



Հարգելի՛ ընթերցող.

ԵՊՀ հրատարակչությունը, չհետապնդելով որևէ եկամուտ, ԵՊՀ հայագիտական հետազոտությունների ինստիտուտի համացանցային կայքերում ներկայացնում է իր հայագիտական հրատարակությունները: Գիրքը այլ համացանցային կայքերում տեղադրելու համար պետք է ստանալ հրատարակչության համապատասխան թույլտվությունը և նշել անհրաժեշտ տվյալները:

YEREVAN STATE UNIVERSITY

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**THE ISSUE  
OF NAGORNO-KARABAKH  
IN 1918-1920  
AND GREAT BRITAIN**

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### **Gharibyan Alik**

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In this work there are represented the events that took place in 1918-1920 in a part of the Armenian Homeland – Artsakh. It is told about the collision of interests of the Superpowers in Transcaucasia at the end of the World War I and about the Turkish-Tatar ambitions towards the Armenian territories. In this monograph the key role is given to the Artsakh liberation struggle.

A lot of archival documents are represented in the appendix, many of which haven't still been put into scientific circulation.

The book is addressed to the wide range of readers.

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## INTRODUCTION

*In current civilizational processes the humanity appears in an extraordinary situation. The globalization spreading fast in the world on the one hand and the extremism activated in different regions on the other hand give rise to new problems which require special solutions. The military and political processes, that develop and expand gradually, just challenge the states, nations, ethnic communities. In such conditions it becomes an urgent task to control the situation completely and to analyze it comprehensively. It is also indisputable that the regularities of human vital activity are mostly connected with the historical past. One of the regularities of history is the fact that only fighting ethnoses can survive even in conditions when their enemies threaten them both in peace and at war.*

*In this sense, certainly, the discovery of the regularities of historical events gets particular significance.*

*All the above-mentioned descriptions entirely coincide with an Armenian territory, that of Artsakh, with its historical past and present. The Armenians of that magnificent part of Historical Armenia have always struggled and kept their devotion, their connection with the motherland being and remaining its inseparable part. That territory has survived despite a number of violent attempts and pressures.*

*The history of Artsakh-Karabakh also had difficult and complicated periods; in particular the period of 1918-1920 was hard, when the Armenians were under the risk of annihilation and destruction. The events that took place in Artsakh in 1918-1920, the entry of the British troops and the formation of the Republic of Armenia created a new situation for the Armenians. Although Armenia's independence was achieved at the cost of huge losses, it inspired hope for national rebirth, which happened also in our days – in 1990-1991. Those conditions and the political situation demanded from the Armenians to unite all forces around the national problems.*

*During 1918-1920 the Armenians had a life-and-death struggle against the enemy. There were also omissions and mistakes in that struggle and, as a*



*result, we had irrevocable losses. In this aspect it is vitally necessary to appreciate and evaluate correctly this period of the history. In case of implementation it is possible to act right not only in present (as well as during the Artsakh Movement in 1988), but also in future. And this is here when each Armenian needs to perceive well the lessons of its own history, to appropriate them in order to apply them in the right way in future.*

## CHAPTER 1

### THE INTERESTS OF THE ALLIED COUNTRIES IN TRANSCAUCASIA AT THE END OF WORLD WAR I

#### 1.1. The situation in Nagorno-Karabakh at the end of World War I

The State of “Artsakh” has played a great role in the historical fate of the Armenian people. The arguments over Artsakh-Karabakh began, when the Turkish-Musavat forces tried to cut this region off from Armenia at any cost for achieving their invasive goals.

The nowadays territory of Mountainous Karabakh is a part of the historical state of “Artsakh”. It distinguished from the 15 provinces of Greater Armenia by its high location and inaccessibility and was called “Amur”<sup>1</sup>. Karabakh includes the middle part of Artsakh, which is also known as Aran State - from Syunik to Kur. According to Ghevond Alishan Karabakh has got its name because of its deep forests, gardens and because of their shades. It is also known as “sev aygi” (kara-bagh), which comes from the Persian word.

Karabakh has been connected with the Armenian Highlands both geographically and economically and also in terms of civilization. This is proved by the existence of a population at present, which is connected by the same nationality, religion and traditions, where even the tombs and numerous historical traces – memorials, monuments, buildings and other cultural values prove the pure Armenian origin of that region since dateless times<sup>2</sup>.

Artskh has been populated by the Armenians since ancient times. In the 16<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> centuries the Turkish nomadic tribes penetrated into the northern borders of Karabakh. Nevertheless, the Melikdoms of Artsakh (Varanda,

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<sup>1</sup> Alishan Gh., Artsakh, Yerevan, YSU Pres., 1993, p. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Armenia: Political & Ethnic Boundaries 1878 –1948; London, 1998, p. 800-801 (Henceforth - Armenia: Political & Ethnic Boundaries 1878 –1948):

Khachen, Dizak, Jraber and Giulistan) could preserve their independence for a long time.

The population of Artsakh is notable for its patriotism. From historical, strategic and ethnographical viewpoint Karabakh is the inseparable part of Armenia. It's one of the territories of Historical Armenia, which has remained Armenian despite numerous political messes, emigration and allegation. One more advantage of the Armenians living in Karabakh is that they have refrained from allegation, and emigration has been rarely noticed.

The Armenian population here had a lifestyle similar to sedentary one. The debates about to whom belongs Artsakh (Nagorno-Karabakh) began in 1918, when Azerbaijan, which didn't have any historical basis in Transcaucasia, appeared with territorial pretensions since its formation times aspiring to capture Armenian Artsakh, Zangezur and Nakhijevan.

By the Treaty of Giulistan in 1813 and by the Treaty of Turkmenchay in 1828 it was confirmed the transition of Artsakh's historical territory under the dominion of Russia. In 1868 the great part of it joined the newly founded Elisabethpol Governorate. We can pick trustworthy information about the national composition of Karabakh from the statistics of Tsarist Government<sup>1</sup>. According to those statistics, by the data of 1916 the 23.396 off from 43.869 inhabitants in Shushi were Armenians, the 1.249 were Russians, the 35 were Europeans, the 36 were Georgians, the 25 were mountaineers, and only the 19.121 were Moslems. The same statistics show, that the majority (53.33 %) of the population were Armenians. The city Shushi, which was considered to be the center of Artsakh, was divided into 2 parts – Armenian and Moslem.

Definite and interpreted information about the Armenian population of Transcaucasia is taken from the British archives, particularly from the documents and Collection of maps published in 1998<sup>2</sup>. The basis of the information is formed by the Czarist Statistics.

In the section of the population of the Caucasus it is mentioned, that the delegation of Azerbaijan is absolutely falsifying the data and numbers concerning the Armenian population<sup>3</sup>. For e.g. the number of the Armenians living in Transcaucasia was mentioned as 1.465.504, which didn't corres-

pond to the reality. According to the same document the real number of the Armenians is 1.809.605, in other words the manipulation of the Azerbaijani side is obvious – the difference is 304.101.

In the same collection, in the document called "The Population of the Republic of Armenia" there's mentioned also the number of the Armenian population, which was 1.294.792 and which was the 60% of the Armenian population living in the territory of 67.350 km<sup>1</sup>. The Armenians were allocated as follows:

- |                               |                                  |
|-------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1. Kars province              | – 15.000 sq. km, 122.056 people. |
| 2. Akhalqalak                 | – 2.550 sq. km, 82.775 people    |
| 3. Borchalu (only a part)     | – 5.200 sq. km. 64.000 people    |
| 4. Ghazakh (only a part)      | – 3.400 sq. km 61.000 people     |
| 5. Elisabethpol (only a part) | – 4000 sq. km 52.000 people      |
| 6. Jevanshir (only a part)    | – 3.700 sq. km. 22.000 people    |
| 7. Shushi (only a part)       | – 2.300 sq. km. 98.000 people    |
| 8. Karyagino (only a part)    | – 450 sq. km. 22.000 people      |
| 9. Zangezur (only a part)     | – 6.000 sq. km. 100.000 people   |
| 10. Yerevan (only a part)     | – 24.750 sq. km. 669.871 people  |

It was unquestionable, that Karabakh was the inseparable part of Armenia. Nevertheless, the Republic of Azerbaijan has been submitting pretensions and instigating conflicts between the Armenian and Islamite population living in that region since its formation times. Counting the territory of the mountainous sectors of Ghazakh, Shushi, Elisabethpol, Jevanshir, Karyagino provinces, which generally corresponds to the historical territory of Karabakh, we come to the conclusion that in historical-geographical and ethnical terms in 1917 Karabakh was a unity including approximately 13.850 sq. km area with a part of Kazakh, Elisabethpol, Shushi, Jevanshir, Karyagino provinces and with 255.000 Armenian population. There lived also 72.500 Islamites in this territory, who formed minority, and the Armenians were the 75.46% of the population<sup>2</sup>. The same data are mentioned also in the "Caucasian Calendar" according to which the Armenians were allocated in the provinces in this way:

1. 61.000 in Ghazakh
2. 52.000 in Elisabethpol

<sup>1</sup> Caucasian calendar on January 1, 1916, Tbilisi, 1917.

<sup>2</sup> Armenia: Political and Ethnic Boundaries 1878-1948, London, Editor Anita L.P. Burdett, Archive Edition, 1998.

<sup>3</sup> The same place, p. 453.

<sup>1</sup> The same place, p. 489.

<sup>2</sup> Armenia, the mentioned work, p. 477.

3. 22.000 in Jevanshir
  4. 98.000 in Shushi
  5. 22.000 in Karyagino<sup>1</sup>.
- Total – 255.000

Azerbaijan also had pretenses for the Armenian Zangezur. Moreover, the arrow of Azerbaijan's claims was aimed at Yerevan and Tiflis provinces, from where the 1<sup>st</sup> and the 2<sup>nd</sup> police districts of Sharur-Daralagyaz region (according to the former Czarist division), the 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup>, 4<sup>th</sup> police districts of Nakhijevan province, the 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup> Districts from New Bayazet Province were undoubtedly regarded to be Azerbaijan's unquestionable territories and a number of districts from Yerevan State - from Yerevan, Ejmiatsin, Surmalu, New Bayazet regions were considered to be arguable. Numerous Police Districts from the regions of Tiflis province – Tiflis, Sghnakh, Borchalu, were also thought to be disputable.

In other words 985.869 sq. km from Yerevan province was regarded to be Azerbaijan's "incontestable part" and 791.317 sq. km was the debatable part. From Tiflis province 368.513 sq. km was considered to be arguable<sup>2</sup>.

According to the information from other sources 150.000 or 182.000 are mentioned as numbers of the Armenian population in Karabakh<sup>3</sup>. We must state, however, that the population of Karabakh has been counted according to the Imperial statistics in this works, where there are not included all the mountainous areas of Artsakh-Karabakh or the historical parts with their population (Giulistan, Varanda, Khachen, Jraberd, Dizak). Only a part of Shushi and Jevanshir-Karyagino, where 150.000 Armenians lived according to the data of 1910 is included in it. We introduce it below.

Certainly, there are also numerous Armenian evidences about the Armenian population of Karabakh, in the number of which there are the data of Artsakhs' Diocese of the Armenian Apostolic Church.

<sup>1</sup> Caucasian calendar, the mentioned work, p. 194-195.

<sup>2</sup> Address – calendar of the Republic of Azerbaijan in 1920, Edited by Stavlovsky, Baku, 1920, p. 50.

<sup>3</sup> H. M. Harutyunyan, Nagorno-Karabakh in 1918-1921, RA NAS, Yerevan, 1996, p. 33 (foot-note) from there RA SA, f. 199, l. 1, c. 128, p. 249, Armenia: Political & Ethnic Boundaries: 1878 – 1948; page 577 (Patriarchal information of Echmiadzin, 1912), NAA, f. 314; l. 1, c. 34, p. 21: Abraham Isa Kisibekyan; "Memoir", the fifth part, Karabakh-Baku, 1945-1947.

In 1914 there were 206.768 educative Armenians in Karabakh Armenian Diocese<sup>1</sup>.

Another Armenian document, that includes reliable data and which is dated to 1917, is the evidence of the written below (the document has been given to the British command in Tiflis<sup>2</sup>).

Residence	Family Number	man	woman	total
City of Shushi	3.000	10.779	10.372	21.151
Varanda	6.399	26.446	22.479	50.034
Dizak	4.156	17.361	14.970	32.308
Khachen	3.943	15.277	12.374	27.770
Jraberd	2.254	1.0070	8.174	18.244
Elisabethpol	1.418	5.454	4.328	9.782
Giulistan	4.296	4.5657		

According to the above mentioned document the number of the Armenian population living in mountainous area of Karabakh is approximately 240.000.

In general 255.000 Armenians lived in very Artsakh-Karabakh (including the mountainous areas of Kazakh, Elisabethpol, Shushi, Jevanshir, Karyagino provinces). And if we add the number of the Armenians living in Zangezur, then it will make 355.000 against the 122.000 Mohammedans.

Summing up all factual data it becomes obvious that the number of the Armenians living in Karabakh exceeded 200.000, and, if we are more precise, it grew to about 255.000. Therefore, the evidence mentioned in the document sent by the "Armenian Peasantry of Karabakh" to the Conference which took place in Constantinople in July-November, 1918, was quite reasonable and it said: "The Armenians are the majority of the mountainous areas of Karabakh"<sup>3</sup>. We should also state that according to the latest statistical data (1917) the Armenian population of Elisabethpol, Jevanshir, Shushi, Karyagino and Zangezur provinces was about 300.000 people and being generally deployed in the mountainous areas of those provinces, they formed absolute majority compared with the Tartar population.

<sup>1</sup> Vahram Balayan. Artsakh's history from ancient times to our days, Yerevan, 2002, p. 293.

<sup>2</sup> NAA, f.150, l.1, c. 59, p. 1-8:

<sup>3</sup> Nagorno-Karabakh in 1918-1923, V. A. Mikaelyan, Academy of Sciences of Armenia, the Institute of History, collection of documents and materials, Yerevan, 1992, p. 7.

Artsakh Peasant Congress, referring to Constantinople Conference, stated that “based on the willingness of promoting nations’ peaceful coexistence and respecting the holy rights of justice and inseparable nations, at the same time the Armenian Peasantry of Karabakh was asking Constantinople Peace Congress participants to take into consideration the region’s (with 300.000 Armenian population) unquestionable right of joining the Republic of Armenia, finding that **another solution of the problem would only lead to new physical and moral sufferings of the Armenians living in that section**”<sup>1</sup>.

The Armenians of Artsakh realized well that the Republic of Azerbaijan would adopt a policy of abolishing the Armenian population living in those territories since the beginning of its existence. We also shouldn’t forget that the Turks tried to execute a policy of genocide towards the Armenian population of Artsakh in 1918. There were organized massacres towards the Armenian population of the state of Elisabethpol<sup>2</sup>.

Shushi had more tragic destiny. On March 23, 1920 the Azeri genociders annihilated the Armenian quarter. This proves the message sent by Karapet Priest Vardapetyants of Shushi and Clerk Mirza Ter-Sargsyan to the Armenian Catholicos. It said: “6000 out of 12-13000 Armenians ran away to villages, and 4000, majority of which were men, were slaughtered, shot and burned... about 3000 stayed in the city becoming the captives of the Turks, half of them-400 young forces were killed at their own houses and prisons, 700 women and children, old and elderly people were set free and they reached the villages, and the others were in the houses of the Turks, at governor Sultanov and in prisons together with beautiful women and maidens”<sup>3</sup>. This way and by those means Shushi was depopulated greatly wounding the ancient Armenian center of Karabakh.

The two conflicting parties realized very well that Karabakh and Zangezur have always been vital important territories for the Armenian people. Karabakh and Zangezur were the main places through which the other Armenian regions kept in touch, therefore, their loss would lead to the encircling

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<sup>1</sup> The same place.

<sup>2</sup> The Republic of Armenia in 1918-1920 / Collection documents and materials of political history, RA NAS Institute of History, RA government-affiliated Department of Archival Affairs, RA NAS, Publishing house “Science”, Yerevan, 2000, p. 471.

<sup>3</sup> The Republic of Armenia in 1918-1920, the mentioned work, p. 470.

of the Armenian territories by the Mohammedans<sup>1</sup>. In our opinion, the same consciousness should also be today and in future, and without it the existence of the Armenian people will be under question.

At the same time Karabakh’s secession would mean letting the Armenian population defenseless against the coming danger from Transcaucasia, Dagestan, as the Mohammedans living there had a great wish to unify the Moslem population in one unity.

1917’s February events had their influence on Karabakh too. The social-political life became noticeably active especially in Shushi. Different political parties and especially the press became active<sup>2</sup>. Though the new political situation gave the opportunity of acting openly and solving the national problems, the social organizations hadn’t demonstrated satisfactory activity yet. It’s important that: “The Armenian intelligentsia of Shushi shows practical interest towards Karabakh and towards the improvement and normalization of its population’s condition. Especially political groups carried out a vigorous activity when the news about October Revolution in Petrograd reached them. The Armenian Revolutionary Federation, as well as the Social-Democratic Party, the Mensheviks, the Bolsheviks, the Esers, the Kadets and others had strong positions in the Armenian part of Shushi”<sup>3</sup>. Therefore, we can describe the period from February to October of 1917 as a period of activation of the political life in Karabakh. That period was also favorable for solving numerous social-economic problems. It’s known that on March 9, 1917 the special governing body of Transcaucasia – Ozakom (Special Transcaucasian Committee) was formed, and according to the latter’s orders provincial, urban and rural executive committees were founded.

Practically we should consider the recognition of the Armenian territories of Artsakh, Gandzak, Akhalkalak and Sharur-Nakhijevan by the temporary government one step ahead, which gave an opportunity to make the national life more active.

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<sup>1</sup> NAA, f. 200, l. 1, c. 355 (part I), p. 3:

<sup>2</sup> S. D. Avagyan, Karabakh’s Press History (1828-1920), Yerevan University press, Yerevan, 1989, p. 246-249.

<sup>3</sup> Z. Melik-Shahnazarov, Notes by Karabakh Soldier, Recollections of participants of events in Nagorno-Karabakh in 1918-1920, Yerevan, p. 7.

On March 13, 1917 Karabakh Affairs Committee was organized consisted of 40 people, which should support the region's activity<sup>1</sup>. The Armenian National Council had its indisputable and authoritative importance in consolidation and management of the nation, and by its initiative National Councils were founded in the Armenian provinces of Karabakh. Naturally, the activity of those bodies in Karabakh was more productive compared with the other bodies as they were national by their composition and they had goals to solve important problems. The above mentioned Committee consisted of 40 people wasn't lucky enough to exist long because the impending Bolshevik Revolution confused their plans especially if we mean the Musavat and pan-Turkic tendency of the Moslem and Tatar figures of its composition. The latter's goal was to completely seize the territory of Karabakh thus creating a connection with Turkey. Those desires grew more and more because they were expecting for the arrival of the Turkish army.

The Executive Committee of Karabakh soon disintegrated. The organization of Karabakh's National Bureau meant a lot for the Armenians.

Nevertheless, 1917 brought a terrible surprise: with the October Revolution a whole period of anarchy, growing of Turkish-German danger, Turkish-Musavat barbarity and the Armenians' wanders began in Transcaucasia. These all began when the former local governmental bodies, which were working more or less, disintegrated and then the Russian military units deployed in that region withdrew. Since November: "The Russian military units in Transcaucasia and in the Turkish front were fiercely emptying the battlefields, and the Turkish army was pursuing them step by step. Especially the Tatars and the Georgians took Russian weapons and ammunition, and Armenia gained the Turkish irruption, thousands of Armenian emigrants and Tatar-Azerbaijani enmity"<sup>2</sup>.

Though the weapons and ammunition left for the Armenians by the Russians were not insufficient, however, the Armenians couldn't take them. The United Government of Transcaucasia wasn't minded and wasn't able to correct that situation. It was premature and it made the current situation more catastrophic especially for the Armenians. That's right, that there was an intention to wait for clarifying Russia's stance but it mostly led to the loss of

<sup>1</sup> V. Balayan, *The history of Artsakh from ancient times to our days*, Yerevan, "Amaras", 2002, p. 296.

<sup>2</sup> H. Harutyunyan, *Nagorno-Karabakh in 1918-1921*, Yerevan, 1996, p. 12-13.

time. And all this happened when the Turkish forces were moving forward day by day, and the Armenians were in the danger of annihilation. Therefore, the hopes that the October events wouldn't evolve and would regress, unfortunately were inopportune and unreasoned<sup>1</sup>.

In such conditions the destiny of the Armenians of Karabakh was threatened. The food-supply was obstructed. Karabakh was cut off from the outside world: there was no mail-telegraphic communication. Food prices were getting more and more expensive in such an extremely tense period for Karabakh. The situation became more deteriorated in Shushi when the Russian garrison with about 500 people left the city though the Armenian leaders made great efforts to persuade them not to go<sup>2</sup>.

By the way, the fate of the Russian soldiers was tragic as they were completely slaughtered by the Turk-Tatars.

The danger of the Turkish attack was gradually increasing. The Turkish-Musavat forces had cut off Karabakh's connection with Yerevan, Baku and Gandzak intentionally: in order to take the rest of Armenia it was necessary to conquer Karabakh. That was the aim of the Turkish plans. From the other side an attack against Baku was going to be organized. The Armenian population of Karabakh had to prepare to oppose the Turkish-Musavat attacks in order to survive. The Eastern and Western Armenian Councils were doing the same "trying to provide the protection of Turkish Armenia's front with voluntary regiments. Huge work was planned to organize and strengthen the fronts and replace the Armenian voluntary regiments with regular contingents"<sup>3</sup>. The Armenians of Karabakh had to rely only on their own forces despite the circumstance that fighting in Imperial armies they weren't few in the total number of the Armenian soldiers, which were 300.000 according to E. Ishkhanyan's notes<sup>4</sup>.

The Inter-party Bureau, formed after the elections of the City Council of Shushi, which had taken place in October 1917, was trying to organize the

<sup>1</sup> G. Galoyan, *Armenia and the Great Powers in 1917-1923*, RA NAS, Publishing house "Science", Yerevan, 1999, p. 17-18.

<sup>2</sup> H. Tumyan, *The events in Nagorno-Karabakh in 1917-1920*, Soviet Karabakh, November 5, 1989.

<sup>3</sup> R. Pirumyan, *Armenia in the sphere of relations of ARF-Bolshevik in 1917-1921*, Yerevan University press, Yerevan, 1997, p. 46-47.

<sup>4</sup> E. Ishkhanyan, *Nagorno-Karabakh in 1917-1920*, Yerevan, Armenia, 1999, p. 93.

above-mentioned important problem. The Inter-party Bureau was formed from various parties:

**From the Armenian**

**Revolutionary Federation**

Hayrapet Musayelyan  
Anushavan Ter-Miqayelyan  
Eghishe Ishkhanyan  
Harutyun Tumyan

**From the Mensheviks**

Levon Vardapetyan  
Ashot Melik-Hovsepyan  
Nikolay Isakhanyan  
Astvatsatur Avetisyan

**From the Esers**

Hripsime Melik-Hovsepyan  
Aram Mikayelyan  
Aleksandr Melkumyan

**From the Bolsheviks**

Aleksandr Tsaturyan  
Armenak Gharagyozyan  
Melikset Esayan<sup>1</sup>.

Hayrapet Musayelyan was elected as the president of Bureau, and Nikol Isakhanyan – as the secretary.

In fact, a Temporary government was formed by the province's former commissary Levon Vardapetyan's initiative. A meeting took place where they marked the current situation rightly, and the foundation of the Government was substantiated as follows: "In order to provide the 200.000 Armenians of Karabakh (which were the 95% of the region's population A. Gh.) with life and peaceful job, Nagorno-Karabakh Government must be founded from the representatives of all revolutionary organizations whose main goal will be to unite people, to abolish the anarchy, to keep by all means peace and solidarity between the two neighboring nations – the Armenians and the Mohammedans. The meeting also showed a negative attitude towards the Transcaucasian Commissariat"<sup>2</sup>. The founded body was called "Inter-party Bureau". Later the Bolsheviks refused to take part in that Bureau. Realizing that they should loosen the tension with the Mohammedan population and regulate numerous problems in order to prevent the impending Turkish danger, they founded another body too called "Interracial Committee". It was consisted of 6 Armenian, 6 Mohammedan and 1 neutral member.

They tried to organize military forces at places. There was a hope that the regiment of Shushi formed by the Armenians of Artsakh, the Artsakh-Armenian soldiers of Imperial army would come to Karabakh, but the return of the regiment was being delayed because of various difficulties.

In its turn the National Committee founded by the Mohammedans wasn't able and didn't even want to restrain the Turkish-Musavat disorders and robbery, which were becoming heavier because of starvation. The Armenians of Karabakh were gradually preparing military supplies to increase the region's defensibility. The weapons and ammunition of the population were collected, but that was very scarce. Being cut off from the outside world and relying only on their own forces the Armenians of Karabakh recruited about 17.000 people from the volunteers (despite the fact that the great part of the volunteers were under 18)<sup>1</sup>.

A number of weapon-making workshops and a factory for producing bullets were founded in Shushi. The hand grenades workshop, working under Grigor Baghdatyan's leadership, is worthy of remembrance. All of these, however, were quite few to resist the Turkish forces.

At the end of 1917 and at the beginning of 1918 the Turkish-Musavat forces were preparing to slaughter not only the Armenians of Karabakh but also the whole Armenian population.

Realizing the growing danger and the results of the anarchy the Armenians of Artsakh were trying to govern and defend the region on their own.

Generalizing all these we should state the following:

- A. In conditions of anarchy the Armenians of Karabakh should have governed the country themselves and form appropriate bodies, and they did it though not sufficiently.
- B. In the region preparations were being done forming appropriate military forces to resist the Turkish-Mohammedan and then Musavat attacks.
- C. For the Armenians of Artsakh the main problem was remaining to keep and provide a connection with the central regions of Armenia in order to receive appropriate support as well as not to allow Karabakh's isolation from the Homeland.

<sup>1</sup> NAA, f. 314, l. 1, c. 34, p. 47; Ç. Melik-Shahnazarov, the mentioned work, p. 8.

<sup>2</sup> H. Tumyan, the mentioned work; Soviet Karabakh, November 5, 1989.

<sup>1</sup> Melik-Shahnazarov, the mentioned work, p. 9.

## 1.2. The Turkish Invasion in Transcaucasia: The Plans of Invading the Region

The February and October events created quite favorable conditions for the Young Turks for their long-range purposes. After receiving the support of the Moslems of Caucasus it was planned to move forward and take the Crimea, Povolzhiye and Central Asia. The Caucasian Tatars were ready to support the implementation of those plans. "Till the end of 1917 the Musavat was a miserable party, but at the beginning of 1918 the "Musavat" became the most powerful party of Transcaucasia and pretended to decide the fate of the region. Disarming the Russian troops and vigorously arming the national military units the "Musavat" was preparing to promote the implementation of the Turkish troops' invasive plans in case if they invaded Transcaucasia"<sup>1</sup>.

Hastily dereliction of the front by the Russian troops created favorable conditions for the fulfillment of the pan-Turanian plans of the Turks. General Andranik very realistically expressed his troubles about that: "The Turks will occupy Erzurum and will get 600 cannons. My heart is inundated with blood when I think about that"<sup>2</sup>. Truly, the general was not mistaken. The aim of complete annihilation of the Armenians was remaining in implementation of the Turkish plans. Despite the failures in the war the Young Turks kept persisting in succeeding of taking Transcaucasia. On February 27, 1918 it was given a command with a secret writing on behalf of the Military Minister to massacre the Armenians in Transcaucasia. In the command it was said: "The situation requires the complete annihilation of the Armenian people which was ordered by the sultan's decree"<sup>3</sup>.

In this regard the Turks compelled to accelerate the secession and the complete alienation of Transcaucasia from Russia, which would facilitate the implementation of their plans. Of course, the Armenian social-political frameworks realized this, therefore, in no way they were in favor of seceding from Russia, but their representatives' voice was not heard in the Sejm.

The rivalry exacerbated between Turkey and Germany in the process of ruling over Caucasus. While the allies, which didn't clarify their policy and

didn't transpose the forces after leaving the Russian war, would revive, the Turkish-German forces were struggling for Caucasus. While the Germans were striving to Georgia and to the northern areas, Turkey centralized its forces in the south, in the direction of Baku. The Turkish-German tension was also growing: "Ludendorff is complaining in his memories that invading the oil storages of Batumi, the Turks didn't impart from oil well anything for them. We could hope on Baku oil in the case if we take it ourselves"<sup>1</sup>.

The Turks were trying to restore their dominance in Egypt, Palestine, Syria and Mesopotamia<sup>2</sup>. The Turkish plans were not less after having the Baku oil, when, after conquering the whole Azerbaijan, they were going to invade a part of Dagestan and Vladikavkaz. All this was to be implemented under the pretext of rendering assistance to their Moslem brothers.

At that moment the Turkish invasive plans were stretching even to Afghanistan and India.

Misguiding the Soviet side by the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk and gaining time the Turks prepared the forces and, eliminating the local Christian opponents, declared Kars, Ardahan, Batumi as the territories of Turkey through a "referendum"<sup>3</sup>. Succeeding in the legal side the Turks erelong began to occupy and massacre the local Christian inhabitants of those territories through the regular troops.

From January to April, 1918 the Turkish martial forces occupied Yerznka, Baberd, Mamakhatun, Erzurum, Kars and other territories of the Western Armenia. Without taking into consideration even the violation of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, the Turks took Kars and Alexandropol. The conquest of Transcaucasia by the Turks was becoming more menacing. During that time the Turks could capture a large amount of weapons and ration that the Russian Army had left (the Russian Army left the Armenians about 3 thousand artillery, 3 thousand gun, 1 million cannonball and mine, 1 billion cartridge, 100 thousand rifle, 100 thousand military uniforms, ration for 100.000 people, particularly, large wheat granaries in Kars fortress, etc.)<sup>4</sup>. During that period the Armenian small forces were not able to demonstrate serious resistance to the Turkish predominant forces, which wholly elimina-

<sup>1</sup> H. Simonyan, From the History of the Turkish-Armenian relations, Yerevan, "Armenia", 1991, p. 290.

<sup>2</sup> J. Kirakosyan, The Young Turks in front of the court of history, p. 226.

<sup>3</sup> J. Kirakosyan, The Young Turks in front of the court of history, p. 228.

<sup>1</sup> H. Simonyan, the mentioned work, p. 297.

<sup>2</sup> H. Avetisyan, the mentioned work, p. 282.

<sup>3</sup> H. Simonyan, the mentioned work, p. 294.

<sup>4</sup> H. Simonyan, the mentioned work, p. 295.

ted the Christian, mainly the Armenian inhabitants of the settlements on their way. The German representative in Istanbul-Fon Losov indicated in his letter to the government about that, saying that the Turks' goal was "the occupation of Transcaucasia and the annihilation of the Armenians. The adverse claims of Talaat and Enver were nothing"<sup>1</sup>.

Nevertheless, it was not possible to stop the advancement of the Turks at Kars, the resistance ability of which should not be suspected. However, according to A. Chkhenkeli's improvident and unwise claim the Turkish troops took Kars<sup>2</sup> on April 24 and entered Alexandropol on May 15.

During those military operations the Turkish quite well-armed army of 50-60 thousands was standing against the Armenian troops of about 15-20 thousands.

The Turks were planning to reach the Ararat plain and finally solve the Armenian Issue by the conquest of Yerevan, and then to take Tiflis and Baku. During that time with the help of Musavats it was planned to create a "Muslim Army" and move to the north<sup>3</sup>. The implementation of the Turks' goals was becoming easy as after the fights of Alexandropol the Armenian corps, which indicated resistance to the Turks, was divided into 3 parts giving massive losses (only 4 thousand prisoner); a part of it was moving to the north-to Borchalu headed by Andranik, another part was moving to Gharakilisa headed by General Nazarbekov, and the third part was going to Ejmiatsin and Yerevan.

It is difficult to imagine what fate the Armenian nation would have if it did not display such examples of wrestle and heroism in the May battles. The Armenians' success was indubitable and could go on, but our delegates in Batumi, being unaware of the victories of their own forces, let the Turks dictate the points of the signed contract. At the same time the Georgian Mensheviks, achieving success in Batumi, declared the independence of Georgia.

The Armenians were left alone during the negotiations. Nevertheless, in the result of the May heroic battles on May 28, 1918 the National council issued an appeal to the nation declaring the independence of Armenia.

The Treaty of Batumi was concluded at the cost of great losses for Armenia. There is a dominant opinion in the Historical Sciences that after the

May heroic battles the Treaty of Batumi was premature. In the number of Protestants there was General Andranik, who believed that they should continue the successes and make Turkey sign a beneficial treaty for us. But it is difficult to say whether Caucasus-Armenia, which was full of about half million Armenian refugees and had only 2 dozen thousand no efficient soldiers, could provide serious successes against the superior Turkish forces.

However, Turkey recognized the independence of Armenia, but Kars, Ardahan, Kaghzvan, Olti regions, Surmalu province from Yerevan state, the city of Alexandropol and the three-quarter of Alexandropol and Ejmiatsin provinces, the half of Yerevan province, the one-fifth of Sharur-Dalaragyaz provinces were taken away from it<sup>1</sup>. Nakhijevan was also captured from Armenia. German diplomat Bernstorff's humor is very typical: "Turkey has left only lake Sevan for the Armenians, where they can swim, but they don't have a place to come out and get dry"<sup>2</sup>.

It is noteworthy that the Turk-Musavats were not satisfied with what they received by the Treaty of Batumi, but "... they were insisting that Yerevan was an Azerbaijani city with its population and history, therefore, they demanded to connect it with Azerbaijan, and according to them the capital city of the Republic of Armenia should be Ejmiatsin (the previous Vagharsapat)"<sup>3</sup>. Therefore, in this context it becomes quite comprehensible the recognition of the Republic of Caucasus by the Turks. Turkey was pursuing a goal to separate those territories from Russia completely and to take them easily afterwards.

On the other hand, the implementation of the possibilities of the German plans was also great in the region. It becomes clear from a document with a secret inscription, which was included in the British archives collection, that Ghambashidze, who was sent to Paris by the government of Transcaucasia, and who was trying to call the European states together with the Transcaucasia's states into a dialogue, did not receive a response from the French government, but instead of it, his compatriots in Paris informed him about the following plans of the German government towards Transcaucasia<sup>4</sup>:

<sup>1</sup> V. Shambarov, the mentioned work, p. 615.

<sup>2</sup> The same place, p. 615.

<sup>3</sup> The same place, p. 617.

<sup>1</sup> H. Simonyan, the mentioned work, p. 306.

<sup>2</sup> J. Kirakosyan, the mentioned work, p. 239.

<sup>3</sup> H. Simonyan, the mentioned work, p. 306.

<sup>4</sup> Armenia, the mentioned work, p. 387.



-To divide Transcaucasia into two separate political provinces. The first would be named Azerbaijan including the present state, which has that name. Though it would not include Tabriz, but, instead of it, the government of Baku, Elizabetopol and Yerevan would be included in it. Baku was foreseen as a provincial center.

The second province would be formed from Georgia including the government of Tiflis, the regions of Zaqatala, Kutaisi, Sukhumi and a part of Black sea coastal region to Tuapse. Batumi and the region, which was called by the name of the latter, would not be included in it. Germany proved that Georgia was in its national borders, but the Armenian issue could not be solved as the Armenian territories were included in Turkey's area. Kars and Batumi have already formed a part of the Ottoman territory<sup>1</sup>.

In fact, it becomes clear from these plans that the Germans didn't recognize the rights of the Armenians in Transcaucasia. Moreover, they were planning to disintegrate the Armenian territories in case of conquering Transcaucasia. The Turks planned to implement more active policy in Transcaucasia than their allies; here is how the Turkish operations are presented in the foregoing secret document: "According to the treaty signed among Armenia, Georgia and Turkey, Turkey got the right to move its troops through the railway, which was passing through the territories of Transcaucasia. Virtually, Germany should be displeased with those treaties, and Georgia, suppressed by Turkey, needed in German patronage. The Turkish representative rejected the German petition during the negotiations with Georgia"<sup>2</sup>.

The delegation of Georgia left for Germany to declare its independence and to get the latter's patronage. In this regard, the Germans realized that they could bypass the Turks only by quick operations: "The first German troops, which appeared in Transcaucasia, were the eleventh attacking battalions of Bavaria and Jagar. The latter arrived in Poti on June 8 and were sent to Tiflis immediately, where they reached on June 12"<sup>3</sup>. The Turkish-German relations were at the tension's zenith because of the disagreements, which arose around capturing Baku, but in one issue, that is "the Armenians and Bolsheviks must be moved away from Baku"<sup>4</sup>, they shared the same opinion.

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<sup>1</sup> Armenia, the mentioned work, p. 392.

<sup>2</sup> The same place.

<sup>3</sup> The same place, p. 393.

<sup>4</sup> Armenia, the mentioned work, p. 392.

The Turks were planning to take Baku by the means of "The Army of Islam", which was established in Azerbaijan and the forces which should reach about 300.000. Nuri Pasha, the younger brother of Enver Pasha, who arrived in Transcaucasia from Tripoli about three months ago, should lead the Turkish- Musavat forces and those bands, which should move to Baku. At the same time the Moslems, who lived in the west of Georgia, were offered to join the incursion, but the latter rejected the proposal<sup>1</sup>. Being informed about all this, the Germans tried to prevent the Turkish ideas. And despite the fact that a German military commissariat was set up in Tiflis on June 12, nevertheless, the stopping of the Turkish trains by them had a temporary character. The Germans required that the Turkish troops retreated to the line, which was foreseen by the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, but the Turks could pretend as if they did not move against the British. Egan Kryuger was trying to centralize the German forces on Baku<sup>2</sup>.

Nuri Pasha, declaring himself as Sultan's surrogate, started the attack on June 28, 1918. On the same day two German planes flew over Baku.

On July 3 the Turkish danger in Baku became threatening; the Armenians hoped that they would get the British support. The Armenian and Russian troops of Baku were not well-armed and efficient.

Stephan Shahumyan has typically represented the Turkish attack. In his letter to the Council of the People's Commissars of Russia he wrote: "Turkey is now going to start a war against Transcaucasia. That attack of Turkey should be connected with the speech of the Moslems in Transcaucasia... Now we are constantly in a war. If they won, Baku would be declared the capital of Azerbaijan; all the non-Moslem elements would be disarmed and massacred"<sup>3</sup>.

The Germans' failures in the general fronts of the war allowed the Turks to become more active despite the presence of the British forces in Enzeli. The British interests in Transcaucasia became more distinct, when the front line with the Turks was endangered by the retreat of the Russian troops and the risk of destruction of the general front became stronger. The threat of recapturing Baghdad by the Turks could become a real, if the Turkish troops of 200.000 were centralized on Tigris: "Such a step could endanger the

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<sup>1</sup> H. Simonyan, p. 308.

<sup>2</sup> Armenia, the mentioned work, p. 393.

<sup>3</sup> G. Galoyan, the mentioned work, p. 26.

security and placidity of the North-Western border, India and Western Persia”<sup>1</sup>.

It is known, that still at the end of the nineteenth century the English oil companies occupied some place in the oil industry of Baku. Those volumes increased in the eve of World War I.

Besides, the taking of the special important ways (economic and military) in Transcaucasia by the Turks would facilitate the establishment of their dominance in the Central Asia and Middle East, as well as it would considerably shorten the way to India<sup>2</sup>.

In March, 1917 the British troops occupied Baghdad and made the Turks yield Mesopotamia to them. This is also closely related to the replacement of the Russian influence with the British one in Iran’s the territory: “So at the beginning of 1917 England established military power throughout Iran. In Iran from Sakastan to Khuzestan 10 thousand Anglo-Indian soldiers were deployed including 10 thousand mercenaries”<sup>3</sup>.

After the collapse of the Russian Empire the threat of the German and Turkish invasion to Caucasus and Baku, as well as to the British rear was increasing. As General Densterville mentioned; “The aim of the Germans was to move towards Berlin-Baku-Bukhara, and it is clear, that in this scheme Transcaucasia, Baku and the Caspian Sea should have a special role”<sup>4</sup>.

The government, that was headed by Lloyd George, despite the losses of England, strengthening its position in the country, continued the war against Turkey in Mesopotamia and other territories under its control: “Lloyd George was actively interested in the plans of capturing the areas, which were under the control of Palestine and Turkey”<sup>5</sup>.

Despite the dual policy and numerous promises, in Lloyd George’s projects the existence of free Armenia was also provided. It is true, it was divided into zones of influence, and, in all probability, the discussions were leading to application of the mandatory system but, nevertheless: “What

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<sup>1</sup> A. Nasipean, the mentioned work, p. 99.

<sup>2</sup> V. Adamiya, From the history of the British intervention in Georgia (1918-1921), ABGOSLIZDAT, Sukhumi, 1961, p. 12-13.

<sup>3</sup> L. Miroshnikov, The British expansion in Iran (1914-1920), East Literature Publishing House, Moscow, 1961, p. 43.

<sup>4</sup> The British imperialism in Baku and Persia 1917-1918 (memoirs), Publ. “Soviet Caucasus”, Tiflis, p. 1.

<sup>5</sup> K. Vinogradov, David Lloyd George, Thought, Moscow, 1970, p. 245.

Great Britain wants are the colonies of Germany in Africa, the eastern and the western, independent Arabia under the dominance of Great Britain. Palestine is given to Zionists under the British or, if it would be desirable for us, American control, *independent Armenia* (underlined by me – A. Gh.) and internationalization of straits”<sup>1</sup>.

It was also very important and remarkable, that the Sultan’s expulsion from Constantinople and the expatriation of Armenia’s (including the Turkish and Russian territories) and of the gulf’s mandate to the United States was based on Lloyd George’s political goals. It would give a chance to keep away the U.S.A. from the region and from dividing Turkish and German other territories<sup>2</sup>. But before the end of the war it should be ensured the rear of the Mesopotamian troops, the possible seizure of Caucasus and Persia: “Finally we should, if it is possible, defend the Armenian forces not only to ensure the rear of our Mesopotamian troops from Persia’s and Caucasus’s side, but also the Armenians together with the Georgians in an autonomous state, can be the only stronghold against the pan-Turkic movement from Constantinople to China, which will give a more dangerous weapon to Germany and in its turn can become a major threat to peace, more than the German surveillance on the way of Baghdad”<sup>3</sup>.

It is clear, that the secession of Russia from the war gave an opportunity to the Germans to move troops to the Western front. The allies were also making efforts for withstanding the burden of the final phase of the war.

So, even at the end of the war it was necessary for the allies to restore the Eastern front, therefore, it should not be allowed the transition of the Russian weapons to the enemy. It was considered reasonable to support the national forces<sup>4</sup>.

The British undertook the seizure of Transcaucasia considering it a protection link and, on the other hand, raw material (oil, petrol, stuff) base, well imagining the situation there. That is testified by numerous documents (Armenia 1878 -1948, A. Burdett, London 1998 “Caucasian Boundaries

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<sup>1</sup> Colonel Hause’s Archives, v. 3, Moscow, 1939, p. 283, ...

<sup>2</sup> V. Trukhanovski, The British foreign policy in the first stage of the general crisis of Capitalism (1918-1939), Moscow, 1962, p. 95.

<sup>3</sup> D. Lloyd George, War Memoirs, v. 5, State. Social-Econom. Publ, 1938, p. 94.

<sup>4</sup> Colonel Hause’s Archives, v. 3, Moscow, 1939, p. 283; W. Churchill; World crisis, Military ed., Moscow, 1932, p. 50.

1802-1946, A. Burdett, 1996), the detailed analysis of which will be presented in the next chapter of the work.

In a special inter-allied assembly deciding to take steps against the Turkish-German and Bolshevik forces the British began to realize their goals. Firstly, it was clear to everyone, that the British were, first of all, interested in the Persian and Caspian oil reserves, then in areas and roads that had military-strategic significance. Oil reserves were vast in Baku, and the British clearly pursued the aim of taking that capital too<sup>1</sup>. Moreover, pursuing those military-political goals, all the steps were covered by them with stentorian sermons and appeals of helping the Christians.

Of course, on the other hand, the efficiency of the British actions must not be overestimated, as they did not have sufficient forces to operate fully: "It is easy to understand how difficult it was for us to centralize the forces for attacking Baku", writes Densterville<sup>2</sup>. By the way, at the end of 1917 for entering Transcaucasia this very General's detachment was separated from the British Mesopotamian front. The latter's expedition, passing from Baghdad to the northern Iran, was going to reach Tiflis, then Baku. The preparation of the struggle against the Turkish and the Bolshevik forces was also included in the directives which were given to the British General, though the British forces were quite small for implementing such a project, on the other hand, the atmosphere in the region made it almost impossible to realize that aim, if we take into consideration, for example, the fact that only the Armenians were struggling by their own forces.

In this case the British initiatives were against the spread of Bolshevism, which was based on the provisions of a secret agreement signed between England and France on December 23, 1917, according to which Cuba, Armenia (Eastern and Western), Georgia, Azerbaijan and Kurdistan, in other words, the whole Caucasus would be controlled by England, and Bessarabia, Ukraine and Crimea would be controlled by France<sup>3</sup>. And despite those invasive ambitions of Britain it was more important for the Armenian people the removal of the Turkish troops, which did not intend to leave urgently Transcaucasia and the Western Armenia in case of failure.

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<sup>1</sup> A. Raevski, *The British intervention and the Musavat government*, Baku, 1927, p. 20.

<sup>2</sup> Major-General Densterville, the mentioned work, p. 123.

<sup>3</sup> L. Miroshnikov, the mentioned work, p. 69; V. Adamia, *From the history of the British intervention in Georgia (1918-1921)*, ABGOSLIZDAT, Sukhumi, 1961, p. 28.

Age-old historical experience has shown, that the Turkish vandalism, even after the failures at war, continued with more active power: so, despite the rout the Turks, together with the Musavats were trying to massacre the whole Armenian population of Field and Mountainous Karabakhs and Elizabepol province. The indisputable evidence of it is the mass genocide organized against the Armenians in May-June 1918 in the overpopulated with the Armenians regions of Shamakhi, Gyokcha, Ordoubat, Nakhijevan, Gandzak, Agulis, Nukhi and Aresh<sup>1</sup>. The Armenian nation was either massacred or banished in all the settlements, which were occupied by the Turks. About half a million Armenians became refugees during this period. The further possible volume and process of the massacres could be terminated only by the complete defeat of the Turks in the World War and in the presence and active intervention of the allied troops. At that time it was already clear, that the British policy was aiming to Caucasus. It was also clear to them which country and which nation should be a prop for them to implement that policy in the region.

Clearly possessing the situation and understanding, that the Armenians had no allies and supporting force, the British first of all intended to use the power of the Armenians. In one of the British documents it is said<sup>2</sup>: "Armenia is the smallest in Transcaucasia. There are two parties - Dashnaksutyun and Socialists. Bolshevism has no roots. Nubar Pasha is recognized as a leader. The Armenians tend to unify the Armenian lands in an autonomous state... If the mandate is accepted, then Armenia's borders will extend from Black Sea to the Mediterranean Sea. If the conference accepts the New Armenia, then, it is possible, that there will be a great migration to the Armenian areas of Turkey: the Armenians have maintained their faith and have steadfast spirit. Here the issue of the states' confederation can be removed from the agenda. Russia is no longer able to ensure the security of the borders and to confirm peace here. But in the issue of this great territory, which is subject to division, it is necessary to come to an agreement, which should satisfy all the interested parties. The only guarantee of it, of course, is the intervention of the allied powers".

Actually, the continuous idea of this document is that it is impossible to solve the territorial issues in Caucasus without the participation of the allies,

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<sup>1</sup> H. Avetisyan, the mentioned work, p. 286.

<sup>2</sup> Armenia, the mentioned work, p. 541-543.

and this fact certainly “justified” the British military presence in Caucasus for replacing the “Russian inability” in the region. It was not in vain, that afterwards, commenting on the sufferings of the Armenian people because of their policy, Lloyd George has written in the second volume of his book “The truth about the peace treaties”: *“Proving, that we ourselves gave the Turks a chance to make those crimes, therefore, the moral duty falls upon us- to use the given opportunity, correct injustice committed by us and do our best to prevent the repeating of the horror, for which the history will always blame us for what had happened”*<sup>1</sup>. As far as we can notice, there is a remarkable confession in the prominent British political figure’s minds, though, if we follow the logic of the British policy, it was just a form of justification.

Only afterwards the British tried to pass the zones of influence, the straits and Armenia as well to the American side trying to throw off at least some part of the colonial gauze. For a while it was made an attempt by the British to cede those territories (Caucasus) to France for removing the latter from Mesopotamia and the Middle East. We read in the 14-17<sup>th</sup> points of the secret document, which was sent to the British Ministry of Defense by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs: “All the four provinces (Georgia, Russian Armenia, Russian Azerbaijan and Dagestan) are not Russian by nationality (apart from Stavropol and the adjacent northern regions), and they all have declared about their independence. They demanded the right to self-determination; therefore, the practical politician will start with the recognition of that requirement. It will be a reasonable action, which will cause least dissatisfaction of Russia and will not give any reason for it to complain, that the allies have taken advantage of its temporary weakness.

It seems that it is safe and effective to recognize the national governments in any provinces, which declared their final independence from Russia. The temporary settlement process should be quite long, for giving a chance, on the one hand, to Russia to return and restore its stable political balance and, on the other hand, for giving a righteous chance to the South Caucasian states to recover and get complete political autonomy in the relations with the allies. If Russia is restored rapidly, they can reunite with it by certain federative foundations, if the anarchy in Russia goes on for many

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<sup>1</sup> D. Lloyd George, the mentioned work, p. 390.

years, their factual division from the latter will probably be final. We must implement such a policy in Caucasus that any opportunity is realized”<sup>1</sup>.

It becomes clear from the logic of the document, that the British policy, taking advantage of Russia’s weakness, tended to divide the Southern Caucasus in the political point of view and, in the extreme case, if they fail, allow here the patronage of a more acceptable state for them (it’s about the U.S.A. and France): “All these directly are in the British interests, as these regions are close to the Middle East, where our interests are permanent, therefore, it must not be allowed, that anarchy emerges here. This can also be dangerous from the viewpoint of our future relations with Russia, as England must be influential, so that the mandate, which is to support the Caucasian states, is offered by the Council (he means the Council of Allies - A. Gh.). Our interests will be more protected, if we can provide the presence of any large state- our immediate ally, in those regions”<sup>2</sup>. There is also another noteworthy offer in the document: if it is expedient and proceeds from the British interests, then it is desirable, that *the unification of the Russian and the Turkish Armenians* will be allowed (the emphasis is ours- A. Gh.). At the same time, in the 16<sup>th</sup> point of the document the third standpoint is offered; to give the mandate of Armenia to France (including the 6 Armenian provinces in Turkey, Cilicia and Russian Armenia, if the residents agree, of course), and the mandate of Georgia, Russian Azerbaijan and Dagestan - to the Americans<sup>3</sup>.

So, it becomes clear from the mentioned, that, pursuing their invasive goals, the British tended to oust France and the U.S.A. from the Middle East to, so called, “less profitable” Armenia and Southern Caucasus. It is also clear, that those goals of the British were temporary in Caucasus; therefore, the ensuring of security of the rear and the areas which were more profitable from the viewpoint of colonization were considered more primary for them. This policy became more distinct later, when the British tried to struggle against the Turkish-German and then the Bolshevik forces by the means of the local forces just providing quite an acceptable situation for themselves. That’s why, when on November 13, 1918 in the House of Lords Viscount

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<sup>1</sup> Caucasian Boundaires, Documents and Maps 1802-1946, Edited by Anita L. P. Burdett, Archive Editions, 1996, p. 469.

<sup>2</sup> Caucasian Boundaries, the mentioned work, p. 469, 470.

<sup>3</sup> The same place, p. 472.

Bryce, who is known for his pro-Armenian stances, presenting the hard and tragic situation of the Armenian people after the Turkish invasions, offered an urgent support, Earl Crawford- the representative of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, answered: " Milord, I cannot go deep into the details of the issue, but... the issue, that has been mentioned here, is one of the issues which is being discussed with the allies, and is in the centre of Your Excellency's government's attention. I am sorry, but... at this moment it isn't possible to undertake necessary or some desirable thing in the situation presented by You ... But I am glad to inform, that the government of Your Excellency is full of determination to implement universal interests and has decided to spare no effort for fully satisfying the real requirements of the Armenians"<sup>1</sup>.

This example, which disclosures the gist of the British policy, is only the vivid example of the double game adopted by Britain, more striking manifestations of which towards the Armenian people, particularly towards Nagorno- Karabakh we will try to illustrate in the next segment of our work.

Nevertheless, it becomes clear even from the above-mentioned, that Great Britain was preparing to make the Turkish- German forces refuse from Transcaucasia and was making plans to occupy it with its own forces. Therefore, summarizing the section, we can single out the following important processes in the region:

- The situation in the South Caucasus after the February and Bolshevik events continued to remain extreme, but at the same time, uncertain and in anarchy.
- In those conditions the Turks continued active preparations for conquering the whole region and eliminating rest of the Armenian nation.
- The British occupation of the region would contribute to the accomplishment of the Turks' goals if not directly, then indirectly. It was included in Enver's plans to inflict a disruptive strike to Artsakh-Zangezur and Armenia by the means of the Musavats in order to encircle it finally.
- Slaughtering the Armenian inhabitants of the occupied areas the Turks succeeded in implementing a part of those plans.

- In those conditions the Armenians of Karabakh were realizing well, that the only way to get out of the existing situation was self-defense and the hope of external assistance, as the Turkish invasion was already coming to Karabakh, but the external assistance failed to reach.
- The situation was becoming more and more complicated, which led to serious political changes in Transcaucasia. The second half of 1918 became a whole period of struggle, wrestles and hopes for the Armenians.

### **1.3. The Clash of interests of the Allied Countries in Transcaucasia At the end of World War I.**

Generally, in order to examine the political principles of a big country, in this case of Great Britain, it is necessary to know the culture, psychology and lifestyle of that country and of its nation.

