

**COLLECTION OF PAPERS RELATING TO THE ARMENIAN DISTRICT OF  
NAKHIJEVAN (1918-1920) FROM THE U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE AND THE  
NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF ARMENIA**

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The district of Nakhijevan was a *gavar* (district) of the Vaspurakan province in ancient and medieval times. In its turn, the 8<sup>th</sup> province of Great Armenia, Vaspurakan had a territory of 40.870 sq km. It stretched from the district of Rshtunik on the south-west of Van Lake to Goghtan and Nakhijevan districts, on the east. The district of Nakhijevan entered annals, written by the historians of the 5<sup>th</sup> century Movses Khorenatsi, Pavstos Buzand and others<sup>1</sup>. “Ashkharhatsuyts,” i. e. the Geographic Atlas by Movses Khorenatsi and continued by his successor, geographer and mathematician of the 7<sup>th</sup> century Anania Shirakatsi evokes a particular interest in its capacity of a geographic source on our issue<sup>2</sup>.

One of the most prominent centers of Vaspurakan and Nakhijevan in particular, called Jugha, is mentioned in documents № 11, 19, 24, 29, 32, 35, 38, 42-43 under a modern name of *Julfa*. It had been a town on the left bank of Araxes, similarly referred to in the “History of Armenia” by Movses Khorenatsi. It had been a centre of crafts since Ancient period. Trade in silk cloth, rugs, spices, jewellery and gems, weapons and wool, carried on with many countries of East and West flourished here<sup>3</sup>. Jugha as a town of up to 40,000 residents, had eastern and western fortress walls, as well as lodgings on the right bank of Araxes, linked to a downtown by a big bridge. There were 7 churches, beautiful houses, caravansaries, inns and a covered market in the city. There was also an old Armenian cemetery with its famous 10,000 carved cross-stones (khachkars), that had been erected in the 10<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> centuries as memorial steles on three hills to the south-west of the Jugha dwelling zone.

However, brutal raids of Tamerlane and Turkoman nomads in 14<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> centuries; then subsequent wars between Ottoman Turkey and Persia caused a grievous exodus of the population from Jugha. In the most tragic year of 1604, by an order of shah Abbas I of Persia, all Jugha had been razed to the ground and burned. Its whole

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<sup>1</sup> Մովսէս Խորենացի, Պատմութիւն Հայոց: Աշխատ. Մ. Աբեղեան, Ս. Հարութիւնեան: Երևան, 1991, էջ 83, 112, 180, 296; Փաւստոս Բուզանդ, Հայոց պատմութիւն: Թարգմ. Ս. Մալխասյանց: Երևան, 1987, էջ 267; Երեմյան Ս. Տ., Հայաստանը ըստ “Աշխարհացոյր”-ի, Երևան, 1963, էջ 72, 109-110: As Pavstos Buzand testifies, there were 18,000 houses in its centre at those times (էջ 267).

<sup>2</sup> Դանիելյան Է. Լ., Հայաստանի քաղաքական պատմությունը և Հայ Առաքելական եկեղեցին (VI-VII դդ.), Երևան, 2000, էջ 37; Մուշեղյան Ա., Մովսէս Խորենացու դարը, Երևան, 2007, էջ 111, 124:

<sup>3</sup> Մովսէս Խորենացի, նշվ. աշխ., էջ 83; cf Аракел Даврижеци, Книга историй. Пер. Л. А. Ханларян. Москва, 1973, стр. 52-53, 55, 73-78, 401; Քյուրտյան Հ., Ջուղայեցի խօջայ Նազար և իւր գերդաստանը, Բոստոն, 1943; Մ. Ա. Ավետիսյան, Նախիջևանի պատմության վավերագրեր (1889-1920թթ.), Լրաբեր հասարակական գիտությունների, 1996, 3, էջ 186; Այվազյան Ա. Ա., Նախիջևան, Երևան, 1995, էջ 124, 127:

population along with 300.000 more Armenians from other parts of Armenia was forcibly relocated into Iran, suffering great losses. They would henceforth develop trade and economy of Iran. Nearly 20,000 of the indigenous inhabitants of Old Jugha were settled in Isfahan where they built their quarter and called it *Nor (New) Jugha*. On May 31, 1667, merchants of New Jugha had been the first in Russian history to conclude an agreement with the Russian court on establishment of “Jugha Company.” A team of 40 negotiators had achieved a right of the transit trade between Europe and Asia, from Astrakhan up to Archangelsk. Later on, at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century nearly 500 persons could return home. The ruins of Old Jugha remain west of the 1919 Julfa – key railway and highway junction in 30 kilometers north-east of the district centre.

In December of 1989, later in 1998, 2002 and on December 10-14 of 2005 thugs of contemporary Azerbaijan by the sanctions of their criminal government had exploited bulldozers, then army with artillery and savagely destroyed the old Armenian cemetery, a memorial under the auspices of UNESCO - the last groups of 3,700 khachkars and monuments, built in the 10<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> centuries. Thus, they demolished and leveled the Armenian historical monument, striving to erase every evidence of the Armenian civilization at Nakhijevan<sup>4</sup>.

Nakhijevan (Nakhichevan) in its quality of national-administrative unit of the Modern History was included in Russia in accordance with the Turkmenchay Treaty of 1828. In common with the *Erevan khanate* (both established in 1747), it formed the Armenian Province (Oblast, from March 21, 1828). When this Province was abolished, Nakhijevan together with Erevan had successively entered on April 10, 1840, into Georgia-Imeretia, and from December 14, 1846, into the Tiflis Governorate. However, the Russian Tsar Government had never subordinated it to the Caspian Province, Shemakha, to Baku or Elizavetpol Governorates. Moreover, when the Erevan Governorate had been created on June 9, 1849, it embraced the whole territory of the Armenian Province, i. e. Erevan and Nakhijevan, in common with the main portion of the Alexandropol uezd (district). During the next administrative reform of December 9, 1867, Nakhijevan uezd, combined with Sharur-Daralagyaz (Vayots Dzor), had remained a component of Erevan Governorate as usual. At a time of final legal definition of the inner borders in 1874, Nakhijevan was again recognized as one among seven Districts of the Erevan Governorate<sup>5</sup>.

As far as demography is concerned, after all previous devastations and an influx of alien tribes, in 1916 native Armenians made 41,2 per cent of the Nakhijevan population or 54,000 dwellers compared to 131,000 of the whole bulk<sup>6</sup>. When we calculate

<sup>4</sup> Հակոբյան Թ. Խ., Մելիք-Բախշյան Ս. Տ., Բարսեղյան Հ. Խ., Հայաստանի և հարակից շրջանների տեղանունների բառարան, հատ. 4, Երևան, 1998, էջ 427; the Annihilation of the Armenian Cemetery in Jugha, RAA Research on Armenian Architecture, Beirut, 2006.

<sup>5</sup> Ավդալբեգյան Խ. Հ., Հոդային հարցը Արևելյան Հայաստանում (1801-1917 թթ.), Երևան, 1959, էջ 6-10; Հայ ժողովրդի պատմություն, 8 հատ.: Հատ. V, Երևան, 1974, էջ 13, 204-210, 219; Հատ. VI, 1981, էջ 15-16:

<sup>6</sup> Նախիջևան-Շարուրը 1918-1921 թթ: Փաստաթղթեր և նյութեր: Խմբ. Վ. Ն. Ղազարյան: Բանբեր Հայաստանի արխիվների, Երևան, 1993, 1-2, էջ 25 (following: Նախիջևան-Շարուրը); Այվազյան Ա. Ա., նշվ. աշխ., էջ 7; Հոհրաբյան Է. Ա., Ազգամիջյան կոիվները Երևանի նահանգում 1918թ., Երևան, 2000, էջ 77:

population figures including Sharur, they are correspondingly equal to 83,000 and total 211,000.

Nakhijevan had encountered two Russian revolutions of 1917 in the same status of District. However, after the October revolution the Russian Caucasus Front of the World War I had begun to disintegrate in December of the same 1917. In January of 1918 the Ottoman troops violated the Erzinka (Erzinjan) Truce and took an offensive. When the Armenian National Council in Tiflis tried to arrange the national self-defense, Tatar and Kurdish inhabitants of the Governorate undertook a sabotage of this militant program. They demolished the railways, telephone and telegraph lines, plundered individuals on the roads, attacked Armenian villages not only in Vayots Dzor (Sharur-Daralagyaz) and Nakhijevan, but even in the closest vicinity of Erevan. Besides, the Muslim National Councils of Sharur and Elizavetpol carried out murderous raids to loot trains with weapons and with retreating Russian soldiers near Bash Norashen, Shahtakht<sup>7</sup>, Elizavetpol. As a counteract, Armenians had raised their local squads of Militia.

In February of 1918 the local Muslim leaders had invited the Armenian National Council of Nakhijevan to join it with Persia. After refusal they requested to proclaim independence of uezd. The Armenians' response did not change. Nevertheless, on February 22, 1918, the Muslim National Council had arranged a gathering in the main city and proclaimed this land "independent khanate"<sup>8</sup>. The Tatar ringleaders at Gandzak and Tiflis had made up their minds to the similar step only under the open pressure of Turkish official ultimatum, presented on May 26, 1918. And as far as the Ottoman Army actively struggled for a march onto Baku via Nakhijevan railway, the February resolution on an "independent khanate" evidently served Turkey. In March of 1918 the Muslim population had commenced a siege of all Armenian villages in the district; and embittered opposition lasted till the Treaty of Batum, signed on June 4, 1918. Conditions of the latter envisaged huge territorial augmentation of Turkey, including almost all Nakhijevan uezd without its Ordubad (ancient Vordvat) subdistrict. The latter had been reserved for artificially formed second "Azerbaijan" in eastern Transcaucasia.

Striving to rescue Nakhijevan, Armenian national hero Andranik Ozanian had sent there his Special Striking Detachment of 1.400 men<sup>9</sup>, which had escorted and guarded some 20,000 compatriot refugees. On June 7, 1918, he had began his march into Persia and Nakhijevan<sup>10</sup>. Such a move did considerably increase fighting efficiency and

<sup>7</sup> It's another outstanding historical centre of Nakhijevan: the Arkashat (Arshat) city had been founded in III century BC and served as a residence of Armenian kings. Tombs and cuneiforms of the Van kingdom (the 9<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> cc. BC) had been also discovered on its territory. See: Այվազյան Ա. Ա., նշվ. աշխ., էջ 157-159:

<sup>8</sup> Սիմոնյան Հ. Ռ., Անդրանիկի ժամանակը, 2 գրքով, գիրք Բ, Երևան, 1996, էջ 201; Զոհրաբյան Ա., Ազգամիջյան կոիվները Երևանի նահանգում, էջ 79:

<sup>9</sup> Քաջունի Ե., Հայկական Առանձին Հարուածող զորամասը: Ժեներալ Անդրանիկ: Պոսթոն, 1921, էջ 10: Less than 1,500 organized and skilful fighters under able command were enough to protect the lives of 20,000 and later on of 35,000 peaceful civilians.

<sup>10</sup> National Archives of Armenia, Yerevan, fund 370, reg. 1, file 38, f. 26 (following: NAA) ; G. Korganoff, Participation des Arméniens a la Guerre mondiale sur le front du Caucase (1914-1918). Paris, 1927, p. 162. Only 19 documents of

improve the demographic situation of this district. Then, on July 13 he had convened a conference with the Armenian National Council in the Aprakounis monastery of St. Karapet<sup>11</sup>. Next day they published an Order № 1, issued by Andranik. In compliance with common resolution A. Ozanian 1) placed his Detachment under the command of the central Russian Government. 2) Taking as a basis the Brest Litovsk Treaty, Nakhijevan had been announced an inalienable part of Russia. 3) Population should disarm without ethnic distinction. 4) A martial law under the command of Andranik had been introduced in the district. By a telegram to an Extraordinary Commissar for the Caucasus affairs S. Shahumian at Baku, A. Ozanian promised the Bolshevik authorities at Moscow to prevent invasion of the Turkish Army into Nakhijevan and expected further instructions (documents № 1-2)<sup>12</sup>.

