


GEVORG STEPANYAN*

Doctor of Science in History, Professor,

Institute of History, NAS RA

sasun-009@mail.ru

0009-0000-7536-6777 

DOI: 10.54503/1829-4073-2026.1.18-63

THE CREATION OF SELF-PROCLAIMED “TURKIC-TATAR INDEPENDENT REPUBLICS” IN THE REPUBLIC OF ARMENIA IN THE CONTEXT OF THE “GREATER AZERBAIJAN” PROGRAM (1918–1919)

Abstract

Looking back at the path taken by the First Republic of Armenia (1918–1920), which was formed under difficult military and political conditions, it should be noted that this path was unfolded through complex and challenging turns. The Republic lived and operated in complicated internal and external circumstances, where the most urgent issues facing the state required immediate solutions.

The independent Armenian state, first and foremost, had to establish its territorial integrity. This commission was also conditioned by the unfavorable attitudes of the newly formed neighboring states (Georgia and Azerbaijan), which had made their aspirations to seize territories historically belonging to Armenia a cornerstone of their state policy.¹

It is well known that, having been defeated in the First World War, the Ottoman Empire, following the Armistice of Mudros (October 30, 1918), was forced to withdraw its troops from Transcaucasia, including the occupied territories of Eastern Armenia, and retreat to the borders of 1914.

* *The article has been delivered on 17.03.2026, reviewed on 15.04.2026, accepted for publication on 30.04.2026.*

© 2026 The Author(s). This is an Open Access article distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial 4.0 International License.

¹ **Vratsian** 1925, 70–71.

The Creation of Self-Proclaimed “Turkic-Tatar Independent Republics” ...

The official newspaper of the Yerevan Bolshevik organization, *Khosk* (“Word”), which sharply criticized the Young Turks, wrote in its editorial titled “The Withdrawal of Tachkastan”.

“The official Tachkastan (Turkey) of Enver and Talat Pashas is leaving the Caucasus. We have also experienced the taste of Turkish imperialism-it is Asian conquest and plunder... During the time of historical reckoning, it must be said that it has been a calamity both for its own people and for other nations. It has been a complete scourge for all the peoples of the Caucasus during these last five or six months, and especially a disaster for the Armenian working people.”² However, after the withdrawal of the Tachiks troops, remnants of the Young Turk–Musavat forces and Ottoman officers still remained in Armenia. Establishing connections with local Muslim populations, they did everything possible to keep the soon-to-be-liberated territories under their influence, to neutralize Armenia’s rights over them, to strangle the Republic of Armenia from the outside, and to “blow it up” from within through the creation of ethnic enclaves.³ Thus, as the Ottomans were leaving Armenia, they deliberately left all their military supplies to them. The Turks retained their forces and armaments in Kars, Nakhchivan, and other regions. It should also be noted that the Caucasian Tatars did not conceal their separatist aspirations and openly declared them.

“As the Tachiks were leaving, they handed over Sharur and Nakhchivan to us-the Tatars,” they stated. “We will independently form our own government, and therefore we will not allow the Armenians to return to their homes.”⁴

Keywords: *Republic of Armenia, Stepan Ghorghanyan, Samtskhe–Meskheti, Tachkastan, “Greater Azerbaijan,” Server-bek Atabekov Kobliansky, Amir-bek Narimanbekov, Yakub Shevki Pasha.*

Introduction

Based on the above observations, there is no doubt that these ambitious expansionist aspirations were embedded within the programs aimed at creating an Oghuz state under the patronage of Tachkastan. First, it would serve as a

² “Khosk”, 14.12.1918.

³ “Chakatamart”, 1.03.1920, see also **Ruben** 1982, 193–204; **Harutyunyan** 2016, 84–85.

⁴ “Haratch”, 14.02.919.

Stepanyan G.

connecting link with the formation of “Azerbaijan,” and second, it would bridge Tachkastan with the Turkic-speaking peoples of the Caucasus and Central Asia.

Within the foreign policy shaped by the new realities of the Kemalists and the Musavatists, the Republic of Armenia continued to occupy a certain place. In this regard, noteworthy is the observation of a Baku-based author, signed “A.N.”⁵ It is not difficult to observe that the Turks were thus cultivating even more far-reaching intentions. In the article titled “The Collapse of Azerbaijan” published in the Constantinople newspaper “Chakatamart” by the same author signed “A.N.,” it was stated in this regard: **“Tachkastan had created ‘Azerbaijan’, just as it had created the ‘southwestern’ or ‘northern governments’ for itself”**⁶ (emphasis ours – G.S.).

Nevertheless, through its strategic program of creating Muslim “independent” entities within the territory of the Republic of Armenia, the Ottoman state intended, by means of these formations, to encircle Armenia and Georgia with a densely Turkish-Tatar-populated zone.⁷ This policy of territorial expansion was, in turn, embedded within the broader concept of establishing a “Greater Azerbaijan” state.

Proceeding from the aforementioned evident objectives, the Ottoman state undertook the creation of “independent” entities in strategically important centers: Kars, Nakhchivan, Ardahan,⁸ and even in Samtskhe–Meskheta (including the districts of Adigeni, Akhaltsikhe, and Aspindza).⁹ These entities took the form of “Muslim National Councils” (shuras, from Persian: council), as well as smaller local units-local “shuras.”¹⁰ In general, within the territories under the jurisdiction of Armenia, nearly twenty large and small Muslim quasi-independent entities had been established, which refused to submit to the authority of the republican government.¹¹ These self-proclaimed entities, encouraged by the Ittihadists and the Musavatists, were entirely directed against the Republic of

⁵ “Chakatamart”, 27.10.1920.

⁶ “Chakatamart”, 26.10.1920.

⁷ See **Demoyan** 2006, 46, 49.

⁸ “Mshak”, 24.01.1919.

⁹ See **Melkonyan** 2003, 37, see also **Sargsyan** 2006, 11. Akhaltsikhe city and its district occupy the central part of the present-day Samtskhe-Javakheti region of Georgia (see **Karapetyan** 2008, 8).

¹⁰ See **Vratsian** 1982, 292.

¹¹ See *History of the Armenians: Key Issues (From Antiquity to the Present)*, 2000, 367.

The Creation of Self-Proclaimed “Turkic-Tatar Independent Republics” ...

Armenia. They were intended to become local governments, allowing the Ottoman state, even after the withdrawal of its troops, to preserve its influence in the region and to prepare the ground for the eventual return of the Turks.¹²

Below, we present in general terms the process of the formation of these entities and their inglorious end.

“Republic of South-Western Caucasus” (“Kars Republic”)

Conspiratorial plans against Armenia had been devised as early as during the period of Young Turk rule, when, following the signing of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk on March 3, 1918, the provinces of Kars, Ardahan, and Batum were ceded by Soviet Russia to the Ottoman Empire, an ally of Imperial Germany, despite the latter having been defeated by Russia.¹³ The facts indicate that Enver and Nuri Pashas, having been defeated in the war and dissatisfied with their unfulfilled pan-Turkic expectations, had already, during February-March 1918, in the course of the Brest-Litovsk negotiations, intended-on the basis of paragraphs 2 and 3 of Article 4 of the peace treaty-to establish the so-called “South-Western Republic” in the regions of Kars, Ardahan, and Batum¹⁴ that had passed to the Tachiks. This entity was to be formed under the leadership of Nuri and Halil Pashas,¹⁵ who had at their disposal a force of 5,000–6,000 troops.¹⁶ Enver conveyed his intentions in a letter addressed to Grand Vizier Izzet Pasha, noting that he was “going to the Caucasus, where he intends to found a new Turkic state.”¹⁷

And thus, the Ottoman authorities, seeking to maintain their control over the territories acquired under the Treaty of Batum (June 4, 1918), hastily organized a “referendum” in these regions in the summer of 1918 through the local Muslim population. It was conducted by all possible unlawful means, at a time when a significant portion of the local Armenian population had been massacred, while those participating in the elections included individuals brought there by the Tachiks, particularly military personnel. Under such conditions, the “referendum” could not but turn into a farce, especially as the

¹² See **Vardanyan** 2014, 70.

¹³ See “Haratch”, 07.10.1967.

¹⁴ See **Avetisyan** 1994.

¹⁵ See **Denikin** 1925, 146.

¹⁶ See **Kadishev** 1960, 170; see also **Sargsyan** 1989, 245.

¹⁷ “Zhoghovrdi Dzayn”, 08.04.1919.

Stepanyan G.

Tachiks themselves were violating Article 4 of the Brest-Litovsk Treaty. The objective was clear: the Ittihadists sought to give a semblance of legality to their expansionist policy by means of falsified elections, thereby achieving “self-determination” and subsequently unification with the Ottoman Empire.¹⁸ Moreover, the Turks, avoiding a secret ballot in the “referendum,” conducted it openly, according to the results of which 83,000 voters cast their ballots in favor of unification with the Ottoman Empire, while 2,000 voted against.¹⁹ The official newspaper of the Armenian community of New Nakhchivan and Rostov, *Hay Hamaynk* (Armenian Community), in its article titled “The Ottoman Plebiscite,” ridicules and exposes the so-called “referendum” as a mockery, as well as the fraud of the Turkish authorities.

“Who carried out this plebiscite?” writes the weekly. “Who led this act of popular voting? Undoubtedly the agents of the Turkish benevolent government, using their long-known methods. When was this operation carried out? Now, when, due to the arrival of the Turkish army, not a single Christian inhabitant has remained there because of the terror of the bashi-bazouks. It is evident that only the Muslim portion of the population participated in the voting, or, if any Christians remained, their votes were forcibly extorted in favor of Turkey.”²⁰

In order to place this program, directed toward pan-Turkic objectives, on practical foundations, a special committee was established in Constantinople under the leadership of Ali Riza Pasha, the Ottoman Minister of the Navy (November 1918 – March 1919). This committee had at its disposal substantial financial resources and emissaries. Based on reliable information received from Constantinople, the official newspaper of the ARF in Georgia, *Haratch* (*Forward*), informed its readers: “A committee has been formed in Constantinople whose aim is either to retain for Turkey the regions of Batum and Kars, the district of Ardahan, and the province of Akhaltsikhe, or, if that does not succeed, to unite these regions and form an independent state. The head of the committee is Riza Pasha. The committee has at its disposal large sums of money and maintains agents in all the aforementioned regions.”²¹

¹⁸ See **Vardanyan** 2014, 67.

¹⁹ See “Chakatamart”, 24.07.1918.

²⁰ “Armenian Community”, 23.07.1918.

²¹ “Haratch”, 14.02.1919.

The Creation of Self-Proclaimed “Turkic-Tatar Independent Republics” ...

In order to implement this program, extensive preparatory work had long been carried out in the depths of Transcaucasia through a wide network of Turkish-Tatar agents. It is noteworthy that in Kars, under the guise of charitable activity, particularly active intelligence operations were conducted by the Young Turk agent Khosrov-bek Sultanov. General-Major Stepan Ghorghanyan, governor of the Kars province, was well informed about the activities of Turkish agents and the events taking place in Kars. In his documentary memoirs, he writes: “...before the revolution, Dr. Sultanov, under the banner of the Baku Turkish charitable society, was carrying out in Kars the duties of a political agent of the Musavat. This cunning and flexible Turk effectively took into his hands the administration of the Kars province.” He was feverishly arming the Turks; bypassing the “Provincial Commissioner” Dzamojev²² he had reached out to the Ottoman authorities. Under the guise of Turkish national councils, he was carrying out preparatory work in the Province of Kars for the future Shura, thereby smoothing the path toward Baku, toward the future Azerbaijan, and the Pan-Islamic dream...²³ Furthermore, Sultanov had succeeded in surrounding himself with Turkic-Tatars driven by Pan-Islamic and Pan-Turkic aspirations. “The Turkish population of the Kars Province,” notes St. Ghorghanyan, “immediately surrounded Dr. Sultanov. His door became a sanctuary for the Turks, and the landscape of international relations in the Province of Kars suddenly shifted.”²⁴

On September 27, 1918, during a convention of Muslim leaders in Kars-attended by Yakub Shevket Pasha, commander of the Ottoman 9th Army stationed in the city, Fahreddin (Erdoğan) Bey, and Hilmi (Uran) Bey²⁵ the

²² **G.S. Dzamojev (G.S. Dzamoyan)** – (1865, Tiflis – 1937) – Doctor of Law and member of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation (ARF). During the First World War, he was dispatched by the Armenian Benevolent Society of the Caucasus (ABSC) to various localities of Western Armenia liberated by Russian forces in order to provide assistance to the Armenian population. In 1916, he served as an authorized representative of the Armenian Central Committee attached to the ABSC. In 1918, he was appointed commissioner of the Kars region. From October 15, 1918, to 1919, he served as the diplomatic representative of the Republic of Armenia in Ukraine. On June 30, 1919, he was appointed diplomatic representative of the Republic of Armenia to Admiral Kolchak’s government in Siberia.

²³ **Harutyunyan** 2018, 24–25.

²⁴ **Harutyunyan** 2016, 174.

²⁵ See **Hovhannisian** 2005, 219.

Stepanyan G.

governor of the Kars Sanjak-the “Muslim National Committee” (Milli Shura)²⁶ was established. On December 1 of the same year, this committee resolved to form the so-called “Provisional Government of the Southwestern Caucasian Republic,” centered in Kars.²⁷ This provisional government was headed by Server-bek Atabek Kobliansky, a prominent landowner from Samtskhe-Meskheti driven by Pan-Islamic ambitions.²⁸ It is worth noting that the Ottoman state has consistently utilized the Turkic-speaking element of Samtskhe-Meskheti as a strategic asset to advance its regional geopolitical interests across all historical periods, including the Soviet era and into the present day.

That this self-proclaimed “republic” fell under the influence of the Ottoman state and was directed by it is evidenced by a declaration from the Georgian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Evgeni Gegechkori, addressed to General George Francis Milne, Commander-in-Chief of the British forces in the East: “The Kars government is nothing other than a Turkish organization. We have provided factual proof to them that this entire government was constituted by Turkish commissars and agents.”²⁹

Notably, the selection of Kars as the “republic’s” capital was by no means accidental, given its immense strategic significance. As a fortified city-fortress, it served as a vital military outpost for the Turkish-Musavatist forces in the pursuit of their expansionist ambitions within Transcaucasia. The importance of Kars was equally pronounced from an economic perspective; it functioned as a major commercial hub on the trade routes stretching from Trebizond through Armenia to Iran.³⁰

The primary objective and ultimate goal of this artificial entity was to unite with the Ottoman state under the guise of the “right to self-determination.” In this context, it should be emphasized that the Turks intended “...first and foremost, to annex to Turkey the Kars “Shura” government (in other words, Kars-Ardahan-Batum), Caucasian Azerbaijan, Dagestan, and subsequently

²⁶ See **Hajiyev** 2004, 53.

²⁷ See **Kadishev** 1960, 170, see also **Hajiyev** 2004, 52–53.

²⁸ See **Hajiyev** 2004, 53. **Server-bek** was one of the wealthiest and most influential landowners of Samtskhe-Meskheti. He later settled in Turkey, where he died in a car accident in 1962.

²⁹ “Ashkhataavor”, 13.05.1919.

³⁰ See **Pogosyan** 1983.

The Creation of Self-Proclaimed “Turkic-Tatar Independent Republics” ...

Turkestan, Mongolia, and the Russian Muslim territories.”³¹ Furthermore, the Kemalists intended-should this plan prove unfeasible-to establish “...a separate independent state comprising the regions of Kars, Batum, and Akhaltsikhe, under the name of ‘Southwestern Transcaucasia.”³²

It must be noted that the Ottoman state’s predatory designs on the Republic of Armenia aligned perfectly with Azerbaijan’s expansionist intentions. Driven by its own territorial interests, the extremist chauvinist Musavat government established clandestine, close ties with both this and subsequently formed Muslim entities, consistently supporting and monitoring their activities. The [Azerbaijani] government was keen for these to become functional state formations; they were to serve as the connecting link between the Ottoman state and Azerbaijan-an objective shared by these entities themselves. It is no coincidence that upon assuming office, Server-bek Atabek Kobliansky took the initiative to establish direct contact with the Azerbaijani leadership and its representative office in Batum.³³

Notably, certain Azerbaijani authors-such as Aydin Hajiyev in his work *The Democratic Republics of Southwest Caucasus (Kars and Aras-Turkic Republics)*-deliberately assign a specific role to Azerbaijan in the creation of these “republics.”³⁴ These authors view such entities as formations leaning more toward Azerbaijan than the Ottoman state. Nevertheless, it remains clear and indisputable that, regardless of the external positioning or political sympathies of these artificial constructs, they were ultimately intended to serve the long-term realization of Pan-Turkic objectives.

