sup>61</sup> Ronald Suny, “The Baku Commune”., <https://www.jacobinmag.com/2017/11/baku-commune-october-revolution-lenin-bolsheviks>.

<sup>62</sup> Письмо Н.Нариманова В.И.Ленину // АОПДУДПАР, ф.609, сп.1, д. 62, л. 19.

<sup>63</sup> Hasanli Jamil., “Sovietization of Azerbaijan and inclusion of Karabakh into the diplomatic agenda”., <https://irs-az.com/new/pdf/201306/1372414994991444799.pdf>.

territorial problems without participation of Azerbaijan SSR.<sup>64</sup> On 22 June 1920 G. Chicherin attempted to convince G. Ordzhonikidze that a compromise was necessary with the Armenia's Dashnak government.<sup>65</sup> He wrote: "The Azerbaijan government declares disputable not only Karabakh and Zangazur, but also the Sharur-Daralagez district. The latter never has been declared a matter of dispute, and even the Musavat government always recognized it as part of Armenia. Without it, almost nothing would remain of Armenia. The Armenian peace delegation after lengthy resistance agreed to recognize Karabakh and Zangezur as disputable hoping that at the end of the day a significant portion of these localities will be given to Armenia, but they in no case agreed to recognize Sharur-Daralagez district as a matter of dispute. On the other hand, we must achieve agreement from the Azerbaijani government so that our treaty with Armenia will not be in contradiction with the demands of Azerbaijan. Given the enormity of your influence in Baku, we ask you to use it in order to get from the Azerbaijan government its assurance that it considered Karabakh and Zangezur matters of dispute, but not Sharur-Daralagez district".<sup>66</sup> According to the agreement with the six articles, which concluded on August 16, 1920, between Soviet Russian and Armenian Republic, The Sharur-Deralayaz region was confirmed as the Azerbaijan territory, and the Zangezur, Nakhchivan and Karabakh regions were considered as "controversial".<sup>67</sup> Thus, the ancient Azerbaijani lands Sharur-Dereleyez uyezds and the Goycha mahal, having an area of 11 thousand square kilometers, were transferred to Armenia.<sup>68</sup> On October 24, 1920 B. Legran (a Bolshevik revolutionary and Soviet official) described his agreement with Armenians on Azerbaijani territories as follows: "Armenians' categorical condition is the immediate recognition of Nakhchivan and Zangezur as their territories. I pointed out that this question cannot be resolved without Azerbaijan and that we can raise it with Azerbaijan only if Armenians give up their claims to Karabakh. After lengthy discussions and with minor reservations, the Armenians agreed to

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<sup>64</sup> Гасанлы Дж.П. "Русская революция и Азербайджан: Трудный путь к независимости (1917–1920)". (Москва: Флинта, 2011),97-98.

<sup>65</sup> Musayev Ismayil, "Azerbaycan'ın Nahçıvan ve Zengezur bölgelerinde yabancı devletlerin siyasi durumu ve politikaları (1917-1921 yılları)". (Bakü, 1996)., 87-88.

<sup>66</sup> Letter of Peoples Commissar of International Affairs G. Chicherin to the Politburo of the CC RCP(b), 22 June 1920, PDA PAR, f. 1, op. 1, d. 2a, l. 9.

<sup>67</sup> Гусейнов Гасан. "Краткий обзор исторических аспектов армяно-азербайджанского противостояния". "Diplomatiya Aleml", Баку., № 4, 2003,93-94.

<sup>68</sup> Mammadov I. M., Musayev T.F. "Ermeni-Azerbaycan Çatışması: Tarih, Hukuk, Arabuluculuk", (Bakü: B. I.,2008), 32.