On July 16 the Striking Detachment had successfully disarmed the village of Yaiji, and the Muslim Council had immediately flung to the Ottoman troops that recently entered into the District, for help. Two Ottoman regiments had approached the city of Nakhijevan on July 18-19. After two-days combat they had captured it and hoisted their flag. Julfa had fallen the very same evening, too. On July 20 the Striking Detachment of Andranik had withdrawn Goghtan with 35,000 Armenian refugees; and those villages, which did not resist, had suffered massacres with most cruel tortures. On August 8, 1918, the Ottoman Army had entered Ordubad. During the same month it had completely banished the Armenian population from the district. As a result, out of 38,500 exiled residents of Nakhijevan up to 15,000 souls had not survived till the Spring of 1919<sup>13</sup>.

Besides, the gravest occupation of this land didn't finish with the defeat of the Ottoman Empire in the First World War. Disinclined to fulfill the Mudros Armistice, 100 activists had gathered on January 17-18, 1919, at Kars to announce the "South-Western Caucasus Republic" – an "autonomous unit" with the Ottoman flag and coat of arms, and with Turkish as its State language. The new occurrence strived to encompass all area from Batum to Nakhijevan and was ready to exterminate all Armenians within its "frontiers."

The British did not agree. They began to enforce their garrison. Then G. T.

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this collection (№ 7, 10, 12, 14-15, 18, 22-24, 26-27, 30-34, 36 and 40-41) had been composed in English. It was an honour, profound responsibility and pleasure to translate all the others from Armenian, Russian and (№ 3, 9, 11, 17, 19) from French.

<sup>11</sup> Founded in 1381, this Monastery had been established on the basis of Medieval University, functionate in 1369-1391. The Aprakounis University, opened by Maghakia Ghrimetsi in the St. Gevorg Church, is associated with the names of tripple-glorious men of science and illuminators of the 14<sup>th</sup> century Hovan Vorotnetsi and Grigor of Tatev. Just in this place died in 1386 and had been buried Hovan - adherent of Aristotle, who believed that general depends and consists of unities, equal in their characteristics; the Nature has its outset but is endless.

<sup>12</sup> NAA, fund 370, reg. 1, file 41, f. 5-6; reg. 2, file 15, f. 2-3; Андраник Озанян. Документы и материалы. Сост. А. О. Арутюнян и др. Ереван, 1991, стр. 288-289; Քաջունի Ե., օր. cit., pp. 68-69; Նախիջևան-Շարուրը, էջ 41-45; Ա. Չելեպյան, Հորավար Անդրանիկ, Երևան, 1990, էջ 475-476, 515; Սիմոնյան Հ. Ռ., օր. cit., pp. 262-263, 265:

<sup>13</sup> NAA, fund 200, reg. 1, file 212, f. 89; Եփրիկյան Ա., Փաստաթղթեր Շարուր-Նախիջևանի հայ գաղթականների խնամքի մասին, Բանբեր Հայաստանի արխիվների, 2009, 2, էջ 57-58:

Forestier-Walker had meddled in the armistice, concluded between the regular Armenian Army<sup>14</sup> and the 10,000 Muslim force of Sharur-Nakhijevan, which tried to prevent a return of people their homes. Officers of the British Mission had established on January 26, 1919, a Military Governorship under Captain F. E. Laughton. Three days later the first British company entered Nakhijevan. By February 8, troops of the Republic of Armenia (RA) had been withdrawn to *Davalu* (Ararat) and Kamarlu - ancient city of Artashat<sup>15</sup>. Taken as a whole, the British had quartered up to 800 servicemen in this district.

With the aim to replace their occupation with the Tatar resistance, a representative of Baku Samed bey and Turkish Colonel Halil had arrived at Nakhijevan on March 15, 1919. So, the Governor F. Laughton, had soon lodged the Tiflis Headquarters complaints of their disobedience and had been replaced by Colonel J. C. Simpson. Then, on April 2-3, the Allied Command handed the RA the railway stretched to Julfa. The British supervisors at Tiflis had sent maps to Paris, with clear assertion, that Sharur and Nakhijevan were parts of Armenia. On April 4, 1919, General K. M. Davie had been assigned to serve in Yerevan as Commander-in-Chief of the 27<sup>th</sup> Division, Southern Command, with Yerevan and Nakhijevan under his jurisdiction. He had been instructed, that "Nakhichevan Area will be handed over for the Armenian Government for administration pending the settlement by the Peace Conference"<sup>16</sup>.

To comply with a resolution, General Davie and D. Kanayan had signed on May 3, 1919, an Order on establishment of the Armenian administration in Nakhijevan District with Gevorg Petros Varshamian as its new Governor (documents № 4-5). The latter one, accompanied by the Prime Minister of the RA A. Khatisian and K. M. Davie, had arrived on the spot on May 14. He was also enforced by 2,000 Armenian infantrymen under Major General G. H. Shelkovnikian<sup>17</sup>, with 4 field cannons and 4 cavalry squadrons. The British troops had been placed in Davalu, Sadarak, Yaidji and Djagri, with 2 Rajput Companies in the main city of the region.

On July 20-25 the Tatars, guided by the Turkish officers, initiated fierce fighting in Nakhijevan (documents № 17, 19). The Army of the RA retreated (documents № 13, 16-17), while the Tatar-Turkish bandits had demolished 45 villages and killed 10-12,000 people<sup>18</sup>. The American Relief officers, who fled from the area on July 28, testified to the multitude of mutilated corpses in Araxes at the bridge of Jugha (document № 24). American establishments and warehouses had been robbed and destroyed. The Armenian administration no more existed. In the August of 1919 S. bey Jamalinskiy had assumed a post of the Nakhijevan Governor General, while Halil bey became the

<sup>14</sup> NAA, fund 200, reg. 2, file 120, f. 1.

<sup>15</sup> Now it is in the Ararat Region (Marz) of the Republic of Armenia.

<sup>16</sup> Hovannisian R., The Republic of Armenia. Vol. I The First Year, 1918-1919. Berkeley & Los Angeles, 1971, p. 215.

<sup>17</sup> Grigoriy Harutyun Shelkovnikian. He had been a Military Governor of Nakhijevan from June 14, 1919: NAA, fund 199, reg. 1, file 43, f. 130. In respect to the A. Khatisian's sojourn in Nakhijevan see also: Ջոհրաբյան Է. Ա., Նախիջևանյան հիմնահարցը և Հայաստանի "դաշնակիցները" (1918թ. դեկտեմբեր - 1920թ. ապրիլ), Երևան, 2002, էջ 99-100:

<sup>18</sup> See also: "Слово," Тифлис, 30. 10. 1919; Ջոհրաբյան Է. Ա., Նախիջևանյան հիմնահարցը, էջ 152-156, 166-168:

Commander-in-Chief of Tatar troops. The latter had asked for new officers from Erzerum<sup>19</sup>.

That was the general situation, when the Allied High Commissioner in Armenia W. N. Haskell had began to negotiate an American General Governorship in the injured region. On October 6 the Minister for Foreign Affairs M. Jafarov had written him from Baku that the Government of the Republic of Azerbaijan would not resist. Then, an Acting High Commissioner J. Rhea reached Yerevan and on behalf of W. Haskell had promulgated here on October 23, 1919 the program declaration "On creation of American Governorship Sharur-Nakhijevan" (document № 29). Its text informed that the Governments of Armenia and Azerbaijan had "loyally agreed to support" new foreign administration<sup>20</sup>.

Five American officers, led by J. Rhea and E. Daley, had come to the District center from Yerevan on October 24; they were met by the flags of Turkey and Azerbaijan. Halil bey declared he would not submit, so Daley could accommodate only as a representative of the Paris peace conference. The very same evening visitors had made their declaration on American Governorship public and without any success requested to publish it for the members of the Muslim council. Next day, on October 25, it was promulgated in the Council itself; and met with a sharp rebuff. Thus, on October 29 Rhea left Daley on the spot to coordinate relief and safeguard public morals. One of the officers, Lieutenant Colonel J. E. Shelley had been quartered at Davalu as an Armistice observer. Later, on November 25, 1919, only two days after the non-aggression pact between two countries had been signed, 4,000 Tatars from Nakhijevan had assaulted villages at Sisian, but were routed. Then, 20,000 Armenians at Goghtan had been victimized by Tatars in December. The Dasht<sup>21</sup> (Lower Agulis) was plundered on December 17-18 and completely wiped out on December 24-25. More important Upper Agulis went to the same doom on the 25<sup>th</sup> instant.

During February and March of 1920, 200 askyars<sup>22</sup> from Bayazet (ancient Daroynk of Western Armenia) arrived in Nakhijevan. Later they quartered in all key points from Jugha to Davalu seven regular Turkish battalions. First Lieutenant Naji had been appointed commander at Sharur, Edib had become commandant of Ordubad; Lieutenant Osman Nuri had been responsible for Nakhijevan. All local bands were subordinated to Halil bey, who had been later substituted for by Major Ali Demir.<sup>23</sup> Prompt Azerbaijan's sovietization at the end of April stimulated close Soviet-Turkish alliance and the Ottoman ex-General Nuri pasha Jelal<sup>24</sup> very soon had entered

<sup>19</sup> In detail: K. Karabekir, *Istiklâl Harbimiz*, Istanbul, 1960, s. 328-330.

<sup>20</sup> NAA, fund k. 1021, reg. 2, file 964, f. 129.

<sup>21</sup> The Dasht means Field. Concerning the quantity of victims see: NAA, fund 200, reg. 1, file 458, f. 16, 26.

<sup>22</sup> Turkish regular soldiers.

<sup>23</sup> Hovannisian R., *The Republic of Armenia. Vol. III From London to Sèvres, February-August, 1920*. Berkeley & Los Angeles, 1996, pp. 291, 307-308.

<sup>24</sup> Nuri was a commander of the Army of Islam who had seized Baku in September, 1918, and transferred it to the newly independent Azerbaijan.

Nakhijevan, escorted by a several thousand unit of Musavat forces. In May Chief of Staff of the Turkish 11<sup>th</sup> Division had visited this district, too. He expressed his pleasure with a situation<sup>25</sup>. The 11<sup>th</sup> Red Army had been also ordered on May 11, 1920, to occupy Nakhijevan-Ordubad. Two weeks later its commanders had complained of the Muslim resistance all along the railway and applied for permission to repressions.

When a delegation of Levon Shant entered into negotiations at Moscow, Bolsheviks immediately recognized Sharur-Nakhijevan under the jurisdiction of the RA. As a consequence, commander of the Turkish 11<sup>th</sup> Division had dispatched into the region four infantry battalions, artillery and officers. On July 11, 1920, 20 companies of infantry, 7 squadrons of cavalry, guns and machine-gun entered into fight with the Kamarlu detachment under Major General G. Shelkovnikian. Next morning the soldiers under his command began their successful counter strike. Unable to resist, the Kemalist Headquarters at Erzerum had to invite the Russian Red Army to join its forces in the valley of Araxes, and to save “red Nakhijevan” from the “Dashnak<sup>26</sup> offensive.” On July 14, 1920, the men of Kamarlu detachment passed into Sharur. They won their war against the regular Turkish regiments, which ran away together with the Muslim population. A new wave of the Turk-Tatar fugitives had reached a bridge at Shahtakht, where the panic masses crossed the river to escape into Persia. The local Muslim council asked the Army of the Republic of Armenia for the truce and negotiations.

On July 16, 1920, the troops under Shelkovnikian halted. On July 20 the Muslim National council had recognized Sharur-Nachijevan an integral part of the RA, provided it to enjoy full autonomy in its internal life. However, it did not agree to all peace terms. That's why Armenians resumed their advance. On July 25 they had liberated Shahtakht (Arkashat) and their armored train stayed only 6,5 km far from the main center of the District. The Muslim national council had transformed into a revolutionary committee (revkom), which had appealed to Soviet Azerbaijan and the Red Army to occupy this land. The “revkom” had simultaneously applied to the Armenian armed forces with an offer to organize a peaceful surrender of Nakhijevan.