Furthermore, the Musavat government, following a pre-established scenario characteristic of its policy, began disseminating historical disinformation to pave the way for its expansionist designs. For instance, in a communication sent to General William Thomson on January 8, 1919, the Azerbaijani Ministry of Foreign Affairs distorted historical realities, stating: “...at no point in history has the territory composed of the Kars and Batum provinces and the Akhaltsikhe district ever been part of Armenia or Georgia; therefore, their claims to these

³¹ “Soviet Armenia”, 06.08.1921.

³² **Vratsian** 1982, 243.

³³ See **Hajiyev** 2004, 53.

³⁴ See **Hajiyev** 2004, 50–51.

Stepanyan G.

territories possess no legal or moral basis.”³⁵ These formations were intended to act as a strategic link between Baku and Constantinople.³⁶ Driven by these considerations, M.E. Rasulzade, the leader of the “Musavat” party, made no secret of traditional Pan-Turkic aspirations. In an editorial titled “The Old Melody” in the party’s daily *Istiklal*, he wrote: “The Turk of Azerbaijan, for example, cannot love Constantinople-with its national monuments, sacred mosques, and Islamic memorials-any less than the “Constantinople-loving” French writer Pierre Loti; for every Turk and every Muslim, that city represents the altar of civilization.”³⁷

In parallel, another Musavatist organ-the daily *Azerbaijan*, published in Perso-Arabic script-hastened to fulfill the political mandate of the ruling elite by publishing provocative anti-Armenian articles filled with inconceivable fabrications. For instance, in an editorial titled “Be Ready,” the paper employed maximalist rhetoric to claim inherently Armenian territories as its own. Calling the Caucasian Tatars to arms in a Pan-Turkic spirit, it wrote: “O, Young Turk... one by one, the regions of Kars, Nakhchivan, Surmalu, and Sharur are being torn from us; we have lost them. Our link with the Muslim states of the South has been severed. Even now, we are unable to fully possess our various lands.”³⁸ In response to the paper’s conspiratorial and insidious conduct, the Tiflis-based periodical *Ashkhatavor* (*The Laborer*) wrote: “For Azerbaijan, the supreme virtue is provocation; it has built its accounts upon provocation, which has become its very flesh and blood, such that it cannot exist without it.”³⁹

Thus, it is evident that this military-political process was deliberately transformed into a policy of anti-Armenian persecution.

On January 8, 1919, an agreement was signed in Western Transcaucasia between General George Forester-Walker, Commander of the Allied Forces, and S. Tigranyan, the Foreign Minister of Armenia. According to this agreement, a British military governor was to be appointed in Kars until the signing of a final peace treaty, while the civil administration-subordinate to said military governor-

³⁵ **Hajiyev** 2004, 54–55.

³⁶ See **Knyazyan** 2008, 67.

³⁷ “Ashkhatavor”, 05.04.1919.

³⁸ “Ashkhatavor”, 08.06.1919.

³⁹ “Ashkhatavor”, 13.06.1919.

The Creation of Self-Proclaimed “Turkic-Tatar Independent Republics” ...

was to be composed of Armenians.⁴⁰ Colonel Clive Errington Temperley was appointed to the post of Governor (January–March 1919).⁴¹ Under this agreement, the British military governor and the Armenian civil authorities departed for Kars. However, the Turks met the Armenians with such hostility and threats that the British advised the Armenian officials to withdraw to Alexandropol.⁴² “This incident,” writes Simon Vratsian, “as well as the Turkophilia displayed by the English on other occasions, caused intense agitation and indignation in Armenian circles.”⁴³

On January 14, 1919, the parliament (*Majlis*) of the “Kars Republic” was inaugurated in Kars with the participation of 64 deputies; Asad-bek Hajiyev was elected as its president.⁴⁴

Following these developments, a second convention was held on January 17–18, 1919, led by Dr. Esad Oktay of Childir.⁴⁵ This gathering included numerous Muslim delegates infected with Pan-Turkic fervor and an *Ittihadist* (Committee of Union and Progress) orientation toward the Caucasus. The convention aimed to unify the “National Shuras” of all districts into the so-called “Provisional National Government of Southwestern Caucasia”⁴⁶(also known as the Kars Shura). Although complete unification was not achieved, the formation of this “government” galvanized the activities of Turkic-Tatar emissaries throughout the region, who were driven by Pan-Islamic and Pan-Turkic sentiments. As Stepan Ghorghanyan notes in his memoirs: “The Ottoman command was in constant communication with Baku, and Azerbaijani emissaries were incessantly traveling between Kars and Baku via the Ardahan-Tiflis route.”⁴⁷

The architects of this Ottoman puppet “republic” were so convinced of the viability of their designs that they sought to integrate a unified territory stretching from Adjara on the Black Sea coast to the Persian border at Nakhchivan. Accordingly, this was to encompass the regions of Kars and Batum,

⁴⁰ **Vratsian** 1982, 243.

⁴¹ See **Vratsian** 1982, 247; see also **Virabyan**, 2024, 71.

⁴² See **Vratsian** 1982, 244.

⁴³ **Vratsian** 1982, 244.

⁴⁴ See **Hajiyev** 2004, 57.

⁴⁵ See **Hovhannisian** 2005, 223; see also **Vardanyan** 2014, 69.

⁴⁶ See **Knyazyan** 2008, 64–65.

⁴⁷ **Harutyunyan** 2018, 32–33.

Stepanyan G.

the districts of Akhaltsikhe, Akhalkalaki, Sharur, Nakhchivan, and Surmalu, as well as the southeastern portion of the Yerevan district.⁴⁸ “The Muslims of Kars,” Ruben Ter-Minasyan writes, “employed a different tactical approach than those in Nakhchivan, Vedi, and other regions... Here, the Shura's objective appeared to be the preservation of the Muslim presence in the Kars province by building organization and strength, while avoiding the provocation of Armenians through premature uprisings; instead, they were to remain patient and await developments in Turkey. Should Turkey find a favorable opportunity to return to Kars, they would then be liberated.”⁴⁹ It must be noted that Turkish expansionist aspirations were particularly conspicuous regarding Adjara to the west and northwest, a strategically vital area on the Black Sea, along with its capital and port, Batum, the preeminent maritime gateway to the Caucasus, from which Turkey had withdrawn following its defeat in the World War.⁵⁰

Under these dire circumstances, a severe struggle unfolded at the beginning of 1919 over territories historically belonging to Armenia. The British, seeking to avoid antagonizing the Muslim population, created various pretexts to obstruct the Armenians from establishing control over the Kars province. Furthermore, the Musavat government, adhering to its policy of disinformation, “...proposed to the British command that Kars be occupied as part of Azerbaijan, arguing that the region's population consisted predominantly of Muslim elements.”⁵¹

Emboldened by the anti-Armenian propaganda emanating from the Ottoman state and Azerbaijan, the leaders of the Kars Shura actively impeded the return of approximately 100,000 Armenian refugees to their ancestral lands.⁵² In a communication dated January 31, 1919, addressed to the Persian government, Sargis Araratyan, the Envoy of the Republic of Armenia to Iran, stated: “Following the withdrawal of the Turks, the Armenian government, by a unanimous decision of Parliament, dispatched half a million refugees to their homes; one hundred thousand were sent to the districts of Sharur and Nakhchivan-to their native villages... Unfortunately, the Tatars, instigated by

⁴⁸ See **Hajiyev** 2004, 53; see also **Hovhannisian** 2005; **Hajiyev** 2010, 337–338.

⁴⁹ **Ruben** 1982, 211.

⁵⁰ See **Mayilyan** 2016, 59.

⁵¹ “Mshak”, 05.01.1919.

⁵² See “Mshak”, 24.01.1919; see also **Hovhannisian** 2005, 223.

The Creation of Self-Proclaimed “Turkic-Tatar Independent Republics” ...

deserting Turkish officers, murdered the first Armenian parliamentarians and barred the refugees from using the railway to reach their destinations. Those who arrived in Ghamarlu were massacred, while the survivors were driven back toward Yerevan.”⁵³ As ARF member and journalist Vazgen Shirakuni attests in the documentary publication *Reconstruction Work in Armenia, 1918–1920*: “...the English smiled more upon the beys and khans of Baku than they heeded the just grievances of Armenia, failing to protect it from encroachments. While the “Little Ally” was rising from blood and ashes, they provided no immediate assistance, not even to ensure the physical survival of the living, nor any real or direct aid to consolidate its independent statehood.”⁵⁴

During its session on March 27, 1919, the Parliament formed a new ten-member cabinet⁵⁵ under the leadership of Ibrahim-bek Jangiri (Cihangiroğlu)⁵⁶, a former officer in the Tsarist army and a notorious local chieftain. Nearly all members of this cabinet were Ottoman agents acting in the interests of the Ottoman state.⁵⁷

Entirely Turkish in orientation and under the direct influence of *Ittihadist* (Committee of Union and Progress) leaders—specifically Nuri and Halil Pashas⁵⁸ – this predatory “republic” adopted the Ottoman flag (a white crescent and five-pointed star on the left) and declared Turkish as the official language.⁵⁹ Furthermore, following the Turkish example, the Caucasian Tatars began to destroy or appropriate the Christian civilizational heritage of the region. For instance, the Russian churches in Kars were desecrated, with crescents erected in place of the crosses atop their low, rounded domes. Notably, Armenian churches were temporarily spared from such vandalism simply because the perpetrators were unable to scale their steep, pointed conical domes.⁶⁰ Moreover, Governor Clive Errington Temperley, by granting unofficial

⁵³ “Haratch”, 14.02.1919.

⁵⁴ “Hairenik” 12.07.1923.

⁵⁵ See **National Archives of Armenia**, f. 275, inv. 25, file 5, fol. 35; see also **Hajiyev** 2004, 67.

⁵⁶ **Ibrahim-bek Jihangir** also served as Minister of War of the “Aras-Turkic Republic” (see **Hajiyev** 2010, 307).

⁵⁷ See “Ashkhatavor”, 14.03.1919.

⁵⁸ See **Lernyan** 1926.

⁵⁹ See **Hovhannisian** 2005, 223.

⁶⁰ See “Ashkhatavor”, 29.04.1919.

Stepanyan G.

recognition to the Kars Shura⁶¹ and reaching a working agreement with the “Southwestern Caucasian Republic,” opposed every attempt to appoint Armenian administrative officials.⁶² Through its conduct, the British command effectively facilitated Turkish anti-Armenian activities in Transcaucasia.⁶³

Numerous facts attest that the Azerbaijani government, capitalizing on these favorable circumstances, sought to “legitimize” the Kars Shura’s expansionist claims over territories under the sovereign jurisdiction of the Republic of Armenia. T. Bekzadyan, the diplomatic representative of the Republic of Armenia in Azerbaijan, noted the following incident in his diaries: On March 15, 1919, during a visit to the Azerbaijani Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Ismayil-khan Ziyatkhanov, Bekzadyan presented the Armenian government’s instructions regarding the “close unity of the three young Transcaucasian republics.” Ziyatkhanov insolently included the so-called “Southwestern Caucasian Republic” among these states. However, as Bekzadyan writes, he “...very quickly withdrew [the claim] upon seeing my agitation and bewilderment.”⁶⁴

Beyond the challenges posed to Armenian statehood and territorial integrity, Azerbaijan was particularly interested in utilizing this artificial entity as a geopolitical outpost for the vital interests of the “Great Azerbaijan” project—specifically with the aim of seizing Batum and its port, which opened a gateway to the Black and Mediterranean Seas. Furthermore, Batum was to be transformed into a crucial transit point for the export of Baku oil. Another objective was to establish control over the strategically significant Batum-Baku railway line. It is no coincidence that among the Transcaucasian republics, only Azerbaijan recognized and provided material and diplomatic support to the Kars Shura. Representatives of the Shura consistently submitted reports to the leadership in Baku.⁶⁵ Prime Minister Fatali Khan Khoyski even declared that “...hostility toward that government, regardless of its source, would be viewed as hostility toward Azerbaijan itself.”⁶⁶

⁶¹ See **Vratsian** 1982, 244.

⁶² See **Hovhannisian** 2005, 225, 228.

⁶³ See **Petrosyan** 2004, 26.

⁶⁴ **Harutyunyan** 2025, 51.

⁶⁵ See **Harutyunyan** 2025, 122.

⁶⁶ **Hovhannisian** 2005, 230.

The Creation of Self-Proclaimed “Turkic-Tatar Independent Republics” ...

Furthermore, it should be emphasized that Azerbaijan-through its diplomatic representative in the Republic of Armenia since January 29, 1919, Mamed-khan Tekinski⁶⁷-had established a clandestine intelligence network. Tekinski, an employee of the Azerbaijani Cheka and aptly described by Simon Vratsian as a “Pan-Turkist figure,” operated a network of agents. Beyond his formal diplomatic mission, he was effectively engaged in espionage and maintained direct contact with the leadership of the Kars Shura. This is evidenced by an encrypted message sent by Prime Minister Fatali Khan Khoyski on May 5, 1919, which stated: “Establish contact with the Kars government immediately. Provide them with every type of assistance. Find out what their needs are; telegraph us so that we may take the necessary measures.”⁶⁸

It is also worth noting that the Musavat party, mindful of the British military governorship in Kars, sought to maximize the efficacy of its intelligence operations by placing a recruited agent-a Jewish individual proficient in both English and Turkish-at the Shura’s disposal.⁶⁹ This agent was simultaneously tasked with providing intelligence to the Ottoman command. The memoirs of Stepan Ghorghanyan contain remarkable details regarding this uncovered operative: “Anticipating the role of the English in the country, the Musavatist “Caretaker Committee” of Baku had sent this man to Kars in advance to serve the Shura. This clever son of Israel was concurrently performing espionage

⁶⁷ See **Vratsian** 1982, 293. From September 1919 Tekinsky was replaced by Akhverdov (see “Socialist Revolutionary”, 04.09.1919).

⁶⁸ **Vratsian** 2005, 294.

⁶⁹ It should be noted that the Soviet authorities of Azerbaijan, which followed the Musavatists, also involved individuals recruited into their intelligence services in anti-Armenian activities against Armenia. For example, in early December 1920, a Jewish student, **A. Bandus**, arrived in Yerevan from Baku as a member of the “Revolutionary Tribunal” (see **Darbinyan** 1972, 539). The document issued to Bandus, written on the letterhead of the “Supreme Revolutionary Tribunal” of the Azerbaijan SSR, stated: “A.C.C.P. Председатель верховного революционного трибунала. Совершенно секретно” (see **Stepanyan** 2016, 828–829). Bandus directly participated in the massacre of Armenian public and political figures in Yerevan Central Prison on the night of February 17–18, 1921. This is evidenced by eyewitness **O. Baldwin**, son of the Prime Minister of Great Britain Stanley Baldwin, an officer of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Armenia, journalist, and ARF member. According to him, on the order of a “short, pale, stuttering, bearded, bespectacled little Jewish commissar (i.e., A. Bandus),” 25 prisoners were executed (see **Baldwin** 1933, 129, 139).

Stepanyan G.

duties for the Turkish commander..."⁷⁰ What is particularly striking is that shortly thereafter, this individual defected to the British and began spying on their behalf. As Ghorghanyan recounts, the agent "very quickly went over to the English side. When, a month later, the English resolved to disperse the Shura and arrest its members, the polyglot took a position as a translator for the English and proceeded to betray his former associates with great skill."⁷¹

Nevertheless, the officials of the Kars Shura spared no effort in their arbitrary actions. In a bid to establish their territorial claims and "rights" on the international stage, on the eve of the Paris Peace Conference, Ibrahim-bek Jangiri-on behalf of the Kars Shura-dispatched telegrams to Woodrow Wilson, Lloyd George, and Raymond Poincaré. The appeals demanded that the Conference recognize their rights over Kars, Ardahan, Batum, Olti, Kağizman, Igdir, and other regions. Furthermore, following a deceptive Turkish *modus operandi*, they blatantly falsified demographic data, claiming in the appeal that the number of Muslims in the aforementioned regions reached 3 million, while Armenians and Greeks allegedly constituted barely 10%.⁷²

Although these demands presented serious political challenges, the leaders of the Allied nations did not act upon the petition, as it fundamentally contradicted their own geopolitical interests in Transcaucasia.

In this context, one must also consider the shared position of Armenia and Georgia regarding the frustration of the Kars Shura's expansionist ambitions.⁷³ However, it is essential to emphasize that this "diplomatic rapprochement" occurred against a backdrop of principled differences and distinct political objectives, particularly following the Armeno-Georgian War (December 9–31, 1918) and the Menshevik government's chauvinistic policies and territorial claims toward Javakhk. While inter-ethnic tensions were gradually subsiding, Armenia's position was dictated by strategic necessity. Encircled by the Ottoman state, Azerbaijan, and the pro-Turkish Kars Shura, the route through Georgia

⁷⁰ Harutyunyan 2018, 30.

⁷¹ Harutyunyan 2018, 30.

⁷² See "Haratch", 11.03.1919; see also Hovhannisian 2005, 224–225.

⁷³ See Knyazyan 2008, 71.