give up Karabakh.” The “gift” of the Azerbaijani Sharur-Derelez region of Armenia strengthened the ambitions of Armenians. This tempted struggle for Zangezur, Nakhichevan and Karabakh inflamed. Fortunately as to Nakhchivan, that time army of Türkiye, which was in alliance with the Soviet Russia, was located here since May of 1920<sup>69</sup>. The Turkish troops, led by Veysel Pasha, played a decisive role preservation of Nakhchivan from the Armenian aggression.<sup>70</sup> I. Stalin played a major role in the division of Azerbaijani territories. During the joint discussion of the "Zangezur problem" in the meeting of the Azerbaijani Communist Party and Baku Committee in Baku on November 9, 1920 he proved the point: “If you want to know who Zangezur and Nakhchivan belong to, they should not be given to Armenia’s current government, but if Soviet government is established there, then they can be given to them”.<sup>71</sup> It is clear from Stalin’s statement that a plan to transfer Nakhchivan and Zengezur to Armenia was prepared by Moscow even before its Sovietization.<sup>72</sup> After the establishment of the Soviet power in Armenia, on November 29, 1920<sup>73</sup> the struggle for the “controversial territories” entered a new phase. Moscow used “proletarian internationalism” propaganda to force Azerbaijan to make concessions.<sup>74</sup> On 1 December N. Narimanov issued a declaration on the establishment of the Soviet Armenia in Baku Council, in this declaration a particular reference was made to the issue of Zangezur’s transfer to Armenia, which stated: “...Soviet Azerbaijan, assisting the struggle of the Armenian workers against the Dashnak power, which has shed and is shedding the innocent blood of our best communist comrades in Armenia and Zangezur, declares that henceforth no territorial issue can lead to mutual bloodshed between centuries-old neighboring peoples - the Armenians and Muslims; the territory of Zangezur and Nakhchivan are integral parts of Soviet Armenia; the peasant workers of Mountainous Karabakh are granted the right to self-determination; all combat operations within Zangezur are stopped and the

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<sup>69</sup> Мустафазаде Р., “Две республики. Азербайджано-российские отношения в 1918—1922 гг”. (Москва., 2006). 78-79.

<sup>70</sup> Guliev Dzhamil, “K istorii obrazovaniia Nagorno-Karabakhskoi Avtonomnoi Oblasti Azerbaidzhanskoy SSR 1918–1925”., Belgeler ve Materyaller (Baku: Azgosizdat, 1989), 41.

<sup>71</sup> Сталин И. “Да здравствует советская Армения” //Газ. «Правда», 04.12.1920, №283.

<sup>72</sup> Niftaliyev, Ilgar “How Azerbaijan lost Zangezur” ., <https://1905.az/en/how-azerbaijan-lost-zangezur/>

<sup>73</sup> Musaev İ. M. “Azərbaycanın Naxçıvan və Zəngəzur bölgələrində siyasi vəziyyət və xarici dövlətlərin siyasəti (1917-1921-ci illər)”. (Bakı, 1996), 110.

<sup>74</sup> Мустафаева Ситара., “Советская Россия и формирование границ между государствами Кавказа (на примере Азербайджана и Армении)” <https://cyberleninka.ru/article/n/sovetskaya-rossiya-i-formirovanie-granits-mezhdu-gosudarstvami-kavkaza-na-primere-azerbaydzhana-i-armenii>.

forces of Soviet Azerbaijan withdrawn. There are absolutely no borders between Soviet Azerbaijan and Soviet Armenia".<sup>75</sup> A little later, the leadership of Soviet Azerbaijan took that statement back.<sup>76</sup> At that particular moment it was effectively used by Soviet Bolsheviks. In the autumn of 1920, Türkiye began military operations against Dashnaks, on December 1920, the parties signed the Gyumri peace treaty.<sup>77</sup> According to the agreement, Sherur, Shakhtakhty, Nakhchivan were temporarily protected by Türkiye. In fact, the protectorate of Türkiye was established over the territory formally remaining for Armenia.<sup>78</sup> Russia refused to recognize this treaty.<sup>79</sup> Moscow could not possibly allow the Turks to increase their influence over Armenia. In the meantime, on December 2, an agreement was signed between RSFSR and the Republic of Armenia.<sup>80</sup> The agreement declared Armenia an 'independent socialist republic' and Russia should give Zangezur, Qazakh, and former Yerevan Provinces to Armenia without any hesitation.<sup>81</sup> Andrew Andersen wrote: "Despite the fact that the boundaries of the indicated territory were not precisely defined, it should be said that neither the last government of independent Armenia, nor the first Soviet administration in Yerevan could boast an effective control even over half of the above territory. However, the named document is important as a confirmation of serious territorial concessions that the Kremlin was ready to offer Armenia at the very first stage of her Sovietization."<sup>82</sup> The Baku Soviet which was under the leadership of Stephan Shaumyan adapted a unanimous resolution on the issue and that the document "opens a new page in the history of the Azerbaijan". In his speech at the Baku Soviet meeting, Ordzhonikidze applauded the decision of the "Armenian people" to fly the Soviet flag, describing the statement: "Zangezur, Nakhchivan and Karabakh mean

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<sup>75</sup> Нариманов Н., "К истории нашей революции в окраинах (Письмо И.В.Сталину)". (Баку, 1990),117.