After the second round of talks in Yerevan the revkom had departed once again and had not returned. On the contrary, it dispatched its own ultimatum. Now its leaders enjoyed the situation, because companies of the 11<sup>th</sup> Red Army had already reached the Nakhijevan highway near the city. Regarding the Turkish Staff at Bayazet, it also recalled 3 battalions into area. However, the Yerevan Government had begun its Armenian-Soviet talks in Tiflis, where A. Jamalian with A. Babalyan had accepted a military occupation of all transitional districts by the Red Army. They agreed to consider the whole area as disputable in the text of Agreement, signed on August 10, 1920. Instead of this trade-off, the RA would retain its troops on their positions in Shahtakht and Khok; it could also operate the railway up to Julfa<sup>27</sup>.

<sup>25</sup> Veyssel Ünüvar, *Istiklâl harbinde Bolşeviklerle sekiz ay, 1920-1921*, İstanbul, 1948, s. 8-10, 17.

<sup>26</sup> Dashnaktsutyun or the Armenian Revolutionary Federation, was a ruling party at the Republic of Armenia.

<sup>27</sup> NAA, fund 200, reg. 1, file 529, f. 66; file 581, f. 262; file 588, f. 173; Нагорный Карабах в 1918-1923 гг. Сб. док. и мат. под ред. В. А. Микаеляна. Ереван, 1992, стр. 574-575.

It was only on October 24, when amidst the disastrous Turkish-Armenian war the Armenian side came to terms with the Soviet power. Three signed documents of October 28, 1920, had provided a basis for a mutual project of the Peace Treaty. This final projected Peace Treaty read, that the RSFSR with Soviet Azerbaijan recognized the immovable right of Armenia to Nakhijevan and ought to remove all troops from there. All boundary disputes between Armenia and Azerbaijan would be resolved by them, subject to the Russian intermediation or referendum<sup>28</sup>. This understanding thwarted Kemalist plans; so on November 12-17 Turkish troops, enforced by the local gangs, had effectively attacked the RA regiments in Nakhijevan. In the heat of these battles, on November 15, H. Ohanjanian's Government had surrendered.

Thus, the final Alexandropol Treaty of December 2, 1920, had stipulated that governance structure at Sharur-Nakhijevan would be defined with no Armenian involvement, by the referendum. Till this referendum, a Muslim administration would enjoy the Turkey's protection. The clause 12 fixed a duty-free transit in Transcaucasia together with freedom of transport by highways and railroad under the Kemalists supervision.

However, an Agreement between the RA and the RSFSR, concluded half a day earlier, and exactly on December 2, 1920, recognized all uezds (districts) of the Erevan Governorship, including Nakhijevan, to be an incontestable integral part of the Socialist Republic of Armenia. In summary, it's difficult to disagree with a conclusion of the experienced and competent specialist of this sphere in the American historiography, that the Turkish policy in general, and toward the Nakhijevan issue in particular, "ripped the last shred of hope from the Armenian delegation and showed that its calculation regarding the limits of Turkish expansion and domination has been entirely wrong"<sup>29</sup>.

#### № 1

an Order № 1 To the district of Nakhijevan by Major General Andranik confirmed as a statement by conference of the plenipotentiaries of the Nakhijevan Armenian National Council in the person of its chairman K. Aghayan, principal of the district diocese D. Th. Syon; and of the Council's Military Agency in the persons of chief of Staff E. Kharazian, plenipotentiary of the ANC in Goghtan A. Melik-Mousian, commander of the Meghri Company A. Martirosian, and Commander of the Special Striking Detachment

Major General A. Ozanian

Aprakounis, July 14, 1918 (confirmed on July 13)

NAA, fund 370, reg.1, file 41, f. 5; in Armenian: Ե. Քաջունի, Հայկական Առանձին Հարուածող Զօրամասը: Ժեներալ Անդրանիկ: Պոսթոն, Ազգ, 1921, էջ 68-69; also

Նախիջևան-Շարուրը 1918-1921 թթ.: Փաստաթղթեր և նյութեր: Երևան, ՀՀ Արխիվային գործի վարչություն, "Բանբեր Հայաստանի արխիվների", 1993, № 1-2, էջ 42-43

<sup>28</sup> NAA, fund 200, reg. 1, file 2, f. 30; file 628, f. 4; Hovannisian R., The Republic of Armenia, vol. IV, pp. 228-229.

<sup>29</sup> Hovannisian R., op. cit., p. 372.



§ 1 Since this data on, I pass together with my Detachment into complete subordination and at a disposal of the Central Government of the Russian republic.

§ 2 In accordance with the Brest Litovsk peace Treaty, the district of Nakhijevan is an inalienable part of the Russian republic.

§ 3 I announce a martial law in the district.

§ 4 All population of the district is to be disarmed immediately, without ethnic distinction.

§ 5 Those who do not recognize the rule of the republican government or assist its enemies, should be considered traitors of Russia and put beyond the law; they will suffer harsh punishment.

§ 6 All kinds of weapons, outfit and all object of army's logistical supply in general, in possession of private persons or public organizations, must be handed immediately at the disposal of military authorities during two days after the issuing of this order.

The genuine text is signed by Major General Andranik.

True copy: Aide-de-camp Lieutenant Melikyants.

#### № 2

telegram from Commander of the Special Striking Detachment  
Major General A. Ozanian - to the Extraordinary Commissar of the  
Soviet Russia for Caucasian affairs S. Shahumian (Baku)  
№ 57, sent by Kh. Bonapartian

v. Kznout, July 14, 1918, 16:35

NAA, fund 370, reg. 2, file 15, f. 2-3; Ս. Գ. Շահումյան, Երկերի լիակատար ժողովածու 5 հատ., հ. 5, Երևան, Հայաստան, 1978, էջ 372; Նախիջևան-Շարուրը 1918-1921թթ.:

Փաստաթղթեր և նյութեր: Երևան, ՀՀ Արխիվային գործի վարչություն,

“Բանքեր Հայաստանի արխիվների”, 1993, № 1-2, էջ 41

Unconditionally obeying the Brest Litovsk Treaty, I proclaim the Nakhijevan District, where I stay now with my Detachment, to be an indivisible part of the Russian Republic.

I request to inform all concerned, that from today I am with my Detachment at a disposal of the Russian central Government and obey its orders. I will strive to prevent invasion of the Turkish troops into the Nakhijevan district. Wait for your reply and instructions.

Major General Andranik.

#### № 3

report by the chief of the French military mission in the Republic of Armenia  
Captain A. Poidebard - to the chief of the French military mission to the Caucasus

Colonel P.-A. Chardigny (Tiflis)

№ P/220, strictly confidential

Yerevan, April 30, 1919

fund 275, reg. 5, file 101, folios 38-39

2. What kind of frontiers will Nakhijevan get in future?

...Nakhijevan: It has always been decided that Nakhijevan will be given to Armenians. We will attempt to reestablish Armenian administration without making war on Tatars by employment of Armenian troops; to achieve this end, the English Army should be sufficiently strong to impose our decision upon Tatars. On May 3 General [D. Kanayan] will confer with General K. Davie concerning Nakhijevan; as a result appropriate actions will be decided. ...

#### № 4

order of Acting Minister of Interior of the Republic of Armenia

S. Manasyan - to the Governor of Nakhijevan district

G. P. Varshamian (Erevan) № 145

Yerevan, May 3, 1919

fund 201, reg. 2, file 82, f. 1 and 2

Gevorg Petros Varshamian is appointed Governor of Nakhijevan district since this date. ...

#### № 5

an Order by the General Officer Commanding, Southern Command of the British 27<sup>th</sup> Division, Brigadier General K. M. Davie, chief of the Erevan Detachment D. Kanayan -

“An Order to Population of the Nakhijevan District” (Nakhijevan)<sup>30</sup>

Yerevan, May 3, 1919

fund 200, reg. 1, file 212, f. 194

#### An Order to Population of the Nakhijevan District

The World War is finished. Suffering and torture of all peoples must come to an end with its expiry. We all must come our own homes, must return to peaceful labor and energetic work. Ordeals of nations have finished. The time of peaceful coexistence without nationality and creed discrimination has come again for all, be it Armenian or Kurd, Tatar or Russian, whether Greek or Yezidi; all should equally cherish their old, native fields. All must pursue an object to restore former coexistence and honestly earn the staff of life again.

I have entered in the Nakhijevan district on orders from my Government and from

<sup>30</sup> Published in: Նախիջևան-Շարուրը, էջ 102-104. Excerpts from the English translation, made in 1919, are kept in: United States National Archives, Washington D. C., Record Group 256 Records of the American Commission to Negotiate Peace, class 184.021/document 15 (following: US NA, RG), and cited at: R. Hovannisian, The Republic of Armenia, vol. I, p. 243.

the Allies.

I address you, my faithful troops! You are representatives of our Government and execute its will. You must honestly and devotedly protect life and property of all citizens of our Republic without distinction of nationality. This is to be your task from this time onward. You should piously and rigorously obey this order.

Every officer, soldier or militiaman who violates this order or affords to misuse authority or weapon for private, mercenary ends or would wish to incite one part of the population against the other, - would be shot by myself.

The dwellers must inform local commanders of all lawless actions committed by militia and the armed forces. The commanders are instructed to implement the most severe punishments against those who break our laws and good neighborhood relations.

I instruct you to establish in all detached columns courts martial for prompt punishment of all flagrant crimes, which could hinder a maintenance of the peaceful life.

And I warn all commanders of marching columns that all disturbances and every offence in their locality I'll ascribe to their culpable omission in implementation of laws and will of our Government. Remember, that our State is called the Republic of Armenia, that is, a republic of all nations who live in Armenia.

The main goal of our Government consists in creation of free life for all nations of our Republic.

Our peoples are equal, be it Christian or Moslem. Whoever breaches the law, would be punished alike.

I address you as well, inhabitants of Nakhijevan district.

I have come with my troops in this district by order of my Government and of the Allies to return home peasants, deprived of abode, both Armenian and Moslem.

Age-old neighbors must return to friendly intercourse again.

All acres, no matter who had seized them on the whole territory of our Republic, must be restored to their original masters.

I will take the most drastic measures, up to the death penalty, against every citizen, be Armenian or Turk, who would dare to resist to nondelayed fulfillment of this most legitimate demand of the whole working people.

Villages and townships which resist will be declared beyond the law and subjected to fire and sword.

Everybody, who cherishes his hearth, is obliged to restrain those evil-minded persons, which would violate my order owing to desire for enrichment at the expense of peaceful working people.

I announce and order to all inhabitants that Transcaucasian bones<sup>31</sup> are compulsory for all citizens of the Republic.

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<sup>31</sup> Emergency paper money that served as regional means of payment, compulsory for all citizens of the Republic of Armenia.

I instruct commanders of the detachments to inspire with ideas of our Government and to do their possible for establishment everywhere order and peaceful life. While evil-minded persons must be exposed to severest punishments.

Help needy people to the best of your ability and as far as possible, whatever nationality they are.

Everything indispensable to the Army should be bought for cash down.

The original signed by: English General K. M. Davie.

Commander of the Erevan Detachment Dro [Kanayan]

True: Chief of Staff of the Erevan Detachment, Captain Mouradian.

№ 6

telegram from Secretary General of the Armenian Ministry of Foreign Affairs A. Ter-Hakobian - to the diplomatic representative of the Republic of Armenia in Georgia L. Evanghoulian (Tiflis)  
№ 1488, cipher

Yerevan, May 3, 1919 (received May 5)

fund 200, reg.1, file 175, pt. 3, f. 297

The conversation with General G. Milne had produced the following outcome: ...3) occupation of Nakhijevan begins tomorrow, ...5) rail communication will be arranged.