The Creation of Self-Proclaimed “Turkic-Tatar Independent Republics” ...

was of vital strategic importance for Armenia to maintain its connection with the outside world.⁷⁴

Despite these factors, the Kars Shura-emboldened by the overt support of the British in the region and specifically by the patronage of the Ottoman state and Azerbaijan-began to encroach upon neighboring territories.⁷⁵ This entity possessed its own armed forces, equipped with artillery and machine guns. Numerous Turkish officers and soldiers who remained in the area trained the local Caucasian Tatar population, raising a substantial force.⁷⁶ The number of these armed forces reached between 18,000⁷⁷ and 20,000.⁷⁸ General Yakub Shevki Pasha⁷⁹ played a particularly significant role in the formation of these troops. A. Malkhazov (Malkhasyan), head of the “Information Bureau” within the Republic of Armenia’s diplomatic mission in Baku, reported the following in his memorandum dated February 7, 1919: “It is confirmed that this government [referring to the “Southwestern Caucasian Republic” – G.S.], which includes the Kars province, Batum, and Ardahan, and claims the Akhaltsikhe district, is receiving clandestine support from the British government.”⁸⁰ According to Malkhazov, the British utilized this maneuver to exert pressure on both Armenia and Georgia.⁸¹

It should be observed that Georgia also maintained claims over the Kars province, Samtskhe-Meskheta, and Adjara, which led to a severe conflict between the Georgian government and the Kars Shura.

On November 10, 1918, the Sunni Turks of Samtskhe-Meskheta⁸²-with the support of Eyub Halil Bey, commander of the Ottoman 3rd Division-established an artificial entity known as the Akhaltsikhe “National Shura.” This was followed

⁷⁴ See *History of the Armenians: Key Issues (from Ancient Times to the Present Day)*, 2000, 372; see also **Melkonyan** 2003, 310.

⁷⁵ See **Torosyan** 2016, 106.

⁷⁶ See **Lernyan** 1926.

⁷⁷ See “Ashkhataavor”, 14.03.1919.

⁷⁸ See **H. A.** 1920.

⁷⁹ See **Harutyunyan** 2018, 32. Notably, **Yakub Shevki Pasha** commanded the so-called “Kars” grouping of the Ottoman army advancing into Transcaucasia in the spring of 1918, composed of the 6th and 1st army corps and several auxiliary units (see **Harutyunyan** 1984, 169).

⁸⁰ **National Archives of Armenia**, f. 223, inv. 1, file 75, fol. 21.

⁸¹ See **National Archives of Armenia**, f. 223, inv. 1, file 75, fol. 21.

⁸² The ethnoreligious group of Meskhetian Turks... (see **Galoyan** 2019, 40).

Stepanyan G.

by the formation of the “Provisional Government of Akhaltsikhe” under the leadership of Server-bek Atabek Kobliansky⁸³, which held an exclusively pro-Turkish orientation. Notably, during the Batum negotiations, the Turks of Akhaltsikhe and Akhalkalaki sent a formal petition with forty signatures to the Turkish delegation, demanding the “annexation of these districts to Turkey.”⁸⁴

Consequently, the Menshevik government of Georgia also refused to recognize this artificial formation. The authorities in Tiflis were deeply alarmed by the Kars Shura’s intentions to subordinate Adjara and Samtskhe-Meskheti.⁸⁵ Despite this, the Meskhetian Turks-influenced by the Pan-Turkic propaganda of Young Turk emissaries and in exchange for several railcars of oil-preferred the authority of the “Southwestern Caucasian Republic.” This movement was led by Omar Fayik-Neymanzade (Kipiani), chairman of the “National Committee” of Samtskhe-Meskheti Muslims, and the Turkish officer Shurut Bey.⁸⁶

Furthermore, Omar Fayik-Neymanzade utilized his agents to incite an armed rebellion against the Georgian government with the aim of its overthrow. On February 12, 1919, the forces of the Kars Shura, under the command of Server-bek Atabek Kobliansky, invaded Samtskhe-Meskheti from the Potskhov sub-district (Ardahan region). Military operations were directed by the Turkish officer Latif Bey.⁸⁷ By annexing the districts of Akhalkalaki, Akhaltsikhe, and Borchalu, the Turks intended to establish a direct link with Azerbaijan while simultaneously driving a wedge between Armenia and Georgia.⁸⁸ Following a heavy defeat of the Georgian forces, Akhaltsikhe fell to the Turkish forces.⁸⁹ However, shortly thereafter, on March 7, 1919, Georgian troops succeeded in recapturing Akhaltsikhe⁹⁰, followed by the recovery of Ardahan on April 20.

For obvious reasons, official Baku received the military counter-operations undertaken by the Georgian side with deep dissatisfaction. Azerbaijan sought to thwart the inclusion of both Samtskhe-Meskheti and the Batum region into the Georgian state. Consequently, to justify and rationalize the incursion into

⁸³ See **Melkonyan** 2003, 316; see also **Knyazyan** 2008, 64.

⁸⁴ **Khatisian** 1968, 75.

⁸⁵ See **Mailian** 2022 334.

⁸⁶ See “Haratch”, 02.01.1919; see also “Zakavkazskoe Slovo”, 28.01.1919.

⁸⁷ See “Haratch”, 04.03.1919; see also **Karapetyan** 2008, 66.

⁸⁸ See **Melkonyan** 2003, 286.

⁸⁹ See **Mayilyan** 2016, 62–63.

⁹⁰ See “Haratch” 09.03.1919.

The Creation of Self-Proclaimed “Turkic-Tatar Independent Republics” ...

Samtskhe-Meskheti, Azerbaijan exploited the presence of the Meskhetian Turks, positioning itself as the guarantor of the interests, rights, and security of its “ethnic kinsmen.” Under the false pretext of protecting the latter, Deputy Foreign Minister Ismayil-khan Ziyatkhanov dispatched a telegram on March 8, 1919, to the Georgian Foreign Minister, Evgeni Gegechkori, raising the issue of “self-determination” for the Meskhetian Turks: “The Government of Azerbaijan considers it its moral duty to amicably request the Georgian government to cease all military operations against a people who are kinsmen in ethnicity and faith to Azerbaijan, and to take all necessary measures to resolve all arising disputes through peaceful means, mutual agreement, or international arbitration.”⁹¹

Naturally, the Georgian side viewed this move as a blatant interference in its internal affairs. To neutralize the Turkish-Azerbaijani encroachments, the Georgian government convened a peasant congress in the district, where they persuaded the delegates to “declare their loyalty to the Georgian Republic,” thereby recognizing Samtskhe-Meskheti as an inseparable part of Georgia.⁹² To avoid future complications, the Menshevik government intended to alter the demographic composition of Samtskhe-Meskheti in favor of the Georgians by resettling several hundred Imeretian colonists in the region.⁹³ In the apt observation of Academician A. Melkonyan: “the policy of ‘colonizing’ Javakhs with Georgians had begun.”⁹⁴

As previously noted, Adjara also held a uniquely significant strategic position within the expansionist designs of both the Ottoman state and Azerbaijan. Consequently, the Georgian government resolved to extend its authority over Adjara as well, with the objective of permanently annexing the region to Georgia based on the principle of autonomy.⁹⁵ In this regard, on January 15, 1919, the Chairman of the Government, Noe Zhordania, issued a declaration addressed to the Muslim population of the Batumi region, stating: “In accordance with the will of all the citizens of Georgia and the resolution of Parliament, and in order to dispel all manner of misunderstandings among us,

⁹¹ “Ashkhatavor”, 15.03.1919.

⁹² See **Mayilyan** 2016, 68.

⁹³ See **Melkonyan** 2003, 318.

⁹⁴ **Melkonyan** 2003, 318.

⁹⁵ For a detailed analysis of events in Adjara, see **Mailian** 2022, 351–386.

Stepanyan G.

the Government of the Republic of Georgia hereby declares for general information and most resolutely that it grants autonomy to Muslim Georgia.”⁹⁶

In an effort to derail Georgia's initiatives, Baku utilized its consulate in Adjara to lavishly fund anti-Georgian propaganda throughout the province⁹⁷. To implement their conspiratorial designs, the leader of the “Musavat” party, M.E. Rasulzade, resorted to a cunning maneuver: he inducted his associate from Adjara, Ahmed Hamdi-bek Karaaghazade,⁹⁸ into the Azerbaijani Parliament as a member of the Musavat faction. This was intended to demonstrate to the international community that “...Muslim Georgia already has its representatives in the Azerbaijani parliament, and Adjara is nothing more than a mere province of Azerbaijan.”⁹⁹ Furthermore, to realize these plans, the Musavat government even plotted to organize an “Adjarian uprising” against Georgia through its consul in Batum.¹⁰⁰

Returning, however, to the subsequent course of events unfolding in Kars. From the end of April 1919, the policy of the British command in Transcaucasia shifted significantly in favor of the Armenians.¹⁰¹ According to Anton Denikin, this circumstance was conditioned by “the sharpening of Anglo-Turkish relations and the expansion of the Pan-Islamic movement in Central Asia.”¹⁰² Taking into account the undisguised Ittihadist orientation of the “Southwestern Caucasian Republic,” Governor Colonel Clive Errington Temperley became convinced that they had acted prematurely in surrendering Kars to the Turko-Tatars. The Turks no longer deferred to the British military governor and pursued a steadfast objective: to “emancipate themselves from all external oversight, including that of the British command.”¹⁰³ The Muslim leadership in Kars subsequently became

⁹⁶ “Haratch”, 17.01.1919.

⁹⁷ See **Mayilyan** 2016, 74.

⁹⁸ **Karagazade** (1893, Batum – Constantinople). Later he settled with his family in Constantinople. In 1917 he returned to Baku. He collaborated with the newspapers “Achiq Söz” and “İstiqlal”. He was a member of the Transcaucasian Seim. After the establishment of Soviet power in Azerbaijan, he moved to Constantinople, where he worked on editing M. E. Rasulzade’s newspaper “Yeni Kafkasya” (see **Ahmad** 2018, 101–103).

⁹⁹ “Haratch”, 15.04.1920.

¹⁰⁰ “Yusaber”, 10.04.1930.

¹⁰¹ See **Vratsian** 1982, 247.

¹⁰² **Denikin** 1925, 173.

¹⁰³ **Uratazde** 1956, 87; see also **Hovhannisian** 2005, 231.

The Creation of Self-Proclaimed “Turkic-Tatar Independent Republics” ...

so emboldened-and indeed, so insolent-that they began to openly disregard and treat with contempt not only the authority of Colonel Clive Errington Temperley,¹⁰⁴ but also the directives of his successor, General Werner Asser.¹⁰⁵ Following prolonged consultations on April 2 and 3, 1919, in Batum with General George Francis Milne, Commander-in-Chief of the British forces in the Near East and Black Sea region, William Thomson was compelled to reach a decision to overthrow the Kars Shura. On April 12, General George Allen Preston-who had succeeded General Werner Asser-attended a regular session of the Shura, where he arrested its leaders and formally dissolved the entity.¹⁰⁶ For obvious reasons, the governments in Baku and Constantinople received the news of the collapse of the fabricated “Southwestern Caucasian Republic” with deep dissatisfaction.¹⁰⁷

By agreement between the Armenian government and the British High Command, it was decided to seize the city through combined Armenian-British forces. On April 23, 1919, the joint Armenian-British troops advanced via the railway and the main highway; entering Kars without encountering resistance, they secured the city¹⁰⁸ thus eliminating the self-proclaimed “Southwestern Caucasian Republic” that had entrenched itself in the heart of Armenia, and through decisive action, re-establishing legitimate authority.¹⁰⁹ The three-member Shura-presided over by Mamed-bek Alibekov,¹¹⁰ who operated under the directives of the “Musavat” party in Baku-attempted to offer resistance. However, the British arrested the Shura members and other prominent Turkish figures, totaling approximately 150 individuals. They were subsequently deported to Tiflis and the island of Malta.¹¹¹ In a telegram dispatched on April 24

¹⁰⁴ On March 2, 1919, **Clive Errington Temperley** arrived in Yerevan as a military representative.

¹⁰⁵ See **Denikin** 1925, 231.

¹⁰⁶ See “Ashkhatavor”, 17.04.1919; see also **Hovhannisian** 2005, 239.

¹⁰⁷ See **Torosyan** 2016, 109.

¹⁰⁸ See **Petrosyan** 2004, 34.

¹⁰⁹ See **Khatisian** 1968, 156; see also “Ashkhatavor”, 29.04.1919; “Ashkhatavor”, 29.04.1919.

¹¹⁰ **Mamed-bek Alibekov** was from the village of Huseynkend in Surmalu district. During the rule of the Armenophobic district governor Boguslavsky, he served as his secretary. After the October Revolution of 1917, he found refuge in Kars (see **Harutyunyan** 2018, 30).

¹¹¹ See “Ashkhatavor”, 03.05.1919; see also “Ashkhatavor”, 23.05.1919; History of the Armenians, vol. IV, 2010, 133.

Stepanyan G.

to the Armenian mission in Tiflis, the Prime Minister of Armenia, Alexander Khatisian, stated: "Our troops have occupied Kars. The administration is being organized throughout the district. Regular life is being restored. The refugees are returning."¹¹² On May 2, the Arpachay-Sarykamish railway passed into Armenian control, and regular traffic commenced on May 4. On May 9, Armenian forces occupied Merdenek, and by May 13, they entered Olti and Kaghyzvan without encountering resistance. On May 10, Alexander Khatisyan and General Keith Maitland Davie arrived in Kars, where they were received with great solemnity.¹¹³ The Kars Governorate-General was established. The British official, [Captain] Wolke, was appointed as the military representative, while Stepan Ghorghanyan was named Governor.¹¹⁴ Thus, the short-sighted adventure of the Kars Shura came to an end, and the entire Kars province was united with the Republic of Armenia.

The transition of the Kars province to the jurisdiction of the Republic of Armenia was met with open hostility by the ruling circles of Azerbaijan. It is no coincidence that Ali Mardan-bek Topchubashev, the head of the Azerbaijani delegation in Paris, set the anti-Armenian propaganda machine in motion. On September 1, 1919, he dispatched a special note of protest to the President of the [Versailles] Peace Conference, stating: "The Azerbaijani delegation is anxiously awaiting the recognition of its country's independence, yet at this very moment, an intervention is occurring against the authority of the Peace Conference; the borders of Caucasian Azerbaijan are being forcibly reshaped, and its inhabitants are becoming refugees in their own homeland (*sic!*). News has now been received that the Kars province, the Erevan province, the Nakhchivan and Sharur-Daralagez uyezds [districts], and part of the Erevan uyezd have been annexed to the Republic of Armenia."¹¹⁵

It is evident that Topchubashev, through a declaration filled with falsehoods and deceptive content, was attempting with preconceived intent to "legitimize" the delusional territorial claims presented to the [Versailles] Peace Conference. Beyond any doubt, Topchubashev's statement was programmatic in nature, exposing the full extent of the delegation's fraudulent activities and objectives. It

¹¹² "Ashkhatavor", 30.04.1919.

¹¹³ See **Vratsian** 2005, 247–248.

¹¹⁴ See "Mshak", 11.01.1919.

¹¹⁵ See **Topchibashi** 2016, 259; see also **Hasanli** 2011, 452–453.

The Creation of Self-Proclaimed “Turkic-Tatar Independent Republics” ...

illustrated the scale of the expansive and hostile actions undertaken by the Musavatists against the Republic of Armenia. In the same spirit of falsification and distortion, the Azerbaijani government also dispatched a note of protest to the President of the Peace Conference in Paris, providing forged demographic and statistical data regarding the Kars province.¹¹⁶ Notably, Topchubashev’s and the Azerbaijani government’s fabrications and slanders continue to be circulated today, in one form or another, within official Azerbaijani “historiography” and state propaganda.

It should be observed that even after the dissolution of the Kars Shura, the “Musavat” intelligence network continued to operate underground for a significant period. According to the testimony of Governor Stepan Ghorghanyan: “Baku’s Musavat still maintained its organization within the Kars province; it had its secret agents here. If previously they had collaborated with the Shura and, under its name, coordinated the Pan-Islamic movement, today these adventurers had to appear in a different guise and in a different form.”¹¹⁷

Parallel to the regulation of the situation in the Kars Shura, the issues of Ardahan and Olti were also on the agenda. The Musavat government had established an extensive intelligence network among the Turkish-speaking inhabitants of these areas as well, seeking to realize its expansionist ambitions through the guise of so-called “self-determination.” Under the financial patronage of the latter, the self-proclaimed “Minbashi” Jafar-bek, who led a marauding band of approximately 150 men, was constantly “...in negotiations with the Turks of Baku, receiving funds from Baku, sheltering Turkish emissaries arriving from Baku, and kneading some sort of Pan-Islamic dough in those remote and wild mountains.”¹¹⁸ However, as Governor Stepan Ghorghanyan recounts in his memoirs, these individuals represented the misguided and naive strata of the people. “It is quite interesting,” he writes, “that while all these adventurers were extorting gold from Baku’s Musavat and receiving instructions from there, they did not truly know what objectives they were pursuing. The “self-determination” plague of the era had misled even these opportunists; recognizing the sovereignty of neither the Turks nor

¹¹⁶ See **Hasanli** 2011, 454.