<sup>76</sup> Гасанлы Дж.П. "Русская революция и Азербайджан: Трудный путь к независимости (1917–1920)". (Москва: Флинта, 2011),112-113.

<sup>77</sup> Bulent, Gokay, "Soviet Eastern Policy and Turkey, 1920-1991: Soviet foreign policy, Turkey and communism"., (London,2006), New York: Routledge. 208p. <https://www.routledge.com/Soviet-Eastern-Policy-and-Turkey-1920-1991-Soviet-Foreign-Policy-Turkey/Gokay/p/>

<sup>78</sup> Качазнуни Ов. "Дашнакчупюн больше нечего делать!" (Баку, 1990). 77.

<sup>79</sup> Байков Б.Л. "Воспоминания о революции в Закавказье - Архив русской революции". (Москва, 1991), т.9-10, с.114.

<sup>80</sup> Щепотьев А., "О спорных Кавказских территориях, на которые имеют права самоопределившиеся азербайджанские турки." (Баку: Gənclik, 2016),34.

<sup>81</sup> ARSPIHDA, fn 609, l 1, fl 21, p 97; fn 609, l 1, fl 15, p 116.

<sup>82</sup> Andrew Andersen., "A new turn of the Karabakh conflict the context of Armenian-Russian relations"., [https://www.academia.edu/44370851/A\\_NEW\\_TURN\\_OF\\_THE\\_KARABAKH\\_CONFLICT\\_IN\\_THE\\_CONTEXT\\_OF\\_ARMENIAN\\_RUSSIAN\\_RELATIONS](https://www.academia.edu/44370851/A_NEW_TURN_OF_THE_KARABAKH_CONFLICT_IN_THE_CONTEXT_OF_ARMENIAN_RUSSIAN_RELATIONS).



nothing for the Russians; Zangezur is unproductive mountains, it has no grain, no water, Nakhchivan has no more than bogs and malaria, while Karabakh has nothing at all. And Comrade Narimanov says: 'Take them yourselves. Take these unproductive lands for Armenia, as though Soviet Azerbaijan was freeing itself of a burden.'<sup>83</sup> On December 2, 1920 Ordzhonikidze informed Lenin and Stalin that "Azerbaijan officially proclaimed the transfer of Zangezur, Nakhchivan and Mountainous Karabakh to Armenia yesterday."<sup>84</sup> In the article "Long live the Soviet Armenia," published in the newspaper "Pravda", on December 4, 1920, Stalin, solemnly proclaimed the transfer of Zangezur, Nakhchivan and Karabakh of the Soviet Armenia.<sup>85</sup> This irresponsible statement was sharply condemned by Türkiye and Nakhchivan began protests.<sup>86</sup> The Commissioner of Justice and the Plenipotentiary Representative of Azerbaijan in Russia Behbud Bey Shahtakhtinsky, sent to the region to reduce tension, in his speech, on December 15, 1920 to the Nakhchivan Community, openly declared: "The Azerbaijani government have sold you to Armenia with the land. If you want to preserve your lands and independence, the only force that can protect you is the Turkish army. The people must unite around this force. Only they can protect your independence and lands, and they alone are able to save you from a serious catastrophe."<sup>87</sup> An important role in the preservation of Nakhchivan within Azerbaijan played Türkiye. Soviet Russia saw Türkiye as a potential ally at this time. By serious instruction of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk Nakhchivan wasn't united with the Armenian SSR.<sup>88</sup> The fair solution of the Nakhchivan issue at the Moscow Conference was a great victory for Turkish diplomacy.<sup>89</sup> On March 16, 1921, in accordance with the results of a referendum, the Bolshevik government declared the Nakhchivan

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<sup>83</sup> Harmandaryan Segvard., "Lenin ı stanovlenie Zakavkazskoi federatsii (1921-1923)", (Eri van: Aıastan, 1969), 99.

<sup>84</sup> Mustafazade R. "İki Cumhuriyet: Azerbaycan 1918-1922 Yıllarında Rus ilişkileri", (Baky 2006), 19.

<sup>85</sup> Stalin's position in a question on territorial integrity of the Azerbaijan SSR and falsifications in the Armenian historiography, <https://karabakh.org/conflict/i-v-stalins-position-in-a-question-on-territorial-integrity-of-the-azerbaijan-ssr-and-falsifications-in-the-armenian-historiography/>

<sup>86</sup> Swietohowski Tadeusz., "Russian Azerbaijan. 1905-1920. The Shaping of National Identity in a Muslim community", Cambridge University Press. (Cambridge, 1985).