№ 7

letter from Commander of the British Forces in Transcaucasia Major General G. N. Cory - to the Prime Minister of the RA H. Kajaznuni (Erevan)<sup>32</sup>  
№ 13112

Tiflis, May 31, 1919

fund 199, reg. 1, file 32, pt. 2, f. 171

Your Excellency,

1. In accordance with the policy of which Your Excellency is already aware, I have to inform you, that the British Troops, which are at present at Nakhichevan and along the railway, will be withdrawn in the course of the next few days. From what I saw, I feel convinced that peace and security will continue in that district under your administration. ...

№ 8

letter from Acting Prime Minister of the RA A. Khatisian - to the president of the Republic delegation at the Peace conference A. Aharonian (Paris)  
№ 2168

Yerevan, June 2, 1919

fund 200, reg. 1, file 193, pt. 4, f. 277-277 rev.

There are Turkish-Tatar disturbances in Sharur, Nakhijevan and Kars. Foreign

<sup>32</sup> Published in: Нагорный Карабах, стр. 230.

agitators sped up their work with withdrawal of British troops. There is struggle against Armenian Government. The British Command was pled to return its armed forces in the noted districts till the Armenian administration is firmly set up there. Please support by your demarches this measure of restoration of the detachments. ...

## № 9

letter from Minister for Foreign Affairs of the RA A. Khatisian -  
to the Senior British commander in Transcaucasia Major General  
G. N. Cory (Tiflis)

Yerevan, June 18, 1919

fund 200, reg. 2, file 120, f. 6

The Government of the Republic of Armenia has charged me to beg Your Excellency to seek... VI) a dispatch of 2 detachments of men from the British Army to Kars and Nakhijevan. ...

The Government of the Republic of Armenia draws attention of Your Excellency to the following facts: the Ottoman Empire sends its agents all around Armenia on a mission to instigate population; and that complicates the task of the Armenian troops to maintain order in the country, since they are obliged to prevent a formation of any seats of mutiny, aimed against the power of the Republic of Armenia.

## № 10

letter from Senior British commander in Transcaucasia Major General  
G. N. Cory – to the Prime Minister of the RA H. Kajaznuni (Erevan)

Tiflis, June 19, 1919

fund 200, reg. 1, file 309, f.156-157

...It is well known that some time ago... Your Government was invited to undertake the responsibility for the Province of Nakhitchewan. ...

## № 11

communiqué of the Armenian Press bureau at Paris (Paris)

№ 65

Paris, July 22, 1919

fund 430, reg. 1, file 433, f. 12-13

...One regiment has departed for Julfa<sup>33</sup> to replace the British troops. It's a security that prevails in Nakhijevan. ...

## № 12

telegram from chief of the Caucasus party of the American Field Mission to  
South Russia B. B. Moore - to the US diplomatic mission at Paris (Pàris)

Tiflis, July 22, 1919

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<sup>33</sup> Old Jugha.

Great Britain, Foreign Office Archives, Public Record Office, class 608 Peace Conference, 1919-1920: Correspondence/vol.78, file 342/1/6/doc.16807

...Armed Tartars and Kurds have already crossed along southern frontier of Armenia from Olti to Nakhitchewan and hostilities are occurring. On east: Tartars have risen from Nakhichevan northward to vicinity of Erivan. Proof exists that Azerbaijan Government financed, clothed and officered movement in connection with Turkey.

#### № 13

telegram from Chief of General Staff of the Ministry of War of the RA  
Colonel M. I. Zinkevich – to the Minister of Military Affairs of the RA  
Major General C. Araratian (Erevan)

№ 2

Vedi, July 23, 1919 (received July 24)

fund 199, reg. 1, file 9, f. 91-91 rev.

According to report by the commander of the armored train № 2 Lieutenant<sup>34</sup> Gasparyants, a battle which began yesterday at Sharur, had been waged all night long, off and on; then it recommenced this morning. Our pickets had withdrawn from the railway near Nerkin Norashen<sup>35</sup>. The armored train, its first wagon had fallen down into the destroyed bridge, 4 versts<sup>36</sup> South-East of Gayli Drounk<sup>37</sup> (Volchyi Vorota), had been left by the crew. Wrecked portion of the train with its locomotive driver went South. Lieutenant Gasparyants is slightly wounded; he is at Kamarlu<sup>38</sup> now. Station for pack animals has got into the hands of Tatars. They are led by Turkish Colonel Halil at Sharur. Both sides of Gayli Drounk are occupied by Tatars. Height 4108, which is to the East of Sadarak<sup>39</sup>, has been captured by Tatars; however, height 3142 to the West of Sadarak is taken by us. Everything is quiet near Vedi<sup>40</sup>. We are driving to Shirazlu<sup>41</sup>. M. I. Zinkevich.

#### № 14

telegram from vice-consul at Tiflis H. A. Doolittle, chief of the US military mission to the Caucasus B. B. Moore, American military observer in Turkey

<sup>34</sup> Poruchik in the Russian tsarist Army.

<sup>35</sup> Inscribed as Bash Norashen. Until 1905 it had 100 Armenian and 25 Tatar houses, the Russian primary school, telegraph-office, police station. The population had been engaged in gardening, cultivated cotton and rice. Almost all Armenian families had been annihilated during the interethnic warfare of 1905.

<sup>36</sup> Equal to 6,4 km.

<sup>37</sup> Fixed as Volchyi Vorota (Wolf Gates) in the text. It's a mountain pass between Mt. Dahna and Mt. Patvar 8 km south of Sadarak.

<sup>38</sup> Artashat.

<sup>39</sup> In 1906 this village accommodated more than 4,000 dwellers. It had its secondary school, library and a distillery for primary take up of wine.

<sup>40</sup> It's inscribed in the text as beuk Vedi.

<sup>41</sup> A village of Vosketap now, situated 7 km south-west of Vedi.

H. Shekerjian, chief of the American Committee for Relief in the Near East  
 E. Yarrow, chief of the American Relief Administration Major J. C. Green –  
 to the chief of the American diplomatic mission at Paris F. L. Polk (Paris);  
 the US Secretary of States R. Lansing (Washington)<sup>42</sup>

№ 3513, urgent

Tiflis, July 23, 1919 (received August 5)

(received at the State Department August 7)

US NA, RG 256, 184.021/126/Encl. 2

...Following message joint telegram of Conference of consulate at Tiflis, military attaché B. Moore, military observer in Turkey H. Shekerjian, ACRNE E. Yarrow and ARA J. Green. Please send immediately to Department of State, Major R. Tyler, Directory of Military Intelligence Bureau, Washington, MID, Paris, H. Morgenthau and H. Hoover:

...(B) Armenia surrounded on the west by hostile Turks, on the south by hostile armed Tartar forces under Turkish direction, on the east by hostile Azerbaidjan organization directing Tartar activities and cooperating with the Turks emulated north by the unfriendly Georgian Republic. Turks and Tartars becoming daily more aggressive, Turks openly violating terms of the armistice and covertly defying British. Massacres have taken place on several occasions in various localities during the last six weeks. Armed conflicts of importance are still occurring. ...Nakhichevan, officially assigned by the British to Armenian administration but occupied by hostile Turks and Tartars although north of Turkish frontier. Railroad between Erevan and Nakhichevan cut. ...

(C) American Relief organizations prevented by the Turks and Tartars from carrying out relief work in several districts where starvation of the Armenians continues. Relief work on necessary scale cannot be undertaken until order is assured. ...

(E) Armenian Government has been successfully attempting constructive work but all energies are now necessarily absorbed in the struggle for self preservation. British forces already withdrawn from Armenia except the above political officers and the Armenian Government and people feel that they have been deserted by the Allies. Rumored withdrawal of British forces from Caucasus encouraging Moslems in their plans to make the most of expected confusion. British forces now in the Caucasus inadequate to maintain order even in those districts which they are with difficulty occupying. ...

#### № 15

telegram from vice-consul at Tiflis H. A. Doolittle - to the American  
 diplomatic mission at Paris, F. L. Polk (Paris)<sup>43</sup>

<sup>42</sup> Reposited in: M820/Reel 230/vol. 204/mr 2. See also T1192/Reel 1/mr 49. Published in: Армения в документах Государственного департамента США 1917-1920 гг. Сост. и пер. с англ. Г. Г. Махмуриян, Ереван, 2012, стр. 166-168 (following: Армения в документах).

Tiflis, July 24, 1919

remitted by telegram № 3521 from F. L. Polk - the US Secretary of States  
R. Lansing (Washington)

Paris, August 6, 1919

US NA, RG 256, 184.021/126/Encl. 1

Vice Consul J. Randolph after visiting personally every part of Armenia reports:

Need of mandatory or immediate action by Allied Powers most urgent. Railways disorganized from lack of engines, rolling stock and repair shops retained by Georgia and Azerbaijan and especially from lack of fuel for engines, oil being obtained only from Baku in Azerbaijan and now obtained by Armenia only occasionally and with great difficulty owing to warlike conditions existing between these two small countries. Owing to lack of seed and refusal of Turks and Tartars to sell them seed, Armenian people have this season almost no crops except very little self sown grain insufficient for more than a few months. This coming winter there will be no food any more than brought in from abroad. Unless prevented the Turks apparently intend the total extinction of Armenian race. Turkish emissaries inspire the warlike attitude of Azerbaijan and are arousing the Tartars of the districts south-east of Erivan along the Persian border where Tartar forces have been massing for sometime, the purpose being, according to information received by Armenian Government, to totally wipe out or drive away Christian population and by means of a broad Mohammedan belt to connect up Turkey and Azerbaijan<sup>44</sup>. On July 22<sup>nd</sup> report reached Erivan that Nakhichevan and two other places south-east of Erivan were surrounded by these Tartars. According to the reports massacre had begun in one of these three places. No later news obtainable in Erivan for all telegraphic communication is out off near the scene of fighting. Armenian soldiers lack shoes, uniforms and even clothing as well as munitions and in opinion of Armenian officials and French, American and British officers in Erivan their successful opposition to the well equipped Tartars and Turks improbable without at least moral support or Allied troops whose presence would show Tartars and Turks that Armenia has not been abandoned by the Allies, an impression Turkish emissaries are spreading. American flour and relief workers have saved lives of thousands but owing to lack of crops and absolute inability of refugees to return to their homes<sup>45</sup> relief work must be continued for another year otherwise the majority of the Armenians who have so far survived will die of starvation.

...American storage depot of relief food and also fifteen cars American milk and flour en route to Nakhichevan, as well as American citizens, relief workers are in cut off

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<sup>43</sup> See also: US NA, RG 59 General Records of the Department of State, class 860J.01/doc. 30 in: M820/Reel 230/vol. 204/mr 2.

<sup>44</sup> Pan-Turkish plan of genocide aimed at a formation of vast, artificially monoethnic areas and transportation routes.

<sup>45</sup> As a result of Turkish invasion in 1918, 100,000 local Armenians temporarily fled from Sharur-Nakhijevan; and at least 350-400,000 Western Armenians reached the borders of the Republic as refugees from Eghern - the Armenian Genocide.



district south-east of Erivan and their fate is unknown.

Note. This confirms absolutely reports reaching me from other sources and calls attention to the importance of at once taking actual military measures to remedy a pitiable situation and show our ability and intention to rescue a friendly nation from extermination.

Please repeat to Secretary of State and to H. Hoover. H. A. Doolittle.

#### № 16

operations' summary by the headquarters of the Commander-in-Chief of the Armenian Army, acting Chief of Staff Captain M. R. Medvedev, acting Chief of operation section at the General Staff, Ministry of War of the RA, Lieutenant Aharonian<sup>46</sup> - to the Prime Minister of the RA

A. Khatisian (Erevan)

incoming № 359

Yerevan, July 24, 1919

fund 199, reg. 1, file 9, f. 94-94 rev.

...Erevan Battle group.