Still long ago a rich culture has been created in England and universal values such as civil liberties, personal immunity, freedom of mind, conscience, mass media, speech, etc. have been developed in this country. Parliamentarism and organization of local self-governing institutions also have been primary formed in England<sup>1</sup>. It's typical that the system of political large liberties formed inside the country is based on the state structure and the national traditions, which have been kept for centuries. All these aspects are typical for England if we don't take into account the peculiarities of the colonial system that is characteristic for the United Kingdom.

Great Britain has been strengthened by unsparing exploitation of its colonies. Viewing the latter as a source of raw materials and goods market, the British set up cruel military and administrative authority there, which was possible due to powerful fleet and military power.

In the beginning of the XX century the strengthening and prosperity of England reached its highest zenith. The Empire occupied almost 1/5 of the

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<sup>1</sup> See A. Geyking, England: its state, public, economic structure, St. Petersburg, typography of M. M. Stas Yulevich, 1909, p. 3.

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<sup>1</sup> Armenia, Parliamentary Debates, House of Lords, November 13, 1918, House of Commons, October 23, 24, 30, 31. November 6, 7, 14, 18, 1918, p. 7.

whole dry land of the Earth with its 29.872.061 square miles territory and 390.950.829 population<sup>1</sup>.

The Kingdom exceeded his rivals by its economic potential. According to the Gold Miners Index a half of the gold extracted in the world belonged to it. By its trade turnover the Kingdom exceeded a lot of countries including Russia (according to the data of 1904, 1,405 million pounds in comparison with the Russia's 166 million pounds). The British sea potential was unsurpassed and it outpaced its rivals (1.050.500 tonne naval equipment, in comparison with French 397.600 tonne and German 285.700 tonne).

In June, 1914 the tonnage of the universal fleet was 42.514.000 gross-ton, from which 20.284.000 gross-ton (including colonies) belonged to the United Kingdom, which, in its turn, formed the half of the Universal fleet.

In the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century Great Britain adopted free trade policy. Industrialization of economy and development of capitalism were taking place. Apart from the rapid development of economy, the increase of investments in foreign countries was also going on. In 1906 it reached 3.150.000.000 pounds, while in 1897 it was only 2.400.000.000 pounds.

So at the beginning of the XX century Great Britain exceeded the other countries of the world due to its economic, militarily and sea potentials and its development index. Having universal sea supremacy, the empire had a dictating position in international relations. There was also a huge progress in science, technique and culture.

Taking part in World War I and striving for world control, Britain, of course, had its own benefits and plans and the war burden fallen on it was heavy. The main burden was fallen on the colonies (4.5. million people were mobilized from the colonies). Pedg – the American representative in England gave a typical definition to the geopolitical role of Britain. "If England wins and it will eventually win, then it will dictate the conditions of the victory. The British fleet will be more powerful, than it has ever been. The British autocracy will be strengthened more than before. There will be no military restriction except Germany. The United States will have no voice when compiling the conditions of the peace treaty England will build its formidable fleet and Russia will keep its innumerable army"<sup>2</sup>. We can conclude from all

of this that the British power and role were growing parallel to the end of the war in the universal stage, and the war victory only helped to accelerate that process. Despite the preliminary agreement the British were against the Russian occupation of Constantinople. The prime-minister Balfour and his successor Lloyd George gave their opinions about that. That disaccord directly related to the British benefits, because from there the road was leading to Mesopotamia and to the adjacent territories of Egypt. They had got those territories according to the preliminary division of Turkey. England agreed without any preconditions to give to Russia Armenia and some of its neighboring areas<sup>1</sup>.

The disagreements between England and Russia were deeper coming even since the pre-war time. The trading interests of England in Turkey and Iran had been known to Russia since the times of Peter the Great. Later the oil issue became the primary one among those interests. Still in 1912 the military navy began using oil as a fuel thus the main problem for England became "actual oil management control in Iran and possession of oil reserves in Mesopotamia"<sup>2</sup>. According to the investigation of the British institute of international relations, England's vital interests included Mesopotamia's and Arabia's oil wealth. This fact brought to direct collision with the Russian interests in Iran and Small Asia. However, the British, conquering the Gibraltar, Malta, Cyprus, Egypt, and Palestine (not directly) and providing free supervision in the Red Sea, were getting an easy way to India.

The disagreements between England and Russia for their interests in Iran reached their peak in 1911 and according to Izvolsky (the Russian ambassador in Paris) that could lead to the rupture of relations with England<sup>3</sup>.

But the German programmes were so big and dangerous that the British-German competition was becoming even sharper than the British-Russian one. In that occasion trying to turn Turkey into an obedient stooge Germany aimed to cut the connection between Russia and its allies with the help of the menace of Turkey towards Egypt, Iran and Caucasus. Using the power of the Turkish "sacred war" the Germans sought to encourage the subordinate Mohammedan people to wage against the allies.

<sup>1</sup> See A. Geyking, England: its state, public, economic structure. St. Petersburg, typography of M. M. Stas Yulevich, 1909, p. 458.

<sup>2</sup> M. N. Pokrovski, Imperialist war 1915-1930, 1931, p. 279.

<sup>1</sup> Archives of Colonel Hause, v. 3, Moscow-1939, p. 36.

<sup>2</sup> V. G. Trukhanovski, The British foreign policy in the first stage of the general crisis of capitalism (1918-1939), Moscow, 1962, p. 90.

<sup>3</sup> See Materials on the history of Franco-Russian relations 1910-1914, Moscow, 1922, p. 24.

During the war the Turkish aims were getting deeper; they wanted to conquer Caucasus and Iran. According to Enver Pasha's plan the Turks were going to conquer Transcaucasia and the Northern Iran, the Transcaucasian region and Middle Asia. After invading Iran and Caucasus, Enver planned to attack the Suez Canal and Egypt too. The German command-in-chief had a purpose to break the Russian resistance in Caucasus and in the Iranian part of Azerbaijan through collaboration with Turkey at the beginning of the war and to start implementing the programme of conquering the Russian lands.

During the military actions of World War I the German-Turkish plans didn't come true mainly due to the brilliant victories of the Russian weapon.

The Armenians were supporting Russia and its allies during the war. Hoping to get freedom the Armenians did their best to provide the victory of the Russian weapon over Turkey. That was demonstrated more vividly by organizing Armenian volunteer regiments in the Russian army of the Caucasian front.

The Russian's victory at World War I was gradually becoming more certain. The role of Russia was becoming more important both in the war and among the allies. The victorious end of the war was approaching. A favorable situation was created for the diplomatic relations of Russia with its allies. The chances of conquering Caucasus were improving gradually.

In spite of numerous contradictions Russia was clearly pursuing its claims on Armenia and the channels. Paleolog from Petrograd writes: "The equivocal words of Sir Edward Grey in the House of Commons about the destiny of Constantinople left a negative impression in Russia. The Russian society thinks that at the last moment England will insist on a decision which will not be beneficial for the Russian historical strategic aims. And this is what Sazonov said to Sir Edward Bukenen and me: "I can suppose that the issue of channels will not bring to the immediate conquering of Constantinople but I must admit that the world does demand this radical decision. By the way, Sir Edward Grey is satisfied with the report that the issue of the channels ought to be fully decided in collaboration with Russia. It's true that the king George V informed the Earl of Benkendorf: "Constantinople belongs to you". But it's high time to speak more certainly. Finishing his speech Sazonov asked Sir Bukenen to affirm in presence of Sir Edward Grey that the British government should support the Russian programmes"<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> R. Poincare, the mentioned work, p. 342.

The Russian programmes succeeded when the allies were preparing to divide secretly the Ottoman Empire. First of all, by the agreements of London on April 26, 1915, then of Sykes-Picot on May 16, 1916 and then of Jean de Maurienne on April 17, 1917, the territory of the Ottoman Empire was divided among the allied states<sup>1</sup>.

According to those agreements, Russia was receiving the vilayets of Erzurum, Van, Bitlis and Trabzon and the control over Constantinople which kept the status of free seaport, the northern part of Small Asia was also mentioned<sup>2</sup>.

According to the agreement Great Britain was getting the control over Mesopotamia and the other regions neighboring with Egypt.

France and Italy got their impact zones in a part of Anatolia, till the channels.

So, in case of a favorable development of the situation Russia could manage to win the war among the allies and, despite England's disagreement, to take control over the channels and Constantinople. But the situation was radically changed after the February and October events.

Recently there had been put forth opinions in history that the events happened in Russia in 1917 had no appropriate framework in the society. To highly value the revolution which took place in Russia, the Soviet historiography estimated the happened events as natural phenomenon. But the events of both February and October were not natural at all. Here is what writes V. Shambarov about that: "Yes, Russia was collapsed not from military disasters but the attack was from the rear, when the country was on its rise. In a word, it happened so that none managed to ruin Russia neither the armies of the enemy and the German spies, nor the Bolsheviks, the Separatists, the Socialists, the Masons and the Liberals, but they have done it unitedly. The war became a consolidating factor for them in terms of time. The fact that the February revolution had a nationwide nature and was met

<sup>1</sup> A History of the Peace Conference in Paris, edited by H. W. V. Temperley, in 6 volumes, v 6, printed in England, at the Oxford University press by Federic Hall, London, 1924, p. 18-19.

<sup>2</sup> G. G. Makhmuryan, The Policy of Great Britain in Armenia and Transcaucasia in 1918-1920 (White Man's Burden/ (Institute of History of NAS of Armenia, Yerevan, Lusakn, 2002, p. 11); Archives of Colonel Hause, v 3, State-Social and Economic Publishing House, Moscow, 1939, p. 36.

with overall enthusiasm is just a historical legend”<sup>1</sup>. The author confirms with appropriate facts that different layers of the society accepted the fall of the Tsarist autocracy and then the failure of the Temporary Government not with enthusiasm, but with pain.

In general, distinguishing the steps of the Temporary Government and the further events we can say that the revolution became a matter of fact the country could not avoid, but the country and society were not ready for that.

But according to the Soviet historiography both February and October revolutions were connected with the social-economic and political crisis existing in the country<sup>2</sup>. During the war years there was a huge decline in industry, traffic and agriculture. The war extremely sharpened the contradictions within the society and the revolution became a historical necessity.

Here is how Churchill characterized the situation in Russia since October 1917: “Russia has fallen at the middle of the way and during that decline it has lost its nature. Instead of the old ally, just a ghost was standing in front of us, which had never been known to the world. We could see a state without nation, an army without fatherland, a religion without the God, a Government, which pretended to present Russia as one born in revolution and fed on terrorism”<sup>3</sup>. Bolshevism with its October revolution in 1917 was a devastating blow to Russia: it brought huge losses not only to the Russians but also to many other nations whose fortune was somehow connected with Russia.

The Armenian nation, who suffered Genocide and persecutions, hoped to be unified in the territory of their Homeland at the end of the World War. But with the “appearance” of Bolshevism all those hopes and aims disappeared and the Armenian nation had to face human, territorial and moral irrevocable losses.

From another viewpoint, W. Churchill as fairly noticed, after Russia refused to continue the military actions, all whole burden of the war was left

on its allies, especially on Great Britain. New political situation and approaches arose which really needed to be discovered.

So, in the geopolitical complicated conditions when Transcaucasia was in the danger of the Turkish intrusion, and the allies didn’t know their positions after Russia had left the war, the region fell in anarchy. Despite the activity of the bodies organized by the Provisional Government (Special Transcaucasian Committee and other Local governing bodies) and then also the activity of the Transcaucasian Sejm, nevertheless, the anarchy and illegitimacy were predominating. The Armenians were in more grievous condition after Golgotha in 1915.

The situation became harder because of the mercenary policy of the superpowers. The ways of communication, which had formerly been between the different parts of Transcaucasia, provision and many other fields of social – economic life were disintegrated.

The population of Karabakh also was in the same condition. The situation was getting harder there day by day because of the danger of the Turkish-Moslem attacks.

Thus:

1. At the end of World War I the self-interests of the superpowers towards Transcaucasia sharpened with the weakening of Russia’s influence.
2. Those contradictions were especially obvious inside the interests of the fighting blocks- the German-Turkish on the one hand and the British on the other hand.
3. The struggle to capture the means of communication and the stocks of fuel was getting hot in the territory.

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<sup>1</sup> V. Shambarov, the mentioned work, p. 594.

<sup>2</sup> N. I. Mints. The History of Great October, v 1-2, M., 1967-88; The History of Great October Socialist Revolution, M., 1967; G. N. Golikov, The revolution, which opened a new era, M., 1967; E. N. Gordetski. The birth of the Soviet State 1917-1918, M., 1965; K. Tsetkin, October Revolution, 1924, etc.

<sup>3</sup> W. Churchill, The World Crisis, State Military Publishing House, Moscow, 1932, Leningrad, p. 46.



## CHAPTER 2

### THE ENTRY OF THE BRITISH TROOPS IN TRANSCAUCASIA AND THE AMBITIONS OF MUSAVAT AZERBAIJAN TOWARDS NAGORNO-KARABAKH

#### 2.1. The entry of the British troops in Transcaucasia. The situation in Karabakh at the end of 1918

The entry of the British troops in Transcaucasia and the occupation of local areas pursued a lot of goals. Though these goals have been commented in various aspects by historiographical schools as Bolshevik, Western, etc., however, evidently they are based on the following:

- After abolition of the Eastern Front it was necessary to protect the British impact zones from the Turkish-German forces in Iran, Mesopotamia and India<sup>1</sup>.
- The necessity of organizing an anti-Bolshevik incursion for struggling against the spreading Bolshevik movement and for using the local forces.
- The problem of obtaining food reserve, etc.

With the mentioned reasons apart from Densterville's incursion, the General Maleson's army was also preparing to invade in Transcaucasia. Of course, the provision of communication between the territories already occupied by Iran, Mesopotamia and India was important for the British. We should also notice that along with the arrangements of the British side, the Russian forces were being removed from the Northern Iran. It was also obvious, that those actions were dictated directly by the General Staff and the Military Ministry: "In his telegrams on May 18 and 21, 1918 the Chief of the General Staff Henry Wilson agreed to postpone the attack of the Mesopota-

mian army and ordered General Marshal to give maximum assistance to Densterville's land detachment"<sup>1</sup>.

So, on the one hand Densterville's mission was intended to support and give organizational assistance to the local forces for counteracting the realization of the pan-Turkic programmes, on the other hand it was intended to support the British Mesopotamian forces for providing the security of Iran<sup>2</sup>. But these all still didn't mean an unconditional occupation of Transcaucasia, because the hopes connected with Densterville's mission came true and the additional anti-Turkic forces organized later were not able to resist the Turkish invasion. Also, it should not be forgotten the fact that still in December 1917 the British Government officially admitted the decision to give support with financial and military experts to the National Units of Armenia and Georgia<sup>3</sup>. Certainly England aimed to form a stronghold by the local national units against the Turkish attack and the spreading of Bolshevism. The evidences of it are the private talks of Poghos Nubar Pasha with Balfur, Alfred Milner (a member of the Military cabinet), Lord Bertil (The British ambassador in Paris), General Magdonoh (the Director of the Intelligence's Division of the Military Ministry), which encouraged to confront the German-Turkish aspirations in the former territories of the Russian Empire and Western Armenia. And this was at the time when the Turkish incursion was becoming threatening in the areas left by the Russian forces.

The British were seriously concerned about the prospect of obtaining the Russian huge raw material resources by the Germans and the Turks. "If there is not formed a Federal intervention in Siberia immediately, then we will not have any chance to win eventually and will be in serious danger..."<sup>4</sup>.

What to say, the Bolshevik danger that was growing gradually threatened Britain too. Still at the end of the war there were seen activations of labor and trade union movements in the country. The Ireland question and unrest in colonies were also becoming threatening gradually. In those conditions the struggle against Bolshevism became a priority: in August 1918 in the message given to the Indian and Mesopotamian armies by the Military

<sup>1</sup> L. Miroshnikov, the mentioned work, p. 80.

<sup>2</sup> See A. Nasibean, "Britain and the Armenian Issue in 1915-1923", p. 108.

<sup>3</sup> See The Armenian Review, vol. XXVII, V2-106, 1974, p. 153.

<sup>4</sup> Archives of Colonel Hause, v. III, State-Social-Economic Publ., Moscow, 1939, p. 287.

<sup>1</sup> See The Armenian Review, ARTIN ARSLANIAN, The British Decision to Interone in TransCaucasia during World Was I, 1974, vol. XXVII, V2-106, p. 146.

Ministry it was said: "General Densterville should be informed, that in case of necessity he should get rid of the Bolshevik's residuals in Baku without any hesitation, and for doing the above-mentioned directive he can get our wide support"<sup>1</sup>.

In this respect the course of events became so serious, that in October 1918, the USA president Wilson's representative House wrote in his report to Wilson: "George (it is about Lloyd George) leads England to Bolshevizm"<sup>2</sup>.

In light of that it already became clear the nature of General Densterville's actions. Therefore, at that moment the complete occupation of Transcaucasia was not foreseen, as it required from England huge material and human resources<sup>3</sup>. Though England understood the importance of Bolshevik's removal, it tried to fulfill all these through the local forces and "delicate methods", which were special for the British Diplomacy.

At the same time the three republics of Transcaucasia were trying to solve the urgent problems that faced them in their own ways. Georgia was under the German patronage and began to make its claims towards the Armenian territories. The territories with mixed Armenian-Georgian population were considered to be the inseparable parts of Georgia and in the first half of June in the meetings assembled by the members of the Menshevik Georgian government – Zhordania and Ramishvili with the representatives of the Armenian National Council represented straightforward those requirements. The view expressed by I. Tsereteli about that problem was particularly absurd: "After the treaty of Batumi the Armenians can not form a certain vital state and it is in their interests to strengthen Georgia in order to have a strong Christian state in Caucasus, which will defend itself and the Armenians by the help of the Germans",- he announced<sup>4</sup>. Therefore the expectations of "friendly" Georgia concerning the appropriation of the Armenian populated territories were clear too. In a few days after the meeting the Georgian forces occupied the arguable areas free from the Turks, particularly Borchalu province. Without having necessary measures for the protection, Armenia appeared in a hard situation, which was typically described by tsarist General A. I. Denikin. "Staying in dramatic singleness,

the Republic of Armenia was waiting for either its decapitation and separation or salvation with hope and belief. It could be only guessed from where one or the other would come from"<sup>1</sup>.

In their turn, on May 28 in Gandzak the Musavats declared "the Democratic Republic of Azerbaijan" together with the Turkish support and quickly began to eliminate the Armenians of Elizabetpol and Baku states. During that period, the Turkish officers were preparing to set on the Armenians by Nuri Pasha's order. Wide propaganda operations were carried out among the "Tatar" and Moslem populations<sup>2</sup>. At the same time it was being prepared the incursion on Baku. It was intended to "stifle" Armenia from all sides, the Turkish front was in the west, the Kurdish from Alashkert were in the south, in the southeast it was the artificial "Arax Republic" which was formed from Nakhijevan and Sharur-Dalaragyaz provinces by Tatar Khans, in the east it was Azerbaijan along with Tatar bands, and in the north it was the Georgian border, which was fairly well controlled by the Georgian forces, from where even "the cargoes belonged to Tiflis state were not brought out"<sup>3</sup>.

In those conditions, with the expectation of giving any solution to the problem, the Armenian delegation, which had returned from Batumi, headed by Avetis Aharonyan left for Constantinople to take part in the conference convened by Germany. The delegation of Azerbaijan headed by Mahmed Rasulzade and Ali Tobchibashev arrived to Constantinople too. The representative of the Georgian delegation was Yevgeni Gegechkori. The conference organized in the capital of the Turks was aimed to completely subject the republics of Caucasus to the Turkish Policy. The political game reached its peak when it became clear after the meetings of the failed conference that Turkey was manipulating the negotiations with Armenia in order to check the latter's position and the degree of the danger coming from it. After the German-Soviet negotiations, when it became clear, that Caucasus was divided into two influential zones, Turkey instantly manipulated the circumstance of giving credit to the Armenians and supporting for borders' expansion<sup>4</sup>. Making the head officials of Armenia to wait for a long time, the Turk-

<sup>1</sup> L. Miroshnikov, the mentioned work, p. 113.

<sup>2</sup> K. Vinogradov, David Lloyd George, Thought, Moscow, 1970, p. 270.

<sup>3</sup> See G. Makhmuryan, the mentioned work, p. 19.

<sup>4</sup> A. Denikin, *Esseys on the Russian Troubles*, Moscow, Thought, 1991, p. 141.

<sup>1</sup> The same place.

<sup>2</sup> See *The Armenian Review*, 1974, vol. XXVII, V1-105, ... A Secret Military Pact, p. 40.

<sup>3</sup> A. Denikin, the mentioned work, p. 140.

<sup>4</sup> See R. Hovannisian, *The Republic of Armenia*, vol. 1, University of California Press, Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, p. 57.

Musavats were preparing to occupy Baku and the other Armenian-populated places of Baku and Elizabetopol states. The danger was increasing especially in Karabakh direction. In case of conquering Karabakh, a handful of Armenians gathered around Yerevan and Sevan would completely appear in blockade. And despite the false assurances given by Talaat and Enver to Aharonyan and Khatisyan, as if it would be no attack on Karabakh, nevertheless, as Khatisyan himself noted “these assurances achieved the degree of degrading falsity and ridicule”<sup>1</sup>.

As it has already been mentioned Nuri Pasha who had settled in Gandzak was preparing an incursion on Baku. In the second half of June the Turks began the attack. Especially the Armenians resisted against the Turkish forces, as they were well aware, that if the enemy conquered the city, the Armenian population would be completely exterminated. The primary problem was the question of protection from the Turkish yataghan. The British historians Allen and Muratof wrote that the Armenians, who were practically engaged in the struggle for Baku more seriously than any other forces defending the city, actually were less interested in the protection of the petroleum mines.

It is also noteworthy that Aharonyan and Khatisyan learned about the attack in Baku from Bensdorf, who was the German ambassador in Constantinople. The latter said, that the Germans required from the Turks to move to Mesopotamia, but they were moving slowly, as they wanted to occupy Baku for Azerbaijan, namely for themselves<sup>2</sup>.

In the second half of June the Turkish-Musavat attacks became frequent. The Armenian forces managed to repel the enemy's attacks. Based on imbalance of the forces and in order not to let the Armenians go to ask for help from the Bolsheviks, Densterville gave a hope to the Armenians that they would soon send help for Bicherakhov detachment as well as Armenian forces would come from Yerevan. The situation became more complicated when on July 26-28 the Turks began to bomb the city. And Bicherakhov, who came “for support”, betrayed the Armenians and instead of hitting the Turks' back, fled to Petrovsk taking with him 20 artillery, 40 guns and 1 armor train.

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<sup>1</sup> Al. Khatisyan, *The origin and development of the Republic of Armenia*, Beirut, p. 110.

<sup>2</sup> See H. Avetisyan, the mentioned work, p. 300.

On July 19 a Baku Council meeting was convened in which all front commanders took part. Knowing surely that there was no expectation of help from anywhere, the latter discussed the question of inviting the British to the city. It was during that period, when the British rumored, that they could send 5000 officers to help the city. There was even information that the number of the troops could reach to 40 thousand, which, of course, could not correspond to the reality. Finally, in the result of the discussions, the Council decided to invite the British to the city.

At the same time the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars-Stepan Shahumyan, resigned. On July 31 a new body was formed in Baku named as “The Dictatorship of the Caspian Fleet central Committee and workers, officers, sailors' board”. The “Centrocaspian Dictatorship” formed after Baku commune, quickly formed a Government and immediately invited the British to Baku. On August 4 the British group, which had 400-500 members entered Baku. On that day the Turks' attacks increased more and the Armenians managed to repulse it at the cost of great losses. By August 17 Colonel Stocks had brought only 1640 officers to Baku, from which only the 900 were fighting. The general forces of the British were controlled by General Densterville. By the British request the Bolsheviks were immediately removed from the city, which enervated the defense forces, as the British “support” was not enough for continuing the defense of Baku<sup>1</sup>.

Gradually, the British took in their hands the local power too. Especially the latter's anti-Russian mood was obvious. So, they used the oil of Baku exceptionally for their needs. Moreover it becomes clear from the report of reconnaissance officer Captain Colomonyants that the British were not interested much in the defense of Baku and even they were kindly disposed towards the Moslems, which was confirmed also by General Densterville<sup>2</sup>.

The condition of Baku defenders became more difficult after the fights on August 26-31, when the Turkish army of twenty-five thousand managed to close the water main coming to Baku. In his memories Densterville wrote, that the resistance was weak as the gaps in the front line became frequent and 80 thousand Tatar populations in the city with the German-Austrian agents supported the Turks. The General also irrelevantly accused the Armenians,

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<sup>1</sup> See V. Avagyan, *Pages from the history of foreign intervention in Transcaucasia* (1918), Arm. State Publ., Yerevan, 1957, p. 110.

<sup>2</sup> NAA, f. 200, l. 1, c. 158, pp. 7-10.

who were the real defenders of the city, as if they did not display enough courage to save the situation<sup>1</sup>.

The evidence of the British attitude towards the Armenians is the questions and answers about the defense of Baku, which was held in the House of Commons, where the secretary of Foreign Affairs Lord Sesil answered the following question whether Noble Lord could give any information about the safety of Baku defense forces. -"Is the question about the Armenian or the British forces?" Learning that the question was about the British forces, he added; "They are out of danger"<sup>2</sup>. Of course, it's clear, that the British had no intention to worry about the Armenians' safety, which was approved later-during leaving Baku and the Armenian massacre.

The Turkish pressure was increasing gradually.

The Turks were also threatening to the Northern Persia, with which they were trying to appear in the rear of the British. In the first half of September the Turks occupied the most important areas of the city. On September 14 Stocks and Shardin left the city, and it was followed by Densterville's order about the preparation of the ships' removal.

On September 15 the Turk-Musavat forces invaded Baku.

So, on September 15 1918 "The Democratic Republic of Azerbaijan arrived in Baku with the help of the Turks. The Azerbaijani state got its capital with the Turkish ground"<sup>3</sup>. The further events in the city were accompanied by the terrible slaughter of the Armenian population. A little later in the letter addressed to the Commander of the allied forces in Baku V. M. Thomson the diocesan leader of Baku bishop Bagrat the Sacred was describing the terrible "slaughter and robbery towards the Armenian population, which lasted 3 days and nights"<sup>4</sup>. For 4 days 25 trucks had been transferring the Armenians' corpses. In general 30 thousand Armenians were slaughtered in the city and 20 thousand Armenians in the state. So, there were 50 thousand Armenians massacred by the Turks.

Implementing the occupation of Baku, Nuri Pasha's forces then moved to Karabakh. The occupation of the region would give an opportunity to the Turks to take the rest of the Armenians into a link, too.

Summarizing up it should be said, that the fall of Baku was a terrible disaster for the Armenian population. After that all the Turkish forces flung on Karabakh, which made possible the annihilation of the majority of the Armenians of Baku and Elizabepol states too. The fall of Baku and the Armenian massacres, the further promotion of the Turks had very disastrous consequences for the Armenians.

Aharonyan and Khatisyan received the news about Baku's collapse in Constantinople, and the Armenian forces did not come to help the Armenian defenders of Baku. The Young Turk figures, which learned the nuances of the Turkish diplomacy, were negotiating around false conditions by winning time and excluding the Armenians' maintenance in the struggle of Baku.

At the end of 1917 the interfederative Council made a decision (December 18, 1917, Versailles) about the separation of the lands of the Ottoman Empire and the Empire's future. Among many other questions there was an article in the decision related to Armenia, in which the Entente Committee group considered the Turkish governance in Armenia extremely poor. The murders and the Turkish atrocities in Armenia made the people to be ashamed, and they wanted to put the further management of the Armenian fate on the European states' full discretion<sup>1</sup>. Virtually the document left uncertain the future of Armenia and the Armenians. It would be still determined in the European diplomacy maelstrom, the "games" of which the Armenians knew very well.

During 1918 the British projects were still being developed in the Military Ministry (a group of 4-5 people was involved in that problem), and at the end of the year the Imperial Military Ministry was also actively involved in the work. Giving great importance to the problem an Eastern Committee was soon formed by the Military Ministry (it lasted till January 10, 1919), which was controlled by Lord Curzon. Nearly the whole military-political elite of England were included in the composition of the eastern Committee – the Minister of Foreign Affairs A. Balfour, his assistant R. Cecil, General Smaths, E. Montague and the Chief of the General Staff Henry Wilson<sup>2</sup>. And although the latter fully understood the situation, the shortcomings and indecisions in the Transcaucasian affairs were una-

<sup>1</sup> See Major General Densterville, the mentioned work, p. 208.

<sup>2</sup> Armenia, Parliamentary Debates, page 8.

<sup>3</sup> A. Raevski, The British Intervention and the Musavat Government, Baku, 1927, p. 31.

<sup>4</sup> NAA, f. 199, l. 1, c. 23, part 1, p. 25.

<sup>1</sup> D. Lloyd George, Military Memoirs, v. 5, Social Economic Publishing House, Moscow, 1938, p. 52.

<sup>2</sup> See G. Makhmuryan, the mentioned work, p. 29.

voidable. None of them insisted on the full occupation of Transcaucasia and full recognition of the independence of Armenia in the whole territory. The primary question for them remained the fight against Bolshevism, creating so called "Buffer republics" in Transcaucasia, which had to serve as stronghold against the further struggle against Bolshevism.

Before that, in September 1918 a powerful attack started by the British forces against the Turks in Syria, where their main forces were concentrated. The Turkish army couldn't resist long, about which Lloyd George reported: "The enemy's forces were in deplorable condition, it was becoming clear, that Turkey had matured for us to destroy it"<sup>1</sup>.

At the end of 1918 the defeat of Turkey became inevitable, which gave an opportunity to the allies to occupy the whole territory of the Turkish Empire. More than 500 thousand British officers were concentrated against Turkey<sup>2</sup>. Also 900 thousand officers were concentrated in the Middle East. The British forces occupied Kirkuk, then Mosul without resistance. The war in Mesopotamian front was ended by that.

Although the British troops fled from Baku, the British had a serious intention to occupy that residence again. For entering Transcaucasia, the British foresaw to use the Persian line forces, which involved "the 26<sup>th</sup> and the 62<sup>nd</sup> Punjab rifle battalions, Kherdfordshir regiment, the 5<sup>th</sup>, the 12<sup>th</sup> and the 15<sup>th</sup> sapper detachments, the 48<sup>th</sup> and the 128<sup>th</sup> battalions, the 72<sup>nd</sup> engineering field detachment, the 26<sup>th</sup> mountainous artillery detachment, as well as Northern Iran's detachment of "Nordforse" (the Commander was General Thomson), which included the 36<sup>th</sup> and the 39<sup>th</sup> land groups, Densterforse's armor group, the 13<sup>th</sup> field artillery group, the 6<sup>th</sup> light self-propelled ordnances group, the 21<sup>st</sup> mountainous artillery detachment, the 14<sup>th</sup> hussar regiment, as well as engineering military units and 15 planes<sup>3</sup>. As we can see the detachment was ready for any military action.

So the British were preparing to occupy Transcaucasia and before the further events evolved there, Turkey and then Germany had accepted their defeat in World War I. The ceasefire agreement with Turkey was signed on October 30, 1918. While the Turkish forces in the fronts were being

discharged, the allies occupied the channels. The means of communication were under the control of the allies too. Turkey drove out its troops from the Northwestern Russia and Transcaucasia<sup>1</sup>.

So, the ceasefire did not express a clear position towards Armenia and the Armenian people, whereas the Armenians' hopes connected with the Turkish defeat, pro-Armenian policy of the allies and rebirth of new Armenia were great. Inspiring articles were published by the Armenian press of that time. In one of them, for example, it was said: "The Armenians, who were left by their allies, as they were in a difficult situation and were surrounded by all kinds of enemies, fought like a hero, and the direct consequence of that fight was the real and legal complication of the Republic of Armenia. After the proclamation of the republic the other parts of the country continued the heroic struggle. On the one hand the battles were aimed to contribute to the victory of the allies, in which they had deep faith, on the other hand to expand the borders of the republic, of course not for land-grabbing, but for Armenian populated provinces connection. Because of the ceasefire the Turkish troops should leave the Caucasian borders, and thereby the Armenian populated provinces should remain within the Republic of Armenia. But here also the Armenians had to struggle again and again till they possessed their indubitable rights by the power of struggle"<sup>2</sup>. It is natural that the hopes of the Armenians in the British assistance first of all related to the liberation of Western Armenia and the creation of a United Armenia<sup>3</sup>.

Subsequently, of course, it became clear, that the British were not going to let the connection of Armenia, which we tried to show in the previous chapter by analyzing the appropriate secret archive document. And the sad thing here is that this resolution got its further development in the British politics.

With the victory of the allies in the World War Britain acquired a superpower status in Europe and Asia. For England the question of adjusting the influence zones, which at that time involved also the former territories of the Russian Empire, became primary. On November 13, 1918, the day after signing the armistice between Germany and Entente, England and France

<sup>1</sup> D. Lloyd George, the mentioned work, p. 115.

<sup>2</sup> See V. Trukhanovski, *The British Foreign Policy in the First Stage of the General Crisis of Capitalism (1918-1939)*, Moscow, 1962, p. 94.

<sup>3</sup> See L. Miroshnikov, the mentioned work, p. 122.

<sup>1</sup> See From the History of Foreign Intervention in Armenia in 1918, documents and materials, Yerevan, 1970, ESU, p. 235.

<sup>2</sup> Veratsnund (Eng. Rebirth), C year, number 15, 19 June, 1919, Paris, Weekly, p. 210.

<sup>3</sup> Veratsnund, C year, number 12, 12 June, 1919, p. 196-197.

confirmed their agreement about separation of zones of influence, which had been concluded still in December 1917. At the same time and mostly with the British initiative the processes of organizing the interventions to Russia began and developed quickly. On November 13 and 14, 1918 the military cabinet of England discussed the offers of Henry Wilson—the chief of the General Staff of Land Forces, which mainly came to such conclusion:

- a) To form a sanitary barrier from the East-European small states around Russia.
- b) To begin military intervention.
- c) To organize a help for counter-revolution forces<sup>1</sup>.

Naturally those military–political programs should lead to expelling the German-Turkish forces from Crimea, Ukraine and Transcaucasia. On November 22, 1918 the Anglo-French fleet arrived to Sevastopol, where the number of the allies' forces was 20.000. General Denikin's army was also there. At the end of November Entente's military fleet arrived in Odessa. At the same month the Transcaucasia was militarized.

Despite the defeat, the Turkish forces did not hurry to leave Transcaucasia. Nuri Pasha was continuing the campaign with the Musavats' support and financing. The Armenians of Karabakh (Nuri Pasha appointed his commandants there), the Musavats and the residents of Dagestan expressed their dissatisfaction with the Turkish officers<sup>2</sup>. The Turks continued to pursue their plans, and only the entrance of the allied forces in region could put an end to it. On the other hand the Turkish diplomacy went to every concession, apart from removal from Asia Minor and especially from the Western Armenia and Cilicia. All these, of course, led to a situation, that unwittingly discontent towards the allies among the Armenians was increasing, which the British completely realized, because the discussion of the terms of Mudros did not give any positive result to the Armenians. Accepting that "some betrayal by them" was implemented, at the same time and in a specific way the British were giving some explanations with different excuses to the society. In the end the problem resulted in the fact that Britain recognized the

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<sup>1</sup> See G. Galoyan, In the Crossroads of history, "Armenia", Yerevan, 1982, p. 242.

<sup>2</sup> "Zang" (Eng. Bell), 1918, August 28, V. 4, p. 1-2; Fight for the victory of Soviet Power in Azerbaijan 1918-1920, Documents and Materials, Baku, 1967, p. 33; I. Gajiev, The joint struggle of Baku proletariat and Workers of Dagestan against the British invaders of counter-revolution in 1919-1920, Mahachkala, 1960, p. 42.

right of self-determination of 6 vilayets and Cilicia, and that "these territories must be completely separated from Turkey and form a separate State"<sup>1</sup>.

Thus the British left Armenia unprotected in the same way as it was done by the Bolsheviks with the known Decree on "Turk-Armenia".

The militarization of Transcaucasia by the British started in different directions<sup>2</sup>. The Musavats, who were in touch with General Thomson dislocated in Enzeli, held negotiations about inviting again the British troops to Baku.

At first the British occupied the important strategic areas of Transcaucasia. According to the program developed by the Imperial General Staff Chief Henry Wilson, the vital and important centers of Transcaucasia were to be occupied, i.e. railroad communication and Batumi-Baku route.

On November 21, 1918 the Commander of the military operations- Major-General Radcliffe was allowed to give order on preparing a British division to go to Batumi<sup>3</sup>. It is noteworthy that Curzon- the Commander of the Eastern Committee insisted in the General Staff on a long-term occupation of Transcaucasia, but Balfour, Cecil and Montague were against. Nevertheless, as a continuation of the predetermined plan, on December 11 the order of the Military Ministry was released, saying that, according to the ceasefire concluded with the Turks, the British troops were to occupy the oil pipe and the railroad between the Black and the Caspian seas, as well as Baku, Batumi and, if it was possible, Tiflis too<sup>4</sup>.

The militarization operations were quite fast. The military invasion into Transcaucasia started on November 17, 1918 with the arrival of the British troops in Baku. Those troops were headed by General Thomson. On December 6, 1918 the British mission also arrived in Batumi headed by Webster, who was the representative of the Commander of the British forces in Caucasus - General Thomson. After that first mission the representatives of Britain and other allied countries arrived in Batumi and then Tiflis.

At the Eastern committee sessions Lloyd George also expressed his doubts on detaching large amount of troops to Transcaucasia. Curzon, commenting on the situation and the role of the British troops in that

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<sup>1</sup> A Nasipean, Britain and the Armenian Question, p. 158.

<sup>2</sup> See The Struggle For Transcaucasia, Firuz Kazemzadeh, New York, 1951, p. 165.

<sup>3</sup> G. Makhmuryan, the mentioned work, p. 40.

<sup>4</sup> The same place.

territory, highlighted mainly the necessity of ensuring the security of the local peoples. In the discussions an idea was particularly continuous, according to which the Bolshevism must be kept away as much as possible from the areas of their influence; this naturally was possible in case of keeping Transcaucasia away from Russia<sup>1</sup>.

On December 23 the British troops landed in Batumi; the acting Brigadier General Cook Cullis's station was established there. On December 25 Forestie-Walker's detachment was sent to Tiflis. It is noteworthy that the British were first of all interested in Kars, where they established a military order on January 12. Thus, Transcaucasia was divided into 2 parts- eastern and western. The British had special representatives also at the Commander of the Russian Southern forces Denikin. They, pursuing their policy, took under control the means of the weapon, food supply (Kars) and radio communication<sup>2</sup>. Despite this all, except for Kars-Batumi route, the communication and transport of other areas were handed over the control of the Republic of Armenia.

Thus, in November-December 1918 the British troops dislodged the German-Turkish troops from Transcaucasia and Dagestan. The British had under their influence the whole civilian and military power of Caucasus. The control in the region was conducted solely by the British military units.

In general, as Winston Churchill states, the British met pleasant admittance in the territories occupied by them – Baku, Batumi, the Caucasian railway, the areas between Black and Caspian seas. The British army engaged 40 miles of land adjacent to the railway, along with it. They organized also a fleet, which soon provided the British dominance in the Caspian Sea. The British troops, the number of which was only 20 thousand in January 1919, became the owner of one of the world's greatest strategic ways and due to the England's maritime power its wings were protected in both internal seas. In fact, the nations, which were under the favour of Britain, should enjoy independence. The threat of spreading Bolshevism towards Turkey, Kurdistan and Persia was also provided. W. Churchill wrote later:

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<sup>1</sup> V. Adamia, From the History of the British Intervention in Georgia 1918-1921, Sukhumi, 1961, p. 48.

<sup>2</sup> G. Galoyan, In the Crossroads of History, "Armenia", Yerevan, 1982, p. 242.

"We managed to create this line during almost a year, which was not an easy task"<sup>1</sup>.

What about the principles of the policy pursued by the British, then they are obvious in the context of decisions accepted with regard of the mandate of January 1919. It was stated there, that "the allies and the states, which join them, make an appointment that they decide for the nations oppressed by the Turks and for the Armenians who were subjected to terrible massacres, that Armenia, Syria, Mesopotamia, Palestine and Arabia must be completely freed from the Turkish Empire"<sup>2</sup>. In the 6<sup>th</sup> point of the resolution it was noted about the mandate system, it was presented the degree of the nations' development, who needed patronage and which should be established by the League of Nations.

Some clarity into the British position brings also the following thought of W. Churchill: "Subsequently we found out also the necessity of the following measures:

1. To end immediately the adventurism of Baku-Batumi in Caucasus and to drive out our troops from the responsible and dangerous situation in which they have appeared.
2. To seal reconciliation with Turkey and the reconciliation must show that **England is its friend** (the emphasis is ours – A. Gh.).
3. To fulfill completely our obligations in the sphere of supplying and armament of the Bolshevik troops using for that aim our enormous military resources. To give the Whites skilled and knowledgeable officers and instructors for training the army"<sup>3</sup>.

It was clear that the British were ready to keep friendly relations with Turkey and to let the small nations, which were relating to their policy, to the freak of the fate. It was also evident that the British, occupying Transcaucasia, did not have specific policy towards Armenia. All the controversial issues were left to the decision of the Peace Conference. It was also obvious the distrust of the British towards the Armenians, as in the reports submitted to the government the latters were presented as people who "incorrigible" liked the Russians. It was not also accidental the popular interpretation of the relations between the Republic of Armenia and Denikin in that light.

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<sup>1</sup> W. Churchill, World Crisis, Moscow, 1932, p. 106.

<sup>2</sup> Archives of Colonel Hause, v 4, June 1918- November 1919, 1944, p. 248.

<sup>3</sup> W. Churchill, the mentioned work, p. 108.

The British were struggling against the Bolshevism and according to them they would keep the occupied territories of the former Russian Empire till Russia's reconstruction, but on the other hand it must be said, that during their presence in Transcaucasia the anti-Russian sentiments were openly encouraged. This is approved by numerous reports send to the Foreign Minister of Armenia, in one of which, for example, it is particularly said: "England will fight all the forces against the Russian influence in Caucasus and the three republics need to sever all ties with Russia, - writes the author of the report Michael Arzumanov. - Georgia and Azerbaijan have already severed their ties with Russia, but Armenia still has a representative at Denikin, and the latter keeps a lot of Russian and Armenian Denikin officers in Yerevan"<sup>1</sup>.

The relations between Denikin and the Republic of Armenia need a special examination, particularly if we take into consideration the circumstance that the supporters of Denikin were giving great support to the Armenian immigrants in the liberated areas during that time. It is also remarkable that Denikin considered Armenia its ally in Transcaucasia, as the Armenians continued their pro-Russian political behavior<sup>2</sup>. In contrast with that, the relations between the voluntary army and Musavat Azerbaijan and Menshevik Georgia became more strained because of anti-Russian policy. In the internal relations the British gave a certain support to Georgia during the Armenian-Georgian struggle, and in spite of the British reluctance, Armenia was in direct relations with Denikin during that time. Moreover, the latter's attitude to the Armenians is also remarkable: "In limited chances we gave certain help to Armenia, basically providing the needs of the refugees and repatriates"<sup>3</sup>.

In the matter of intervention the policy of the allies had a double nature too: "Not having a clear policy in that issue, the allied governments entailed to imperfection of the actions, the failure of which was already foreclosed", - wrote the ambassador of England in Petrograd Byukenen<sup>4</sup>. Really there wasn't a unity in the actions of the allies in the arrangement of intervention: on the one hand Denikin was given military aid, and on the other hand Bol-

<sup>1</sup> NAA, f. 200, l. 1, c. 158, p. 68.

<sup>2</sup> See F. Kazemzadeh, the mentioned work, p. 216. V. Avagyan, Pages from the history of foreign intervention of Transcaucasia, p. 124.

<sup>3</sup> A. Denikin, G. Makhmuryan, the mentioned work, p. 183.

<sup>4</sup> See J. Byukenen, Memoirs of a diplomat, Moscow, 1991, p. 334.

sheviks were invited to a conference. It was obvious that the strengthening of Denikin and other anti-Bolshevik powers and the **perspective of restoration of the former powerful Russian Empire were not profitable for the allies**. In the same way the British were minded negatively about the existence of a certain relationship between Denikin and Armenia. It is known that the relations between Armenia and Denikin grew deeper when the latter's white-guard forces went directly closer to the bounds of Transcaucasia. On the whole, the perspective of amassing the former areas of the Russian Empire was increasing the probability of Denikin's attack on Baku and Tiflis. It's natural that on the background of those relations Georgia and Azerbaijan were minded inimically to Armenia. Taking all this into consideration, from Taganrog Denikin gives the following order to the officers in Azerbaijan: "Considering the hostile attitude of the Azerbaijani dominations towards the Russian army and the apostate encroachments of the Azerbaijani troops on the Armenian lands, I order all the officers of the Russian service to leave the rows"<sup>1</sup>.

Summing up the chapter on the commentary of the militarization of Transcaucasia and the British policy, it is necessary to remark a number of points describing and generalizing the events of that time:

1. The British victory in the East battle-front in World War I.
2. The division of the areas of the Turkish Empire among the countries of Entente.
3. The fall of Baku, the slaughters of the Armenians and the British policy.
4. The militarization of Transcaucasia by the British troops.
5. The relations among the British, Denikin and the Armenian sides.

The future of another Armenian region was also decided by the militarization of Transcaucasia by the British. When raiding into Baku the Turkish troops had assigned agents in Karabakh desiring to invade the region and get rid of the Armenians there. Talaat's and Enver's assurances about the safety of Karabakh were false and deceptive, and Nuri pasha has clearly presented to the German consulate the aims of occupying Karabakh<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> I. Shakhdin, ARF in the service of the Russian white-guard and the British command in Caucasus, Tiflis, p. 11.

<sup>2</sup> "Zang", 1918, August 28, p. 4.



There was a tense situation in Karabakh during that time. The relationship between the Armenian and Tatar populations of Karabakh became extremely exacerbated. The problem of supplying provisions was in an extremely heavy condition. The inviting of the first congress of Karabakh, which chose a democratic government, tried to give a certain solution to the arisen problems. In the result of the undertaken steps it became possible to establish law and order in Shushi, which was the centre of Karabakh: in order to provide the city's safety, a patrol was arranged on July 27<sup>1</sup>. On August 2 it was announced about unifying the Armenian part of Gandzak province with Nagorno-Karabakh. Regional courts were created. In terms of arrangement, those steps had great importance for unifying the Armenians of the region especially if we take into consideration the circumstance that the Turkish threat was increasing gradually<sup>2</sup>.

Under the guidance of Nuri Pasha and Jemil Jahid, the Turkish officers were systematizing the actions of the Turkish commandants. Special bands were being arranged, which would become the basis for creation of the Mohammedan army later. Under the instigation of the Turks, the Azerbaijani government was sending ultimatums to the Armenian National Council about Karabakh's appertaining to Azerbaijan<sup>3</sup>. The Armenian government, in its turn, was continually announcing that Karabakh was Armenia's inseparable part. They were ready to yield Gandzak, but not Karabakh<sup>4</sup>. The Turks' matter became easier after they managed to occupy Gandzak. The local Armenian population was slaughtered entirely. During that period there were created protective forces in Karabakh: the commander of Varanda was Sokrat Bek Shahnazaryan, Dizak – Artem Lalayan, Khachen – Alexan Dayi, Jra-berd – Bagrat Nazaryan<sup>5</sup>. Many hopes were connected also with Andranik, who was in Zangezur at that time. The letters sent to Andranik with asking for help, formed a large number<sup>6</sup>. The Armenian military leader had conveyed willingness to go to Karabakh and participate in the protection of the region.

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<sup>1</sup> "Zang" 1918, August 23, p. 4.

<sup>2</sup> NAA, f. 314, l. 1, c. 34, p. 60.

<sup>3</sup> See Nagorno-Karabakh 1920, the mentioned work, p. 5.

<sup>4</sup> The Armenian Community, New Nakhijevan, v. 23, October 14.

<sup>5</sup> See V. Balayan, the mentioned work, p. 298.

<sup>6</sup> See Artsakh calls Andranik, (documents), Yerevan, 1995.

After the first congress of the Armenians living in Artsakh, the government, formed on July 22-26 1918, created a central headquarters under the supremacy of Captain Artashes Vardapetyan for the purpose of realizing the protection. For realizing the displacement of the regiment and ammunition of Shushi, 400 soldiers started to move towards Goris by 300 carts on August 20 1918. The four-day-lasting furious battles and the news that it was impossible to get help from Goris, made the Armenians of Artsakh retreat. The Turkish Musavats had concentrated 10000 soldiers against them. Karabakh appeared in a hopeless situation: "The only hope of getting ammunition was cut off and Karabakh appeared with naked hands against the Turks. The hopes of giving armed help to Baku commune were shattered with that. In the result of that the vast population of the large village Gharaghshlagh had to move to Shushi because of the failure"<sup>1</sup>. After those events the commandant of Aghdam presented Karabakh a requirement about being subordinated unconditionally to the authorities of Azerbaijan.

The success of the heroic struggle of Karabakh was connected with high self-consciousness of the Armenian population and the uncompromising spirit of living freely. The Armenians of Karabakh rejected any offer of being subordinated to Azerbaijan. And Azerbaijan's aspirations to annihilate the Armenians of Zangezur-Karabakh disappeared first of all due to the struggle of the Armenians of Artsakh.

The Turk-Musavats realized well that it was necessary to disconnect Karabakh from Zangezur for reaching success, which the Turks managed to do partly by ravaging the villages of Berdadzor sub-region (particularly Gharaghshlagh). The latter was important for the protection of Karabakh, as on the one hand it was the only village which connected with Zangezur, on the other hand the support of the regiments of Andranik and Shushi had to be received just through that place.

The hope of Andranik's help from Zangezur was cut off, when Zabugh's bandits at first and then Mohammedan detachments closed Andranik's way<sup>2</sup>, and when that obstacle was surmounted, General Thomson, who was not unknown for the people of Nagorno-Karabakh, stopped his passage.

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<sup>1</sup> Soviet Karabakh, November 9-10, 1989, H. Tumyan, The events in Nagorno Karabakh in 1917-1920.

<sup>2</sup> "Mshak", March 7, 1919, p. 1.

Two days later after the fall of Gharaghshlagh, on September 6, the second congress of the Armenians of Karabakh was assembled. The Turkish command sent two letters on the eve: the first one was directed to the spiritual leader of Karabakh, and the other one-to the local population. In both of them it was offered to surrender.

The congress was opened in Shushi on September 20 and lasted 6 days, till September 25. There are various data among us about the participants' number of the congress. Y. Ishkhanyan reports in his work "Nagorno-Karabakh in 1917-1920" that on September 8 three representatives were elected from each of the rural communities, from other 22 rural communities there were elected 66, from the town-10, from the Turkish-Armenians, who came from Zangezur by the government's decision-3, from the people of Gharaghshlagh -3 and two from each of the parties, altogether 10. In fact the total number was 92: 9 more members of the government were added to this number. So, the total number of the representatives of the congress was 101<sup>1</sup>. The number of the representatives of the congress is taken to 200 in the works of the Doctor of Historical sciences H. Harutyunyan and B. Ulubabyan<sup>2</sup>.

The following matters were in the agenda of the congress: to recognize the authority of Azerbaijan - the discussion of the demand of the Turkish commandant of Aghdam, which contained a lot of points: A) to put an end to the anarchy, B) to release the nomads, C) to provide the communication<sup>3</sup>.

The discussion of the issue of Gharashlagh and the report of the government were in the agenda too.

At first Ismail Hakki Bay's written demand was read, where it was required to recognize the Azerbaijani dominance without any preconditions, to surrender weapons, not to resist to the army and to allow its free entrance into Shushi. Eventually, in the result of the discussions the committee members came to a conclusion that to put down the arms and to execute the demand of being subordinated meant to put head under a sword. Therefore the meeting decided unanimously to reject the Turkish ultimatum and to send a

<sup>1</sup> E. Ishkhanyan, Nagorno-Karabakh in 1917-1920, Yerevan, 1999, p. 197.

<sup>2</sup> See H. Harutyunyan, Nagorno-Karabakh in 1918-1921, Yerevan, 1996, p. 50; H. Simonyan, The time of Andranik, book B, Yerevan, 1996, p. 384; B. Ulubabyan, Artsakh survival, Yereva, 1994, p. 29.

<sup>3</sup> Mshak, February 22, 1919.

deputation to Aghdam to announce the letters that Karabakh had its government and was ready to negotiate with Jemil Jahid Bay.

After long discussions the congress elected a delegation, which included the mayor of Shushi Gerasim Melik-Shahnazaryan, a lawyer Meliq Hovsep-yan, the supervisor of Ghukasyan Girl's school Hayrapet Musayelyan, a teacher of the Diocesean school Arshavir Qamalyan, and a peasant Daniel Araqelyan. The Turkish members of the Interracial committee also were to leave for Aghdam with the Armenian deputies, but only Lyutfali Bek agreed to go.

Discussing the details of the catastrophe happened to Gharaghshlagh village, the congress criticizes the government for not responding rapidly and not being operative. Nevertheless, the congress elected a government calling it by a new name – The Armenian National Council of Karabakh<sup>1</sup>. The majority of the government's members were reelected; the number of the members increased by one and became 10:

1. Yesayan Meliqset – neutral, secretary
2. Zaqaryan Mushegh – Dashnak, caretaker
3. Tumyan Harutyun – Dashnak, soldier
4. Ishkhanyan Yeghishe – Dashnak, chairman
5. Musayelyan Hayrapet – Dashnak
6. Hovhannisyan Ara – ESER, ration
7. Shahnazaryan Ruben – Kadet, illumination
8. Vardapetyan Levon – Menshevik, justice
9. Ter-Miqayelyan Anushavan – Dashnak
10. Qamalyan Arshavir – Menshevik<sup>2</sup>.