¹¹⁷ **Harutyunyan** 2016, 168.

¹¹⁸ **Harutyunyan** 2016, 255.

Stepanyan G.

Armenia, they dreamed of creating separate domains of power within their own mountain gorges...”¹¹⁹

As subsequent events demonstrated, Northern Ardahan passed to Georgia, while Olti practically remained under Turkish control-despite the fact that the British, prior to their withdrawal from the Kars province, had intended to annex Olti to the Batum district.¹²⁰

“Aras-Turkic Republic” (also known as the “Eastern Caucasian Republic” or the “Republic of Sharur”)

It should be noted that amidst the ongoing conspiratorial actions against Armenian statehood, the Ittihadists had developed another plan within their secret political arsenals: to subvert Armenia from within and partition it, pushing forward various programmed scenarios tailored to the political climate. Within the framework of this policy, in late November 1918, the Caucasian Tatar khans of Nakhchivan-certainly not without the knowledge of the Ittihadists-under the leadership of Eyub Halil Bey, the former commander of the Turkish 3rd Division, first [advanced toward] Igdir,¹²¹ and subsequently, with Nakhchivan as its center, they proclaimed the artificial state entity known as the “Aras-Turkic Republic” (also referred to as the “Republic of Sharur”). A puppet provisional government was even formed, presided over by Amir-bek Narimanbekov (Zamanbekzade).¹²²

The territory encompassed the districts of Nakhchivan and Sharur-Daralagez, as well as the regions of Sardarapat, Ulukhanlu (now the Masis region), Vedibasar, and Meghri.¹²³ According to the Eriean-based ARF official newspaper *Zang*: “The Turks living in the districts of Sardarapat, Surmalu, Ghamarlu, Sharur, and Nakhchivan have formed the “Republic of Aras” and declared their independence. At the head of the “Republic of Aras” stand beys, aghalar, notorious bandits, and *ghochis*.”¹²⁴ The governing body of this self-styled “republic,” which maintained an Ittihadist orientation, had also

¹¹⁹ Harutyunyan 2016, 255.

¹²⁰ See Pogosyan 1983, 225; see also Torosyan 2016, 109.

¹²¹ See Hajiyev 2010, 307.

¹²² See Hajiyev 2010, 309–310; see also “Haratch”, 15.01.1919; Hajiyev 2004, 106.

¹²³ See Hajiyev 2004, 107.

¹²⁴ “Zang”, 05.12.1918.

The Creation of Self-Proclaimed “Turkic-Tatar Independent Republics” ...

proclaimed Turkish as the official language and adopted the Ottoman flag as its own.

In early 1919, Amir-bek Narimanbekov was replaced by another Azerbaijani agent, Jafarkuli Khan Nakhchivanski,¹²⁵ who possessed significant influence among the Muslim population.¹²⁶ Primarily situated upon the roads connecting various regions of the country, this “independent” entity frequently paralyzed the nation’s external and internal communication routes, placing the Republic of Armenia in a dire situation.

Under conditions of diplomatic and political struggle surrounding the preservation of the Republic of Armenia’s statehood and territorial integrity—specifically concerning Nakhchivan—the commander of the British armed forces in Transcaucasia, Major General G. Forestier-Walker, issued an order on January 26 [1919] to establish the Sharur-Nakhchivan Governorate-General.¹²⁷ On February 4, in Erevan, an agreement was signed between Captain F. Lawton—a Scotsman and head of the British diplomatic mission—and the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Armenia, S. Tigranyan. Under this accord, Sharur and Nakhchivan were established as distinct military provinces [governorates] pending a final resolution of the issue at the Paris Peace Conference. Captain Lawton was subsequently appointed as the head of the Nakhchivan Governorate-General.¹²⁸ At Lawton’s proposal, the southern part of the Erevan district [uyezd]—extending to the Vedi River—was included within the territory of the [Sharur-Nakhchivan] Governorate-General. While the Armenian civil administration was to remain in place there, the Armenian military forces were to be withdrawn.¹²⁹

It should be noted that alongside these developments, the actual power in the region remained in the hands of the local khans. Furthermore, the latter were even patronized by the [British] Governor. As stated in a report sent on February 28, 1919, by **B. Bahatryan**, the representative of the Republic of Armenia attached to the Governorate-General—to S. Tigranyan: “...they [the

¹²⁵ **Jafargulu Khan Nakhchivanski** (1859–1929?). After the Sovietization of Azerbaijan, he moved to Iran.

¹²⁶ See **Hajiyev** 2004, 112.

¹²⁷ See **Makhmuryan** 2002, 50.

¹²⁸ See *History of the Armenians* 2000, 185.

¹²⁹ See **Zohrabyan** 2002, 55–61; see also **Knyazyan** 2008, 94.

Stepanyan G.

British officials – G.S.] treat the Turks very leniently, to the extent that the British orders themselves are not being carried out...”.¹³⁰

It is evident that this “independent republic,” established in the heart of Armenia and enjoying the patronage of both the Ottoman military-political leadership and the British command, had also organized its own armed forces with far-reaching objectives. A Turkish military force of 400–500 men was concentrated in Nakhchivan, created with the assistance of Eyub Halil Bey and five Turkish officers under his command.¹³¹ Furthermore, at the initiative of Azerbaijani officers, trained armed forces had been formed from the Caucasian Tatar population.¹³² Receiving military and political support from the government of Azerbaijan, the “Aras-Turkic Republic” began to act with greater decisiveness.

Notably, as the latter’s positions strengthened, the Musavatist government—whose expansionist expectations remained unfulfilled—developed yet another plan. Taking more practical steps to resolve the issue of this Muslim entity in its own favor, and simultaneously aiming to increase its role, [Baku] began to employ the newly-invented name “Southwestern Azerbaijan” instead of the “Aras-Turkic Republic.”¹³³

Incidentally, we cannot fail to draw the reader’s attention to an essential circumstance: much like the former leader of Azerbaijan, Heydar Aliyev, his son—the current president—driven by the frenzy of Pan-Turkic ideology, continues to this day to persistently refer to the Republic of Armenia as “**Western Azerbaijan.**”¹³⁴

Thus, the trajectory of Azerbaijan’s expansionist policy has essentially remained unchanged. In other words, the policy of the “Yeni Azerbaijan” party, led by [the Aliyevs], is closely linked to the ideological roots and bloody activities of the “Musavat” – imbued with Pan-Turkism. We shall address this anti-Armenian propaganda more comprehensively in its relevant section.

Returning to the matter at hand, it is clear that the objective of the Musavatist government was transparent: to categorize Armenia, situated to its

¹³⁰ Nakhchivan-Sharur, 1918–1921 (Documents and Materials) 1993, 85.

¹³¹ See “Haratch”, 15.01.1919.

¹³² See **Lernyan** 1926.

¹³³ See “Azerbaijan”, 28(15).02.1919.

¹³⁴ See **Galchyan** 2017, 37.

The Creation of Self-Proclaimed “Turkic-Tatar Independent Republics” ...

west, as the “western historical territory” of the artificially created entity of “Azerbaijan.” Their vision was to gradually seize and then annex it to the Azerbaijani formation, where, according to the Musavatists, “Turkic culture had been sufficiently prepared.”¹³⁵ Thus, it was no coincidence that the article titled “On Azerbaijan and Turkey,” published in the April 21, 1920 issue of the London daily *The Times*, unmasked the expansionist ambitions of the so-called “Southwestern Azerbaijan.” Detailing its territorial claims, the article reported that it was comprised of “parts of the Erevan province, as well as parts of the Tiflis province (the districts of Akhaltsikhe and Akhalkalaki).”¹³⁶

Furthermore, Azerbaijan’s predatory territorial ambitions were embodied in the forced declaration of the “Unification of Southwestern Azerbaijan and the Republic of Azerbaijan,” which sought to spread “from sea to sea”.

To Azerbaijan shall be annexed: **Adjara**, reaching as far as **Batum** and extending through **Lazistan** to the **Black Sea**.¹³⁷

The annexation of **Armenian Mountainous Karabakh** to the Republic of Azerbaijan.

The unification of the **Lankaran-Mughan Republic** with Azerbaijan.¹³⁸

Revealing these aforementioned aspirations of the Musavatists, the author of the article concluded: “...the local leaders of Azerbaijan are already dreaming of a “Great Azerbaijan,” which is to extend from **Terek** through **Dagestan** to **Karabakh**, Persian **Karadagh**, **Tabriz**, **Maragha**, and as far as **Saujbulagh**”¹³⁹”¹⁴⁰ (emphasis ours – G.S.).

It is undeniable that all these Musavatist actions were directed and dictated by the Ottoman state and were intended to serve the realization of the “**Great Azerbaijan**” project.

M.E. Rasolzade, who maintained close cooperation with the Kemalists and was well-acquainted with their military-political plans, publicly announced in one

¹³⁵ “Soviet Armenia”, 06.08.1921.

¹³⁶ “Haratch”, 19.06.1920.

¹³⁷ Located in the northwestern part of the Armenian Highland, east of the Eastern Pontic Mountains.

¹³⁸ “Haratch”, 19.06.1920.

¹³⁹ **Souj-Bulag** was one of the districts of Atropatene Province, whose center was the town of the same name. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the town had 12 Armenian households. The Armenian Parviz Khan Serheng lived there (see “Mshak”, 31.08.1910).

¹⁴⁰ “Haratch”, 19.06.1920.

Stepanyan G.

of his speeches on April 8, 1920, that the Ottoman state intended to realize the creation of “**Great Azerbaijan**” simultaneously through two directions. “Turkey sets the task for itself,” he said, “to create **Southwestern Azerbaijan** from parts of the **Erevan** and **Tiflis** provinces (**Akhaltsikhe** and **Akhalkalaki** districts) and parts of the territories of the proclaimed Republic of Azerbaijan. After **Southwestern Azerbaijan** and **Adjara** are annexed to Azerbaijan, along with the Muslim populations of **Terek**, **Dagestan**, **Karabakh**, Persian **Karadagh**, **Tabriz**, and **Maragheh**, they will-together with **Southwestern Azerbaijan**-form **Great Azerbaijan** under the tutelage of Turkey.”¹⁴¹

Undoubtedly, much is revealed in this statement for a correct understanding of the “Great Azerbaijan” project—a strategic blueprint formulated within the Kemalist-Musavatist diplomatic circles.

Based on these general considerations, the writer and public figure Hakob Khojamiryan, exposing the Pan-Turkic conspiratorial plans of the Kemalist-Musavatists against the Republic of Armenia, wrote: “It was only yesterday that Turkish officers, Azerbaijani emissaries, and a number of irresponsible individuals were operating in the regions of **Kars**, **Zangezur**, and **Igdir**, inciting anti-state movements and shedding innocent blood. This was necessary for the [Fatali Khan] **Khoyski** group and their satellites to raise a needless clamor and demonstrate that the Armenian and Turkic laboring populations allegedly cannot live side-by-side; therefore, it is “necessary” to sever several regions from Armenia and annex them to Azerbaijan.”

The author continues: “What a “beautiful idea”; for in that way, they “will be able” to unite Azerbaijan with Turkey, Persia, and other Muslim countries, realizing their long-standing ideal—the Pan-Islamic movement and state (meaning the Oghuz state – G.S.). And today they... no longer hide their true face, bringing forth the project to create Pan-Turanism.”¹⁴²

“The same was confirmed by the newspaper *Vperyod*, published by the ARF Central Committee in Baku. Revealing the plans pursued by the Kemalists and Musavatists, and rightly tracing the ideological roots of their expansionist policy to Pan-Islamic and Pan-Turkic ideologies, the newspaper wrote in its editorial titled “Pan-Islamists”: “Observe with what vigor and skill they are organizing

¹⁴¹ **Vartanyan** 1959, 297–298; see also **Sargsyan** 1964, 492; see also **Simonyan** 1991, 319.

¹⁴² “Yordzank” 27.03.1920.

The Creation of Self-Proclaimed “Turkic-Tatar Independent Republics” ...

and arming themselves in the territory spanning from **Trebizond** to **Batum**; see how they are encircling Armenia in a firm ring of “independent” Muslim states-**Southwestern** [the Shura], **Ordubad**, and **Azerbaijan**. You will be convinced that at the opportune moment, Pan-Islamism will in an instant crush Armenia, which is driven like a wedge into the Muslim world, and they will unite Turkey with **Azerbaijan**, **Dagestan**, **Turkestan**, **Kyrgyzstan**, and **Bashkiria**.¹⁴³

“The expansionist tenets of Azerbaijan’s Musavatist government, particularly its overt aspirations toward indigenous Armenian territories, were explicitly expressed in the government’s “declaration” presented by Prime Minister Nasib-bek Usubbekov during the parliamentary session on April 14, 1919, marking the republic’s first anniversary. It stated: “...alongside the issue of our independence, we are faced with other, no less important challenges. One of these challenges is the problem of ensuring the territorial integrity (sic!) of Azerbaijan. You are aware that the **Lankaran** district, an inseparable part of Azerbaijan, is still in foreign hands. ...In the parts belonging to us (sic!) in the **Erevan** and **Tiflis** provinces, we encounter pretenders who wish to extend and establish their authority over those regions.”¹⁴⁴

“Incidentally, during the same session, M. E. Rasulzade, the leader of the Musavat party faction, addressed the assembly and gave his unconditional approval to the government’s declaration. Responding to deputies Behbud Khan Javanshir and Khosrov-bek Sultanov, who had asked why “the declaration remains silent on the issue of **Karabakh**,” he cynically declared: “Interrogating a government that has a territorial dispute in the **Erevan** province regarding **Karabakh** makes no sense. Because a government that is advancing toward the **Erevan** province cannot reach there without passing through the mountains of **Karabakh**. There is no **Karabakh** issue, just as there is no Baku issue.”¹⁴⁵

It is not difficult to observe that the Musavatist government and parliament-harboring maximalist aspirations toward the territorial integrity of Armenia and considering the issue of **Artsakh** “settled” through a veiled mindset-further reinforced this stance with Nasib-bek Usubbekov’s declaration during the same parliamentary session: “**Karabakh** constitutes an indisputable part of

¹⁴³ “Vperyod”, 09.04.1919.

¹⁴⁴ “Ashkhatavor”, 27.04.1919.

¹⁴⁵ “Ashkhatavor”, 30.04.1919.

Stepanyan G.

Azerbaijan”¹⁴⁶ through such insolent declarations, they consistently attempted to realize the “Great Azerbaijan” project. Regarding the “Baku issue” mentioned by Rasulzade, he undoubtedly referred to the question of the city’s ownership—a question that, according to him, had been “solved” through the mass genocide of the indigenous Armenian population, who were among the true creators of Baku’s civilizational character and the foundational drivers of its universal development. The fact that the Musavatist government was in conspiratorial contact with the “Aras-Turkic Republic” within the framework of the “Great Azerbaijan” project—and that its political course was, to a significant extent, formulated in Baku within the Musavat stronghold—is evidenced by the regular special missions of a highly empowered delegation. Led by the educator and playwright Huseyin Javad Efendi, this delegation frequently traveled by express train from **Nakhchivan** to **Baku** on special assignments.¹⁴⁷

In order to implement their insidious plans against Armenia, the prominent figures of the “republic”—led by **Bahram-khan Nakhchivanski**,¹⁴⁸ the chairman of the provisional government and minister of foreign affairs—proceeded with practical measures. In mid-March 1919, they departed from **Nakhchivan** for **Baku** to receive instructions for their future activities from the Musavatist government, specifically regarding the appointment of a governor-general within the self-proclaimed “republic.”¹⁴⁹ The delegation conducted negotiations with **F. Khan-Khoyski** and **W. Thomson** regarding the potential discussion of **Nakhchivan’s** future status at the **Paris Peace Conference**.¹⁵⁰ The newspaper *Mshak*, presenting numerous facts regarding Azerbaijan’s anti-Armenian conspiracies, wrote: “Azerbaijan’s diplomats are gradually bringing their hidden and astonishing “talents” to light. ...Simultaneously, they recognize the

¹⁴⁶ “Ashkhatavor”, 10.05.1919.

¹⁴⁷ See “Azerbaijan” 24.02.1919; see also “Mshak”, 12.03.1919.

¹⁴⁸ **Bahram Khan Nakhchivanski** was born in 1872. He was educated at the Tiflis Real School. From 1899 to 1904 he served in Nakhchivan as assistant city police officer. From 1898 to 1903 he was honorary inspector of the Muslim school of Nakhchivan. He held the ranks of collegiate secretary and court counselor. From January 1919 he served as chairman of the provisional government and foreign minister of the “Aras-Turkic Republic”. At the end of 1919 he was a representative of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Azerbaijan. In 1920 he emigrated to Iran and settled in Tabriz.