Nakhijevan Detachment. In view of damage of bridges, our armoured train № 2 has suffered a wreck: one of its wagons had fallen down and was left at the spot. The other piece of the train has fought its way to Khanukhlar. Tatars had approached our positions at the Vedi<sup>47</sup> sector, but had been repelled by our fire. A height near Sadarak is occupied by not more than 500 Tatars who have hand grenades. Both sides of Gayli-Drounk<sup>48</sup> are taken up by Tatars. Sources say that Tatar forces are under command of Turkish Colonel Halil bey. ...

#### № 17

telegram from Commander-in-Chief of the British Army of the Black Sea  
General G. F. Milne - to the Director of British Military Intelligence  
in the Transcaucasia Brigadier General W. H. Beach (Tiflis)

Constantinople, July 28, 1919

fund 200, reg. 1, file 212, pt. 2, f. 139-140

...G. N. Cory informs that Nahijevan city is surrounded by Tatars. Their total force is estimated to be 10,000 men in the district of Sharur; they are under command of Turkish Officers. Halil bey invites Armenians to cease hostilities, provided the districts of Sharur and Nakhijevan would be placed under the Tatar domination. Since Armenians lack ammunition they abandoned hope to hold these districts. Armenian troops beat off the enemy during their withdrawal up to Kamarlu<sup>49</sup>. It's a general opinion

<sup>46</sup> Poruchik of the Russian prerevolutionary Army.

<sup>47</sup> Inscribed as Beuk Vedi.

<sup>48</sup> Fixed in its Russian version as Volchyi Vorota - Wolf Gates.

<sup>49</sup> Artashat.

that massacres in Sharur and Nakhijevan are imminent. ...

I instructed G. Cory to convey Armenians that in compliance with my orders, they should retake this territories implementing only peaceful means, when they settle their matters with Tatars; and that the greater portion of unrest had been for certain stirred up by their recourse to force. They should by no means pose a threat to the Turkish frontier; and in no case reckon on assistance of the British troops. It befits only them to conclude friendly agreements with Kurds and Tatars. Territory which they can't control, they should abandon; and G.Cory should attempt to conclude a truce with this aim. I gave G. Cory orders that the British troops should not be used to bump off the conflict.

#### № 18

telegram from the American diplomatic mission at Paris, F. L. Polk -  
to the US Secretary of State R. Lansing (Washington)

№ 3576

Paris, August 4, 1919 (received August 9)

US NA, RG 59, 860J.01/36, T1192/Reel 1/mr 49

...Following additional information received by H. Hoover from J. C. Green Tiflis August 2<sup>nd</sup>. "Doctor C. Ussher returned stating his plans repatriation Armenia, refugees met with approval yourself and Peace Conference. ...

Turks and Tartars advance towards Erivan. Strong evidence to show Enver bey behind movement. Captain Barton and several ACRNE cut off in Nakhichevan region. Massacres have taken place in Azerbaijan and more are expected, perpetrators unpunished. British have done nothing except send eighty men to Erivan as guards and warn Azerbaijan Government to cease massacres and military operations against Armenians, stating that orders from above prevent interference in internal affairs of Caucasus. American, French and many high British officers outspoken in condemnation of policy which make us passive witnesses of last acts of Armenia tragedies. Useless to attempt relieve measures unless they are coordinate with military measures. ...Consul B. B. Moore and E. Yarrow. ...

#### № 19

letter from chairmen of the delegation of integral Armenia at Paris  
Boghos Nubar, A. Aharonian - to the President of the Peace conference  
G. Clemenceau (Paris)

№ 451

Paris, August 6, 1919

fund 200, reg.1, file 193, pt. 2, f. 528-531, 533-535

Tatars have organized on the territory of the Republic of Armenia in the districts Nakhijevan and Sharur a detachment of 6,000 men. In the first days of July this detachment under the command of Halil bey, Turkish officers and 30 officers from

Azerbaijan, have occupied Vedi<sup>50</sup>. Armenians have lost in the battle 26 officers and 200 privates.

Instigated by shura<sup>51</sup>, Moslems who are situated within the confines of Armenia, had rioted on July 21. Mutiny spreads out along the railway from Julfa to Kamarlu<sup>52</sup>. ...Nearly 15,000 Armenian residents in Nakhijevan have remained in Tatars hand.

Azerbaijan had arranged via Maku its relations with shura of Erzerum, as well as with Nakhijevan and Sharur, where the rebellion had been inspired for means, received from Azerbaijan. Government of the Republic of Armenia has established these facts, proved by irrefutable documents, which were submitted to the British Colonel J. C. Plowden in Erevan.

Among other records at the Government's disposal we hold the following telegram, sent by Diplomatic Representative at Erevan M.-khan Tekinskiy to the Minister for Foreign Affairs M. Jafarov:

"The Government of Azerbaijan acquires semi regular forces of all arms of service on the territory of the Republic of Armenia; they amount to 6,000 men with artillery and machine-guns. ...At a moment of military operations I shall bring this number up to 10,000."

#### № 20

a statement of the Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs  
of the RA A. Khatisian, certified by secretary for general matters  
A. Ter-Hakobian - to the President of the Paris Peace conference  
G. Clemenceau (Paris)<sup>53</sup>

Yerevan, August 28, 1919

fund 200, reg. 1, file 50, f. 121-124, 153-155

Mister President!

...At the time, when Kurd-Tatar hordes ruined and exterminated Armenian villages in Karabakh<sup>54</sup>, the Government of Azerbaijan quietly prepared Tatar uprising against the Armenian Government, which has broken out at Nakhijevan and Sharur districts in August. ...

#### № 21

order of Minister of Interior of the RA A. Gyulkhandanian - to the

<sup>50</sup> Inscribed as Beuk Vedi.

<sup>51</sup> I. e. by their Council. The first of them was established at Kars in November, 1918, by the commander of the Ottoman 9<sup>th</sup> Army, then chief of the special assault force in this area Yakub Shevki papsha, who pursued clearly defined political objects. The "Moslem National" Councils, by their full definition, indicate very vague ethnic content based at the first place on religious affiliation. Being Turkic-speaking, Transcaucasian Tatars did not merged with Persians; and being Shiah they not dissolve completely in the Ottoman mass.

<sup>52</sup> Artashat.

<sup>53</sup> Published in: Нагорный Карабах, стр. 332-334; the citation at стр. 334.

<sup>54</sup> Artsakh.

Governor of Nakhijevan district G. P. Varshamian (Nakhijevan)

№ 344

Yerevan, September 9, 1919

fund 201, reg. 2, file 82, f. 3

Governor of Nakhijevan G. P. Varshamian is discharged from the post he occupied and he is expelled from the service entirely. ...

№ 22

"Report concerning the middle, higher initial and initial schools in Armenia," prepared by the Minister of Public Instruction and Fine Arts of the RA N. Aghbalian - to the Prime Minister of the RA A. Khatisian, for J. Harbord mission (Erevan)<sup>55</sup>

Yerevan, September 27, 1919

fund 200, reg. 1, file 498, f. 68-69B

When mentioning *Armenia*<sup>56</sup>, one must understand a territory which includes: Kazakh, Pambak-Lori, Alexandropol, Kars, Echmiadzin, Surmalu, Erivan, Sharur-Daralagiaz, Nakhichevan & Zangezur.

№ 23

telegram from the Allied High Commissioner in Armenia Colonel W. N. Haskell - to the US Peace delegation; to the Department of State of the USA; to the headquarters of the Near East Relief (Paris, Washington, New York)

Tiflis, September 27, 1919 (received at Paris October 1)

fund 200, reg. 1, file 366, f. 1-2; US NA, RG 59, 860J.48/1/f. 89, T1192/Reel 7/mr 36

The following cable just received from W. Haskell "Tiflis, 27<sup>th</sup> September, 1919.

Have just completed inspection Armenia. ...Tartars aided and assisted by Turks have compelled Armenian population to abandon Igdir and are pressing Kars and Erivan. This situation largely increases number of refugees and makes shipments from Kuban uncertain. ...Railroad through Nakhichevan to Persia has been interrupted some time and will remain so until conditions improve; only dependable source of supply under these conditions United States or other outside sources. ...Estimate we need 7.000 tons wheat flour or equivalent monthly beginning December 1<sup>st</sup>. ...

№ 24

hearings before a subcommittee of the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate - on the Senate Joint resolution "Maintenance of Peace in Armenia" (Washington)

<sup>55</sup> I. e.: On high, junior high and primary schools. Published in: Армения в документах, стр. 244-245.

<sup>56</sup> The Republic of Armenia was represented here without Artsakh (Karabakh) and contested Akhalkalak, as far as their schools were not financed from Erevan.

№ 106

Washington, September 30, 1919

Hearings before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Foreign Relations.

United States Senate. 66<sup>th</sup> Congress. 1<sup>st</sup> Session on S.J.R. 106 A Joint Resolution for the Maintenance of Peace in Armenia. Printed for the use of Committee on Foreign Relations. Wash., GPO, 1919, p. 33-44.

...Here is another telegram which comes from Constantinople. This is a report from Mr. F. Tredwell Smith, who was on the American Persian Relief Commission. ...He was at Constantinople on the 19<sup>th</sup> instant [September], coming from Erivan, Urmia, Nakhichevan, and Tabriz:

"The American commissioner at Constantinople telegraphs the Department under date September 20 stating that Mr. F. Tredwell Smith, who is with the American Persian Relief Commission, passed through Constantinople on the 19<sup>th</sup> instant, crossing for the second time the Tartar lines from Nakhichevan to Tabriz, he found that the atmosphere was altogether changed. He found that a Britisher's life was no longer safe, because there were no British troops. He also found that the Americans, too, were in danger. On July 20 the Tartars commenced battle on the Armenians at Nakhichevan and, at the end of a three-day battle they drove out the British along with the American relief workers and started a massacre of Armenian women, children, and men at Nakhichevan. The number of victims is estimated between 6,000 and 12,000. Americans testified to Mr. F. T. Smith that when they crossed into Persia at the Julfa<sup>57</sup> Bridge the river was full of headless, mutilated bodies. When Mr. F. T. Smith returned along this river into Russia human bodies were still seen along the river banks.

Halil bey, who was formerly the commander of the Turkish troops on the eastern front, is now the commander of the Tartars and is bringing in Ottoman Turks from Bayazed via Maku over the narrow-gauge railway in order to attack Erivan. It appears that nothing but Allied forces can stop the fall of that city. ... No American has been safe in Urmia since the tragic events which took place in May and June last. ... In the district of Nakhichevan the life of any Britishers is completely tyrannized, and the British consul residing at Tabriz will not permit any Britisher to enter that country. Should Americans, by attempting to arrange peace without being supported by force, anger the Tartars, then Americans also would be in the same position as the British. Allied forces would at once receive respect from the Tartars. The commissioner at Constantinople summarizes Mr. F. T. Smith's conclusions in the following manner:

First. In order to protect southern Caucasia<sup>58</sup> and to prevent the otherwise inevitable massacre of noncombatant Armenians as Tartars advance, Allied troops are urgently needed in that country.

Second. There is very serious danger for Erivan.

Third. Ottoman Turkish troops are constantly arriving to increase the Tartars.

<sup>57</sup> Old Jugha.

<sup>58</sup> It means here and a few lines below the territories of Eastern Armenia, and Georgia.

Fourth. Any Tartar success in South Caucasia will render north-western Persia unsafe for westerners.

Fifth. During the months of May, June and July; in other words, long after the conclusion of the Armistice, these occurred outrages affecting citizens and allies of the Allied Powers and which required prompt attention.

#### № 25

application for retirement by the Governor of the Nakhijevan province G. P. Varshamian - to the Minister of Interior of the RA  
A. Gyulxhandanian (Erevan)  
incoming № 321

Yerevan, September 30, 1919 (received October 1 and 10)  
fund 201, reg. 2, file 82, f. 4

Considering liquidation of the Nakhijevan province ended, I beg to accept my retirement. G. Varshamian

Erevan, September 31, 1919 ...

#### № 26

telegram from chief of the American military mission to Armenia  
Major General J. G. Harbord - to the Prime Minister of Azerbaijan  
N. Usubbekov (Baku)<sup>59</sup>

Tiflis, October 6, 1919

US NA, RG 256, 184.021/309, M820/Reel 232/mr 4

...Just prior to my departure for Paris Colonel W. N. Haskell informed me of your agreement to establishment a neutral zone in Nakhichevan District. Congratulate you on such a wise decision, which will make very favorable impression.

#### № 27

diary of overland party of the American military mission to Armenia<sup>60</sup>

Batum, September 27 - October 8, 1919

US NA, RG 256, 184.021/323, M820/Reel 232/mr 4

...9-30-1919: At Erivan. Many visits paid and received. State banquet at which all officials of the Armenian Republic were present, was given in the evening. General J. Harbord met all American Relief Workers in the city. General G. Moseley and Captain G. Villaret went on short side trip to Nakhichevan and will return tomorrow evening. Car set out to pick up General F. McCoy and Colonel E. Bowditch out returned late without these officers, having been unable to proceed further than a few miles owing to terrible condition of road. Professor Hussein Bey and Captain D. Loring went on to Tiflis by train to make arrangements for the housing of the party while in Tiflis.

10-1-1919: - At Erivan. Conferences and meetings occupied the entire day. In

<sup>59</sup> Армения в документах, стр. 260.

<sup>60</sup> Армения в документах, стр. 268-279.

afternoon General J. Harbord had tea with the Prime Minister A. Khatisyan. General McCoy and Colonel Bowditch returned about midnight as also General G. Moseley and captain Villaret. ...

#### № 28

order of Minister of Interior of the RA A. Gyulkhandanian - to the  
Governor of the Nakhijevan province G. P. Varshamian (Erevan)  
№ 409

Yerevan, October 11, 1919

fund 201, reg. 2, file 82, f. 5

According to his application, Governor of Nakhijevan George Petros Varshamians is discharged from the post he occupied and he is expelled from the service entirely. ...

#### № 29

declaration by W. N. Haskell, the Allied High Commissioner in Armenia,  
Colonel of General Staff, the US Army - On creation of American  
Governorship Sharur-Nakhijevan

Nakhijevan, October 23, 1919

fund 200, reg. 1, file 212, f. 186-188

#### Declaration

Whereas peace, personal safety and security of property in Sharur and Nakhijevan districts are violated by armed clashes between Armenians and Azerbaijanis,<sup>61</sup> prompted by claims of Armenia and Azerbaijan to this territory; and

Whereas this issue of rights of Armenia and Azerbaijan to Sharur and Nakhijevan districts has not been solved as yet by the Peace conference; and

Whereas the Governments of Armenia and Azerbaijan are not capable of reaching an amicable settlement in regard to possession of this territory; and

Whereas Armenia and Azerbaijan have expressed their desire to preserve peace on this territory and have loyally agreed to support administration of the American Governor in the contested districts of Sharur and Nakhijevan, title

I, William N. Haskell, by consent and assistance of the Armenian and Azerbaijani Governments, also by virtue of the power, vested in me by the Peace conference, as a High Commissioner of the United States of the North America, France, the Great Britain and Italy, now enjoin the following:

1. Districts of Sharur and Nakhijevan form a zone of the Allied administration under the authority of American Governor.

<sup>61</sup> Since the American Governor might rule in Nakhijevan, W. Haskell used two words: "Tatar" and "Azerbaijani," as interchangeable terms. They were applied to Moslem population, who fought under the Turkish command and proclaimed their adherence to Baku, not to Persia. Neither Colonel J. Rhea or officials in Yerevan, nor his future opponents in the District center meant at a moment the inhabitants of genuine Azerbaijan in the north-west of Iran. However, the designation of Moslem National Council of Nakhijevan itself demonstrated the very vague condition of the "Tatar-Azerbaijani ethnicity," as far as the religious affiliation alone, without language, common economy and culture, without general institutions and ruling bodies doesn't produce an ethnic unit yet.

2. Colonel Edmund L. Daley, Corps of Engineers, Army of the United States of the North America, thus is appointed Governor of this zone.

3. A central Council is setting up, it would be attached to the administration and should consist of Armenians and Tatars, proportionally to the size of each nationality within zone. Members of this Council will be appointed by Governor pending a schedule of elections.

4. The Governments of Azerbaijan and Armenia will immediately withdraw the troops, which could be present within limits of the zone.

5. All the executives and persons who can incite local population, will be withdrawn immediately.

6. Thus a general amnesty is granted for all crimes that were committed previously to publication of this declaration against some individuals of one or another Government in frontiers of the zone.

7. Local administration of the zone can be preserved in its previous composition, otherwise the Governor can designate new executive officers; he will also prescribe a day for elections of local administration as soon as it will appear to be possible. The Governor will, at any case, have unrestricted right to remove every functionary from his post within borders of the zone, for his inability, bribery, and on another similar grounds.

8. The railways and telegraph that are also situated in the limits of the zone, will be immediately repaired. The railway will be placed under the Governor's control [and] will be exploited in coupling with the Armenian railway system. It will serve the whole population without distinction.

9. Reconstruction of the railway segment from Baku till Julfa in the limits of the zone will be regulated by a special Commission, which will be gathered in conformity with agreements to be reached between the Armenian and Azerbaijani Republics directly.

10. Administrative expenses of this zone will be covered through local taxation.

11. Freedom of faith and speech are declared within borders of the zone.

12. Population of sectors in this zone will not be disarmed, with the exception of those individuals, who cannot be permitted to bear arms by Governor's judgement.

13. All people are invited to obey and conform to demands of this declaration, as well as loyally support and assist operation of American Governor, pending the final settlement of the Peace conference regarding possession of these regions.

Given and published in Nakhijevan on the day of October twenty-three, in the year one thousand nine hundred nineteen.

William Haskell, Colonel of General Staff of the United States Army, the Allied High Commissioner

Official: J. Rhea, Colonel of General Staff of the United States Army, Chief of Staff.

№ 30

letter from British High Commissioner in Transcaucasia J. O. Wardrop -



to the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign affairs G. N. Curzon (London)<sup>62</sup>

№ 59 confidential

Tiflis, October 23, 1919 (received November 22)

FO 608/79, 342/1/12/21114/Encl, p. 607-609

I have the honour to report as follows on my recent journey in Armenia: -

4. ...In the evening I was entertained at a dinner where Mr. A. Khatisian made a speech of welcome very carefully worded, to avoid hurting the susceptibilities of the other foreigners present, including representatives of America, France, Italy, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Denikin's army, etc. ...

Among the guests was Colonel E. Daly, who has since been appointed American Governor-General of Nakhichevan. ...

№ 31

letter from diplomatic representative of the RA in Georgia

L. Evaghouljian - to the Allied acting High Commissioner in

Caucasus Colonel J. C. Rhea (Tiflis)

№ 3653

Tiflis, November 5, 1919

US NA, RG 59, 860J.01/180/Encl. 5; T1192/Reel 2/mr 38

...General Review of Azerbaidjan from September 28 to October 13, 1919.

In addition to our former review concerning Azerbaidjan, we state again that Azerbaidjan is still continuing to get ready for military actions.

The military operations in Zangezur of which we reported in our last review have two purposes in view:

1. the joining of Azerbaidjan with Sharur and Nakhitchewan and
2. the joining with Turkey and Turkish troops, which are concentrated at the frontier of 1914. ...

From Baku the volunteers are going to Dagestan. The Turkish Officers are registering them. The Turkish Officers have their own staff, which is situated in the Nikolaevskaya str., in a house belonging to the Municipality, next the Parliament.

According to certain informations we state, once more, that several pashas are residing now in Baku: Enver, Nuri; Enver is living there under the name of Mustafa-Mirza-Ali. ...

№ 32

letter from Allied acting High Commissioner in Armenia Colonel

J. C. Rhea - to the US High Commissioner at Constantinople

Rear Admiral M. L. Bristol (Constantinople)

Tiflis, December 1, 1919

US NA, RG 59, 860J.01/180/Encl. 1, T1192/Reel 2/mr 38

<sup>62</sup> G. N. Curzon had received this letter as already Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

...Dear Sir: In reply to your message on November 25<sup>th</sup> to Lieut. Com. Bryan, asking my comments on Dispatch № 314 on November 20<sup>th</sup>, forwarding a communication addresses to you by the Minister President of Azerbaidjan, which has sent from Baku on November 17<sup>th</sup>. On November 19<sup>th</sup>, the Armenian Government, having obtained a copy of this message, addressed me the following telegram which, as you will see, contradicts Mr. N. Ussubbekoff's message in every particular. ...

The situation in Zangezur and the Karabakh may be summed up as follows:

...Nuri pasha and a staff arrived in Shusha<sup>63</sup> on October 16, 1919, and is believed to have directed the planning of operations against the Karabakh. Seven thousand Azerbaidjan troops were at first ordered to proceed to Shusha, via Evlakh, but the regular force operating against the Karabakh consisted finally of one Tartar infantry regiment, 8000 men; 1 field piece; and 4 howitzers. In addition, Dr. Kh. Sultanov's brother was reported to be in command of 4000 Kurd irregulars and 300 Tartars from Nakhichevan, concentrated in the Zabugh defile.

The purpose of the attack was 1) to join Sharur and Nakhichevan to Azerbaidjan, by clearing the Armenians from the Karabakh region separating the two; 2) to constitute a bridge between Azerbaidjan and Turkey through Sharur and Nakhichevan, without having to pass through Persia and thus to be able to obtain arms, ammunition and officers from Turkey; 3) to complete the construction of the Baku-Djulfra railroad, would put Baku into direct touch with Turkey. Enver pasha and Eyub bey, as well as Nuri pasha, were supposed to be backing the movement. The arms and ammunition were reported to have been sold to the Azerbaidjan, in part at least, by Italians.

The attack on the Karabakh was planned to be made in force, from three directions: ...3) north, up to the valley of the Megri river<sup>64</sup>. The troops for the latter and the more serious attack were to come from Nakhichevan. ... About the [Commander of the] third force, from Nakhichevan, little information has been obtainable. It is not unlikely that this is the force mentioned in one of the inclosures to my letter of November 14<sup>th</sup> as encamped in Maku, and that it is commanded by regular Turkish officers. ...

The Minister President of Armenia, on November 12<sup>th</sup>, appealed to the Acting High Commissioner of the four Powers to halt the Azerbaidjanian attack. Mr. J. Wardrop, the Special Commissioner of Great Britain, offered to join in a common action to stop hostilities. Identical telegrams were accordingly sent by the Acting Allied High

<sup>63</sup> Shushi - the administrative, cultural and industrial centre of Artsakh. Archaeological excavations within the Fortress of Shushi, dated back to the beginning of the I millenium BC, availability of khachkars dated by the 12<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> centuries at the Armenian-Greek cemetery, close to its eastern wall; a structure of the nearest Fort situated opposite to the village of Shosh; as well as the Karkar Fortress of the 12<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> centuries in its eastern canyon, all these artefacts refute a version of the alleged foundation of Shushi and its fortifications only in the 1750s. (See: Պետրոսյան Հ., Սաֆարյան Վ., Միջնադարյան Շուշին ըստ հնագիտական հետազոտությունների, Շուշին հայոց քաղաքակրթության օրրան, Երևան, 2007, էջ 269-270, 272.)

<sup>64</sup> 36-kilometres long, the left tributary of the Arax flows into the latter very nearly and south of Meghri city. The whole basin of the river is 274 sq. km.

Commissioner and Mr. J. Wardrop to the Minister President of Armenia and the Minister President of Azerbaidjian. On November 14<sup>th</sup>, the Minister President of Armenia telegraphed that members of a delegation of Armenians, expecting to attend a conference in Baku with Azerbaidjan delegates, looking to the peaceful solution of international disputes, had left for Tiflis, and begged the Allied High Commissioner to take decisive steps to arrest the advance of Azerbaidjan troops in Zangezur and Daralagiaz.

On November 16<sup>th</sup>, Major Parker C. Kalloch, G.S., whom I sent to Baku to endeavor to stop hostilities, telegraphed that he had reached an agreement with Minister President Ussubbekoff by which all operations in Zangezur were halted. I at once telegraphed both Minister Presidents suggesting that they meet in my office in Tiflis on November 20<sup>th</sup> to try to effect a peaceable solution of the questions which had led to actual war. This invitation was accepted. After three days' negotiations, during which I was accepted as arbiter of questions to which the Ministers themselves could reach no solution, a complete understanding was reached. It is embodied in the agreement appended, which was signed in the presence of the Acting Minister President Eugene Gegekory, of Georgia, and myself.

#### № 33

letter from Minister for Foreign Affairs and Prime Minister of the RA  
A. Khatisian - to the representative of the Allied High Commissioner  
in Erevan Colonel C. Telford (Erevan)  
№ 5359

Yerevan, December 11, 1919

fund 200, reg. 1, file 362, f. 164

...The report of Major D. McDonald, who visited the localities where the events took place, made in your and Minister of Finance S. Araratian's presence, fully confirms the justifiableness of the Armenian Policy.

I am taking the liberty to draw your attention to the circumstance that one of the peculiarities of the Azerbaidjan's policy and of the general attitude assumed by the Moslem rioters, is the ever constant criminal tendency to make the public opinion believe, every time when their joint endeavours to invade any part of the Armenian territory suffer a full ruin, that the self-defence of the Armenian population is indubitable advance.

The Moslem villages enumerated in your letter were occupied in view of the extreme necessity. These responsory war-actions were undertaken in order to repulse the effort of the Sharur-Nakhichevan district's moslems to swoop by an armed force numbering over 2.000 infantry and 500 mounted men with 2 cannons and 18 mashine-guns, the whole district of Daralagiaz or, in any case, to annihilate the possibility of the mutual connection between the district of Daralagiaz and Zangezur and to cut off finally the latter from the administrative center of the Republic. The independent efforts to

advance did not emerge at all on the part of the Armenian population.

Hereby, I have the honor to assure you that, nevertheless, on account of those occurrences most severe investigation is now proceeding and that the governmental order declaring the cessation of arms is confirmed anew. ...

№ 34

letter from Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the RA  
A. Khatisian - to the Allied High Commissioner in Armenia Colonel  
W. N. Haskell (Tiflis)

Yerevan, December 18, 1919

fund 275, reg. 5, file 101, f. 97-98C

On the 24<sup>th</sup> of April 1919, the Representative of the British Commandership in Erivan K. M. Davy informed by the letter the Armenian Government of the decision taken by the High British Commandership in Transcaucasia to give up the detection of the Armenian Government the whole districts of Sharur and Nakhichevan, proposing to introduce in the latters the Armenian Army and to establish an Armenian administration.

After the occupation of the named districts by the Armenian troops and the introduction therein of the Armenian administration, the Government of Azerbaidjan, in connection and compatibly with Turkey began to organize feverishly by means of numerous agents of both of them a rising of the local Moslem population, calling it upon unsubmission and unacknowledgment of the Armenian Government's power, subsidizing for that purpose the local Moslems with money and indispensable military provisions, including machine guns and cannons.

In consequence of that criminal agitation, led by Azerbaidjan, in the beginning of the last August in the districts of Sharur and Nakhichevan burst out a rising of the Moslems, which obliged the Government of Armenia, due to lack of military provisions, to remove from the named districts the Armenian troops.

Arriving about that time to Transcaucasia and intending to stop further bloodshed, Your Excellency proposed both to the Government of Armenia and Azerbaidjan to solve the conflict by establishment temporarily in the districts of Sharoor and Nakhitchewan an American General-Governorship, till the final resolution of the question by the Peace Conference.

According to Your desires and wanting ourselves to put an end to the further bloodshed, the Armenian Government expressed thereupon its consent to Your Excellency's proposal and in expectance of the American General-Governorship, having to be instituted in the nearest future, as it was promised by You, stopped the foregoing military operations against the revolted Moslems of the named regions.

Meantime the Government of Azerbaidjan which has also accepted Your Excellency's proposition, availing itself of the American General-Governorship being not yet settled till now, continues to lead in the mentioned districts a policy of usurpation by organizing... Azerbaidjan boundary defense in the districts of Sharur and Nakhichevan, which really constitute the inalienable parts of the Republic of Armenia and are predestinated by You to pass under the American General-Governorship.

At the same time the Azerbaidjan Diplomatic Mission in Erivan with analogical to the one enclosed hereby certificates for free passage through the named territory, in which the territory in question constituting a part of the American General-Governorship, is looked upon as belonging to Azerbaidjan.

The Government of Armenia, responsible before its Parliament and people, cannot leave without response such an evident violation by Azerbaidjan of the vital rights and interests of the Republic of Armenia. The profound recognition of that responsibility obliges me to request You again, in the name of my Government, the quickest realisation of the scheme, sketched by You and accepted both by the Governments of the two Republics about the establishment in the Sharur and Nakhichevan districts of the American General-Governorship; the further delaying of it, sharply threatening the interests of Armenia, will oblige the Government of Armenia to undertake by all owned and accessible means the defense of its rights and interests in the revolted regions of Sharur and Nakhichevan, which being influenced by the Azerbaijan secret persuasion and intrigues, refuse to acknowledge the agreement concerning the institution in the named regions of the American General-Governorship. ...

P. Isakulian, Chief of Political Section. A. Pahlavuni, Secretary.

#### № 35

report by the Bishop of Erevan Khoren Mouradbegian - to the Catholicos of all Armenians Gevorg V Tphghisetsi, Surenyants (Etchmiadzin)<sup>65</sup>

Yerevan, December 30 (17), 1919

fund 57, reg. 5, file 205, f. 3-7

On December 9 (22) the Council of Ministers had held its session at 1 o'clock in the afternoon under the chairmanship of Mr. A. Khatisian, with my participation, as well as of the members of Dashnaktsutun Bureau.

During the assembly we have discussed a number of important questions, namely:

...The British. British representative had proposed to admit British officers in the Armenian Army as instructors. This offer had not been accepted at the previous session. Four members of the sitting were of the opinion that it could be unfavorable, since the British policy was well-known and such a move could be unpleasant for Americans. The other four members supposed that we could accept this proposal, taking in to account, that if Americans leave us, we would not remain alone. This matter had been discussed with W. Haskell and the latter had advised to agree. He had said our neighbors would be affected by the fact that our Army contains the British. The latter offer to engage such close persons, as W. H. Beach, C. E. Temperley, J. C. Plowden, A. Charles. ...

The British are very worried about the fact, that Erevan-Julfa<sup>66</sup> line is not opened

<sup>65</sup> Published in: Վավերագրեր հայ եկեղեցու պատմության: Գիրք Բ, Խորեն Ա Մուրադբեկյան կաթողիկոս ամենայն հայոց (հոգևոր գործունեությունը 1901-1938թթ.): Կազմ. Ս. Բեհբուդյան, Երևան, 1996, էջ 76-80:

<sup>66</sup> Old Jugha.

up today. They blame for it W. Haskell who is a representative of the Conference and discredits England by his weakness. The British had demanded 500 men to settle the situation in Sharur-Nakhichevan and 50 men for Shahtakht<sup>67</sup> district; so that a route from Maku and Turkey into Sharur would be shut once and for all. What is the aim of the British, no one knows. ...

## № 36

letter from chief of the Armenian diplomatic mission to Persia

H. Arghoutian - for the US plenipotentiary at Persia J. L. Caeduree (Teheran)

Teheran, February 29, 1920

(received at the US legate office in Teheran March 2)

remitted for the US Secretary of State B. Colby (Washington)

sent from Teheran, March 4, 1920 (received in Washington May 18)

US NA, RG 59, 760J.90c/2/Encl., T1193/Reel 2/mr 35

...Excellency: -

After the massacres of Agoulis and its environments, the Turko-Azerbaijan forces prepare themselves for provoking the new difficulties in Transcaucasia. ...

At Nakhichevan, Khalil bey organizes armed forces, at Jibrail, the famous Khalil pasha, at the head of an army of 1.500 soldiers, prepares for a new attack on Zangezur.

In communicating these verified instructions, I have the honor to request your Excellency to be kind enough to transmit them to your Government, requesting to take all the necessary measures in order to avoid certain grave movements in the future.

...H. Arghoutian. ...

## № 37

telegram from Armenian National council of Zangezur -

for the Parliament of the Republic of Armenia (Erevan)<sup>68</sup>

Goris, March 13, 1920

fund 200, reg. 1, file 475, f. 156 rev.

According to the information, we have just received, Turkish askers, led by Turkish officers, in common with Ordubad and Nakhichevan Tatars, led by Azerbaijani officers, launch a general offensive against Armenian villages of Goghtan with the purpose to annihilating and conquest them. Armenian peasants wage mortal intensive combat with treacherous and unpunished enemy. ... Demand from the Allies to impact Azerbaijan and Turkish officers. Require counteraction. Your advices force us to restrain unrest by the great efforts.

## № 38

summary by the intelligence department at the Staff of the

Commander-in-Chief of the Armenian Army - Chief of Staff of the

Commander-in-Chief of the Armenian Army A. Vekilov, General

Quartermaster S. Pritomanov<sup>69</sup> (Erevan)

<sup>67</sup> Arkashat.

<sup>68</sup> Published in: Նախիջևան-Շարուրը, էջ 205:

secret

Yerevan, April 4, 1920

fund 200, reg. 1, file 427, pt. 1, f. 174-174 rev., 179-179 rev.

...II. District of Sharur-Nakhijevan and Kamarlu.

Regarding consolidation of the Azerbaijan's power in Nakhijevan and as a consequence of the Halil pasha arrival there with Turkish officers, askers and artillery, what was noted in the previous essay; a danger of active hostilities instigated by the Azerbaijan chieftains has arisen now. These misgivings were confirmed by information from our Intelligence concerning coordinated offensive of Turkey and Azerbaijan in the Kars province, Zangezur and Nakhijevan, planned to be held in the Spring (the main direction would be Julfa and Zod, with the plot to cut Zangezur off Armenia). Reinforcement of Beuk Vedi district and ceaseless agitation in Zangibasar<sup>70</sup> made us to be equally on the lookout for regions of Kamarlu<sup>71</sup> and even Erevan. There was an instruction sent from Baku via Erevan<sup>72</sup> to Nakhijevan on March 25 to support Azerbaijan's campaign in Karabakh by its decisive military actions.

However, a certain frontier incident had taken place at the slopes of Mt. Yerakh (Bozburun)<sup>73</sup> even at an earlier time, on March 19. It revealed Tatar plans prematurely. An Officer, who commanded frontier post on the Mt. Yerakh, had recaptured a flock of sheep from Beuk Vedi Tatars; they grazed it too close to our positions. A detachment of about 1.000 men, which had been trained apparently for another goal, had immediately moved from Beuk Vedi with intent to rescue the sheep. As a result, days of March 19, 25 and 31 had been spent in the grave warfare on the Mt. Yerakh. The number of Tatar men had grown several times; and the Mount had thrice passed from one hand into another; it remained ours only thanks to timely arrived reinforcements. These engagements cost Tatars serious losses; they failed to break through to Zangibasar; and implementation of this plan had been postponed, at least, for a time being.

From the very beginning of occurrences at Yeraskh, dwellers of Zangibasar, agitated by propaganda, had rejected even nominal recognition of our government; they had moved their families out to Sharur, fled to arms and began temporize until outcome of Yerakh fighting. It is only an outcome of the battle, favorable to us, that prevented action of Zangibasar. ...

#### V. Deduction.

It is solely the recent defeat that deprives Moslems in Nakhijevan, Sharur and Igdir of the possibility to support actively the Government of Azerbaijan in its efforts to break

<sup>69</sup> Possibly, V. Pritomanov.

<sup>70</sup> Town and a settlement of Masis in contemporary Ararat region (Marz).

<sup>71</sup> Artashat.