<sup>87</sup> Mustafayeva Sitara., "Sovetskaya Rossiya I formiravaniye granic mejdu gostudarstvami kafkaza (na primeriye Azerbaydjana I Armeniye)". Kafkaz@globalizaciya., tom 4,vipusk 1-2,2010.

<sup>88</sup> Тарасов, Станислав, "Как Владимир Ленин и Мустафа Кемаль советизировали Закавказье". 2009, [online]., Baku., Available from: <https://regnum.ru/news/1160915.html>, ed.,Niftaliyev, İlgar Azerbaydjanская ССР в экспансионистских планах армян (20-е гг. XX века).,(Baky,2010).,35-37.

<sup>89</sup> Korkmaz, Telli., "Mustafa Kemal and Turkey in the Correspondences of Soviet Bureaucrats(1918-1922)": [online]. Available from: <http://politics.ankara.edu.tr/dergi/tybook/48/2017>.

Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic.<sup>90</sup> After the Moscow treaty, Armenia has not stopped the sabotage against Nakhchivan. They were disappointed with this situation because of the Soviet promises previously given about Nakhchivan and Nagorno-Karabakh.<sup>91</sup> On December 10, 1920 the Dashnak newspaper reported “We welcome Azerbaijan’s renouncing Zangezur on the orders from Moscow; by giving up Zangezur. Azerbaijan is seeking to help powerless Armenia. Azerbaijan has chosen a path that substantially contributes to peaceful co-existence of the two nations”.<sup>92</sup> On December 25, 1920, the Dashnaks created a puppet structure called the “Free Government of Syunik” here.<sup>93</sup> Armenians realized that the Zangezur region, which was an integral part of Azerbaijan, could not be completely occupied. Therefore, they decided to occupy the Zangezur region by splitting it.<sup>94</sup> Armenians, proposed to divide Zangezur into two parts – the western and eastern ones.<sup>95</sup> Thus, at first the process of annexation of the upper part of Zangezur to Armenia was completed. The Zangezur issue has become a powerful tool in the hands of Russia to control the region. All this events give grounds to say that Armenia, managed to do this easily, because of the Soviet leaders traitorous outlook against Turkish people. Armenia benefited from the Sovietization of the Caucasus largely. The leader of the Azerbaijani communists Nariman Narimanov wrote: “In Azerbaijan, the Dashnak policy is in full force. Azerbaijani Communist Party, in the face of Ordzhonikidze and Stalin, does not trust us, Turks, and entrusted the fate of Azerbaijan to Armenian Dashnaks”.<sup>96</sup> The Armenian-Bolsheviks were not satisfied with their territorial acquisitions and again, seize more and more new territories of Azerbaijan. In 1923, the pastures of the eastern Zangezur, Javanshir and Gazakh uyezds of Azerbaijan with an area up to 150 thousand dessiatine were transferred to Armenia.<sup>97</sup> In 1929-1930, the transfer of significant

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<sup>90</sup> Musaev İ. M. “Azərbaycanın Naxçıvan və Zəngəzur bölgələrində siyasi vəziyyət və xarici dövlətlərin siyasəti (1917-1921-ci illər)”. (Bakı, 1996), 114-115.

<sup>91</sup> Щепотьев А., “О спорных Кавказских территориях, на которые имеют права самоопределившиеся азербайджанские турки”. (Баку: Gənclik, 2016), 97-99.

<sup>92</sup> Gasimli Musa, “Records on the transfer of western Zangazur to Armenia”, [https://irs-az.com/sites/default/files/202301/Heritage\\_53\\_2022%20%28small%29%20%D1%81%D1%82%D1%80.%2016%20-%2026.pdf](https://irs-az.com/sites/default/files/202301/Heritage_53_2022%20%28small%29%20%D1%81%D1%82%D1%80.%2016%20-%2026.pdf).

<sup>93</sup> Niftaliyev, Ilgar “How Azerbaijan lost Zangezur” ., <https://1905.az/en/how-azerbaijan-lost-zangezur/>

<sup>94</sup> Мустафазаде Р., “Две республики. Азербайджано-российские отношения в 1918—1922 гг”.,(Москва., 2006), 123.

<sup>95</sup> Audrey L. Altstadt. “The Azerbaijani Turks: power and identity under Russian rule”., Hoover Press, 1992, (Studies of nationalities), ISBN 0-8179-9182-4, ISBN 978-0-8179-9182-1.