¹⁴⁹ See “Azerbaijan” 28.02.1919.

¹⁵⁰ See **Hajiyev** 2004, 121–122.

The Creation of Self-Proclaimed “Turkic-Tatar Independent Republics” ...

existence of “Southwestern Azerbaijan” headed by **Khan-Nakhchivanski**, and by honoring his mediation, they release tea, soap, and other goods for the Muslims of the “Erevan province.”¹⁵¹

Although the existence of that artificial entity was terminated on May 14, 1919-when, with the entry of Armenian troops, **Sharur-Nakhchivan** officially passed under the control of the **Republic of Armenia**,¹⁵² nevertheless, with the active support of the Musavatist government, **Bahram-khan Nakhchivanski** continued his “diplomatic” conspiratorial activities, driven by the urge to make the “republic” a reality in the political life of Transcaucasia. In early September 1919, Bahram-khan Nakhchivanski traveled from **Baku** to **Tiflis** to meet with representatives of the British command, who “...expressing their approval for the annexation of the mentioned districts to Azerbaijan, promised to report this to the **Versailles Conference**.”¹⁵³ According to the official newspaper of the Musavatist government, “*Azerbaijan*”, “regarding that issue, a fundamental agreement has almost been reached between the government and the British command.”¹⁵⁴

During his stay in **Tiflis**, on September 9, 1919, **Bahram-khan Nakhchivanski** also met with the Allied High Commissioner in Armenia, **Colonel William Haskell** of the U.S. Army.¹⁵⁵ They presented to him [Colonel Haskell] a ten-point “memorandum” written by the Musavatist government in Baku, which stated in part: “Considering that every nation has the right to independence and to take its rights and destiny into its own hands, the regions

¹⁵¹ “Mshak”, 15.03.1919.

¹⁵² See **Yeprikyan** 2016, 119–120; see also **Charlotte** 2010, 171. The dissolution of this self-proclaimed entity and the measures undertaken by the government of the Republic of Armenia to counter Turkish-Azerbaijani encroachments in Nakhchivan will be discussed in the relevant section of this study.

¹⁵³ “Azerbaijan”, 28 (15).02.1919.

¹⁵⁴ “Azerbaijan”, 28 (15).02.1919.

¹⁵⁵ **W. Haskell**, appointed Supreme Commissioner of Armenia by the Council of Five of the Paris Peace Conference on July 5, 1919, and confirmed in that post by Georges Clemenceau, remained in office until August 17, 1920, replacing General James Harbord. For a more detailed account of W. Haskell’s activities, see **Hovhannisian** 2014, 231–244; **Makhmuryan** 2017, 49–75.

Stepanyan G.

of **Surmaly, Vedi-Basar, Milistan**,¹⁵⁶ **Sharur, Nakhchivan**, and **Ordubad** consider themselves an inseparable part of Azerbaijan. The people of these regions demand from both the Government of Azerbaijan and the Allied High Commissioner for Transcaucasia that they no longer be subjected to the status of subjects of Armenia; otherwise, they would prefer to die with honor, weapon in hand, than to be dishonorably destroyed at the hands of Dashnak bandits.”

The “memorandum” concluded with the proposal that “...until the final disposition of the **Paris Peace Conference**, a provisional status be established under the control of the High Commissioner [meaning W. Haskell – G.S.], on the condition that the aforementioned regions are not severed from Azerbaijan (sic!).”¹⁵⁷

As follows from the logic of the “memorandum”-specifically its concluding thought-the Musavatists, through a distortion of reality, attempted to “prove” to **W. Haskell** that the aforementioned regions had allegedly belonged to Azerbaijan and should now “not be severed from Azerbaijan.” This maneuver by the **Musavat** party pursued a far-reaching goal. The objective was more than clear: first, through a masked game, to have the so-called “**Southwestern Azerbaijan**” recognized as an “inseparable part of Azerbaijan” under the aegis of the American mission, thereby creating a legal basis for its future formal annexation. Regarding this, **S. Vratsian** wrote: “It is understandable that such petitions and “facts” were bound to influence the American, Haskell, who was neither familiar with Caucasian conditions and customs, nor possessed the shrewdness of an Englishman experienced in governing colonies.”¹⁵⁸

Copies of the so-called “Memorandum” were also dispatched to the British High Commissioner, **John Oliver Wardrop**.¹⁵⁹ As it becomes evident, the British command in Transcaucasia, proceeding from its long-term geopolitical objectives, had adopted a blatantly pro-Azerbaijani stance.¹⁶⁰ Encouraged by British assurances, the Musavatist government, in March 1919, appointed a

¹⁵⁶ **Milistan-Millidarasi** was a district in the Yerevan uyezd of Yerevan Province, in the Garnibasar police district (see Dictionary of place names of neighboring regions of Armenia, vol. 3, Yerevan, 1991, 819).

¹⁵⁷ **Vratsian** 2005, 306.

¹⁵⁸ **Vratsian** 2005, 307.

¹⁵⁹ **John Oliver Wardrop** was appointed High Commissioner of Great Britain in Transcaucasia on July 22, 1919.

¹⁶⁰ See **Lernyan** 1926.

The Creation of Self-Proclaimed “Turkic-Tatar Independent Republics” ...

certain **Samid Jamalinski** as the governor of “Southwestern Azerbaijan” in place of Bahram-khan Nakhchivanski. From January 1920, his assistant was the notorious Armenophobe, **Khosrov-bek Sultanov**.¹⁶¹

In conclusion, although the project to transform these self-invented “republics” into permanent outpost entities failed after their dissolution, the Ottoman state did not abandon its conspiratorial plans, shifting its focus to other Armenian territories. As the daily *Ashkhatavor* witnessed: “Following the fall and disintegration of the Young Turks’ forward positions-the republics of **Akhaltzikhe, Kars, Nakhchivan,** and **Aras**-they began to concentrate their forces in the regions of **Erzurum, Karabakh, Van,** and **Trabzon,** where, by order of the Young Turks, it is highly probable that new “republics” will be established. The knot of this conspiracy is centralized, on one hand, in the capital of **Azerbaijan,** and on the other, deep within Tachkastan¹⁶²: While initiating the implementation of that plan during the days of the **Second Sivas Congress** (September 4–11, 1919), **Nuri Pasha** appealed to the commander of the Turkish 15th Corps, **K. Karabekir,** with the aim of creating a single unified “republic” to preserve and protect the regions of **Kars, Batumi,** and **Ardahan.** Karabekir, considering the execution of such an idea inopportune at that time, advised Nuri Pasha to move to **Azerbaijan** and support the **Kemalist movement** from there.¹⁶³ The fact cited by the daily *Ashkhatavor* (*The Laborer*) is noteworthy, stating that the Ottoman state, “...in its hour of agony, is exerting its final efforts from **Dagestan to Erzurum** and **Sivas,** and from **Turkestan to Ardahan** and **Batumi,** to find support for itself through a unified Muslim movement.”¹⁶⁴

Conclusion

Having been defeated in the First World War, the Ottoman Empire, following the Armistice of Mudros (October 30, 1918), was compelled to withdraw its troops from Transcaucasia, including the occupied territories of Eastern Armenia, and retreat to the borders of 1914. Nevertheless, the Ottoman state undertook the creation of “independent” entities in strategically important centers, Kars, Nakhchivan, Ardahan, and even Samtskhe-Meskheti (including the

¹⁶¹ See “Chakatamart”, 20.06.1920; see also “Razmik”, 21.06.1920.

¹⁶² “Ashkhatavor”, 15.06.1919.

¹⁶³ See **Gafarov** 2004, 241.

¹⁶⁴ “Ashkhatavor”, 08.02.1920.

Stepanyan G.

districts of Adigeni, Akhaltsikhe, and Aspindza), in the form of “Muslim National Councils” (*shuras*, from Persian: council), as well as smaller local units, namely local “shuras.” Among these Turkic-Tatar entities were also the so-called “Republic of South-Western Caucasus” (“Kars Republic”) and the “Aras-Turkic Republic” (“Republic of Eastern Caucasus” / “Sharur Republic”). These self-proclaimed entities, encouraged by the Ittihadists and the Musavatists, were entirely directed against the Republic of Armenia. They were intended to become local governments, enabling the Ottoman state, even after the withdrawal of its troops, to preserve its influence in the region and to prepare the ground for the eventual return of the Turks. Nevertheless, through its strategic program of creating Muslim “independent” entities within the territory of the Republic of Armenia, the Ottoman state aimed, by means of these formations, to encircle Armenia and Georgia with a densely Turkish-Tatar-populated zone. This policy of territorial expansion was embedded within the broader concept of establishing a “Greater Azerbaijan” state.

As a result of the decisive actions of the Government of the Republic of Armenia, the existence of the aforementioned self-proclaimed “republics” was brought to an end. On April 23, 1919, Armenian–British forces entered Kars, abolishing the self-styled “Republic of South-Western Caucasus,” which had entrenched itself in the heart of Armenia, and through decisive measures reestablished legitimate authority. The existence of the artificial entity known as the “Aras-Turkic Republic” was terminated on May 14, 1919, when, following the entry of Armenian troops, Sharur–Nakhchivan officially came under the control of the Republic of Armenia.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ադրբեջանի նոր դիանագիտական ներկայացուցիչ Հայաստանում, «Սոցիալիստ լեդակոլիսական», 04.09.1919, Երևան, № 15: (*Adrbejani nor diwanagitakan nerkayats'uts'ich' Hayastanum*, «Sots'ialist yeghap'vokhakan», 04.09.1919, Yerevan, № 15): (*The New Diplomatic Representative of Azerbaijan in Armenia, “Socialist Revolutionary”, 04.09.1919, Yerevan, № 15 (in Armenian).*

Ախալցխայի գրաւումը, «Յառաջ», Թիֆլիս, 09.03.1919, № 45: (*Akhalts'khayi grawumy, «Yarraj», T'iflis, 09.03.1919, № 45. (The Capture of Akhaltsikhe, “Haratch”, Tiflis, 09.03.1919, № 45 (in Armenian).*

Ադրբեջան եւ Վրաստան, «Աշխատաւոր», Թիֆլիս, 15.03.1919, 15, № 49: (*Adrbejan yev Vrastan, «Ashkhatawor», T'iflis, 15.03.1919, № 49: (Azerbaijan and Georgia, “Ashkhatawor”, Tiflis, 15.03.1919, № 49 (in Armenian).*

The Creation of Self-Proclaimed “Turkic-Tatar Independent Republics” ...

Ադրբեջանում Հայաստանի Հանրապետության դիվանագիտական ներկայացուցիչ Տիգրան Բեկզադյանի օրագիրը (14 մարտի 1919 թ. – 27 օգոստոսի 1919 թ.): Աշխատասիրությամբ **Վ. Հարությունյանի**, 2025, Երևան, հեղինակ. հրատ., 286 էջ: (*Adrbejanum Hayastani Hanrapetut'yan divanagitakan nerkayats'uts'ich' Tigran Bekzadyani oragiry (14 marti 1919 t'. – 27 ogostosi 1919 t'.): Ashkhatakirut'yamb VI. Harut'yunyani, 2025, Yerevan, heghinak. hrat., 286 ej. (The Diary of Tigran Bekzadyan, Diplomatic Representative of the Republic of Armenia in Azerbaijan (March 14, 1919 – August 27, 1919), ed. V. Harutyunyan, Yerevan, author's edition, 2025, p. 286 (in Armenian).*

Ադրբեջանի ատրժակը, «Մշակ», Թիֆլիս, 15.03.1919, № 57: (*Adrbejani akhorzhaky, «Mshak», T'iflis, 15.03.1919, № 57: (Azerbaijan's Appetite, “Mshak”, Tiflis, 15.03.1919, № 57 (in Armenian).*

Ադրբեջանը եւ Կարսը, «Մշակ», Թիֆլիս, 05.01.1919, № 4: (*Adrbejany yev Karsy, «Mshak», T'iflis, 05.01.1919, № 4: (Azerbaijan and Kars, “Mshak”, Tiflis, 05.01.1919, № 4 (in Armenian).*

Ադրբեջան: Անամօթ պրովոկացիա, «Աշխատար», Թիֆլիս, 13.06.1919, № 116: (*Adrbejan: Anamot' provokats'ia, «Ashkhatawor», T'iflis, 13.06.1919, № 116. (Azerbaijan: A Shameless Provocation, “Ashkhatawor”, Tiflis, 13.06.1919, № 116 (in Armenian).*

Ադրբեջանի կառավարության ղեկավարացիան, «Աշխատար», Թիֆլիս, 27.04.1919, № 81: (*Adrbejani karravarut'ean deklarats'ian, «Ashkhatawor», T'iflis, 27.04.1919, № 81. (The Declaration of the Government of Azerbaijan, “Ashkhatawor”, Tiflis, 27.04.1919, № 81 (in Armenian).*

Ատրպեճանի կառավարության եւ իր ներկայացուցիչներուն գործունեութիւնը Հայաստանի մէջ: Պատմական փաստաթուղթեր, «Ճակատամարտ», Կ. Պոլիս, 20.06.1920, № 481 (2302): (*Atrpechani karravarut'ean yev ir nerkayats'uts'ich'nerun gortsuneut'iwny Hayastani mej: Patmakan p'astat'ught'er, «Chakatamart», K. Polis, 20.06.1920, № 481 (2302). (The Activity of the Government of Azerbaijan and Its Representatives in Armenia: Historical Documents, “Chakatamart”, Constantinople, 20.06.1920, № 481 (in Armenian).*

Անգլիացիք Ղարսում, «Աշխատար», Թիֆլիս, 03.05.1919, № 85: (*Angliats'ik' Gharsum, «Ashkhatawor», T'iflis, 03.05.1919, № 85. (The British in Kars, “Ashkhatawor”, Tiflis, 03.05.1919, № 85 (in Armenian).*

Առանց դիմակի, «Աշխատար», Թիֆլիս, 08.02.1920, № 31: (*Arrants' dimaki, «Ashkhatawor», T'iflis, 08.02.1920, № 31. (Without a Mask, “Ashkhatawor”, Tiflis, 08.02.1920, № 31 (in Armenian).*

Աազակապետների հանրապետության վախճանը, «Աշխատար», Թիֆլիս, 17.04.1919, № 76: (*Awazakapetneri hanrapetut'ean vakhchany, «Ashkhatawor», T'iflis, 17.04.1919, № 76. (The End of the “Bandit Republic”, “Ashkhatawor”, Tiflis, 17.04.1919, № 76 (in Armenian).*

Արաքսի հանրապետութիւն, «Զանգ». Երևան, 05.12.1918, № 76: (*Arak'si hanrapetut'iwn, «Zang». Yerevan, 05.12.1918, № 76. (Aras Republic, “Zang”, Yerevan, 05.12.1918, № 76 (in Armenian).*

Stepanyan G.