<sup>72</sup> It was intercepted and deciphered by the Armenian counterintelligence; the data was later transferred to Paris, London, Washington and published by our Ministry of Foreign Affairs. See: A Page on Activities of the Government and Representatives of Azerbaijan within the Armenia - NAA, fund 200, reg. 1, file 427, pt. I, f. 203-214.

<sup>73</sup> It's a south-western spur of the Geghama mountains, 1419 meters high, situated north-west of Vedi. Had been mentioned subsequently in the text as Bozburun.

through the native Armenian lands to unite with Turkey. ...

№ 39

reference by information department of the Armenian Ministry  
of Foreign Affairs "Karabakh and Zangezur" - for the US Consul  
at Tiflis C. K. Moser (Tiflis)

Yerevan, sine data, after April 22, 1920

fund 200, reg. 1, file 427, pt. 2, f. 234-239 rev.

Rebels of Sharur-Nakhijevan and Beuk Vedi had always regarded Tatar population of the districts Vedi and Zangibasar as a vanguard of all insurgent movement. Turkey and Azerbaijan think of these districts similarly. By February 20 the secretary of the Azerbaijan mission in Erevan had already telegraphed to the Azerbaijani Minister of Interior as follows: "Inhabitants of Nakhichevan write that if dwellers of Zangibasar gave up, we would lose a lot in political, moral, and material sense.

If the Government values preservation of (Sharur-Nakhijevan) region at its hold, it should send money and men without delay." ...

Belligerent actions of Tatars, including attacks against Armenians, their murder, captivity etc. had begun with the coming of warm weather.

Regular military operations had began from March 19.

According to the information from the Headquarters, up to 5.000 Tatar men had launched an offensive from the village Beuk Vedi against the left flank of our Kamarlu detachment at the Mt. Yerakh<sup>74</sup> on March 19, about 16 o'clock.

Bearing in mind suddenness of such an assault, the Tatars had successively driven our units at the mountain back, so that they retreated toward Aghdamlar and Dargalu villages<sup>75</sup>. On March 20 the Tatars made an advance to the Nakhijevan highway, as well as on the cabin between Yuva village and double-track section of Shirazlu<sup>76</sup>. However, they were met by a counterattack of our troops supported by fire of armored train, had been repulsed and fell back upon their positions.

Two officers were killed, 100 privates killed and wounded during the two-days fight.

As the Headquarters communicate, regular military operations of both sides had continued afterwards, too. Tatar columns advanced against other positions, but were dispersed by our fire. We observed Tatar congestions by March 24 and their attempt to cross the Arax river by boats near village Ali Mamed. This attempt had been liquidated by the gunfire. By the same day we had noticed the digging of trenches in Igdir district,

<sup>74</sup> Noted in the text as Bozburun.

<sup>75</sup> Both villages were Armenian. First of them had been ruined and not restored. The second is called Aygezard now. It had been founded in 1828 by 353 settlers from Khoy and Salmast. In 1919, 1350 peasants had lived in this village.

<sup>76</sup> It's called Vosketap now. The village is situated 7 km. South-west of Vedi, on the highway Yerevan-Nakhijevan. At the end of 19<sup>th</sup> century it had 451 residents, in 1989 - 3836, including 2230 Armenian settlers from Azerbaijan SSR, who escaped pogroms and murder caused by their national belonging.



east of the Mt. Dalich.

Next days the enemy had undertaken an offensive against Igdir, but had been defeated by our troops and retreated. Our units had been exchanging shots with the enemy in other districts. ...

№ 40

telegram from chairman of the American Committee for the Independence of Armenia J. W. Gerard - for the US President T. W. Wilson (Washington)

New York, May 19, 1920

for the US Secretary of State B. Colby (Washington)

Washington, secretary of the President, May 20, 1920

US NA, RG 59, 760J.90c/7, T1193/Reel 2/mr 35

I have just received the following cablegram from President [A. Aharonian], Delegation Armenian Republic, in Paris:

"No accord with Moscow. Azerbaijan pretending to be Bolshevik. Enver Halil pasha head movement, begun violent campaign against Armenian Republic. Turkish Kurdish hordes advancing from Persia towards Nakhichevan, Erivan. Received no military aid hitherto. Our republic enclosed within iron ring without arms and munitions will collapse if great American Republic fails to intervene at once. Urgently essential to send ships to Batum. Erevan line open continue revictuallizing population provisions nearing exhaustion." James W. Gerard. ...

№ 41

letter from US Ambassador in France H. C. Wallace - for the US Secretary of State B. Colby (Washington)

urgent

Paris, May 20, 1920 (received May 21)

US NA, RG 59, 760J.90c/4; T1193/Reel 2/mr 35

A. Aharonian, President of the Armenian peace delegation called upon me to request that the United States assist his country in their present desperate situation. He urged that I transmit as soon as possible the appeal set forth in the following letter addressed to me.

"For more than a year we have continuously been calling the attention of the Supreme Council to the fact that Turkish nationalism, allied to the Tartar Azerbaijan, is trying to depopulate Armenia of its Armenian inhabitants with the object of replacing them by Turco Tartars.

We asked [the Allies] to interfere either by sending military assistance or by furnishing arms and munitions to the Armenian Republic to organize the defense of our people. ...

Our Government telegraphs us as follows: ...

The Turco-Tartars well armed, and encouraged by the inaction of the Allies have devastated and drenched in blood the Armenian provinces of Karabakh, Zangezur,

Gokcha, Agulis and Nakhichevan. Everywhere the Armenians are resisting desperately, receiving no help from their great Allies, not a cartridge no a sou.

Our sole help rests in the great American Republic which for more than a year has with so much generosity revictualled our people confronted with this imminent peril. It is to America, her President, and her Senate that we address a testimonial of appeal for help and protection.

It is most urgently necessary 1) to free communication over the railway line of Batum to Erevan 2) to furnish the small Armenian Republic with some supplies of arms, munitions and money 3) to continue the revictualing of Armenia 4) to hasten the delimitation of the frontier of the Armenian state.

Abandoned by all after so many sacrifices and horrors the martyrs home has entrusted its fate to the great American nation.” H. C. Wallace

#### № 42

conditions of recognition of the Republic of Armenia's Government power  
by the Muslim population of Nakhijevan district  
handed by the Minister of Military Affairs of the Republic of Armenia  
R. Ter-Manisian and Assistant Minister Major General  
H. Hakhverdian (Erevan)<sup>77</sup>

Yerevan, July 18 and 27, 1920

fund 200, reg. 1, file 484, f. 26-26 rev.

1. The National committee of Nakhijevan announces on behalf of all population of Nakhijevan and Sharur districts, that these districts are integral part of the Republic of Armenia and that all their dwellers recognize themselves as citizens of the Republic of Armenia.

2. The National committee of Nakhijevan, as well as residents of this district bind themselves not to admit Turks and refugees from Vedi-Basar, Zangibasar, Sharur and propagandists from Azerbaijan to their places.

3. Administration of the Nakhijevan district is appointed mainly of Muslims, except Goghtan, where the administration is assigned of Armenians.

4. Population of the aforesaid district is granted a right of complete self-government in religious and cultural questions.

5. Population of the aforesaid district can possess its special court of justice, coming from shariah, and can be tried in this court by consent of both sides, according to their own rules and customs.

6. 300 horses with saddles, each at a price of 50,000 rubles, and 200 heads of draught animals, each for 30,000 rubles, must be sold to the Government of the Republic of Armenia during two weeks. 300,000 poods of wheat must be handed over to the Government of the Republic of Armenia during a month; 150,000 poods of them

<sup>77</sup> Published in: Нагорный Карабах, стр. 575-576; Նախիջևան-Շարուրը, էջ 257-258. More rigorous terms and vast citations see in: R. Hovannisian, The Republic of Armenia, vol. III, p. 314.

will be delivered free of charge and 150,000 poods by payment at a price 2,000 rubles per pood.

7. Protection of the railway from Julfa until Shahtakht<sup>78</sup> is arranged by the National committee at the expense of Republic. And the Committee in common with population of the nearest to a damage district is responsible for any damages of the railway in this district.

8. Population of the said district binds himself to hold elections into the Parliament, local zemstvo and municipal bodies of self-government during a month.

9. All government issue, seized in 1919, must be returned. Besides, each household will hand over one rifle, making at least 10,000 rifles in total, with 100 bullets for each; as well as cannons and machine-guns in common with other military equipment of every kind. Delivery will commence in 24 hours after accepting these conditions. It will be ended during 10 days; furthermore, all military units must hand over their weapons the very first day.

10. In the event of not accepting all these conditions during 24 hours after departure of the delegation from the station of Shahtakht, the Command of the Republic of Armenia declines any responsibility.

11. We announce full amnesty of all persons, who are involved in anti-state crimes.

12. Government of the Republic renders the National committee all possible assistance at a fulfillment of these conditions.

13. After the delivery of weapons by population personal safety and protection of property must be ensured by the Government of Republic.

14. According to the instructions by the Government of Republic and the National committee, two hostages must be chosen from each village and five of them selected from each town. They will live freely in Erevan and Alexandropol, until all the aforesaid conditions are met. Besides, one of them will be provided for at Government's expense.

15. The Tatars must repair at their account a stretch of the railway south of Shahtakht station, damaged by themselves, and they will transfer all railway property to the Ministry of Railways of the Republic of Armenia.

Copy of these conditions is received for transfer to the National Committee of Nakhijevan.

#### № 43

Agreement between the Republic of Armenia and Government of the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic (Tiflis)<sup>79</sup>

Tiflis, August 10, 1920

fund 200, reg. 1, file 529, f. 70-70 rev.; file 588, f. 173-173 rev.

<sup>78</sup> Arkashat.

<sup>79</sup> Published in: Великая Октябрьская социалистическая революция и победа Советской власти в Армении. Сб. док., сост. Мнацаканян А. Н., Ереван, 1957, стр. 384-385 (following: Великая Октябрьская); Բանբեր Հայաստանի արխիվների, 1967, 3, էջ 46-47; & 1989, 1, էջ 122-123; Нагорный Карабах, стр. 574-575.

2. ...Troops of the RSFSR occupy dispute regions: Karabagh, Zangezur, Nakhijevan, except the strip of land, shaped by this agreement for the station of the Republic of Armenia's forces. ...

5. Pending the conclusion of a Treaty between RSFSR and the Republic of Armenia, operation of the railway section Shahtakht-Julfa is granted to the Railway Administration of Armenia; provided, however, that it can't be used for military purposes.

#### № 44

Protocol of the Final resolution by the peace delegations of the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic and the Republic of Armenia (Erevan)<sup>80</sup>

Yerevan, October 28, 1920

fund 200, reg. 1, file 12, f. 29; file 628, f. 1 - 2 rev.

I. Government of RSFSR on one side and a Government of the Republic of Armenia on another side, commit themselves to sign a draft of the Peace Treaty, attached hereby, provided:

1) That the Governments of the RSFSR and AzSSR recognize an inviolable right of the Republic of Armenia to the territories of the disputed regions – namely of Nakhijevan and Zangezur uezds - and will withdraw from the confines of these Districts all military detachments, which are under command of the RSFSR and AzSSR.

#### № 45

Agreement between Plenipotentiary of the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic and Government of the Republic of Armenia (Erevan)<sup>81</sup>

Yerevan, December 2, 1920

Ключников Я. В., Сабанин А. В. Международная политика новейшего времени в договорах,

нотах и декларациях, часть III, вып. I. М., Наркоминдел, 1928, с. 75-76

Clause 3 The Russian Soviet Government recognizes to be incontestably entering the composition of the territory of the Socialist Soviet Republic of Armenia the Erivan Governorship, ...a part of the Kars Oblast, ...Zangezur uezd, ...a part of the Kazakh uezd, .. and those parts of the Tiflis Governorship, that were a possession of Armenia until October 23, 1920. ...

<sup>80</sup> Published in: Բանբեր Հայաստանի արխիվների, 1967, 3, էջ 71-72; Нагорный Карабах, стр. 597-598.

<sup>81</sup> Published in: Великая Октябрьская, стр. 441-442.