<sup>96</sup> Байкара Н., “İstoria bor’by za nezavisimost’ Azerbayjana”. (Baku, Azerneshr 1992), 65 (in Azeri).

<sup>97</sup> История Азербайджана по документам и публикациям., (Баку: Элм, 1990) 70.

territories of the Zangilan and Ordubad uyezds to Armenia<sup>98</sup> under the pretext of “creating an Armenian region in Mehri”, Russia caused the isolation of Nakhchivan from other Azerbaijan lands. The connection of the Azerbaijan SSR with Nakhchivan and the Republic of Türkiye was broken.<sup>99</sup> These decisions split the entire Turkic world. The blockade of Nakhchivan and Azerbaijan’s dependence on Iran for communication with Nakhchivan also enabled Iran to use the situation as a tool of political pressure and it created risks regarding Nakhchivan’s economic security.<sup>100</sup> As a result of the aggressive policy of Armenia during the years of Soviet power, 12 thousand 779.6 square kilometers of the territory of the Azerbaijani SSR were “donated” by the imperial center of the Armenian SSR. If the territory of “Armenia” under the terms of the Batumi Treaty was 9.2 thousand square kilometers, then in 1924 it “increased” to 27.1 thousand square kilometers, and soon to 28.1 thousand square kilometers.<sup>101</sup> But the appetite of the Armenian SSR was insatiable. Soviet Armenia continued its aggressive policy. The factors behind the rejection of the Zangezur region from Azerbaijan were: 1) Russia's expansionist goals; 2) the purposeful policy of the Azerbaijani leadership, which was captured by the Armenians; 3) the sacrifice of national interests by local leaders. Under the patronage of the Soviet Empire, Armenia seized another 20 percent of Azerbaijan's territory in the early 1990s. Unlike in the past, this time it was done openly, with the use of force of arms and unprecedented brutality. Our lands have been occupied for 30 years. Azerbaijan has restored its territorial integrity thanks to the victory won by the Azerbaijani army in the fight against the occupiers during the 44-day war. The Zangezur problem is one of the greatest obstacles to security in the South Caucasus. The new corridor will serve to diversify Azerbaijan's strategically important transport routes to Türkiye and the Black Sea<sup>102</sup>. The opening of the Zangezur corridor will put an end to the blockade of the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic of Azerbaijan and connect the Turkic world. Anastasia Lavrina justifies the importance of the

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<sup>98</sup> К истории образования Нагорно-Карабахской Автономной области Азербайджанской ССР. 1918-1925. Документы и материалы. (Баку, 1989).

<sup>99</sup> Мустафаева Ситара., “Советская Россия и формирование границ между государствами Кавказа(на примере Азербайджана и Армении)”, <https://cyberleninka.ru/article/n/sovetskaya-rossiya-i-formirovanie-granits-mezhdu-gosudarstvami-kavkaza-na-primere-azerbaydzhana-i-armenii>.

<sup>100</sup> Ibrahim Ether Atnur. “Muxtariyyat ərəfəsində Naxçıvan”, (Naxçıvan, "Qeyrət" 1999),145-146.

<sup>101</sup> Gasimli Musa, “Records on the transfer of western Zangazur to Armenia”, [https://irs-az.com/sites/default/files/202301/Heritage\\_53\\_2022%20%28small%29%20%D1%81%D1%82%D1%80.%2016%20-%202026.pdf](https://irs-az.com/sites/default/files/202301/Heritage_53_2022%20%28small%29%20%D1%81%D1%82%D1%80.%2016%20-%202026.pdf).

<sup>102</sup> Musaev İ.M. “Azərbaycanın Naxçıvan və Zəngəzur bölgələrində siyasi vəziyyət və xarici dövlətlərin siyasəti (1917-1921-ci illər)”. (Bakı, 1996)., 114-115.

Zangezur corridor at the global level: The Zangezur corridor will become the shortest land transport route between the Pacific and Atlantic oceans, as well as the intersection point of the North–South and East–West routes. It will significantly expand the operation of land transport routes connecting Europe and Asia<sup>103</sup>. I believe that one day our lands under Armenian occupation, including Zangezur, will return to their ancient and true homeland - Azerbaijan.

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<sup>103</sup> Piotr Gawliczek., Khayal Iskandarov., “The Zangezur corridor as part of the global transport route (against the backdrop of power games in the South Caucasus region)”, <https://securityanddefence.pl/The-Zangezur-corridor-as-part-of-the-global-transport-route-against-the-backdrop,161993,0,2.html>.

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