Արտուտ, Մեր մուտքը Կարս, «Աշխատատար», Թիֆլիս, 1919, ապրիլի 29, № 82: (*Artut, Mer mutk'y Kars, «Ashkhatawor», T'iflis, 1919, aprili 29, № 82. (Artut, Our Entry into Kars, "Ashkhatawor", Tiflis, April 29, 1919, No. 82 (in Armenian).*

Ա.Ն., Ատրպեճանի քայքայումը (III), «Ճակատամարտ», Կ. Պոլիս, 1920, հոկտեմբերի 27, № 590 (2411): (*A.N., Atrpechani k'ayk'ayumy (III), «Chakatamart», K. Polis, 1920, hoktemberi 27, № 590 (2411): (A.N., The Disintegration of Azerbaijan (III), "Chakatamart", Constantinople, October 27, 1920, № 590 (in Armenian).*

Ա.Ն., Ատրպեճանի քայքայումը (II), «Ճակատամարտ», Կ. Պոլիս, 1920, հոկտեմբերի 26, № 589 (2410): (*A.N., Atrpechani k'ayk'ayumy (II), «Chakatamart», K. Polis, 1920, hoktemberi 26, № 589 (2410): (A.N., The Disintegration of Azerbaijan (II), "Chakatamart", Constantinople, October 26, 1920, № 589 (in Armenian).*

Գալչյան Ռ. 2017, Ադրբեջանական պատմաաշխարհագրական գեղծարարությունները: Պատմամշակութային և քաղաքագիտական ուսումնասիրություն, էջ 247: (*Galch'yan R. 2017, Atrbejanakan patmaashkharhagrakan zeghtsararut'yunnery: Patmamshakut'ayin yev k'aghak'agitakan usumnasirut'yun, ej 247: (Galchyan R. 2017, Azerbaijani Historical-Geographical Falsifications: A Historical-Cultural and Political Study, «Ձանգակ-97», 247 p. (in Armenian).*

Գալոյան Կ. 2019, Մեսխեթի թուրքերի հիմնախնդրի դրսևորումները Ռուսաստանի Դաշնության քաղաքականության և ռուս-վրացական հարաբերությունների համատեքստում, "Регион и мир". Научно-аналитический журнал, Ереван, № 4, էջ 40–45: (*Galoyan K. 2019, Meskhet's'i t'urk'eri himnakhndri drsevorumnery Rrusastani Dashnut'yan k'aghak'akanut'yan yev rrus-vrats'akan haraberut'yunneri hamatek'stum, "Region i mir". Naučno-analitičeskij žurnal, Erevan, № 4, ej 40–45: (Galoyan K. 2019, The ethnoreligious group of Meskhetian Turks... "Region and World", Yerevan, 2019, № 4, p. 40–45 (in Armenian).*

Գեն.Նահանգապետություն Կարսում, «Մշակ», Թիֆլիս, 1919, յունվարի 11, № 8: (*Governor-Generalship in Kars, "Mshak", Tiflis, January 11, 1919, No. 8): (Governor-Generalship in Kars, "Mshak", Tiflis, January 11, 1919, № 8): Gen.-nahangapetut'iwn Karsum, «Mshak», T'iflis, 1919, yunvari 11, № 8 (in Armenian):*

Դարբինեան Ռ. 1972, Կեանքի գրքէն, հ. Ա., Պէյրութ, Համազգային Վահէ Սէթեան տպարան, 560 էջ: (*Darbinean R. 1972, Keank'is grk'en, h. A., Peyrut', Hamazgayin Vahe Set'ean tparan, 560 ej: (Darbinian R. 1972, From the Book of Life, vol. A, Beirut, Hamazkayin Vahe Setian Printing House, p. 560 (in Armenian).*

Եփրիկյան Ա. 2016, Նախիջևանը 1917–1921 թթ., Երևան, Պատմության ինստիտուտ, 330 էջ: (*Yep'rikyan A. 2016, Nakhijevany 1917–1921 t't', Yerevan, Patmut'yan institut, 330 ej: (Yeprikyan A. 2016, Nakhichevan 1917–1921, Yerevan, Institute of History, p. 330 (in Armenian).*

Զոհրաբյան Է. 2002, Նախիջևանյան հիմնահարցը և Հայաստանի «դաշնակիցները» (1918 թ. դեկտ. – 1920 թ. ապրիլ), Երեւան, ԵՊՀ հրատ., 266 էջ: (*Zohrabyan E. 2002, Nakhijevanyan himnaharts'y yev Hayastani «dashnakits'ner» (1918 t'. dekt. – 1920 t'. april), Yerevan, YePH hrat., 2002, 266 ej: (Zohrabyan E. 2002, The Nakhchivan Question and the*

The Creation of Self-Proclaimed “Turkic-Tatar Independent Republics” ...

“Dashnaks” of Armenia (December 1918 – April 1920), Yerevan, YSU Publishing House, 2002, p. 266 (in Armenian).

Էներ փաշան Կովկասում, «Ժողովրդի ծայն», Թիֆլիս, 1919, ապրիլի 8, № 74: (Enwyer p’ashan Kovkasum, «Zhoghovrdi dzayn», T’iflis, 1919, aprili 8, № 74: (Enver Pasha in the Caucasus “Zhoghovrdi Dzayn”, Tiflis, April 8, 1919, № 74 (in Armenian).

Թորոսյան Շ. 2016, Կարսի մարզի միացումը Հայաստանին և Արդահանի շուրջ հայ-վրացական տարակարծությունների սկզբնավորումը (1919 թ. հունվար-ապրիլ), «21-րդ ԴԱԸ», Երևան, № 3 (67): (**T’vorosyan SH.** 2016, Karsi marzi miats’umy Hayastanin yev Ardahani shurj hayvrats’akan tarakartsut’yunneri skzbnavorumy (1919 t’. hunvar-april), «21-rd DAR», Yerevan, № 3 (67): (**Torosyan Sh.** 2016: (The Incorporation of the Kars Region into Armenia and the Origins of Armenian-Georgian Disputes over Ardahan (January–April 1919), “21st Century”, Yerevan, 2016, № 3 (67), p. 3–18 (in Armenian).

Թիւրքերի անկարգութիւնը Կարսում, «Մշակ», Թիֆլիս, 1919, յունվարի 24, № 17: (T’iwrk’eri ankargut’iwny Karsum, «Mshak», T’iflis, 1919, yunvari 24, № 17: (Disorder of the Turks in Kars, “Mshak”, Tiflis, January 24, 1919, № 17 (in Armenian).

Թուրքաց մամուլ: «Պատրաստ կաց», «Աշխատատոր», Թիֆլիս, 1919, յունիսի 8, № 112: («Patrast kats’», «Ashkhatawor», T’iflis, 1919, yunisi 8, № 112: (Turkish Press: “Be Ready”, “Ashkhatawor”, Tiflis, June 8, 1919, № 112).

Իթթիհատականների դաւերը, «Աշխատատոր», Թիֆլիս, 1919, յունիսի 15, № 118: (It’t’ihatakanneri dawery, «Ashkhatawor», T’iflis, 1919, yunisi 15, № 118: (The Plots of the Ittihadists, “Ashkhatawor”, Tiflis, June 15, 1919, № 118 (in Armenian).

«Իթթիհատը» եւ Ադրբեյջանի կառավարութիւնը, «Աշխատատոր», Թիֆլիս, 1919, մայիսի 10, № 91: («It’t’ihaty» yev Adrbejani karravarut’iwny, «Ashkhatawor», T’iflis, 1919, mayisi 10, № 91: (“Ittihad” and the Government of Azerbaijan, “Ashkhatawor”, Tiflis, May 10, 1919, № 91).

Լեռնեան Ռ. [Լիպարիտ Նազարյան] 1926, Ռուսիա, Անգլիա եւ Կովկասեան հանրապետութիւնները: Անգլիոյ խաղերը, «Հայրենիք» (օրաթերթ), Պօսթըն, սեպտեմբեր 23, № 4377: (**Lerrnean R. [Liparit Nazaryan]** 1926, Rrusia, Anglia yev Kovkasean hanrapetut’iwnnery: Anglioy khaghery, «Hayrenik’» (orat’ert’), Post’yn, september 23, № 4377: (**Lernyan R. (L. Nazaryan)**, 1926, Russia, England and the Caucasian Republics: The Games of England, “Hairenik” (daily), Boston, September 23, № 4377 (in Armenian).

Լուրեր Բազուից, «Մշակ», Թիֆլիս, 1919, մարտի 12, № 55: (Lurer Baguits’, «Mshak», T’iflis, 1919, marti 12, № 55): (News from Baku, “Mshak”, Tiflis, March 12, 1919, No. 55 (in Armenian).

Խատիսեան Ա. 1968, Հայաստանի Հանրապետութեան ծագումն ու զարգացումը, Բէյրութ, տպ. Համազգային, 487 էջ: (**Khatisean AI.** 1968, Hayastani Hanrapetut’ean tsagumn u zargats’umy, Beirut’, tp. Hamazgayin, 487 ej: (**Khatisian A.** 1968, The Origin and Development of the Republic of Armenia, Beirut, Hamazkayin Press, 487 p. (in Armenian).

Խիկար [Հակոբ Խոյամիրյան], Մի փաստ եւս, «Յորձանք», Թիֆլիս, 1920, մարտի 27, № 5: (**Khikar [Hakob Khojamiryan]**, Mi p’ast yevs, «Yordzank’», T’iflis, 1920, marti 27, № 5: (**Khikar (H. Khojamiryan)**, One More Fact, “Yordzank”, Tiflis, March 27, 1920, № 5 (in Armenian).

Stepanyan G.

Կարապետյան Ս. 2008, Ախալցխա (Սամցխե նահանգ), գիրք ԺԱ, Երևան, «Տիգրան Մեծ», 368 էջ: (**Karapetyan S.** 2008, *Akhalt's'kha (Samts'khe nahang), girik' ZHA, Yerevan, «Tigran Mets», 368 ej:* (**Karapetyan S.** 2008, *Akhalt's'khe (Samts'khe Province), book XI, Yerevan, "Tigran the Great", 368 p. (in Armenian).*

«Կարմիր» Ադրբեջանում, «Ժողովուրդ», Երևան, 1920, օգոստոսի 25, № 142: (*Karmir» Aذربejanum, «Zhoghovurd», Yerevan, 1920, ogostosi 25, № 142: ("Red" in Azerbaijan, "Zhoghovurd", Yerevan, August 25, 1920, № 142 (in Armenian).*

Կարսի մարզը Հայաստանի Հանրապետության կազմում (1919 ապրիլ–1920 հոկտեմբեր): Կարսի նահանգապետ Ստեփան Ղորղանեանի յուշերը, աշխատասիրութեամբ **Վ. Յարութինեանի**, Երևան, 2018, հեղ. հրատ., էջ 644: (*Karsi marzy Hayastani Hanrapetut'ean kazmum (1919 april – 1920 hoktember): Karsi nahangapet Step'an Ghorghaneani yushery, ashkhatasirut'eamb VI. Yarus'iwneani, Yerevan, 2018, hegh. hrat., ej 644: (Kars Region within the Republic of Armenia (April 1919 – October 1920). Memoirs of Kars Governor Stepan Ghorghanyan, with the diligence of VI. Harutyunyan, Yerevan, 2018, author's edition, 644 p. (in Armenian).*

Կերեսելիձե Լ., Վրաստանի արտաքին քաղաքականութիւնը, «Յուսաբեր», Գահիրէ, 1930, ապրիլ 10, № 9: (**Kereselidze L., Vrastani artak'in k'aghak'akanut'iwny, «Yusaber», Gahire, 1930, april 10, № 9: (L. Kereselidze, The Foreign Policy of Georgia, "Yusaber", Cairo, April 10, 1930, № 9 (in Armenian).**

Կնյազյան Դ. 2008, Ադրբեջանական Դեմոկրատական Հանրապետության կովկասյան քաղաքականությունը 1918–1920 թթ., Երևան, հեղ. հրատ., 200 էջ: (**Knyazyan D.** 2008, *Aذربejanakan Demokratakan Hanrapetut'yan kovkasyan k'aghak'akanut'yuny 1918–1920 t't., Yerevan, hegh. hrat., 200 ej:* (**Knyazyan D.** 2008, *The Caucasian Policy of the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic, 1918–1920, Yerevan, authors edition, p. 200 (in Armenian).*

«Համիսլամական» եւ «Հակայեղափոխական», «Աշխատար», Թիֆլիս, 1919, ապրիլի 5, № 79: (*Hamislamakan» yev «Hakayeghap'vokhakan», «Ashkhatawor», T'iflis, 1919, aprili 5, № 79: ("Pan-Islamic" and "Counter-Revolutionary", "Ashkhatawor", Tiflis, April 5, 1919, № 79 (in Armenian).*

Հայաստանի Ազգային Արխիվ (ՀԱԱ), ֆ. 223, ց. 1, գ. 75, թ. 21: (*National Archives of Armenia, f. 223, c. 1, c. 75, t. 21. HAA, f. 223, ts'. 1, g. 75, t'. 21: National Archives of Armenia, f. 223, c. 1, c. 75, t. 21 (in Armenian).*

Հայաստանի Ազգային Արխիվ (ՀԱԱ), ֆ. 275, ց. 2, գ. 5, թ. 35: (*National Archives of Armenia, f. 275, c. 2, c. 5, t. 35. HAA, f. 275, ts'. 2, g. 5, t'. 35: National Archives of Armenia, f. 275, c. 2, c. 5, t. 35 (in Armenian).*

Հայաստանի հարակից շրջանների տեղանունների բառարան (ՀՀՇՏԲ), 1991, Երևան, հ. 3, ԵՊՀ հրատ., 991 էջ: (*Hayastani harakits' shrjanneri teghanunneri barraran (HHSHTB), 1991, Yerevan, h. 3, YePH hrat., 991 ej: (Dictionary of place names of neighboring regions of Armenia, 1991, vol. 3, Yerevan, p. 991 (in Armenian).*

Հայկազուն [Գևորգ Չիլինգարյան], Նամակ Պարսկաստանից, «Մշակ», 31.08.1910, Թիֆլիս, № 191: (**Haykazun [Gevorg Ch'ilingaryan], Namak Parskastanits', «Mshak», 31.08.1910, T'iflis, № 191: (Haykazun (G. Chilingaryan), Letter from Persia, "Mshak", 31.08.1910, Tiflis, № 191 (in Armenian).**

The Creation of Self-Proclaimed “Turkic-Tatar Independent Republics” ...

Հայոց պատմություն, հ. IV: Գիրք առաջին: Նորագույն ժամանակաշրջան (1918–1945 թթ.), Երևան, «Զանգակ-97», 2010, 800 էջ: (*Hayots' patmut'yun, h. IV: Girk' arrajin: Noraguyun zhamanakashrjan (1918–1945 t't'.*), Yerevan, «Zangak-97», 2010, 800 ej: (*Armenian History, Vol. IV: Book One: Modern Period (1918–1945), Yerevan, 2010, «Zangak-97», p. 800 (in Armenian).*

Հայոց պատմություն. հիմնահարցեր (Հնագույն ժամանակներից մինչև մեր օրերը), **Հր. Սիմոնյանի** խմբագրությամբ, Երևան, 2000, «Զանգակ-97», 487 էջ: (*Hayots' patmut'yun. himnaharts'er (Hnaguyun zhamanaknerits' minch'ev mer orery), Hr. Simonyani khmbagrut'yamb, Yerevan, 2000, «Zangak-97», 487 ej: (Armenian History: Key Issues (From Ancient Times to the Present Day), edited by Hr. Simonyan, Yerevan, 2000, “Zangak-97”, p. 487 (in Armenian).*

Հարաւ Արեւմտեան Անդրկովկասի մահմեդականների դիմումը դաշնակիցներին, «Յառաջ», 11.03.1919, Թիֆլիս, № 46: (*Haraw Arevmtean Andrkovkasi mahmedakanneri dimumy dashnakits'nerin, «Yarraj», 11.03.1919, T'iflis, № 46: (Appeal of the Muslims of Southwestern Transcaucasia to the Allies, “Haratch”, 11.03.1919, Tiflis, № 46 (in Armenian).*

Հարությունյան Ա. 1984, Թուրքական ինտերվենցիան Անդրկովկաս 1918 թ. և ինքնապաշտպանական կռիվները, Երևան, ՀՍՍՀ ԳԱ հրատ., 356 էջ: (**Harutyunyan A.** 1984, *T'urk'akan intervents'ian Andrkovkas 1918 t'. yev ink'napashtpa-nakan krrivnery, Yerevan, HSSH GA hrat., 356 ej: (Harutyunyan A. 1984, The Turkish Intervention in Transcaucasia in 1918 and the Self-Defense Struggles, Yerevan, Publishing House of the Academy of Sciences of the Armenian SSR, p. 356 (in Armenian).*

Հիպիրիկ [Հիպիրիկ Չոլախան], Կարսը միացած Հայաստանին, «Աշխատատար», 29.04.1919, Թիֆլիս, № 82: (**Hipirik (H. Cholakhan),** *Kars Joined to Armenia, “Ashkhatawor”, 29.04.1919, Tiflis, № 82). Hipirik [Hipirik Ch'volakhan], Karsy miats'ats Hayastanin, «Ashkhatawor», 29.04.1919, T'iflis, № 82 (in Armenian).*

Հովհաննիսյան Ռ. 2005, Հայաստանի Հանրապետություն, հ. Ա: Առաջին տարին, 1918–1919, ՀՀ ԳԱԱ պատմության ինստիտուտ, Երևան, 570 էջ: (**Hovhannisyanyan R.** 2005, *Hayastani Hanrapetut'yun, h. A: Arrajin tarin, 1918–1919, HH GAA patmut'yan institut, Yerevan, 570 ej: (Hovhannisyanyan R. 2005, Republic of Armenia, vol. A: The First Year, 1918–1919, Institute of History of the National Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Armenia, Yerevan, p. 570 (in Armenian).*

Հովհաննիսյան Ռ. 2014, Հայաստանի Հանրապետություն, հ. Բ, Վերսալից-Լոնդոն, 1919–1920, Երևան, «Տիգրան Մեծ», 708 էջ: (**Hovhannisyanyan R.** 2014: *Hayastani Hanrapetut'yun, h. B, Versalits'-London, 1919–1920, Yerevan, «Tigran Mets», 708 ej: (Hovhannisyanyan R. 2014, Republic of Armenia, vol. B, Versailles-London, 1919–1920, Yerevan, “Tigran the Great”, p. 708 (in Armenian).*

Հրանտ-Սամուել, Տարորինակ ճակատագիր, «Յառաջ», Փարիզ, 1967, հոկտեմբերի 7, № 11030: (**Hrant-Samuel, Tarorinak chakatagir, «Yarraj», P'ariz, 1967, hoktemberi 7, № 11030: (Hrant-Samuel, A Strange Fate [Տարորինակ ճակատագիր], “Haratch”, Paris, October 7, 1967, № 11030 (in Armenian).**

Ղարաբաղի խնդիրը Ադրբեջանի պարլամենտում, «Աշխատատար», 30.04.1919, Թիֆլիս, № 83: (*Gharabaghi khndiry Adrbejani parlamentum, «Ashkhatawor», 30.04.1919,*

Stepanyan G.