The congress accepted a special appeal directed to the population, in which it was emphasized once more the danger of the Turkish invasion. In another application directed to the population it was appealed to be careful and to avoid taking steps against the Turks for the time being<sup>3</sup>.

Of course, on the other hand it is necessary to fix that in spite of the atmosphere of general inspiration in Karabakh and the presence of the armed forces of a certain quantity, the National Council found that Karabakh wasn't ready to resist the Turkish attack: there was also lack of ammunition. At last

<sup>1</sup> See E. Ishkhanyan, the mentioned work, p. 202.

<sup>2</sup> See E. Ishkhanyan, the mentioned work, p. 203.

<sup>3</sup> "Mshak", February 22, 1919.

it was needed time to arrange everything. It was almost senseless to expect help from anywhere: during that period Baku was conquered and the local Armenians were slaughtered.

The delegation left Shushi on September 15, but when they reached Aghdam, Jamil Jahid Bay didn't even want to accept the deputies. He ordered to arrest the deputies at once, releasing two of them - Musaelyan and Araqelyan, so that they could transmit the Armenians of Artsakh his persistence in the ultimatum, that is to be subjected to the government of Azerbaijan, to disarm and to give the Turkish troops a way to Shushi<sup>1</sup>.

On September 16 the two deputies reached Shushi. In order to answer to the Turkish ultimatum, it was decided to assemble an exceptional conference inviting two deputies from every village. 18 people came from Shushi. The total number of the members participating in the conference reached nearly 200 (the data about the number of the deputies are various: from 300 to 600). The majority of the deputies came armed to participate in the conference<sup>2</sup>. Mushegh Zaqaryan was elected the chairman of the conference. Hayrapet Musayelyan and Daniel Araqelyan reported that Jamil Jahid had required to lay down the arms immediately, to go far from Askeran allowing the troops' entrance into Shushi, to recognize and obey the authority of Azerbaijan till the decision of the conference of Constantinople<sup>3</sup>. After three-day-lasting discussions, when nobody wanted to be in the role of a "traitor", the following decisions were made:

1. To recognize temporarily the government of Azerbaijan taking into consideration the contract of Batumi, according to which the issue of Karabakh must be resolved in the conference of Constantinople.
2. Not to admit the issue of armistice until there'll be created legal guarantees securing the physical existence of the Armenian population.

It must certainly be stated for the truth that accepting the authority of Azerbaijan indirectly, the congress at the same time:

1. Didn't give its consent to disarmament,
2. Didn't allow the entrance of the Azerbaijani military units into Shushi,

<sup>1</sup> "Mshak", February 27, 1919.

<sup>2</sup> See H. Simonyan, *The time of Andranik*, book B, Yerevan, 1996, p. 386.

<sup>3</sup> See E. Ishkhanyan, the mentioned work, p. 211.

3. Allowed the entrance of only a small Turkish regiment into Shushi.

The atmosphere in the congress became tenser when they received information that the Kurds of Haji Samlue had started an attack on Ghaibali, Krkdjan, Pahlul and Gomellu villages from the north-west of Khanqend, which has been resisted by Alexander Dai-the commander of the forces of Khachen.

On September 19 Nuri Pasha arrived to Aghdam and releasing the Armenian deputies from prison, gave 24 hours to reply to the ultimatum, otherwise he threatened to start military operations<sup>1</sup>. term is also known about that ultimatum of Nuri Pasha: September 24, 1918, though the substance of the problem isn't changed by that. There was a remarkable addition in the ultimatum: "not to be an obstacle for entering Shushi, otherwise they will be treated in the same way as Sasun and Zeytun have once been treated"<sup>2</sup>.

The deputies and the spiritual leader of Gandzak Levon Archimandrite Psaryan, who came to Nuri Pasha, were arrested by the Armenian peasants without reaching Shushi yet. Only after a proper intervention from Shushi they were released and could inform the congress about the ultimatum of Nuri Pasha.

At the meeting, taken place on September 20, the congress decided to send Mayor G. Meliq-Shahnazaryan, the Archimandrite of Gandzak-Psaryan and the chairman of the congress - Gr. Gharagyozyan to Aghdam to negotiate with Nuri Pasha. It is remarkable that a group of rebellious villagers arrested them and even decided to kill as traitors who betrayed the nation. Another delegation sent from Shushi with the participation of the leader of Artsakh's diocese Vahan Bishop and Archimandrite Buzand, also deserved to the same fate. Only after long negotiations they managed to convince the villagers that they leave for Aghdam to negotiate with Nuri Pasha. But when they reached Aghdam on September 21, the deadline of Nuri Pasha's ultimatum had ended and the Turks "had gone to their work".

Under the guidance of Jamil Jahid Bay, the Turkish troops passed Askeran continuing to develop the attack on Karabakh. On September 22-23 the Turks manage to occupy the Armenian villages on the right and left flanks of Askeran: Mirashlue, Dahraz, Varazabun, Pirjamal, Khramort, Qyatuk,

<sup>1</sup> Mshak, February 27, 1919; H. Harutyunyan, See E. Ishkhanyan, the mentioned work, p. 57.

<sup>2</sup> NAA, f. 314, l. 1, c. 34, p. 67-69.

Nakhijevanik, Khanabad, Qaraglukh, Ghlichbagh, as well as the villages lying between Dashbash and Mirhshen<sup>1</sup>.

The Turkish troops started to move towards Shushi with a rapid sweep. Among their attendants there was the plenipotentiary of the Musavat government Ismail Khan Ziatkhanov. Various data are mentioned in historical works about the occupation of Shushi by the Turks and about the number of the Turkish troops: it is mentioned September 24 and the entrance of the Turkish army of 2000 soldiers and the Azerbaijani forces into Shushi<sup>2</sup>. It is also noted that the Armenian rebellious youth left Shushi and went to the villages to continue the struggle under the guidance of Sokrat Bek Meliq-Shahnazaryan. September 25 and 26 are also considered to be the dates of occupation of Shushi. In general, the right date is September 25, when the Turks entered Shushi and occupied the Tatar part of the city. It is noteworthy that according to a document in the National Archives of Armenia, foreclosing the probable defeat of the Turks by the allies and knowing about the capitulation of Bulgaria, the Armenians didn't resist the Turks<sup>3</sup>. In my opinion, the explanation isn't convincing and couldn't be so, as the latter realized well the consequences of the Turkish invasion, which weren't late. The occupation of the city was accompanied by the slaughter of the Armenians, and the Mohammedan rabble, ready for pillage and destruction, followed the Turkish troops<sup>4</sup>. "Mshak" informs that the Turkish troops entered Shushi with accompaniment on September 25<sup>5</sup>. According to other sources Shushi was conquered by the Turks (1500-4000 soldiers) on September 26<sup>6</sup>. According to Y. Ishkhanyan, "On September 26 Jemil Jahid Bay, being at the head of the Gallipolian division of 6000 soldiers, entered Shushi with 9 field cannons, 66 machine-guns and 3 armoured automobiles"<sup>7</sup>. Entering the city, the Turks, under the guidance of Jemil Jahid Bay, first visited Ghazan-chetsots church, where Vahan Bishop openly called for obedience to the Armenian nation. Jahid Bay forbade entering the houses of the Armenians

<sup>1</sup> Mshak, February 27, 1919. H. Harutyunyan, the mentioned work, p. 60. H. Simonyan, *The time of Andranik*, book B, Yerevan, 1996, p. 388.

<sup>2</sup> Bell, November 24, 1918, p. 6. H. Harutyunyan, the mentioned work, p. 60.

<sup>3</sup> NAA, f. 200, l. 1, c. 243, p. 22.

<sup>4</sup> See Z. Meliq-Shahnazarov, see E. Ishkhanyan, the mentioned work, p. 30, V. *Babajan*, see E. Ishkhanyan, the mentioned work, p. 298.

<sup>5</sup> Mshak, October 22, 1918, p. 1-2.

<sup>6</sup> See H. Simonyan, the mentioned work, p. 388. Mshak, February 27, 1919.

<sup>7</sup> E. Ishkhanyan, the mentioned work, p. 239.

and holding checking, which had tendency to gain the favor of the Armenians and disarm them: the Armenians gathered 150 rifles and handed to the Turks. The Turkish troops settled in the local Real and Diocesan schools, in the Girl's secondary school and in the former Russian barrack<sup>1</sup>.

After the occupation of Shushi the Turkish-Tatar forces first squared accounts with the Armenian intellectuals and social-political figures. Since October 1 the Turks began the arrests under the guidance of Khosrov Bek Pholatov and Hasan Bay, who were appointed by Jemil Jahid Bay. On the whole, according to the information imparted by various sources, 60-84 people were imprisoned<sup>2</sup>. The Turks dissolve the government, and the prisoners were basically members of the government. A great number of famous intellectuals, artisans, social-political figures were subjected to various tortures<sup>3</sup>.

There was an atmosphere of fear and terror in Karabakh. A number of people were sentenced to death without any serious blame. The Turks planned to seize also the other parts of Karabakh; therefore they accumulated suitable military units in the destined directions.

At the beginning of October a military unit consisted of around 400 people, under the command of Khosrov Bek Pholatov, moved from Shushi to Varanda and Dizak. Having with them 4 cannons and 6 machine-guns, they crossed Shushiqend towards Trnavarz and Khachmach. The regiment stopped in Msmna village. The army commander of Dizak-Artem Lalayan, united the military volunteers of Dizak and Varanda, and sent Aslan Muradkhanyan's detachment to close the enemy's way. At Mashadishen village the latter closed the way to Amaras. The Turkish regiment, which was afterwards followed by another military unit consisted of 600 people, had to go in the direction of Tatar villages, reach Karyagino and, joining the local forces, enter Hadrut and seize the local barrack. In other words, it was supposed to begin and end the conquest of the whole Nagorno-Karabakh with united attacks from Shushi, Khanqend, Aghdam, Karyagino, Jebrail and Hadrut.

<sup>1</sup> See B. Ulubabyan, *Artsakh survival*, Yerevan, 1994, p. 33.

<sup>2</sup> NAA, f. 200, l. 1, c. 243, p. 22; H. Harutyunyan, the mentioned work, p. 62; Nagorno-Karabakh in 1918-1923, the mentioned work, p. 24; Mshak, October 22, 1918.

<sup>3</sup> See E. Ishkhanyan, the mentioned work, p. 311.

An armed group of the Armenians surrounded the Turks in the area lying among Skhtorashen, Mavaz, Herher, and Kherkhan villages. The other group kept the Turks in a blockade from Chartar's side. Those two groups surrounded Msmna and waited for the daybreak. In the morning of October 18 the Turks tried to move forwards, but were completely smashed. At night the detachment, operating under the guidance of Tevan, also came to help the Armenians. There the Turks gave 95 victims and 3 cannons and 4 machine-guns passed to the Armenians. The commander of the detachment Qyazim Bay was also killed. The remainder of the smashed Turks with Pholatov ran away to Shushi. The Turkish detachment, which tried to go to Karyagino over Varanda, also deserved the same fate<sup>1</sup>. The Turkish-Musavat invasion couldn't go on, as Turkey suffered a defeat in the World War, and the Allies had already entered Constantinople. The Turks, nevertheless, managed to complete the next black deed: before leaving they left all the arms and ammunition to the Musavats, and the officers stayed to train the Tatar soldiers.

Understanding that it was impossible to break the resistance of the Armenians of Artsakh in martial way, Azerbaijan took the measures of seizing Karabakh in diplomatic way. Here what the representative of Azerbaijan in Georgia - Jafarov, announced to the attorney of the Republic of Armenia: "By the instruction of my government and in reply to your government's announcement of July 23, 1919 I inform you that the disarmament, carried out by Azerbaijan among the whole population, including also the Armenians, has one aim: that is to assert law and order in the country. Your offer about waiting for the results of the conference of Constantinople is incomprehensible for us, as the government of Azerbaijan finds that despite the fact where and how the problem of the borders is solved, it can't be related to Elizabepol province in any way, which is the inseparable part of the Republic of Azerbaijan and must be governed without any external intervention. At the same time my government hopes that the government of the Republic of Armenia will agree with this fact and will endeavour, so that the disarmament is carried out without any serious events"<sup>2</sup>. Of course, those endeavors were completely consistent with the policy of confiscating the

<sup>1</sup> Bell, 24 November, 1918, p. 6; Mshak, 2 March, 1919. NAA, f. 314, l. 1, c. 34, p. 78. V. Balayan, the mentioned work, p. 299. H. Harutyunyan, the mentioned work, p. 67, B. Ulubabyan, the same work, p. 34.

<sup>2</sup> V. Mikaelyan, the mentioned work, p. 18.

Armenian territories, adopted by Azerbaijan since the day of its independence, and in which "the elder brother Turkey" gave so invaluable support to it. In spite of the heavy condition of the republic, the Armenian government was trying to reply to the encroachments of the Azerbaijanis in diplomatic way, stating that the destiny of Karabakh must be determined by the expression of the local population's free will. And as an answer, the following note was given to Jafarov: "What refers to sending a delegation to Karabakh, it's necessary to notice that while discussing my offer You have ignored a very important and essential circumstance, which has become the reason of misguiding You deplorably. The thing is that I haven't thought to break into the rights of the Republic of Azerbaijan with my offer at all; I don't think that Your government will interfere in the Internal affairs of the Republic of Armenia, as well. If the matter referred to any disputable area of the Republic of Azerbaijan, I wouldn't try to offer my service undoubtedly, in order to eliminate the misunderstanding that would arise among the local nations, in the way that I have offered. But the problem is about the Karabakh's territory, which is considered to be disputable and about the majority of the local Armenian population and absolutely nothing is known to us, if Karabakh will join Armenia or Azerbaijan or if it will be an autonomous political unit. Hence, this disputable problem will get its final solution either in the Conference of Constantinople or by expression of free will of Karabakh's population"<sup>1</sup>.

But during that time the robbery and pillage, continually carried out by Musavat Azerbaijan, didn't give an opportunity to establish peace in Karabakh. In order to be protected from the danger increasing day by day, the Armenian population relied only on the help of the Republic of Armenia: "Monastery, Dovshalue, Bazarqend, Kizil-kaya, Qozlue, Horashach, Yaila, Haivanlue, Khasapet, Dumurli, Horatagh, Martakert, Kichi-Karabek, Ulu-Karabek, Chardakhlue, Lyulasaz, Madaghis, Tonashen, Dastahir, Turus, Talishi, Upper and Lower Chailue, Maraghali, Guilashagh, Jainashagh, Usadigh and other villages of Jevanshir province inform that taking into consideration the Turkish-Tartar ferocities, the Ararat government will transmit our request about joining of the population of Jevanshir province to the Republic of Armenia to the representatives of the Great Powers in the conference taking place for the maintenance of law and order and peace, and won't leave

<sup>1</sup> Mshak, 10 September, 1918.

us under the yoke of Azerbaijan, otherwise it will be against our will and we will never surrender alive to those experts annihilating the Armenian nation”,-it was said in one of the archival documents<sup>1</sup>.

So, the analysis of the situation in Karabakh at the end of 1918 shows that the Republic of Armenia, which hadn't been fully formed yet, wasn't able to realize the protection of the Armenian population of Karabakh before the British troops' entrance into Transcaucasia. The region had appeared in the Turkish-Tartar blockade. The people of Karabakh had to rely only on their own forces for the rescue.

## **2.2. The ambitions of the Musavats in Nagorno-Karabakh. The massacres of the Armenian population and the position of the British military command**

After occupying Transcaucasia the British troops deployed in the numerous parts of the region. In spite of that the Turkish forces did not hurry to leave the captured territories. The British had their own representatives in the strategically important residences of Armenia. It is noteworthy, that Karabakh was the first to have a British representative. On December 2, Major Monk Messon the head of the British mission in Shushi arrived in Goris<sup>2</sup>. Being informed about the situation and getting Thomson's recommendations in Azerbaijan, the Major was initially negatively minded against the Armenians of Karabakh. It is doubtless that Thomson had been affected by the negotiations conducted with the Musavats, then the British were invited to Baku from Enzeli, and Ahmed Bek Aghaev and Uzubekov obeyed and flattered the British unconditionally<sup>3</sup>. Although there wasn't any planned policy about the Armenian problem by the British government, and in accordance with Thomson "the delivering of the allied troops to the Caucasus had a goal to supply a social security on that Russian land between the Black and Caspian seas, as well as to guard the right realization of the conditions of the armistice"<sup>4</sup>, nevertheless on December 2 Major Monk Messon invited the

<sup>1</sup> NAA, f. 200, l. 1, c. 49, pp. 46-51.

<sup>2</sup> See G. G. Makhmuryan, the mentioned work, p. 59.

<sup>3</sup> See A. Raevski, the mentioned work, p. 32.

<sup>4</sup> Mshak, 29 November, 1918, p. 2.

members of the regional Council of Zangezur-Karabakh and proclaimed too bad statements for the Armenians;

1. To acknowledge Azerbaijan's power.
2. To give the nomads an opportunity to rise the mountainous places of Zangezur<sup>1</sup>.

Of course, the first requirement was not news for the Armenians but the second one simply became a real catastrophe for the Armenian population, because in spring the majority of the Moslems living in plains would leave their residences and rise the mountainous pastures with their livestock, and then the burglary and massacre of the Armenians living in those places would begin.

Despite such a negative treatment of the British and the circumstance that they were deeply interested in Baku's oil, *the British arrival brought some calmness in the region* (A. Gh.). Persecutions towards the Armenians ceased in many places for a while due to the pressure exerted on the Turks. In the first half of December the British reached Shushi and immediately started the fulfillment of their aims: "...the Anglo-French mission is in Shushi. The mission has visited Tartar, Gandzak and Ghazakh. The country is in peace",- the Mayor of Shushi G. Melik Shahnazaryan reported in his telegram<sup>2</sup>. Surely, the established calmness could not last long because the British troops deployed in Karabakh mainly consisted of Indians, who were not aware of the situation and essence of the problem<sup>3</sup>. On the other hand, the British arrival in Transcaucasia caused a great number of new inconveniences for the Armenian nation. At first it must be said that the British requirements were not paid attention to by the Turks. Moreover, actually, the Turkish officers and a number of army chiefs continued to stay in Caucasus trying to exacerbate the situation in the region providing the realization of the pan-Turkic plans. The plan was the following - the Armenian population should be annihilated ranging from the Persian border to Elizabetpol and the Sevan's coasts<sup>4</sup>. The Musavats' aspirations were added to it: the latter, using the kindness of the British towards them, tried to realize their goals with "wolfish diplomacy", which didn't differ from the pan-Turkic plans.

<sup>1</sup> NAA, f. 323, l. 1, c. 1, p. 22.

<sup>2</sup> Mshak, 12 December, 1918, p.2.

<sup>3</sup> See Z. Melik-Shahnazarov, the mentioned work, p. 32.

<sup>4</sup> The same place.

From this point of view the defense of Zangezur and Karabakh regions had a significant importance for the Armenians' survival. If the population of Karabakh received some support from Andranik, who was in Zangezur at that time, it would mean salvation from the massacre for them. Zangezur was free from Turkish invasion. The local Turks inspired by their compatriot commanders tried to attack Goris in the directions of Khoznavar-Khnatsakh and Kornidzor for several times, nevertheless they were beaten in a disgraceful way and retreated leaving 250 corpses at Kornidzor.

Commander Andranik, who supported the Zangezur refugees with his forces, did an invaluable service for Zangezur to remain Armenian, and the region was defended from the Turkish-Musavat ambitions. Listening to the Karabakh-Armenians' requests and knowing the impending dangers Andranik decided to support them too. From the beginning of November, 1918 Andranik was preparing to invade Karabakh. But Sokrat Bey Melik Shahnazaryan recommended Andranik to postpone the invasion for ten days, and he had to begin his actions quite late, on November 27<sup>1</sup>. The number of the invasive detachment was 7000. Andranik planned to conquer the defensive hills of Zabugh (it was mentioned about the difficulties of conquering the latter in the previous part – A. Gh.), then to enter Avdallar and move to Shushi.

The road from Zangezur to Shushi was passing by 20 Moslem villages and by Zabugh and Hagary rivers. The fights lasted for 3 days. Andranik had clear victories. The detachment reached the village Avdallar, when a car, which belonged to the mission of the allies, approached them with a white flag. The British captain G. F. Squair and the French captain N. Gasfeld were in that car. The latter gave Andranik the message of the newly appointed commander of the allied forces in Transcaucasia Colonel Thomson, in which it was written: "Very soon a conference will be convened in Europe, and the Armenian issue will be discussed during it. Learning about that, the delegates of the allied countries persuaded Andranik to stop the struggle and return to Goris, restore the power he had had there before and wait for the Colonel Thomson's further orders"<sup>2</sup>. So, the unnecessary interference of the British

<sup>1</sup> H. Simonyan, *The time of Andranik*, book B, Yerevan, 1996, p. 445.

<sup>2</sup> See *The Republic of Armenia, volume 1, The First Year, 1918-1918*, Richard G. Hovhannisian, University of California Press, p. 88-89.

quitted Andranik's military actions but at the same time the Moslem forces continued to attack on the Armenian settlements.

In late 1918 the situation was gradually stabilizing in the Republic of Armenia. Not willing to allow the reinforcement of Armenia and knowing its relationship with the Southern Russia's forces, the British aspired to control the supervision of the situation at any cost. At the same time Denikin's successes were also notable and he didn't even deny the perspective of unification with Armenia<sup>1</sup>. For the British the unification of the Armenian territories wasn't also desirable because the British government couldn't let the final breakdown of Azerbaijan and Turkey just because of their own interests. The Musavat authorities, carefully following the progress of the events and feeling the danger coming from Andranik, were pressing Thomson during their numerous meetings.

Giving up the intention to enter Shushi Andranik was naturally in hesitation: "If I ignore the order of the British, I can disrupt the work, - he writes. Entering Shushi I, naturally, have to clash not only with the Turks of Azerbaijan but also with the British. The Turks aspire just that"<sup>2</sup>.

So Andranik's efforts to support the Armenians of Karabakh failed because of the British policy. In oppose to it, after Andranik leaved Zangezur the Musavats' ambitions to achieve Zangezur and Karabakh became stronger. It was noteworthy that hardly had Andranik's maneuver been stopped when the Moslem horde of the Alianli region surrounded a few villages of Zangezur province situated on the left coast of Hagary river at the night of December 9. The fights lasted a day, and the result was the destroyed and burnt villages of Arpa-Gyaduk, Tes-Kharab, Spitakashen, Petrosashen and Chishmanlu. The enemy tried to destroy Khtsaber and Old Taghlar villages too but the local self-defense forces managed to throw back the hordes. The British did not pay attention to that fact. Such things happened in the future too, but the British did not take the plunge. Naturally, in those conditions the Armenians of Karabakh appeared in an unhelpful situation.

Slightly, digressing from the recital we will try to emphasize once again the fact that the British sought to ensure as many allies as possible, and they inserted everything to the victorious end of the World War. The Armenians were also considered by them to be the allies of the Entente countries. This

<sup>1</sup> Mshak, 29 November, 1918.

<sup>2</sup> H. Simonyan, the mentioned work, p. 460.

fact is repeatedly confirmed by the leaders of the allied countries, particularly, by the Prime minister of Britain-Lloyd George. The latter confirmed once again the necessity of making a united and independent Armenia in his famous speech in the British Parliament<sup>1</sup>.

The war had finished and the British arrived in Caucasus. The leader of the British mission Tomson soon announced that Great Britain considered the territory of Azerbaijan as a common unity and recognized only one power on that area that is the Azerbaijani one. Naturally, saying a "common unity" the British Colonel meant also Karabakh and Zangezur<sup>2</sup>.

Developing that policy another leader of the British mission in Shushi-Major Gibbon announced in December 1918 that the Christian Armenians and the Moslems were equal for the British government. Nevertheless, it was forgotten the fact that the same Moslems were fighting with the Turks against the allies not long before, as well as the Armenians' severe sufferings for helping their allies were also forgotten. Everything was sacrificed to their own interests. It is the cornerstone of the British policy. Willing to weaken the Moslem Turkey the British were strengthening the Moslem Azerbaijan instead - a perspective, promising and young country for them which had rich oilfields and was easily manageable<sup>3</sup>. Acknowledging the power of Azerbaijan the British promised the latter comprehensive assistance: "During the formation of Azerbaijan's Parliament on December 7, 1918 and F. Khoyski's government on December 26 Colonel Thomson made a new announcement by which he promised a great support and help to it. It was noteworthy that the Azeri government had the same warm treatment towards the Commander of the allied troops of Transcaucasia General Mill"<sup>4</sup>.

But as it is said every medal has its reverse: the British had their own expectations there. As a "goodwill gesture", Azerbaijan allowed the letters to carry cargo freely. In the Azerbaijani government directive it was said; "To allow the export of the goods for the needs of the British army without any

<sup>1</sup> See *Enovq Armen*, The famous speech of Lloyd George and the Armenian Issue in the British Parliament, Constantinople, 1918, p. 1-8.

<sup>2</sup> H. Simonyan, the mentioned work, p. 460.

<sup>3</sup> See A. Khatisyan, the mentioned work, p. 178-179.

<sup>4</sup> P. Darabadi, the mentioned work, p. 125.

taxation"<sup>1</sup>. Parallely, that policy continued and deepened when there was an increase in oil export volume<sup>2</sup>.

At the same time, it couldn't be ignored that despite the policy adopted towards Karabakh, the British had some fear because the Armenians were assertive in the struggle against Azerbaijan that is why sometimes the British had to please the Armenians.

Naturally, the Armenians of Karabakh couldn't unconditionally obey the British policy because it threatened their existence, and the Armenian statesmen were assertive in the issue of connecting Karabakh to the Republic of Armenia<sup>3</sup>.

As a result of the negotiations between Andranik and Gibbon Hagary River became the border between Zangezur and Azerbaijan. In fact, it was Brian's first attempt to connect Zangezur to Azerbaijan. The fact that Andranik was in Zangezur was a special guarantee for Zangezur and Karabakh not to be attacked by the Azerbaijani army. There were a lot of letters by which the local Armenians asked Andranik not to leave them warning that in that case they would face the danger of destruction. The Azerbaijanis understood that very well and raised bluster "about the danger coming from Andranik"<sup>4</sup> and did their best to remove him from Zangezur-Karabakh border due to their diplomacy and trough the British help.

In January 1919 the Karabakh Armenians' heroic history opened a new page when the Azerbaijani government created a temporary General-governorate from Zangezur, Shushi, Jevanshir, Jebrail provinces with the agreement of the British. In the formal message of the British military mission directed to the Zangezur and Karabakh population the following was written:

1. On January 15, 1919 Dr. Sultanov has been appointed the General-governor of the provinces of Zangezur, Shushi, Jevanshir, and Jebrail by the order of the Azerbaijani government. He gets support from the British Command.
2. A Lieutenant-governor's assistant has been appointed for civil cases.

<sup>1</sup> Fight for the victory of the Soviet power in Azerbaijan in 1918-1920, Documents and materials, Baku, 1967, p. 142.

<sup>2</sup> The same place, p. 143.

<sup>3</sup> Mshak, 2 March, 1919.

<sup>4</sup> See Nagorno-Karabakh in 1918-1923, the mentioned work, p. 63.



3. A council has been formed out of 6 experienced Armenians leaded by the Lieutenant-governor to satisfy the needs of the all nationalities.
4. A British officer could be included in the council as a representative of the British Command.
5. The Azerbaijani treasury would allocate the necessary sum of money for the employees of the General-governorate.
6. All the disputable issues would be finally solved at the Peace Conference.
7. The British Command must be aware of any kind of army movements within the borders of the General-governorate.
8. The British legation insisted that all the formal orders of the General Lieutenant-governor must be rightly done. The British Command would confirm and support all the steps directed to the establishment of legitimacy made by the General-governor<sup>1</sup>.

The research of the documents obviously shows that Sultanov did everything to persuade the British to establish, so called, "law and order" in Karabakh and Zangezur. It is noteworthy, that the British did that knowing that Khosrov Bey Sultanov was a Turkish agent<sup>2</sup>. An interesting aspect of that situation was the fact that Kars wasn't initially given to the Armenians, but it was given later, when the activity of "Shura" banda (organized by the Turk agents) became dangerous. Therefore, we should write down that the British approach to the Karabakh-Zangezur issue was not only unplanned but also short-sighted and mutable. The appointment of Sultanov made not only the Armenians of Zangezur - Karabakh but also the authorities of the Republic of Armenia face a fact. The position of Azerbaijan's government in that issue was more than clear; "Having such a strong support in the rear as Thomson they wanted to become the owner of Karabakh"<sup>3</sup>. Realizing the gradually increasing danger of the Musavats the Armenian People's Council of Karabakh (existed till the 4<sup>th</sup> convention) applied to the Armenian National Council of Baku on January 15, 1919 and carefully wrote all its viewpoints. It was said in the document: "The British legation of Shushi is quite sure that now we are in a worse situation than before, and every time

<sup>1</sup> Nagorno-Karabakh in 1918-1923, the mentioned work, p. 62.

<sup>2</sup> See E. Ishkhanyan, the mentioned work, p. 326.

<sup>3</sup> G. Galoyan, the mentioned work, p. 68.

that legation sends our reports to Baku to the leader of the allied countries asking for military forces but that rightful application is not paid attention to. The British legation of Shushi has told us for several times that it will struggle against the Turkish attacks and keep the physical existence of the Armenian population because Baku doesn't answer their requests. We have prepared a short report about the attacks on the Armenians by the Azeri troops, Turks and local Moslems; we have sent its copies to General Thomson, General Bicherakhov and You. We have given to the British legation comprehensive and factual information about all the points of the report during a whole month, but it didn't make easier our situation but deteriorated and perhaps it will turn into tragic very soon"<sup>1</sup>.

Continuing their trouble the Karabakh Council hoped at the same time that the British military mission's arrival would bring peace for the Armenian nationality and there wouldn't be any danger for them. But as usual the Armenians were disappointed. Thomson's silence was simply amazing because he was informed every day about the situation by telegrams and letters. In those conditions, the National Council preferred that the British mission governed Karabakh. In its message the Council informed that "since January 5 the Azeri troops had formed a military headquarters at Aghdam with the Turks, who stayed in Karabakh and with various Moslem groups and had obtained a great amount of ammunition, artilleries and machine guns led by the Turk officers. The detachment consisted of several thousands of people entered in Zabugh gorge, recaptured it, then a new detachment was sent to Khankend: Askeran was occupied. The Azerbaijani authorities surrounded Karabakh from the front and rear"<sup>2</sup>.

From that point of view, though the Council's conclusion was a little disappointing, it was quite realistic: "Following the British and doing nothing for our defense we create a horrible situation for the Armenians of Karabakh or in other words, we ourselves are digging graves for them"<sup>3</sup>. Nevertheless, the Karabakh National Council licensed Ashot Melik Hovsepyan and Gr. Khachiyan to let the National Council of Baku, Bicherakhov, as well as, the

<sup>1</sup> The massacres of the Armenians in the provinces of Baku and Elizabetspol in 1918-1920, Collection of documents and materials, Yerevan, 2003, p. 190-191.

<sup>2</sup> The same place.

<sup>3</sup> The same place.

headquarters of the allied countries know about the hard situation of the Armenians of Karabakh and ask for help.

On January 24, 1919 a general meeting of the military association was convened for organization of Karabakh's protection. After idea exchange, the following decision was made: "To obey exceptionally the Temporary National Council, help the latter in every matter, invite the 4<sup>th</sup> convention of Karabakh as soon as possible, choose legally a National Council which we will recognize as the only governing body"<sup>1</sup>. The meeting also decided to send to Baku the two officers – Artem Petrosyan and Mikayel Alaverdyan to Bagratuni and ask for help. Troubled by the Armenians' persistence the British representative of Shushi – Captain Serrayd invited the National Council to his place for discussing the Karabakh issue. Being unaware of the history of the issue the British officer announced in the name of the Azerbaijani people that they were the aborigines of Zangezur and Karabakh; therefore they must obey the Azerbaijani authority. The Armenian delegates had to illustrate the foreign officer and present the history of the region of Artsakh with a historical review. After all that Captain Serrayd announced in honour of himself that "Khosrov Bek Sultanov was a bad person as having a university degree and being a doctor, he gave him wrong information about Karabakh as if it was a Turkish territory and the Armenians were newly comers"<sup>2</sup>. After all of that it was clear that Sultanov wanted to distract the attention of the British from their mission, moreover, to create an atmosphere of distrust towards the Armenians.

Learning about the situation and supporting the survival of the Armenians of the regions the Armenian government made a decision about the principles of governing over Zangezur and Karabakh on January 21, 1919. The project was designed by the participation of Al. Khatisyan who was the Minister of Internal Affairs. It consisted of 16 points, the first of which heralded that Zangezur and Karabakh were Armenia's inseparable parts and must be absolutely governed by its laws. The leadership of the general directorate was given to "the Regional Council of Zangezur-Karabakh". Then the necessary money was given from the treasury of the Republic of Armenia: it was allocated 400000 rubles for current expenses; the government would appoint a state commissar who would take charge of the activity

<sup>1</sup> E. Ishkhanyan, the mentioned work, p. 330.

<sup>2</sup> The same place, p. 331.

of the Regional Council. The state commissar's election would be taken place by the Minister-President, Ministers of Internal Affairs and Defense. Although that step of the government was a late one, it had a big meaning just from the viewpoint of increasing the defensive spirit of Zangezur-Karabakh.

During that time two more significant events took place, which were important for the Republic of Armenia: the first was the Kars extradition agreement on January 8, 1919, (the British handed over the whole region of Kars on April 19 –A. Gh.), and the second was the capture of Nakhijevan<sup>1</sup>.

The events in Karabakh-Zangezur got worse especially at the end of January, when the Azerbaijani government sent regular troops to those Armenian regions, which had been formerly captured by the Turkish troops. As it turns out from the report of the Armenian National Council of Karabakh to the government of the Republic of Armenia: "Armed with cannons and machine guns", the Azerbaijanis concentrated in Khankend, several hundred of them stayed in Askeran. In the report it was said:—"In response to the numerous warnings sent by us the British Mission only reports that those territories belong to Azerbaijan"<sup>2</sup>.

Inspired by the British support a congress of Mohammedans took place in Aghdam on January 15, where the question of disobedience of the Karabakh Armenians was also discussed. The proposals were mainly on two issues: to completely disarm the Armenians and to obey Azerbaijan unconditionally. The latter were even keeping with them a Turkish officer named Kyazim Bey for heading the troops against the Armenians and fighting against Andranik in spring. A great number of troops were accumulated in the region of Zabugh. Taking into account the gradual complication of the situation, the National Council of Karabakh asked for help from the government of Armenia. In the petition it was said: "The republic of Ararat can and must send a regiment to Zangezur for protection of its borders, which will support us too when our physical existence will be in danger. It should be sent also ammunition and money, since we are surrounded and cut off from all sides. If General Andranik wasn't in Zangezur, then probably Karabakh would be a pile of ruins today. If Andranik sets off to Nakhijevan or to the

<sup>1</sup> NAA, f. 200, l. 2, c. 39, pp. 1-4; E. Zohrabyan, The Issue of Nakhijevan and the "allies" of Armenia (December 1918-April 1920), Yerevan, 2002, p. 72.

<sup>2</sup> Nagorno-Karabakh in 1918-1923, the mentioned work, p. 68.

Western Armenia as soon as it is spring, as the British Mission had offered, then our situation will become quite desperate. So the Armenian National Council of Karabakh asks you to send ammunition and money to Karabakh due to which it will be possible to maintain both our physical existence and the independence"<sup>1</sup>.

Truly, just in those days, after the occupation of Zabugh gorge thousands of Azerbaijani troops, Turkish askers and armed ragtag started the attack on the Armenian villages of Jebrayil (Karyagino) province led by the Turkish officers. The danger became stronger, when the Azerbaijani authorities presented an ultimatum to the Armenian population demanding to yield and hand over the weapons<sup>2</sup>.

During that time the British kept on supporting the Azeris. Thomson instructed the representatives of Shushi to put pressure on the Armenians for adopting Sultanov's prefecture (Captain Serraid also quotes about this). Being inquired about the Azeris' falsification (it's about as if Karabakh is not Armenian – A. Gh.) Captain Serraid tried to get attached with the Armenians. But soon he was called back to Baku, because Sultanov had complained to the British about Serraid's, so to say, pro-Armenian posture and about not putting pressure upon the Armenians<sup>3</sup>. Later another British officer Monk Messon was sent to Shushi instead of him. Of course those actions were made to strengthen the pressure upon the Armenians of Karabakh. They had one aim: to force the Armenians to admit the authority of Azerbaijan.

Naturally the Armenian government had to respond to such development of events. On January 26 the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Armenia registered a protest to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Azerbaijan against the establishment of a general-prefecture in its territories. In response to that on January 31 Azerbaijan's Minister of Foreign Affairs-Adilkhan Ziatkhanov made an announcement considering the regions of Zangezur, Jevanshir, Shushi and Jebrayil the inseparable parts of Azerbaijan.

The Armenians of Artsakh tried to find a way out of that difficult situation. Matters took such a turn that in application of February 4, 1919 directed to the British apostleship, there was even an offer to found a self-government in Karabakh under the British control. That offer made by the National

<sup>1</sup> The same place, p. 72.

<sup>2</sup> Haraj (Eng. Forth). 1919, January 29, number 3, p. 2.

<sup>3</sup> See E. Ishkhanyan, the mentioned work, p. 335-337.

Council was grounded by those lines: "The Azerbaijani Government has taken his armies to Askeran, Khankend, Zabugh, Shushi and Karyagino settlements, which have strategic importance for us. Karabakh, where the Armenians form a predominant majority of about 75-90%, finds it necessary to make a self-government under the British control"<sup>1</sup>. However, the application remained unanswered by the British like the others.

At the end of January and at the beginning of February, 1919 the Republic of Armenia nominated his own commissar in Zangezur-Karabakh for keeping the situation under its control. On January 30 the captain of headquarters – Arsen Shahmazyan, was appointed as a commissar<sup>2</sup>.

In the hall of the parish school of Shushi the 4<sup>th</sup> conference of Karabakh's Armenians took place on February 10. At the same time Khosrov Bey Sultanov arrived in Shushi for negotiations and required that G. M. Shahnazaryan, bishop Vahan, E. Ishkhanyan and G. Manasbekyan came to his place.

Aslan Shahnazaryan was elected as the chairman of the conference, which had 84 deputies. The agenda included 8 points, among which there were marked out the problems of organizing self-defense, uniting Armenia and Karabakh, the relations between Armenia and Turkey and other issues. The conference continued its actions 10 days during which it made a lot of important decisions. Among the first ones it was the adoption of the scheme of Karabakh's Provisional Government, which included the following points.

"In the near future, till the Conference of Peace makes its decision, Armenian Karabakh will be governed according to the rules mentioned below:

1. The mountainous zones of Shushi, Karyagino, Jevanshir (Jraberd) and Elezabethpol (Giulistan) provinces are called Armenian Karabakh. Zangezur province is governed separately.
2. The government is concentrated under the control of the Regional Council, whose seat will be Shushi.
3. The Council will be consisted of 7 persons (one representative from the town, for one representative from Khachen, Dizak, Jrashen, Elizabethpol, and two from Varanda) and 3 Moslems.

<sup>1</sup> Nagorno-Karabakh in 1918-1923, the mentioned work, p. 74.

<sup>2</sup> Soviet Karabakh, October 4, 1989, number 226, p. 3.

4. The leader of the British representation in Shushi will be included in the staff of the Council<sup>1</sup>. In the other 6 points the problem of leading bodies' appointment and other questions that had legislative nature were being regulated.

The 4<sup>th</sup> conference of the Armenians of Karabakh discussed also the Azerbaijani Government's response-note of February 19 to the Armenian government and reported disagreement against the claims of the Azerbaijani Government, especially against the aim of considering Armenian Karabakh Azerbaijan's territory. In declaration of the Conference it was said: "Approving the principle of self-determination of Nations, Karabakh's Armenians treat respectfully to the right of the neighbouring nation to self-determination and at the same time they decisively complain against the Azerbaijani Government's attempts related to the failure of Armenian Karabakh's self-determination, which hasn't ever been admitted and will not be admitted by the Government of Azerbaijan. The Conference demands the protection of its rights both in front of the representatives of the allies in Caucasus and in the Conference of Peace"<sup>2</sup>. At the end of the conference it was chosen the National Council of Karabakh consisted of six members and two assistants.

The British representative of Shushi-Monk Messon invited E. Ishkhanyan on February 20 and demanded not to make anti-English speeches in the Congress. It was a fact that Monk Messon was regularly getting anti-Armenian untruthful gossips.

During that period Sultanov invited the Administration of the Armenian part and the school-teachers of the town for them to subscribe to the statement of recognition of Azerbaijan's authority. The Conference forbade those people to have any relation with Azerbaijan's authorities.

Being raged from all that Sultanov required closing the treasury of the Armenian part and forbade making any money transaction<sup>3</sup>. Waiting for the end of the Congress, on February 21 Sultanov left for Jevanshir and in his report to the Government of Azerbaijan on February 25 expressed apparent dissatisfaction about Karabakh's disobedience. At the same time Sultanov said that "the way of agreement with the Armenians I see only by co-operating with the British and by the influence they have on the Armenians.

<sup>1</sup> Soviet Karabakh, October 6, 1989, number 228, p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Nagorno-Karabakh in 1918-1923, the mentioned work, p. 80.

<sup>3</sup> NAA, f. 200, l. 1, c. 243, p. 24.

To my question what they want the Armenians answered that they want to join Russia. After adjusting it became clear that it would be the regenerated Russia. These all led to the deepening of the British distrust towards the Armenians. After the fact, that the governor-general's authority wasn't admitted and the British plans were refused, the major came to me and announced that he was sure that the Dashnak-Armenians didn't want peace and as "restless elements" they should be arrested and sent outside Karabakh, and Azerbaijan's board of administration should be accepted everywhere, although it will be necessary the help of the British forces, about which general Thomson had certainly mentioned".

"So", Sultanov continues to share his views, "the first important problem is to gain the confidence of the British towards us and instead of that to strengthen the distrust towards the Armenians. Step by step without using physical strength I can make the Armenians accept the Azerbaijani Government. Hence it is important to increase the distrust of the poor Armenians who form the 90% of the Armenian population, towards their leaders. At the same time we must arrest and expel the Armenian leaders by the British means. I think we can neutralize Karabakh's issue without extraordinary measures. During March 5 to 10 Andranik will leave Karabakh's territory"<sup>1</sup>.

Baku's National Council's report of February 26, 1919 is also very notable, where it was certainly mentioned that Khan-Khoiski's Government's purpose was "not to wait for the Conference of Peace and to conquer Karabakh". Sultanov's General-prefecture's formation, which must be understood as an announcement of war against the Armenians of Karabakh, serves to that purpose"<sup>2</sup>.

In the second half of February the British strengthened the pressure upon the Armenians. On February 24 the representative of the British mission in Yerevan General Asser sent a special letter to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Armenia demanding to recognize Sultanov's authority. On February 18 the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Armenia sent a letter to Forestie Woker complaining about Sultanov's appointment. Major Monk Messon's offer to the National Council, by which "it was being regulated", the Karabakh's Armenians' treatment towards Azerbaijan, was a new way to apply pressures. It was presented in a section

<sup>1</sup> Nagorno-Karabakh in 1918-1923, the mentioned work, p. 89-90.

<sup>2</sup> See Nagorno-Karabakh in 1918-1923, the mentioned work, p. 91.

consisted of 7 points, which was titled "Karabakh". In opposite to that, the National Council demanded from Thomson to govern the Armenian Karabakh by a mixed committee<sup>1</sup>.

Combining the documents we have, I think that the British didn't trust the Armenians because of their connection with the Russians. It referred to the connections with both South Russia and Bolsheviks. The Georgians also were continuously gossiping against the Armenians in the presence of the British, saying that "the Armenians want the Russians to come back to Caucasus and they don't trust the British"<sup>2</sup>. The Armenian representative's counselor in Georgia R. Tumanyan expressed his anxiety about all these in his letter sent to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Armenia.

On February 28 the British Mission of Shushi demanded from the National Council to accept Sultanov's General-governorate, who was nominated by them. The National Council appeared with an announcement in its turn, in which it was particularly said: "The Armenian Karabakh can't be reconciled with such facts, because the Armenians of Karabakh consider inadmissible the dependence upon the Azerbaijani Government, no matter in which way it will be expressed. The Armenian Karabakh has shown the whole world that it has never recognized the Azerbaijan's authority in its territories and doesn't recognize it now, which has recently been affirmed in the Congress of Karabakh. As the British Commanding recognized the Armenian Karabakh as a territory which mustn't obey any State, consequently Azerbaijan too till the Conference of Peace makes its decision; hence the National Council considers the British General-governor's appointment the only acceptable way to govern the Armenian Karabakh, about which it is requested to tell the British high command"<sup>3</sup>. The British mission demanded also from the Armenian commanding officers to accept Azerbaijan's authority to which the latter expressed their absolute refusal.

After those events Azerbaijan was preparing to solve the issue by martial way. On February 21 Sultanov left for Jevanshir to organize a mobilization. In one of the reports it was said that "Sultanov gets new replenishments,

<sup>1</sup> NAA, f. 200, l. 1, c. 243, p. 29.

<sup>2</sup> NAA, f. 200, l. 1, c. 181, part 1, pp. 35-36

<sup>3</sup> Soviet Karabakh, 10 November, 1989, number 256, H. Tumyan, The events in Nagorno-Karabakh in 1917-1920.

provides the troops by ammunition and food, and reinforces strategically important posts"<sup>1</sup>.

On March 1, 1919 it became clear from the report of the Armenian diplomatic mission in Georgia, that General Thomson, being aware of the activity of the National Council told the Armenian delegates that he was intended to make clear the relations between Karabakh and Azerbaijan. At the end of February General Thomson invited to Baku the members of the National Council as if "to give explanation about some questions"<sup>2</sup>.

The British threats and demands were following each other. Of course, Thomson's invitation of the Council's members to Baku first of all had a purpose of putting pressure upon them and then expelling them from the country. Realizing all these, however, the Armenians responded that they would send their representatives to Baku. Judging by the list the delegation was representative enough: so among the envoys there were:

The Mayor of Shushi G. Shahnazaryan,

A member of the National Council A. Ter-Miqaelyan,

The commissar of the rural community of Chenakhchi A. Tamasyan,

The manager of migrants' part of the National Council K. Minasbekov,  
Trusty assessor M. Vardapetyan,

The chairman of the Pedagogical Council M. Ghukasyan and A. Ter-Miqaelyan<sup>3</sup>.

At the same time it was announced by the special report of March 9 that the delegates would be accompanied to Baku by a British representative, and till that bishop Vahan and a member of the National Council Bahaturov, had already reached Baku.

It's notable that the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Armenia – Sirakan Tigranyan composed a complete report about the British policy on March, 1919 and sent it to Avetis Aharonyan-the president of the delegation of the Republic of Armenia at Paris Conference. The later expressed his anxiety right away that the British didn't keep the points of the agreement signed beforehand from the very beginning and "with very hesitating zeal they gave up to the Turkish "squealing". The local Government organized by the

<sup>1</sup> G. Abramyan, The policy of the British conquerors towards Artsakh (November 1918-August 1919), Yerevan, 1989, p. 5.

<sup>2</sup> E. Ishkhanyan, the mentioned work, p. 357.

<sup>3</sup> NAA, f. 199, l. 1, c. 38, p. 21.

Ottoman and Turkish officers and agitators of Azerbaijan, which was called "Shura", nearly was recognized by the British governor, while our governor with his officials had to leave Kars", was said in the report<sup>1</sup>. At the same time the Minister of Foreign Affairs reported that the British martial governor supported them with nothing. It was also mentioned in the report that all these had very bad consequences: the Turks felt inspired of that: It was enough to show a protest against the Armenian government by them and the British immediately protected them". Our military units were moving towards Sharur, Nakhijevan and Julfa to occupy the territories vacated from the Ottoman armies. The Turks were resisting. As a result of the Armenian-Tatar negotiations the Turkish peaceful population was going to meet the Armenian armies propitiously and peacefully. But the British captain Louren, who appeared suddenly, went to Nakhijevan as if to see what news there were, then he was nominated as the governor of the British post of Nakhijevan, after which the Turks came to Yerevan to demand from us to lead out our armies to the north from Davalu. The British were preparing to act the same way in Surmalu", - it was said in the report. "Under the British patronage Karabakh was joined the General-governorate of Azerbaijan. So", - then the author of the report concluded, - "the Transcaucasian Turks have more favorable conditions under the British command than they had during the Ottoman-German victorious occupation"<sup>2</sup>.

Tigranyan also told that the British didn't believe the Armenians as they considered that they "incorrigibly loved the Russians". The evidence of that was the expulsion of the representative of Denikin to Ekaterinodar by Forestie Walker's demand. "England doesn't want to rely on any Armenian force as in its opinion the Armenians have more Russian nature than the Russians themselves, and they especially don't rely on the Armenians when anything against Russia is organized. Matters took such a turn that the British command forbade us to occupy some strategical posts in Transcaucasia, which had an importance in the sense of ammunition and all of them remained in the Turks' hands"<sup>3</sup>.

It is necessary to mention that in Armenia in archival depositories there are many such documents with contents of description of the British policy.

<sup>1</sup> NAA, f. 200, l. 2, c. 43, p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> NAA, f. 200, l. 2, c. 43, p. 1.

<sup>3</sup> The same place.

For example it is said in general Thomson's report directed to the British government that "the Armenian Revolutionary Federation" (Dashnaksutyun) continues to be the main mischief for Armenia and for the Armenian people, and as long as the head of the government is this party it's hardly possible to hope legal state organization and peaceful coexistence with the neighboring nations. The acceptance of an authority with appearance of Dashnaksutyun in Armenia gives rise to doubt. Though not so harsh but nearly such ideas expressed Woker to Qajaznuni. Moreover, according to the Thomson's report the Americans also have such an orientation. An American representative Arole has repeatedly expressed his disapproval about many Armenian agents<sup>1</sup>.

The British were always guided by their interests and even a small deviation from that policy or disobeying to the instructions raised disapproval among them. Moreover they believed that the Armenians still couldn't govern the territories settled with Moslems. The Armenians could only be comforted with the hope, that the allied countries would help them, which would be a salvation for the Armenian people, who were in a fatal situation...

Though the British policy towards Armenia was changed a bit at the end of spring, 1919, it kept on being the same towards Zangezur and Karabakh. The Azerbaijani authorities took an opportunity and tried to use that granted little time to solve the issue of Karabakh in their favor. So, on March 17 the National Council sent a letter to the Ministers' Council of the Republic of Armenia, by which it was affirmed that, "everything should be done to avoid the conflict...the Armenian Karabakh can represent 10-12 thousand soldiers, but we don't have strong martial organization, money, martial authoritative leaders and what is the most important we have very little ammunition in such a case, when the main strategical posts are occupied by Azerbaijani armies"<sup>2</sup>. It's characteristic that in that period the applications asking for help directed to the Government of the Republic of Armenia became frequent enough. For example in the aforesaid letter the Armenian Government was informed that after occupying Karabakh the Azerbaijanis were going to occupy Nakhijevan, Sharur and then Surmalu. In Azerbaijan martial intensive preparations were going on. The chairman of the National Council of

<sup>1</sup> See G. G. Makhmuryan, the mentioned work, p. 78.

<sup>2</sup> NAA, f. 200, l. 1, c. 243, p. 53.

Karabakh Eghishe Ishkhanyan informed about all these to the governor A. Shahmazyan simultaneously asking him for being consistent and decisive about the issue of Karabakh. "The Armenians of Karabakh have set their hopes on the Ararat Republic during the last three months, thinking that the later will take serious steps to spread its ascendancy over Karabakh as quick as possible. However, evidently our hopes will not come true as Karabakh has absolutely been left unattended by the Republic of Ararat. It has extremely delayed the appointment of a General-commissariat in Karabakh and Zangezur and that delay has damaged our operation. Because of that the Azerbaijani Government, which wasn't asleep, gained an opportunity and noticing our weakness, captured Khankend during one night by 400 soldiers from their violent division. It became clear for us, that Azerbaijan uses every opportunity to capture Karabakh"<sup>1</sup>. Continuing to express his worries Ishkhanyan insisted, that, "General-major Andranik must be persuaded not to leave Zangezur, and everything should be done for him to go to Karabakh without paying attention to the compulsions of the British mission. We are sure that if Andranik comes to Karabakh the British mission will not force him to leave our region. If not a general then at least a skillful colonel should be sent who will be able to control all around. Be sure that without that leading power it will be impossible to put in order all our armed forces"<sup>2</sup>.

At the same time the chairman of the National Council found it necessary to send a regiment to Zangezur province as soon as possible. Especially the following part of the report is notable: "The Republic of Armenia must be sure that if in the peacemaking conference the issue of Karabakh is solved in favor of the republic, Azerbaijan will not tolerate that and will do everything to make a conflict. But if the Republic of Armenia continues to be silent hereinafter, then the Armenians of Karabakh will consider it as a treacherous step against them", - it was said in the report<sup>3</sup>.

Of course the anxiety of the chairman of Karabakh's National Council wasn't in vain; Azerbaijan was preparing for a real war against Karabakh. At first they tried to capture Karabakh by their administrative appointments, so to say, by "peaceful means". But on the other hand Azerbaijan gave special warrants to the General-governor.

<sup>1</sup> The same place, p. 57.

<sup>2</sup> NAA, f. 200, l. 1, c. 243, p. 57.

<sup>3</sup> NAA, f. 200, l. 1, c. 243, pp. 56-57.

General Bagratuni informed about all these steps of the Azerbaijanis to the chairman of the Armenian Government, military Minister and General Silikov by a top secret report on March 19. Hence, General Bagratuni, applying to the Government, found that "it is necessary to act actively for establishing an Armenian government in the Armenian populated territories of Karabakh. The problem is very pressing; it shouldn't be lost even an hour"<sup>1</sup>. It was also considered necessary to send people on a mission there, who would appear on their behalf and act silently. On his part, General Bagratuni promised to send the 8-10 thousand Turk soldiers away from Baku, otherwise if the latter joined the Musavats; the situation would become more complicated.

The Armenian Government sent nearly twenty people to Zangezur. Also an experience was made to correct the situation by a diplomatic way; Tigranyan sent a proper letter-requisition to Tempalay – the commander of British forces, who was in Yerevan, but it was unavailing. During that time, on March 19, the British mission of Shushi told the National Council to send new representatives to Baku to parley for the issue of the government of Zangezur-Karabakh, moreover, their demand was specific; they wanted Aslan Shahnazaryan, Ashot Meliq-Hovsepyan and Eghishe Ishkhanyan to be sent, that is to say the main members of the National Council. Discussing that question the National Council came to a conclusion that Thomson's demand had the purpose of simply "exiling" the leaders of Karabakh and succeeding by putting pressure upon them. Besides that, the National Council was sure that those were Sultanov's instigations. After the inter-party consultation of March 20 it was decided to send to Baku the chairman of the National Council Aslan Shahnazaryan, Mayor Gerasim Meliq-Shahnazaryan, lawyer Grigor Minasbekyan and a teacher of the parish-school Anushavan Ter-Miqayelyan.

Miqayel Arzumanov – a member of ex-Russian mission, registered his protest about those steps of Thomson (by the way the mission had had to leave for Europe), which shows that the British also were displeased about the general. At the same time Arzumanov had complained that, "Thomson understands nothing about the issue of Karabakh and he will lead the operation to a blood-shed"<sup>2</sup>. First Shatelvord got acquainted with the leaders

<sup>1</sup> NAA, f. 200, l. 1, c. 243, p. 47.

<sup>2</sup> NAA, f. 200, l. 1, c. 158, p. 68.

of the National Council of Karabakh and spoke to them, and on March 25, 1919 Thomson arrived in Yerevan and met the leaders of the State. Analyzing the issue of Karabakh the general told that the information that the Armenians had got about displacing of the Azerbaijani army was an exaggeration and that Sultanov was responsible only for communication and for securing supplies, hence the later couldn't act without consulting with Monk Messon. Thomson tried to justify every step that he had done, though he guessed that he wasn't so convincing. However, after the meeting Thomson promised "to keep an eye on the Azerbaijani armies for not to move and not to get extended, to forbid Sultanov to take any step without consulting with Monk Messon. For keeping the communication a representative of the Armenian Government will be appointed at Monk Messon's place. Zangezur will be governed by the same way, as it is governed now - by the National Council". After the exchange of ideas the Armenian government continued to support its view: the mountainous part of Karabakh is the inseparable part of Armenia and is governed by the National Council right now"<sup>1</sup>.

The course of events wasn't changed even when Shatelwort took Thomson's place. Shatelwort also tried to solve the issue in favor of Azerbaijan, putting pressure upon the Armenians. On March 26, 1919 he met Aslan Shahnazaryan and the Mayor of Shushi Gerasim Meliq-Shahnazaryan. Monk Messon and Klatenberg also took part in the conversation. Touching upon the issue of Karabakh Shatelvord insisted that "the Conference must discuss the disputable issues, and at present it is necessary for you (it is about the members of the National Council - A. Gh.) to explain the nation that they must obey the general-governor till the end of the Conference"<sup>2</sup>. Finally as a result of the discussions Shatelwort forced the members of the Council to persuade the people to obey Azerbaijan's authority threatening that "disobedience towards Azerbaijan and its general-governor will be considered as a speech against Great Britain, and we are so powerful that can make you obey. You are responsible yourselves, and we will demand it from you",- it was said in Shatelwort's ultimatum<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Droshak (Eng. Flag), p. 10, 9 September, 1992, V. Mikayelyan, The Republic of Armenia and the Artsakh Issue in 1918-1920, p. 31 (483); Nagorno-Karabakh in 1918-1930, Yerevan, 1992, p. 134.

<sup>2</sup> NAA, f. 200, l. 1, c. 293, pp. 45-46.

<sup>3</sup> NAA, f. 200, l. 1, c. 293, pp. 47-48.

The representatives of Karabakh refused to fulfill Shatelwort's requirement, and that was soon followed by the latter's response: "The representatives of the Armenian National Council of Shushi are in an extremely uncompromising position,- he writes.- They couldn't represent any circumstantial argument against doctor Sultanov's illegal and cruel actions. They admitted that they had had a free access to Monk Messon's place. The most quarrelsome among the Armenians is Shahnazaryan, who announced that the Armenians would never obey the directions of Azerbaijan and that they would show military resistance to everyone who strove for penetrating into their country. After that I talked to Sultanov. We argued and I explained to him that we knew very well about his past, about his close relationships with both the Turks and the pan-Islamist movement, and nevertheless, General Thomson agreed to appoint him the governor of Zangezur, and that suggestion came from the government of Azerbaijan"<sup>1</sup>. As it is usually said interpretations become superfluous, as the British were handing over their ally to the contemplation of the former enemy.

On March 23 through the British mission Sultanov again required from the National Council of the Armenians to acknowledge the authority of Azerbaijan and obey his directions, but he was refused again. He thought that "the British command would force the Armenians to acknowledge the authority of Azerbaijan by requiring representatives from the National Council and making effective announcements", although he understood that the Armenians were becoming more stubborn in their decisions because of enforcements and provocations"<sup>2</sup>.

On March 28, 1919 the Armenian government applied to the British command of Baku by a new suggestion: "To announce the Armenian part of Karabakh out of the Karabakh General-governorate, which obeys the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Azerbaijan, to clean the country from the detachments of Azerbaijan, to acknowledge only the authority of the National Council there"<sup>3</sup>.

Nevertheless, those diplomatic actions didn't produce serious effects: Azerbaijan continued the concentration of the forces around Karabakh and Zangezur. The threats of Sultanov became stronger; he tried to deprive

<sup>1</sup> NAA, f. 200, l. 1, c. 309, p. 9.

<sup>2</sup> E. Ishkhanyan, the mentioned work, p. 376.

<sup>3</sup> "Herald of Social Sciences", NAS, v. 2, May-August, Yerevan 2001, p. 70.



general Melik-Shahnazaryan of the post of Mayor, adding that the employees would get their salaries only if they signed in advance, that they would serve for Azerbaijan since June. Those decisions caused great complaint. Before that a lot of Armenian public figures had been moved away from Karabakh by the British "interference". G. Balayan, L. Zarafyan, A. Shahnazaryan and others were among them. After those preparatory actions Sultanov and the British started new pressures against the Armenians.

On April 3, 1919 the British command of Baku announced officially to the Armenian population of Karabakh and Zangezur about Sultanov's appointment. In colonel Shatelwort's message there were also noted the points of the decision which was accepted by them still on January 15, 1919 and which was about creating a General-governorate and using it. On the other hand, the British hoped that the population would acknowledge the authority of Azerbaijan after moving away the Armenian leaders of Karabakh. But they didn't understand that they dealt with overall national interests. It is testified by the colonel Klatenberg's report addressed to the commander of the British 39<sup>th</sup> brigade General Beach. In that report it was mentioned that Sultanov couldn't give explanations about the number of the forces of Azerbaijan, and their military minister also refused to provide any information<sup>1</sup>. It wasn't difficult to conclude that the British really supported Azerbaijan.

Being discouraged by the British policy the authorities of Armenia tried to move the matter into the sphere of international relations. There were repeatedly dispatched letters to Av. Aharonyan and Poghos Nubar-Pasha to speak about the matter in Europe. A member of the Armenian mission in Georgia Tumanov reported the Foreign Ministry that a committee had been formed at his request to prevent the military actions in Karabakh.

On April 4, 1919 the Minister of the Interior of Armenia A. I. Khatisov left for Tiflis to take part in the conference, at which the commander of the British forces in the Caucasus-General Tomson, General Beach (the leader of the political part of the British command in Caucasus), General Braf (the manager of the railway affairs in Caucasus), Colonel Shardini, American Consul Smith, American representative Mur, Captain Puadevar and the members of the Georgian government would be present.

Among the discussed issues there were the matters of Armenia's Kars

<sup>1</sup> NAA, f. 200, l. 1, c. 309, pp. 11-12.

province, Sharur-Daralagyaz, Nakhijevan, Surmalu, Borchalu, Akhalkalak and Karabakh.

Tomson's viewpoints about the matter of Karabakh weren't changed. The latter handed Khatisyan Shatelwort's report on the government of Karabakh. At the same time Khatisyan noticed that there were disagreements about Karabakh among General Tomson, Colonel Shardini and Captain Smith. Khatisyan writes. "Those disagreements gave me a handle to write a corresponding letter to Smith and Shardini in which I reported the viewpoint of our government"<sup>1</sup>.

On April 4 all the representatives who returned from Baku, except Aslan Shahnazaryan (the latter was still being kept in Baku by Shatelwort's order), reported to the National Council of Karabakh. During that period Shatelwort required from the Armenian delegates to assemble a new congress. On April 7 the representatives of the National Council informed the British mission that the new congress would be assembled on April 23. On April 10 according to the decisions of the Administration of the Military Union and the National Council it was decided to transfer the leading centre of the self-protection from city to province leaving there only a company consisted of 150 members. The village of Drnavaz was decided to be the centre.

Before taking drastic measures the Azerbaijani side carried out reconnaissance in Armenia. The representative of Azerbaijan in Armenia Tekinski gave such information to his government: "The Republic of Armenia has 6 infantry regiments, besides 6 more Karabakh and one Yerevan patrol battalions are being formed, captain detachments are being recruited and the infantry hasn't excelled 10 thousand yet, hence "mobilization" is proclaimed to complete the regiments. The state of the cavalry is the following; 3 cavalry divisions, 3 squadrons, only one of which is horseback, 2 field batteries.... 3 armour clads captured from the Georgians are also in the possession of the Armenians"<sup>2</sup>. Hence it is beyond doubt that a person who reported such information had a wide spy net in his possession.

The policy adopted by the British towards the Armenians was carried out not only in Karabakh, but also in the whole territory of Azerbaijan: all the means of communication with Karabakh were controlled severely by the latters. On the other hand, the diplomatic representative of Armenia in

<sup>1</sup> NAA, f. 200, l. 1, c. 243, pp. 74-75.

<sup>2</sup> NAA, f. 200, l. 1, c. 271, p. 59.

Azerbaijan periodically reported about the murders of the Armenians that became frequent<sup>1</sup>.

The situation in Karabakh began to deteriorate especially during the Tatarian nomadic activities, as the way from the plains to the mountains of Zangezur passed through a lot of Armenian villages and extended from the north-west to the south-west by Zabugh.

In the report, written on April 18, 1919 the British representative even admitted, that "Sultanov will not take into consideration Meson's instruction to inform him about the dislocation of the forces. Moreover, Azerbaijan has asked to take extreme actions to have influence over the Armenians"<sup>2</sup>.

The tension increased when the fifth congress of the Armenians of Karabakh was invited on April 23. In the morning of April 23 General Shatelwort arrived in Shushi to take part in its operations. Just by his instructions Eghishe Ishkhanyan was forbidden to take part in the congress reasoning that the letter hinders to establish an agreement.

Eighty-four delegates were taking part in the operations of the Congress: the bishop of Karabakh was elected to be the honorary chairman, and Nicolay Isakhanyan became the chairman.

Monk Meson was present at the congress too. The General informed the delegates with the help of an interpreter about the stance of the British command; that is Karabakh must acknowledge the authority of Azerbaijan and obey it until the borders of Azerbaijan and Armenia are corrected. The following fact is also noticeable: the matter is that before opening the congress, bishop Vahan had suggested to agree with the acknowledgement of the temporary authority of Azerbaijan. The religious leader was substantiating his suggestion by the fact, that during the talk between H. Bahatryan and H. Kajaznuni the latter had advised not to believe in the allies' benevolence and to negotiate with the representative of Azerbaijan trying to find some points of agreement<sup>3</sup>. The delegates forbade the bishop to make that suggestion during the Congress. Eventually, after a lot of pressures, so called a compromising version was admitted: if the acknowledgement of that authority was temporary, it would be rational to appoint a British commissar until the matter's settlement at the Conference of Peace. By the way, after listening a

lot of opinions Shatelwort "exhorted" the delegates to think seriously over the proposed matters, then he left the assembly. The next day, on April 24 the latter invited E. Ishkhanyan and required explanations. In reply to Shatelwort's threats, Ishkhanyan proclaimed that they couldn't act without taking into consideration the opinion of the congress. Shatelwort left Shushi on April 26 being dissatisfied with the course of the Congress. The operations of the Congress went on till April 29, and a number of important decisions were made. Arsen Shahmazyan also gave his regards to the Congress. Substantiating that Karabakh had nothing against the adjacent Azerbaijan's nation's self-determination, the congress found at the same time that all the disputable matters should be solved at the conference, and that the Armenians of Karabakh also have equal right to self-determination. And the congress emphasized especially the circumstance that Azerbaijan had always been the bearer of the Turkish orientation. In the inscription of the Congress it was written: "Azerbaijan has invited the Turks to Transcaucasia and hasn't stopped dreaming of the Turks' return yet, hence Azerbaijan continues to persecute the Armenians periodically. The economic boycott of Azerbaijan towards the Armenians is applied on the eve of the Turkish invasion and during it. Subsequently it became a state policy. The murders, plunder, robbery, chase of the Armenians on the ways have become customary for Azerbaijan. All these things happen even when the representatives of powerful England are with us, and we aren't subjected to the authority of Azerbaijan"<sup>1</sup>. In the speeches of the Congress's participants it was pointed repeatedly that they were assured, that Azerbaijan would seek for annihilating the Armenians following the example of his elder brother Turkey.

Taking into consideration what has been said, the congress found that the "political-historical, legal-cultural and especially economic conditions of the Armenians of Karabakh didn't give any base, that the administrative form of even the temporary authority of Azerbaijan wounds around the Armenians' neck. So the 5<sup>th</sup> Congress of the Armenians of Karabakh found that it was impossible to adopt a regime, which would have any connection with Azerbaijan. At the same time the Congress proclaimed that the decision was based on the unchangeable elective will of the Armenians, and the British command can be assured about that through a nation-wide referendum (how

<sup>1</sup> NAA, f. 278, l. 1, c. 4, pp. 45-50.

<sup>2</sup> NAA, f. 200, l. 1, c. 309, pp. 15-16.

<sup>3</sup> See E. Ishkhanyan, the mentioned work, p. 352.

<sup>1</sup> See E. Ishkhanyan, the mentioned work, p. 352.

**much similarity with the present situation - A.Gk.)”<sup>1</sup>.**

After all the formula, signed unanimously by the forty-eight delegates of the 5<sup>th</sup> congress of Karabakh, was accepted on April 24, 1919. It was said in it: “Being the absolute supporter and apologist of the establishment of peace and order in Karabakh and frankly going to meet the desire of the British command to keep peaceful and amicable relations with the adjacent Turkish nation, and, at the same time, taking into consideration that the territorial and terminal matters concerning Karabakh must be solved at the Peace Conference as general Shatelwort proclaimed, the 5<sup>th</sup> Congress of the Armenians of Karabakh finds that the suggested plan doesn’t correspond with the desires and vital interests of the Armenians. The congress also finds that the violent fulfillment of the plan of obeying Azerbaijan will become an impending reason for interracial bloodshed and discord, and the Vongress will not ever be responsible for it<sup>2</sup>.

All those things showed that the firmness of the struggle and the unbroken will of the Armenians of Karabakh were manifested brightly in the decision that was made at the congress. Neither the British threats, nor the created difficult economic situation, and nor the military and diplomatic pressures of Azerbaijan frightened them. Let’s not forget that, parallel to all these, they made also a propagandist war against the Armenians of Karabakh. Its bright witness is the article “The Armenians and we“ of April 14 in the newspaper called „Azerbaijan“ with the signature Mehmed Sadk. In that article it is noted that “by keeping the Armenians of Karabakh in starvation it would be possible to made them admit the conditions suggested by Azerbaijan. Let it be known to our government, that if the ways of our bread markets are closed for the Armenian population, it will take little time for all the Armenians of Karabakh to admit all the requirements of Azerbaijan and to submit. Neither Ararat government, nor the British representatives and the population of Zangezur can find a remedy for the adversity of the Armenians’ starvation”<sup>3</sup>.

It is also noticeable that during the congress and after it Sultanov invited the Armenians to his place to discuss „ a number of important issues”, but

<sup>1</sup> Nagomo-Karabakh in 1918-1923, the mentioned work, p. 163.

<sup>2</sup> NAA, f. 323, l. 1, c. 1, pp. 1-3, f. 199, l. 1, c. 38, p. 27, A. (Misak Ter-Danielyan), The anxiety of Karabakh (for history) dated (April 26-July 26, 1919), Yerevan, 1993, p. 17.

<sup>3</sup> Nor Ashkhatavor (New Worker), 18 April, 1919, p. 4.

that was constantly refused and was unacceptable for the Armenians of Karabakh.

Nevertheless, the decisions of the Congress became a reason for new violences against the Armenians of Karabakh and for the wave of the Armenian persecuting policy. Tatar wander was being prepared, which made unavoidable the confrontation.

It was obvious that the British government would take actions to master Zangezur too, as the fact, that it was completely independent and unconquerable, was having its positive influence over the Armenians of Karabakh. Governor Arsen Shahmazyan had constantly complained about that policy: “The announcement, that Zangezur must acknowledge the authority of Azerbaijan and receive its forces and officers and that obstacles mustn’t arise when nomads climb our mountains, brings us to the conclusion that the Armenians of Zangezur-Karabakh will be in a tragical condition if the allies’ request is turned down”<sup>1</sup>. At the same time Shahmazyan announced that they were not going to struggle against Britain, as they couldn’t fight with “the master of seas”, but they were preparing for life and death struggle.

Naturally, it became clear from the requirement of the British, that the latters had a serious intention to bring a military power in Zangezur “to carry out the Tatar wander” and to subserve by that to the establishment of the authority of Azerbaijan in the country.

Wanting to intensify the despair of the Armenians, Shatelwort applied to an evident falsification announcing that the Armenians had already acknowledged the authority of Azerbaijan over Karabakh<sup>2</sup>. Naturally, denying all these, the government of Armenia affirmed again that at the beginning of May it appointed two official representatives in Karabakh. Khatisyan appeared by a corresponding announcement about that. In reply to that, the British mission in Shushi spread a false announcement as if the government of Armenia has agreed with the fact that Karabakh joins Azerbaijan, and handed its written text to the representative of Armenia in Karabakh M. Arzumanyan.

The events developed with a new speed when the command of the British powers represented a requirement to Arsen Shahmazyan, that the latter should leave Zangezur. Major Monk Messon even threatened Shahma-

<sup>1</sup> Nagomo-Karabakh. 1918-1923, the mentioned work, p. 177.

<sup>2</sup> NAA. f. 252, l. 1, c. 1, pp. 58-59.

zyan if he took any action against the government of Azerbaijan in Zangezur. On the other hand he was doing everything to send him away to Baku or Tiflis<sup>1</sup>.

On May 3, 1919 the minister of Foreign Affairs of Armenia Khatisyan left for Tiflis to take part in the discussion on the issue of Karabakh and Nakhijevan. Thomson, Bich, Brof and Davy were present at the meeting of Tiflis. The report about Karabakh and Arsen Shahmazyan's activity, made by Shatelwort and Monk Messon, was represented. In the document, kept at the National Archives of Armenia, it is said about it, that: "According to Shatelwort's report, the Armenian military forces in Karabakh are ruled by the officers of Armenia. The National Council of Armenia refuses the nomads' displacement and because of that the Tatars have appeared in a terrible plight. Shahmazyan has announced that the forces of Karabakh enter into the forces of Armenia, and, in general, he has promised any help to Karabakh. It is mentioned that the Armenians don't understand the policy of the British and why they support the ally of the Turks. The Armenians announce sharply that they don't believe in Sultanov. The Armenians testify that there are rumours about the leaving of the British and after it they will stay with the Turks face to face, if they agree to acknowledge the authority of Azerbaijan. Shatelwort notices that the Tatar wander has stopped, the animals are dying, their temper is bad. You can't disarm the Tatars; otherwise the Armenians will annihilate all of them (this was Monk Messon's opinion - A. Gh.). The Armenians announce that if Sultanov is present at the conference, they will not take part in it. Doctor Sultanov himself has no hope that the Armenians will acknowledge the authority of Azerbaijan. Shatelwort announces that Shahmazyan is organizing forces in Karabakh in the name of the government of Armenia. As for the congress of Shushi, 43 delegates were taking part in it, and there weren't representatives from Zangezur. Shatelwort announces to the Armenians that the British want to form a temporary government before the peace conference. Sultanov gives the surname of an Armenian, as if they will be happy to acknowledge the authority of Azerbaijan, as though they blame for all these things the Armenian Revolutionary Federation and like his life is at risk. Shatelwort announced that the National Council in Zangezur was the same as „ Shura “ in Kars, and that during his and Ishkhanyan's meeting, who was the chairman of the National Council,

<sup>1</sup> NAA, f. 200, l. 1, c. 309, p. 25.

the latter told him that the Armenians would be reconciled with the authority of Azerbaijan. Sokrat Bek Melik-Shahnazarov as if had told Shatelwort that there was no need to pay attention to the National Council and that before the Turks came, they had been living with the Tatars peacefully, and everything was falsified by the National Council. But, when subsequently Shatelwort met the delegates, they proclaimed in written form about their disagreement of obeying Azerbaijan and that they weren't afraid of threats. Nevertheless, Shatelwort thinks, that the wander may be organized, and Sultanov is agree not to accompany the nomads<sup>1</sup>. As the information in the report lets us conclude, the situation was very intensive. Nevertheless, let's observe the subsequent course of the discussion.

After reading the report Thomson accused Armenia that it seemed like a war had been proclaimed against England concerning the matter of Karabakh, and that the Armenian government makes the situation more intensive by its agents. The British threatened to stop the advance of the forces to Nakhijevan, if Shahmazyan and others were not recalled from Karabakh. Thomson required from the government of Armenia to make an announcement about Karabakh mentioning that any opposition to the government of Azerbaijan wasn't admissible and that the wander should take place. Only in that case the movement to Nakhijevan would restart.

The representative of the Armenian government Khatisyan presented in his turn to the British his considerations consisted of 11 points. 1. The government of Armenia acknowledges Karabakh to be the inseparable part of Armenia, but the government thinks that before the Paris Conference it is rational for Karabakh to be governed by the British General-governor with the Armenian and Moslem national councils-the first in Armenian Karabakh and the second in the Moslem Karabakh (to the east from Askeran). 2. The government of Armenia has only 2 official representatives in Karabakh: Arzumanyan and Shahnazaryan. 3. The Armenian government thinks that the National Council of Karabakh must have its armed forces, which aren't considered to be a part of the Armenian armed forces, hence the Armenian government can't give them instructions. 5. The Armenian government finds it possible to let the Moslem nomads go to the mountains on the condition that the British forces with Armenian and Moslem controllers will accompany them, but the government isn't competent to dictate the Council.

<sup>1</sup> NAA, f. 200, l. 1, c. 309, pp. 36-39.

6. In those conditions the Armenian government can't be responsible for the British command. Because of it the British must hand the government of Karabakh to the Armenians. 7. The government of Armenia doesn't have agents in Karabakh, and if there are Armenian officers there, then it isn't included in the functions of the government. 8. The issue of Nakhijevan mustn't be connected with the issue of Karabakh, which is equivalent to the principles of the Turkish policy. 9. The viewpoints of the Armenian government and the National Council of Karabakh on the issue of Karabakh aren't only the viewpoint of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation, but all the parties existing in Armenia share that viewpoint. Then Khatisyan suggested to remove the migrants to Nakhijevan. Only after long discussions Thomson agreed to continue the advance of the forces to Nakhijevan<sup>1</sup>.

As we can notice, this conference hasn't made any change in the British stance either, in the event of the fact, that the authorities of Azerbaijan continued to think not only about occupying Karabakh, but also about capturing Nakhijevan. At the time, when the Azerbaijanis were planning to displace the forces, the British command was going on to claim for the recall of the representatives of Armenia from Karabakh<sup>2</sup>.

Naturally, the leadership of Armenia was aware of the upheavals of the British policy. In a message, addressed to Avetis Aharonyan, Khatisyan expressed the viewpoint that "the British command wants to make unknown to the outside world about the events in Caucasus, which can attract the attention of the world and perhaps the arbitrary instructions of the British command will be changed. We think,- writes Khatisyan,- for that reason the British provoke some difficulties in having regular relations with the European countries and especially with you.

I think that the stance of the British command about the matter of Karabakh has direct relation with the policy of Caucasus because they consider Azerbaijan a territory which is in their vital interests. Recently there have been some reviews in the press of Tiflis about spreading the British vital territory over Georgia and Azerbaijan. If that is exact, then the British will seek to intensify it to have authority over them subsequently",- Khatisyan finishes<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> NAA, f. 200, l. 1, c. 309, pp. 36-39.

<sup>2</sup> NAA, f. 4033, l. 4, c. 463, p. 1.

<sup>3</sup> NAA, f. 200, l. 1, c. 193, p. 225.

During that period general Shatelwort left for Zangezur again and required to support to spread the administrative authority of Azerbaijan over the country. Sultanov tried to join him, but the general left for Zangezur with the British detachment. The Armenians didn't let Shatelwort move on with the detachment. The latter was invited lonely to the National Council, where he was refused severly about the acknowledgement of the authority of Azerbaijan. Shatelwort required to hand him Shahnazaryan, Shirinyan and Osipov, but the gathered crowd, armed with three field cannons and machine-guns, threatened the general and announced that they would not hand anyone.

Being informed about all those things Sultanov announced to his government that the latter should "care about the defence of Karabakh or announce that the population should protect Karabakh itself, how it can. I ask to reply immediately whether I can hope for two thousand guns, one million bladders, one battery and ten machine-guns, enough ammunition and armed forces in case of weakness of the British"<sup>1</sup>.

Of course the government of Azerbaijan was aware of the dissatisfaction of the French side concerning the British policy towards the issue of Karabakh. "Thomson achieved his goal of handing Karabakh to Azerbaijan, which is an absolute injustice in opinion of the French. The policy, that is being carried out here, must be changed. The French would treat Azerbaijan in another way, not like the British". This was said during the meeting between the French representative and the Armenians<sup>2</sup>.

The application-complaints of the Armenian government to the British authorities gave no result. Only one answer supervened to Aharonyan's many letters; that the British undertakings were exclusively temporary. Whereas it becomes obvious from Adam's and L. Malley's records that Aharonyan required the recognition of the Republic of Armenia by the allies (including the East and West Armenians). The representative of Poghos Nubar Pasha in London - Malcolm, has acquainted to Aharonyan many times that it isn't possible at present. In the congress during the meetings with Aharonyan and the British about the issue of Karabakh the latter tried to prove that "this region means historically a lot for the Armenians as most of their heroes were born there in the past, such as Melikov and many others.

<sup>1</sup> Nagomo-Karabakh in 1918-1923, the mentioned work, p. 210.

<sup>2</sup> NAA, f. 200, l. 1, c. 271, part 1, p. 61.

This region was a heroic place in the struggle against the Turkish and the Persian conquerors. Andranik and his army have struggled against the Turks and the Tatars here. This region has been the natural fatherland of the Armenians. Aharonyan draws the future map approximately and offers so that it would be possible a little exchange with Azerbaijan from the area between Ordubad and Nakhijevan for the region of Karabakh. But Aharonyan didn't affirm that as he thought that Azerbaijan would be quite large. He reported that the government of Yerevan is dissatisfied with the British military leaders in term of temporary Mohammedan administration and not only in Karabakh but also in the regions of Akhalkalak and Kars. "I submitted mister Aharonyan that the arrangements were carried out for military purposes", it was said in one of the British documents<sup>1</sup>. It's interesting that according to the designed scheme (by Professor Douglas Johnson) those borders which were offered by Aharonyan and General Ghorghanyan weren't practical in economic and military terms. The border line includes all the Armenian villages in the provinces of Shushi, Jevanshir, Elizabethpol, Ghazakh and Zangezur, as well as Jebrayil. That line stretched from the low length of the East mountain chain to the pool of Kur and didn't have a protective line. So it divided the plains of Kur from the mountains on which the shepherds of valley depended and, vice versa, it cut the mountainous residents from the plains, on which they depended economically. That line left many Armenian villages in the territory of Azerbaijan and, vice versa, many Tatar villages in the territory of Armenia. That line wasn't the best border. Of course, it was a workable agreement, a real military border, which would give an opportunity to include the province of Zangezur and the city of Shushi, both of which had dense Armenian population, in the territory of Armenia"<sup>2</sup>.

It was said in the above-mentioned document that the map, presented by general Ghorghanyan, was based on the British international map and the Russian map. That line began from the river Araks to river Bargushat, and on the other side- to Balka-Chakhmakh. Then it went to the North to the watershed of those rivers leaving the mountain of the Big Kirs, which was in front of the village Khazaberd and which was coincided the border of the

<sup>1</sup> Caucasian Boundaries, Documents and Maps, 1802-1946, Edited by Aneta L. P. Burdett. Archive Editions, 1996, pp. 671-673.

<sup>2</sup> Caucasian Boundaries, the mentioned work, pp. 672-673.

province of Zangezur required by the Armenians. From the Big Kirs Mountain the border stretched to the east watershed of the Hagry in the north of Shushi. There it cut the Hagry and stretched to the west, to the south of Khankend. There, coinciding to the North border of Zangezur, it stretched to the west, Chilgiz Dagh, Miktukin Dagh, Galin Kara Dagh, which formed the pool of Hagry from the north to the west, meeting the east border of Yerevan (he infers the original area of the Republic of Armenia - A. Gh), from there to the north - to Elizabethpol, from Qeti Dagh to south-west, it was included in the territory of Armenia, from there the border was coincided to the east border line of Armenia<sup>1</sup>.

The persistence and consistency of the Armenians of Zangezur about not recognizing the government of Azerbaijan made Shatelwort call back his troops from the region, but in the result of that Zangezur was cut off from Shushi. After Shatelwort left Zangezur the situation became even worse. The agreement became less possible. "We consider that we ought to focus the government's attention to the possible consequences of the armed nomads' movement and to the undertaking of necessary steps", - the Foreign Minister wrote to the Prime Minister of the Republic of Armenia<sup>2</sup>.

At the same time imprisonments started in Karabakh. For example, in the region of Jraberd, famous employers were arrested since May 15, the population began to worry<sup>3</sup>. On May 25, according to the primary decision, a military congress was held in Drnavaz (a village in Varanda). The Congress discussed the self-defense program and the Department report. The Congress decided to organize self-defense in all regions, "to be ready for not to be surprised in case if there is a danger from any side, taking into account the tense situation which was created, when the British supported Azerbaijan to illegally appoint Sultanov as a government"<sup>4</sup> - it was said in the decision.

Karabakh was divided into 5 self-defense regions, preparation works were done to strengthen the protection, as the Musavat attack was becoming threatening day by day.

On May 28 the Tatars attacked the Armenian village Khtsaberd. The crew which was more than 1000, led the Turkish ex-army officer Qyazim

<sup>1</sup> The same place, p. 672.

<sup>2</sup> NAA, f. 200, l. 1, c. 146, pp. 37-38.

<sup>3</sup> NAA, f. 199, l. 1, c. 218, p. 4.

<sup>4</sup> E. Ishhanyan, the mentioned work, p. 416.

Bey. Just at that time the Azerbedjani authorities began to hasten the mobilization, and the chief staff informed Sultanov about that, persuading him to promote the organization of new military units. It is noteworthy that it was indicated particularly that the fulfillment of the solution of the problem of Karabakh and Zangezur must be hasten<sup>1</sup>.

The violence and murders towards the Armenians became popular to which the British representatives didn't give any importance. It's noteworthy that even the British representatives were subjected to attacks. At the same time reconnaissance and diplomatic active war was conducted against Armenia: Azerbaijan doesn't have any other enemy except Armenia now and it is necessary to pay special attention to Armenia"<sup>1</sup>. The representative of Azerbaijan Tekinsky described in such way the relations between Armenia and Azerbaijan. The representative of the Republic of Armenia who acted adjacent to the British mission in Shushi was also subjected to violence. The documents related to the brutality of the Turkish gang were snatched from him.

Instead of undertaking practical means against the Azerbaijanis, the British mission called the members of the National Council at the beginning of June and took their signatures about not interfering in the political processes. The Tatars hurried to put 2 machine guns in distance of about 2 versts from Shushi, near the hill "Yarma", cutting the communication in Shushi. The Armenians applied to the British mission requiring eliminating the blockade. But the British assured the latters that there is no need to worry.

Then the Tatars tried to occupy the Armenian part of the city. Due to the organized resistance they were withdrawn. The British mission mediated as a result of which the Armenian positions were occupied and an ultimatum was presented according to which the members of the Council should leave Karabakh during 3 days, otherwise Sultanov would get the right to conquer the city by the force of arms. Sultanov concentrated in Shushi about 1000 people in case when the Armenian's self-defense forces reached scarcely to 500<sup>2</sup>.

Moreover, the British Commanding told Sultanov that the Members of the National Council tease the people and destabilize the situation<sup>1</sup>. Major Monk Masson excelled especially with his false love towards the Armenians. He announced that Shatelvort had told him to catch all the Armenian leaders, but he promised to take them to Tiflis safely. The Armenians agreed, believing that after their leaving the Major would do everything to appease the situation.

The violence towards the Armenians had great responses and the member of the Azerbaijani Parliament Chubaryan in contrast to the report of Karabekov, presented thoroughly more accurate information about the events in Shushi. Chubaryan purported that "the General-governor wanted to remove the treasury and mail-telecommunication from the Armenian part to the Mohammedan block of the city on June 2-3. The Armenians showed resistance, after which Sultanov had to abandon his intent. In the evening he appointed commandants around the city and a shooting began between the latters and the Armenians. Sultanov justified his operations by stopping the wander by the Armenians, but that doesn't correspond to the reality. Sultanov's goal was to put the Armenian society and the National Council into a desperate situation so that the latters recognized his authority"<sup>2</sup>.

On June 5 the members of the British mission removed from the city the members of the National Council, but the shooting didn't stop. Many Armenians were murdered during a few days whose corpses were left to show the people. The Armenian village Pakhlul was burnt and plundered. Then the Azerbaijani armies occupied the barracks of Shushi and as Sultanov reported "there is a hope that the Karabakh Armenian's subjection will end quickly and successfully as a result of the subjugation of Shushi"<sup>3</sup>.

The British mission was told about the accomplished events and in its turn it applied to the government of Azerbaijan with an appropriate report. In the report it was mentioned that the further attacks must be stopped, but on the same day the massacre of the Armenian Ghaybalikend block began, where it was situated also the house of Sultanov. The massacre went on also on June 6. The village Pakhlul didn't get any help. On June 7 the village Krkdjan was burnt, the Armenian village Dashkend was also raided.

<sup>1</sup> The same place, p. 234.

<sup>2</sup> NAA, f. 200, l. 1, c. 309, p. 136.

<sup>1</sup> See E. Ishkhanyan, the mentioned work, p. 445.

<sup>2</sup> NAA, f. 200, l. 1, c. 309, p. 226.

<sup>3</sup> Nagorno-Karabakh in 1918-1923, the mentioned work, p. 233.

According to the report Sultanov "has started military operations as if having information that 700 armed Armenians have entered Shushi and even new forces are going to enter there"<sup>1</sup>. It is noteworthy that it is mentioned in the report that colonel Klanteberg told Sultanov about it all on June 5 and required from the latter to take steps in that direction. Sultanov, of course, "informed" colonel Klanteberg about "the steps that were undertaken" mentioning that the guard that he sent reported on June 7 that the village Haybalikend had already been burnt. Klanteberg wrote that Sultanov should answer for all these to the Azerbaijani government, and that the massacre was carried out by the Kurds. "Sultanov says that the Kurds have appeared in Shushi to rob, - he writes, - but the military operations began on June 4, and the Kurds had raided the village on June 5"<sup>2</sup>. The same colonel reported that from 700 people of Haybalikend only 11 men, 87 women and children remained. Anyway Sultanov was also a Kurdish and captain Gounas had seen how the robbed property was being brought to Shushi, therefore the falsity of his "justifications" noticed even the British.

The conference of the Transcaucasian nations which took place in Tiflis at the beginning of January, also couldn't bring to the solution of the problem. During the meeting with the Foreign Minister of Armenia Tigranyan, General Kori said that the events which were taking place in Karabakh were disturbing and that he had sent there officer Kishben. The latter also assured that the British armies would not leave Transcaucasia until the Italian troops replaced them. But at the same time it was a fact that the British armies didn't try to stop Sultanov's operations. It wasn't allowed even to help the emigrants. The American mission, who came to Shushi, was not allowed to help the hungry people in any way<sup>3</sup>. It happened so that Sultanov even decided to use armed forces against them<sup>4</sup>. Seeing that the situation was becoming uncontrollable, "the British armies interfered and stopped the Mohammedan attack"<sup>5</sup>. Though the Transcaucasian commander of the British forces Kori ensured the Armenian government about the security of the Armenian population, on the other hand the same British motivated Sultanov to punitive actions.

<sup>1</sup> NAA, f. 200, l. 2, c. 58, pp. 1-2, f. 200, c. 1, l. 309, p. 165.

<sup>2</sup> The same place.

<sup>3</sup> Ashkhatavor (Worker), June 1, 1919, p. 3.

<sup>4</sup> NAA, f. 276, l. 1, c. 42, p. 192.

<sup>5</sup> NAA, f. 200, l. 1, c. 309, p. 158.

At that crucial moment for the Armenians of Karabakh, the National Council made a right decision "to move to a district with a stronger staff continuing to keep in hand the whole power of Karabakh". On the first day of the collision an Armenian regiment, consisted of 4000 people, removed from the region to Shushi, but the British didn't allow the regiment to enter the city<sup>1</sup>. The Azerbaijani authorities' obscenity became so great that they considered the Armenians' complaints about the massacres of the Armenians of Karabakh to be interfering in their internal affairs<sup>2</sup>. Inspired by all that Sultanov went to Zangezur to occupy it.

A lot of meetings against the collision and violence towards the Armenians of Karabakh took place in Yerevan, Tiflis and in many other places of Transcaucasia populated by the Armenians. During the meetings the Armenian intellectuals mentioned that the collision of more than 600 Armenians and the depredation of 6 villages showed that the Turk-Musavats were ready to adhering their predecessors' commandments stating that the Azerbaijani mob was led by the Turkish officers. During the meetings applications were referred to the representatives of the allies asking to resist and stop the Azerbaijani genocide<sup>3</sup>.

Many evidences of the people who were interrogated about the massacres taken place since the end of May to the beginning of June, are kept in the National Archives of Armenia (Armenians, Mohammedans, Russian soldiers), where it can be seen the true picture of what had happened clearly and from many viewpoints, which proves that the collisions were planned just by Sulanov<sup>4</sup>.

The Representatives of America also expressed their attitude to the collisions in Karabakh. They were informing not only the Armenians about those events, but also they were sending messages to the Peace Conference of Washington and Paris<sup>5</sup>. The representative of the American Charitable Committee, Brown, expressed the following idea in this regard which, in our opinion, sheds light on the issue: "it is undeniable and irrefutable that Zangezur-Karabakh is a part of Armenia, the evidence of which is its

<sup>1</sup> Ashkhatavor, June 10, 1919, v. 113, p. 2.

<sup>2</sup> NAA, f. 200, l. 1, c. 271, p. 65.

<sup>3</sup> Ashkhatavor, June 24, 1919, v. 124, p. 1, New Worker, July 27, v. 150, p. 4; NAA, f. 200, l. 1, c. 309, p. 139.

<sup>4</sup> NAA, f. 200, l. 1, c. 50, part 1, pp. 86-97.

<sup>5</sup> NAA, f. 200, l. 1, c. 309, p. 144; Worker, June 18, 1919.



centuries-old history and ancient Monasteries and temples. The claims of Azerbaijan are illegal; it is a simple encroachment,"- the American agent concludes<sup>1</sup>.

The news about the collision of the Armenians of Karabakh originates the Armenian's anger and protestation. On June 16, 1919 the Armenian government sent a protest note to the representative of Azerbaijan in Yerevan-Teckinsky, on the problem of the collision of the Armenians in Karabakh<sup>2</sup>. On June 22 the Catholicos of All Armenians George V applied to the general of the British armies in Transcaucasia persuading to undertake practical steps to protect the Armenians of Karabakh from the massacre.

It is sad that the British representatives didn't interfere in the massacre; they also allowed Sultanov to continue his operations forcing the Armenians to obey him.

The people of Karabakh were really in horror; during that period the harvest had been stopped, it became impossible to do any other agricultural work in the presence of the Tatarian armed band. In this case it seems "that people want to come to terms with the situation, to find honorable way and peace edges to accept the Azerbaijani government",- wrote the representative of Armenia in Azerbaijan to his colleague in Georgia and said that he intended to convene a new congress after June 20 to get out of the situation<sup>3</sup>. It was also obvious that Sultanov was preparing a big military attack.

The British command was also looking for a way for coming out of that situation. Major Tart was assigned the leader of the mission in Shushi instead of inglorious major Monk Meson. A British regiment consisted of 500 people was moving to Shushi from Aghdam on June 15. It was planned to enlarge to 2000 the number of the British soldiers situated in Shushi<sup>4</sup>. Of course, that all didn't bring the desired results and the Azerbaijani armies with ragtag raid to Zangezur on June 23 trying to occupy the villages of Gharababa, Agarak and Yeghvard. The Azerbaijani detachment, the number of which was about 1500 and the ragtag, the number of which was 2000 (the captain was Qyazim Pasha), had 7 guns and 10 van cartridges. Gharababa was robbed and burnt by the Turks. Agarak was saved due to the organized resistance. The

Armenians' struggle had some success also in other parts of Zangezur; 120 rifles, 3 guns and cartridges of the enemy were confiscated.

The difficult economic condition of Armenia didn't allow the government to undertake complete steps about the protection of the borders. The delegation of the Republic of Armenia applied to the president of the USA-Wilson, asking the latter's help to send troops to Armenia or at least to mediate that the British stayed in Caucasus. Soon it turned out that under the harassment of the Workers Party the British government decided to call back the army. An application was sent to the British government asking not to take out the British forces from Transcaucasia<sup>1</sup>.

The Turkish spacious operations against Zangezur and Karabakh made it necessary to invite a new congress. Though Zangezur could resist the attack of Khalil Pasha, but it was clear that new preparations were being organized against Zangezur<sup>2</sup>.

In order to loosen the flare of the situation the Azerbaijani government created an intergovernmental committee on June 27, in which also the representatives of the allies were included. But the Committee didn't do anything serious to regulate the problem of Karabakh.

On June 29 the 6<sup>th</sup> Congress of the Armenians of Karabakh took place in Varanda. It was invited by the initiative of the Armenian rural Committee. Sultanov was also invited to take part in the Committee. The representatives of the Azerbaijani government should also arrive. The Congress sought to find a peaceful solution to the Karabakh issue, till the final decision of the Peace Conference. The representatives of Karabakh Patriotic Union in Tiflis and Baku also took part in the Congress<sup>3</sup>. The Congress started its works on the June 28, in Shosh village. The representatives of Azerbaijan didn't manage to be present, so after 3 days feeling pity that the latters didn't arrive, the participants left the Congress.

But in order to clarify the conditions for negotiations with Azerbaijan the Congress managed to choose a delegation with the following composition: Misaq Ter-Danielyan, Ruben Shahnazaryan and Meliq Yolchyan. The representatives of Azerbedjan, Sharif Bek Usubekov and Shahsuvarov arri-

<sup>1</sup> E. Ishkhanyan, the mentioned work, p. 490.

<sup>2</sup> See Nagorno-Karabakh in 1918-1923, the mentioned work, p. 254.

<sup>3</sup> NAA, f. 276, l. 1, c. 42, pp. 111-112.

<sup>4</sup> Ashkhatavor, June 18, 1919, number 120, p. 2.

<sup>1</sup> Veratsnund (Rebirth) weekly, literary social-political, C year, number 22/52, August 21, 1919, Paris, p. 65.

<sup>2</sup> Homeland, Boston, 1920, p. 39.

<sup>3</sup> Ashkhatavor, July 3, 1919, p. 2.

ved in Karabakh on June 30<sup>1</sup>. The Armenian Committee of Shushi processed an initial text of the agreement between Karabakh and Azerbaijan to avoid the bloodshed between 2 neighbouring nations. It was decided that the Armenian envoys who were elected by the Congress would depart to Baku to get an agreement guaranteeing the rights of the Armenians. It should be said that in the preliminary text of the agreement it was planned the recognition of the authority of the Governor by certain restrictions.

On July 2, 1919 the representative of Armenia in Georgia told the Foreign Minister that Kori had forbidden Sultanov not to return Shushi<sup>2</sup>. It was a diplomatic deceptive step, which was directed to the Armenians' subjugation. Soon, on July 6, the British command required to replace with another person the representative of the Republic of Armenia, adjacent to the Shushi Mission, Ishkhan Arghutyan<sup>3</sup>.

So, the 6<sup>th</sup> Congress of the Armenians of Karabakh developed a lot of conditions, around which the agreement with Azerbaijan should have been made. The conditions were: 1. the authority of Azerbaijan is accepted temporarily until the decision of the Peace Conference, 2. A Council is elected adjacent to the General-governor of Karabakh, which will be consisted of 6 members – 3 Armenians and 3 Mohammedans. The Council will have a controlling character, and the Governor can't decide anything important without the agreement and validation of the Council, 4. In those territories of Karabakh, where there are a lot of Armenians, the Governor must be Armenian by nationality, 5. The Turkish forces will be taken out of the Armenian areas and will be concentrated in Khanqend and Shushi, 6. The persecutions against the Armenians must be stopped<sup>4</sup>.

At first the Azerbaijani side didn't admit the Armenian preconditions and offered to admit unconditionally the Azerbaijani authority, but understanding that the matter may reach to bloodshed, it left the problem to the discussion of the next negotiations. During that time Azerbaijan activated the propaganda operation to the point that "in Baku continuously demonstrations were being organized by unknown agents, who invoke to organize attacks on Karabakh and to move to Nakhijevan through Zangezur destro-

ying all the Armenian population on the way, to spread the authority of Azerbaijan till the Russian ex-border with Turkey. It's also noteworthy that in order to realize their plans the Azerbaijanis agreed with the Persian Khans to get their assistance in case if they attacked Meghri"<sup>1</sup>.

On July 24, 1919 the Armenian Prime Minister complained to the British command that the latter's assurance, that Sultanov would not return Shushi, wasn't right, as he got information that Sultanov had returned to Karabakh. At the same time the Azerbaijani side reopened the military operations in Karabakh on July 20 and destroyed several Armenian villages: Dolanlar, Binyatlu and Arakyul<sup>2</sup>. Sultanov did everything to strengthen the enforcement on Zangezur for making connection with Nakhijevan. The leader of Zangezur-Karabakh regional council Shahmazyan applied to the Armenian government to get ammunition (he required 0.5 million cartridges, clothing and medication)<sup>3</sup>.

The Azerbaijani efforts became more active in the second half of 1919 as the Turkish assistance and support was gradually growing. In the result of the negotiations the agreement about the Turkish support was signed, which, of course, was connected with the Kemalist movement in Turkey. The latter, **showing special attitude towards Azerbaijan, on November 29, 1919 signed a secret agreement which was directed to the destruction of "the non-Mohammedan elements, especially the Armenians.** Special organizations were going to be founded according to the contract"<sup>4</sup>.

On August 6, 1919 it was informed by the British sources that it was decided to remove the British armies from the Russian ex-borders. "The government of London, of course, had had sufficient bases to make such a decision, but it was taken into account neither the mood of the Transcaucasian people, nor the tragically hard situation of Armenia,- the newspaper "Nor Ashkhatavor" mentioned.- And the allied armies are being removed from Caucasus in this critical moment, though it is clear to everybody and is irrefutable that the removal of the British troops will leave Armenia in a helpless situation against the Turkish encroachments. The Armenians who hoped to find a protection, will appear in the hands of the Turks and Kurds"<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> NAA, f. 200, l. 1, c. 309, l. 212; Nor Ashkhatavor, July 13, 1919, number 138, p. 2.

<sup>2</sup> NAA, f. 276, l. 1, c. 42, p. 199.

<sup>3</sup> NAA, f. 200, l. 1, c. 309, pp. 188-189.

<sup>4</sup> Nor Ashkhatavor, August 5, 1919, p. 2.

<sup>1</sup> Nagomo-Karabakh in 1918-1923, the mentioned work, p. 310-311.

<sup>2</sup> See the same place, p. 312-313.

<sup>3</sup> Nagomo-Karabakh in 1918-1923, the mentioned work, p. 317.

<sup>4</sup> The Armenian Review, A. Krieger, A. Secret Military pact, 1974, vol. XXVII, p. 20-21.

<sup>5</sup> Nor Ashkhatavor, August 6, 1919, p. 1.

This excerpt is a British message, which describes the real situation in Caucasus. It's noteworthy that the British themselves foresaw the hard results of such a decision for the Armenians. This is evidenced by the letter of Balfour to Lloyd George on August 9, 1919: "I am worried about the situation in Caucasus. We get information from each side that the removal of the British troops will be followed by the Armenians' most terrible massacres and general bloodshed in all Caucasus. I am not completely for the removal of the troops. In my opinion it is important in every respect. I confess that I will not want to see the day when it will be said that the British have carried out a massacre against the Armenians deliberately removing the troops in case when the local authorities have said about all the possible consequences. I would like to tell mister Polk (the representative of the USA in the Supreme Council) in the name of the British government that we are as worried about the possible results of the removal of the British forces as the Americans, but that in different reasons it has become impossible for the British forces to stay, and we informed about our leaving still in March-April, hence if till September 30 the Americans are ready to bring the necessary quantity of officers and army to protect the Armenians, then the British government will keep its forces until that term, but if America can't manage in that term, then we will have to restart the removal of the troops since August 15"<sup>1</sup>.

Besides the above-mentioned document, there are many other documents, where the British tried to interest the American side to replace them. Earlier an attempt was made to replace the British by the Italian army (according to the contract, signed by the chief headquarters on March 24, 1919 in Paris), but the undertaking was failed, when in Italy the Orland's government was replaced by the Nitti's government, and the latter didn't find it expedient to send 30 thousand soldiers to Transcaucasia.

On May 14, 1919 the Council of allies decided to provide the credentials of Armenia to the USA, and to leave the problem of Armenia's borders to President Wilson's meditation<sup>2</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Armenia in the documents of international diplomacy and Soviet foreign policy (1828-1923), edited by J. Kirakosyan, Yerevan 1972, p. 544-545; Documents on British Foreign Policy 1919-1939 edited by E. L. Woodward, volume 1, 1919, London, His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1947, p. 389.

<sup>2</sup> See A. Morton, J. Teyt, History of the British Labor Movement 1770-1920, Moscow, 1959, p. 380, 384; W. Churchill, World Crisis, Moscow, 1932, p. 190-192.

It should be noticed, that the British policy was in a certain crisis in that period, as powerful rebel movements were spread in colonies, the Irish matter reached to tension, the Worker's movement got a new power in the country<sup>1</sup>.

Considering the British mission completed in Caucasus, Churchill mentioned as a final speech the Armenians' horrible massacres in 1915, described the losses of the Armenians and then summed up: "**The massacres, military losses, forced migration are easier means of murder, that have reduced Armenia's population by more than 1\3, from 2.5 million population the 3\4 died. It seemed that the Armenians' sufferings would end. It seemed that the time came, when the Armenians would be treated rightly and they would receive the right to live in their country peacefully. Their persecutors, despots died during the war or revolution. The winning and powerful nations pretended to be the Armenian's friends and they should have thought about the victory of the Armenian matter. It was beyond doubt, that those 5 winning states would be able to realize their will. But it turned out subsequently that the allies' troubles were only empty words. No state wanted to take the credentials of Armenia. Though Britain, Italy, America, France sympathized, but only shook their heads**"<sup>2</sup>.

So, the leaving of the British from Transcaucasia promoted more and more the realization of Turkish-Tatar ambitions concerning the domination over the Armenian areas. And though it was increasing the Americans' interest in Transcaucasia, but the removal of the British army didn't give an opportunity to take the army of an ally to Transcaucasia rapidly, though the American colonel V. Haskel arrived in Transcaucasia as a representative of the allied states, who was nominated in that position on July 15, 1919. The latter was authorized to act on behalf of the allied countries in Transcaucasia and in Constantinople. In early August the American Congress decided to send a military mission in the head of James Harbord, substantiating, that "the British army's leaving since August 15 will again hand the Armenians to the Kurds and the Turks. So the hope of the use of the American credentials might bring peace to Armenia"<sup>3</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> See D. George, The Truth about the Peace Treaties, v. 2, Moscow, 1957, p. 394-396.

<sup>2</sup> W. Churchill, the mentioned work, p. 278.

<sup>3</sup> Nor Ashkhatavor, August 5, 1919, p. 2; NAA, f. 200, l. 2, c. 171, p. 22.

In August there were sent applications about Karabakh's issue also to Haskel, who arrived Armenia, but the latter couldn't postpone the British army's leaving. There are numerous applications and petitions by the Armenian diplomatic circles for delaying the British army's leaving for a while. Khatisyan described rightly the situation: "The British troops left from Transcaucasia and Erzurum on August 15. The Turkish-Tatar movements have already started to threaten the existence of the Armenians. The presence of the British forces partly restrained that movement. Their removal will bring to an unavoidable catastrophe. The existence of the Armenians is under risk in case, when the win of the allies promised freedom and life for Armenia"<sup>1</sup>. That's true, the British troops left from Transcaucasia, but Armenia was going on to receive the latter's help: "25000 guns of Ruscha system, 400 light machine-guns of Maxim system, 58 million cartridges, 80 tons biscuits, 40000 uniforms reached to Armenia by the Poti port"<sup>2</sup>.

During that period, in the second half of August, Karabakh events reached the top of strain. Still on August 10 the British legation was recalled from Shushi, which had already put the Armenians in a tense situation with its actions. Sultanov returned to Karabakh and continued his political violence. In consequence of that, the Armenians of Karabakh appeared in a tragic situation. On August 12, 1919 the 7<sup>th</sup> congress of the Armenians of Karabakh took place. Sultanov offered to convene it in Shushi. The members of the congress understood, that it would give an opportunity to Sultanov to pressure upon the deputies, so they refused. The congress, in which about 200 deputies took part, was convened in Shosh village of Varanda. At the very beginning of the congress it turned out that the deputies sent from Varanda had been killed. In those days massacres of the Armenians were implemented again in Khanqend and Shushi. The congress required from Sultanov to punish those who were guilty, otherwise they would quit the works. But in conviction of bishop Vahan and many other figures the congress understood that the forces would not be enough to struggle, and the temporary consent should be accepted. The session of August 15 decided to send a delegation to Sultanov and to reach an agreement about the temporary contract. It should be said, that Sultanov's threats played an important role in the decision-making process. Shosh was surrounded with enemy's artilleries.

<sup>1</sup> NAA, f. 200, l. 1, c. 607, pp. 72A.

<sup>2</sup> NAA, f. 200, l. 1, c. 607, pp. 53-56.

Nevertheless, the temporary consent became a reality and it was consisted of 26 clauses.

1. The present temporary consent is accepted by the sides, until the decision of the Congress of Peace is made, and that decision must be obligatory for both sides.
2. The mountainous part of Karabakh-the population of Shushi, Jevanshir and Jebrayil provinces temporary consider themselves a part of Azerbaijan.
3. The above-mentioned provinces stay in a special administrative union-in the General-governorate, and in the Armenian mountainous zone an Armenian administration is appointed for the protection of the minority rights.
4. The official people are appointed by the members of the Armenian Council in the mountainous part of Karabakh.
5. The Council of 6 is created (3 Armenians, 3 Moslems) adjacent to the General-governorate.
6. The Armenian members of the Council are elected in the assembly of the Armenian population of Nagorno-Karabakh. The congress has the right of reelection.
7. All the principle questions of interracial character can't become reality without the Council's initial discussion.
8. The Council has a right in 1/3 to show an initiative in management and organization of the general-governorate.
9. The Council has the right to take control over the administrative composition of the General-governorate without interfering in the affairs of the administration staff.
10. A position of the General-governor's assistant in civil affairs is defined, who must be an Armenian.
11. 2 candidates are introduced for the assistant position to the Azerbaijani government by the Armenian council, only one of which has been elected.
12. The Armenians of Karabakh have the right of cultural self-determination.
13. The cultural self-determination is realized by the congresses, which are held periodically and which are elected by the National Council of Karabakh.

14. The government of Azerbaijan controls the National Council's activity by authorized Armenians.
15. In peace time the military units must be installed in Khanqend and Shushi.
16. Every move of the military units in the Armenian Karabakh may be realized only when the 2/3 of the Council members agreed.
17. No one must be chased for political views in judicial or in administrative form.
18. Those Armenians who have been expelled for political considerations can come back to their places.
19. The disarmament of the Armenian and Moslem population of Karabakh is stopped until the decision of the Peace Conference.

*Acquaintance.* as the disarmament has been announced in the whole Azerbaijan, it could be said only about the suspension of the process.

20. The Azerbaijani government must show material and moral help to restore rapidly the Armenian and Moslem residences that have been destroyed.
  21. For efficient regulation of interracial questions general and local Armenian-Moslem conferences will regularly be invited by the Council.
  22. Entire freedom of councils' invitations, speech and press. Connected with military situation, the assemblies are allowed exclusively by the administration staff.
  23. All crimes of private and official people are chased judicially, except for the cases determined on June 11, 1919 by the State Committee of Protection of the Republic of Azerbaijan.
  24. The participants of interethnic conflicts that have been taken place hitherto mustn't be chased.
  25. This contract will enter into force from the moment when it is accepted by the 7<sup>th</sup> Conference of the Armenians of Karabakh.
  26. The present contract is considered to be in power also in military, blockade and other conditions.
- City Shushi, August 22, 1919"<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> NAA, f. 200, l. 1, c. 50 (part 1), p. 102.

The contract was signed by 16 Armenian delegates, after which Khosrov Bek Sultanov congratulated for signing the contract and ensured security for the Armenians.

The conference chose the Armenian members of the council, which was adjacent to the governor: G. Qalantarov, L. Vardapetyan and a peasant. Arsen Hovhannisyan (Asro) was chosen as an assistant of the General-governor. At the same time on August 12-13 the American Aid Committee and British garrison left Shushi<sup>1</sup>. After the leaving of those missions Sultanov immediately closed all the ways to the region and by the threat of 48-hour ultimatum forced the congress to admit the agreement.

It must be noticed that even after adoption of the convention the Republic of Armenia continued to consider Karabakh and Zangezur its inseparable parts. In the letter sent to the Congress of Peace the government of the Republic of Armenia inscribed, that Azerbaijan applied violence and forced Karabakh to agree, which, of course, can't be considered legal. During that period, agreeing with the British, Haskel formed the American Governorate of Sharur-Nakhijevan. It was created a neutral zone between Armenia and Azerbaijan, which was actually controlled entirely by an American governor.

In Haskel's initiative and in Armenia's and Azerbaijan's silent consent Zangezur was recognized as a part of Armenia, and in the 12<sup>th</sup> point of the convention the Azerbaijani government agreed to facilitate the activity of the Middle East Aid Committees in Shushi and Goris by all means<sup>2</sup>. By the agreement consisted of 20 points Azerbaijan recognized the American General-governorate of Sharur-Nakhijevan, and in the 9<sup>th</sup> point it was inscribed the spread of the power of Armenia through Zangezur. Karabakh issue again remained pending. In his turn, Sultanov didn't give up his hope to occupy Zangezur; so he refused even the position of the Minister of Internal Affairs of Azerbaijan and planned with the general headquarters to reach his aims by forming Kurdish groups<sup>3</sup>.

In the second half of September the manifestations of Azerbaijan's invasive policy were going on, now it was already decided to remove the impact's direction to the southern zone of Araks – in Karababa-Agarak-

<sup>1</sup> See Nagorno-Karabakh in 1918-1923, the mentioned work, p. 330.

<sup>2</sup> See Struggle for the victory of Soviet power in Azerbaijan 1918-1920, Documents and Materials, Baku 1967, p. 263.

<sup>3</sup> See Nagorno-Karabakh in 1918-1923, the mentioned work, p. 338-340.

Eghvard direction and to the region of Meghri. This wave of attack was riposted in Zangezur; the battles went on till the beginning of October and finished with the Armenian's victory. As a result, Khanqend village almost lost its habitants, demoralization increased among the Azerbaijani soldiers.

Nevertheless, the Azerbaijani propaganda succeeded to instigate a rebellion among Nakhijevan's Moslem habitants, as a result of which about 10 thousand Armenians were exterminated<sup>1</sup>.

The Turkish-Tatar planned actions had already created real threats for complete existence of the Armenians, which was strongly connected with the leaving of the "British restraining hand"<sup>2</sup>. Azerbaijan tried to take revenge on the Armenian population due to the Turkish continual military help. The Georgian government warned about that the Armenian government at the end of October, 1919: "The Azerbaijani government decided to send 7000 soldiers to Sultanov as a help commanded by Shikhliniski. Sultanov has 5000 Kurd and 3000 Nakhijevan rebels at his disposal. The Turkish detachments have appeared in Bayazet-Surmalu region. The Azerbaijani armaments are attacking in Gandzak-Tartar-Aghdam-Shushi-Goris direction"<sup>3</sup>.

For arranging military actions against Zangezur, Enver and Nuri pashas arrived to Azerbaijan. In case of victory there was an aim to keep Persia in touch with Turkey, if the volunteer army attacked Azerbaijan. It was planned to provide weapon and hardware for Azerbaijan in that way<sup>4</sup>.

Azerbaijan's actions forced the Armenian government to apply to James Rey – the General Staff Colonel of the American forces, which had replaced the British forces in Transcaucasia. They asked that the latter mediated in the arguable decision-making problems.

By the offer of the Republic of Armenia it was decided to invite an Armenian-Azerbaijani conference in Baku for solving the arguable problems<sup>5</sup>. The conference should have taken place on November 20, but it was postponed until December 3. Until that, discussions between Armenia and Azerbaijan took place on November 20, 1919 in participation of Colonel Ray. Khatisyan represented Armenia, Usubekov-Azerbaijan. From the beginning of the conference Usubekov submitted Azerbaijan's claims on

Zangezur. After long discussions Azerbaijan again insisted on its aspirations towards the Armenian land. In his speech colonel Ray argued that still in the times of the British governorship Zangezur belonged to Armenia and "must be controlled by the Armenian National Council. Tatar shepherds send their livestock to those areas. The disturbances begin with the collisions between the Armenians and the shepherds. After this all Azerbaijan sends its armies for punishing the Armenians. I offer to stop the war and to restore the British regulation", - insisted the American colonel<sup>1</sup>. The Minister-President of Azerbaijan opposed saying, that Sultanov had been appointed as a governor in Karabakh and Zangezur by the British. The following reply of Ray followed: "The British appointed Sultanov temporary during the leaving of the Germans and the Turks. Later Sultanov was called back by the British and left for Baku. The British were preparing to send their armies there, but it turned out that the Italians should come and control that region. The Italians didn't come, and the British were preparing to send armies there again, but they got an instruction to return back to Baku, and Sultanov stayed there without a precaution"<sup>2</sup>.

As a result of long negotiations a package of consents was accepted by Armenia and Azerbaijan, which included the following points:

1. The Governments of Armenia and Azerbaijan are going to stop hostile actions against each other and never return to the use of weapon's power.
2. The Governments of Armenia and Azerbaijan agree to do practical steps for reopening of the ways to Zangezur and for the peaceful trade.
3. The Governments of Armenia and Azerbaijan are going to solve all the arguable problems including the problem of borders within the framework of the contract. In case of disagreement the two governments will apply to the mediation of a neutral country, which at present pretends to be the Colonel of the American army James Ray.
4. The two governments undertake to appoint an equal number of delegates, who must meet on November 26 at the Conference of Baku, so the conference is postponed till December 4 and now must

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<sup>1</sup> Nagorno-Karabakh in 1918-1923, the mentioned work, p. 346.

<sup>2</sup> NAA, f. 200, l. 2, c. 171, p. 5; New Worker, October 8, 1919, number 210.

<sup>3</sup> Nagorno-Karabakh 1918-1923, the mentioned work, p. 348.

<sup>4</sup> Nagorno-Karabakh 1918-1923, the mentioned work, p. 350.

<sup>5</sup> NAA, f. 200, l. 1, c. 395, p. 4.

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<sup>1</sup> NAA, f. 200, l. 1, c. 50, part 2, pp. 309-311.

<sup>2</sup> NAA, f. 200, l. 1, c. 50, part 2, pp. 309-311.

take place in Tiflis. That conference will discuss all the arguable questions between these two governments and will have the right to determine this sort of problems by the contract or intermediary.

5. This contract will enter into force after the approval of the parliaments, and both Armenia's and Azerbaijan's premier-ministers undertake to promote constantly and to do all points of the above-mentioned contract"<sup>1</sup>.

Azerbaijan had to sign that contract because in November the Turkish-Tatar armies defeated in the fight against Zangezur. But the signing of the contract by Azerbaijan didn't mean that military actions against Zangezur would be stopped. It is apparent from the course of the Armenian-Azerbaijani conference, which was postponed and invited only on December 14. It lasted till December 21, and from the Armenian side M. Harutyunyan, T. Bekzadyan, V. Papazayan and from Azerbaijan Jafarov, Khan Khoyski and Veqilov took part in it. Among many issues the problem of borders was also discussed. As a result, it was not possible to adjust the problem of borders because of Azerbaijan's disagreement.

Summarizing, it must be mentioned, that those initiatives didn't give the result, by which it should be established peace between Armenia and Azerbaijan. Azerbaijan continued to stay faithful to its ambitions of annihilating the Armenians and mastering Zangezur and to pan-Turkic aims. Its striking evidence was the continuing attacks in Zangezur direction<sup>2</sup>. So Sultanov called for that aim the members of the Armenian National Council of Karabakh at the end of November, 1919 and required to send a representative to Zangezur and to persuade the latter to accept the authority of Azerbaijan. Sultanov threatened again to reach his aim by force and violence: that is the subjugation of Zangezur, which would bring the eventual subjection of Karabakh.

So, at the end of 1918 and during 1919, Musavat Azerbaijan tried to own in Karabakh and Zangezur by the Turks' sponsorship and active mediation. In that process the discrimination in means wasn't important for them: by negotiations, all kinds of forgeries and falsifications they could provide for themselves the support of the British, who had occupied Transcaucasia. In their turn the latter had their own benefits in the region and were guided by those interests. In other words the British benefits in Trans-

<sup>1</sup> Nagorno-Karabakh 1918-1923, the mentioned work, p. 352-353.

<sup>2</sup> NAA, f. 200, l. 1, c. 5, part 2, pp. 420-426.

caucasia and the factors, which were influencing on the policy they adopted towards Karabakh, can be formulated in the following way:

1. To temporarily keep Transcaucasia away from the Bolshevik danger by creating a citadel from the 3 republics. As we could see, the Moslem Azerbaijan, the strengthening of which was profitable for England, was more anti-Russian in this matter.
2. Possession of Baku oil, fleet and telecommunication ways.
3. Loyal to their balanced policy;
  - a) The British handed Kars and Nakhijevan to Armenia, and Karabakh, then Zangezur to Azerbaijan.
  - b) The British considered that Armenia would expand by annexation of the 6 vilayets of Turkey-Armenia, but Azerbaijan had no place to expand except from Karabakh, and that Karabakh's mountains were Azerbaijan's natural borders<sup>1</sup>.
  - c) Karabakh was related to Baku in economic, geographical and strategic viewpoint (Evlakh's connection with bread and other stores, which was geographically within in Kars basin, guarded Baku railway in strategic point of view). In such relations the volunteer army's threat to Azerbaijan and close relations between the Armenians and Denikin could also play a certain role.

Certainly, the above mentioned calculations of the British couldn't be considered fair and, as the further history showed, just Bolshevism first of all was spread and won in Azerbaijan, and Armenia continued to wait for the allies' help with loyalty. In the issue of Karabakh the British undervalued the factor of pan-Turkism considering Turkey entirely defeated. However, as we know, the latter got new manifestations, which was the Kemalizm, involving also Azerbaijan. In that point of view Karabakh and Zangezur pretended to be a specific citadel against the latter's invasive endeavors.

The British Government failed to save the balancing policy it had adopted because Azerbaijan had more profitable natural conditions and was getting the Turks' help, and Armenia was surrounded by a hostile link, and that link was squeezing more and more by the loss of Karabakh.

We can conclude that the British policy was failed in generally and that the project was initially untimely. It was not developed and didn't express the national and strategic features of the problem.

<sup>1</sup> See A. Khatisyan, the mentioned work, p. 182.

As a direct result of the British policy, the Armenians of Karabakh remained helpless against the Turkish-Tatar attacks. Andranik was removed from Zangezur-Karabakh by the British efforts, and the region remained defenseless. Without having corresponding forces the British couldn't resist the massacres initiated by Sultanov (who was appointed by their own agreement), as a result of which many Armenian settlements were destroyed and thousands of Armenians were killed. Though after the massacres the British tried to call Sultanov back from Karabakh, but it was late, as the British mission and troops were going to be removed from Transcaucasia.

## CHAPTER 3

### THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE REPUBLIC OF ARMENIA AND GREAT BRITAIN: THE CONFLICT OF NAGORNO-KARABAKH IN 1919-1920.

#### 3.1. The Situation in Nagorno-Karabakh at the beginning of 1920 and the Position of the Republic of Armenia after the withdrawal of British troops.

On August 15, 1919 the withdrawal of British troops from Caucasus became inevitable. The British leaders were worried about the deterioration of the international political situation and the reinforcement of the nationalistic movements in Turkey. They decided not to risk and remove their army. On the other hand, the allies realized that the movements, which were spread in Turkish areas, would lead to the massacres of local national minorities<sup>1</sup>. Despite all these, the British considered it strongly necessary to remove the army from that area, although they realized clearly how tragically the situation of Armenia would be. With exhausted economy and in the conditions of absence of communication ways, Armenia, with more than half million starving migrants, certainly wouldn't be able to confront the enemies, which had surrounded its areas<sup>2</sup>.

From August 15, 1919 the British troops were removed from Transcaucasia, but they retained their representations in the places. Now the problem was to recognize the republics of Transcaucasia, which certainly required the British gain, about which Wardrop was sending numerous telegrams to his government.

The cause of the American representative W. Haskell's arrival in Transcaucasia on July 5, 1919 was American interests and mandate prob-

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<sup>1</sup> See A. Nasipean, Britain and the Armenian Question in 1915-1923, p. 172-173.

<sup>2</sup> See The Documents on British Foreign Policy 1919-1939, v. 2, London, p. 322.



lems. The American side was researching Transcaucasia, Turkey and the straits. It is distinctive that the president of the USA – Woodrow Wilson was more concerned with the mandate problem, and on his initiative “The American Military Mission” was organized in August. It was headed by James Harbord, who toured in the mandate areas in autumn, 1919 and in April, 1920 he presented a corresponding memorandum to the American Congress. There were many uncertainties concerning the territories of Kurdistan in that memorandum. England aspired to keep the mandate of Kurdistan in its hands forbidding the reinforcement of the USA influence in those areas.

Some irreparable procedures had been performed in the region until the clarifying of the mandate problems. At the time, when the allies were not consenting who could help the Armenians, the Turkish pressure got stronger in Western Armenia. After long arguments, on January 10, 1920 the council of the allies decided to take steps for the recognition of the Republics of Georgia and Azerbaijan, in order to save its shaky authority in Caucasus. The recognition of the Republic of Armenia was connected with the reconciliation, which should be signed with Turkey.

Armenia, which had hopes with the help of the allies, appeared in a tragic situation at that time. Apart from the Turkish-Azerbaijani contract, which was against Armenia (November 29, 1919, Constantinople), it was signed a corresponding secret contract between Georgia and Azerbaijan too. It was obvious, that it was also against Armenia: “As Armenia does not join the Georgian-Azerbaijani mutual aid military contract, - it was said there, - it is not excluded that Armenia will join the voluntary army in case of attack on Azerbaijan and Georgia”<sup>1</sup>. These all became more understandable from the letter to the committee of protection by Mehmandarov, the Minister of Defense of Azerbaijanian, who wrote: “Our military pact with Georgia strengthened our front in the protection of the border of Dagestan and Armenia”<sup>2</sup>.

Armenia appeared in insulation, which facilitated the realization of Azerbaijani plans to take possession of the Armenian areas. Azerbaijan tried to use the propitious condition and to hasten the occupation of Zangezur, the subdual and annihilation of the Armenians of Karabakh. N. Narimanov did not avoid stating that fact in his letter of September 29, 1919, and later he

<sup>1</sup> A. Raevski, the mentioned work, p. 108.

<sup>2</sup> The same place.

adopted the same policy: “Annihilations take place in the provinces which are Armenian-populated (Karabakh and Ghazakh). There are some Armenian, Muslim and Russian settlements, which refuse to recognize the authority of Azerbaijan and want to join Russia. The conflicts with the Moslems have got military character in Armenia. The Moslems are guided by the Turkish officers (Khalil Bey and others)”<sup>1</sup>.

At the end of 1919, Sultanov encircled the whole Karabakh with spies. The massacres, organized against the Armenians, became daily phenomena. The problem of Karabakh became urgent for Armenia. The government of Armenia got trustworthy information, that the military aggression against Karabakh was led by the Turkish officers and the leaders of Azerbaijani army. Arriving in Karabakh once more, Nuri Pasha consolidated the Turkish officers under the direction of General Novruzov in order to occupy Karabakh and Zangezur. Only at the end of 1919 the Republic of Armenia could pay serious attention to the problems of Zangezur and Karabakh. The “Council of chiefs” was organized in Zangezur, which took the political power in its hand. From the military viewpoint the region was separated in 3 parts - under the direct of P. Ter-Davtyan, G. Nzhdeh and N. Ghazaryan respectively. Here Garegin Nzhdeh was immortalized for the protection of Zangezur. He was leading the defense of Zangezur since November 1919. Numerous works have been written about Nzhdeh and the struggle of Zangezur, but it is presented comprehensively and fully in Aram Simonyan’s work entitled “The struggle of Zangezur in 1920-1921”<sup>2</sup>.

The government of Azerbaijan tried to remove troops through the territory of Karabakh in order to fight against Zangezur. Breaking the resistance of the Armenian residents of Sharur and Nakhijevan, the Azerbaijani troops moved to Zangezur in January, 1920. The allies were certainly aware of the above-mentioned operations. But even after numerous discussions they didn’t organize anything for preventing the Turkish-Tatarian attacks<sup>3</sup>.

At the session of the allies' council, which took place in Paris, in January 1920, Churchill mentioned, that Armenia was attacked by Turkey from the south. The protests of the Republic of Armenia were still unanswered. This

<sup>1</sup> Fight for the Victori of Soviet Power in Azerbaijan 1918-1920, Documents and Materials, Baku, 1967, p. 291-292.

<sup>2</sup> See A. Simonyan, The Fight of Zangezur 1920-1921, Yerevan, 2000.

<sup>3</sup> Times, 19 March, Documents on British Foreign Policy 1919-1939, vol. 2, p. 923.

time the republic had to take steps for saving Karabakh, as well as Armenia from the Turkish-Tatarian encirclement. To the assignment of the Armenian government, Dro organized examination of the situation and got military preparations. At the end of 1919 and at the beginning of 1920, Dro, with the officers of protection of Zangezur, mopped up from the Moslems the territories between Zangezur and Karabakh. Those military operations had desired effects. It should be also noted, that Nzhdeh greatly helped Dro in elimination of the Moslem group between Zangezur and Karabakh. At the same time Dro was persuading the defenders of Karabakh to inform him about the attack by Azerbaijan<sup>1</sup>. On January 22, 1920 Sultanov arrived in Varanda and Zangelan in order to bring troops into those areas. He motivated this action as if by "the danger, threatening to Zangezur", though his intentions towards Zangezur were fully obvious. They tried again to disarm the Armenians of Karabakh in order to secure the rear in case of attacks against Zangezur. The appeal of the Republic of Armenia to the British representative in Transcaucasia – Wardrop on January 30, which was against the Azerbaijani inroads, had no results. There were taken steps to strengthen the defensive capacity of Karabakh. At the end of 1919 a group of Artsakhian activists, who were sent to Jraberd and Khachen by the government of the Republic of Armenia, created a body of Artsakh self-defense under the direction of A. Mikayelyan and Z. Mesyan.

The created situation demanded also to invite a new conference. According to the acquired agreement, the 8<sup>th</sup> conference should have been taken place on February 28, with the participation of 168 delegates<sup>2</sup>. Sultanov hindered the implementation of that decision, which had been fulfilled in January, demanding to call the conference in Shushi.

At the beginning of February Khalil and Nuri pashas, who had arrived in Shushi, planned the Turkish-Tatarian attack. "They are concentrating Turkish forces in Karyagino and other places near Zangezur. It's a fact, that a Turkish-Tatarian conspiracy is being organized against Karabakh and the whole Armenia"- it was written in "Haraj"<sup>3</sup>. The Turk-Tatars sought to use the Kurdish and Mohammedan forces of the local and other residences

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<sup>1</sup> See H. Gevorgyan, Dro, Biographical memoirs, evidences, Yerevan, 1991, p. 142.

<sup>2</sup> B. Ulubabyan, the mentioned work, p. 79.

<sup>3</sup> Haraj, 26 February, 1920.

against the Armenians. The Armenian government received a lot of information about that.

On February 28, 1920 the National Council invited the 8<sup>th</sup> conference. In conditions of Sultanov's pressure and threats it was not possible to provide the presence of all members of the conference in the village Shosh. The National Council couldn't even inform the great part of them where the conference would take place. Thus, a part of the conference delegates gathered in Shushi (50 Armenians), and the other part gathered in Shosh (77 Armenians)<sup>1</sup>.

Therefore, from February 28 to March 4, 1920, the 8<sup>th</sup> conference of the Armenians of Karabakh took place, which discussed the temporary contract with the Azerbaijani government, which had been fulfilled by the 7<sup>th</sup> conference. The conference stated that Sultanov's declaration of February 19, which said as if the Congress of Peace would not take place, and the Armenians had to submit to Azerbaijan, violated roughly the contract of August 22, 1919. Moreover, Azerbaijani side made such violations were not unique: it was not realized the 16<sup>th</sup> point of the contract, according to which it shouldn't be displacement of troops in the territory of Karabakh, and in case of emergency they should received the permission of the 2/3 of the Council. In October, 1919 the Azerbaijani army with 12.000 soldiers was removed to Zangezur through Askeran, Khanqend and Shushi. So, the 8<sup>th</sup> conference of the Armenians of Karabakh adopted a resolution about the political condition, taking into consideration the facts of contract violations by the Azerbaijani side. The Conference confirmed its constancy about the points of the contract in the resolution and appealed to Azerbaijan for not violating them, otherwise the Armenians of Karabakh would apply to corresponding defense means informing the command of the allied countries about that<sup>2</sup>. But at the same time, the conference of Shushi adopted a decision about submitting to Azerbaijan. The Azerbaijani side was indignant about the decision of the 8<sup>th</sup> conference and began to realize its long-standing wish of finally subjugating Karabakh. On March 20, 1920 Sultanov presented an ultimatum to the population of Karabakh demanding to disarm, otherwise he threatened to apply to violent force.

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<sup>1</sup> NAA, f. 114, l. 2, c. 3, p. 20. H. Harutyunyan, Nagorno-Karabakh in 1918-1921, p. 206.

<sup>2</sup> Ashkhatavor, 1920, April 13; Soviet Karabakh, 1989. Novemner 11; H. Tumyan. The Events in Nagorno-Karabakh in 1917-1920.

At that time, some Armenian activists, who had left the territory by the English request, returned to Karabakh. The tension among the citizens of Karabakh was growing. They received information, that the Azerbaijani side would attack Karabakh and Zangezur on March 23 - on "Nowruz Bayrame" and from the other side the Bolsheviks would invade into Transcaucasia.

The Azerbaijani side began the attack against Karabakh on March 22, when Sultanov had already begun the forcible disarmament of the Armenians and the attack against the Armenian Shushi district. Repulsing the attacks of the opponent, the Armenians began to expel the Azerbaijani army from Karabakh. On March 22-23 the Armenian forces attacked in Khanqend and Askeran direction. The Armenians succeeded to occupy Askeran almost without any resistance. The Azerbaijani side prepared a new attack against the Armenians uniting its forces of Aghdam and Askeran. The 1500 Azerbaijani soldiers were supported by numerous bashibazouks. It was planned to suppress the Armenians in two directions. Because of the pressures by the Azerbaijani side, impetuous Partizan movements started in Khanqend, Askeran and Khojalu and in other places of Karabakh and Zangezur<sup>1</sup>.

Naturally, the government of the Republic of Armenia informed the representatives of the allies (Haskel, Wardrop, Nonancop and Gabba) about those events by appropriate applications. The attacks of Azerbaijan were introduced as a work done by the Turkish colonel's enterprise. But the representatives could not organize anything practical as they did not control the situation any more. Loss of Askeran made the Turkish-Moslem forces arrange a resolute invasion at the end of March. According to the program on March 22 Sultanov removed the army from Khanqend to Shushi under the pretext of celebrating Nowruz Bayrame. Entering Shushi the Azerbaijani rag-tag invaded the homes of the Armenians and required to hand the weapons. The murder of the Turkish colonel in the result of violence became a new pretense of the Armenian massacres, and the leader was again Sultanov. According to the latter he acted so because of the entrance of the Armenian forces in Shushi. Having military and numerical huge predominance (90 carriages of ammunition were sent from Baku to Karabakh and Zangezur on March 11-12), the Moslem armament and the rag-tag slaughtered the Arme-

nian population of Shushi a whole day, on March 23<sup>1</sup>. It was an original respond to the occupation of Askeran by the Armenians. About 8.000 Armenians died. 5-6 Armenians, who could survive, sheltered in other parts of Karabakh. The houses of the Armenians were basically destroyed and the property was plundered. The program of Turkish-Tatarian massacres was lately continued in Elisabethpol province's residences of Karkachinar, Paris, Manazbek, Verinshen, Nerqinshen, Erqej, Ablah, Gharadaghu, Armavir, Suluk and Getashen<sup>2</sup>. Thus, in the result of the massacre, the Armenians of the ancient Armenian-populated city were annihilated. Inspired by successes, the Azerbaijani armaments started to attack with artillery in Askeran-Shushi, Aghdam-Khachen, Karachinar-Erkej (Gyulistan) directions on March 30-31. A separate detachment attacked Goris from Khanqend and Kapan from Jebrayil. At the beginning of April, parallel with the massacres and slaughters, the Turkish-Musavat armaments attacked Askeran. Having great superiority (15 against 1), the latter met the heroic and persistent resistance of the Armenians and were moved away. Because of the disgraceful routs, the main colonel of Azerbaijani army - General Selimov was retired and Khalil Bey was appointed instead of him.

Learning that large-scale attacks started in Karabakh, the government of the Republic of Armenia decided to send a military support to Karabakh: "The expeditionary detachment of Zangezur-Karabakh, led by Drastamat Kanayan, moved to Karabakh over the Goris-Alaverdi-Shushi line, and the detachment called "South-Karabakhian", which was formed by a part of the forces of Kapan and was led by Nzhdeh, moved to Dizak"<sup>3</sup>. Before the support arrived from Armenia the opponent succeeded break the line of defense and occupied Askeran on April 3. The commander of the protection Dali Ghazar required withdrawing in order to avoid having victims. It should be noted that after that requirement the commander himself continued the fight and died heroically in the post.

In the result of owning Askeran, the enemy managed to divide Karabakh into two parts. The opponent also owned the Aghdam-Shushi road of sup-

<sup>1</sup> See Nagorno-Karabakh 1918-1923, the mentioned work, p. 416.

<sup>2</sup> Nagorno-Karabakh, 1989, November 11. H. Tummyan, The Events in Nagorno-Karabakh. NAA, f. 245, l. 1, c. 14. pp. 75-77: Word, April 16, 1920.

<sup>3</sup> A. Simonyan, the mentioned work, p. 43.

<sup>1</sup> NAA, f. 1022, l. 8, c. 45, p. 1: Azerbaijan, March 28, 1920, number 167, NAA, f. 200, l. 1, c. 486, p. 136.

reme importance. During that time the Azerbaijanis managed to accomplish the destruction of the Armenian population of Lowland Karabakh.

After invading Askeran, on April 6 the Azerbaijani troops moved to Jevanshir destroying the Armenian villages on their way. Several hundreds of the Armenians, who had escaped from the slaughter of Shushi and were in prisons, were killed<sup>1</sup>.

The number of the Azerbaijani troops reached 10.000 during those actions. By the way, those were only the regular military units. The number of the Mohammedan rabble and irregular bandit detachments in different parts of Karabakh and around Zangezur also was great.

In numerous application-letters the Armenian government demanded from the allies to take away the Azerbaijani troops from the territory of Karabakh, to make the Turkish officers return and stop the slaughters of the Armenians<sup>2</sup>. Even a special committee was founded from the representatives of England, France and Italy, which was to arrive to Karabakh and try to stop the confrontation. The representatives were sending reports to their governments about the situation there<sup>3</sup>.

It is remarkable that at that time the British demands were being directly refused by the Azerbaijanis and as "The Times" mentioned "the Azerbaijani government has refused England's demand of extraditing the Turkish public figures – Nuri and Khalil pashas"<sup>4</sup>. Besides the fact that the Azerbaijani government wasn't going to extradite the Turkish officers, in the "Musavat" Party meeting, taken place in Baku in January, 1919, at which Khalil and Nuri were present, the President Karabek Karabekov demanded one billion rubles from the Azerbaijani rich people to create an army consisted of 200.000 members under the guidance of those Turkish pashas. By the advice of the latter it was decided to invite Mustafa Qemal to Baku and to arrange an election of cadres for creating an army. By the way, that information was reported by Devoyants, who was the colonel of the general staff of the army of the Republic of Armenia and the head of the Investigation Department<sup>5</sup>.

The opponent conquered Khanqend and moved to Karyagino on April 7. There their advance was stopped after occupying a number of Armenian

<sup>1</sup> NAA, f. 200, l. 1, c. 271, p. 144.

<sup>2</sup> NAA, f. 200, l. 1, c. 563, p. 175.

<sup>3</sup> NAA, F. 200, l. 1, c. 563, p. 54.

<sup>4</sup> Nor Ashkhatavor, April 6, 1920, p. 2.

<sup>5</sup> NAA, f. 200, l. 1, c. 563, pp. 180-181.

villages. Fierce fights took place between the Azerbaijani side and the volunteers of Karabakh from April 5 to 15.

On April 9, 1920 the conference of the Transcaucasian Republics took place, at which the Armenian-Georgian side demanded to discuss the question of military actions in Karabakh and Zangezur. The conference formed a committee which had to leave for Karabakh and accomplish the decision concerning the discontinuance of military actions. The labors of the committee resulted in nothing because of the obstacles raised by the Azerbaijani side. The rural conventions of the Armenians of Karabakh sent their applications to the conference. Those rural conventions made a decision about uniting with Armenia at their meetings. They also stated about the encroachments and the slaughters of the Armenian population by the Azerbaijani side<sup>1</sup>.

During that period the military actions in Sghnakh and other places were going on, but the news that the Armenian army was going to help Karabakh made the Azerbaijani side leave the front. As the leader of the Azerbaijani government Khan Khoyski certified, they had kept all their armed forces on the borders of Karabakh: "It is a very alarming moment for our state: we have sent all our troops to Karabakh and sat with folded hands. The occurrences in Karabakh became a horrible blow of danger for us in such a heavy situation"<sup>2</sup>.

But while the Azerbaijanis were elaborating new plans to own Karabakh, the Soviet troops entered Baku on April 28 and took the authority almost without resistance. Sultanov, who realized the Azerbaijani shattering policy, oriented quickly towards the Bolsheviks and "after arranging a Revolutionary Committee in Shushi he offered the people of Karabakh to stop the struggle"<sup>3</sup>.

Not long before that, on April 14, 1920 Dro's troops entered Karabakh. The latter applied to the Armenian population of Karabakh with a special announcement where, adverting the heroic past of Karabakh's population, he encouraged them to unify against the common enemy<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> NAA, f. 200, l. 1, c. 563, p. 191.

<sup>2</sup> Soviet Karabakh, November 11, 1989.

<sup>3</sup> The same place.

<sup>4</sup> See A. Simonyan, the mentioned work, p. 43-44.

On April 18, 1920 in Inner Taghavard village the meeting of the representatives of Dizak's and Varanda's Armenian population was convened, and Dro also took part in it. It was decided to make a temporary government; Dro was appointed the general commander of the army. The first meeting of the government was convened on April 23, 1920 and it was decided to insist on the decision of recognition of Karabakh as the inseparable part of Armenia. Nzhdeh in his turn deployed in Dizak district with his military units of Kapan.

According to Dro's order the mobilization of 21-25 aged people was organized in Varanda and Dizak. According to another source the mobilization was organized among the people who were 23-35 years old<sup>1</sup>. Thus, the temporary government spread its warrants also in other regions of Karabakh.

The calling of the 9<sup>th</sup> conference on April 25-29, 1920 was important for the Armenians of Karabakh. One of the most important decisions of the conference was, of course, retracting from the agreement with Azerbaijan, which was accepted by the 7<sup>th</sup> conference and the proclamation of union with Armenia<sup>2</sup>.

From the very beginning of its existence Soviet Azerbaijan adopted its Musavat predecessor's policy: occupying at first Karabakh, then Zangezur and Nakhchivan was its supreme task. It was beyond doubt, that the consistent policy of the government of Soviet Azerbaijan was the obvious result of the Soviet-Kemal agreement. It was planned, that occupying Yevlakh, the Soviet armaments should move to Shushi "to unite Turkey over Karabakh"<sup>3</sup>. There was foreseen to start a fight in case of resistance by Armenia. On the other hand, it wasn't accidental the ultimatum presented by Soviet Azerbaijan to the Republic of Armenia, where the first point was the demand to disengage Karabakh and Zangezur from the Armenian troops. It was given a 3-day term to answer to that ultimatum, which was sent on April 30. Naturally, after the frustration of the volunteer troops in Northern Caucasus, the situation was favorable enough for Soviet Union to regain its lost sway in Transcaucasia.

Now military actions against Karabakh were being prepared with the cooperation of Musavats and the Red army. The Command of the British and

allied forces and the staff of "Foreign Office" were aware of that ultimatum. The British representative in Constantinople and Hamo Ohanjanyan informed them about it with a special letter<sup>1</sup>. However, the allied countries did not arrange anything to protect the Armenians.

In answer to the ultimatum the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Armenia-Ohanjanyan sent a telegram to the revolutionary council of the front of Caucasus and the Revolutionary Committee of Azerbaijan, mentioning that Armenia didn't have troops in the territory of Azerbaijan and, on the contrary, the Musavat government of Azerbaijan had troops in "Armenian Karabakh which is considered to be arguable"<sup>2</sup>.

On May 1 the government of the Republic of Armenia got such an ultimatum from the command of the 11<sup>th</sup> Red army. There was a threat in that ultimatum: "Non-fulfillment of the requirement would be considered to be a challenge against the RSFSR. The problem would be solved by the power of Russian Red Army and all the responsibility of the results would be on the Armenian government", - it was said in the ultimatum<sup>3</sup>. It was obvious that the socialization of Armenia was put on the agenda.

The leaders of Soviet Azerbaijan, who were actually the same Musavats, tried to reach the realization of their long-standing program under the cover of Soviet. The Soviet command in its turn justified its military actions against Armenia in this way: "The occupation of Nakhijevan-Ordubad-Shushi would desist the Armenian-Moslem massacres till the determination of the territories between Azerbaijan and Armenia"<sup>4</sup>.

The government of Armenia decided to save the existence and freedom of the Armenian nation in all possible means. On May 7 the chief headquarters of the Armed forces of Armenia made an official announcement about Qemal-Bolshevik cooperation and about the preparation of war against the Republic of Armenia by them. It also appealed to the army and the population of the Republic of Armenia.

General Dro realized a mobilization collecting 8000 soldiers. It was obvious from a report to the naval commissary of Azerbaijan, that the Soviet side was wholly informed about the events in Karabakh. In one of the reports

<sup>1</sup> NAA, f 1022, l. 8, c. 36, p. 2.

<sup>2</sup> See H. Harutyunyan, the mentioned work, p. 233-234.

<sup>3</sup> NAA, f. 200, l. 2, c. 82, pp. 1-3.

<sup>1</sup> See Armenia, the mentioned work, p. 812-813.

<sup>2</sup> A. Simonyan, the mentioned work, p. 52.

<sup>3</sup> The same place, p. 53.

<sup>4</sup> Nagorno-Karabakh in 1918-1923, the mentioned work, p. 462.

it was the data of Azerbaijani reconnaissance, where it was said that the great part of the Armenian military forces was in Kars-Yerevan line, and 3 Turkish divisions were concentrated against them<sup>1</sup>. It became clear from the report, that a Soviet-Turkish combined war was being planned against Armenia.

On May 19 the delegation of Soviet Red army arrived in Shushi, where the headquarters of the Armenian troops was situated. The delegation corroborated Dro that the Red Army would not let any action against the Armenians. It is remarkable that when Dro was required to move away the Armenian forces from Karabakh, the commander answered that he was a serviceman and had come to Karabakh by the precept of his government and would leave it only by the command of the latter<sup>2</sup>. Nevertheless, the Soviet-Azerbaijani troops started to move to Karabakh. The command of the 11<sup>th</sup> Red Army ordered to occupy Shushi on May 21, then the regions of Karyagino and Gebrail. The concentration of Soviet troops in Gandzak-Yevlakh-Shushi direction should have been realized till May 29<sup>3</sup>. After the 32<sup>nd</sup> rifle division of the Soviet Army entered Shushi, on May 24 Dro called a conference in the village Avetaranots, where he announced the hard decision for Karabakh: "The government of Armenia has agreed to remove the troops from Karabakh"<sup>4</sup>. Actually, Dro faced the fact though he was hesitating-to war against the Soviet troops or not. In the result of the conference of May 24 it was decided to go to Zangezour. Before that, on May 23 the Soviet forces had already entered Khachen, Jevanshir and Giulistan and declared the Soviet authority there. On May 28 Dro was already in Goris with his forces<sup>5</sup>.

Dro's leaving from Karabakh raised a wave of dissatisfaction in the region: Meliq-Yolchyan complained about that considering Dro's immediate and mystic leaving a failure of the Republic's policy: "Dro surrendered personally the authority to the local Bolsheviks, - he writes, - the leaving of Dro's detachment from Karabakh has also caused some panic situation in Zangezour. There are rising turbulences among the nation"<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> NAA, f. 1022, l. 8, c. 40, p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> NAA, f. 1022, l. 8, c. 42, p. 1.

<sup>3</sup> See Nagorno-Karabakh in 1918-1923, the mentioned work, p. 470.

<sup>4</sup> A. Simonyan, the mentioned work, p. 78-79.

<sup>5</sup> NAA, f. 200, l. 1, c. 427, part 1, p. 33.

<sup>6</sup> NAA, f. 1022, l. 8, c. 51, p. 1.

On those fatal days, on May 28, the 10<sup>th</sup> assembly took place in the village of Taghavard in Karabakh. It proclaimed the region as Soviet, and a Revolutionary Committee was created, the president of which was Saqo Hambardzumyan. On June 16 the Revolutionary Committees of Highland Karabakh and Lowland Karabakh were unified, and the city of Shushi became the center.

So, that period of the region's struggle for existence ended by the Socialization of Karabakh. If we try to describe all that, then we can segregate the following nodal periods of that struggle for existence:

1. The British troops were removed from Karabakh in the result of which the region remained absolutely unprotected.
2. In the result of the special contract concluded between the Turk-Musavats, the physical destruction of the Armenian population and particularly of the Armenians of Karabakh was carried out.
3. One of the main aims of the military actions unleashed by the Turk-Musavats was the subjugation of the Armenians of Karabakh.
4. During that period mass slaughters of the Armenians of Karabakh were carried out.
5. The Soviet-Kemalist cooperation entailed to Karabakh's Socialization in the end.

### **3.2. The Nagorno-Karabakh problem at Paris Conference The Relations between the Armenian and the British Delegations**

In January, 1919 Paris Peace Conference was opened, which had to discuss and establish the new afterward geopolitical rules. There also the big states, naturally, did not refrain from the struggle for the areas of their influence. In those fatal times in the whirlpool of great states' contradiction the Armenian Issue was to be solved too. It seemed as if after long deprivations and a number of disasters brought by the World War the Armenian Issue would get its fair solution. The problem of the borders of Armenia should also be solved at the conference. It should be mentioned that unfortunately the two delegations, which were defending the interests of the Armenian people (Avetis Aharonyan from the Republic of Armenia and Poghos Nubar Pasha from the West Armenia) did not manage to come to an agree-

ment and act together in support of the issues concerning the Armenian people.

From the very beginning of the conference the contradictions got worse between the British, who had become too strong in the result of the war, and the USA, which was just getting stronger; the relations between Britain and France, as well as Britain and Italy were not less tense. After the collapse of the Russian Empire the British wished not to allow France to get stronger and were trying to oppose to all that through the Americans. On May 14, 1919 the Council of Four of the Assembly decided to offer the mandate of Armenia and Turkey to the USA. Later there were also discussed the options of handing the Armenian mandate to Italy and even to Greece.

The Problem of Armenia was discussed on different levels of the Assembly, but no certain decision was made. The only resolute decision was that "the Allied and United Powers agreed that Armenia should entirely be segregated from Turkey"<sup>1</sup>.

The American mandate over Armenia would be in force in case if the American Senate agreed on directing the mandate. At the same time it should be noted that among the discussed options the American one was the most useful and realistic for Armenia. The USA was interested in the borders of Armenia being most efficient and insisted that "the borders of Armenia should be stated in accordance with the satisfaction of all demands of Armenia and it should be guaranteed a free and firm sea exit for the Armenians"<sup>2</sup>.

In that case the American policy should undoubtedly collide with British interests. "The value of the American mandate of Armenia is estimated to be 757 million dollars for 5 years, at the end of which the mandate will become self-sufficient. Initially a force of 59000 is needed, which will reach to 200000 for expansion if it is necessary"<sup>3</sup>. "It was stated at the same time that Great Britain also could equally manage the mandate, but the American side declared that the British mandate would not be agreeable for the Armenians as the British policy was not indifferent to the Moslem interests.

The contradictions between the USA and Great Britain in the Assembly and especially in the frames of establishing the League of Nations led to refusing from the American policy in Europe. As a result, in January, 1920 the Europeans led the opening session of the League of Nations without the Americans. Earlier, the USA president Wilson was delegated to specify the borders of Armenia for signing the Treaty of Sevres. It should be noted here that the USA was eager to create Great Armenia "but that type of Armenia did not have a strong basement and the Allied Assembly thought that such an idea did not coincide with the reality and the Russian Armenia should be taken as a basis, where the number of the population was about 400-500 thousand"<sup>1</sup>.

Subsequently, taking into consideration the difficulties of creating Great Armenia, the London Conference compared the Armenian Issue with the Jewish one. In the first half of 1920 the allies came to the conclusion that the Armenians would not be able to keep the West Armenian areas and not even reoccupy them, so it was dangerous to give those areas to Armenia<sup>2</sup>.

The Council of Allies eventually left Armenia undefended to which Lloyd George confessed openly: "I can't take such a responsibility and agree on creating Great Armenia, I consulted with Balfour who was exploring that issue in Paris and he appeared to totally share my thoughts. I think that the British Government will come to that point of view. It is quite clear that Lord Curzon, as a representative of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs and Ambassadors, participating to the London Conference, partially supported the decision of the Conference"<sup>3</sup>. Besides he thought that the establishment of Great Armenia would cause undesirable moods in Mohammedan areas of the world. All the demands of Aharonyan weren't paid serious attention to by the allies. All the aims of supporting and uniting Armenia eventually disappeared in London Conference in February, 1920 and then in San Remo Conference in April, 1920. The allies decided to turn to the USA as a negotiator to defend the Armenians. Later President Wilson was also asked to draw the map of Armenia.

On August 10, 1920 a peace agreement was signed between the plenipotentiaries of Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, Armenia, Belgium,

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<sup>1</sup> G. G. Mahmuryan, *League of Nations, The Armenian Question and the Republic of Armenia*, Yerevan, 1999, p. 54.

<sup>2</sup> D. Lloyd George, the mentioned work, p. 421.

<sup>3</sup> J. Kirakosyan, the mentioned work, p. 611-612.

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<sup>1</sup> D. Lloyd George, the mentioned work, p. 421.

<sup>2</sup> The same place, p. 430-431.

<sup>3</sup> The same place, p. 438.

Greece, Poland, Portugal, Romania and Czechoslovakia from one side and Turkey from another side, with the 88<sup>th</sup> article of which Turkey acknowledged the independence of Armenia and agreed that the problem of the border between Turkey and Armenia would be solved by the legal decree of the president of the USA<sup>1</sup>. Later the territories of Armenia drawn up by Wilson included 90000 square km areas from the Western Armenia.

The Issue of Nagorno-Karabakh was also discussed for many times in the negotiations during the Paris Assembly. The British position concerning the origin of Karabakh, which was confirmed also in Paris Assembly, had been presented in the previous chapter. In the represented borders Karabakh was constantly included in the territories of Azerbaijan<sup>2</sup>.

By the Treaty of Sevres signed on August 10, 1920 the problem of the three republics of Transcaucasia was left to the mutual agreement of those three republics. It meant that the struggle around the controversial areas would continue. Making such a decision by the Peace Assembly was not occasional as just at that time Soviet Russia was beginning to dictate its will in Transcaucasia.

In the British archival documents collection there is a memorandum entitled "Caucasian Boundaries 1802-1946" concerning the borders of Armenia, and Karabakh is also mentioned in it<sup>3</sup>. The memorandum is numbered as the 32<sup>nd</sup> for the naval headquarters of the reconnaissance department and is dated by April 23, 1919. It clarifies the eastern borders of Armenia under the second and third divisions. It was planned to settle the Karabakh issue in accordance with the old, Tsarist Russian splitting considering that "the Armenia-Azerbaijani border between the Armenians and Tatars isn't clear enough and it isn't possible to draw an approximate ethnographic border. Therefore the suggested and the best physical border is the one which is between the Russian Yerevan and Elizabetspol governorates: thus the Armenian and Tatar minorities are roughly equalized on opposite sides by that line"<sup>4</sup>. The memorandum also made it clear that with that project the

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<sup>1</sup> See G. Lazean, *Armenia and The Armenian Cause*, Yerevan, 1991, p. 214-215. A History of the Peace Conference of Paris, vol. VI, London, 1924, p. 83.

<sup>2</sup> See A. Nasipean, the mentioned work, p. 157, map 6 (The borders of Armenia offered by the British delegation 1919).

<sup>3</sup> See *Caucasian Boundaries 1802-1946*, the mentioned work, p. 577-578.

<sup>4</sup> *Caucasian Boundaries 1802-1946*, the mentioned work, p. 577-578.

British were trying to put the old borders of Elizabetspol governorate in the basis of their politics which was defining Karabakh as a part of Azerbaijan.

The document also stated that the representative of the Republic of Armenia A. Aharonyan was insisting on the Armenian origin of Karabakh substantiating it with the fact that predominant part of the inhabitants of the country is Armenian. Aharonyan even suggested exchanging the province of Nakhijevan with Karabakh though he understood that it would lead to isolation of the Armenian population of Dilman, Khoy, Salmast and Maku from Armenia<sup>1</sup>.

As we can see, the solution suggested in the memorandum was so improvident, that even the British stated that the issue should be additionally studied: "The red line on the map suggests agreement from ethnographic and physical viewpoints, but the suggestion needs a serious and complex research, which should probably be carried out in that place"<sup>2</sup>. It is noteworthy, that later in another project of Eastern borders of Armenia suggested by the British Zangezour and Shushi were included in the territory of the Republic of Armenia.

Another alternative project of Armenia's eastern borders was suggested by Professor Douglas Johnson<sup>3</sup>. The latter mentioned that Aharonyan demanded to approve such boundaries which would include the Armenian villages of Ghazakh, Elizabetspol, Jevanshir, Shushi and Zangezour in the east, as well as the Armenian part of the province of Jebraiil. Johnson considered the borders suggested by Aharonyan to be unrealistic from strategic and economic viewpoints. That border splitted the mountains from the Kur valley, while the field grazier Tatars were attached to the mountains with their cattle herds and the population of the mountains was connected to the valleys economically.

The professor explained that demarcation in this way: "The drawn geographical borders are important even in case if they leave many Armenian villages within Azerbaijan and Tatar villages – within Armenia"<sup>4</sup>.

Without taking into account the fact that the predominant majority of the inhabitants of the above - mentioned provinces are Armenians professor Johnson continued justifying the violent merging of the Armenian population

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<sup>1</sup> The same place.

<sup>2</sup> The same place.

<sup>3</sup> See the same place, p. 680.

<sup>4</sup> *Caucasian Boundaries 1802-1946*, the mentioned work, p. 680.



to Azerbaijan explaining that only with economic factors and forgetting about the ethnic origin, cultural, geographical, historical, genetic and civilizational factors which were connecting the Armenians of Karabakh with their motherland – Armenia. The demarcation suggested by Johnson represented the border line given by the British International map and the Russian map, about which we have spoken in the previous chapter. Then, summarizing his project, the professor writes that it's just “an implementation of mutual agreement – a real strategic border, which will allow including the province of Zangezur and the town of Shushi (each of which has big Armenian population) within the borders of Armenia. That border involves the whole province of Zangezur including the part demanded by the Armenians, as well as the Hakarlu-Bargusha river network situated lower, which they did not demand. The lower part of that watershed is obviously Tatarian but it is impossible to split it from the upper part, which belongs to Armenia; hence it is necessary to include it totally within the borders of Armenia. The border line also includes a small part of Shushi province, together with Shushi town in the territory of Armenia”<sup>1</sup>.

On the other hand, when studying the project in details, it becomes obvious, that the great part of Shushi province, Ghazakh, Elizabethpol, Jevanshir provinces and a part of Jebrayil inhabited with the Armenians remained out of the Armenian border, though the author of the map found it impossible to draw another equivalent border line which would include the Armenian population of the mentioned counties.

Thus, according to the above-mentioned project the great part of the mountainous provinces of Karabakh was included in the territory of Azerbaijan but unlike the previous project the province of Zangezur and city Shushi with its surroundings remained within the Armenian border. However, the majority of the Armenian population of Karabakh would have to merge with Azerbaijan which was not realistic as the project did not take into account the opinion of the majority of the local population, which the Armenian delegation was insisting on in its versions<sup>2</sup>.

This was the British policy with regard to Karabakh, therefore after getting acquainted with the projects the reaction of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Armenia was fast: “... in the issues concerning

Karabakh General Thompson and his associates, as well as his successors acted not independently, but with the knowledge and instruction of the mighty Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The reports of both Thompson and other generals (even Beach, whom we consider to be pro-Armenian) concerning Karabakh and our problems in general have always been unfavorable for Armenia and the Armenians”<sup>1</sup>.

A protest letter on British position towards Karabakh was sent to W. Churchill. But the latter refused to intervene, just declaring, that the British policy in Karabakh aimed to restrain the Azerbaijanis<sup>2</sup>. This comes to prove that the discontent of the head of the Armenian foreign department about the British politics had its objective reasons, as the oversights were numerous which were not denied by the British themselves. On March 3, 1920 W. Churchill, without concealing his dissatisfaction with the government, wrote in “Times”: “General Sill complains that they (the government) have not taken into account the safety of lives of several thousand Armenians. The Armenian issue is complicated as the Armenian and Turkish population is mixed in fairly large territories”<sup>3</sup>.

The British government was no longer able to interfere in the processes, accordingly the Bolshevik movement which was getting stronger was going to involve also Armenia, about which Commander Luke reported to his government<sup>4</sup>. In his report it was also mentioned that according to Legran's statement Karabakh and Zangezur were Armenian territories.

Nevertheless, as it was already mentioned, the issue of Nagorno-Karabakh was left unsolved in Paris Assembly and was to be settled through negotiations. In a situation when Azerbaijan was already a Soviet state and the process was evolving in Karabakh and surrounding regions, the Republic of Armenia had nothing else to do, but to make an agreement with Soviet Russia. The peace agreement signed by B. Legran, A. Jamalyan and A. Babalyan on August 10, 1920, contained 6 points, according to which the disputable territories of “Zangezur, Nakhijevan and Karabakh would be occupied by the Soviet army until a new peace agreement is signed in near future”<sup>5</sup>. Another article of the agreement granted free movement right to the

<sup>1</sup> NAA, f. 200, l. 2, c. 62, pp. 1-2.

<sup>2</sup> The same place.

<sup>3</sup> NAA, f. 200, l. 1, c. 427, part 1, p. 104.

<sup>4</sup> See Armenia, the mentioned work, p. 816.

<sup>5</sup> NAA, f. 200, l. 1, c. 581, p. 262.

<sup>1</sup> Caucasian Boundaries 1802-1946, the mentioned work, p. 680.

<sup>2</sup> The same place, p. 681.

Soviet army within the territory of Armenia which meant much for the Soviet leaders. It had an aim of creating a direct connection with Turkey for evolving the "world revolution".

Thereby the Republic of Armenia acknowledged Karabakh as a territory under the Soviet influence thus naturally raising the discontent of the British. Colonel Stocks who came to replace Commander Luke in Transcaucasia expressed his protest to the Armenian government. Arriving in Yerevan on October 3 he reported that "now England is unable to provide real assistance to Armenia, it has no intent of bombing and invading Trabzon as England cannot bring big forces on Turkish coast for moving to the heart of the country and occupying only the port and the city would not be great assistance for Armenia"<sup>1</sup>. The British colonel indirectly told the Armenian government to rely only on itself and to refuse from the hopes of getting assistance. The British "Workers' Party" expressed its discontent with the situation stating that Russia couldn't let Turkey occupy the Armenian territories as that was unfair<sup>2</sup>.

But that was only a statement of protest and naturally it could not make any real impact.

The Turkish-Tatarian Armenian-killing machine continued its work that time under Kemal-Bolshevik cover. The Armenian nation found itself in a new fatal situation in the result of which Armenia was also socialized.

Summarizing the events mentioned above it should be noted that:

1. The withdrawal of the British forces from Transcaucasia left Nagorno-Karabakh totally unprotected from the Turkish-Tatarian slaughter.
2. The Azerbaijani army and Moslem rabble undertook the occupation of Karabakh and Zangezur.
3. The Republic of Armenia was trying to defend Karabakh and Zangezur.
4. The slaughter of the Armenian population of Shushi and other parts of Karabakh was organized.
5. In the result of Soviet-Kemal cooperation Karabakh was socialized.
6. In Paris Assembly the position of the British government regarding the borders of Karabakh and its origin was contoured which, of course, was not pro-Armenian.

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<sup>1</sup> NAA, f. 200, l. 2, c. 94, pp. 1-2.

<sup>2</sup> NAA, f. 200, l. 1, c. 427, part 1, p. 103.

7. The Assembly left the Armenian issue unsolved which was followed by the statements of the Armenian government.
8. The British government stated its discontent with the agreement signed between the Republic of Armenia and Soviet Russia on August 10.

The Socialization of Karabakh did not put an end to the history of struggle in the territory: a new era of unique heroic and patriotic resistance began.

## EPILOGUE

Thus studying the subject of the "British policy and the issue of Nagorno-Karabakh in 1918-1920" the following important conclusions and summaries can be done:

**The first** – The British policy in Transcaucasia affirmed once more one of the most important principles of the latter; there aren't faithful allies, but there are faithful interests. The allies are always variable, but the interests are not.

**The second** – The British were guided simply by their interests in Transcaucasia and patronizing the Armenians was one of their political goals only temporarily. This becomes clear from the British civilizational genesis.

**The third** – Despite the unfavourable and hostile atmosphere the Armenians of Karabakh were struggling for their rights and existence with great devotion. The conclusion is one – the struggle and heroism ensure continuation.

**The fourth** – The Turkish claims will always be in the problem of the Armenians, and the danger too, so the only way of salvation of the Armenians is in unity, vigilance and mastering each peace of its homeland.

**The fifth** – The Azerbaijani claims and the British permission led to the depopulation of the Armenians from Shushi and the slaughters of the Armenians of Karabakh.

Certainly the hopes of all the Armenians connected with the victory of the allies, with their arrival and solving the problems of the Armenians and with the Paris Peace Conference were in vain. It happened so because none of the States cared about the problem of the Armenians. The two Armenian delegations were only asking for help and it is not clear whether they cared about giving those "Armenian" territories to the Armenians. The Armenians should have mastered their territories on their own. The historical experience has already shown that the land belongs to the one who fights, combats for that land and masters it. The continuation of every ethnos is guaranteed by

self-organization, high awareness, creation, consolidation and other characteristics.

The struggle of the Armenian nation in 1918-1920 for this part of its homeland had a lot of peculiarities. The created hard geopolitical situation demanded stubbornness, patriotism, manifestation of resoluteness for succeeding. Being occupied with hostile forces the only way of existence for the Armenians was the united struggle. From this viewpoint the Armenians of Artsakh have survived through the struggle. Despite the unequal forces and great casualties the country continues to keep its national character hitherto. The unity and right evaluation of freedom had a special role in that process.

In this stage of the struggle for existence the hard situation of the Republic of Armenia didn't let defend of full value the country from hostile attacks. There were not implemented resolute actions which should provide the peaceful existence of the Armenians of Artsakh. Despite all these the Republic of Armenia has never accepted the separation of Artsakh from the Homeland. Together with the issue of the Western Armenians the representatives of the Republic of Armenia were struggling against the Azerbaijani and Turkish claims towards Artsakh. The Armenians realised the importance of the region.

During the struggle in 1918-1920 the Armenian nation reached the main aim of the struggle – they've kept Karabakh Armenian. The Armenians of Artsakh struggled for decades against the Soviet-Azerbaijani authority which had been established forcedly. The struggle has had great difficulties. By the connivance of Soviet authorities genocide and displacement of the Armenian population was implemented. Aspiring to remove the Armenians from Karabakh and to reach the realization of their goals in that way, the above-mentioned forces had to take into account the invincible spirit of the Armenian nation.

The struggle of the Armenian nation for a part of its homeland which began in 1988 succeeded. But it is only a stage in the modulations of history after which the struggle must have a continuation. This period of the struggle truly became one of the grand pages of the liberation struggle of the Armenian nation and combat and heroism were characteristic for that. National consolidation became the key to success. The relief of the struggle is transferred to the next generations who must end with success this responsibility.

One of the main problems of the new generation is to prove to the world-wide society the civilizational ethnicity of Artsakh in present civilizational and global processes. Azerbaijan's policy of continuous digestion of Armenian-Christian culture is also need to be proved.

In the light of this the digestion of historic lands which are liberated now and are considered by Azerbaijan to be "occupied" needs to be elucidated comprehensively and submitted to the international community.

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From the Mayor of Shushi  
Statement

Shushi City Council made the following instruction based on the temporary government's decision of April 15, 1917.

To form an elective committee adjacent to the urban administration of Shushi for quick and regular organization of elections where there should have representatives:

1. The executive committee of Karabakh – 2 people
2. The deputative council of soldiers – 2
3. The city autonomy of Shushi – 4
4. All political parties (ARF, Soc. Rev., Soc. Dem. And Kadets) – for 1
5. Women of A and B city sides together – 2
6. City's trade union, charitable organization – 1
7. From the regional committees – for 1
8. House renters – 2
9. Christian and Moslem clergymen – for 2

To send a representative no later than 5 days after the publishment of the announcement.

Mayor Gerasim Meliq-Shahnazaryan

Cliff. 1917, September 24.

P. 3

The urban statistics of Shushi is over. As we can see the town has about 25-27 thousand population.

**1918**

**Number 2**

*10 September, 1918, Mshak.*

**Around Karabakh**

In response to the record of the diplomatic representative of the Republic of Azerbaijan about sending a delegation to Karabakh, the solicitor of Armenia announced that he could accept the desire of the government of Azerbaijan about the peaceful policy towards its Armenian citizens with sense of deep content and thanksgiving adding that nobody was considering it disputable anymore, that his government's internal policy was based on the peaceful and brotherly cohabitation of the people living in Armenia and particularly on the Moslems.

I should say about sending a delegation to Karabakh that when appreciating my offer you have ignored a very important circumstance which has become a reason for your sad delusion. The thing is that I haven't absolutely thought to get into the privileges of the Republic of Azerbaijan, as well as I don't consider that your government will intrude into the internal affairs of the Republic of Armenia. If the question was about a disputable region of the Republic of Azerbaijan I surely would not try to offer my help for eliminating the misunderstandings that were among the people of that region in the way I had offered. But the problem is about the disputable question of Karabakh and the local Armenian population and it is important for us whether Karabakh will join Armenia or Azerbaijan or it will be an independent unit. This disputable problem will be finally solved either in the Conference of Constantinople or with expression of the independent will of the population of Karabakh.

What about the role and plan of the delegation I've offered, it is to remind the Moslem and Armenian population of Karabakh that no matter

how self-determined political life have the ancient neighbouring people, they always have to live side by side and everything must be done so that everyday disputes and disagreements will not poison their joint life in future.

**The solicitor of Armenia in Azerbaijan**

T. Begzadyan who has already come to Tiflis from Yerevan has been appointed as a diplomatic representative of Armenia in Azerbaijan.

**Number 3**

*F. 200, l. 1, c. 243, p 22.*

**THE TURKS IN SHUSHI**

On September 25, 1918 the detachment of Turkish troops under the command of Jamil Javil Bey together with the authorized representative of the Azerbaijani government-Ismael Hapom Znathakov entered the city Shushi in order to restore the power of Azerbaijan in Karabakh. The Armenian population of the city which had been governed jointly with the Independent Armenian People's Government of Jevanshir, Karyagino and Shushi provinces, foreseeing that the requirements of the Turks in the city would be too short-lived in conditions of brilliant victories of the allies on the western front and capitulation of Bulgaria, decided not to show armed resistance to the brute force saving the lives of thousands of women and children in both parts of the city, knowing that the resistance against the Turks will lead up to slaughter between the Armenians and Tatars of the city.

In the early days the representatives of Azerbaijan made a public promise and declaration not to pursue any of the Armenians for their past activities.

A slave cannot be a knight.

On the night of October 1 the Turkish askers together with a representative of the valorous republic, who called himself a county chief, invaded the houses of the Armenian intellectuals. Spreading fear among wives and children, without a warrant, they searched capturing papers, documents and valuable goods, without receipts for taking away the goods. After the search, they were escorted to the prison of Shushi where they were under a strict



regime - solitude, deprivation of books, walks, visits, correspondence and more. The Armenians languished in prison for a month, and no one of them was charged. The number of the arrested people reached to 60. Only 4-5 of them were questioned and during the interrogation the chairman of the Armenian People's Government Yeghishe Ishkhanyan was subjected to beatings and violence, the others were subjected to all kinds of insults and mockery and all that with the aim of forcing them to bear incriminating witness against their comrades. "Apparently" the "democratic" government of Azerbaijan decided to put to the rout the Armenian intellectuals of Shushi thus beheading the Armenian people of Karabakh. It was established a regime which made dream about the darkest days of Nikolas's regime. The next day after their arrest eight gallows were erected in city squares. The Armenians of the city were terrorized and extremely depressed about that.

Five days later after those arrests a Turkish squad attacked the Armenian troops in the village Msmna. It wanted to subjugate the village at what they were taken away cannons and machine guns.

Being powerless to take steps against the village the Azerbaijani government decided to subject to death some of those who were arrested in order to justify its defeat. But they failed to do that as they got news about the complete loss of the Central Powers, taking of Constantinople and more. They had to scrag three miserable Armenians, who were not guilty in anything, while one of them – Sayat, had been acquitted by their own "court".

28 February, 1919, Arm. Inform Bureau, Baku.

#### Number 4

*F. 323, l. 1, c. 1, p. 22*

The head of the British mission in Shushi Major Monk Messon came to Goris and inviting the members of the Regional Council of Zangezur-Karabakh made several announcements:

1. To recognize the power of Azerbaijan
2. To let the nomads go to the hills of Zangezur.

#### Number 5

*Bell, 24 November, 1918, p. 6*

#### THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN KARABAKH AND ZANGEZUR

Yerevan, November 17

From August of the current year the Turks with great forces surrounded and destroyed the Armenian populated village of Gharaghshlagh, which was the connecting link between Karabakh and Zangezur. Securing the back a Turkish military unit together with the Azerbaijani troops of about 2000 entered Shushi without resistance. The young and contumacious elements left the town and went to the villages with weapons, where headed by Sokrat bey Meliq-Shahnazaryan they decided not to recognize any Turkish or Azerbaijani dominance. At the beginning of October a military unit composed of 400 people went to Hadrut from Shushi in order to punish the disobedients but it fell down into the trap.

Our braves surrounded them next to Chartar village, slaughtered nearly all of them, took several captives and 4 guns, 6 machine-guns and much ammunition.

Zangezur remained completely free from the Tajik attack. The local Turks, having Tajik instructors, tried to attack on Goris from Khozanvar-Khmkatsakh and Kornidzor but having shameful defeat and leaving more than 250 corps near Kornidzor they retreated. Andranik is in Zangezur with his military unit. He has played a great role in military arrangement works: on the whole, he works in solidarity with the National Council and the latter is grateful to him for salvation of its homeland.

Member of the Central National Council of Zangezur-G.Ter-Sinayan

## Number 6

To His Excellency

To the Commander of the Allied forces of Baku district Major-General V. M. THOMSON

Your Excellency

Welcoming the entry of the allied forces into the city led by the representatives of Britain, America and France I as a spiritual representative of the Armenian population of Baku Diocese consider it to be my sacred duty on behalf of my congregation....

When the city was being occupied by the Turkish and Azerbaijani troops, in a fateful day for the Armenians of Baku-on 2/15 September a whole delegation was sent to meet them with a white flag.

And, indeed, the Commander of the army Myursel Pasha gave official assurances for safety of the peace citizens and inviolability of their property to the delegation, in the number of which there were Danish and Persian Consuls.

However, on Sunday at noon with the entry of the organized gangs and military units into the city inhuman mass slaughter and open robbery began, which went on for three days....

According to reliable sources, in addition to hearses and carts, 25 trucks, each carrying capacity of 250 poods, were carrying out corps for 4 days and nights and that work wasn't still finished. In order to conceal the traces most of the corpses were burned near Salyan barracks, mainly on the landfill point. According to approximate calculations it is supposed that the number of the killed Armenians was more then twenty thousand (20000).

.....

Signature: Honorary Chairman of the Armenian National Council of Baku Bishop Bagrat Bakinskiy – the Diocesan Head.

10/23 November, 1918.

Baku

*Mshak, 12 December, 1918, M., p. 2.*

The Mayor of Shushi Melik Shahnazaryan telegraphs that the British-French mission is in Shushi.

The mission will visit Tartar, Gandzak and Ghazakh. It is peace in the country.

## Number 7

*F. 200, l. 1, c. 309, p. 164*

Erivan

MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

The Parliamentary Commission of inquest of events came to Karabakh. The statement of Sultanov about the attack of the Armenians on nomads was false. With the defeat of Gaybalikend a lot of Armenian churches were destroyed. The ruins of the houses were full of half-burnt corpses. The area is dotted with decaying corpses of women, infants and the elders. The Tatars gathered fifty Armenians at the chapel near Gaybalikend saying that they sacrifice them for saints. In the Moslem part of the city forty Armenians were killed but in the Armenian part the Moslems were not damaged. Sultanov called the Kurds according to the premeditated plan. Captain Gauans blamed Sultanov for not taking steps despite the warning of the British. The chief of the Staff – Klatenberg asked by a report to Shatelwort to bring the Governor to the trial of Azerbaijan. 723

Mirakyants

**1919**

**Number 8**

*26 January – 9 May, 1919*

**OFFICIAL CORRESPONDENCE ON THE ISSUE OF THE  
ARMENIANS OF ZANGEZUR AND KARABAKH**

**On January 15, 1919**-the Azerbaijani government decided to appoint Dr. Sultanov as a Governor-General of Shushi, Jevanshir, Jebrayil and Zangezur provinces.

**On January 26**-the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Armenia sent a telegram to the Minister of Foreign Affairs protesting against the establishment of the Azerbaijani General Governorship in the designated province. (1)

**On February 24**-General Asser sent a letter to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Armenia informing about the content of the telegram of Forrestier-Walker on appointment of Dr. Sultanov as a General-Governor of the 4 provinces. (2)

**On February 28**-the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Armenia sent a letter to Forrestier-Walker protesting against the appointment of Sultanov. (3)

**On March 5**-General Forrestier Walker answered the previous letter, (4)

**During February**

The Chief of the British Mission in Shushi Major Monk-Mason conveyed to the Armenian National Council of Karabakh the message of the British command about the appointment of a Governor-General for interim management in 4 provinces. (5)

The National Council of Karabakh answered that the control of Azerbaijan was unacceptable for it. (6)

Getting the negative response of the National Council Major Monk-Mason applied to the four Armenian military leaders of Karabakh with the

same message in case of their refusal to obey to Azerbaijan. The military leaders replied that they would join the response of the National Council and their refusal of obeying to Azerbaijan. The government offered them to sign a note of a certain content (7)...

in case...the Lieutenant of the British mission in Shushi appeals to the military leaders again with the offer to answer the question of Monk-Mason. (8)

The military leaders answer that only the National Council can answer those questions. (10)

**March 11**-The Minister of Foreign Affairs of Armenia wires to Tiflis-to General Thomson reporting the viewpoint of the Armenian Government about Karabakh and Zangezur. (11)

**March 21**-The Minister of Foreign Affairs of Armenia writes a letter to the representative of the British Command in Erivan-Colonel Temperleo outlining the situation in the four provinces and the viewpoint of the Armenian government about how the temporary management of those provinces must be organized. (12)

**March 26**-Colonel Shatelwort speaks with the Chairman of the Armenian National Council of Karabakh Aslan Shahnazarov and with the Head of Shushi Gerasim Melik-Shahnazarov. The protocol of that conversation. (13)

**April 3**-Colonel Shatelwort, the commander of the British troops in Baku explains to the four provinces the appointment of Dr. Sultanov and organization of administration. (14)

**April 15**-The Minister of Foreign Affairs of Armenia wires to the British command in Tiflis about the protest of his Government against the announcement of Colonel Shatelwort. (15)

**April 30**-During the conversation with General Miln the Armenian Government speaks also about the way of temporary control over Karabakh. (16)

**May 9**-The chairmen of Karabakh people who live in Tiflis fulfilling the order of the crowded meeting of the people of Karabakh presents a note about the situation in Karabakh to the British command in Tiflis outlining the rights of the Armenian people over the mountainous part of Karabakh. (17)

*F. 200, l. 1, c. 244, p. 1*

**Number 9**

*F. 200, l. 1, c. 181, part 1, p. 35-36*

9 February, 1919.

To the Minister of Foreign Affairs. Council of Georgian mission: Tumanyan. As it becomes clear from the speeches and actions of the British their policy in Caucasus mainly aimed to strengthen their influence there. They did their best to keep their influence in Caucasus for a long time. They used every opportunity to show that they were against the idea of the united Russia whereas the French representatives, on the contrary, insisted on acting jointly for Russia's rebirth. About ten days before the delegation of the Russian National Council of Transcaucasia went to Walker to ask for giving positions to those Russian officers who had been dismissed from the work at the Georgian railroad service. Walker promised to support only in case, if those officers would not dare to wage all-Russian advocacy and spread the idea of the united Russia.

**Abbreviation**

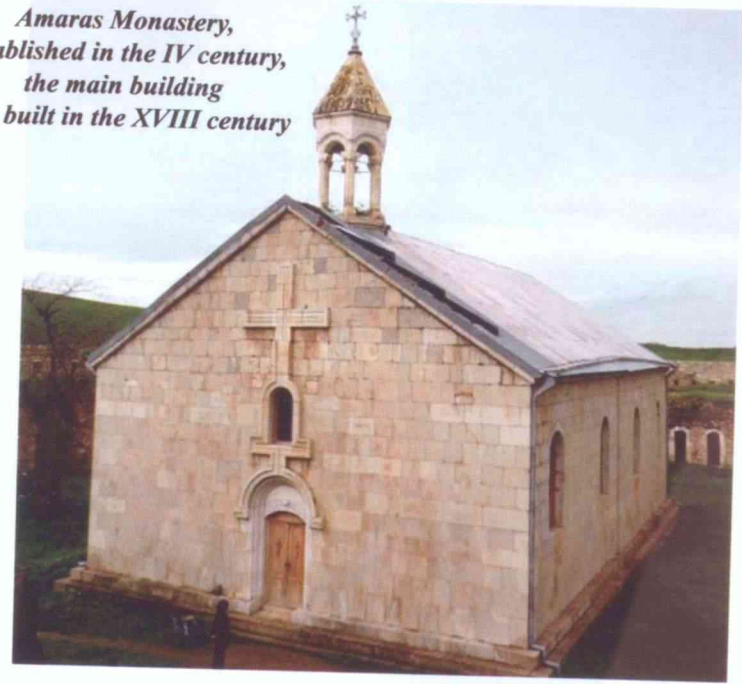
The negotiations continued with Bolsheviks who promised perfect autonomy to Georgia.

The supposed invasion of the British to Vladikavkaz wasn't implemented, only a small military unit was sent to Kazbek to create a connection with those who were acting against the Bolsheviks in the Northern Caucasus. It seems that they will not help the anti-Bolsheviks with armed forces at least for the time being. The Georgians tried to persuade the British, that the Armenians wanted the Russians to return to Caucasus and were not pleased with the British policy.

I report about this for you to deny these gossips when you go to Kars to meet General Walker.

Chancellor Romik Tumanyan.

*Amaras Monastery, established in the IV century, the main building was built in the XVIII century*



*Dadivank, the main buildings are dated to the V, XIII and XVIII centuries*





*Gandzasar,  
Cathedral of St. John the Baptist,  
XIII century*



*Tigranakert*



*Tigranakert*



*Askeran,  
2002*



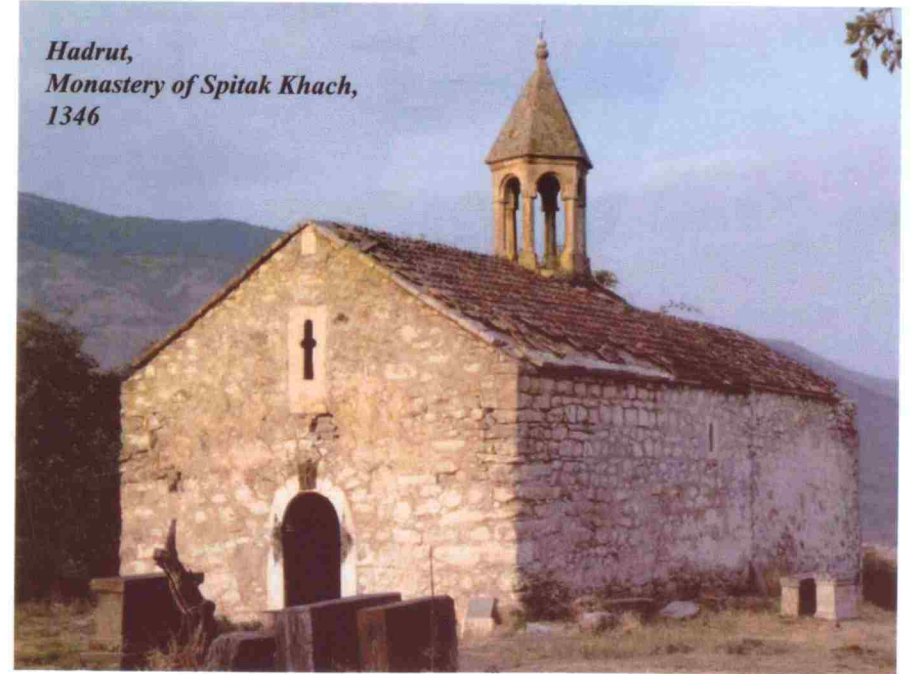
*Berdzor,  
St. Hambarzum  
Church,  
built in 1995-1998*



*Ghazanchetsots Cathedral,  
built in 1868-1887*



*Hadrut,  
Monastery of Spitak Khach,  
1346*





*Kanach Khach, Shushi,  
established in 1847*



*The Armenian quarters and streets destroyed by the Turk-Azeris,  
Shushi, March 23, 1920*







*The Armenian quarters and streets destroyed by the Turk-Azeries, Shushi, March 23, 1920*



## Number 10

17 February, 1919

From the legal commissar of the temporary government of Jraberd province in Karabakh to the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Armenia.

Since November 1917 after the removal of the Russian troops the governing of the country remained under the control of local authorities. The National Council of Shushi was formed from a lot of political parties. It was running all the national issues. Soon it was changed into a civilian committee which continued to run all the national issues. Another civilian committee was formed among the Turks. Then an Armenian-Turkish committee was formed the vice-president of which was a Turkish and the president was an Armenian who was disposing the foreign affairs. This went on till July 16, 1918. The four Armenian populated provinces of Karabakh – Varanda, Khachen, Disak and Jraberd had been living without an administration till that time. It brought to anarchy. On September 20, 1918 the assistant of the Turkish commander Nuri Pasha – the notorious hero of Baku Jamil Jahid Bek sent an ultimatum offering to hand all captives to the Turkish command and to surrender. He also promised to provide the safety of life and property of the Armenians. The Armenian leader and the mayor sent a delegation to Jamil Jahid asking to prolong the term of the ultimatum for about ten days.

After discussing the ultimatum the assembly made the following decision. The congress decided to accept the authority of Azerbaijan but at the same time to ask the Turkish command to let them keep their weapons for fighting against the Turkish gangsters. They also asked to let them send a delegation to Baku for spontaneous negotiations. The Turkish commander didn't accept their request and on September 21 the Turks suddenly attacked Askeran, Pirjamal, Kotuk, Khanabar, Nakhijevanik, Tilis and captured those villages after a slightly bombardment. Khachen and Shushi were going to surrender and Varanda and Jraberd were going to struggle. After three attacks the Turkish-Azerbaijani troops retreated. A detachment of 300 soldiers was beaten at Varanda and ran away leaving 2 cannons and 2 machine-guns (and various pack animals). The Armenians of Karabakh appeared in a



hard and strained situation. The stress went on for some time, until the British entered Baku in the mid of November. The situation of the things was in favor of the Armenians. Learning about the former temporary government of the Armenians Major Gibbon decided that he also should govern by temporary authorities. A meeting of group leaders and statesmen took place, which divided Karabakh into 4 parts – Varanda, Dizak, Khachen and Jraberd. Forming temporary People’s authorities in those 4 regions every authority of the region sent a representative to Shushi forming an adjacent center to the British mission, and those representatives were reporting their directives and depositions to their government. It must be completely clear for the ministers of the Republic of Armenia, Mr. President and all circles of his government: the Armenians of Karabakh are waiting for the Peace Conference. If the conference decides for Armenia, then it will join, and if it decides for Azerbaijan, then the Armenians of Karabakh will rebel. We ask for help with 100.000 deficits.

Hovhannes Araqelyan.

*F. 199, l. 1, c. 38, p. 11-12*

### **Number 11.**

*Armenian community, New Nakhijevan № 23.*

14 October, 1918

### **THE REPORT OF S. VRATSYAN ABOUT THE SITUATION**

Though the stipulations were accepted, the Turks moved forward again and great flow of emigrants began. The migration was moving to the north.

After signing the ultimatum the Armenian National Council took the functions of the government. The organization of the government was handed to R. Qajaznuni.

After the formation of the government it was decided to move it to Yerevan and to triplicate the number of members of the National Council. It reached to 48 and the National Parliament was formed.

After that the issue of Constantinople Conference arose the aim of which was to decide the border of the new states. From the Armenian side A. Aharonyan, M. Papajanyan, A. Khatisyan and 12 counselors were sent to take part in the Conference of Constantinople. Disagreement has arisen between Turkey and Germany; it has been dissatisfaction between those countries about Georgia. Germany supported Georgia, and Turkey supported Armenia and Azerbaijan.

.....

The territory of Armenia now includes the following areas – the province of New Bayazet, the mountainous part of Ghazakh, the entire Lori, Pambak, the great part of Yerevan province and a great part of Daralagyaz. The border with Turkey is decided. What about the border with the Tatars, then the latter want Gandzak to be theirs, and the Armenians will give it to them, if only Karabakh is given to the Armenians.

The territory of Armenia is 13.000 verst, 2000 of which is Lake Sevan, 11.000 is the dry land. The population is 1 million 100.000, from which 100.000 are Turks, 15.000 are Yazidis.

There are nearly 600.000 emigrants.

### **Number 12**

Mshak, 27 February, 1919.

### **KARABAKH (A passenger’s remarks)**

#### **VI**

The second assembly of the Armenians of Karabakh could clearly see that the situation became complicated severely and the Turkish danger got stronger. Baku was beaten and the Turks were dominant. The congress deprived its executive body of the title of Karabakh’s National Government and named it Armenian National Council of Karabakh. This change was a concession to the existing situation.

The council was formed by 10 members. At the same time on September 11 the congress made a decision, that some of its members should go to villages and the others should stay in the city to support the council taking into consideration the fact that too serious and responsible situation was created.

The Armenian National Council of Karabakh had to realize the tender decision of the congress. It should send delegates to Aghdam and settle the discords between the Armenian and the Turkish command. The council and the deputies, who stayed in the city, were busy with election of deputies at mixed session for two days. Nobody agreed to become a member of the delegation. The reason was that everybody was sure that people would look askew at the actions of the delegation and that the figure of the delegate would become a subject of condemnation for irresponsible people. At last the following persons got civil courage to become members of the delegation:

1. Gerasim Melik-Shahnazaryan (Mayor), 2. Hayrapet Musayelyan (Ghukasyan Girl's school supervisor, now defunct), 3. Ashot Melik-Hovsepian (a lawyer), 4. Arshavir Kamalyan (a teacher of a diocesan school), 5. Daniel Arakelyan (a villager). The Armenian delegation was to be accompanied also by the Turkish members of the International Committee, but only engineer Lifali Bek Behbutov agreed to go to Aghdam.

The delegation left Shushi on September 15. It was going to have negotiations with the commander of the Turkish II division Jemil Jahid Bey.

When the Armenian delegation together with Lifali Bek came to Jemil Jahid the latter didn't let the deputies say even a word and submitted the following claims: 1) to obey the government of Azerbaijan, 2) to disarm and 3) to let the Turkish army go to Shushi.

The delegation was shocked. It went to mediate for Gharaghshlagh people and to assure the Turks that the Armenians of Karabakh were supporters of good relations. But such demands were submitted about which it wasn't authorized to negotiate. The delegation told Jemil Jahid that its authorities were limited. It asked for permission to return to Shushi and report the nation about the demands of the Turkish command. But Jahid was stubborn. He didn't agree to let the deputies free and offered to inform the people about the demands by sending a letter. In the end he agreed that three of the deputies would stay in Aghdam and two of them would return to Shushi. It was decided that H. Musayelyan and D. Arakelyan would return to

Shushi. Jahid imprisoned the deputies who stayed in Aghdam and also Lifali bey. Those, who couldn't return to Shushi, ordered the other deputies to inform the people that the latters should make a decision freely, without caring about the condition of the prisoners.

The deputies returned to Shushi on September 16. By the means of the Armenian fighters of Askeran they invited a new emergency congress of the representatives of the villages of Jraberd, Khachen, Varanda and Dizak. The demand of the Turkish command had such a nature that only the representatives of the nation could accept or refuse it.

The demand of the Turks had a depressing effect in the city. A meeting was organized, which discussed the created situation.

On September 17 the III emergency congress of the Armenians of Karabakh took place and nearly 200 deputies took part in it. After hot arguments, which lasted for three days, the following decisions were accepted: "1) to recognize the authority of Azerbaijan taking into account the interrelation of the forces and the decisions of the Conference of Batumi, which were signed by the representatives of the Armenian National Council, that the question of Karabakh must be finally solved at the peace assembly, 2) the question of disarmament isn't accepted until legal norms are accepted to protect the physical existence and property of the Armenians".

While the congress was busy in discussing the claim of the Turks, on September 19 Nuri Pasha came to Aghdam, released from prison the Armenian deputies and gave 24 hours to the Armenians to answer the claims threatening to start military operations otherwise. The Armenian deputies went to Shushi. Levon V. Psaryan and a member of the civil administration S. Ter-Israyelyan joined them. The latters applied to Shushi by the instruction of Nuri Pasha in order to persuade the Armenians to accept the claims of the Turkish command.

A group of irresponsible Armenians attacked the deputies near the Maze Bridge, arrested them and led them to Khanqend. There they were insulted roughly. The deputies were accused in betraying them. They were under the threat of death. But the villagers prevented the intention of irresponsible people and set free the deputies.

On September 20 the III Congress decided to send Mayor G. Melik Shahnazaryan, archimandrite Levon and the president of the congress Gr. Gharagyozyan to Aghdam once more. They hoped to negotiate with Nuri

Pasha and solve the problem of submission without blood. The new delegation didn't manage to leave the city on the same day because a group of villagers, who had come from provinces, kicked a racket and wanted to doom the deputies. It was very difficult to silence the vociferous people. The delegation left Shushi on September 21 but it met new obstacles in Askeran. There the Armenian villagers imprisoned and decided to slaughter them as traitors of the nation.

The delegation stayed in Askeran a day and could hardly persuade the villagers that it was going to Aghdam only for negotiations. They were set free but the period defined by Nuri Pasha had expired and the Turks started the military actions.

On September 22-23 the Turks attacked unexpectedly the Armenian frontier-guard villagers of both the right and the left parts of Askeran: Mirishanlu, Dahraz, Varazabuyn, Pirjamal, Nakhijevanik, Keatuk, Khoramort, Khanabad, Ghlijbaz and Karaglukh. The fighters of Askeran had to retreat and open a way for the main forces of the Turks. 4000 Turkish soldiers entered Shushi on September 26.

The campaign of the Turkish army was preceded by the following statement:

“Townsfolk,

The Turkish army is coming. Its aim is to provide the peace existence of the population of Azerbaijan without making segregation between the religion and nationality. Beginning from today the one who shoots in the city will be sentenced to death by the commander of the division. The provincial committees are liable to take the culpable to the police-station immediately. Otherwise the provincial committee will have to pay 10.000 r. cash fine to the Republic of Azerbaijan”.

The Commandant of city Shushi Hasan Basriv bey.

Shushi, 24 September, 1918. D. Ananun.

## Number 13

*F. 200, l. 1, c. 243, p. 29*

From Baku to Shushi L. Zarafyan and G. Balayan, the duties of which were to establish law and order and organization, as well as to create a certain public mood. They came to Shushi and caught there the 4<sup>th</sup> congress which was discussing the attitude towards Azerbaijan and the Governor-General appointed by it.

The congress unanimously opposed the subordination to Azerbaijan and protested against the Governor-General designated by it. The National Council of Karabakh was also formed and our comrades were included in it too. The Congress managed to eliminate the disputes among the military leaders and approve the unity of actions.

During this period the British mission in Shushi, headed by Major Monk-Mason, intervened into the interrelations between Karabakh and Azerbaijan and offered to the National Council to accept the project of compulsory resolution determining the attitude of Karabakh towards Azerbaijan, which is presented in seven separate prints entitled Karabakh. But the National Council rejected that project in its response. The Council of Karabakh asked Thomson for organizing a mixed committee, which would be elected by the nation preserving the rights of the Moslem minority and which would manage Armenian Karabakh. Meanwhile Azerbaijan is preparing military forces now, strengthening the troops, takes guns to Aghdam, in a word, they are preparing an attack. The situation becomes more threatening day-by-day and all measures must be taken to prevent the conflict.

1 March, 1919

Baku

Chairman of Bureau

Apparently General Thomson is informed from the British mission in Shushi about the activity of the National Council. He has answered the delegates evasively and intends to realize the above-mentioned project of compulsory resolution about the attitude of Karabakh towards Azerbaijan.

The Armenian population doesn't want even to hear about subordination to Azerbaijan and a rebellion is inevitable in case if Azerbaijani authorities are appointed.

Chief of Inform. Bureau of the Armenian Diplomatic Mission in Georgia

## Number 14

*F. 200, l. 2, c. 43, p. 1*

6 March, 1919.

The note of the Minister of Foreign Affairs S. Tigranyan to the president of the delegation of the Republic of Armenia Aharonyan

You got my letter on January 13.

From the copies of several documents, which are attached to it, you can learn about the agreement on Kars province between general Forrestier-Walker and me: a British military governor was to be in this state, but all the civil administration was to be in the hands of the civic lieutenant governor (who is appointed by the Minister of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Armenia) and his officials. But the British military commander didn't support that agreement, but yielded to the Turks. The local "government", which was formed by the Ottoman and Azerbaijani Turkic officers and agitators, was nearly recognized by the British governor and our civic governor together with his officials had to leave Kars. According to the British explanation the anti-Armenian views of the Turks were the main reason of the failure of the agreement, besides petty reasons were mentioned as if the civic governor with his officials were tactless and coward, a plea, which is a poor attempt of self-justification in newspapers and in the mouth of naughty powerful officials. Our civic governor, on the contrary, reports, that the British military governor gave no assistance and it wasn't he, who left in fear, but he was made understand that he would better leave. We explained Forrestier-Walker that we were not going to decline from our rights over the region of Kars, and that we consider that situation to be temporary absolutely thinking that they had better not yield to the Turks' mock and not serious opposition so quickly.

This event of Kars had very bad and great results but as we expected "the Turks saw that it's enough to show any opposition and protest against the Armenians or against the government of Armenia and England will immediately restrain, inhibit every active step and plan of our government. The British Military Command makes more and more deep that belief of the Turks by a number of acts of Transcaucasia. Our military units were moving to Sharur, Nakhijevan and Julfa to occupy the territories, which were free

from the Turkish troops. The Turks were resisting. Our unit came back from the Volchiye vorota to Davalu, and then it was going to ahead again. The representatives of Sharur and Nakhijevan came. They negotiated with our government and we agreed that our army would not move from Davalu for 8-10 days, until they persuade the Turkish people that the Armenian army would not harm them, and they would come to meet the Armenian army and administration in peace and harmony. But the British captain Loten went to Nakhijevan to see what was happening there. And in the result of his report he was appointed a British military governor in Nakhijevan and a Lieutenant Colonel, and then they came to Yerevan to demand to withdraw our troops even to the north of Davalu.

So we lost also Sharur and Nakhijevan (though temporarily) and those territories became a British military state (like Kars) and we undertook even not to keep an army in our territory (Vedi-Basar) bordering it.

The Turks in Surmalu were preparing seriously to play the same game. Karabakh was attached to the General-Governorate of Azerbaijan under the auspices of Britain.

After the Georgian troops suffered a defeat, Akhaltskha, Akhalkalak and Batumi passed to the Turks of Kars in military way.

So, "the Turks of Transcaucasia were in more beneficial conditions under the British command than they were during the German-Ottoman Victorious occupation".

These are facts and circumstances which give rise to serious thoughts and troubles.

Certainly, the main reason is the weakness of the British armed forces here.

In the same way as Germany was ceding against the claims and caprices of the Turkish command in Summer and Autumn, now the British generals are retreating against the expansionist actions of Ottoman officers... It's because the recorded facts are not only the rout of the Armenians, but also the beating of England.

But there is also another reason: the British don't believe in the Armenians traditionally considering them to be irreparably Russian lovers and to be the adamant aspirant of Russian orientation. It is typical, that by the demand of general Forrestier-Walker the representatives of the voluntary army left from Yerevan to Ekaterinodar; that is a new fact to approve the attitude of England towards the presence of Russia in Transcaucasia. These

are the reasons, which don't let the British command subserve the organization and strengthening of our forces against the Turks in Transcaucasia, as the Turk is the most reliable stronghold for it against Russia.

The British command organized for Kars province a police consisted of more than 1000 members, assembled people, who could serve for salary, without political aspirations, they still didn't take the Armenians, because the Turks were irritated against the Armenians (that is the official plea). It seems that Britain doesn't want to rely on any Armenian force, because it thinks that the Armenian is more Russian, than the Russian himself, and one can not rely on the Armenians, when anything against Russia is being planned.

You know how Russia has estimated our loyal attitude towards it and has helped us, you know that now that attitude is transformed to Plato love, which is very beautiful, but I know that it is also vain and mutually unreal, but being useless, it is detrimental today and tomorrow, and nobody knows what will happen the day after tomorrow.

The British military command forbade us to capture some territories in Transcaucasia which were important in terms of strategy and ammunition (Kars reserves). That all stayed at the Turks, our steps and headway were constrained, but the Turks' steps were free, no one helped us. Turkey supported the Turks with officers, ammunition and all kinds of tools.

Please, manage to apply where it is necessary:

1. To remove the Turks and Turkey from Transcaucasia
2. To let even small units (British, French, American) on Trabzon-Erzrum-Sarighamish-Kars-Nakhijevan-Julfa-Shushi line. The British troops are leaving Kars and the other territories.
3. To help in the organization of our troops
4. To transport to Armenia the Armenian military units from different countries.

10 March, 1919

## THE BRITISH THE AMERICANS

I report based on a reliable source that British Thomson has sent a report on Armenia to his government. In the report it is said that the main evil for Armenia and the Armenian people is The Armenian Revolutionary Federation (ARF) and as long as that party is in power, it's difficult to rely on a systematic state construction and dispensation of Armenia and on peaceful existence with the neighboring nations. The support and recognition of such a power which will be presented by the Armenian Revolutionary Federation, is even questioned in Armenia.

Of course, not so definitely and sharp, but approximately such judgments expressed Wakker to Kajaznuni.

The Americans, particularly their chief commissioner on refugee affairs James Appol, who has deep knowledge of the Armenian affairs and works in Armenia almost a year, shares the skeptical and negative attitude to ARF and considers that party and its figures to be responsible for a lot of troubles of the Armenian nation. The opinion of Appol is very important for the British. He thinks that every effort should be made to help the Armenian people to get rid of the influence of that party. He apparently doesn't know that we have no one else.

In particular, Appol speaks quite unflatteringly about some of the Armenian ministers and figures saying that they only hinder the work and calling them speculators, etc. I should say that the attitude of our government and ministers towards the Americans has repeatedly given reason for displeasure and rebukes. The other day, for example, his assistant Elder wired from Erivan that he was denied a few dozen pounds of kerosene in Erivan out of several thousand pounds...

In particular, the late Aram never gave reason for dissatisfaction to the Americans...

In particular, the supposed trip of Kajaznuni caused strong dissatisfaction among the local American representatives...

19.03.1919

**THE DESCRIPTION OF THE LAST EVENTS TO THE  
GENERAL-COMMISSAR OF ZANGEZUR AND KARABAKH  
P. A. SHAHMAZYAN (COMPENDIOUS)**

The Republic of Ararat isn't consistent in the policy towards Karabakh. In all probability Azerbaijan will use also the power of weapon to subjugate the Armenian Karabakh. Taking into consideration these all major-general Andranik not only shouldn't leave Zangezur, but also all possible measures should be taken for him to go to Karabakh without paying attention to the constraints of the British Mission. We are sure that if major-general Andranik comes to Karabakh, the British Mission will not force him to leave our region. As long as it isn't too late, a skilled general or colonel must be sent, who will be able to curb them all. Surely, it will be impossible to unite all the active armed forces without that guiding force.

Major-general Andranik, as it is known to the council from the last note, decided to leave Zangezur, and as we've learnt the Republic of Armenia in its turn urges his departure. You must be quite sure that the departure of major-general Andranik will have fatal importance for Karabakh. If Andranik has to leave in any case, then the Republic of Armenia must take a regiment to the province of Zangezur as soon as possible.

The Republic of Armenia must be sure that even if the Peace Conference solves the question of Karabakh in favour of the Republic, Azerbaijan will not tolerate that and will do everything to make a conflict. So, taking all these points into consideration, preventive measures should be taken starting from today.

The Azerbaijani government concentrates new forces and a lot of ammunition in Khanqend from day to day.

Taking into consideration these all we are more than sure that if Major-General Andranik comes to Karabakh, the British Mission will not be an obstacle. The British look lightly at all these, so Azerbaijan is strengthening the settlement of Khanqend in order to pass the nomad upwards.

Whilst it isn't late, the Republic of Armenia must take serious measures to prevent the advancement of Azerbaijan. If the Republic of Armenia keeps

Appol thinks that it is a simple escape from Armenia and waste of the half million rubles, which have been assigned to this trip... Kajaznuni and the British are extremely dissatisfied with this mission. They don't believe that it will pursue only the goals about which it has been spoken and written, but they think that it has also hidden tasks (political)...

F. 200, l. 1, c. 158, p. 93-95

**Number 16**

17 March, 1919

To the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Armenia

The Azerbaijani government has already done and is doing real stems for conquering Armenian Karabakh and Zangezur in order to be able to annex Nakhijevan, Sharur and Surmalu. The Azerbaijani government has already occupied the important strategic points of Armenian Karabakh, Askeran, Khanqend, Zabugh, and the Muslim part of Shushi. After the arrival of the British Mission the regular Azerbaijani troops of several thousand people consisting of cavalry, artillery and infantry with machine guns were continuously moving military materials to Aghdam and Karyagino.

Now Armenian Karabakh is virtually besieged from three sides, and with the passage of nomads to the mountains, which will soon happen, Armenian Karabakh will be besieged also from the fourth side.

.....

At the same time the Armenian National Council does everything so that an armed conflict does not occur realizing that it is very possible that we will be defeated in case of war. Armenian Karabakh can gather 10-12 thousand soldiers with rifles, but it doesn't have strong military organization, an authoritative military leader, money, and which is the most important, it has very little military supplies and that is in the hands of peasants, and all these are at a time when the main strategic points of Armenian Karabakh have already been captured by the Azerbaijani regular troops.

Delegate of the Armenian National Council of Karabakh  
Levon Zarafyants.

F. 200, l. 1, c. 243, p. 53

silence henceforth, the Armenians of Karabakh will consider that an act of betrayal against the Armenian Karabakh.

President Y. Ishkhanyan

*NAA, f. 200, l. 1, c. 243, p. 56-57*

**Number 18**

*F. 200, l. 1, c. 243, p. 47*

Typescript

Strictly Confidential

Minister of Foreign Affairs 19.03.1919

To Mr. Chairman of the Government of Armenia R. I. Kajaznuni  
To Mr. Military General I. V. Akhverdov, to General M. P. Silikov

In the sphere of Armenian-Tatarian relations the question of Karabakh gets new turn today.

According to available data the Azerbaijani government reveals a quite definite aspiration to extend its authority over all purely Armenian districts of Karabakh, and not only in the places where the Turkish troops carried out invasions once, but also in the places where neither the Turks, nor the power of the Azerbaijani Republic entered.

The Azerbaijani government tries its best to establish, organize and bring their administrative bodies into Karabakh and "peacefully" subdue with their help the districts of Karabakh, which are populated by the Armenians.

Just now the Council of Ministers established the position of Governor-General of Karabakh with special authorities: its power should extend in Shushi, Zangezur and Jevanshir provinces. General Andranik has been in the western part of Karabakh (Kapan, Sisian and Zangezur) until now. The Tatars opened a real persecution against him especially in order to discredit him in the eyes of the British. I had to explain to General Thomson the role and the meaning of General Andranik especially now, when the latter has purely defensive mission: to protect the Armenian populated areas of

Karabakh from the invasion of Tatars. Apparently the British have favorable attitude towards General Andranik now. Really, the role of General Andranik is great in the protection of Zangezur and generally in the western part of Karabakh.

The Tatars not only try to put into operation their administration in the whole Karabakh, but also gather some forces mainly in Shushi district (in Zabugh, between Aghdam and Askeran).

It's extremely necessary to take energetic measures to bring Armenian control in the Armenian populated parts of Karabakh.

This is a very urgent task. It mustn't be lost even an hour.

Much was sent to General Andranik in December last year: one million rubles for the needs of the refugees (as we know they are a lot), and his troops 400.000..... r. for the troops and 600.000 for the refugees.

The more so because, as it has been noted, the Azerbaijanis take all the measures to penetrate into Karabakh and occupy it.

I've learned that the Government of the Republic ordered 10-15 people to go to Karabakh for the introduction of the civil governance. It's necessary, of course, to increase that number by 4-5 times as soon as possible.

I've also heard that General D. Pirumov was to come to Karabakh for organization of a brigade and introduction of the civil governance. Both the first and the second tasks are extremely urgent.

If Pirumov hasn't left yet, it's necessary that he (which is highly desirable both for his personal qualities and for ties with Karabakh) or another authoritative person leaves for Karabakh both for formation a brigade and for introduction of civil government.

The entire Karabakh craves for the immediate arrival of such an authoritative person. A commission is sent from here for the time being which may affect me great money resources. That commission will organize and introduce civil administration in the Armenian populated parts of Karabakh without noise, without naming even the Republic.

With the arrival of the representative of the Republic the commission must obey him and pass the money to the representative. It's necessary, of course, that the representative of the Republic has also been supplied with money (and with cartridges for self-defense of the population).

Captain Sargsyan will write about general Bicherakhov and about the interrelations with him.

The thing is that though general Bicherakhov is appointed as the chief commander of the former Ufinsky Government, he is without troops. The British, who were supporting him formerly and giving huge amounts of money, now apparently aren't inclined to support him, and they've already stopped giving money. General Bicherakhov tries to change his situation by all means and to prove the British that he still has forces, but the fact is that he doesn't have troops nevertheless. He would like to find some suitable, organized troops ready to obey him...

Abridgement

Today the soldiers and officers of Baku's former army are in Baku numbering not less than 8-10 thousand. I have taken steps to tell the allied command (General Thomson) that the officers and soldiers would be sent to the homeland (with arms if it is possible). The Armenian-Georgian war has prevented the solution of the matter. The principle agreement exists. I thought of sending people with echelons partly to Karabakh, partly to the area of the Government of the Republic in Erivan...

Abridgement

General-m-Bagratuni

## Number 19

*F. 200, l. 1, c. 293, p. 40*

### DOCUMENTS ON KARABAKH ISSUE

Conversation with General Shatelwort from March 26, 1919. Participants: Aslan Shahnazarov-the Head of the city Shushi and Major M. Mason. Klatenberg translates.

The Major represents Aslan Shahnazarov as the chairman of the National Council of Karabakh and the head of the city-as mayor. Shatelwort writes down their names and surnames and then asks a number of questions. Turning to Shahnazarov: "Where have you lived recently? Please, indicate the place on the map. Where have you been until now? Where have you got higher education, secondary education? Do you know the regions of Karabakh? Have you ever been to Erivan, Kars and Turkish Armenia? Why did you go abroad and where did you spend time? Explain why don't you

belong to any party? (A. Shahnazarov answers to all points in details). Do you have an estate and where is it located?

Then Shatelwort turns to the Mayor, asks his name, surname, where he has served recently (7 years in Shushi, then in Tbilisi), whether he has an estate or not (the mayor-a great landowner). He asks a general question: what do your people, the representatives of which you are, want? The Mayor asks who shall answer. Shatelwort – "The Chairman". (Shatelwort writes down the biographies).

A. Shahnazarov gives detailed explanations, which are the following: There should be a third (allied) force in Karabakh till the decision of the Conference. During the world war the people of Karabakh supported the Allies with particular zeal hoping that the unfortunate people would be rescued from the centuries-old oppression. After the Bolshevich revolution in Russia all the Armenians of Karabakh turned their eyes to England-the ally and savior. The people were fighting with weapons until the allies came and the first telegram and delegation of Thomson caught us on the front. We have demobilized our troops hoping that the British will come, and when you are here, the people of Karabakh expect justice, peace and order.

Shatelwort: How do the people understand a quiet life and how can it be arranged?

A. Shahnazarov: Referring to the fact that Azerbaijan invited the Turks and fought against Karabakh together with them destroying a number of villages and in the end was defeated, the people will never agree to recognize the authority of Azerbaijan. It's necessary to form a **modus** but out of Azerbaijan: there is no other outcome.

Shatelwort: We know that during the war the unfortunate Armenian people suffered the most: now they need peace and tranquility. The allies are concerned about this issue and give them more than it could be expected initially. As for Karabakh, that's a controversial question and subject to resolution at the conference, and now you have to explain to the people that they must obey the Governor-General appointed with the knowledge of the British command until the end of the Peace Conference.

A. Shahnazarov: It is impossible; none of us dares and has the right to explain to the people that they should submit to Azerbaijan. I speak as a person, who has been chosen by the nation, and the 4<sup>th</sup> congress, which took part in February, has given us a categorical mandate on non-recognition of



Azerbaijan no matter in what form it will be, and we have no right to go beyond our competences.

Shatelwort: What do the people want?

A. Shahnazarov: The Armenians of Karabakh seek to the Great Armenia, as common language, culture and economy connect them.

Shatelwort: Do you speak about the whole Karabakh or about the disputed zone? Annexation Karabakh to Armenia depends on the Conference.

A. Shahnazarov: I speak about the disputable area, where 90% of Armenians live.

Shatelwort: How do the Armenians want that disputable area to be ruled?

A. Shahnazarov: The Armenians want that the higher administration was in the hands of the British, that the council's members in front of the resident were equal or proportional from both nations.

Shatelwort: It is impossible. We are dealing with government, but not with different bodies. Here in Kars the Tatars don't recognize the Armenian Republic, but we force and they must obey. A similar situation is created in Karabakh; here we must act through the existing government, otherwise we can't restore order.

A. Shahnazarov: The wounds of the Armenians are fresh, the suffering is great and in such a short time it can't be carried out a revolution. I repeat that if the Armenians have chosen as members of the National Council the people, who don't belong to any party, hoping that they will protect the interests of the nation, but not the interests of the party, then we can't be traitors of the country and go to the nation to propagandize the recognition of Azerbaijan. I would ask to enter into the psyche of the people, give them peace.

Shatelwort: Does the National Council have influence and authority?

A. Shahnazarov: Yes, it does.

Shatelwort: Do you consider Sultanov to be clever?

A. Shahnazarov: Let me characterize Sultanov. He is the one who wanted to make arrest the allied mission in Yevlakh; he propagandized and is still making propaganda against England.

Shatelwort: I know, and yet he is appointed as a Governor-General with our consent, and the mission in Shushi will control his actions; he can't do anything vile. What harm has he inflicted to you after his arrival?

A. Shahnazarov: The progress of Azerbaijani troops in Khanqend, trenches, requisition of carts, hay and so on.

Shatelwort asks clarification from M. Mayon. The latter supports everything except requisitions.

A. Shahnazarov: That's true, we haven't told to the mission anything about requisition, but before the arrival of the troops we've informed that excesses are possible and collisions are inevitable on this basis.

Shatelwort: I've ordered to stop the trenches before getting information about that. I hear about requisition for the first time. Do they take away without money and receipts?

A. Shahnazarov: Yes. Besides, Azerbaijan realizes murder, robbery and so on within the uncontroversial area. Azerbaijan can't stop that. How can it restore order among the Armenians? The Armenians are civilized for 100 years more than the Azerbaijanis. It is impossible to subdue the Armenians, who have dozens of schools, to the uncivil by the force of arms,.

Shatelwort: I don't agree. The Armenians and Moslems are almost on the same level. Don't your people yearn for peace? Will they risk and create excesses if a general-governorate is formed?

A. Shahnazarov: Our people are quiet, they are bled out. They yearn for peace more than anyone. But the peace must be honorable, not degrading. A modus must be found, so that a peaceful life will be possible. The people are exhausted, but if they are imposed a general-governorate, then the powerless people will struggle in any way.

Shatelwort: As you've told you-the representatives have influence and honor. You must explain to the people that Azerbaijan is temporarily, that your fate depends on the Conference and if after the decision of the Conference you move away from the Conference, and if after the Conference you move away from Azerbaijan and don't want to stay there, then you'll be able to move to Armenia freely.

A. Shahnazarov: I don't speak about the future of Karabakh. It will be decided by the Conference. I speak about the temporary management. We will not dare go to the people and publicize submission, that's impossible, that's a betrayal.

Shatelwort: I warn that excesses against Azerbaijan or its general-governorate are actions against Great Britain, and we are so strong that can

make you comply. You-the representatives are responsible for everything and we require from you.

A. Shahnazarov: Why is it necessary to create such an inextricable situation for the miserable people? Can't Britain take in its hand temporarily the higher administration in Karabakh? We agree with subordination to the Moslem, but not on behalf of Azerbaijan, we agree with that.

Shatelwort: I repeat, we can't take the responsibility of forming an administration in the region, our mission, which will include also two American officers, has got instruction only to watch for the actions of the governor-general, but not to take control in our hands. The interests of the Armenians will not be ignored in any case, as the mission has the right to interfere in internal orders of the Azerbaijani administration. You should open ways of communication. You should give means to be involved among the Armenians to see personally and ascertain in the strivings of the Armenians, because the Peace Conference doesn't define exactly the borders, the local commissions do that checking the facts and delineating territories on the database.

A. Shahnazarov: You always can get into the whole Armenian region, discover, learn the needs, but I repeat that the roads will not be open for the Azerbaijani government and its power will not be recognized. I would convincingly ask you once more to take the control in your hands.

Shatelwort: That's impossible. You must go back with the major, convince the people, recognize the Azerbaijani General-Governorate, live peacefully and not create incidents. The National Council is responsible to us for all sorts of disorders, and we will strictly punish the instigators.

A. Shahnazarov: You create an inextricable situation for us and for the nation; if a governor-general is sent there again, then we absolve ourselves from responsibility and the Council in Europe will resign, as it is not possible to work.

Shatelwort: You don't have the right to refuse; you must go back with the Major and work there together with the latter to restore order.

A. Shahnazarov: If the nation have chosen me as one who doesn't belong to any party and the council has worked not for the party till now, but for the people, they think that we are the defenders of their rights, it's impossible to move to another ground and we must resign. If you want to ascertain in the opinion of the Armenians of Karabakh once more, then create a new congress, please, bind out the opinions of all, choose a new body.

Shatelwort: What do you think? Are collisions possible?

A. Shahnazarov: Yes, certainly, if a governor-general is appointed. After a month migration will begin, the people are armed; there will be excesses on the basis of damage and capture. I'm sure, that there will be collisions, so I announce that we can't take responsibility.

Shatelwort: Then you'll stay here. Turning to the Mayor: "What do you think of the collision?"

Mayor: Representing the Armenians and Moslems, I am in kinship with the Moslems and they respect me very much. Karabakh, about which the chairman speaks, is not only a disputable area, but still 120 years ago the Armenians and Moslems lived peacefully in the hands of my ancestors and with the Meliks. I think that now also it is possible to create such a life without Azerbaijan.

Shatelwort: Will you go back?

Mayor: Yes; I am the head, I must go, but I ask for permission to go to my children in Tiflis for a week, and then I will go to Shushi. The British Mission knows my work very well, it can testify to you about my impartial work.

Shatelwort turns to A. Shahnazarov: "You'll stay and the Mayor will go to M. Mason. Are there other responsible people among the Armenians?"

M. Mason lists the commanders.

Shatelwort turns to A. Shahnazarov: Do the commanders have influence? Can they take responsibility in front of the people in this issue?

A. Shahnazarov: The military leaders are soldiers, they obey to the National Council, as servicemen they are only the leaders of soldiers. They can't be responsible to the people for political affairs in any way.

Shatelwort: The question is solved.

He is – where the Armenian residence is.

A. Shahnazarov: Van, and then Erivan.

Armenian Information Bureau in Baku.

21 March, 1919

Central State Historical Archives of the Armenian SSR, f. 200, l. 1, c. 293, p. 41-45. Typescript.

## Number 20

*F. 200, l. 1, c. 309, p. 36-39*

### REPORT

Of A. I. Khatsov to the Council of Ministers about his visit to Tiflis on the issue of Nakhijevan and Karabakh. I left Erivan on May 2, arrived in Tiflis on May 3, at 11 am. The adjutant of General Thomson met me at the station and welcomed on his behalf. From the station I went to the Mission, where I had a meeting with Tigranyan, Harutyunyan and Evangulov. I've learnt at the Mission about the reports of Shatelwort and Mak-Masson, about the activity of Shahmazaryan in Zangezur and about the situation in Karabakh.

At 12 o'clock I and Evangulov went to Thomson. General Thomson, Beach, Brof and Davi with their chiefs of staffs took part in the meeting. The conversation was in French. After the greeting of Thomson the chief of his staff began to read Shatelwort's report about Karabakh, where he had been on April 26. The report consisted of 20 points:

- 1) According to the information gathered by Shatelwort the Armenian military forces in Karabakh were controlled by the officers of Armenia.
- 2) The Armenian National Council of Karabakh has rejected the nomadic movement because of which the Tatar nomads are in a terrible situation.
- 3) Shahmazyan announced in Zangezur that the Karabakh forces are a part of the Armenian army and generally promised any assistance to the people of Karabakh.
- 4) The Armenians can't understand the policy of the British and wonder why the British support Azerbaijan-the ally of Turkey.
- 5) The Armenians have categorically stated that they don't trust Sultanov - a famous supporter of Turkey.
- 6) The Armenians announce that there are rumours about leaving of the British, after which they will stay face to face with the Turks if now they agree to recognize the authority of Azerbaijan.
- 7) The wander of the Tatars has been interrupted. The live-stock is dying. The Tatars have bad mood.

- 8) The Tatars shouldn't be disarmed, otherwise the Armenians will slaughter all of them (the opinion of Mak-Masson).
- 9) The Armenians have stated that if Sultanov takes part in the Conference, they will not participate in it.
- 10) Dr. Sultanov himself states that he doesn't hope that the Armenians will recognize the authority of Azerbaijan.
- 11) Shahmazyan organizes the troops in Karabakh on behalf of the Armenian Government.
- 12) 43 delegates from Karabakh took part in the congress in Shushi; there were no representatives from Zangezur.
- 13) Shatelwort told the Armenians that the British want to set up a temporary government for the benefit of refugees until the decision of the Peace Conference.
- 14) Sultanov brought a surname which announced that they would be happy to recognize the power of Azerbaijan, but that "Dashnak-tsutyun" impeded everything and that his life was in danger.
- 15) Shatelwort said that the National Council of Goris was the same "Shura", which was in Kars.
- 16) Shatelwort met the chairman of the National Council Ishkhanyan, who told him that the Armenians were reconciled with the authority of Azerbaijan.
- 17) Sokrat-bey M. Shahnazarov told Shatelwort that there was no need to attach importance to the National Council. They had lived peacefully until the Turks arrived. Now the National Council muddies everything.
- 18) Shatelwort met the delegates, who declared in written form their disagreement to submit to Azerbaijan and they were not afraid of threats.
- 19) Shatelwort considers that the wander may be organized.
- 20) Sultanov agrees with the passing of the nomads without Azerbaijani troops...

After reading the report General Thomson made the following conclusion: It is clear from the report that interfering in the affairs of Karabakh, Armenia as though declares a war to England: Sultanov behaves correctly, the population lives peacefully and is excited only by the agents of Armenian Government. These all give cause for the suspension of movement

of our troops to Nakhijevan. The movement is possible only if the following conditions are realized:

1. Shahmazyan and all other delegates-agitators should be withdrawn from Karabakh.
2. Proclamation on behalf of the Government of Armenia about Karabakh, where it should be noted, that it is not allowed any opposition to the Azerbaijani Government, and if the Armenians counteract, the refugees will suffer.
3. The nomads must be let pass.
4. When these conditions are realized, the movement to Nakhijevan will start immediately.

Khatisov responded with a long speech to the report and the speech of Thomson; it lasted 1-1/2 hours, and the following two positions were developed:

1. The Government of Armenia will recognize Karabakh as the inseparable part of the Armenian Republic, but until the decision of Paris Conference considers it necessary to hand the control of the area to the British Governor-General of British nationality and to the National Councils of the Armenians and Moslems - the first in Armenian Karabakh, the second in Muslim (to the east of Askeran).
2. The Armenian Government can't expel anybody from Karabakh as it doesn't govern Karabakh.
3. The Armenian Government has only two official representatives in Karabakh-Arzumanyan and Shahmazyan.
4. The Armenian Government thinks that the National Councils of Karabakh should have armed forces, which aren't considered to be a part of the Republic of Armenia; therefore the Armenian Government can't direct them.
5. The Armenian Government finds it possible to advise the National Council in Zangezur to let the Moslem-nomads go to the mountains on condition that they will be accompanied by the British troops and the Armenian and Moslem representatives, but the government doesn't have right or ability to order the Council to do this.
6. On the whole the Armenian government says that in conditions created by the British command, it can't be responsible for what happens in Karabakh as it doesn't have management bodies there. If

the British command wants to lay the responsibility of what happens in Karabakh upon the Armenian Government, then it should first hand the control of Karabakh to the Armenian Government like the areas of Kars.

7. The Armenian Government has not sent and doesn't have agitators in Karabakh, and if there are Armenian officers or local public figures there, who organize local forces and protect the idea of non-recognition of the Azerbaijani power in Karabakh, then it isn't the result of the actions or disposals of the Armenian Government, but the sincere and clear expression of the will of the 300.000 population of Karabakh, and no one is able to change it, and an attempt of changing it will not be a provocation of excitement in Karabakh too, which would contradict the principles of the British policy in general.
8. Not to allow the refugees of Nakhijevan to enter the Nakhijevan region and to connect their return with the issue of Karabakh would have been equivalent to the principles of the Turkish policy: to blame the innocent people for the actions of the third parties, in this case for the alleged actions of the Armenian Government.
9. The viewpoints of the Armenian Government and the National Council of Karabakh on Karabakh issue don't coincide with the viewpoint of "Dashnaksutyun" party, but are shared by all the existing political parties in Armenia.
10. It is necessary to move the troops and refugees to Nakhijevan for four reasons:
  - a) The unbearable situation of the refugees; 8000 people out of 18.000 have already died.
  - b) The mood of the Tatars may change.
  - c) The mood of the troops can cause excesses.
  - d) Such a situation is not compatible with realization of military plans.

We can't propose the supposed appeal to the people of Karabakh for 3 reasons:

- a) We don't share it essentially.
- b) The population doesn't share it.
- c) Our dignity and honor doesn't allow that, so we will obey not to move to Nakhijevan, but we'll not sign the demand.

11. The representative of the Armenian Government Argutinski, who goes to Shushi, has a function only to declare all the foregoing, to listen to the statement of General Shatelwort and to return back without any answer or decision.

After the answer of Khatsov General Thomson made a few remarks about Shahmazyan, whose removal he had asked for several times, and about nomads, the question of which must be settled.

Khatsov replied that Shahmazyan had already been called from Zangezour for reporting the Government, what concerns the nomads, then that question will be settled, but the nomads have to obey the rules developed by the Armenian Government.

After that General Thomson, consulting with other generals, gave the following answer: "I've considered everything and decided that your answers are true and I cancel my demand about not moving the troops and refugees to Erivan".

Then the general began to speak about the general situation in Transcaucasia, about complains of Azerbaijan on the British Armeniaphilian tendencies in giving Nakhijevan to the Armenians, etc.

After that telegrams were given to Dro and Charles with permission to move forward...

## Number 21

*F. 200, l. 2, c. 171, p. 22*

### NEAR EAST RELIEF

#### FORMERLY

#### AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR ARMENIAN AND SYRIAN RELIEF AND MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK

#### CABLEGRAM

Near East New York, for Associated Press.

I have just returned from the interior of the Caucasus and from conference with Colonel Haskell, Resident Commissioner of the Allied

Powers. A million Christian refugees and other Armenians in the Caucasus have reached a state of destitution that beggars all description.

Most of the able bodied men have already perished fighting for the Allied cause.

The remnant chiefly women and children are surrounded by hostile. Turks, Kurds and Tartars and face almost certain extermination this winter, unless help on a large scale comes from America.

These people universally recognized in normal times as the most thrifty, industrious and prosperous people of Western Asia, have now been for four years exiled or fugitive from their ancestral homes.

Their last vestage of negotible property has been sacrificed for food and protection.

Repatriation this year utterly impossible. Turks still hold their homes. Attempted returns means death.

The only earthy possession of many of them consists of the tattered remnant of the garments wish they wore. when driven from home in Nineteen fifteen.

Thousands of women and children have but a single garment to cover their nakedness and to protect them from the bitterly cold winter of the high plateaus around Mount Ararat.

Empty flour sacks bearing the names of well known American firms are improvised as clothing for children, rags are used as shoes.

All flour and food staples now coming through American Relief. Total supply now in prospect will last only few weeks at most.

Hundreds of tons of cast off clothing from America could be used immediately and before winter snows block transportation. Some provision must be made for approximately thirty thousand tons of food stuffs beyond present stocks or there will be the greatest horvest of death from famine that has yet been known by this mortyn nation.

(Signed) Vickrey

**Number 22**

*F. 200, l. 2, c. 171*

23 March, 1919

To His Excellency, The Minister for Foreign Affairs, Armenian Republic

Your Excellency,

The General Officer Commanding British Forces in Trans Caucasia learns from reliable authority that a Bolshevic Committee has been established at Alexandropol and has, for some time past, been carrying out a very active propaganda amongst the working classes, the Army and the Railway Employees.

This matter has already been brought to the notice of the Armenian Police at ALEXANDREPOL who in turn reported the existence of the Committee in question to the Armenian Government.

Up to the present, however, no action has been taken by the Government.

The General officer Commanding will be glad if Your Excellency will now take immediate steps to suppress the Bolshevic Committee mentioned above.

It is suggested also that the leaders of this committee be suitably punished.

23 March 1919.

Lieut Colonel

General Staff.

British Forces in TRAS CAUCASIA.

Copy to, the Armenian Diplomatic Representative.

TIFLIS.

(for information)

**Number 23**

28 March, 1919

**MEETING WITH THOMSON**

..... Minister Chairman Khatsov told him about the situation in Karabakh and stated the Government's consideration about that issue. General Thomson explained that for him the question about Karabakh depends on the nutrition of refugees and necessity to make safe the means of communication.... One should think that the question of Karabakh will soon be solved in Paris.... Thomson says that the movement of the troops of Azerbaijan was exaggerated. They strenuously follow the movement of Andranik in Khanqend. If anything happens Dr. Sultanov will also be responsible, as Nuri Pasha for Baku....

.... Khatsov: Mak Mosen must observe that everything was in order, he should have an administrator, and that doesn't concern the future relations.

Tigranyan: Let Sultanov be subjected to Mak Mosen.

Thomson: It is so....

Khatsov: .... We stay on our point of view about Karabakh and take note of your viewpoint.

*F. 199, l. 1, c. 23 (part 1), p. 143-144*

**Number 24**

May, 1919

**REPORT**

To the Commander of the 1<sup>st</sup> Brigade of the 32<sup>nd</sup> Division

Yesterday, on 19-5-20 a delegation consisted of 3 people – the Plenipotentiary of Rev. Mil. Council of the Caucasian Front comrade Ter-Gabrelian Sahak, Assistant of the Commander of 281 regiment comrade Parnaki and Instructor-Organizator at 281 Regiment comrade Kaydalov went

through the neutral zone to the area occupied by the Armenian units and Headquarters of Commander Dro....

3) What if in case of necessity, for the lack of apartments we will have to take a few villages in the region of Karabakh. Dro answered: "I think that you will not do this, and what will you do with so many apartments, when you have only 500 people in Mush, and you can settle much more there". Then Dro asked: "Why doesn't the Azerbaijani Command fulfill the order of stopping the offensive and is currently attacking in two directions - on Chayqend from one side and on Karachinar from another side, trying to hug Armenia.

(Compendious)

Dro worries that the world revolution will wipe the Armenians. He says that you consider our friend to be England, if not only England, but also America and the voluntary army were our friends, or not, we will have to appeal to them as we are pressed on both sides by Turkey and Azerbaijan. They try to destroy Armenia, and we have nothing to shoot. Thousands of people were dying of hunger, but America gave us 5 million pounds of bread and saved the situation. Dro showed us the instruction of the Armenian government, in which it was said: "Don't give way to provocations and hold tighter the front, and with the campaign of the Soviet Red Army we will find common goals and a common language" ....

Assistant of the Commander of 281 Regiment of Pernaki  
F. 1022, l. 8, c. 42, p. 1

### Number 25

*F. 200, l. 1, c. 193, part 1, p. 225*

6 May, 1919

Honourable Mr. Avetis Aharonyan, the Chairman of the delegation of Armenia

The British command wants to keep the external world unaware of the Caucasian events, which can attract the attention of the political world and perhaps can change the arbitrary orders of the British command, in our

opinion this is the reason that the British provoke some difficulties against having regular relations with Europe and especially with you. We think you are informed from P. Tigranian's letter that the British command yielded to the Turkish requirements and didn't let the agreement about giving us the region of Kars enter into force, which was signed between General Woker and P. Tigranyan; at least the British explained it in this way.

During April, when Woker left, the policy of the British concerning the problem of Kars and Nakhijevan was changed. The British commanding realized that its policy in the Caucasus was wrong. Shura, which was established in Ghars, created a connection with the Ottoman agents. The members were arrested and sent to Tbilisi, and then the region of Ghars was given to the Armenians. Our army entered Ghars on April 23. The Turkish population is satisfied with the Armenian administration and has sent a thanks letter. On May 6 the Armenian army entered Nakhijevan with the help of the British. The British command still persists in Karabakh problem. You know that the British want Karabakh to be under their control, in Azerbaijan's general province-state. Dr Sultanov is detailed as a common governor of Karabakh, Shushi, Zangezur and Jabrayil. The Minister of Foreign Affairs protested against Dr. Sultanov's appointment from the name of the government, pointing that the government of Armenia can never accept, even temporarily, the power of Azerbaijan over Karabakh, which is the inseparable part of Armenia. In the next protest addressed to General Thomson Tigranian offered to establish a British Command in Karabakh, which would work there with the support of the Armenian National Council, until the question of Karabakh was solved at Paris Conference. On April 5 in "Azerbaijan" newspaper an announcement was published with the signature of colonel Shatelwort - the captain of the British forces in Baku, which said that the population of Karabakh, Zangezur, Shushi, and Jebrayil must submit to Sultanov's orders. P. Tigranian complained about that order to the British commanding informing that the Government of the Republic of Armenia insisted on its decision. They even tried to remove the Armenian National Council from Karabakh considering it an obstacle against their goals. The members of the council were called to Baku under the pretext of meeting. The National Council found it expedient to send only the president and the secretary who weren't allowed to return. The other members were removed too. Afterwards the British organized an assembly in Karabakh to know the

unconstrained conclusion of the Armenian population of Karabakh. The assembly took place on April 23 and decided unanimously not to accept the power of Azerbaijan even temporarily. They proposed to our government to remove Shahmazyan from Goris, because he ignored the British power and proclaimed Goris as a region of Yerevan.

The Government refused to call P. Shahmazyan back telling that it agreed with his announcement about the Karabakh problem, and that there was surely a misunderstanding about ignoring the British authority, that the government would require an explanation from P. Shahmazyan about that problem. In this problem even the British applied to fraud. Colonel Shatelwort wrote in his report to the power as if the diplomatic representative of Armenia in Baku (Bekzadian) said that the Armenians of Karabakh can concede in their requirements. It's needless to say that Mr. Bekzadian didn't say anything about that. Another time the same colonel announced to our representative in Karabakh (Arzumanian) in the presence of the British commanding that the Armenian Government had already agreed with the British orders about Karabakh. In our opinion this insistence of the British command has some connection with their pretensions in Caucasus; perhaps they consider Azerbaijan to be a region of their protectorate zone. Recently there were some reviews in the press of Tbilisi about the diffusion of British protectorate over Georgia and Azerbaijan. If that news is true, then the British would like to enlarge it for keeping it in their zone of influence subsequently.

On April 23 the conference of the four republics of Transcaucasia was opened by Georgia's proposal - Armenia, Georgia, Azerbaijan and Dagestan. Azerbaijan offered to form a so called "Arazian" Republic from Ghars and other regions, but we protested and refused.

Deputy Foreign Minister A. Khatisyan

**Number 26**

*F. 200, l. 2, c. 203*

17.04.1919

**LIEUTENANT GENERAL HOBERT GOOK'S LETTER TO THE  
EDITOR OF THE "TIMES" ABOUT THE SITUATION IN  
TRANSCAUCASIA AND ABOUT TAKING IT UNDER THE  
DOMINATION OF ENGLAND**

I've visited Transcaucasia, and it is in a situation which needs a quick and immediate decision and that decision can't be postponed for another day, because the peace of the country can't wait for that day. The Georgians are in the western part of Transcaucasia with their capital of Tiflis, the Moslem-Tatar Azerbaijan with the capital of Bagu is in the eastern part, on the shores of Caspian sea, and in the southern side, between these 2 countries it is situated the Armenian country with the capital of Yerevan.

The last country wants to be and probably will be the Great Armenia, which must be formed from the ancient Turkish Empire. If this country is governed by liberal principle and order is established, Transcaucasia has so much natural resources and petroleum, that it can prosper and scalp, and the great part of the wealth will belong to the nation though surely it won't be a great requirement if we say that the expenses for protection of the government or the expenses of another mandatory army must be got from the local sources. About 10 years later after creating and preserving those 3 republics, when Russia is restored, that confederation can join Russia if they want.



**Number 27**

*F. 199, l. 1, c. 218, p. 4*

20.05.1919

**TO THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF ARMENIA  
FROM THE ARMENIAN NATIONAL COUNCIL OF KARABAKH**

The following events can serve as examples of the unilateral policy of the British command about which we have just been informed by a courier. In the Avan-Khzbalian's estate of Jraberd region a British mission is situated. On May 15, when the police guide Sergey Stepanyan went to Marashal village, where an assassination had been carried out by the Turks, the head of the British mission invited that guide by a very polite letter, arrested him and sent to Baku, to general Thomson. The other officers of the region, who were distinguished by their vigilant activity, also got letters with the same content. That event strongly affected the Armenians of that region. The National Council is in trouble.

**Number 28**

*F. 200, l. 1, c. 309, p. 144*

16 June, 1919

Urgently to Erivan, to the Minister of Foreign Affairs  
from Tiflis № 1498

The American Consul told me that, as he had learnt, on 7 the Tatars occupied an Armenian village near Shushi and hilled up to 6 hundred people-both men and women. Outraged by that the consul telegraphed to Paris and Washington. The members of Shushi fraternity Karabegyan and Melik-Osepyan ask for real intervention and send the Chairmen of the Government – Khatisov to Tiflis for negotiations with the British command. Personally I support this petition and I'm going to General Corey tomorrow. № 94.

Representative of Armenia-Evangulyan.

**Number 29**

*F. 200, l. 1, c. 309, p. 128-131*

24.6.1919

The Report Note  
of the Chairman of the Armenian National Council of Karabakh

(Compendious)

In the result of negotiations for resolving inter-ethnic tensions a new inter-ethnic body – Armenian-Moslem Committee was established on a par with the representatives of the Council of the Armenian organizations and Moslem National Committee.

Through its intensive efforts the new Council managed to keep order in the province and to prevent inter-ethnic fire....

The situation has deteriorated since April, 1918 when in the all population aggregates of Karabakh inhabited by the Moslems Turkish commandants and emissaries appeared. As soon as they appeared, all the power of the Moslem stripe passed to them. Without having troops they registered the Moslems capable of carrying weapons and formed gangs.

The domination of the Turkish commandants was marked by new horrors....

All those humiliations were accompanied by a requirement directed to the Armenian peasantry - to recognize the Turkish authority.... But the Armenian peasantry rejected that demand stubbornly and with dignity.

Then, after the fall of Baku, when the required number of troops was ready, the regular Turkish military units moved to Karabakh under the command of Jamil Jahid bey.

This executioner, who had become famous still in Baku, arriving in Aghdam called the representatives of the Armenians and submitted two requirements: to recognize the authority of Azerbaijan and its high patroness – the Ottoman Empire and to surrender all the weapons. He announced that the Moslems would not be disarmed. Thus, directing them against the Armenians, Turkey sought to disarm the latters. The Armenians refused to comply with those requirements. In the term of the ultimatum the Turks

launched an attack on the villages of border strip: Pirjamal, Nakhijevanik, Dagrass, Mrshalu, Kyatik and Khrumurt.

An artillery and machine-gun fire were opened .... The Armenian forces retreated only when the bullets ran out. The above-mentioned villages were taken and destroyed....

Then the Turks invaded Shushi.

All the Armenian intellectuals were sent to prisons, where they were mocked, subjected to beatings and torture....

But the Turks wanted to conquer also Karabakh, as their power stretched only over the city and a small part of Khachen, but Jraber, Varanda and Dizak from Karabakh and Zangezur were dominated by the Armenians. At the same time general Andranik was moving from Zangezur, which was free from the Turks at that time. The procession of general Andranik was victorious, and he was in 35 miles from Shushi capturing all the important strategic points of the enemy. The rebellion of the Armenians of Karabakh was to be crowned with success; the Turk-Azerbaijanis were panic-stricken.

Just at that time the Allies entered the Caucasus.

On the instructions of General Thomson an Allied Military Mission came to Karabakh and demanded to stop the military actions and at the same time assumed the establishment of order.... The Allied Mission announced that henceforth no military movement of concentration should be by both sides.

But after less than a month the Azerbaijani Government began to concentrate its troops in the Armenian regions and in the neighbouring with them – in Khanqend, Zabugh and Karyagino....

Finally the British command announced that for establishment of order among the 300.000 Armenian population of Karabakh it was necessary to recognize the power of Azerbaijani Government until the solution of the question of Karabakh at the Peace Conference.

The 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> Congresses of the Armenians of Karabakh strongly rejected the proposal, as they knew for sure even since the times of the Turks, that submission to Azerbaijan threatened their physical existence.... Then the British command announced that non-recognition of the Governor-General of Azerbaijan – Dr. Sultanov, a former Turkish agent and a famous anti-Armenian, would be considered a hostile act against Great Britain.

At the same time repressions began against the Armenian public figures. The representative of Armenia at the British Mission in Shushi – Arzumanov was exiled from Shushi and exposed to search at the station Agstafa in the presence of the British officer who accompanied him taking all the diplomatic correspondence and weapons away from him.

The British Command didn't recognize the Armenian National Council of Karabakh despite the fact that it was the only organized power in Armenian regions....

The chairman of the Armenian National Council of Karabakh  
30 May, 1919

### Number 30

*Worker № 124, 24 June, 1919, ARF, p. 1.*

### A GREAT PAN-ARMENIAN MEETING IN TIFLIS

By the invitation of all the Armenian social organizations and institutions a great pan-Armenian meeting took place in the yard of the monastery of Tiflis, in which tens of thousands citizens were taking part.

The meeting was opened by H. Tumanyan, who was the director of the central administration of compatriotic union. Y. Spendaryan, A. Popov, a member of the Armenian National Council of Karabakh Ashot Melik Huvsepyan, Arshak Tadevosyan, Ter-Grigoryan, Taronetsi (a Western Armenian) made speeches. In the end the director of the meeting Hovh. Tumanyan read the following formula.

On Sunday, June 22 tens of thousands of Armenians, the representatives of Armenian patriotic unions and more than 40 public, cultural institutions of the regions of Transcaucasia and Turkey-Armenia took part in the meeting in the hall of the monastery. The meeting related to the bloody events taking place in the Armenian Karabakh and it made the following decision: "During the World War, when the Armenians had to defend the great front from Yeznka to river Khrum, Karabakh with its 300.000 Armenians, which

formed the 82 % of the population, fought heroically against the Turkish army. The inroads of Azerbaijan to announce Karabakh indisputable springs from its land-grabbing policy; Azerbaijan is inspired by the enemy of Armenia and Entente - Turkey.

The meeting expressed its rage and anger to the authors of vandalism with regard to unarmed women and children.

It greets the fight, which is driven for the holy right to live for the life of the Homeland. At the same time it applies to the allied countries and its representatives to take the sharpest military means, to arrest and commit immediately the authors of the slaughters, to remove from the whole Armenian Karabakh the Azerbaijani power, which isn't recognized and mustn't ever be recognized by the Armenian Karabakh. To let the Armenian Karabakh join Armenia according to the resolute will of the nation, and if that union is not possible, to organize temporary an administration of the allied countries in Armenian Karabakh till the final decision of Paris conference".

### Number 31

*Worker, 1 July, 1919, p. 2.*

An Armenian-Azerbaijani Parliamentary Commission  
Yerevan, June 27

The Minister of Foreign Affairs of Azerbaijan has given the following telegram:

(Brief)

The Government of Azerbaijan offers to form a mixed parliamentary commission from the representatives of Armenia and Azerbaijan according to the above-mentioned aim of the government of Armenia. Azerbaijan isn't against the participation of European countries and the representatives of America at that commission, if the Armenian Government finds it important.

The head of the society, the Minister of Foreign Affairs answered the following.

"The Government of Armenia, which has always been for confirming of strongest, kind neighbourly relations between the societies of Azerbaijan and Armenia, accepts the proposal of Azerbaijan to form a mixed parliamentary commission from the representatives of Azerbaijan and Armenia, with participation of 2 allied representatives from each side".

### Number 32

*F. 200, l. 1, c. 309, p. 212*

July 7, 1919

To The Minister of Foreign Affairs of  
The Republic of Armenia

From The Representative of the Republic of Armenia in Azerbaijan-  
Tigran Begzadyan

You already know from our previous messages that by the proposal of Karabakh's Governor-General Sultanov the sixth assembly of Karabakh was to take place on June 28, in which the representatives of the Government of Azerbaijan would have taken part. The assembly took place on the designated day in the village Shosh and after waiting for three days for the representatives of the government, it was disbanded electing a presidium, which authorized to negotiate and try to develop some conditions for making peace in case, if the representatives of the government come.

On June 30 the representatives of Azerbaijan- Sharif Bek Usubekov and Shahsuvarov arrived in Karabakh and began the negotiations. The result was the election of Aramayis (M. Ter-Danielyan) as a representative by the assembly and the election of Ruben Shahnazaryan by the Armenian Committee of Shushi, who came to Baku 3 days before by the offer of the representatives of government for making negotiations with the government of Azerbaijan.

Before starting the negotiations Aramayis made a report at the extraordinary conference of the Armenian National Council of Baku, which was on July 4, in which he represented in details all the events, which occurred in Shushi on June 4, 5, 6. Aramayis, considering the role of the representatives of Karabakh very hard and responsible, offered with the

congress's consent to strengthen the team of the representatives of Karabakh with the representatives of the Compatriot Union of Baku's Karabakh people. In spite of that the members of Baku's National Council also participated in the work of processing conditions, which were proposed by the Government of Azerbaijan. All the conditions, which will be processed and proposed by the government of Azerbaijan, even in case of consent, must be finally represented to the new institution of the 7<sup>th</sup> assembly, only after which those conditions can be considered to be solved.

Today for the first time the representatives of Karabakh must have shown up and represented the processed conditions to the government and there must have been talks about that, but the meeting didn't succeed.

The members of Karabakh's delegation are Aramayis, Melik-Yolchian and Ruben Shahnazarian. The members of the Compatriot Union of Karabakh people of Tiflis also wanted to participate in the negotiations between the delegation and the government.

We will try to inform you urgently about the results of negotiations.

### Number 33

*New Worker, July 25, № 148, p. 2.*

#### THE RESOLUTION OF AZERBAIJAN'S PARLIAMENT ABOUT THE EVENTS IN KARABAKH

The Parliament of Azerbaijan has adopted the following resolution about the events in Karabakh accepted by the "Musavat" faction.

"Listening to the report and explanation of the government about the events in Karabakh and finding that there isn't any illegal fact in the actions of the local authority and especially in the actions of Governor-General, the Parliament approves the methods that have been taken by the parliament in order to put an end to those events and passes to the next actions. According to "Azerbaijan", that formula is accepted by the majority vote against the vote of the Armenian faction.

Besides the formula of "Musavat", there was also another formula, which "Azerbaijan" doesn't put forward".

### Number 34

*Nor Ashkhatavor, July 27, № 150, p. 4.*

#### CAUCASUS FOR KARABAKH

Armavir, June 14

The society of Armavir could not remain indifferent about the events in Karabakh. And today, on June 14, a meeting is held on the committee's initiative which is supporting the local Armenians. There Mr. Yarvelian reported about the affairs of Armenia's Karabakh and the local refugees. A. Tonyan appealed to the Armenian society, which took lessons from the bitter experiences of the past, to hurry to make our Motherland prosperous and revive our newly-blown republic as soon as possible. A formula was accepted:

1. We-the Armenians of Armavir town, gathering together in large numbers for a general meeting under the chairmanship of Mr. Yov. Yarvelian on June 14, 1919, under the secretariat of Aram Tonyan, listening to the reports about the situation in Armenia and the last events in Karabakh, consider our duty to announce loudly the following.

The ministry about the course of the war and the situation of the Armenian people of Karabakh.

In addition to all that, the government of Azerbaijan, that absolute mode of action of the sanguinary young Turks, which exterminated 30 000 Armenians in September last year during the occupation of Baku by the Turks and which continue the massacre and annihilation of the Armenians in their native country till now, that government gathered completely and encircled heroic Karabakh, which didn't yield to sanguinary Nuri Pasha up to the end, and removing or exiling the leaders of the Armenian public opinion, on June 4 under the leadership of well-known sanguinary doctor Sultanov restarted the massacre of the Armenians, the result of which, according to preliminary information, is the annihilation of 6 Armenian villages and 600 Armenians, mostly women and children. The Armenians were watching in horror that heroic battle, because the resistance of Karabakh's people was weakening by the mode of action and commands of the British military power located in Caucasus, which did not put obstacles, and also advised to

submit to the power of sanguinary Sultanovs. As a result, the Armenians were killed again.

The Armenian people has already been exasperating and we feel it our bounden duty to inform the government of Great Britain about the activity of its agents, being completely sure that their mode of action quite contradicts the policy of the central government and that Great England will not hand the Armenians to the hand of the executioners- young-Turks and their agents again. Accepting the above- mentioned as a principle we affirm:

1. That in Armenia and for the Armenian affairs such agents will be appointed, the policy of which will not promote and strengthen the young-Turks' activity of annihilating the rest of the Armenians.
2. That a resolute demand must be made to the Turks for leaving Armenia immediately and giving the government of Armenia back.
3. That Armenia must be captured by the forces of the allies as soon as possible or the Armenians should be given the right to capture it by their own forces.
4. That the impediments, which do not allow the hundreds of thousands of Armenian emigrants to come back to the homeland and rebuild their ruined houses, must be removed until frosty weather sets in, because another winter in a foreign country will destroy the rest of the people.
5. To express our admiration for our brothers in Karabakh, who are fighting heroically against Sultanov's despotism for self-determination and civilization of the nations, and our disgust for the human-beast Sultanovs.

We've decided to hand this formula to the representative of Armenia- Mr. Y. Saghatlyan and to the British and American missions in Ekaterinodar for informing their governments, and we've also decided to ask the other Armenian colonies of the North Caucasus to join this formula.

Aram Tonyan

**Number 35**

*August 5, p. 2, New Worker, 1919.*

**ARMENIA**  
**THE ISSUE OF KARABAKH**  
(Own correspondent)

After the sixth assembly of the representatives of the Armenians of Karabakh a special committee was authorized to negotiate directly with the government of Azerbaijan in Baku for coming to a mutual agreement on Karabakh issue.

The negotiations were not official, because the government of Azerbaijan, considering Karabakh as an indisputable part of its country, refused the representative of the Republic of Armenia in Baku to take part in the negotiations, announcing that it would not allow the foreign country to interfere in its internal affairs.

The committee presented to Usubbegov a proposal consisted of about a dozen points. According to it the Armenians of Karabakh would accept temporarily the authority of Azerbaijan, but under the stipulation that:

1. The authority of Azerbaijan will be accepted temporarily, until the issue is solved finally during the conciliation conference, the decision of which is compulsory for both sides.
2. A council will be elected adjacent to the general governor of Karabakh. It will consist of 6 people - 3 Armenians and 3 Turks. The council will play a role of control and the governor will not be able to undertake any big deal without the agreement and approval of that council.
3. The general governor should have one assistant, who must be an Armenian.
4. In the parts of Karabakh, where the Armenians prevail, all the administrative officials should be Armenians.
5. The Turkish forces will be removed from the Armenian areas and massed in Khanqend and Shushi.

6. The arrests, searches and persecutions of the Armenians will be stopped and those, who were exiled, will come back to their places and so on...

The government of Azerbaijan, certainly, did not accept this offer; it demanded from the Armenians of Karabakh to accept the authority of Azerbaijan without any stipulation and even by a declaration.

The government of Usubbegov also proposed to the above-mentioned committee an anti-suggestion, which was completely unacceptable from the viewpoint of both physical and moral conditions of Karabakh.

The committee, considering the acceptance of such a suggestion of the government beyond its power, left the issue to the discretion of the local national institutions. The latter, examining the anti-suggestion of the authorities of Azerbaijan, found it completely unacceptable and offensive and refused absolutely.

In that way the negotiations were stopped and the question remained incomplete and uncertain. The sincere striving of the suffering workers of Karabakh for solving the issue with mutual agreement and solidarity met the stubbornness of the bey's government.

But it seems that the leaders of Azerbaijan, who even haven't listened to the legitimate claims of the people of Karabakh till now, understanding that the issue was getting complicated again and that it would be responsible for new unexpected massacres as, want to make some concessions again. As we know a few days ago Azerbaijan's premier Usubbegov appealed to the representative of the Republic of Armenia to restart official negotiations about Karabakh and several other problems.

Bagu

Dostean

## Number 36

*New Worker, 5 August, 1919, p. 2.*

### AN ENGLISH MESSAGE THE SITUATION IN ARMENIA

They suppose that the anarchy in Armenia will surely go on until America decides the mandate problem. If the British troops leave as they've promised, Armenia will appear in a helpless condition against the inhumanity of the Turks. There are already some messages that the villainies have been started because the Turks are encouraged by the slow actions of the allies. The British can't keep the order leaving the army there, because the Labor party requires their return to the homeland. The Armenians, who hoped to find a protection, will be handed to the cruel Turks and Kurds. Here they think that the increasing complaint in America about the European affairs must not be a reason to be pessimistic about the humanitarian programs, which can be realized so easily. If only the Turks understand that America will have an active participation in the mandate matter, they will stop their villainies. The mandate of Armenia is not a political problem. The general condition requires defining a strong government, a diligent and incorrupt authority. Europe already knows that after undertaking that job, America will move it forward vigorously and that will give more authority to the mandate.

## Number 37

*F. 200, l. 1, p. 65*

13 August, 1919

Baku

To the Minister Chairman

A copy to the Minister of Foreign Affairs

Azerbaijan needs to put an end to Zangezour within two weeks and move the troops up to Kemarlyu. It is the right time now. The arrival of the American Colonel Commissioner of Armenia will be too late. If you accept

my offer, then attack without a declaration of war. I beg you to take advantage of the moment and not to waste time.

Diplomatic Representative Tekinski

### Number 38

*F. 200, l. 1, c. 50 (part 1), p. 102*

15 August, 1919

### TEMPORARY AGREEMENT

The Armenians of Nagorno-Karabakh with the Azerbaijani Government.

Taking into account that the fate of Nagorno-Karabakh will be resolved at the Peace Conference, that any clash is ruinous for the nations of Karabakh, that in the result of any resolution of the issue of Karabakh the Armenians and Moslems will have to live together, the 7<sup>th</sup> Congress of the Armenians of Karabakh on the 4<sup>th</sup> morning session of August 15, 1919 decided to focus on the following conditions of the temporary agreement with the Right of the Republic of Azerbaijan:

1. The present temporary agreement is accepted by the parties till this issue is resolved at the Peace Conference: the decision is equally compulsory for both parties.

2. The mountainous part of Karabakh, Jevanshir and Jabrayil provinces (Dizak, Varanda, Khachen and Jraberd), inhabited by the Armenians, consider themselves temporary within the Azerbaijani Republic.

3. Shushi, Jevanshir and Jabrayil provinces remain in a special administrative unit of Karabakh – General Governorate, the internal organization is such as in the Mountainous Armenian.... an administration from the Armenians is appointed in compliance with the right of minority.

4. In the mountainous part of Karabakh (Dizak, Khachen, Varanda and Jraberd) administrative officials are appointed on proposal of the members of the Council of the Armenians.

5. At the General-Governorate of Karabakh a Council is established consisted of 6 people: three Armenians and three Moslems.

6. The Armenian members of the Council are elected by the Congress of the Armenian population of Nagorno-Karabakh. The Congress has the right of re-election.

7. All the insightful questions of interethnic character can not be enforced without a preliminary discussion at the Council.

8. The Council has the right of initiative for the issues of elimination and management by the Governor-General.

9. The Council has the right to monitor and control the administration of the general-governorate without the right of interfering in the administration's actions.

10. The position of the General-governor's assistant is established, and an Armenian is assigned on that post.

11. The Armenian Congress represented to the Azerbaijani Government two candidates for the position of assistant on civil part, and one of them was approved by the Azerbaijani government.

12. The Armenians of Karabakh have the right to cultural self-determination.

13. The right of cultural self-determination is carried out by the Armenian National Council of Karabakh which is elected at the Congress of the Armenians of Karabakh, which was convened periodically; the Congress convenes the National Council.

14. The Government of the Republic of Azerbaijan controls the activity of the Armenian National Council through authorized Armenians.

15. The military units are lodged in Khanqend and Shushi in peacetime.

16. Every movement of the troops in the mountainous areas of Karabakh, Shushi, Jevanshir and Jabrayil provinces established by the Armenians can be realized with the consent of 2/3 of members of the Council.

17. No one can be persecuted both in court and administratively for political beliefs.

18. All the Armenians, who had to depart for political reasons, have right to return to their places.

19. The disarmament of the Armenian and Moslem population is suspended in Karabakh till the issue of Karabakh is solved at the Peace Conference.

Note: In the view of the fact, that disarmament is announced throughout Azerbaijan, it can be told about suspension.

20. The Government of the Republic of Azerbaijan provides material and moral support to the population of Karabakh in reconstruction of ravaged villages of the Moslems and the Armenians.

21. The Council convenes periodically general and local Armenian-Moslem Congresses for better resolution of inter-ethnic relations.

22. Complete freedom of unions, speech and press, assemblies in the mind of martial law throughout Azerbaijan are allowed by administration.

23. All sorts of acts of private and public officials are persecuted except for the acts and criminal actions ripped out of the general jurisdiction by the compulsory decision of the Committee of State Defence since 11 June, 1919.

24. No one is persecuted for participation in inter-ethnic collisions occurring until now.

25. The present agreement will come into force from the moment, when the 7<sup>th</sup> Congress of Armenian Karabakh adopts it.

26. The present agreement will remain in force in any position.

1. Daniel Arakelyants, 2. Abraham Gisabekyants, 3. Simon Poghosov, 4. (He is sick), 5. Smbat Balayants, 6. Beniamin Babakevyants, 7. Israyel Husikvedyan, 8. Abraham bey Kikhanov, 9. Bakhshi Muradov, 10. Hovhannes Avramyan, 11. Stepan Stepanyan, 12. Hakob Balasanyan, 13. Tigran Melik Gasparyan, 14. Hovhannes Gasparov, 15. Levon Vartanov, 16. Arsen Hovhannisyan.

City Shushi

22 August, 1919

The points of the agreement of 22 August, 1919 between the Government of Azerbaijan and the Armenian population of Karabakh are violated by the General-Governor of Azerbaijan – Sultanov.

Number 39

*French*

*F. 200, l. 1, c. 201, p. 72<sup>a</sup>*

August 9

Copies

To the president of the Conference of Peace Mr. Klemanso

To Poghos Nubar Pasha - president of the National Delegation, Av. Aharonyan (President of the Delegation of the Republic of Armenia)

According to the official information received from the Government of Armenia, the British troops are leaving Transcaucasia and Erzurum on August 15. The Turkish-Tatar movement is beginning to threaten the existence of the Armenians. The presence of the British forces partly subdues that movement. When they leave, an unavoidable disaster will start. The existence of the entire Armenian nation is in danger, in the case, when the victory of the allies promised freedom and civil life for Armenia. In the name of human justice and existence of Armenia I demand starting of urgent and active means to avoid the disaster. The Armenian government is deeply convinced that the allies will give real means to oblige their decisions to the Turkish-Tatars.

The President-Minister of Armenia - Khatisyan

The Minister of Foreign Affairs



23.09.1919

French

To Mr. Klemanso

The President of the Peace Conference

Paris

Mr. President

At the last meeting, which took place on August 28, 1918 it was decided to regulate temporarily the problem of Karabakh in a formal way getting informed of the temporary documents of the Government of Azerbaijan about this country.

During the Turkish invasion in Transcaucasia in 1918, all the efforts of the Azerbaijani troops, which were helping the German-Turkish movement, were smashed due to the heroic resistance of the Armenians of Karabakh, who, naturally, were fighting side by side with the allies (with the allied Countries – A. Gh.). So, when the big Victory forced the Germans and the Turks to leave Transcaucasia, the people of Karabakh became the absolute owners of their country (mostly Armenians). When the allied States took Transcaucasia under their control, they sent General Thomson there with the British troops. The Commander-in chief of the troops of Karabakh, general Andranik was moving victoriously to Shushi-to the capital of Karabakh. The supreme conference ordered to stop any kind of enmity in the conquered countries waiting for the final decision. General Andranik stopped his advance and even withdrew his troops from the battlefield according to the demand of the commander-in-chief of the British troops in Transcaucasia general Thomson and according to the letter written by F. Walker on February 19, 1919. The Republic of Armenia wanted to follow strictly the demands of the allies. But since the beginning of February the government of Azerbaijan moved forward its troops and conquered the military points of that country. Despite the furious complaints of the Parliament of Karabakh and the Republic of Armenia, General Walker made the Armenian troops withdraw from Karabakh and appointed Tatar Sultanov the head of the country informing the Republic of Armenia about that fact. The Government of Armenia complained to the Government of Azerbaijan that status-quo had

been changed and the guarantee of that should be provided by the allied countries. The people of Karabakh showed a fierce resistance to the invasion of Sultanov and despite the absence of the Armenian forces, Sultanov had to retreat and leave Karabakh. In 1919 the commander of the allied troops-colonel Shatelvort published a Press release from Baku inviting the people of Karabakh to subdue Sultanov without resistance and to accept the administration of Azerbaijan. On the other hand the general tried to persuade the Armenian government to obey Azerbaijan. The Government of Armenia complained about colonel Shatelwort's Komunike (which was against the decision of the Peace Conference) to the allied commanding of Transcaucasia by a telegram. After examining Shatelwort's offer, the Parliament of Karabakh immediately denied it. Then the Government of Azerbaijan attacked the Armenian villages with regular troops and irregular Kurdish-Tatar hordes. They plundered everything and destroyed the defenseless population. The commander of the British forces had taken away his forces from Karabakh. The Armenian mission had also left Karabakh. Hunger began in the result of destruction and robbery. The local Moslems, the Government of Azerbaijan carried out an economic boycott and pressure and forced the Armenian parliament of Karabakh to accept the above-mentioned temporary ceasefire.

The Republican Government of Armenia represented those events to the Conference of Peace and complained stormy against the temporary regulation, which was opposed forcibly to the people of Karabakh, a country, which has always been the inseparable part of Armenia, the overwhelming majority of which are Armenians; 355.000 Armenians, and only 130.000 various nationalities.

Geographically Karabakh is attached to the Armenian plateau and is the only starting point of defense for the northern borders of Armenia.

To oblige Karabakh to supremacy of another country means resisting to those principles of the rights of nationalities, according to which every nationality has the right to dispose its fortune as it wants (it's about the right of self-determination of nations – A. Gh.). By capturing Karabakh Azerbaijan aims to carry out its pan-turanian aspirations, (it is about pan-Turkism – A. Gh.). Adding Karabakh and Nakhijevan to Azerbaijan, and then to Turkey and Persia, they wanted to create a strictly Moslem part, to cut the Russian

Armenia from the Turkish Armenia, and not to allow creating united Armenia.

For achieving that goal the Kurdish and Tatar hordes were slaughtering the people of the Armenian villages of Karabakh. The Government of Azerbaijan prompted to rebellion the Moslems of Nakhijevan and Sharur especially against the Republic. After affirming its domination in Karabakh, Azerbaijan will do everything to make the Armenian nation leave their Homeland. Now Azerbaijan is doing the same in Nakhijevan and Aresh.

To oppose to that domination means to make permanent the bloody conflicts, which have taken place till now.

Presenting the above-mentioned facts the Armenian Government expresses its deep confidence in the honesty of the Conference of Peace once more. It is quite sure that a well-disposed decision will be made about the question, which has vital importance for Armenia.

According to Khatisyan

*NAA, f. 200, l. 1, c. 355 (part 1)*

#### Number 41

*“New Worker” 210, 8 October, 1919.*

#### ARMENIA AND THE POLITICS

In “The Westminster Gazette” of London (number 18), which was published in August, the following article was printed: “What will happen when the British troops go away? Important considerations”.

Unhappy Armenia is greatly concerned about the prospect of stretching to itself. It was decided long ago that Great Britain would call back its troops in the middle of this month and it is too difficult to change that decision. We have specific responsibility towards Armenia, and leaving of our troops is equal to almost unavoidable destruction of the Armenians by the Turks and Kurds.

More than several weeks ago it became obvious, that the intrigues restarted again and the Turkish worst elements became more active, as the influence of the restraining hand of Great Britain would stop.

.....

But it is quite impossible that we can leave without defining a constant administration in that district.

There is no doubt that the securing of Armenia’s future will be given to the League of Nations. America should be convinced to accept the mandate, and until that caring about Armenia’s defense is Great Britain’s vital duty.

What can the Armenians do?

At first it should be done so that the Armenians were able to defend themselves. Otherwise, according to the information I’ve received, it is unavoidable speaking about dreadful massacres. There is no doubt that the weapons and ammunition will be left to the Armenians, despite the fact, that all requests about ammunition were denied until now. If we arm the Armenians properly, they will be able to have 50.000 soldiers for defending themselves.

The motivations of delaying the removal of our troops are solid especially for the reason that America is doing a practical research to find out whether it is possible to take our responsibility.

#### Number 42

*F. 200, l. 1, c. 309, p. 115*

#### REPORT

#### ON THE SITUATION OF THE ARMENIAN PART OF KARABAKH

On June 6 the members of the National council of Karabakh Ishkhanyan, Tumyan and Ter-Astvatsaturyan came to Tiflis from city Shushi and outlined the events that took place in Karabakh since June 3.

On June 3 seven Armenian statesmen of city Shushi were invited to the British mission, where the chief of the mission Major Mak-Mosin required subscribing that starting from that moment they would not be engaged in

political affairs any longer. Finding out some basic issues, the invitees gave the subscription.

On the same day the Azerbaijani troops moved in the known parts of the city and occupied some important positions in the Armenian part of the city. The city started to panic....

At the same time information was received from the mission that Sultanov required to arrest and surrender the above-mentioned Armenian figures to him, threatening otherwise to bombard the city by gunfire. Major Mak-Mosin said that he would not give the Armenian figures to Sultanov, but he advised them to leave the city for the sake of the Armenian population and go to Tiflis guarded by the British soldiers....

Head of the Information Bureau  
Of the Armenian Diplomatic Mission in Georgia

#### Number 43

*F. 200, l. 1, c. 395, p. 4 /p.*  
18 November, 1919

To the diplomatic Representative of Armenia in Washington  
Minister of Foreign Affairs

After the British have gone away, we are under the patronage of the Americans, but that patronage has only platonic nature, because the Americans, being deprived of military forces, have no chance to force the Tatars and the Turks to do their orders. By the suggestion of our government and by the agreement of Azerbaijan it was decided to arrange an Armenian-Azerbaijani conference in Baku on November 20. During that conference there should be solved all disputable problems, which were reason of enmity between the two neighboring countries. But this conference was postponed and our relations got sharper because of that.

Due to Haskel's interference Azerbaijan had already accepted a contract, according to which the districts of Sharur, Nakhijevan and Goghtan should have formed an American state, a neutral zone until the Congress.

A. Khatisyan

## 1920

### Number 44

6 March, 1920

#### COMPENDIOUS

1

The 8<sup>th</sup> assembly of the Armenians of Karabakh, which took place in the village Shosh from February 28 to March 4, 1920, consisted of 96 deputies from the regions of Giulistan, Jevanshir, Khachen, Varanda and Dizak. After examining the present political situation of Nagorno-Karabakh thoroughly and in details, it found that after the 7<sup>th</sup> assembly (August 22, 1919) the government of Azerbaijan had periodically broken the most important points of the temporary agreement. According to the mandate given to the 8<sup>th</sup> congress by the people, who had elected the assembly, the later decided:

- The government of Azerbaijan has periodically broken the most important points of the temporary agreement.

- On February 22, 1920 in Khanqend, Askeran and on the track of Shushi-Evlakh hundreds of Armenians were obviously destroyed by the troops and agents of the government, the apartments of the Armenians of Khanqend were robbed.

- Verifying the decisions of the 7<sup>th</sup> congress and the temporary agreement, signed by both sides, the 8<sup>th</sup> congress demands from the Government of Azerbaijan to follow all the points of temporary agreement about the borders of the Transcaucasian Republics.

Judgment

- It complains to the whole civilized world about the destruction in Khanqend, Askeran and on the track of Shushi-Evlakh and appeals to the conscience of the whole civilized world to end that policy of Azerbaijan.

If those events happen again, it will make the Armenians of Nagorno-Karabakh take appropriate measures for protection of their lives and honor.

The president of the 8<sup>th</sup> congress of the Armenians of Karabakh

*F. 200, l. 1, c. 563, part 1, p. 32*

#### **Number 45**

*F. 1022, l. 3, c. 260, p. 1*

From Baku to the Diplomatic Representative in Tiflis

According to the governmental sources it is an action with a certain plan, which is extending. There was a sudden attack, without warning, it is suspected that the government of Armenia has any relation with it and that it is connected with the progress of the Bolsheviks.

Everything is being done to stifle the movement. Regular military units are being sent -infantry and gunner. Volunteer groups are being organized in provinces, which are sent to the front.

#### **Number 46**

*F. 1022, l. 5, c. 54, p. 1-2*

Lenin was also aware of what was happening in Karabakh. The Minister of Foreign Affairs of Armenia sent a telegram to Lenin telling that Karabakh with its Armenian population didn't want to join Azerbaijan.

#### **Number 47**

*F. 200, l. 1, c. 563, p. 48-50 / autograph*

A memorandum by the VIII assembly of Karabakh about the political situation of the country, which was represented to the representatives of the allied states and the republics of Transcaucasia

On August 15, 1919 the whole mission of the Armenians of Karabakh examined thoroughly the political situation of Karabakh in the 7<sup>th</sup> Congress and found that the final adjoining of disputable countries to this or that country is connected with the decision of the Congress and consequently for not giving a reason for bloodshed in vain and for cohabiting peacefully with the neighboring nation it is necessary to chose a way of life, due to which the two nations will live in harmony and peace.

On the basis of the above mentioned the 7<sup>th</sup> congress of the Armenians of Karabakh, coming to a certain agreement with the representatives of the government of Azerbaijan, worked out a temporary regulation of agreement consisted of 26 points. The mission of the Armenians hoped that due to that agreement the two nations would cohabit peacefully and in harmony, without prejudice to each other, and the government would show impartial and equal attitude towards the two nations and would keep everything in order.

The deputies, who took part in the 8<sup>th</sup> congress, unfortunately, had to point out the sad and quite hurting circumstance that after making an agreement the government of Azerbaijan hasn't kept order in Karabakh until now, but, on the contrary, caused anarchy. The Armenian nation had never have so much victims and harm in economy, as it have after making the agreement because of the partial and weak policy of the government. The apparent murderers and robbers are killing, robbing the peaceful people in broad daylight and no measures are taken against that, the perpetrators are not punished, regular askers are robbing the homes of the peaceful people, destroying the men, women and children and no one of them is punished for that. The Armenian residents of the destroyed villages are wandering in this or that village until today and the government of Azerbaijan, opposite to its promise, does not give them a place to live. The main plan of the temporary agreement is completely broken by the government of Azerbaijan. The first point simply says: "This Temporary Agreement is accepted by the sides

until...the question is solved at the Peace Conference, the decision of which is compulsory for both sides". Whereas the temporary general governor of Karabakh wrote his note № 1927 to the National Council of Shushi on February 14 informing the following: "...Further in the first points of the program on the political issue of Karabakh, please, put up for discussion the principle question of the final entry of Karabakh into the territory of Azerbaijan, as Karabakh is the inseparable part of its economy".

Besides, the National Council states that during the formal consultation of February 14 the temporary general governor of Karabakh Sultanov clearly told to the representatives of the Armenian members and intellectuals adjacent to his council that the conference didn't exist. Here are the same words literally: "How does the National Council see the future of Karabakh? The Peace Conference no longer exists...., France and Italy can not let their forces relax; that's our mess and we should get out of this abnormal situation ourselves". It is obvious from these words that Sultanov did not give any value to the decisions of the Congress, to which we undertook to obey by the temporary agreement; therefore it is breaking the very first point of our stipulations.

The 7<sup>th</sup> point of the agreement says: "All the principle questions of interracial nature can't be realized without prior conviction of the Council". Till February 19 the temporary general governor Sultanov offers the National Council of Shushi by the above-mentioned note to examine the main principal questions, to relate Karabakh to Azerbaijan forever. First, the National Council of Shushi has no right to investigate any political question, and second, according to the 7<sup>th</sup> point a principal question like that must be firstly investigated in the Congress attached to the governor and then be suggested to the assembly; therefore that point of the agreement is wholly broken.

According to the 15<sup>th</sup> point of the agreement "The troops will be settled in Khanqend and Shushi in peacetime", but that point hasn't been kept during the whole 6 months: several regiments, which had come from Gandzak, Baku and Zaqatala, twice entered Khanqend and Shushi, when they were invading Zangezur and caused commotions among the people of Karabakh...

According to the 16<sup>th</sup> point „Any movement of military units in the Armenian populated areas of mountainous parts of Karabakh-Shushi,

Jabrayil and Jevanshir provinces may be carried out by the consent of the 2/3 of the council".

This point of the agreement is completely broken. Since October, 1919 till now nearly 12 thousand Azerbaijani troops have passed to Zangezur from Askeran, Khankend and Shushi. And that was done without asking the opinion of the council, whereas an important question like that should have been examined by the council and decided with the consent of the 2/3 of its members. Besides the Government of Azerbaijan has formally suggested to the National Congress and the Armenians of Jevanshir to concentrate troops in the property of Avan Xzbalin, a circumstance, which fully breaks the whole temporary agreement.

Examining the present political situation of Karabakh and the above mentioned facts in details the 8<sup>th</sup> conference of the Armenians of Karabakh came to the following conclusion:

The resolution of the 8<sup>th</sup> conference of Karabakh about the political situation:

The 8<sup>th</sup> conference of the Armenians of Karabakh (consisted of 26 deputies from the regions of Giulistan, Jevanshir, Khachen, Varanda and Dizak), which took place in the village Shosh from February 28 to March 4, 1920, after examining the present political situation of Karabakh thoroughly and in details, thinks that after the 7<sup>th</sup> conference (on August 22, 1912) the Government of Azerbaijan has periodically broken the most important points of the temporary agreement. According to the mandate given to the deputies by the people who had elected them, the VIII congress made the following decisions:

1. The Government of Azerbaijan has periodically broken the most important points of the temporary agreement.
2. On February 22, 1920 in Khanqend, Askeran and on the track of Shushi the troops and agents of the government obviously destroyed several hundred of Armenians, robbed their houses in Khanqend.
3. Verifying the decisions of the VII congress, the VIII congress reaffirms the points of the temporary agreement about the borders of Karabakh and the Transcaucasian Republics until the final decision of the Conference.
4. It complains resolutely to the whole civilized world about the endless destruction in Khanqend, Askeran and on the track of Shushi-Evlakh and

appeals to the conscience of the civilized world to put end to the policy of the government of Azerbaijan.

5. That the repetition of such events..... the Armenians of Karabakh will take corresponding measures to protect their life and honor.

At the same time the 8<sup>th</sup> conference appeals to the Turkish villagers of Azerbaijan to unite their complaints with the complaint of the Armenians of Karabakh, as well as it appeals to the press.

It was decided to send the copy of the resolution to the representative of the Allied states in Transcaucasia - Haskel, to the diplomatic and military representatives of the allied countries, to the three Republics of Transcaucasia, as well as to the temporary governor of Karabakh.

The president of 8<sup>th</sup> conference of the Armenians of Karabakh - D. Araqelyan  
Secretary-B.....  
1920  
March 6

#### Number 48

*New Worker, 21 March, 1920, p. 2*

#### THE TRAITORS OF KARABAKH

On March 13 we were wired from Baku that by the order of minister Usubekov the congress of Karabakh had been postponed indefinitely. Some of the deputies returned and 50 of them, mainly Bolsheviks and Socialist Revolutionaries decided to announce Karabakh as a part of Azerbaijan and to confirm the political connection to the policy of Azerbaijan in future. The representatives of the province - 77 people gathered in the upper part of Shushi and decided to insist on a written agreement or to resist if the agreement was interfered.

(Haraj)

(Sultanov surrounded Shushi with cannons)

#### Number 49

*F. 1022, l. 8, c. 45, p. 1*

March 22-23

#### REPORT ON SITUATION AT THE FRONTS IN KARABAKH. THE SITUATION BEFORE THE ARRIVAL OF THE REGULAR TROOPS

On the night of March 22-23, 1920, the day of Bayram the Armenians implemented an organized attack on the garrisons of Khanqend and Askeran at the same time. Their first aim was to disarm and the second to capture as a strong natural position, which locked Nagorno-Karabakh from the rest of the Republic.

.....

The capture of Askeran put the garrisons of Khanqend and Shushi in a critical situation first depriving them of moral support and the second cutting them off from the base.

The events in Shushi on March 23 are, undoubtedly, the echo of those attacks, and the reason of the special bitterness of those events is the hopeless situation, in which the Moslem population appeared after the capture of Askeran, being surrounded by the Armenians from all sides. The old Government formed a detachment of 1500 bayonets and 2 batteries, and they were given a task to restore order in Karabakh and to reestablish the communication in Aghdam-Shushi.

On March 28-29 that detachment entered the battle, which ended in failure.

The detachment arrived in Aghdam and was concentrated on March 28, and on March 29 the first attempt was made to capture Askeran, which ended in failure.

.....

## Number 50

*F. 1022, l. 2, c. 168, p. 14*

March 21

### REPORT

The Central Soviet Government is informed that the 75% of the Shushi organization A. K. P. was engaged in speculation, contraband and so on....

The pan-Islamists of "Ittihad" in the Communist party, using the new situation, were engaged freely in speculation illegally working in favor of the former Moslem government....

But (abbreviation), as it turned out from the report of the Communist comrades, on the night of March 22 last year, at 4 o'clock suddenly a shootout began in city Shushi, where, in spite of the overwhelming force of Dashnaks, the lower Armenian part of the city was soon occupied by Moslem speculators burghers, kulaks, etc., and ruthless extermination of defenseless women, girls, children, old women, old men, etc. began. The Armenians were under the leadership of the present so-called imaginary communists in the mass slaughter of the Armenians:

1. Sabunchi Mohhamed Abbasov (Kochi)
2. Molla Mahi Hamzade (Mulla)
3. Surhaybek Adigezalov and others.

The beautiful Armenian girls and women were raped and then shot, and thus the insidiously-wild violence towards human victims went on for more than 6 days by the order of former governor-general Khosrovbek Sultanov; all houses of the Armenian part were destroyed, looted and turned to the ground, and the female gender was taken away in order to slaughter them by Musavat executioners. During those historic insidious killings Khosrovbek Sultanov made speeches declaring a holy war and called the Moslems for the final elimination of the Armenians of Shushi without sparing women, children, etc.

Some comrade Communists-Armenians managed to escape to the mountainous part of Karabakh (Maranda). One of the best leaders of Communism – Tsaturov was brutally murdered by the command of the General-governor

of Karabakh – Sultanov. That bloodthirsty savage was soon caught by the excellent strength of Musavat Government. The "Askers" occupied the lanes of Shushi-Askeran smashing all the surrounding Armenian villages under the command of Generals Shikhalinski, Salimov, Mehmandarov, Khalil-Pasha and others.

Finally the rays of Bolshevism penetrated from the north and.... Liberated the toiling people of Caucasus and especially Karabakh from the yoke of the spiteful Musavat government....

Mussaev Ojakh-Kuli

## Number 51

*New Worker, 23 March, 1920, p. 2*

### KARABAKH

It is obvious from exact information, which is reported from Azerbaijan at the beginning of March, that the government of Azerbaijan is going to attack Zangezur and Karabakh. It sent a lot of troops across Jebayil for that purpose. An army of about 10.000 soldiers is focused in Karabakh and Jebayil with cannons and machine guns. A Kurdish division has been organized immediately. Everywhere a mobilization has been carried out. Nuri Pasha, who has killed 10 Turks, is in Shushi. He has made the plan of military actions of Karabakh. If Azerbaijanis move on, conflicts will be inevitable.

28 march, 1920  
Azerbaijan № 67

**THE MESSAGE OF THE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS  
ABOUT THE EVENTS IN KARABAKH**

On March 28 the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Azerbaijan sent a telegram to the foreign diplomatic missions and Minister of Foreign Affairs of Georgia about the events in Karabakh. It was written in the telegram:

I have the honor to inform you the following: at about 3 o'clock on March 22, after the celebration of the first day of Nowruz Bayram, the armed forces of the Armenians, in the territory of Karabakh backed up by regular parts and artillery, attacked the Azerbaijani military units located in Shushi, Khanqend, Askeran, Khojalu, Terter and other points previously interrupting telegraph and telephone messages. The Armenians occupied Askeran on March 22, and the squad, obviously, was subjected to destruction. The altitudes of Shushi and Askeran were subjected to shelling by artillery fire by the Armenians.

The next day significant Armenian armed forces attacked the Moslem villages within Jebrayil and Zangezur provinces, and some of those villages were destroyed.

(Compendious)

Minister of Foreign Affairs F. I. Khayski

March 31

**THE WAR OF KARABAKH**

The events in Karabakh

Goris, March 31- the troops of Azerbaijan raided in 3 directions with great forces, three types of arms and 10 cannons. The invasion was from Khanqend to Goris, from Perlest to Alkulijan having purpose to sever Ghapan from Zangezur and to raid on Ghapan from Jebrayil. The Armenians parried all the attacks in the first two directions. The troops of Azerbaijan were inhibited also in Ghapan direction. The Armenian forces, the great part of which was local residents, were suppressed by Ayrdagh hill. On March 25 the enemy was rebutted and the former status was restarted. The Armenians were pursuing the enemy, which was retreating in horror.

On March 26 the Armenians repulsed the strong attacks of the Azerbaijani troops with counteroffensive from Togh village to Gartiz, beat the front of the enemy with decisive attack in Bogir-Beklu-Maskhutlu line and moved forward with great success. Due to that action the Armenians of Zangezur created a connection with Karabakh through Khotaberd.

The Armenians of Karabakh captured Askeran taking a gun, two machine-guns and occupied Malibaklu, the villages of Khanqend, the city of Shushi and moved forward. The Armenians of Karabakh protected their freedom with abnegation.



## Number 54

*F. 200, l. 1, c. 271, p. 212*

Tiflis  
April 1920

To the commissar of France – Earl Demartel, Italy – Colonel Gabbe,  
Great Britain – Commander Lyuk, a copy to the Chairman of the Armenian  
delegation – Mamikonyan

In response to your collective note of April 27, which was handed by the representative of Armenia-Tumanyan, the Armenian Government has the honor to state the following: since February 20 the Armenian Government has repeatedly sent notes to you pointing the disastrous consequences of concentration of the regular troops of Azerbaijan in Karabakh with the view of conquering it finally by the force of arms in defiance of the agreement of August 22 last year, and all the responsibility for the future was entrusted to the Azerbaijani Government. The Armenian Government, always striving for peaceful cohabitation with the neighboring republics, has repeatedly appealed to the Azerbaijani Government and Allied Representatives with request to prevent the bloody events in Karabakh, which have been transformed to mass slaughter of the Armenians throughout Azerbaijan. Neither the frequent appeals to peaceful feelings, nor the repeated warnings of the allies couldn't, unfortunately, prevent the bloody events of Karabakh and deter the Azerbaijani Government from actions agreed with the plans of the Turkish agents. The attack on Karabakh, prepared long time ago, came to pass; the mass of the Armenian population died of slaughter and the Armenian peasants, being organized personally by local forces, had to take the small number of weapons they had and protect their physical existence. The Armenian government has repeatedly stated that not willing to fan the fire and bloodshed in the struggle of the national forces, it has absolutely no participation in the battle and, though it costs huge moral efforts, it hasn't sent a single soldier to Karabakh, but turned to the help of the allies of the conference. Now also it declares that there aren't Armenian regular troops in Karabakh....Standing on the agreement and peaceful resolution of all the

arguable questions, considering all sorts of armed clashes disastrous for.... and economic interests of the Republic of Armenia and its neighbors, the Armenian Government states that it isn't going to undertake any aggressive action against Azerbaijan....

April 28  
Minister of Foreign Affairs

## Number 55

*F. 200, l. 1, c. 271, p. 128*

From French  
1 April, 1920

### THE TELEGRAM OF THE ARMENIAN DIPLOMATIC REPRESENTATIVE IN GEORGIA

The Armenian newspaper "Ashkhatavor" was reported from Elizabetpol that according to Azerbaijani authorities the Armenian residents of the above-mentioned city were considered to be prisoners of war; it was forbidden for them to be engaged in trade and to have relations with villages near the town.

And p. 130  
French

It was reported on April 2 that the regiment of Gandzak started to bombard many Armenian villages with Qyazim Bey's command. The residents of the villages were massacred; the villages of Harachinar, Variz, Sansrek, the Upper and Lower Akhjakala, Erqenji, Getashen suffered a lot. The siege of the Armenians of Elizabetpol was going on.

## Number 56

*F. 200, l. 1, c. 563, p. 67*

April 11

### THE ROUT OF SHUSHI

According to those, who came from Shushi, there is no even a stone to stone in the Armenian part of the city.

The Moslem mob broke into that part on March 24 and began to kill and rob the Armenian population: they burst into the house, killed the householder, took away and set on fire everything of value.

In the evening the Armenian part of the city was a sea of fire....

The manager of the police of the city Ter-Ghukasov died in the fire, Dr. Aramishev was killed....

According to some people Bishop Vahan was killed, and others told that he hid in a cellar for 6 days and then was saved by a pious Tatar: a few Armenians found shelter at Governor Sultanov's.

Nothing has remained from the Armenian part of the city. Complete picture of destruction is all around, only the skeletons of the houses are visible. In a word, according to those, who came from Shushi, after less than a month nothing will remain from the Armenian part of the city, absolutely nothing except for ruins....

Wayfarer

... The Armenian part of Shushi is completely ruined and all houses are destroyed, except for the Armenian ecclesiastical seminary of real school and home of Janagorovs.

About 500 Armenians were killed in Shushi. The same person was an eyewitness of entombing of 378 corpses of the Armenians in a mass grave. Several priests and the Armenian Bishop were among those, who were killed.

Besides those, who were killed in Shushi, there were also 800-1000 Armenians, who were kept as prisoners of war till April 2. Both the killed

people and those who stayed in the city, almost all were women, children and aged.

Word, April 16

## Number 57

*F. 200, l. 1, c. 427, part 1, p. 167*

April 1. Confidential

The chairmen of Karabakh fraternities in Tiflis and Erivan Leo and Balayan wired the following about the events in Karabakh: "Since approximately March 20 the numerous troops of General Novruzov and the countless gangs of Khalil Pasha and Sultanov suddenly attacked the Armenian villages of the first front with strong artillery and machine guns in order to disarm them. They swept with artillery fire a number of villages destroyed by fire. The population is destroyed and the property is looted. Those, who could escape, took refuge in the mountains and died of hunger and cold. Information indicates the spread of the massacre from Giulistan to Zangezour. The unarmed population of Karabakh dies. The fate of Akulis awaits it. The information of Azerbaijani press about the Armenian attacks is a pack of lies figured on (skip) and misleading the public opinion of the allied circles".

## Number 58

*F. 200, l. 1, c. 427, part 1, p. 177*

January

RA Military Actions from January 1 to April 1

From April 3 the situation of the Armenians in Karabakh has changed greatly. After taking Askeran, the Azerbaijani troops occupied Khanqend and

Shushi. The Azerbaijani troops bombarded and fired the villages near the Tatar region. More than 30 Armenian villages were plundered. The residents of Dizak resisted though the Tatars were attacking in three directions. The people were in demoralization and despair.

### Number 59

*F. 200, l. 1, c. 243, p. 59, Times March 19*

## ARMENIANS ACCUSED OF MASSACRE.

### Tartar Complaints

In Armenian circles it is feared that the Government of Azerbaijan is preparing to occupy the disputed district of Zangezur with a military force. Nuri Pasha (brother of Enver Pasha) accompanied by Turkish officers, and General Nearusoff, with several thousand soldiers, is said to have arrived in the disputed zone,- Reuter.

The Zangezur district is in the south-west corner of the former Russian province of Elisavetpol, and together with the adjoining district of the Karabagh, forms a debatable land between the Tartar Republic of Azerbaijan and the Armenian Republic of Erivan. According to evidence offered by the Tartar authorities to Mr. Wordrop, the British High Commissioner in Transcaucasia, and to the American representatives of the Peace Conference, the Armenians appear to have been adopting Turkish methods, towards, their Moslem neighbours in this territory.

The Tartar Prime Minister in December last pointed out that after the troops of Azerbaijan had evacuated the disputed territories in conformity with the Agreement signed under Allied auspices in Tiflis on November 23, 1919, Armenian regular troops with artillery entered the Zangezur district and proceeded to carry out a wholesale massacre of the Moslem inhabitants.

The Tartar Governor of Nakhitchevan on the Persial frontier, at the extreme south-western limit administered by Azerbaijan, has furnished a detailed account of the events which took place in the Zangezur district which had, before the evacuation, been under his control. In a document communicated to the American authorities he starts that on November 22

Armenians started raiding Tartar cattle and that delegates from the villages affected waited upon the nearest Armenian commandant seeking redress. The plaintiffs were all arrested and the Armenians sent word to their villages that their lives would be spared if all Moslems were to take the oath of allegiance to the Republic of Armenia. The villagers and townfolk agreed to do this and next day a representative of the Armenian Government attended by troops, arrived at Oktchi, a small town, for the ostensible purpose of administering the oath of allegiance. He was offered break and salt as a sign of respectful welcome and was entertained at a banquet. After this, at the direction of the Armenian representative, the mail population was convoked in the square in front of the Mosque for the purpose of taking the oath. As soon as the men had assembled the Armenian soldiers opened fire and shot them own. The survivors were finished off with the bayonet, after which the Armenians proceeded to deal with the woman in the usual way on such occasions. Survivors assert that certain women went mad and that another leaped into a fire into which the Armenians had thrown her living babies. A survivor was ordered to go to the neighbouring villages to warn the inhabitants what would happen if they refused to swear allegiance to Armenian.

Other Armenian detachments are reported to have behaved in a similar fashion in the villages of Shabadyn and Pirdavan. Accurate figures of the casualties among the Tartares are lacking, but the report puts the total at over 4000 in these three villages alone. The Armenians are reported to have continued their work during the ensuing week, visiting in all some 10 other villages in the Zangezur district named in the complaint forwarded to the American authorities.

The Moslem Council of Erivan has also addressed the Peace Conference on the subject of Armenian ill-treatment of Moslems within the accepted frontiers of the Republic of Erivan. According to the statements made by the Concil, the Armenians are accused of having burned or otherwise destroyed 32 Armenian Moslem villages in the Province of Erivan, 75 in that of Shurmala, 84 in that of Etchmiadzin, and seven in that of Novobayazid. Some 100.000 Moslems are reported to have been rendered homeless in this way, others have been expelled from their houses in order to make way from Armenian refugees from Turkey, and the Government of Azerbaijan, in a report issued on December 21, 1919, by the Minister of Relief, estimated that

some 80.000 Tartar refugees were still surviving and in receipt of relief. The Tatars assent that the Armenians were then continuing their efforts to induce the Moslem population to emigrate except in the Province of Aleksandropol, where the Moslems are few in number.

### Number 60

*F. 200, l. 1, c. 271, p. 47  
(With some abbreviations)*

### KARABAKH AND ZANGEZUR

The fact that Azerbaijan was really preparing gradually, but feverishly to seize Zangezur by armed forces, is proved not only by the authors of the mentioned messages. That is indicated also by the secret message of the Head of the General Staff of the troops of the Azerbaijani Republic to the Governor-General of Karabakh (from September 4, № 4007). .... "The peaceful settlement of the question of Karabakh makes think that the unification of Zangezur province will take place without an armed struggle, as its Armenian population is between two fires after the defeat of Nakhijevan and will hardly dare to give rebuff without having the former support in the rear".

"In the present situation Armenia isn't dangerous for us, but this favorable situation can't last forever, and we should be ready for the worst". "For that purpose it is necessary to use a great fighting material like the Kurds organizing a cavalry and infantry from them just like the regiments "Hamidie", the practicality of organization of which has been verified by the Turks by the experience of the last war".

(Compendious)

In the result of exchange of notes and telegrams the military actions weren't stopped, but only a meeting of the two Prime Ministers – Usubekov and Khatsov took place in Tiflis. The latter set an agreement on November 23 about the official suspension of the military actions and convening an Armenian-Azerbaijani Conference.

The Conference was opened in Baku on December 14 and lasted until December 21, when according to Azerbaijan's offer about the Confederation of the Transcaucasian Republics it was decided to stop the Conference and to convene a Conference in Tiflis. The Conference of the three Transcaucasian Republics was opened in Tiflis only on April 8, 1920....

On February 19 the Government received from Geryusov an official telegram since February 8 with the following content:

"According to the information just received from Karabakh Nuri Pasha together with the Turkish officers and General Novruzov with several thousand soldiers arrived in Shushi. Recently Azerbaijan has offered to begin a large attack in order to take Zangezur. Their plan of action is the following: 1) An attack from Nakhijevan (Turkish division) to Jul, Sultanbek and Chivu (Daralagyaz); 2) An attack from Shushi highway to Avdalar, Minkend, Gharakilisa and Barsachay; 3) An attack from Jebrayil to Barkushet and Kafan. On January 30 Azerbaijan demanded from the residents of Khotsaberd and the neighboring villages to extradite the messengers and khmbapets. It was ordered to the Armenians of Jevanshir to clean the valley of the Tartar. The large forces of the Tatars were moving from Barda to the Armenian Jevanshir through Terter" ....

A telegram addressed to the High Commissioner of Great Britain Wordrop said:

"Seeking to preserve peace and good neighbourly relations with Azerbaijan and knowing your relentless drive in exactly the same and the expected appeal to the Armenian Government, I expect for you urgent notification of the measures taken by Your Excellency on the subject of the impending attack of Azerbaijan on Zangezur, the details of which you've got from our representative in Tiflis".

Similar messages were sent to the representatives of foreign missions in Erivan. Message: "Otherwise, the Government of the Republic of Armenia declines any responsibility and will have to take the most drastic measures to preserve the Armenian Zangezur and Karabakh from the danger of total extermination and thus take part unwittingly in the bloodshed which will not have an example in the past of Transcaucasia".

1) From Wardrop: "In answer to the telegram of Your Excellency № 1032 I take all measures, and I hope for satisfactory results.

.... The Minister of Foreign Affairs of Azerbaijan sent the following telegram: "Though it is inadmissible for the Government of Armenia to interfere in the internal affairs of Azerbaijan, but taking into account your appeal, I announce that my Government is following steadily the agreement of November 23.... I have already informed you that now, following the signing of the message since November 23 "the Armenian troops destroyed 40 Moslem villages in the area of Zangezur County, that on January 19 the troops of the government of Armenia, together with armed gangs, continuing the offensive in the direction of Shushi County, exterminated all the villages on their way. Only in order to discourage the further destruction of villages and save the property and lives of tens of thousands Moslems from the inhuman extermination of the Armenian troops, as well as to restore the situation existing till November 23, my government has sent a little detachment, the presence of which interdicted the Armenian troops from performing a certain plan".

The Foreign Minister of Armenia continued to receive information about concentration of Azerbaijani military units in the areas of Armenian Karabakh and Zangezur. Besides, it (the Ministry) received information that in Khanqend and Aghdam the Armenians were slaughtered. According to individuals and newspapers the number of the suffered Armenians reached to 400. The chairman of the Home-town associations of Karabakh – Balayan telegraphed from Tiflis that Azerbaijan was preparing a grandiose massacre of the Armenians, the beginning of which will be in Khanqend and Aghdam; women were raped, the cattle was driven away and economic boycott was declared to the Armenians of Karabakh.

The note states: "According to the exact information that the Government of Armenia received, the Azerbaijani Government with the participation of Nuri Pasha and Turkish officers, who had come to Shushi, launched a strengthened concentration of the military units in the areas of the Armenian Karabakh and Zangezur. The residents of the Armenian Karabakh have received an ultimatum to disarm and let the Azerbaijani troops pass the areas of Dizak, Varanda and Jraberd without hindrance. They threatened the Armenians with military force in case the answer was negative....

With the onset of heat the aggressive actions of Tatars began: attacks against the Armenians, killing them, captivity, etc.

.... As the staff informs, on March 16 for nearly 16 hours the Tatars by the power of up to 5000 people, launched an offensive from the villages Bayuk-Vedi to the left flank of our Kamarlinsk squad-city Bozburun.

.... On March 20 the Parliament of Armenia got the following telegram from the national Council of Zangezur:

"We've received information that the Turkish askers at the head of the Turkish officers, Ordubad-"Nakhijevani Tatars under the leadership of Azerbaijani officers lead a general offensive towards the Armenian goghtan villages with the aim of destruction and conquest..."

On March 20 Azerbaijan forced the Armenians to disarm. The population of Karabakh and Zangezur started to defend themselves desperately. The first message about that was received from Geryusov". The telegram stated:

.... "Azerbaijan has started to disarm Karabakh according to the ultimatum and has led a general attack on Karabakh and Zangezur. All the people of Karabakh have rebelled.

The chairmen of the colonies of Karabakh in Tiflis and Erivan – Leo and Balayan wired the following about the events in Karabakh: "Since about March 20 the multitudinous troops of general Novruzov and the countless gangs of Khalil Pasha and Sultanov attacked the Armenian villages of the first band with strong artillery and machine guns in order to disarm the people. They swept with artillery fire a number of villages destroyed by fire. The population is cut out and the property is looted. Those, who escaped, took refuge in the mountains dying of cold and hunger. Information indicates on spreading the massacre from Giulistan to Zangezur.... Karabakh dies. The fate of Akulis awaits it. The information of the Azerbaijani press about the attacks of the Armenians is nothing but a lie figured on a pass / and misleading of the Public opinion and the allied circles"...

On April 3 the representatives of the allies received the following telegram: ... "The Azerbaijani troops and the armed gangs of Moslems attack Zangezur and Karabakh, smash the villages throughout the front, slaughter the peaceful Armenian population. The entire population of Shushi is exterminated. The purpose of that attack, which has been predestined in advance and about which the Armenian Government has repeatedly reported to Your Excellency, is the complete submission of the Armenian Karabakh and Zangezur by force of arms contrary to the wish of the population, to the directives of the Peace Conference and the last telegram of Lord Curzon.

Using the peacefulness of the Armenian Government, which didn't want to act against the Allies, on the eve of the Conference of the three Transcaucasian Republics in Tiflis on April 1 the government of Azerbaijan realized its plan dictated by the Turks- to destroy the Armenian population of three hundred thousand in Karabakh and Zangezur and to contact with Turkey thus surrounding Armenia by the Turkish-Tatar hostile link. After the terrible massacre of Cilicia the same fate awaits not only the Armenian population of Zangezur and Karabakh, but also the Armenians who live in Baku, Elizabepol and in other regions of the Republic of Azerbaijan. The Armenian government and the Armenian people ... treat with indifference to the systematic massacre of the Armenians, protest strongly against the steps of Azerbaijan and ask You to suspend the offensive of Azerbaijan and prevent its attempt to resolve the question of Karabakh by the force of arms and to inform your government about all these in the name of justice and the principles proclaimed by the Peace Conference. Don't refuse to notify the Armenian Government about the measures taken by Your Excellency in order to calm the public opinion in Armenia".

#### Number 61

*F. 200, l. 1, c. 271, p. 144*

10 April, 1920

From French  
Companion of the Armenian Diplomatic  
Representative in Georgia

The Armenian National Council reported from Goris on April 6 that after capturing Askeran the troops of Azerbaijan were moving to Jevanshir raiding the Armenian villages.

Having guns and armored vehicles, they entered Shushi, fired the city and exterminated the residents.

#### Number 62

*F. 200, l. 1, c. 563, p. 180-181*

20 April, 1920

#### CHIEF OF STAFF COMMANDING THE TROOPS

.... The first steps taken by Azerbaijan from Karyagino (Jebraïil) province in September to subdue the Armenian population of Zangezur province failed, as the local Armenian population, which was organized in small detachments, gave a serious rebuff to the Azerbaijani regular troops and caused them great damage near Khozanvar, Bayandur, Dig and Zabugh.

Having suffered the first defeat and striving to achieve its goal, Azerbaijan began to prepare seriously for military operations and in October concentrated regular military units in the regions of Shushi and Khanqend. The military units included 1 Jevanshir infantry regiment, the 2nd horse regiment of Karabakh, the third horse regiments of Shaqi, 2 synoptic battalions of Zaqatala Regiment, the 2<sup>nd</sup> Mountain artillery division, 4 howitzers and 1 combat company. The number of all the Moslem regular troops in Zangezur province reached up to 6000 infantry, 300 sabers, 400 Kurds, 8 light and 4 howitzer guns. Together with the partisans their number reached to 20.000. In the first days of November Azerbaijan, focusing the entire squad, under the command of the Commander of the first division General Shikhliniski at three points led an attack on Zangezur that is on the strip, which was populated by rebellious Armenians...

After the defeat at Zangezur (13 machine guns were taken, more than 150 prisoners and money wounded) the Assistant of the Minister of Foreign Affairs Khan Tekinsky made an instruction for sending in an imperceptible way to the Zangezur region the Turkish officers, askers, who should have organized the local Tatar population in order to hit the military forces of Zangezur during the attack of the Azerbaijani regular forces.

At the same time Azerbaijan again had an aim to clean the entire Mountainous strip of Elizabepol and Jevanshir from the Armenians in order to settle in their places the Moslems and strengthen its position in the region, to disarm Karabakh and then subject to its power also Zangezur. The govern-

ment of Azerbaijan, considering that its urgent task strained all its forces to realize immediately its goals the final result of which was immediate unification of Azerbaijan with Turkey through Nakhijevan.

Thus, in the middle of January the Conference of that party was convened in Baku. Khalil and Nuri Pashas, who had been preached with a certain agitation against the Armenians, took part in the conference. The representative of the party Dr. Kara bey Karabekov (born in Shushi) offered them to submit a categorical demand to the government for immediate taking of taxes from the riches of Azerbaijan for 1 billion rubles, which was to be granted to Nuri and Khalil pashas to form a strong and large army (200.000), while, on the advice of Nuri and Khalil Pashas it was decided to invite to Baku Mustafa Kemal Pasha as the head of the national movement of the Turks, and to offer him for that aim to bring non-commissioned officers and a group of "good pan-Islamists" to stop the tortures" of the long-sufferings, who had one faith.

(Compendious)

Still a month before the attack Azerbaijan terrorized the Armenian population of Elizabetspol Highland with robbery, plunder and murder. The Azerbaijani troops burned the Armenian villages Karachinar, Manaskend, Gakhrut, Khazkhanut, Nerkhishen, Verishen, Giulistan, Parts, Erqenj, Manashen, Buzltsh, Armavir and Karabulah. Most of the inhabitants of the above mentioned villages were broken and some of them took refuge in the woods....

.... To March 12 troops of all kinds were sent not only in Karabakh and Terter direction, but also to Ghazakh, whereas in those days the Defense Committee was gathering in Baku quite often to discuss the question of the act against Armenia jointly with the Turkish troops....

In the middle of March Azerbaijan, according to the ultimatum, began to disarm Karabakh and, concentrating the forces, launched a general attack on Karabakh and Zangezur.

Colonel of the General Staff,  
Head of the Intelligence Department  
Captain Devoyants

## Number 63

*F. 200, l. 1, c. 271, p. 214*

29.04.1920

From Tiflis to Erivan  
Minister of Foreign Affairs

The Chairman of the temporary people's Commissariat Sultanov reported on a direct line to Gaygar Bammatov that the Red troops, who had already taken Yevlakh, were going by Shushi highway with the aim to join the Anatolian army. He said that Georgia wasn't dangerous for them, but if the Dashnak Government resisted, then they would have to fight. I find it possible trying to get in touch with the Turks through Karabakh, Zangezur and Nakhijevan, but not through Georgia.

№ 246 April 29

Diplomatic Representative of Armenia Tumanyan

## Number 64

*F. 200, l. 1, c. 563, p. 194*

On April 29, 1920 62 deputies took part in the assembly (in Martakert village) of the Armenian peasantry from Karabakh's, Khachen's, Jraberd's and Giulistan's 70 villages. On February 11, 1920 the assembly of the peasantry of Jevanshir's upper and lower parts took place, and 86 deputies took part in it. Those assemblies decided to join Armenia and to send a representative to the Transcaucasian Conference in Tiflis to inform about the situation in Karabakh. Nerses Nasibyan was elected as a representative.

It was also stated, that breaking the agreement of March 22, on Turkish great Bayram the Azerbaijani side ruined Shushi and demolished in Khachen 1. Khnatsakh-150 h, 2. Jamellu-20 h., 3. Ghlichbagh-210, 4. Baluj-220, 5.

Mehti Shen-70, 6. Khramort-90 h., 7. Khanabad-230, 8. Qaraglukh-110 h., 9. Noragyugh-190, 10. Sardara-Shen-145, in Jraberd-11.1, Ghantsi-70 h., Maragha-210, Margolaran-75, Nerqin Chaylu-80 h., Verin Chaylu-110 h., Talish-300, apart from those villages, in Bruj, Levan-Aris and Damirar 7.0 or Sarov 300, Maradevon-60, Ghahrishat-65, Hasan-Pala-100, Sovsoulan-60 h., Earmijan-12, Gyulistan 1, Manasi Shen-70, Gharachinar-240, Hadrut-45, Kharkhapor-60, Nerqin Shen 150, Veri Shen-250, Paris-90, Erqej-170, Haji-Shen-plundered, Mikhayelovka-70, Ablar-70 h.

(The signatures of all deputies)  
President /signature/ A. Verdyan  
Secretary Y. Yeritsyan

### Number 65

*F. 200, l. 1, c. 563, p. 191*  
3 May, 1920

### THE PARLIAMENTARY SESSION OF ARMENIA AND THE REVOLUTION IN BAKU

Minister of Foreign Affairs H. Ohanjanyan

As you know after the seizure of the Northern Caucasus the Bolsheviks began to concentrate troops partially in the border of Georgia and mainly in the border of Azerbaijan. Azerbaijan didn't pay attention to what was happening in the northern borders. It sent its troops to Karabakh to slaughter the Armenian population, to demolish the towns and villages. The Azerbaijani army was composed of 10.000 regular troops and 10.000 volunteers.

On April 27 400 Azerbaijani soldiers retreated from Kulaman and 6000 Bolsheviks captured Khachmaz and carried out a revolution the next day.

On April 30 the Soviet power of Azerbaijan or one of the representatives of the military- revolutionary committee Hamid Sultanov told to a relative that the Red Army had seized Evlakh and was moving to Shushi in order to join Turkey over Karabakh. At the same time he said, that they were not concerned with Georgia, but if Armenia demonstrated resistance, they would have to declare a war.

On May 1, at 7 o'clock in the morning we received an ultimatum from the new government of Azerbaijan. The Government owed it to say that according to the resolute will of the entire Armenian nation it was ready to protect the borders and the independence of Armenia at any cost, and no matter from where the threat would come.

....

The same place, pp. 6-8, 8 June, 1920

As an authorized representative of the Republic of Azerbaijan, which is now captured by the armed forces of the Soviet Russia, I find it indispensable to make a complaint to the entire world on behalf of the people of Azerbaijan for the recent developments in Azerbaijan:

On the night of April 27 without any reason or precaution, by taking advantage of the fact that nearly all the army of Azerbaijan was in the north, the Red Army of Russia invaded the territory of the Republic of Azerbaijan from Dagestan because of the threat of the Armenian armed forces of Karabakh.

The Chairman of the Azerbaijani delegation of the  
Conference of the Transcaucasian Republics and the  
Vice-president of the Parliament of Azerbaijan Dr. Aghaev  
8 June, 1920

### Number 66

*"Mshak", 9 May, 1920, p. 3*

### THE TRAGEDY OF SHUSHI

Half of the Armenian residents of Shushi were exterminated with whole families. The whole city is burnt and robbed with exception of the Turkish district and Dzahur-Gharazi. The majority of the citizens perished. Only 2-3 families survived from Kazil-khach and Baghunts Natirib. Many people were burned alive, about 12000 people have survived miraculously and are in the province without money and clothes, 2500 people are taken to prisoners, their condition is unknown.

On April 3 the Turks grabbed Askeran.



**Number 67**

21 May, 1920

**A TELEGRAM FROM DRO TO SILIKOV**

To the Army Commander

Dro reports about the approach of the Russian troops to Jevanshir. Taking of the village Tartar by the Red, the number of which reached to a thousand and the entry of the Red into the villages Merkurder and Kasapet finally discouraged our peasantry. It was declared Soviet Power in Jevanshir. Cavalry captain Martirosyan and his soldiers were killed. Khachen is infected with Bolshevizm. I'll send a hundred there tonight. I hope to keep Khachen, to save lieutenant colonel Mesyan and the command staff, who are in danger. In Varanda and Dizak it is calm yet. It is impossible to resist the Armenian advanced Russian Bolsheviks. A message about everything to the Government.

*F. 200, l. 1, c. 563, p. 199*

**Number 68**

Minister of Foreign Affairs-Ohanjanyan

31 May, 1920

To the Commissar of Foreign Affairs Chicherin.

Copy to the Chairman of the Military Council of the Caucasian Front Orjonikidze

The Chairman of the Military Council of the Caucasian Council Orjonikidze declared through his authorized Ter-Gabrielyan Kaydalov and Pernani to the Armenian population of Nagorno-Karabakh about the council's intention to take the Red forces within Nagorno-Karabakh, which, according to them, should belong to the Soviet Azerbaijan to river Agaru.

*F. 1022, l. 1, c. 563, p. 196*

**Number 69**

17 June, 1920

**FROM GORIS TO ERIVAN**

To the Minister Chairman, copy to the Minister of Internal Affairs Ter-Minasyan, copy to Minister Gulkhanyan, copy to Dashnaktsutyun Bureau....

.... Dro left Karabakh with all his troops and moved to Zangezur. The reason is secret and quite incomprehensible. We have ruined Karabakh by our own hands. That is the collapse of our party. Dro personally handed over the power to the local Bolsheviks. According to newly arrived Colonel Mesyan there are no Russian Bolsheviks there and the nation hesitate. The stampede of Dro and his detachment from Karabakh has created some panic in Zangezur. Rumors are spread as if the detachment is leaving Zangezur. THE PEOPLE ARE ANXIOUS. MUSHEGH ZAKHARYANTS, A FAMOUS STOOGUE AND EXCITER PURSUED BY ME ABSCONDED AND EXCITED THE MASS TO CREATE ANARCHY...

... It is necessary to send a battalion and a strong independent commissioner to restore the order. I can't work in existing conditions and I go to Erivan. Dro acts independently and the result is negative.

General Commander Melik-Yolchyan

*F. 1022, l. 8, c. 51, p. 1*

## Number 70

18 June, 1920

### THE LATEST NEWS

On May 21 Dro telegraphed from Karabakh that the representatives of Orjonikidze—the president of the Caucasian front's Military Council – Ter-Gabrielyan, Kaydalov and Pernani came up to him from Shushi and announced Dro on behalf of Orjonokidze that the Soviet power intended to bring the Russian Red troops into Karabakh, till river Haqeara.

Dro replied that it was necessary to apply to the government of the Republic of Armenia for deciding such a matter, but it was contrary to the principles of self-determination of peoples.

On May 23 the news from Karabakh reported that the Bolsheviks reinforced their activity and propaganda in Khachen, Jevanshir and Giulistan, and in the places where the Russian armies entered, it had already been announced Soviet power. Varanda and Dizak also were not going to resist. For further manifestation of political circumstances Dro had to pass from Karabakh to Zangezur. On May 28 he entered Goris.

*F. 200, l. 1, c. 427, part 1, p. 33*

## Number 71

19 July, 1920

### SECRET DOCUMENTS

The present report is submitted to the British Chief Commissar of Transcaucasia by the British representative of Yerevan-Grace

Commander of Transcaucasia, the chief Commissar of Britain honourable Mr.

I have the honor to report that after the meeting with the Minister-President of Armenia Dr. H. Ohanjanyan on July 19 the following conversation took place.

The situation of the Bolsheviks in Armenia: Bolshevism is dead in Armenia, but there are a small number of Bolsheviks outside Armenia. There are doubts that the people are in touch with the Bolshevik propagandists and especially in the places, where our country is bordering with Azerbaijan.

The Bolsheviks in Azerbaijan a little differ from the others. They can be described only as pan-Turkic Bolsheviks. Their aim seems to be the same, as the Turkish-German plan; to unite all the Moslem races and to form a strong mass in Transcaucasia and the Northern Caucasus. The Turks themselves had success in that plan and we think that we have means to provide failure for them.

Yes, there are several Armenian Bolsheviks, but they are corrupted by the Bolsheviks' money. There is another reason for that. They have been fighting against the Tajiks and the Turks during the whole war and until today. They remember that the Russians freed them from the enemy Tajiks and that the Russian forces played a great role in the Bolshevik movement. The plan of the Bolsheviks is well known for us; they want to capture Ijevan, Dilijan, Gharaqilisa, Aleqsandropol and Ghars and to join Mustafa Qemal.

We intend to defend our holy land. The second way, which leads to Mustafa Qemal, is over Karabakh and Zangezur. Now the whole Karabakh is in the hand of Bolsheviks. They've moved forward and captured Goris; they had success, because we had shortage of weapons and ammunition and army.

This failure is the result of the wrong policy of the British, who has always supported the superiority of Azerbaijan towards Karabakh despite our interests and the wishes of the overwhelming majority of Karabakh. Our interests required that it was given to us; it belonged to us in all aspects.

In present our army is in Nakhijevean and we have already captured the city of Shahtakhti. When we capture Nakhijevean, we will have free way to expel the Bolsheviks by Goris and to unite Karabakh, We intend to cut the connection between the Bolsheviks and Mustafa Kemal with these actions.

These are the words of Ohanjanyan addressed to the diplomatic representative in Tiflis – Bekzadyan.

*NAA, f. 200, l. 2, c. 89*

*F. 200, l. 1, c. 309, p. 111 / 7.19 July*

Erivan, to the Minister Chairman

Those who've come from Shushi tell

That recently General Governor Sultanov has undertaken fighting blockade and movement of the troops in its surroundings and sit of posts by the Azerbaijani troops. An anxious and tense situation is created.

On June 2 a crowded meeting appealed to Mak-Mason. The latter reassured that the Armenians and the order weren't at risk, that the demonstration of Sultanov would not be unpunished. However, Sultanov continued the military actions. On June 4 the Tatars occupied free positions and trenches of the Armenians and killed several people. A skirmish began which went on also on June 5. Numerous appeals to Mak-Mason had no results. The British officer Tauzen, who had been sent by them to Sultanov for negotiations, wasn't even accepted. The telegrams of Mak-Mason to Baku and Tiflis weren't accepted by the Tatars. Sultanov and the Azerbaijani mission demanded to remove from Azerbaijan seven Armenians as a provision of stopping military actions by them. The detachment of sepoy, which was acting by the prescription of Mank-Mason, took neutralized trenches and entered the Armenian trenches without hindrance.

From the Tatarian trenches there were shots and two people were killed... on 7 June, 1920

Minister of Foreign Affairs-Tigranyan

15 October, 1920, Yerevan

*F. 200, l. 2, c. 94, p. 1, 2, 3*

On October 3 (the month is mentioned by us) the British high commissary in Transcaucasia - Colonel Stokes, who replaces Komandor Luke, arrived in Yerevan from Tiflis.

The colonel had a long-term meeting with the premier. First of all he inquired about the developments in Kars. He was introduced to our military condition and was informed of our forces and the measures that had been taken. Stokes expressed doubts that the Armenians were honestly and really going to fight against the Kemalists and also it was doubtful for him the Armenians' decision to banish the Tajiks from Kars region. The source of his doubts remained unknown. The Premier resolved his doubts and gave a detailed explanation on the historical, political and other reasons for our enmity with Tajiks and emphasized that our decision to fight against the Tajiks can not be subjected to any doubt; the entire Armenian nation have stood up and must defeat the enemy, if they don't want to be annihilated themselves.

The colonel said that England wasn't able to show real assistance to the Armenians at that time. It would be unreasonable to bomb or take Trabzon, as England couldn't provide sufficient forces to move in a forward direction, and the capture of only the city and the port would not be a great help for Armenia. Colonel Stokes raised a question about the agreement signed on August 10 between us and the Bolsheviks. To his mind that was a big mistake by Armenia. By ceding Zangezur and Nakhijevan Armenia let the Bolsheviks join the Tajiks. The premier explained that our agreement was a simple act for armistice and introduced to the substitute of Commander Luke - Colonel Stokes the military and political circumstances that made the government of Armenia sign that temporary armistice and specified the reasons for cession of Zangezur and Nakhijevan.

In Stokes's opinion Armenia shouldn't try to solve the issues of Karabakh, Nakhijevan and Zangezur by military way, otherwise that would have bad consequences for Armenia.

According to him a federation should be created, which would gradually settle all the border issues over time.

## Number 74

February

On February 10 Khosrov bey Sultanov came to Shushi and stayed at the Tatarian part of the city. He invited G. M. Shahnazarov, Bishop Vahan, I. B. Shakhapov and G. B. Ishkhanbekov for negotiations. Kh. Sultanov called the administration of the Armenian part for getting alimony, and the teachers of the city and of national schools were also offered to come for alimony giving preliminary subscription about the recognition of Azerbaijan. The congress forbade both those people and the institutions to get any alimony from the Government of Azerbaijan stating that it would find funds itself.

As the result of all these by the order of Kh. B. Sultanov the treasury, which was located in the Armenian part, was closed and it didn't make withdrawals.

Waiting for the end of the Congress Kh. B. Sultanov set out to Jevanshir on February 21.

*F. 200, l. 1, c. 243, p. 24*

## Number 75

*F. 200, l. 1, c. 271, p. 140*

Erivan

Minister of Foreign Affairs

According to my request, which is supported by the people of Karabakh, a commission has already been organized from the representatives of England, France and Italy, who will enter Karabakh just after Gress arrives. It is already two days that in newspaper "Azerbaijan" there are no summaries. Aghdam is cut off from Shushi and Askeran, as Vekilov told me, still yesterday was in the hands of the rebels. A general assault is expected today.... Tomorrow the meeting of the people of Karabakh will take place. It will claim to stop the collisions immediately.

№ 187 April 3

Representative of Armenia-Tumanov

## Number 76

*F. 200, l. 1, c. 427, part 1, p. 179*

On March 22 the rebels captured the fortress Askeran and besieged the Tatarian garrisons in Khanqend and Shushi.

On March 22 almost 8000 people were slaughtered by a general attack on Zangezur...

The Tatars answered by massacres in Shushi.

Chief of the Staff of the Forces, Colonel of the General Staff Vekilov

General-Kwartprmeyst of the General Staff

Colonel Pritomanov

## Number 77

*New Worker, № 164, August 14, p. 2.*

British message

THE LATEST NEWS

The American delegation is seriously concerned about the situation in Armenia. There are grounds to doubt that general Harbord, who is going to Armenia on August 15, can do something to prevent the slaughter by the Turks.

The conference will probably be held according to his messages. Other countries apparently blame America considering it to be the reason of the critical situation in Armenia. The representatives of America state that they can't undertake anything unless the question of mandate is resolved by the USA.

**A. A. GHARIBYAN**

**THE ISSUE OF NAGORNO-KARABAKH  
IN 1918-1920  
AND GREAT BRITAIN**

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