T'iflis, № 83: (*The Karabakh Question in the Parliament of Azerbaijan, "Ashkhatavor"*, 30.04.1919, Tiflis, № 83 (in Armenian).

Ղարսը հայերի ձեռքին, «Աշխատար», 30.04.1919, Թիֆլիս, № 83: (*Gharsy hayeri dzerrk'in, "Ashkhatawor"*, 30.04.1919, T'iflis, № 83: (*Kars in Armenian Hands, "Ashkhatavor"*, 30.04.1919, Tiflis, № 83 (in Armenian).

Մայիլյան Բ. 2016, Ազգային հարցը և հայերի կացությունը Վրաստանի Հանրապետությունում 1918-1921 թթ., Երևան, «Գիտություն» հրատ., 280 էջ: (**Mayilyan B.** 2016, *Azgayin harts'y yev hayeri kats'ut'yuny Vrastani Hanrapetut'yunum 1918–1921 t't'*, Yerevan, «Gitut'yun» hrat., 280 ej: (**Mayilyan B.** 2016, *The National Question and the Situation of Armenians in the Republic of Georgia in 1918–1921*, Yerevan, "Science" Publishing House, p. 280 (in Armenian).

Մահմեդական Վրաստանի ինքնավարությունը, «Յառաջ», Թիֆլիս, 1919, յունւարի 17, № 5: (*Mahmedakan Vrastani ink'navarut'iwny, «Yarraj», T'iflis, 1919, yunwari 17, № 5: (Autonomy of Muslim Georgia, "Haratch", Tiflis, January 17, 1919, № 5 (in Armenian).*

Մելքոնյան Ա. 2003, Ջավախքը 19-րդ դարում և 20-րդ դարի առաջին քառորդին, Երևան, «Ջանգակ-97» հրատ., 544 էջ: (**Melk'vonyan A.** 2003, *Javakhk'y 19-rd darum yev 20-rd dari arrajin k'arrordin*, Yerevan, «Zangak-97» hrat., 544 ej: (**Melkonyan A.** 2003, *Javakhk in the 19th century and the first quarter of the 20th century*, Yerevan, "Zangak-97", p. 544 (in Armenian).

Միլիստան-Միլիդարասին շրջան էր Երևանի նահանգի Երևանի գավառում, Գառնիբասարի ոստիկանական շրջանում (ՀՀՇՏԲ), հ. 3, Երևան, 1991, էջ 819: (*Millistan-Millidarasin shrjan er Yerevani nahangi Yerevani gavarrum, Garrnibasari vostikanakan shrjanum (HHSHTB, h. 3, Yerevan, 1991, ej 819): (Millistan-Millidarsi was a district in the Yerevan uyezd of Yerevan Province, in the Garnibasari police district (Armenian Soviet Encyclopedia of Place Names (AHSHTB), vol. 3, p. 819 (in Armenian).*

Նախիջևան-Շարուրը 1918–1921 թթ. (փաստաթղթեր և նյութեր): Կազմողներ՝ Ռ. Գրիգորյան, Ա. Կիրիմյան, Վ. Ղազախեցյան, Հ. Շաթիրյան, Ա. Վիրաբյան, խմբ.՝ Վ. Ղազախեցյան, առաջաբանը՝ Վ. Ղազախեցյանի, ԲՀԱ, Երևան, 1993, № 1–2, «Նախիջևան» հրատ., 200 էջ: (*Nagicevan-Sharur, 1918–1921. p'astat'ght'er yev nyut'er): Kazmoghner, R. Grigoryan, A. Kirimyan, V. Ghazakhets'yan, H. Shat'iryan, A. Virabyan, khmb.՝ V. Ghazakhets'yan, arrajabany, V. Ghazakhets'yan, BHA, Yerevan, 1993, № 1–2, «Nakhijevan» hrst., 200 ej: (Nakhchivan-Sharur, 1918–1921 (Documents and Materials), comp. R. Grigoryan et al., Yerevan, "Nakhichevan" press, 1993, p. 200 (in Armenian).*

«Շուրայի» լիկվիդացիան, «Աշխատար», 23.05.1919, Թիֆլիս, № 102: (*Shurayi likwidats'ian, "Ashkhatawor"*, 23.05.1919, T'iflis, № 102: (*The Liquidation of the "Shura" "Ashkhatavor"*, 23.05.1919, Tiflis, № 102 (in Armenian).

Վրացեան Ս., Հայաստանը եւ իր հարեւանները, «Դրօշակ», Փարիզ, 1925, սեպտեմբեր, № 3, էջ 68–71: Vrats'ean S., *Hayastany yev ir harevannery, «Droshak», P'ariz, 1925, september, № 3, ej 68–71: (Vratsian S. 1925, Armenia and Its Neighbors, "Droshak" (the Flag), Paris, September 1925, № 3, p. 70–71 (in Armenian).*

Պաշտոնական բացատրություններ Կարսի դեպքերի մասին, «ճակատամարտ», 01.03.1920, Կ. Պոլիս, № 400: (*Pashtonakan bats'atrut'iwnner Karsi depk'eri masin,*

The Creation of Self-Proclaimed “Turkic-Tatar Independent Republics” ...

«chakatamart», K. 01.03.1920, Polis, № 400: (Official Explanations on the Kars Events, “Chakatamart”, 01.03.1920, Constantinople, № 400 (in Armenian)).

Պետրոսյան Գ., Կարսի խնդիրը և նրա շուրջ ծավալված պայքարը (1918 թ. դեկտեմբեր-1919 թ. մարտ), «Բանբեր Երևանի համալսարանի», Երևան, 2004, № 3 (114), էջ 22–35: (**Petrosyan G.**, *Karsi khndiry yev nra shurj tsavalvats payk'ary (1918 t'. dektember-1919 t'. mart)*, «Banber Yerevani hamalsarani», Yerevan, 2004, № 3 (114), ej 22–35: (**Petrosyan G.** 2004, *The Kars Issue and the Struggle Around It (December 1918 – March 1919)*, “Banber of Yerevan University”, Yerevan, 2004, № 3 (114), p. 22–35 (in Armenian)).

Պոլտուին Օ. 1933, Վեց բանտ եւ երկու յեղափոխութիւն: Արկածախնդրութիւններ Անդրկովկասի ու Անատոլիոյ մէջ 1920–1921: Թարգմանիչ՝ **Շավարշ Ա. Ստեփանեան**, Աղեքսանդրիա, տպագր. Ա. Ստեփանյան, 332 էջ: (**Poltuin O.** 1933, *Vets' bant yev yerku yeghap'vokhut'awn: Arkatsakhndrut'awnner Andrkovkasi u Anatolui mej 1920–1921: T'argmanich' Shavarsh A. Step'anean, Aghek'sandria, t'pagr. A. Step'anyan*, 332 ej: (**Baldwin O.** 1933, *Six Prisons and Two Revolutions: Adventures in Transcaucasia and Anatolia 1920–1921. Translated by Shavarsh A. Stepanian, Alexandria, published by A. Stepanian, p. 332 (in Armenian).*

«Ռազմիկ», Երևան, 1920, յունիսի 21, № 6: (“Razmik”, 21.06.1920, Yerevan, № 6): («Razmik», 21.06.1920, Yerevan, № 6: (“Razmik”, 21.06.1920, Yerevan, № 6 (in Armenian)).

Ռուբէն. 1982, Հայ յեղափոխականի մը յիշատակները, հ. Է, Թեհրան, տպ. «Ալիք», 363 էջ: (**Ruben.** 1982, *Hay yeghap'vokhakani my yishatakneri, h. E, T'ehran, tp. «Alik'», 363 ej: (Ruben 1982, *Memoirs of an Armenian Revolutionary, vol. VII, Tehran, “Alik”, p. 560 (in Armenian).**

Սարգսյան Վ., Սամցխե-Ջավախք-Թոնդրը հայ-վրացական հարաբերությունների հոլովոյթում (1980-ական թթ. վերջ – 1990-ական թթ.), Երևան, ՀՀ ԳԱԱ պատմության ինստիտուտ, 2006, 376 էջ: (**Sargsyan V.**, *Samts'khe-Javakhk'-T'rreghk'y hay-vrats'akan haraberut'yunneri holovuyt'um (1980-akan t't'. verj – 1990-akan t't'.)*, Yerevan, HH GAA patmut'yan institut, 2006, 376 ej: (**Sargsyan V.** 2006., *Samtskhe-Javakheti-Treghq in the context of Armenian-Georgian relations (late 1980s – 1990s)*, Yerevan, Institute of History of the NAS of the Republic of Armenia, p. 376 (in Armenian)).

Սարգսյան Հ. 1989, Բրեստից մինչև Մուդրոս, Երևան, «Հայաստան», 276 էջ: (**Sargsyan H.** 1989, *Brestits' minch'yev Mudros*, Yerevan, «Hayastan», 276 ej: (**Sargsyan H.** 1989, *From Brest to Mudros*, Yerevan, “Armenia”, p. 276).

Ս. [Սիմոն Վրացյան], «Թայմս»-ի մի նոր յօդածը, «Յառաջ», 19.06.1920, Երևան, № 127: S. [Simon Vrats'yan], «T'ayms»-i mi nor yodwatsy, «Yarraj», 19.06.1920, Yerevan, № 127: (**Vratsian S.**, *A New Article in “The Times”, “Haratch”, 19.06.1920, Yerevan, № 127 (in Armenian).*

Սարգսյան Ե. 1964, Թուրքիան և նրա նվաճողական քաղաքականությունը Անդրկովկասում 1914–1918 թթ., Երևան, «Հայաստան» հրատ., 537 էջ: (**Sargsyan Ye.** 1964, *T'urk'ian yev nra nvachoghakan k'aghak'akan'yuny Andrkokasum 1914–1918 t't'.*, Yerevan, «Hayastan» hrat., 537 ej: (**Sargsyan E.** 1964, *Turkey and Its Expansionist Policy in Transcaucasia in 1914–1918*, Yerevan, “Armenia”, p. 537 (in Armenian)).

Stepanyan G.

Սիմոնյան Հր. 1991, Թուրք-հայկական հարաբերությունների պատմությունից, Երևան, «Հայաստան» հրատ., 630 էջ: *Simonyan Hr. 1991, T'urk'haykakan haraberut'yunneri patmut'yunits', Yerevan, «Hayastan» hrat., 630 ej:* (**Simonyan Hr. 1991, From the History of Turkish-Armenian Relations, Yerevan, "Armenia", p. 537**): (**Simonyan Hr. 1991, From the History of Turkish-Armenian Relations, Yerevan, "Armenia", p. 537 (in Armenian)**).

Ստեփանյան Գ. 2016, Համազասպ Սրվանձտյանց, Երևան, «Լուսակն» հրատ., 1087 էջ: (**Step'anyan G. 2016, Hamazasp Srvandztyants', Yerevan, «Lusakn» hrat., 1087 ej**): (**Stepanyan G. 2016, Hamazasp Srvandztyants, Yerevan, «Lusakn» publishing house, p. 1087**): (**Stepanyan G. 2016, Hamazasp Srvandztyants, Yerevan, "Lusakn" publishing house, p. 1087 (in Armenian)**).

Վ.Հ.Գ. [Վրաստանի հեռագրական գործակալություն], Դեպքերն Ախալցխայի շրջանում, «Յառաջ», 28.01.1919, Թիֆլիս, № 12: (**V.H.G. [Vrastani herragrakan gortsakalut'yun], Depk'ern Akhalts'khayi shrjanum, «Yarraj», 28.01.1919, T'iflis, № 12: (V.H.G. (Georgian Telegraph Agency), Events in the Akhaltsikhe District, "Haratch", 28.01.1919, Tiflis, № 12 (in Armenian)**).

Վ.Հ.Գ. [Վրաստանի հեռագրական գործակալություն], Դեպքերն Ախալցխայի շրջանում, «Յառաջ», 04.03.1919, Թիֆլիս, № 40: (**V.H.G. [Vrastani herragrakan gortsakalut'yun], Depk'ern Akhalts'khayi shrjanum, «Yarraj», 04.03.1919, T'iflis, № 40: (V.H.G. (Georgian Telegraph Agency), Events in the Akhaltsikhe District, "Haratch", 04.03.1919, Tiflis, № 40 (in Armenian)**).

Վազգեն Շիրակունի [Գուրգեն Քելլերյան], Վերաշինական աշխատանքը Հայաստանի մէջ. 1918–1920 (II), «Հայրենիք» (օրաթերթ), 12.07.1923, Պոսթըն, № 4304: (**Vazgen Shirakuni [Gurgen K'elleryan], Verashinakan ashkhatank'y Hayastani mej. 1918–1920 (II), «Hayrenik'» (orat'ert'), 12.07.1923, Post'yn, № 4304: (Vazgen Shirakuni, Reconstruction Work in Armenia, 1918–1920 (II), "Hairenik" (daily), 12.07.1923, Boston, № 4304 (in Armenian)**).

Վարդանյան Գ. 2014, Կարսի մարզը Առաջին աշխարհամարտից հետո. Երիտթուրքական մի նախագծի պատմություն, «Յեղասպանագիտական հանդես», Երևան, № 2 (2), էջ 67–75: (**Vardanyan G. 2014, Karsi marzy Arrajin ashkharhamartits' heto. yeritt'urk'akan mi nakhagtsi patmut'yun, «TS'eghaspanagitakan handes», Yerevan, № 2 (2), ej 67–75: (Vardanyan G. 2014, The Kars Region after World War I: The History of a Young Turk Project, Yerevan, № 2 (2), p. 67–75 (in Armenian)**).

Վերանկախացած Հայաստանի և նորաստեղծ Ադրբեջանի հարաբերություններից (1918–1920). նյութեր և փաստաթղթեր: Առաջին աշխարհամարտի ավարտից մինչև անգլիական զինուժի դուրսբերումը տարածաշրջանից (1918 թ. նոյեմբեր – 1919 թ. օգոստոս), նյութեր և փաստաթղթեր, հ. Բ, աշխատասիրությամբ **Վ. Հարությունյանի**, Երևան, Հեղինակային հրատ., 2025, 916 էջ: (*Verankakhats'ats Hayastani yev norasteghts Adrbejani haraberut'yunnerits' (1918–1920). nyut'er yev p'astat'ght'er: Arrajin ashkharhamarti avartits' minch'ev angliakan zinuzhi dursberumy tara-t'sashrjanits' (1918 t'. noyember – 1919 t'. ogostos), nyut'er yev p'astat'ght'er, h, B, ashkhatasi-rut'yamb VI. Harut'yunyani, Yerevan, Heghinakayin hrat., 2025, 916 ej: (Relations between re-independent Armenia and newly formed Azerbaijan (1918–1920): materials and documents. From the end of World War I to the*

The Creation of Self-Proclaimed “Turkic-Tatar Independent Republics” ...

withdrawal of British troops from the region (November 1918 – August 1919), materials and documents, vol. B, with the diligence of VI. Harutyunyan, Yerevan, Author's Publishing House, 2025, p. 916 (in Armenian).

Վերջին լուրեր: Ադրբեջանի դաւերը մահմեդական Վրաստանում, «Յառաջ», 15.04.1920, Երևան, № 76: (*Verjin lurer: Adrbejani dawery mahmedakan Vrastanum, «Yarraj», 15.04.1920, Yerevan, № 76: (Latest News: Azerbaijan's Intrigues in Muslim Georgia, “Haratch”, 15.04.1920, Yerevan, № 76 (in Armenian).*

Վիրաբյան Վ. 2024, Հայաստանը և Անդրկովկասում եվրոպական երկրների ռազմաքաղաքական ներկայացուցչությունները 1917–1922 թթ., Երևան, «Վահե Մկրտչյան», 410 էջ: (*Virabyan V. 2024, Hayastany yev Andrkovkasum yevropakan yerkrneri rrazmak'aghak'akan nerkayats'uts'ch'ut'yunnery 1917–1922 t't., Yerevan, «Vahe Mkrtch'yan», 2024, 410 ej: (Virabyan V. 2024, Armenia and the Military-Political Representations of European Countries in Transcaucasia, 1917–1922, Yerevan, p. 916 (in Armenian).*

Վրաստանի Սահմանադիր ժողով (մայիսի 9-ի նիստը): Արտաքին գործերի մինիստր Ե.Պ. Գեգեչկորու ճառը, «Աշխատավոր», 13.05.1919, Թիֆլիս, № 93: (*Vrastani Sahmanadir zhoghov (mayisi 9-i nisty): Artak'in gortseri ministr Ye. P. Gegech'koru charry, «Ashkhatawor», 13.05.1919, T'iflis, № 93. (Constituent Assembly of Georgia (Session of May 9): Speech of the Minister of Foreign Affairs E. P. Gegechkori, “Ashkhatawor” (The Laborer), 13.05.1919, Tiflis, № 93 (in Armenian).*

Վրացեան Ս. 1982, Հայաստանի Հանրապետութիւն, Թեհրան, տպ. «Ալիք» 684 էջ: (*Vrats'ean S. 1982, Hayastani Hanrapetut'awn, T'ehran, tp. «Alik'», 684 ej: (Vratsian S. 684, The Republic of Armenia, Tehran, “Alik”, p. 684 (in Armenian).*

Տաճկական պրովոկացիայի արդիւնքները, «Յառաջ», 15.01.1919, Թիֆլիս, № 3: (*Tachkakan provokats'ayi ardiwnk'neri, «Yarraj», 15.01.1919, T'iflis, № 3: (Results of the Turkish Provocation, “Haratch”, 15.01.1919, Tiflis, № 3 (in Armenian).*

Տաճկաստանի հեռանալը, «Խօսք», 14.12.1918, Երևան, № 8: (*Tachkastani herranaly, «Khosk'», 14.12.1918, Yerevan, № 8: (The Withdrawal of Tachkastan, “Khosk”, 14.12.1918, Yerevan, № 8).*

Տաճիկների ծրագիրը Հարավարեւմտեան Անդրկովկասի մասին, «Յառաջ», Թիֆլիս, 14.02.1919, № 27: (*Tachikneri tsragiry Harawarevmtean Andrkovkasi masin, «Yarraj», 14.02.1919, T'iflis, № 27: (The Tachiks' Program Regarding Southwestern Transcaucasia, “Haratch”, 14.02.1919, Tiflis, № 27 (in Armenian).*

Փաստաթղթեր Հայաստանի Հանրապետության քաղաքական պատմության: Կարսի մարզը Հայաստանի Առաջին Հանրապետության կազմում (ապրիլ 1919 թ. – հոկտեմբեր 1920 թ.): Նյութեր և փաստաթղթեր, հ. Գ, աշխատասիրությամբ Վ. Հարությունյանի, Երևան, «Ասոցիկ», 2016, 436 էջ: (*P'astat'ght'er Hayastani Hanrapetut'yan k'aghak'akan patmut'yan: Karsi marzy Hayastani Arrajin Hanrapetut'yan kazmum (april 1919 t'. – hoktember 1920 t'): Nyut'er yev p'astat'ght'er, h. G, ashkhatawirut'yamb VI. Harut'yunyani, Yerevan, «Asoghik», 2016, 436 ej: (Within the First Republic (April 1919 – October 1920): Materials and Documents, vol. C, with the diligence of VI. Harutyunyan, Yerevan, «Asoghik», 2016, p. 436 (in Armenian).*

Stepanyan G.

Օսմանցու պլեբիսցիտը, «Հայ համայնք», 23.07.1918, Նոր Նախիջեան, № 11, էջ 135: (*Osmants'u plebists'ity, «Hay hamaynk'», 23.07.1918, Nor Nakhijevan, № 11, ej 135: (The Ottoman Plebiscite, "Armenian Community, 23.07.1918, Nor Nakhchivan, № 11, p. 135 (in Armenian).*)

XX [Արտաշես Կարինյան], Թուրքիան ու իր ազատագրական պայքարը (պատմական ակնարկ), «Խորհրդային Հայաստան», 06.08.1921, Երեւան, № 145: (**XX [Artashes Karinyan]**, *T'urk'ian u ir azatagrakan payk'ary (patmakan aknark), «Khorhrdayin Hayastan», 06.08.1921, Yerevan, № 145: (XX [Artashes Karinyan], Turkey and Its Liberation Struggle (Historical Overview), "Soviet Armenia", 06.08.1921, Yerevan, № 145 (in Armenian).*)

N.N. [Հակոբ Գրիգորյան], Աազակների «Հանրապետությունը», «Աշխատար», 14.03.1919, Թիֆլիս, № 48: (**N.N. [Hakob Grigoryan]**, *Awazakneri «Hanrapetut'iwny», «Ashkhatawor», 14.03.1919, T'iflis, № 48: (N.N. (Hakob Grigoryan), The "Republic" of Bandits, "Ashkhatawor", 14.03.1919, Tiflis, № 48 (in Armenian).*)

Յ.Ա. [Հակոբ Ադամյան], Պոլսական նամականի: Կը լուծուի՞ մօտաւոր Արեւելքի կնճիկը, «Հայրենիք» (օրաթերթ), 02.10.1920, Պոսթըն, № 2563: (**Y.A. [Hakob Adamyan]**, *Polsakan namakani: Ky lutsui? motawor Arevelk'i knchirry, «Hayrenik'» (orat'ert'), 02.10.1920, Post'yn, № 2563. (H.A. (H. Adamyan), A Letter from Constantinople: Will the Knot of the Near East Be Untied?, "Hairenik" (daily), 02.10.1920, Boston, № 2563 (in Armenian).*)

XX [Արտաշես Կարինյան], Թուրքիան ու իր ազատագրական պայքարը (պատմական ակնարկ), «Խորհրդային Հայաստան», 06.08.1921, Երեւան, № 145: (**XX [Artashes Karinyan]**, *T'urk'ian u ir azatagrakan payk'ary (patmakan aknark), «Khorhrdayin Hayastan», 06.08.1921, Yerevan, № 145: (XX [Artashes Karinyan], Turkey and Its Liberation Struggle (Historical Overview), "Soviet Armenia", 06.08.1921, Yerevan, № 145 (in Armenian).*)

Аветисян Г. 1994, Брест-Литовск: как были отторгнуты Турцией Карс, Ардаган и Батум, Ереван, «Спюрк», 145 с.: (**Avetisyan G.** 1994, *Brest-Litovsk: How Kars, Ardahan and Batum Were Annexed by Turkey, Yerevan, "Spyrk", 145 c. (in Armenian).*)

“Борьба”, Тифлис, 1918, 24 июля, № 125: (“*Struggle*” [“*Борьба*”], *Tiflis, July 24, 1918, No. 125 (in Russian).*)

В Ахалцихском уезде и Ардаганском округе, “Закавказское слово”, Тифлис, 1919, 28 января, № 8: (*In the Akhaltsikhe District and Ardahan Region, "Zakavkazskoe Slovo", Tiflis, January 28, 1919, № 8 (in Russian).*)

Вартанян С. 1959, Победа советской власти в Армении, Ереван, Айпетрат, 522 с.: (**Vartanyan S.** 1959, *The Victory of Soviet Power in Armenia, Yerevan, "Aipetrat", p. 522 (in Russian).*)

Демоян Г. 2006, Турция и Карабахский конфликт (в конце XX – начала XXI веков). Историко-сравнительный анализ, Ереван, Авторское издание, с. 255: (**Demoyan G.** 2006, *Turkey and the Karabakh Conflict (Late 20th – Early 21st Century): A Historical-Comparative Analysis, Yerevan, Author's edition, 2006 (in Russian).*)

The Creation of Self-Proclaimed “Turkic-Tatar Independent Republics” ...

Гафаров В. 2010, Русско-турецкое сближение и независимость Азербайджана (1919–1921 гг.), “Кавказ & глобализация”, Швеция, г. Лунда, т. 4, вып. 1–2, с. 240–248: (*Gafarov V., Russian-Turkish Rapprochement and the Independence of Azerbaijan (1919–1921), “The Caucasus & Globalization”, Sweden, Lulea, Vol. 4, Issues 1–2, pp. 240–248 (in Russian).*

Гаджиев А. 2004, Демократические республики Юго-западного Кавказа (Карсская и Араз-Тюркская республики), Баку, Издательство “Нурлан”, 280 с.: (*Gadzhiiev A. 2004, Democratic Republics of the Southwestern Caucasus (Kars and Araz-Turkic Republics), Baku, “Nurlan”, p. 280 (in Russian).*

Деникин А. 1925, Очерки русской смуты, т. 4: Вооруженные силы Юга России, Берлин, “Слово”, 248 с.: (*Denikin A. 1925, Essays on the Russian Time of Troubles, Vol. 4: Armed Forces of the South of Russia, Berlin, “Slovo”, p. 248 (in Russian).*

Кадишев А. 1960, Интервенция и гражданская война в Закавказье, Москва, “Воениздат”, 510 с.: (*Kadishev A. 1960, Intervention and Civil War in Transcaucasia, Moscow, “Voenizdat”, p. 510 (in Russian).*

Махмуриян Г. 2017, Организационная, гуманитарная и политическая деятельность верховного комиссара союзников В. Гаскеля в Армении в 1919 г., «Հայրենիքի պատմությունը», գիտական հոդվածների ժողովածու, Երևան, էջ 49–75: (*Makhmuryan G. 2002, The Organizational, Humanitarian and Political Activity of the Supreme Commissioner of the Allies W. Haskell in Armenia in 1919, “Questions of Armenian History”, Yerevan, 2017, p. 49–75 (in Russian).*

Махмуриян Г. 2002, Политика Великобритании в Армении и Закавказье в 1918–1920 гг. Бремя белого человека, Ереван, “Лусакн”, 310 с.: (*Makhmuryan G. 2002, British Policy in Armenia and Transcaucasia in 1918–1920: The White Man's Burden, Yerevan, “Lusaka”, 310 p. (in Russian).*

Маилян Б. 2022, Очерки этнополитической истории Грузии и Западного Закавказья / Аджария, Южная Осетия, Сочи-Джикетия, Самцхе-Месхетия на рубеже XIX-XX веков, Ереван, “КОПИ-ПРИНТ”, 478 с.: (*Mailian B. 2022, Essays on the Ethnopolitical History of Georgia and Western Transcaucasia, Yerevan, p. 478 (in Russian).*

Мисия Тюрко-Аракской Республики, “Азербайджань”, Баку, 1919, 9 марта (24 февраля), № 52: (*Mission of the Turko-Aras Republic, “Azerbaijan” [“Азербайджань”], Baku, March 9 (February 24), 1919, № 52 (in Russian).*

Панисламисты, “Вперед”, Баку, 1919, 9 апреля, № 35: (*Pan-Islamists, “Vperiyod”, Baku, April 9, 1919, № 35 (in Russian).*

Погосян А. 1983, Карсская область в составе России, Ереван, “Айастан”, с. 283: (*Pogosyan A. 1983, The Kars Region within Russia, Yerevan, “Aiastan”, p. 283 (in Russian).*

Топчибаши А. 2016, Парижский архив 1919–1940. В четырех книгах. кн. I: 1919–1921, Сост. Г. Мамулия и Р. Абуталыбов. Введение, перевод и примечания Г. Мамулия, Москва, “Худож. лит.”, 568 с.: (*Topchibashi A. 2016, Paris Archive 1919–1940. In four books. Book I: 1919–1921, Comp. G. Mamulia and R. Abutalibov. Introduction, translation and notes by G. Mamulia, Moscow, “Khudozh. lit.”, 568 p. (in Russian).*

Уратадзе Г. 1956, Образование и консолидация Грузинской Демократической Республики, Мюнхен, Институт по изучению СССР, 118 с. (*Uratadze G. 1956, The Formation*

Stepanyan G.

and Consolidation of the Georgian Democratic Republic, München, Institute for the study of the USSR, p. 118 (in Russian).

Юго-западный Азербайджань, "Азербайджань", Баку, 1919, 28 (15) февраля, № 45: (*Southwestern Azerbaijan, "Azerbaijan", Baku, February 28 (15), 1919, № 45 (in Russian).*)

Hacıyev İ. 2010, Azərbaycan Xalq Cümhuriyyəti və Naxçıvan, Naxçıvan, "Əcəmi", s. 384: (**Hacıyev I.** 2010, *The Azerbaijan Democratic Republic and Nakhchivan, Nakhchivan, "Ajami", p. 384 (in Azerbaijani).*)

Əhməd D. 2018, Bir ildən yüz ilə, Bakı, "Teas", s. 232: (**Ahmad D.** 2018, *From One Year to a Hundred, Baku, "Teas", s. 232 (in Azerbaijani).*)


Charlotte H. 2010, State Building and Conflict Resolution in the Caucasus, Boston, Leiden: Brill, p. 359:

ԳԵՎՈՐԳ ՍՏԵՓԱՆՅԱՆ

Պատմական գիտությունների դոկտոր, պրոֆեսոր

ՀՀ ԳԱԱ պատմության ինստիտուտ

sasun-009@mail.ru

0009-0000-7536-6777 

ԻՆՔՆԱՀՆԱՐ «ԹՅՈՒՐՔ-ԹԱԹԱՐԱԿԱՆ ԱՆԿԱՆ ՀԱՆՐԱՊԵՏՈՒԹՅՈՒՆՆԵՐԻ» ՍՏԵՂԾՈՒՄԸ ՀԱՅԱՍՏԱՆԻ ՀԱՆՐԱՊԵՏՈՒԹՅՈՒՆՈՒՄ «ՄԵԾ ԱԴԻԲԵՋԱՆ» ԾՐԱԳՐԻ ՀԱՄԱՏԵՔՍՏՈՒՄ (1918–1919 ԹԹ.)

Ամփոփում

Պարտվելով Առաջին աշխարհամարտում՝ Օսմանյան կայսրությունը Մուդրոսի զինադադարից հետո (1918 թ. հոկտեմբերի 30) հարկադրված էր Այսրկովկասից, այդ թվում՝ Արևելյան Հայաստանում գրաված տարածքներից դուրս բերել իր զորքերը և հետ քաշվել մինչև 1914 թ. սահմանները: Այսուհանդերձ, օսմանյան պետությունը ձեռնամուխ էր եղել ռազմավարական կարևոր նշանակություն ունեցող կենտրոններում՝ Կարսում, Նախիջևանում, Արդահանում, ընդհուպ նաև Սամցխե-Մեսխեթում (ներառում է Ադիգենի, Ախալցխայի և Ասպնջակի (վրաց.՝ Ասպինձա) շրջանները) անկախ միավորների՝ «Մահմեդական ազգային շուրայի (պարսկ.՝ խորհուրդ)» և ավելի փոքր գավառակ միություններով՝ տեղական «շուրա»-ների ստեղծմանը: Թյուրք-թաթարական

The Creation of Self-Proclaimed “Turkic-Tatar Independent Republics” ...

այդ միավորներից էին նաև այսպես կոչված «Հարավարևմտյան Կովկասի Հանրապետություն»-ը («Կարսի Հանրապետություն») և «Արաքս-թյուրքական Հանրապետություն»-ը («Արևելյան Կովկասի Հանրապետություն/Շարուրի հանրապետություն»): Իթթիհադականների ու մուսավաթականների կողմից խրախուսվող այդ ինքնահնար միավորները, որոնք սրությամբ ուղղված էին Հայաստանի Հանրապետության դեմ, պետք է դառնային տեղական կառավարություններ՝ հնարավորություն տալով օսմանյան պետությանը զորքերը դուրս բերելուց հետո պահպանելու ազդեցությունը տարածաշրջանում և հող նախապատրաստելու հետագայում թուրքերի վերադարձի համար: Այդ ամենով հանդերձ, օսմանյան պետությունը Հայաստանի Հանրապետության տարածքում մահմեդական «անկախ» միավորումներ ստեղծելու ռազմավարական ծրագրով նպատակադրվել էր Հայաստանը և Վրաստանը օղակել թուրքաթարական խիտ բնակեցված տարածքով: Իսկ տարածքային ծավալման այդ քաղաքականությունը տեղավորվում էր «Մեծ Ադրբեջան» պետության ստեղծման հայեցակարգի մեջ:

Հայաստանի Հանրապետության կառավարության վճռական գործողությունների արդյունքում վերոնշյալ ինքնահնար «հանրապետությունների» գոյությունները դադարեցվեցին: 1919 թ. ապրիլի 23-ին հայ-բրիտանական զորքը մտնելով Կարս՝ վերացրեց Հայաստանի սրտում բուն դրած ինքնակոչ «Հարավարևմտյան Կովկասի Հանրապետությունը» և վճռական գործողություններով վերահաստատեց օրինական իշխանությունը: Իսկ «Արաքս-թյուրքական Հանրապետություն» արհեստական միավորման գոյությունը դադարեցվեց 1919 թ. մայիսի 14-ին, երբ հայկական զորքերի մուտքով Շարուր-Նախիջևանը պաշտոնապես անցավ Հայաստանի Հանրապետության հսկողության ներքո:

Բանալի բառեր՝ Հայաստանի Հանրապետություն, Սյրեփան Ղորղանյան, Սամցխե-Մեսխեթ, օսմանյան պետություն, «Մեծ Ադրբեջան», Սերվեր-բեկ Աթաբեկ Քորլիանսկի, Ամիր-բեկ Նարիմանբեկովի, Յաղուբ Շևքեթ փաշա: