

80 percent of the regular army of Azerbaijan consisting of "volunteer" rabble of thousands, many Turkish units, many detachments of Daghestanian Muslims and Kurds, heavy and light artillery had been concentrated in Karabakhian front. The total number of the troops was 80,000<sup>559</sup>.

On April 30, the enemy broke through the defensive front-line and moved towards Shoushi. Karabakh was split in two parts and Aghdam - Shoushi road appeared under the control of the enemy. Dali Ghazar did not want to suffer losses, so he ordered his detachment to retreat. But he himself did not move back and fought to the last bullet and breath.

The Turks who were accustomed to win easy victories faced persistent resistance in the Armenian mountainous land. Through April 5-13 heavy fights took place in the direction to Varanda. However bearing heavy losses near the village Sghnakh and learning the news of the help that the Armenians expected to receive from Armenia, the enemy left the front-line.

Though the republic of Armenia was in a grave situation on April 5-13, the government sent Dro from Zangezur to Varanda and Nzhdeh from Ghapan to Dizak to defend and support the local population. In those days the temporary government of Artsakh was created and its membership was affirmed by the ninth congress of the Karabakhian Armenians convened in the village Taghaward (Varanda) on April 25, 1920. The congress also decided "to declare the reunification of Mountainous Karabakh with the Republic of Armenia"<sup>560</sup>.

Artsakh officially adopted the flag, the State Emblem, anthem and currency<sup>561</sup>.

In spite of all the losses the Armenians of Artsakh attained their long-wished- for aim - the reunification with mother Armenia.

**THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE SOVIET POWER IN AZERBAIJAN AND THE NEW TORTURES BORNE BY THE ARMENIANS OF ARTSAKH.** The establishment of Soviet power

in Azerbaijan on April 28, 1920 brought new disasters to the Armenians of Artsakh. Yesterday's Musavatians turned into Bolsheviks. On April 29 Sultanov organized a revolutionary committee of Karabakh and appointed himself to its head. Thus the Artsakhian struggle for existence entered a new stage. This time Azerbaijan tried to seize Mountainous Karabakh with the aid of the Soviet Russia. The authorities of the Soviet Azerbaijan and the command of the eleventh red army announced again a deadline for the Republic of Armenia (RA) with a demand of immediate withdrawal from Karabakh. With this demand, Soviet Russia which was still in the period of formation violated the gorgeous rights declared by itself, the right of the national self-determination among them. Unfortunately throughout its existence, the soviet power not once took up to convergent methods for resolving the problems of the union and in part this was the cause of the "painful" collapse of the union.

We should not forget either that after the 1917 October revolution, all the peoples aquired the right of free national self determination according to "The Declaration of the peoples' rights of Russia". It is natural that the rights also applied to the historical ethnic territories of the peoples. Later all the soviet constitutions fixed the right of the self-governing states or regions (autonomies) for self-determination<sup>562</sup>. This right is also confirmed in the international treaties of the Soviet Union. It is clear that under all the afore-mentioned conditions Mountainous Karabakh, especially the further Autonomous Region of Nagorno Karabakh (NKAR) is considered to be a constitutional unit (entity) and consequently has a right for national self-determination.

On May 12, 1920 the 281st regiment of the 32nd division of the 11th Red Army entered Shoushi.

Artsakh was declared part of Soviet Azerbaijan. On May 19 negotiations were held in Varanda (the village Karabulakh) between the member of the Caucasian Front Council S. Ter-

Gabrielyan and Dro- the commander of the Armenian troops in Karabakh. Sahak Ter-Gabrielyan categorically demanded from Dro to withdraw the Armenian military unit from Artsakh. The created conditions urged Dro to leave Artsakh on May, 25.

Being tired and exhausted by the long-lasting wars the people of Artsakh accepted the new, soviet power and hoped that it would give a fair solution to its national problems. On May 25 the tenth congress of the Armenians of Artsakh, convened in the village Taghavard, proclaimed Mountainous (Nagorno) Karabakh to be soviet and founded a revolutionary committee under the chairmanship of Sako Hambardzumyan<sup>563</sup>. However the establishment of the Soviet power did not give the Armenians of Karabakh the things it strove for. Aided and abetted by Stalin, the commissar of Soviet Union nations, the leaders of the soviet republic of Azerbaijan took up to their black deed - the annexation of Artsakh to Azerbaijan. The moment was quite convenient; Azerbaijan was a "soviet state" and Armenia was considered to be "an agent of international imperialism". The red army struggled against imperialism. Thus, all this resulted in a dramatic and tragic fight... However some representatives of the Bolshevik party and some soviet state figures (S. Kirov, G. Chicherin, B. Legran) treated the problem of Karabakh in justice and always considered Karabakh, Zangezur, Nakhijevan to be the historical, inseparable part of Armenia and were for their reunification with Armenia<sup>564</sup>. Unfortunately their opinions and convictions were like a voice in the wilderness.

Through summer and autumn 1920 Azerbaijan carried on a preaching campaign, the aim of which was to falsify the history and conform it to their wishes. According to the "preachers" Artsakh, Utik, Nakhijevan (the historic provinces of Metz Haik) were the historic parts of Azerbaijan. Thus aided by the Soviet Russia Azerbaijan started a new and more fierce struggle for "devouring" Artsakh finally.

**THE JULY 5, 1921 RESOLUTION OF CPR (COMMUNIST PARTY OF RUSSIA) CAUCASUS BUREAU. THE ANNEXATION OF ARTSAKH TO AZERBAIJAN.** At the beginning of 1920 a great change occurred in the foreign policy of Russia. Before that the Bolsheviks had been sure that the waves of the social revolution would cover Europe and Northern America, throw down capitalism and establish soviet power everywhere.

But the revolution was oppressed and the founded councils were dissolved in Germany in 1918 and in Hungary (1919). Almost the whole of Europe was involved in anti-Soviet movement. After its failure in Europe and America, the Soviet Russia "turned to" the West with the purpose of spreading the Utopian ideas of the world socialist revolution in the Asian countries that still groped along medieval ignorance. Making use of the opportunity Narimanov, the chairman of the Azerbaijanian revolutionary committee, started fervent activities in order to make as much territorial concessions as possible to Turkey and Azerbaijan on the account of Armenia.

The dispute over the problem of Artsakh entered a new stage and acquired a new course with the establishment of Soviet power in Armenia (R.A.). The joint session of the political and organizational Bureaus of Azerbaijanian communist party's central committee convened on November 30, passed a resolution, which ran, "The socialist government of Azerbaijan has received the good news of the establishment of the Soviet power in Armenia from the Armenian villagers and now congratulates its brother nation on that victory. From now on the territorial and border disputes between Armenia and Azerbaijan are liquidated. Mountainous Karabakh, Zangezur and Nakhijevan are considered to be part of the Armenian socialist Republic"<sup>565</sup>. This resolution was ratified on December 1, 1920 by the declaration issued by the enlarged session of Baku Council<sup>566</sup>.

The declaration was greeted positively by Y. Stalin,

S.Orjonikidze, S.Kirov and other state figures and party members. On the basis of the declaration and by the decision of CPR Caucasus Bureau plenum of June 3, 1921 the Armenian revolutionary committee decreed, "According to the declaration of the revolutionary committee of Azerbaijanian SSR(Soviet Socialist republic) and the mutual agreement between the socialist republics of Armenia and Azerbaijan Mountainous Karabakh was proclaimed an inseparable part of the Armenian Socialist republic"<sup>567</sup>. Askanaz Mravyan was appointed to the post of the extraordinary attorney of the Republic of Armenia(RA).

However N.Narimanov, the chairman of Azerbaijanian Revolutionary committee, who himself had signed the aforementioned declaration and had taken part in passing the decision of Caucasus Bureau plenum convened on June 3, 1921, soon stood against the reunification of Mountainous Karabakh with Soviet Armenia. He persistently mentioned that in case the problem was not solved in favour of Azerbaijan, his revolutionary committee would take off the responsibilities for the activities of the "anti-Soviet groups". Despite this in Stalin's presence the plenum of Caucasus Bureau of CPR convened on July 4 decided to reunite Mountainous Karabakh with Soviet Armenia. Narimanov protested against that decision and demanded that the issue should be resolved by the Central Committee of CPR. On July 5 new session of Caucasus Bureau of CPR was convened. Without any discussion or voting the session arbitrarily decided to annex Mountainous Karabakh to Azerbaijan<sup>568</sup>.

So in reality the fate of the Mountainous Karabakh was sealed by the arbitrary resolution of a non-constitutional and incompetent party body-Caucasus Bureau of CPR. In this connection it is worthy to recollect the words of Alexander Solzhenitsin. "... Ilyich himself was the first to consider the issue of borders not of the first importance. It did not matter for them from where to cut a land; they were to gain the favour of Turkey, the bosom-friend of the Soviets. So Karabakh was cut from Armenia and annexed to

Azerbaijan"<sup>569</sup>.

The issue of Mountainous Karabakh was again discussed during the session of CPR political Bureau (July 7, 1921) which was presided by Lenin. It was decided to consider the ethnic factor and the right of national self-determination as a basis in resolving the territorial disputes. However it was a mere declarative announcement. No wonder that on July 8 Stalin sent a telegram to Orjonikidze and compelled him "to resolve the issue of the disputable land in favour of Azerbaijan and Turkey"<sup>570</sup>.

Thus, at the outbreak of the Soviet power the rights of the Armenian people were sacrificed to the idle ideas of the world red revolution.

**THE ANTI-SOVIET AND ANTI-AZERBAIJAN STRUGGLE OF THE ARMENIANS OF ARTSAKH IN 1920-1921.** Soon the Armenians of Artsakh lost all their hopes that the establishment of Soviet Power would favour the reunification of Artsakh with its homeland. They realized that the eleventh red army had simply occupied their land for Azerbaijan.

In fact the eleventh red army became a punitive detachment led by Azerbaijan and the aim of it was to annex Artsakh and Zangezur to Azerbaijan<sup>571</sup>.

In June 1920 after the eleventh red army had occupied part of Zangezur, mass atrocities and plunder broke out there. As it was written by Dro the 4 week-long activities of the reds in Zangezur and Sisian "were nothing else than an overall plunder and use of force against the peaceful, working villages"<sup>572</sup>. In one of the archive documents it is also mentioned that the reds had turned the churches of Goris and neighbouring villages into stables<sup>573</sup>.

By the Command No 19 (October 14, 1920) of Nesterovski, the commander of the 28th rifle regiment of the eleventh red army, the commanders of the 83rd and 84th brigades were to "avoid kind treatment and not be merciless with the rebellious population, so that it feels the force of the working class' punch. Do not take

the rebels as captives, but don't let them go alive either..."<sup>574</sup>.

But soon Garegin Nzhdeh liberated Zangezur and the eleventh army had to retreat to Artsakh. The atmosphere of impunity caused large-scale plunder and atrocities in Artsakh. In his letter (written on November 30, 1920) to Seymonov, one of the commanders of the eleventh red army, Garegin Nzhdeh accused the red army of all those inhuman things which they did in Artsakh and Syunik. By the demand of Azerbaijan and Bolsheviks they had plundered Karabakh and Zangezur<sup>575</sup>.

It should be mentioned that as compared with the Soviet Armenia, Mountainous Karabakh, especially its church and clergy suffered more from the unrestrained and arbitrary policy led by the Bolsheviks. If the church in Soviet Armenia was regarded as an opposing force against the new power, then in Karabakh it was regarded also as the inspirer and the organizer of anti-Azerbaijan movement. So, no wonder that there were many churchmen among the group of patriots arrested in summer of 1920. By the command of Armenak Gharagozyan, Ter-Mesrop Shahnazaryan, Dali Mahrasa, Beglar Mirumyan, Karapet Asryan, captain Aramyan were arrested and taken to Tartar, where they were cruelly killed by the Turk headsmen<sup>576</sup>.

In an open letter addressed to the command of the red army on February 24, 1921 it was written, "It were you, who told shameless lies, plundered and ruined the rebelous and freedom-loving Karabakh, Syounik and Vaiots Dzor. In parallel with the social destruction of the country you led the black deed of oppressing the Armenian people of the land. Isn't it your army which is accustomed to rob and kill women and children in Karabakh who is to protect the Armenian working-class whom you yourself had exhausted"<sup>577</sup>. The establishment of Soviet power in Artsakh coincided with the last stage of the "military communism" policy which was realized in Soviet Russia. This policy first of all led to the collapse of the former bodies of the government and the

founding of the new ones - revolutionary committees, which were non-elective and where the personnel selection was made by Bolshevik, social class principles and approaches.

The representatives of the poor villagers who were appointed to high posts, often took advantage of it and with no trial or verdict settled the scores with people, touched upon their problems that were often extremely personal or delicate. Those who were educated, healthy, and lived more or less comfortably were considered to be "alien elements" to the soviet power and were immediately isolated. So in those years many people left Mountainous Karabakh. One of the archival documents runs, "Many people were arrested and tens of them - shot. Some of them hid in the forests or fled to Zangezur to join the army of Nzhdeh"<sup>578</sup>. As written by one of the contemporarists, "With no trial or verdict the people who had devoted their life to the benefit of the Armenain villagers, were killed in most inhumane ways in Tartar. Hundreds of intelligents were imprisoned in Baku, Gandzak and Shoushi"<sup>579</sup>.

The whole of Armenian population of Karabakh and Zangezur was disarmed by the Bolsheviks. "The cruelties exceeded all bounds and measures. The Bolsheviks demanded tens of thousand poods of wheat, barley from the villagers. They snatched from them their harvest, cattle and other properties and at night transported all this to Baku and Russia. The armed guards of the villages...used all means for terrifying the population...

The Armenians were recruited by force and made serve in Azerbaijani army. Every attempt was made to oblige the Armenians of Artsakh to recognize officially the rule of Azerbaijan"<sup>580</sup>.

For supplying the soviet military units with provision the Bolsheviks robbed the population taking their cattle and the last piece of bread. The violation of the rights of the population was

also stated by the special commission which was sent to Artsakh by the commissariat of the inner affairs in September, 1920<sup>581</sup>.

The working-class of Mountainous Karabakh was annoyed by all these. Their displeasures and protests became quite heated and were close to being the last straw.

Artsakh had to endure a period of Civil War which lasted from autumn 1920 to April 1921.

In autumn of 1920 Dro appointed Tevan Stepanyan to the post of the assistant of Nzhdeh in Mountainous Karabakh and ordered him to lead the popular uprising that had broken out in Artsakh. In autumn 1920 Tevan Stepanyan met Garegin Nzhdeh in Kapan. The uprisings sought for the reunification of Karabakh with Zangezur and Armenia. Breaking out in Dizak it soon spread all over Artsakh. The number of the rebels soon exceeded 1800<sup>582</sup>.

In a very short time they managed to liberate Varanda, Dizak and a considerable part of Khachen. The Bolshevik public figures and statemen wrote with anxiety, "Our enemy unites the villages it had occupied in Mountainous Karabakh with the Ararat republic (Republic of Armenia)<sup>583</sup>.

The authorities of Azerbaijan exhorted the command of the red army to mass forces on Karabakhian front. Retreating from Zangezur to Karabakh the 250 th, 251 st and 252 nd regiments of 28 th division recruited new forces, then joined the communist regiments organized in Varanda, Dizak, Khachen and created a front against the rebels. Despite it the liberation movement that had started in Artsakh aquired a new course and gathered momentum in January and February of 1921. On April 15, 1921 the communist regiment of Dizak led by Arshak Balasanov attacked the rebels, but had to retreat with shame.

However on April 19, 1921 the red army occupied first Dizapayt mountain, then the villages Aghjakend and Hin Tagher. Being extremely pressed by the great number of soviet forces the regiments of Tevan left the village Khtsaberde- their last strategic refuge. In those days the Turks living on the lands lying between

Dizak and Syounik actively supported the Bolsheviks. In order to safeguard the passing of the rebels to Zangezur a regiment led by Amirjanyan, one of the commanders of Nzhdeh crossed the border of Zabukh at night of April 18, then cut its way through the defense line and opened a pass for retreat. About 700 rebels from Artsakh went to Zangezur and joined the forces of Garegin Nzhdeh<sup>584</sup>.

In the further years many of the participants of the rebel (also called tevanakans) were shot or imprisoned. Tevan Stepanyan himself could not escape a sad fate. Through 1920s-30s T. Stepanyan promoted activities in Persia. He made several attempts to settle again in his homeland but being persecuted by special services he again went away to Persia. In 1941 soviet secret services arrested him in the suburbs of Tehran, sent him to Baku, where he was soon shot.

Thus the anti-Azerbaijanis and anti-Soviet movement of Armenians of Artsakh (1920-1921) had such a sad end.

## THE AUTONOMOUS REGION OF MOUNTAINOUS KARABAKH (NKAR) IN 1921-40

**THE FORMATION OF NKAR.** The Armenians of Artsakh did not accept the arbitrary and illegal resolution adopted by Caucasus Bureau of CPR on July 5, 1921. A wave of civil recalcitrance against the Azerbaijanian authorities of Artsakh rose and spread all over Mountainous Karabakh. For breaking the will of the Armenians of Karabakh and a number of officials arrived in Artsakh from Baku.

After Askanaz Mravyan had returned back to Yerevan, the authorities of Azerbaijan appointed Aliheydar Karayev to the plenipotentiary representative of Karabakh. At almost the same time several punitive Azerbaijanian detachments settled in Artsakh. (Despite this the will of the Artsakhians remained adamant). The Azeri population of Artsakh was armed. This time Narimanov tried to solve the problem of Artsakh with the help of an Armenian. As a second plenipotentiary representative he sent Levon Mirzoyan, who was the assistant of the ministers of Azerbaijan and the chairman of state council of the trade unions to Karabakh. The public and state figures of Azerbaijan threatened to use force in case the Armenians of Artsakh did not fulfill the demands of Azerbaijan.

The plenipotentiary representatives convened special conferences of region councils in Artsakh and tried to extort decisions favourable for Azerbaijan. On August 1, 1921 a special conference of Varanda councils was convened in the village Haghorti, where despite the efforts of Levon Mirzoyan no decision driven from Azerbaijanian interests, was adopted. Moreover one of the deputies again asserted the will of Armenians of Artsakh to

reunite with mother Armenia<sup>585</sup>. The Artsakhians of other regions had the same attitude.

On August 8, 1921 Levon Mirzoyan went back to Baku and suggested to the authorities of Azerbaijan that they should "grant" self-governance to Mountainous Karabakh. However that suggestion was no news for the Artsakhians, because the status of a self-governing state(region) had been imparted to Mountainous Karabakh still on July 5, 1921, by the notorious resolution of Caucasus Bureau of CPR, On July 20, 1921 a special commission was set up to work out the Constitution of Mountainous Karabakh<sup>586</sup>.

Aided by many influential statesmen from Moscow( the centre) the nationalist leaders of Azerbaijan attained their main aim, that is the annexation of Mountainous Karabakh. Soon a large-scale propaganda was started in order to deprive the Armenians of Artsakh of their last chance of living in freedom. On September 26, 1921 the Political and Organizational Bureaus of the Communist Parties of Azerbaijan decided, "to request the Caucasus Bureau to revise its decision concerning the separation of Mountainous Karabakh and not to declare it self governing"<sup>587</sup>.

For justifying and giving reasons for their decision the Azeri authorities created a special commission(Karayev Efendiyev Stukalov and Mirzoyan) and hastily sent them to Karabakh "for collecting material"<sup>588</sup>. On October 21, 1921 this commission convened the conference of the responsible executives of Mountainous Karabakh. It is interesting to note that most of the participants of the conference were Muslim. Karayev - one of the members of the commission delivered a report concerning the "The situation in Karabakh". The resolution of the conference ran, "The Conference of the Workers of Karabakh considers the cessation, and the subsequent declaration of the region as self-governing to be inexpedient and find that the measures mentioned in the formula are themselves the best solution of the Karabakhian problem"<sup>589</sup>. The formula in fact suggested to "shoot mercilessly" the recalcitrant people. The seventh point of the

resolution demanded "the dismissal of all those workers who had patriotic spirit, nationalistic moods, and their immediate substitution by internationalist workers"<sup>590</sup>.

This approach of the conference created opportunities for discharging patriotic people living with the concerns of the nation and for their substitution by Azerbaijanis or at best by the "internationalist" Armenians who were of their opinion.

So proceeding from the resolution of the conference, the central committee of the communist party of Azerbaijan asserted that, "There is no such thing as "the Karabakhian problem"<sup>591</sup>.

In February 1922 the first congress of the communist organizations of Transcaucasus was convened in Tiflis. While speaking about the issues of the self-governance of Karabakh, Kuliev-the representative of Azerbaijan in the congress pointed out that the Azerbaijanian central Committee was right to decline Karabakh's request for self-governance. He also added that the approach of the committee contributed greatly to making peace in Karabakh and in Transcaucasus<sup>592</sup>.

Despite the "oppressing" atmosphere and the growing hardships the Armenians of Artsakh did not lose their hope and continued to struggle for the reunification with mother Armenia. They boldly raised the unyielding demand for the reunification with Armenia during the pre-election meetings of the council's reelections (spring, 1922), the sessions and conferences of the councils.

Levon Mirzoyan was the witness of the course of events and realized that the situation could run out of control at any moment. So on August 8, 1921 he suggested that the central committee and the committee of Transcaucasian countries should "recognize the entire Mountainous Karabakh as an independent administrative unit subject to the communist council of Azerbaijani people and the Committee of Central Affairs"<sup>593</sup>.

However the issue of granting self-governance to the Armenians of Artsakh troubled also some leaders of the

Committee of Transcaucasian countries. In February 1922, during the first congress of the communist party Sergo Orjonikidze touched upon the problem and said, "After long discussion of the problem of Mountainous Karabakh, we came to the conclusion that Karabakh should be given self-governance within the jurisdiction of the Soviet republic of Azerbaijan. The implementation of the self-governance was assigned to the central committee of Azerbaijanian Communist Party. I asked comrade Kirov, why the decision had not been put into practice yet and received the answer that the Armenians and the Muslims had come to an agreement in the question that there was no need for self-governance. I do not know if it is so or not but in any case the question had been treated in a way that the population acquired an opportunity of solving its problem"<sup>594</sup>.

In autumn 1922 the authorities of Azerbaijan started a new campaign. In November, 1922 the chairmen and the secretaries of village and regional councils were summoned to a conference. The conference was convened in Shoushi. Karayev, the first secretary of the central committee of the Azerbaijani Communist Party and his assistant Levon Mirzoyan also took part in the conference. Karayev here demanded the unification of Mountainous Karabakh with the Soviet Socialist Republic(SSR) of Azerbaijan. However the majority of the participants considered the unification of Karabakh "with Azerbaijani SSR not to be desirable". They insisted on the opinion, that the problem should be resolved via a referendum of the territory's population. Several deputies expressed the viewpoint that if Karabakh was to undergo unification, it would be much better and desirable for its working class to become part of Soviet Armenia.

However under the pressure of Karayev and Mirzoyan the conference passed a resolution according to which Artsakh was left within the borders and jurisdiction of Azerbaijan and had the status and rights of an autonomous region<sup>595</sup>.

The Armenians of Artsakh refused to recognize the arbitrary

resolution of the conference, because it had not been authorized for resolving the problem of Karabakh. A huge wave of protests rose in Artsakh and the leaders of the Committee of Transcaucasian countries tried to give a rapid solution to the problem. On October 27, 1922 the chairmen of the Committee of Transcaucasian countries ordered the Central Committee of Azerbaijanian Communist Party to implement(realize) the July 5, 1921 resolution of Caucasus Bureau<sup>596</sup>. Then the plenum of the Committee of Transcaucasian countries, which was convened in Baku on February 14, 1922 decided to create a special commission of seven members attached to the council of the popular committee of Azerbaijanian SSR. The commission was to control the situation in Mountainous Karabakh. Shoushi town became the seat of the commission and Karagyozev was appointed to the post of the chairman<sup>597</sup>.

The indignation of the Armenians of Artsakh was also felt in a letter written by Shadunts, the member of the committee of Mountainous Karabakh and addressed to Orjnikidze on June 18, 1923. In his letter, the copies of which were sent to Central Committee of Azerbaijanian and Armenian Communist Party Shadunts wrote, "the reconstruction of Karabakh will be impossible if we go on shutting eyes to the destruction and exhaustion of Zangezur that had once been among the richest Armenian lands. The problems of Karabakh and Zangezur should be resolved together". Continuing with his thoughts Shadunts came to the following conclusion, "I think it is necessary to declare Artsakh and Zangezur to be one self-governing unit for the fair solution of the national problems and the economic restoration of the lands. Such tragic facts as the slaughter of Armenians in Shoushi, the disarming of Zangezur Communist detachment in Shoushi, the complete disregard towards the interests of this zone prove once more that we must not leave Artsakh within the borders of Azerbaijan. So I think, that the self-governing region (state) of Karabakh should obey directly the Committee of

Transcaucasian people"<sup>598</sup>.

Even Stalin, who also had anti-Armenian moods noticed that the authorities of Azerbaijan openly led anti-Armenian policy. So in the twelfth congress of CPR (Caucasus Bureau) convened on April, 1923 he marked, "Some part of Azerbaijanis openly express the view-point, that they are the aborigines and the Armenians - strangers, and suggest that the interests of Armenia should not be taken into consideration. It is surely chauvinism"<sup>599</sup>. Then in his final report of the same conference he mentioned, "In Azerbaijan the Azerbaijanians, that is the majority of the population oppress the Armenians and kill them. They also did this in Nakhijevan, where almost all the Armenians were killed"<sup>600</sup>.

Despite it the authorities of Azerbaijan led by Narimanov delayed the declaring of self-government of Mountainous Karabakh. In one of his letters addressed to Stalin, Trotski and Radek(1923), Narimanov wrote, "there are a lot of Russians, Armenians in Azerbaijan, whose aim is to annihilate the Turks (Azeris) in the republic and to root out the holy revolution of the East. Under the pressure of Mirzoyan, Mountainous Karabakh has been declared a self-governing region. I failed to do it myself not because I was against autonomy, but just because the Armenian villagers did not want it. Aided by the leaders of Dashnaksutiun Party Mirzoyan paved a way for it and transferred the discussion and the revision of the issue to the Committee of Transcaucasian countries. The Dashnaksutiun party will soon demand autonomy for Gandzak. The party leads its active policy in the entire Azerbaijan"<sup>601</sup>.

Many protests against the attitudes of the Azerbaijanian leadership were sent to Tiflis, Moscow and Yerevan. The Committee of Transcaucasian countries again revised the issue of Mountainous Karabakh. The plenum of the Committee of Transcaucasian countries which was convened on June 27, 1923 heard the talks of Shadunts and Karakozov on the activities of the temporary committee of Karabakh and demanded, "to declare



Mountainous Karabakh self-governing state in a month"<sup>602</sup>.

On July 1, 1923 the chairmen of the Central Committee of Azerbaijanian communist party commissioned the Committee of Central Affairs to "declare Mountainous Karabakh a self-governing region, with the centre Khankendi. Armenak Karakozov was appointed to the Chairman of the revolutionary committee of Mountainous Karabakh and Sero Manutsyan to the Chairman of the regional committee of the party"<sup>603</sup>.

On July 1, 1923 the Committee of Central Affairs of Azerbaijan adopted a declaration on "The proclamation of the autonomous region of Mountainous (Nagorno) Karabakh". However immediately after this the plain districts and Aghdam burgh were separated from the region. Aghdam became now the administrative centre of Azerbaijan. A "Kurdian province" was established on the western part of mountainous territory of Karabakh- on the part that lies between the banks of Araks and the northern slopes of Minor Caucasus mountain range. Thus Azerbaijan cut off Artsakh from mother Armenia. With its policy Azerbaijan tried to show the centre (Moscow) its "care" for the national minorities of the republic. In fact after Azerbaijan had realized its evil plans, it abolished the Kurdian province and founded the districts of Kelbajar, Lachin, Kubatli and Zangezur. Moreover in a very short time almost the whole of the Kurdian population of the afore-mentioned districts was turkified. The whole of the territory of northern Artsakh, exactly from the village Talish to the southern banks of lake Alharak (Gyol-Gyol) as well as a considerable part of the former Giulistan principality which included 107 Armenian villages were cut off from the region. At the same time a number of villages of the eastern parts of Dizak, Varanda and Jraberd were annexed to the neighbouring Azerbaijanian regions.

Thus only 4.4 thousand sq. km with 248 settlements and town Shoushi was left to Artsakh. Whereas the historic territory of Artsakh had 12 provinces and was 11,5 thousand sq. km.

The centre(capital) of the region was shifted from Shoushi to Stepanakert and that definitely pursued some goals. With this, as a matter of fact, the authorities of Azerbaijan prevented the Armenians of Shoushi from returning to their birthplace. The regulations and the constitution of NKAR were adopted through 1923-1924<sup>604</sup>. With those documents NKAR became the appendage of Azerbaijan and was turned into an ordinary colony. So the Armenians of Artsakh lost their independence.

Thus, from the very beginning of the Soviet power establishment Azerbaijan started practising a policy of torturing and complete occupation of Artsakh, which brought new disasters to the Armenians of the eastern provinces.

**NKAR DURING THE YEARS OF NEP (NEW ECONOMIC POLICY):** The continuous predatory inroads of the Turkish bandits (1917-20), the mean and cinic political tricks of the English, the anti-Armenian back-stage plots hatched by the newly proclaimed Soviet Russia had almost utterly worn out the national economy and driven the disappointed population to a desparate state. If we add to all the above-mentioned the ignominous government of Khosrov Bek Sultanov, the acts of violence comitted against the Armenian population, the assaults of Musavatian sanguinary gangs, it will become quite obvious that Artsakh was in an awful situation.

Under such complicated conditions the eleventh red army, which was infatuated with the frenzy of the international revolution, forced Soviet power into Mountainous Karabakh with the help of the Armenian Bolsheviks. The Armenians of Artsakh naively hoped to attain their aims under the new rule, so they devoted their working labour to the consolidation of the Soviet power. The policy of military communism practised in Mountainous Karabakh from 1920 to the beginning of 1921 completely destroyed the national economy. As compared with 1913 the harvest of grain cultured-plants in 1921 was reduced

almost twice. The gardens were not cultivated and the sowing of technical crops was also almost stopped.

At the end of 1920 Ali Heydar Shirvani, the special commissar of Karabakh introduced a report on the situation of Karabakh to the Revolutionary Committee of Azerbaijan. In his report he particularly noted, "The number of hungry and barefoot people increases in the villages. Thousands of refugees from the places which have been destroyed during the military actions, wander in the regions of Karabakh looking for food and warm clothes. The poor men don't cultivate their arable lands because of the lack of seeds and cattle. This year grain has been purveyed only for the army. There are no means for transporting the grain, that is why not only the villagers but also the workers, solidiers, patients in the hospitals of Shoushi province starve to death"<sup>605</sup>.

However at that time many soviet countries were also in a dreadful situation. So in March, 1921 the CPR convened its 10 th congress and adopted a decision to begin practising a new economic policy of military communism.

For the rapid and complete "rehabilitation" of agronomy it was necessary to start with the improvements in agriculture.

From May 5, 1920 to November, 1921, 117,560 dissiatinas of arable lands and 42,764 dissiatinas of pastures were nationalized and given to the villagers. About 140 thousand dissiatinas of forests in Mountainous Karabakh were decreed national on May 15, 1921<sup>606</sup>. But again the new decrees and decisions were realized not fully and again violated the rights of the Armenians of Mountainous Karabakh. Thus according to a new law three dissiatinas of arable land was to be given per capita in mountainous and only one dissiatina -per capita in plain regions. In Karabakh the law was fulfilled with adverse exactness. In its plain regions-in the villages settled mostly by Azerbaijanian population 5 dissiatinas and in mountainous regions a little more than 0,5 dissiatinas were given per capita. Besides, many farmsteads were not given lands at all<sup>607</sup>.

For putting the political principales of NEP into practice the conference of party member executives of Artsakh's provinces was convened in Shoushi on April 21, 1921. During the conference it was agreed and decided to allow the free trade of food-and industrial-products, the export of products from one province to another, the leasing of non-profitable and inactive industrial enterprises-first of all the silk-spinning factories<sup>608</sup>. Per the decision of the conference 11 nationalized silk-spinning factories in Dizak and Khachen regions were given to private persons on terms of a lease contract<sup>609</sup>. Soon the progress in silk-production became quite evident. Due to hard and persistent work already by 1922 five factories, one of which was state enterprise and the others-leasing holdings had started working<sup>610</sup>. Those factories imported silk-cocoon from Azerbaijan and Georgia<sup>611</sup>. For supplying the factories with high-quality silk-cocoon,Chichean - Italian cocoon-seed growing company was founded in Hadrut in 1924<sup>612</sup>.

Already in 1925 the growth of silk-worm farming enabled (afforded) more than 45 percent of village farmsteads to receive much profit.

The silk Industry of Karabakh which was a state conglomerate of the silk-weaving factories of NKAR was founded in August 1925. It (created) gave new opportunities for the further development of silk-industry in the region. The factories tried to eliminate or minimize the amount of handiwork that had been used in the process of work before. It wanted to introduce the new progressive techniques, methods of work, plan the sale of the production. The main goal of the conglomerate was to build a new silk-producing factory in Stepanakert. And on September 20, 1929 the first subsidiary building of Stepanakert factory was delivered for operation.

In 1926 an experimental silk-worm growing farm with 600,000 mulberry trees in its greenhouses was founded in the region<sup>613</sup>.

It should be mentioned that the social conditions under which

the workers of the factories lived also improved greatly. As compared with the pre-war period the salary of the workers in 1931 grew in 17 times<sup>614</sup>.

The progress and improvements in agriculture and cattle-breeding were also tangible. In 1922 instead of the 17, 220 dissiatinas of 1921 28,000dissiatinas of <sup>615</sup> lands was cultivated. In 1925 the arable land of 33,270 dissiatinas gave 852 thousand poods of grain which constituted 92,2 percent<sup>616</sup> of pre-war period.

The development of different branches of economy demanded the intensive development of a given branch of economy in parallel with the extensive development of agronomy. The reconstruction of the old irrigation canals and the building of the new ones greatly contributed to the solution of that problem. The problem of the building new water-channels was urgent because of the unfavourable climatic conditions, the rare and incommensurate atmospheric precipitations, the quality of the soil and the presence of thousands of hectares of arable land. At that time there was only 10,777 dissiatinas of irrigable arable land in Mountainous Karabakh, and it constituted then only 17,1 percent<sup>617</sup> of all the arable lands of the region.

Through May 1921-May 1922, 45 water canals<sup>618</sup> were reconstructed in Shoushi province. In 1924 there were 61 canals in the entire region. In many villages new irrigation channels and pits were dugged on the initiative of the villagers. The enlarged session of February 23, 1925 made a decision to start immediately the rebuilding works of the irrigation channels of Talish, Madaghis, Prjamal and Uzun Talin<sup>619</sup>. The measures undertaken resulted in the considerable increase of irrigable lands by the end of 1925.

However the building of the channels had been stopped since 1930's and it caused great damages which can be felt even nowadays. It goes without saying that the intensive progress of agriculture would have been impossible without the

automatization and realization of special agricultural programs. In 1925 there were special stations in the region which gave the villagers machines for land cultivation (tractors, combines winowwers etc) tools (ploughes, sprayers etc) and other agricultural articles for rent.

In 1925 almost 65 percent<sup>620</sup> of the region's grain seed was sorted out. The local directing bodies held courses of lectures in agriculture, organized small societies, field exhibitions. In 1923-1924 agricultural posts were opened in all the districts of NKAR.

Certain measures were taken to develop and make improvements in cattle-breeding. It was necessary not only to increase the cattle population but also to change and improve the pedigree. And so in 1925 an Alpine cattle-breeding farm was opened in Lisagor (nearby the so called "sour spring"). The farm later grew into a large state society which in 1930 was called "An all-union cattle-breeding soviet farm". The society played a great role in improving the thoroughbred of the cattle of not only Karabakh but also of the neighbouring regions, in instructing the villagers for the cultivation of farm products and breeding the cattle according to the advanced methods and techniques.

Thanks to good work and great efforts already in 1925 (as compared with 1921) the number of all kinds of cattle-population redoubled and was equal to 201,3 thousand heads.

The development of vinegrowing in NKAR conditioned the re-establishment of spirit and drinks-production. In those years more than 30% of village households were busy with producing spirit and different kinds of drinks and annually gave products to a total value of 640,000 rubles<sup>621</sup>.

Distilling factories were built in Askeran (1925) and in the village Karmir Shuka(1927). On the basis of both factories the local ruling bodies founded the conglomerate of the wine and spirit of Mountainous Karabakh known as Ghargintrest<sup>622</sup> in 1927.

All the above-mentioned facts and figures testify to the fact that the new economic policy was necessary and that it proved its

value. It increased the commodity circulation, stimulated economy, raised the living standard of the people. In short the life gradually settled down.

**THE KOLKHOZ (COLLECTIVE FARM) MOVEMENT AND ITS CONSEQUENCES.** After October revolution the formation process of the so called socialist production relations went on under the conditions of antagonism of complicated and often incompatible ideas.

The fact is that the great majority of the soviet population were villagers busy in small-scale production of goods and devoted to their homeland. It is natural that in such countries the agriculture could be developed and all the members of society could acquire new, high living standards mainly by constant increase and stimulation of the villagers material incentive<sup>623</sup>.

The soviet agriculture (agronomy) developed in another way. In autumn 1929 the Central Committee of the Communist Party began a general collectivization and thus also a policy of eliminating the proprietorship and the proprietors as a class. In doing so the committee distorted the traditional all-human principles of agronomy, disregarded the strict principle that the participation of people in proportional development and the establishment of different kinds of co-operation must be voluntary. The November 1929, plenum of the Central Committee regarded that non-motivated change as "...a new historic stage in building socialism in our country"<sup>624</sup>.

The collectivization of agriculture was not driven from the spirit and conditions of the period. It was just a way of extorting gratuitous material financial means as well as unpaid work. The vice of the collectivization movement seized also the Autonomous Region of Mountainous Karabakh. During the NEP years, especially through 1925-1928 several attempts were made to create collective farms in the region. Thus in 1925 an agriculture commune bearing the name of Stepan Shahoumyan was founded in Jraberd and in 1927 one more commune appeared in Amaras

(Martuni region). At the end of 1928 the 27 collective farms (kolkhozes) which included 453 farmsteads constituted only 1.8 percent of the region's village households<sup>625</sup>.

This fact indicates that despite the efforts of the Bolshevik leaders, most of the people did not like the idea of creating collective farms and it was obviously condemned to failure.

However this did not keep back the party and soviet bodies. They evaded the simplest ways of co-operation and immediately wanted to create large collective farms. It resulted in many disgraceful phenomena and flagrant political errors and violations. The party and soviet authorities of NKAR also had their share in those political infringements. They spared no efforts for finishing the collectivization in as short period as possible. The time from the middle of 1929 to the first months of 1930 was the period of "the rapid growth and spread" of collectivization process. Those who refused to "enter" the collective farms, were deprived of their land and other properties. Quite often the communists of the villages and districts competed with each other in the number of the private land or farm owners whom they had managed to expropriate and force into kolkhozes.

1929-1930 the district plenums of Martuni and Dizak<sup>626</sup> resolved to place the districts under general collectivization. The Regional Committee resolved to hold a two week collectivization of village households (from December 20, 1929 - January 5-6, 1930). This led to the creation of 28 new kolkhozes in the region<sup>627</sup>. In February 1930 26% of the region's village households were included into collective farms (kolkhozes)<sup>628</sup>. At the end of the same year 73,3 percent of the households was included into kolkhozes<sup>629</sup>. The main occupation of the local councils of the villages was the detection of the most hard-working and skilful land-owners of the village, the so called "kulaks". Sometimes the activists of the villages even exiled their fellow-

villagers to other settlements. Very often the members of the communist, social bodies and other local leaders took advantage of the created confused situation and settled their personal scores with their fellow-villagers and as a result of this their houses, cattle-sheds, carpets and other articles of personal possession became the property of fortuitous persons.

For avoiding the obligatory collectivization many individual formers slaughtered their cows, pigs, sheep, poultry. Thus 10,239 heads<sup>630</sup> of cattle were slaughtered in this way and it caused great losses to the cattle-breeding of the region and influenced its further development quite badly. Most of the villagers persistently resisted the kolkhoz movement and demanded to stop the unlawful actions.

Some part of the desperate population sometimes took up arms. No wonder that in those months there were some murders and skirmishes in NKAR. The population of the Artsakhian villages, which had been solidary and friendly for ages was now split in two adverse camps.

The policy of the rapid general collectivization had bad consequences for the villages, so that the death from starvation became a quite usual occurrence.

The highest party authorities soon took up to a number of measures for finding a way out from the political and economic crisis, especially in such countries (lands) "as NKAR which had neither social nor economic prerequisites for general, all-embracing collectivization"<sup>631</sup>. Thus a number of secretaries, chairmen of regional committees and A. Karamyan - the first secretary of regional committee were relieved of their posts.

Numerous attempts were made to revive the principle of the "voluntary participation in collectivization" or "voluntary joining the collective farms" and it led to the fall of the "card collective farms" and to the tangible reduction of the percentage of the collectivization. According to the data of July 31, 1930 there were

only 114 collective farms which included 4286 village households and made 15 percent of all the village households of the region in NKAR<sup>632</sup>.

However the local authoritative bodies continued practising their policy of detecting and expropriating those villagers (property-owners) which were more or less fairly well-off.

In 1930 the Regional Committee of Mountainous Karabakh addressed special letters to all regional party committees, party organizations in which it persistently advised them to increase the collectivization percentage to 42,2% till 1931 and to prepare for the expropriation of "kulaks"<sup>633</sup>. In course of several months, exactly from September 1930 to January 1931, 30 new collective farms appeared in the region<sup>634</sup>.

In the absence of political, economic, psicological prerequisites in the village the uneven collectivization brought to the commition of new political mistakes. The normal course of events was unsettled. And it naturally gave rise to numerous illegalities, which for their part quite negatively affected the economic, social-political spheres of life.

The methods of economic compulsion which had been used in the years of military communism were now revived. The villager's striving to be the owner of the land, which was legislatively recognized by a special "land" decree was now declared to be the vestige of the times when people had had private property. The relations with the villagers which had been based on barter and mutual profit were now substituted by relations of dictation, which in its turn paved way for the establishment of administrative-authoritative system and the multi-branch bureaucratic mechanism. The protests of the villagers were regarded as a distinctive sabotage in order to justify the use of punitive measures. And as a painful result of the partial revival of military communism hundreds of peasant families were cut off from their

lands. Some part of the villagers was obliged to migrate. The abuse of power, the violation of rights by the ruling bodies as well as different intrigues, shameful and annoying facts of moral perversion, born social estrangement, shook people's believe in future, distorted and deformed the principles of human righteousness that had been formed for ages.

Having no other way out individual peasants joined the collective farms. Till the end of November 1931 224 collective farms were created in village settlements<sup>635</sup>. Already by the end of 1930's there were 4 soviet farms (sovkhoz) and 207 collective farms which included 90 percent of the region's village households, 94,8 percent of all the arable lands<sup>636</sup>.

It is known that most of the collective farms (kolkhozes) were economically weak and unsteady from organizational view-point. It did not have appropriate material, technical basis and an experience of managing large-scale industry. The collective farms which were organized under the conditions of cultural, technical, and economic backwardness had many shortcomings in planning the industry and consumption. In fact they were unprofitable.

The party and soviet bodies started to deal with the problems of thorough organization of the work in collective farms, the creation and consolidation of kolkhoz brigades, state and public property. Each brigade was given some allotments, cattle, machines and other agricultural implements. However the most serious problem of kolkhoz was not solved. The fact was that the villagers were not paid for their work and the profit of the farms was not allocated equally among them. The sphere of calculation and supervision of work was in complete mess. Thus the harvest (crops) was divided not according to the amount and quality of the work that each person did but rather by public principle, often per capita and even according to the needs.

The experience of the first years of collectivization movement showed that it was better to pay the villagers for the work of each working day than to divide crops and profits among them.

For increasing the crop yield of cultures and the amount of agricultural goods with minimum labour and at minimum expense it was necessary first of all to automatize agriculture. For this purpose machine and tractor stations were founded in Martakert (1932), Martuni (1934), and then in Askeran. If at the beginning of 1937 there were 112 tractors<sup>637</sup> in MTS of the region then at the end of the same year that number increased to 180, at the same time the stations bought 18 combines and 41 lorries<sup>638</sup>.

From 1930's special two or three month courses for professional education and instruction of brigade leaders, managers and heads of collective farms were held in Shoushi and Stepanakert. By the end of 1930's about 5,000 collective farm workers had taken the courses<sup>639</sup>.

All the measures that were undertaken led to the increase of the amount of arable lands. According to the data of January 1, 1938 the number of cattle was equal to 221,4 thousand<sup>640</sup>.

The village's experience of socialist changes with all achievements, acquisitions and great losses has shown that it is possible to attain maximum result only by strictly economic methods of collective farm production, by democratic principles of management, sensible arrangement of production and consumption.

## THE ARMENIANS OF ARTSAKH AND WORLD WAR II

The Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union peoples was the most important and decisive part of 1939-1945 World War II. The fate of the whole world was to be decided in the struggle against Fascism. The destructive war, which began on June 22, 1941 broke off the normal course of Artsakhians' lives, who utterly devoted themselves to the defense of the homeland.

From the very old times the Karabakhians have been brave, courageous, quick, staunch, honest in battles, and faithful, devoted, incorruptible in friendship. It is quite appropriate to remember the prophetic words of Sergey Gorodetski - the famous Russian writer, translator, publicist and public figure, "The Nature and History of Karabakh have given birth to a human-being with a fairly expressed image. Such attractive features as great rush in work, selfless bravery, courageousness, self-confidence, patriarchal character in family are peculiar for the Armenian of Karabakh who embodies the old Armenian honesty"<sup>641</sup>. And the Armenians of Karabakh did not spare the most precious thing they had- their blood, for the desired victory in the Great Patriotic War, so that his offsprings did not have to face bitter injustice and lie. But the real life and justice are sometimes incompatible. The Karabakhian fought in deserts of Ukraine, on the banks of the Dnieper, distant Poland and foreign Czechoslovakia for his dear homeland, because he did not want her die in the whirlpool of history.

We can best describe the value of the participation of Artsakhians in that war and of their contribution to the victory with the words of A.I.Isakov, the famous Armenian son, who was from Getashen by birth, "If we respect those, who indanger their life and heroically defend directly their homeland, families, then moreover we should honour and love those, who with no

hesitation enter bloody fights waged in the brother countries which are 2-3 thousand km far from their own homeland. They fight for universal ideas and the union property and this is the highest form of patriotism...The Russians, Ukrainians, Belorussians and other peoples of the Union fight against the enemy for the freedom and happy future of all the peoples, the Armenians of Karabakh among them"<sup>642</sup>.

From the first days of the war thousands of volunteers left for the front. People asked to send them there because the fate of their homeland was being decided.

From autonomous region of Mountainous Karabakh 45,000 people joined the fighting forces of the Soviet Union, which was more than one third of the population of Karabakh. It is interesting to note that in the years of war only one out of nineteen Azerbaijanians was enlisted<sup>643</sup>.

23,000 Karabakhi sons sacrificed their lives for the defense of the Soviet Union. Twenty-one Karabakhi sons were bestowed the Order of the USSR Hero and Nelson Stepanyan, the famous pilot (from Shoushi by birth) was awarded the same title twice. Five Armenians of Artsakh received the complete three grades of "Reward of Fame" and 15000 were rewarded with different orders and medals. This small land gave more than 30 generals, 1,000 officers and four marshals of the USSR. The four marshals were Hovhannes Baghramyan, Armenak Khamperiants (Sergei Khudiakov), Hamazasp Babajanyan, Hovhannes Isakov<sup>644</sup>.

The Karabakh partisans also fought beyond the front-line for the freedom of Ukraine, Belorussia, Yugoslavia, Poland, Bulgaria, France.

During the years of Great Patriotic War much work was done in NKAR to reconstruct the whole of the rear in accordance with the demands of the war and for increasing the release of production. Though almost all the men capable to work were on the front the agriculture and industry of the region experienced great advance.

Women, teenagers and young men worked in factories and fields to substitute those fighting on the front and fulfill the orders of the front in time.

The population of the region spared no effort for supplying the front with grain, milk, meat and other products.

Under the created hard conditions the women and girls of the region showed that they had iron will and dignity. They managed to substitute men in fields and factories. Thus young women and girls worked as tractor-drivers<sup>645</sup>.

Mothers from Karabakh sent thousands of supply parcels to the soldiers in the front-line. A letter to Karabakhi women written by Marshal Zhukov is preserved, in which he expressed his gratitude for their heroism<sup>646</sup>.

During the war the people of Karabakh contributed to the state Defense Fund 2,762,337 roubles, 2 kg 7 g of gold and 31 kg 989g of silver. For the construction of tank columns and military aircraft 7,593,119 roubles were allotted<sup>647</sup>.

It should be mentioned that from the 81,200, 000 roubles which was raised in Azerbaijan and given to the fund of tank column called "Azerbaijani collective-farmer", 23,293,100 roubles was given by the collective farms of Mountainous Karabakh<sup>648</sup>.

Thus during the years of the Great Patriotic War the Armenians of this small land defended their homeland with all their human, moral and material power and abilities and drew the desired victory nearer and nearer.

## **THE COLONIAL POLICY OF SOVIET AZERBAIJAN AND THE STRUGGLE OF THE ARMENIANS OF ARTSAKH FOR THE REUNIFICATION OF NKAR WITH THE SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF ARMENIA (1923 - 1988)**

From the very beginning of NKAR formation the leaders of Azerbaijan defied the rights and interests of the Armenian population of NKAR. The violation of rights was mainly evident in the attempts of suspending artificially the social-economic growth of the region and in making NKAR the raw material appendix of Azerbaijan. The authorities of Azerbaijan tried to lead an active demographic expansion driving the Armenians of NKAR out of their land. Before it, they had succeeded in doing so in Nakhijevan. They started practising a policy of personnel discrimination, partial change of the administrative - territorial structure of the region, language and culture restriction, annihilation of Armenian historical monuments and cultural values.

The region was deprived of the opportunity to be economically self-dependant. In fact, all the ties with Armenia were liquidated. Realizing that the Armenian population of the annexed regions would not tolerate the created situation the leaders of soviet Azerbaijan took up measures for the demographic change of those territories. They knew that first and foremost they had to eliminate the direct (immediate) borderline between Armenia and Mountainous Karabakh. Thus the leaders of Azerbaijan practised the policy which had originated still in times of shah Abas, when the territory stretching from the banks of Araks to the slopes of Jermuk was settled with Muslim tribes.



For that purpose the presidium session of the central Committee of the communist party, which was convened on July 16, 1923, resolved "to found the province of Kurds on the territory they settle"<sup>649</sup>. On August 6, 1923 the kurdian province was declared a self-governing kurdian region, Kurdistan and Lachin became its administrative center. In a very short period the Kurds were turkified. In 1930 the Kurdian region was abolished and the districts of Kelbajar, Lachin, Kubatli, Zangelan appeared instead. A new groundless period of estranging the Kurds began. In 1926 44,139 Kurds lived in Azerbaijan. In 1936 that number decreased to 6,000 and according to the census data in 1979 there were no Kurds in Azerbaijan<sup>650</sup>. Then in NKAR territory a lot of settlements were cut off from the autonomous region and granted to Azerbaijanian districts. Thus after the so called Transfederation had been abolished, the villages Hogher and Harar were cut off from Hadrut district and annexed to Fizuli and Lachin districts.

Being dissatisfied with it the Azerbaijani government snatched fields from the Armenian villages through 1950-1970s. After all that new Azerbaijanian villages appeared on the cross-roads of the region. This led to the disappearance of tens of Armenian villages. Part of them such as Jamilu, Krkzhan, Khojalu were populated with Azeris.

From 1920s to the end of 1950s thousands of young men from NKAR were annually recruited and sent to work in the industrial centers of Azerbaijan and on the arid lands of Milli and Mughan.

The lack of arable lands, low harvest yield, the absence of irrigation channels obliged the Armenians of Mountainous Karabakh to agree to outgoing work in the regions of Azerbaijan. The hard work, the drastic change of climatic conditions became

the reasons for epidemic and death. "Each year the population was recruited anew, the most hard working and skilful members of the families had to leave their homeland. ... almost all the families of NKAR sent one member of their family to an outgoing work"<sup>651</sup>.

In Milli the Armenian villagers were allotted land on the condition that they would permanently live in an Azerbaijanian region<sup>652</sup>. Thus it is the Armenian workers who built the channel of Milli which was called "Gyavur arkh".

After cutting Mountainous Karabakh from Armenia, the leaders of Azerbaijan artificially suspended the social - economic growth of the autonomy with the purpose of increasing the outflux of the Armenians of the region.

Thus those high-quality Armenian specialists who received their education in Armenia were not given work. Those Armenian young men, who had Armenian education had no right to work within administrative bodies.

One of the reasons of the migration of Armenian population was the absence of elementary conditions for going to school. Up to 1970s no school building or palace of culture was built in Armenian districts of the region by the state budget means. It was prohibited to take Armenian History in the Armenian schools of Azerbaijan, but Azerbaijanian History was an obligatory subject in Teacher Training (Pedagogic) Institute of Stepanakert.

The health service system of the region also left much to be desired. In 1986 there was 28,7 doctors per 10000 people in Mountainous Karabakh and 38,4 - in Azerbaijan. It should be mentioned that most of the doctors were Azerbaijanian.

The volume of apartment construction was reduced year by year. If in 1966-70 262,0 thousand sq. km dwelling space was

built then in 1976-80 that figure decreased to 242,6 thousand sq. km<sup>653</sup>. The 58,3% of the dwelling space which was delivered over for operation through 1966-1986 was built by private persons and it made 41,6 % of the republic's entire dwelling space<sup>654</sup>,

For gettinging a flat people of Stepanakert waited for tens of years.

NKAR yielded Azerbaijan in gross output that fell per capita, automatization of industry, agriculture and the amount of capital investments. Thus in 1986 437 roubles of investment fell per capita in Nakhijevan and in NKAR the investment figure was equal only to 181 roubles<sup>655</sup>.

The bad state of the communication system led to the isolation of many villages. Most of the industrial enterprises of the autonomous region which had been built before the revolution still used handiwork and very old equipment, which could not, of course, give the desired result.

In the years of Soviet Power no irrigation system was built in Mountainous Karabakh which was mainly an agricultural region. The region which had great stocks of water still had a problem of obtaining drinking water. Despite all this the region was second to none in the republic in the production of a number of agricultural products<sup>656</sup>. The region gave more agricultural products than it received, that is why the working class constantly lacked dairy and meat products. The sale of the products was carried by special checks. Throughout seventy years the leaders of Azerbaijan drove the region to a deadlock by all possible and impossible means and took its Armenian population under their slave and colonial yoke. A. Volski, the chief of the central committee of the Soviet Union Communist Party was right to note, "Nowhere I have seen such destruction, such scorn towards the fate of the people as in Mountainous Karabakh"<sup>657</sup>.

The aim of Azerbaijanian policy was to drive the Armenians from Artsakh and settle it totally with Azeris.

Every attempt of the region's Armenians to defend their elementary rights was regarded as expression of nationalism. The region was not self-dependant and it caused a number of problems and unbearable conditions. It was especially difficult for the Armenian intelligents who fully realized the aims of the policy practised in the NKAR.

The same policy resulted in the constant decrease of the weight of the region's Armenian population. Before the World War II the migration of the Armenian population of Mountainous Karabakh was accompanied by a great natural growth, thanks to which a tendency of increase of the Armenian population was noted. According to the census data of 1926 and 1939 the total number of the region's Armenian population increased from 111,7 thousand to 132,8 thousand. During the same years the total number of the region's population increased from 125,3 thousand to 159,8 thousand<sup>658</sup> that is by 20,4%<sup>659</sup>. In fact the specific weight of the region's Armenian population decreased in the total number of the region's population in favour of Azerbaijanians.

On June 14 1949 24,5 thousand Armenians of Artsakh were exiled to Altai. This as well as the constantly growing migration resulted in the significant decrease of the region's Armenian population which in 1959 numbered 110,1 thousand<sup>660</sup> (less than in 1926). In further years the outflux of the Armenian population of Mountainous Karabakh increased to a great extent. Through 1926-1979 2000 Armenians annually migrated from Artsakh and instead 1959-1979 the number of Azerbaijanians increased on average by a thousand<sup>661</sup>.

During the years of the Soviet power only one of the ten born in Artsakh lived there because the other nine migrated. As a

result of this the number of the region's Armenian population decreased from 111,7 thousand to 123,1 thousand (1979), and the number of Azerbaijani population increased from 12,6 thousand to 37,2 thousand<sup>662</sup>.

During the interval of forty years between the census of 1939 and 1979 the number of Armenians in NKAR got reduced by 7,3% and the number of Azerbaijanians increased in 2,6 times<sup>663</sup>.

The policy of ousting the Armenians from NKAR became especially intensive in the 50s. However there was a simultaneous increase of the number of Azerbaijanians in Armenia too. The tables<sup>664</sup> given below also speak of the above-mentioned facts.

#### The change in the number of the Azerbaijanian SSR

N	Districts	The number of the Armenian population		The difference	The Armenians' relative position among the entire population of the district (in per cent)	
		1959	1979		1959	1979
1	Aghdam	792	388	-404	1,2	0,4
2	Aghsu	2.227	1.174	-1.053	3,9	2,4
3	Barda	885	413	-472	1,6	0,5
4	Dashkesan	16.626	7.325	-9.301	34,0	21,0
5	Fizuli	1.461	839	-622	1,7	1,1
6	Ghazakh	1.943	751	-1.192	1,1	0,7
7	Ismayili	4.038	2.377	-1661	6,4	4,3
8	Kasum Ismayili	1.915	938	-977	2,5	1,6
9	Khanlar	17.264	13.975	-3.292	22,6	18,2
10	Kutkashen	982	478	-504	2,9	0,8
11	Mirbashir	2.665	2.169	-496	6,2	4,6
12	Shahumian	12.787	14.624	1.837	74,5	73,2
13	Shamakhi	6.497	4.081	-2.416	6,2	4,3
14	Shamkhor	17.153	10.369	-6.784	13,7	9,1
15	Sheki	2.012	1.091	-921	2,6	2,2
16	Shushi	3.794	2.881	-913	35,7	18,0
17	Vardashen	2.386	2.764	378	10,1	9,2
18	Zakatata	1.234	884	-350	2,6	2,2
19	Zangelan	324	35	-289	1,1	0,1

#### village districts' Armenian population through 1959-1979 The change in the number of the Armenian SSR village

N	Districts	The number of the Azerbaijani population		The difference	The Azerbaijanians' relative position among the district's entire population (in per cent)	
		1959	1979		1959	1979
1	Amasia	9.431	17.109	7.678	71,9	81,5
2	Ararat	4.297	7.552	3.255	15,0	15,2
3	Azizbekov	2.174	4.103	1.929	21,3	38,3
4	Gugark	3.91	8.128	4.218	17,5	29,6
5	Hrazdan	975	1.952	977	5,7	9,4
6	Ijevan	2.012	2.911	899	9,8	11,3
7	Kalinino	4.611	7.901	3.29	22,5	31,3
8	Kapan	6.265	7.536	1.261	41,6	55,5
9	Krasnoselsk	7.177	13.589	6.412	38,7	66,7
10	Masis	9.384	12.095	2.711	41,5	29,7
11	Meghri	2.866	3.484	618	40,7	53,4
12	Noyemberian	2.593	4.517	1.924	13,6	18,5
13	Sisian	5.455	6.481	1.026	24,1	30,7
14	Spitak	2.614	4.025	1.411	10,4	14,3
15	Stepanavan	525	939	416	2,8	5,6
16	Tumanian	861	1.735	874	3,3	6,6
17	Vardenis	14.505	31.142	16.637	49,5	68,2
18	Yequehnadzor	3.962	5.553	1.591	17,5	19,4

#### districts Azerbaijanian population through 1959-1979

The outflux of the youth led to the "ageing" of the region's Armenian population which on the one hand decreased the birth rate and on the other hand increased the mortality rate. If in Azerbaijanian SSR in 1970s-1986 only 6-7 persons out of each thousand died, then in NKAR that number was equal to 7,5-8<sup>665</sup>.

Thus with a purposeful demographic policy the authorities of Azerbaijan tried to force all the Armenians out of the region and give a final solution to the problem of Karabakh.

In order to endure and overcome that anti-Armenian policy Artsakh started a liberation and freedom movement immediately

after its annexation to Azerbaijan. There were many uprisings and rebels in the districts of Artsakh against the Azerbaijanian officials. In those days the Dashnaksutiun party was together with the Armenian people and was ready to struggle for their freedom and liberation<sup>666</sup>.

The union named "Karabakh to Armenia" which was founded in 1920s led the liberation movement<sup>667</sup>. It had his branches in the Armenian districts of Mountainous Karabakh as well as Gandzak. Being a non party union it included members of Dashnaksutiun, Hnchakyan parties, esers, mensheviks and bolsheviks. In November 1927 the union spread thousands of leaflets which was followed by the arrests of more than 500 people. As one of the witnesses of the events of 1927 remembered later, "Hundreds of Armenians of Artsakh came to railway station at night and left by train. Many people hid in the forests and mountains. If not for Araks all the people would have fled to Persia".

By the order of Azerbaijanian authorities 9,800 poods of wheat and 5,900 heads of cattle was expropriated from Karabakhian people. Bagirov, the official which had come from Baku with hundreds of Russian soldiers announced that the refugees were the enemies of the nation and considered it to be his duty to find and arrest them<sup>668</sup>.

Meanwhile the activists of the liberating movement organized an ammunition depot and workshop in Shoushi district. But in 1930 a special commission arrested 17 gunsmiths, confiscated 17 cannons, 30 machine guns and other kinds of weapon and ammunition. The population of the village Khtsaberd rose in rebel and the troops managed to press it only after several lame attempts. Numerous troops had been brought to Mountainous Karabakh for oppressing the nation-wide rebels<sup>669</sup>.

In 1931 the leadership of the region committee was accused of nationalism and of the attempts to reunite Mountainous Karabakh and Armenia. It was also blamed for not-struggling against the ideas of Dashnaks and their party<sup>670</sup>. Many officials of the region and district committees were unsubstantiatedly

arrested and imprisoned. The central Committee of Azerbaijan Communist Party discussed the issues concerning the Karabakhian movement not once. Many communists were ousted from their party and a lot of district organizations were abolished.

For saving the Armenians of Artsakh from the terrible social-economic and political situation of the region, the leadership (leaders) of the intelligensia repeatedly addressed appeals to the central Soviet authorities.

Still in 1945 the first secretary of Soviet Armenian Committee G. Harutyunyan addressed an appeal letter to I. Stalin in which he asked Stalin to review the issue of Karabakh. He also proved with certain facts the essence and necessity of reunification of Mountainous Karabakh with Armenia<sup>671</sup>.

However Malenkov, the secretary of CP Central Committee sent that letter to M. J. Bagirov, the first secretary of Azerbaijan CP Central Committee. The latter was to get acquainted with the letter and to introduce some suggestions concerning the issue. In his return letter Bagirov denied the facts and arguments which had been mentioned by G. Harutyunyan, he instead gave his consent to the reunification of Mountainous Karabakh with the Armenian SSR only on the condition that the latter would cede Shoushi district as well as its three regions which border Azerbaijan and have many Azerbaijani residents. Decisive steps were undertaken to change the demographic structure of the region. In 1949 a large number of Azerbaijanians moved from Armenia to the Armenian villages of Artsakh. Each Armenian family was obliged to share its house with one or two Azerbaijani families. The peaceful life of Artsakhian peasants was this time disturbed by the Azeri families which in a very short time turned the fertile fields and gardens of the region into desert steppes. However being unable to adapt to the adamant and unappeasable will and moods of the Artsakhians (1950), the families moved to the plain parts of Khanlar, Shamkhor, Shahumyan, Karhat causing new problems for the local

Armenians.

Azerbaijan did not achieve its goals and the Armenians continued seeking ways out from the situation.

In 1962 300 workers of Stepanakert machine column addressed a protest letter to the Supreme Council of USSR, the Central Committee of the communist party and the council of the Ministers in which they told about the colonial state of the region and suggested that the NKAR would reunite with the Armenian SSR.

In 1962 many intelligents sent a similar letter to the Central Committee of the Soviet Union Communist Party.

In June 1965 13 executive workers of Mountainous Karabakh wrote a letter to the state and party leadership of the USSR on the initiative of Bagrat Ulubabyan, the executive secretary of the regional department of the association of writers. The letter protested against the chauvinistic attitude of Azerbaijanian government against NKAR<sup>673</sup>.

This protest-letter was followed by a number of other mundanes sent from Yerevan and other Armenian-populated lands.

More than 45 000 workers signed the documents which were sent to the Central Committee. On August 8, 1966 the secretariat of the Soviet Union Communist Party Central Committee ordered the leaders of Azerbaijan and Armenia to discuss the issue of Karabakh and introduce their suggestions concerning the reunification with Armenia to the Central Committee of the Soviet Union Communist Party.

However the authorities of Azrbaijan prohibited any further discussion of the problem with a blackmail and threats of executing new massacres.

In 1971 tens of outstanding intelligents, Martiros Saryan, Paruyr Sevak, Gohar Gasparyan among them, addressed with an appeal the authorities of the USSR and the Armenian SSR. They were worried by the illegalities that took place in NKAR. The intelligents wrote, "The police and the soldiers of the state security which have come from Baku humiliate the Armenian population of

the region with their persecutions and examinations. Hundreds of honest and brave people are driven to prisons and those who try to protest against this get harrassed and dismissed. Instead more and more traitors and betrayers are appointed to responsible posts. No end of this is seen"<sup>674</sup>.

The issue of Artsakh was again touched upon during the public discussion of the draft of the USSR new constitution. The minutes of the chairmanship of the USSR Minister Council ran, "Tens of years ago Mountainous Karabakh was artificially annexed to Azerbaijan under a number of historical conditions. Its historical past, national structure, economic interests and the will of the people were not taken into consideration. Many years have passed but the issue of Karabakh still remains unsolved. It is necessary to reunite Mountainous Karabakh (Artsakh) with the SSR of Armenia. It will restore the former legal state of things"<sup>675</sup>.

The struggle of the Armenians of Artsakh which went on with rises and falls during the years of the Soviet rule became the basis for the nationwide liberation movement which had begun in February 1988.

## THE LAST PHASE OF THE ARMENIAN MOVEMENT FOR ARTSAKH. THE PROCLAMATION OF THE INDEPENDENT REPUBLIC OF NAGORNO KARABAKH

After 1985 the Armenian intellectuals saw in the reform policy of Gorbachev the necessary and favourable precondition for the reunification of Nagorno Karabakh with the Soviet Republic of Armenia.

At the end of 1987 and at the beginning of 1988 the central party and state bodies received four delegations of the Armenians of NKAR and they assured the representatives of the Artsakhian people that the conflict of Artsakh would be given a fair solution in the nearest future. The petition which was introduced to the state bodies by the Armenian delegates was signed by more than 80,000 Armenians.

Encouraged by the benevolent treatment of the central authorities entire collective farms, enterprises in Nagorno Karabakh declared themselves in favour of annexation with Armenia. Believing in the reform policy or otherwise called "perestroika" of Gorbachev, the Armenians of Artsakh went to demonstrations with the state flags of the USSR, the photos of V.I. Lenin, M. S. Gorbachev and other state and party leaders as well as the posters with the slogans, "Lenin - party - Gorbachev", "In sake of reform, democracy and publicity".

Expressing the wish of the people, the Regional Council of NKAR (Nagorno Karabakh Autonomous Region) made a resolution on the secession of autonomous region from Azerbaijan and its reunification with Armenia<sup>676</sup>.

Despite the "reform", "democratic" and "public" policy which the center (Moscow) had itself proclaimed, it did not want to accept the resolution of the NKAR council as the realization of the right of national self-determination within the country (union)

would have indangered the universal rule of the party. Thus it is not surprising that the resolution of the political Bureau of the Soviet Union Communist Party Central Committee which was adopted already on February 21, considered the movement of the Armenians of Karabakh to be "nationalistic", "extremistic". The Bureau also passed a resolution on holding social and economic reforms in the country<sup>677</sup>.

A similar resolution was adopted by the Central Committee of CPSU and the Council of USSR ministers on March 24, 1988<sup>678</sup>.

Thus the resolution of political conflict was unfairly substituted with the false promises and projects of social and economic restoration.

Moreover the party and state leaders let the Armenian people understand that they were unable to resolve the conflict because of the "Azerbaijani factor" (a point which had been suggested by Narimanov). Cremlin started close co-operation with the authorities of Azerbaijan.

The whole system of mass media took an anti-Armenian position and its publications called the people for friendship, peace and accused the Armenian people of trying to "invade" the territories of other countries.

The Cremlin created artificial difficulties and barriers for the solution of the problem and put it into a deadlock. However the Armenians were decisive and were not going to believe the idle promises. From February 21, 1988 large demonstrations took place in Armenia. For the coordination of the movement for Karabakh in Armenia and Artsakh and for the reclamation of Nagorno-Karabakh, the "Karabakh Committee" was established under the chairmanship of Igor Muradyan, the president of the Soviet Armenian Academy of Sciences. The Committee with its branches in almost all the enterprises, factories, districts and towns organized the movement and gave it a new course.

In the February 1988 the authorities of NKAR were indifferent and afraid of the liberation movement. They were extremely

discrete and did not want to lead the movement. So the people itself chose the leaders of the movement. On February 2 the Committee "Kroonk" under the chairmanship of Arkadi Manucharov was established in Stepanakert.

The constitutional demands of the Armenian population of Mountainous Karabakh were suspended and oppressed by a policy of brutal force and violence.

In February 1988 thousands of Azerbaijanis from the city of Aghdam moved in direction of Stepanakert "to establish order", but they were stopped and thrown back in the suburbs of Askeran town<sup>679</sup>. The religious national hysterics soon grew into slaughter of the Armenian people.

Through February 27-29 1988 a slaughter of the Armenian population of Sumgait - a town 25 km far from Baku, the capital of Azerbaijan, was executed\*. According to the official statements 27 Armenians were tortured to death, hundreds - tormented and severely injured<sup>680</sup>. The slaughter program led to a wave of thousands of Armenians fleeing to Armenia and Nagorno Karabakh<sup>680</sup>.

Sumgait was a preliminarily planned rehearsal for the realization of other large-scale slaughter- a genocide. Its organizers wanted to feel through the reaction and attitudes of the central authorities, mass media and legal bodies. The attempt stood the test. The bandits were not punished, the slaughter was considered to be a hooligan incident and was not regarded as part of the political plan of another country. The villains were animated and incited to new evils.

The massacre and the exodus of the Armenian population in

---

\* In general there were four stages of the massacre and mass deportation of the Armenian population. The second stage began in November/December 1988, when the wave of the slaughters drew almost all of the Armenian population of Azerbaijan into its whirlpool. The third wave of mass deportation rose in July/August 1989. In January 1990 the Popular Front of Baku led by the local authorities executed a massacre with which the fourth and the decisive stage of the deportation of Armenians from Azerbaijan began.

Sumgait and other Azerbaijanian settlements did not depress and suspend the Armenian people, instead, it rallied them around national ideas and liberation movement.

The Armenian Spyurk was also disturbed. Numerous meetings and demonstrations took place in Los-Angeles, New York, Washington, Paris, Montreal, Toronto, Athens, Buenos Aires, Beirut, Sydney and other foreign cities<sup>681</sup>.

However, the centre (Moscow) was firm and inexorable. In March 1988 the Soviet troops were brought into Yerevan.

Encouraged by the pro-Azerbaijani policy of the central authorities, the leaders of Azerbaijan forced the Armenians out of Baku, Kirovabad, Shamkhor, Khanlar, Dashkesan and other territories from the middle of 1988. The physical existence of the Armenian population of NKAR was also exposed to danger.

The Supreme Soviet of Armenia met on June 15, 1988 and unanimously accepted a resolution in answer to that of the Nagorno-Karabakh Soviet on February 20, 1988 concerning the unification of Nagorno-Karabakh with Armenia. It demanded that the Supreme Soviet of the USSR should discuss and give a positive solution to the problem<sup>682</sup>.

The Kremlin was surprised by the actions of the Supreme Soviet of Armenia. On July 18, 1988, a session of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union on the treatment of the Nagorno Karabakh question took place. Gorbachev and other senior officials convicted the fair demand of the Armenian people and considered it to be an anti-reform attempt to change the borders of the USSR. So basing on the 78th Article of the constitution the presidium of the USSR declined the demand of Mountainous Karabakh regional and the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet<sup>683</sup>.

However the Armenian people, who were deeply disappointed, ignored the efforts to drive the solution of the conflict into a deadlock again and continued to struggle for their national liberations.

The strikes and demonstrations of the Armenian population broke out anew.

In Azerbaijan the wave of violence towards the Armenians escalated again. In Azerbaijan during meetings, TV and radio programs slogans for "brotherhood", "friendship" and "internationalism" were accompanied by the calls "to kill" and "to torture the Armenians". The attack of the Azeri bandits on the Armenian small villages became frequent. The roads were blocked and the supply of electricity power stopped. The Armenian population of Shoushi was deported and their houses set on fire.

The Armenians were obliged to show resistance and act likewise. On September 21, a special regime was established and a curfew imposed in Stepanakert and Aghdam region<sup>684</sup>.

The physical existence of the Armenian population in Azerbaijan was seriously endangered. In 1988, late in November several thousands of Armenians fled from Kirovabad (now Gyandja), Baku, Shamkhor, Khanlar, Dashkesan. On November 24 a special regime and curfew were imposed in Baku, Kirovabad and on December 5 - in Yerevan.

Arkady Manucharov, the leader of the liberation movement for Karabakh was soon arrested and doomed in prisons for a year (released only in a year).

On January 20, 1989 for the first time in the history of the USSR a special administration under the chairmanship of Arkady Volsky was established in NKAR<sup>685</sup>. The Armenian people first believed that the administration would contribute to the fair resolution of the conflict, because it took up some measures for creating economic connections between NKAR, Armenia and the centre, that is Moscow. However the efforts of the administration were futile because the centre refused to recognize NKAR as part of the Soviet Armenia and still considered it to be part of the Azerbaijanian republic. The suspension of the power of party and state bodies, the limitation of the working collectives' rights

brought to an extremely strained situation. The commandant of the special regime openly co-operated with the Azerbaijanis. To express their protest against the violation of their rights the working people of the region went on a strike which lasted four months, from May (1989) to August. The region lacked a local governing body to protect the rights of the people and promote the liberation movement, so a congress of Nagorno Karabakhian authorized representatives convened on August 16, 1989 passed a resolution on the election of a National Assembly. V. S. Grigoryan, the deputy of SSR was appointed to the post of the speaker of the Assembly. The Assembly was authorized to undertake provisionally the duties and responsibilities of the executive branch of the power before the rehabilitation of the activities of the people's deputies regional council and the council of the party. Above all, the congress adopted a declaration that the interference of Azerbaijanian Soviet Republic with the affairs of the Autonomous region would be considered as an act of aggression and would be adequately responded<sup>686</sup>. Thus the newly elected body of the people's representatives made it clear for Azerbaijan that the attempts of resolving the conflict by force methods had no prospects.

From July 21, 1989 Armenia and Mountainous (Nagorno) Karabakh had to endure an economic blockade which was caused by Azerbaijan. There was again escalation of violence against the Armenians in many districts of Armenian and Azerbaijanian SSR. On the roads there were many incidents of the murder of Armenian passengers. To save the Armenian population of Shahoumyan from the imminent forced deportation and slaughters, the special session of the people's deputies regional council convened on July 26, 1989 passed a resolution on the incorporation of Shahoumyan district into NKAR.

While the region's Armenian population tried to defend its physical existence with the overstrain of its forces, the central authorities of the USSR continued to lead anti-Armenian policy.



Thus on November 28, 1989 the Supreme Soviet of the USSR passed a resolution on the reannexation of Mountainous Karabakh to Azerbaijan<sup>687</sup>. By the same decision the region was to be governed by the republican organization committee under the chairmanship of V. Polynichko, the second secretary of the Azerbaijanian Communist Party Central Committee. The Azerbaijanian authorities assigned him a task of changing the demographic composition of the region in favour of Azerbaijanis in a very short period. In fact this was a very dangerous step back in the process of the conflict solution and it made the atmosphere still more oppressed and strained.

Proceeding from the course of events on December 1, 1989 the Supreme Soviet of the Armenian SSR and the National Assembly of Mountainous Karabakh unanimously agreed to the resolution on the reunification of Mountainous Karabakh with the Armenian SSR<sup>688</sup>. This decision expressed the will and desire of the region's Armenian people and also secured them from the imminent danger. It is known that before that the Supreme Soviet of Azerbaijan had adopted a decision according to which Azerbaijan retained for itself the right to cede from the USSR together with Mountainous Karabakh.

Azerbaijan showed its intolerant attitudes towards the Armenian movement for Artsakh and continued to terrorise the Armenian people. The armed bandit groups of nationalistic People's Front of Azerbaijan attacked the Armenian villages and towns. The departments of the Inner Affairs committed violence against the Armenian population almost every day. Azerbaijan was not willing to lift the total blockade of the transportation roads of Armenia and Nagorno Karabakh. Abetted by the state authorities the People's Front of Azerbaijan which was blazed up with anti-Armenian moods started the programs against the Armenian population anew on January 13, 1990. Only in a few days' time with the aid of military detachments the Azeris expelled the population of many Armenian villages of Khanlar district, The

armed conflict between Azerbaijan and Armenia was practically inevitable.

It is strange but yet a historical fact, that after the events that had taken place in January 1990, the emergency situation was established not in Azerbaijan but in Nagorno Karabakh (on January 15, 1990) as well as in some Armenian districts which bordered Azerbaijan. The central authorities put a sign of equality between the Armenians who were acting in self-defence and the Azeri slaughter -executers . With the help of the Soviet army, Soviet Ministry of Inner Affairs, state Security Committee the Azeri bandit groups deported the Armenian population of 24 Armenian villages in NK from April to May. By the decree of the presidium of the Supreme Soviet of Azerbaijanian SSR new partial changes concerning the administrative division of the autonomy were introduced. Azerbaijan (and the central authorities) banned news regarding the events in Nagorno Karabakh. But Azerbaijanian mass media defamed the Armenians.

The protests of society, various international organizations and people's deputies were publically ignored. The Armenians of Artsakh who lost all hopes to acquire the support and protection of foreign countries, took up arms in order to decide their fates themselves. Thus the first volunteer groups were recruited and they soon counter-stroke the enemy in Shahoumyan, Getashen and Mountainous Karabakh.

Infuriated by the will and reluctance of the Armenian population the authorities of Azerbaijan hatched low plots and committed crime and violence against the Armenians who were trying to defend themselves. Azerbaijan was acting not without the allowance and help of the USSR leaders.

Through May-June 1991, the troops of the Soviet army and the special Azeri armed detachments (OMON) carried out a military operation called "Coltso" ( Russian for circle). Under the pretence of "checking the passport regime" and "disarming the

Armenian assaults" they attacked the sub-district of Getashen and the villages of Shahoumyan district with tanks, armoured cars and military helicopters. The battles were especially severe in the territories of the villages Getashen and Martounashen (Khanlar district). However the forces were unequal.

The Azeri authorities continued executing their aggressive policy. In June 1991 the enemy raised to the ground more than 20 villages of Martakert and Hadrout. Hundreds of women, children and old men fell victim to their violence, more than 700 people (mostly young and middle age men) were taken as captives and then tortured in Azerbaijani prisons. Thousands of people left their small homeland and became refugees.

On September 2, 1991 a joint conference of Nagorno Karabakh Autonomy and Shahoumyan "district Soviet Councils took place, where Nagorno Karabakh was declared to be a republic"<sup>689</sup>. Thus the Karabakhi population confirmed their readiness to fight for their independence till the end. As it was expected the Azeri authorities received this with hostility, thus a large scale war was imminent.

From November 1991 it started an open war against the Republic of Mountainous (Nagorno) Karabakh. In parallel with the intensification of the armed conflict and confrontation, serious political changes took place in the USSR. On December 8, 1991, Russia, Belarus and the Ukraine declared in Minsk that the USSR does not exist anymore as a subject of international law and as geopolitical reality<sup>690</sup>. Mikhail Gorbachev actually became the president of a country (union) that existed no more, so he had to resign and in his face Azerbaijan lost its most influential protector. Azerbaijan was now face to face with the Armenians of Karabakh who had no other way back and way out and who were struggling for freedom. The Armenians of Karabakh managed to avoid constitutional confrontation with Azerbaijan during its cessation from that enemy and the declaration of independence. Instead they followed the Constitution of the USSR and all the norms of

the international laws. On December 10, 1991 the population of Mountainous Karabakh held a referendum, in which the majority of 99,89% supported the declaration of the independent Republic of NK<sup>691</sup>.

The first elections to the supreme Council of the NKR took place late in 1991.

On January 8, 1992 33 year old Arthur Mkrtchyan (Candidate of Historical Sciences) was elected to the first chairman (president) of the NKR Supreme Council (Soviet). Then the executive and judicial branches were shaped and developed and Oleg Yesayan was appointed to the post of the prime minister.

In those days the armed skirmishes became more and more frequent and in November 1991 the first self-defence groups led by Arkady Tadevosyan more known by his nickname "Comandos" attacked the village Togh (Hadrout) and mopped it up from the OMON troops. The rapid development of events made it clear that it was necessary to create a single strong army from the separate detachments of feedayins in order to fight efficiently against the enemy. The urgent task of the military groups was to liquidate the weapon emplacements located round Stepanakert. The severe fights which were waged from December 28, 1991 to January 26, 1992 ended with the liberation of Krkzhan, the suburb of Stepanakert.

For securing a rear the detachments were to mopp up the Azeri settlements which had become the fulcrums of the enemy bands. Thus, on February 10/11, 1992 the Armenian forces liberated Malibeklu, but they still had to liquidate the den of the OMONs in Gharadaghlu which was on the road connecting Martuni with Stepanakert. The military actions for Gharadaghlu which began on February 17 and lasted only a single day ended with the brilliant victory of the Armenian liberation forces. The main forces of the self-defence detachments located in Martuni moved to the Western part of the district and liquidated the weapon emplacements of the village Veysellu\* (Fhizulli district).

Through February 26-27, 1992, the self-defence forces of Artsakh liberated Khojallu, which had been given the status of a town by Baku and had already been considered to be the administrative center of NKAR.

The military operation for the liberation of Shoushi started on May 7, 1992, at 3 o'clock in the midnight. Before the beginning of the operation the headquarters of NK self defence forces had thoroughly planned the actions of the NK forces in the directions Krkzhan, Ghayballu-Janhasan-Kyosalar, Lisagor-Zaruslu. Due to their unbreakable will and bravery, the Armenian warriors liberated the castle-town of Shoushi in two days' time. This town twice played a fatal role in the history of the Armenian people: first, late in 18th century, when Melik-Shahnazar gave it to Panah khan and turned that Artsakhian land into the hell for Armenians and the second time on May 9, 1992, when it became the prelude of the all-Armenian state and religious Renaissance.

The Azeris tried to settle the situation. From May 10 they started military actions along the south-eastern borderline of Karabakh, that is from Martakert to Hadrut. Severe fights broke out also in Askeran districts. The enemy started to use military planes and helicopters, and with convulsive efforts it was trying to break out through the Askeran front-line. Even two days after the liberation of Shoushi the Azeri mass media gave false information that the town was still under their control, while the Armenian sons were lighting candles and praying in Ghazanchetsots church.

It should be mentioned that on May 10 the enemy succeeded in capturing the villages Aghbulagh, Nakhijevanik, Pirjamal, Aramzamin, Mirzabuyn of Askeran district and set them on fire as it was accustomed to do. However the Armenian forces soon recovered and recaptured the occupied territories.

---

\* The village Veysellu located between Chartar and Martuni was within the administrative structure of Martuni, but in 1930s the leaders of Azerbaijan made it part of Fhizulli district.

Moreover through May 16-18 the troops of the self-defence army of NK liberated Lisagor, Berdadzor, Lachin and its neighbouring villages. Thus the first phase of the Artsakhian war was over. There was no Azeri on the former territory of NKAR. The road which connects the two Armenian republics, which is also known as "the humanitarian corridor" was also liberated. Encouraged by its success, the army of Artsakh which had quite unstable detachments underestimated the enemy and did not take up security measures. Meanwhile the enemy was planning the second phase of the war.

From June 12 using the forces of the 4th Soviet Army centered in Ganja, the Azeri detachments began their attacks along the north-eastern, eastern, and the south-eastern borderlines - from Hadrut to Shahoumyan. They captured the whole of Shahoumyan district, greater part of Martakert district and a number of villages of Askeran district. The wave of thousands of refugees moved from Shahoumyan to Stepanakert and from there very often to Yerevan. Recovering from that heavy blow the self-defenders of Artsakh managed to recapture Kusapat, Mehmana, Janyatagh, Gyulatagh, Mokhratagh, Haterk, Zardakhach, Imeret, Kervend, Chapar villages. After receiving reinforcement and replenishment of ammunition the enemy forces again seized the above-mentioned villages of Martakert region. They exerted pressure on the "humanitarian corridor of Lachin"-the road of vital importance which had been taken with so many difficulties. Meanwhile the Azerbaijani mass media was overfilled with anti-Armenian propaganda, stories of their sons' heroic deeds and false news.

Thus on September 23 the Azerbaijani television broadcasted the news that the centre of the impregnable Martuni district had been occupied and called the population of Khojavend to go back to their houses. The situation demanded superunification of the self-defence detachments and a strain of forces to an utmost degree. On August 13, 1992 a martial law was introduced<sup>692</sup> and

a partial mobilization started in the republic. On August 15 the state committee of the NKR Defense was founded and R. Kocharyan was appointed to its president.

The NK self-defence army regrouped its forces, halted the enemy forces of several thousands at the military-defensive line of Kichan village and took up to counter-attack.

At the beginning of September the defensive forces liberated Khramort, Dahraz, Nakhijevanik, Aghbulagh, Aranzamin, Pirjamal. On October 2 the self-defensive detachments of Martuni district attacked the villages Mughanlu, Kurapatkino and Amiranlar and mopped them up from the Azeris. In November the Armenian fighters for freedom liberated the villages Vaghuhas, Kotchoghot, Harutyunagomer, Chldran, Poghosagomer of Martakert region, shot 3 military airplanes of the enemy. In the northern part of Lachin corridor the self-defenders fortified their position in the villages Hayi Bazar, Lulidaz, Ghozlu and Darajanli<sup>693</sup>.

The military actions that were started anew in February (March) 1993 aimed at further liberation of the territories of Martakert region and the smashing of the Azeri armed forces in Lachin-Kelbajar direction. Through March 27 to April 5, 1993 the enemy pressed by the Karabakhian forces fled from Lachin and Kelbajar territories.

The success and the daring actions of the Armenian military units panic-stroke the enemy-camp. Suleyman Demirel protested against the further attacks of the Armenians. The UNO security Council denied the suggestion of the authorized representative of Turkey to recognize the military actions in Kelbajar as an aggression. Besides the Russian government soon took a rough stand and suspended Turkey.

Azerbaijan now had to fight alone. The military situation was also strained in the south-eastern front-line. Resisting the enemy's attempts of offensive the military units of Hadrut and

Martuni took up efficient measures for the liquidation of such weapon-emplacements as those in the settlements of Ghajar, Govshatlu, Divanlar.

On July 12, part of the forces of the second, third, fifth defensive districts and the military units of the central direction began a large-scale military operation for the liberation of Martakert district and town. After furious fighting the Armenian military units came out to the defensive line of Aghdam-Martakert road. Military actions went on also in Martuni, Kubatlu and Jebrayil districts. Most of the enemy forces moved towards the above-mentioned districts, thus giving an opportunity to the NK forces to accomplish their main task, that is to liberate the whole of Martakert territory and take out the main forces to the defensive-line of Khramort-Boyahmedli-Papravend-Martakert-Madaghis.

The failure and defeats on the front aggravated the inner political situation of Azerbaijan, it became evident that the Azerbaijani republic would not manage to avoid a coup. In autumn 1993 Elchibei, the president of Azerbaijan was obliged to resign and Heydar Aliyev was appointed to that post.

Like the other presidents he also believed in the possibility of solving the conflict by force methods. Thus he ordered to prepare a detailed plan of a decisive offensive. So Azerbaijan recruited troops from the mercenary soldiers from Russia, Ukraine, Northern Caucasus, Central Asia, from Afghanistani mujahedins and on December 18, 1993 restarted large-scale military actions in all the parts of the front line - from the Omar mountain pass to the banks of Artsakh. During the first days the Azeris had some success in Kelbajar and came near the valley of Tartar and in the south they seized Horadiz. The enemy tried to cut off Artsakh from the second corridor (road) which was also of vital importance. However the belief and the desire of the Armenians to win a victory and attain freedom was still unbreakable.

In the second half of February 1994, the Armenians started a

military operation for the smashing of the enemy in Kelbajar. On February 18 the self-defensive military forces of the NKR mopped up the mountain pass of Omar. During the two-month long fights the enemy lost more than 5,000 soldiers and officers and 72 units of military equipment.

On April 24, the day of the Armenian Genocide, the self-defensive forces liberated the villages Vaghuhas, Dastakert, Verin Chailu, Talish, Jarmjan and Seysulan of Martakert district. Developing their military actions the Karabakhian forces liquidated the enemy's weapon placements in Umudlu, Shurabagh, Keshishbeyli and other settlements in Aghdam district. The Azeri forces were infuriated by their defeats in Martakert, so for terrifying the peaceful population they started bombarding the Armenian settlements by assault aircrafts.

The winter offensive of the enemy was condemned to failure, which made its leaders sit around the table of negotiations. The negotiations which were mediated by the Defense Minister of Russian Federation, Pavel Grachev and held between Mamedov, Serge Sargsyan, Samvel Babayan - the defense Ministers of Azerbaijan, Armenia and the Republic of Nagorno Karabakh ended in signing an armistice on May 14, 1994.

From the very beginning of the negotiations the Azerbaijanian party put forth a number of preconditions favourable only for itself. But when the two other parties refused to accept them Mamedov left Moscow for Baku without signing the peace agreement. However, on July 27 Mamedov was obliged to sign the document.

The Karabakhian conflict entered a new stage- a stage of negotiations. Thanks to their will, unity and persistence the Armenians resolved their problem and took up to "building" their own, new statehood.

## THE CULTURAL LIFE (1920-2002)

With the establishment of Soviet power in Nagorno Karabakh a new system of culture and education adequate to the social and political life was created there. People's education was put under the direct guidance of a special state Commission. In each region and district, departments of enlightenment adjacent to the revolutionary committees were founded, which later became national education departments of the workers', villagers' deputies' provincial and district councils executive committees.

On October 5, 1923 People's Commissariat Education was established and in March, 1926 it was renamed to the Peoples' Education department of Regional Council. Arshavir Kamalyan was appointed to the first education commissar of NKAR.

Separate female or male schools as well as parish schools existed no more. All the educational institutions that had been within the jurisdiction of the church were now put under the control of the Peoples Commissariat of Education. This was followed by the ban of teaching religion. The interethnic conflicts, hard economic conditions made the re-establishment of the Peoples Education still more difficult. There was a lack of competent, well-educated teachers in the region. Besides there were few buildings for schools, because many of them were destroyed or set on fire during the armed skirmishes.

According to the data of 1924 6,100 pupils had only 1,500 desks, most of which were unfit. Only 33 schools out of the 102 had their own or state building and only 23 out of the 33 were in a more or less good state. Only 30% of the children of 8-15 age range went to school<sup>694</sup>.

The Artsakhi people have always realized the value of education and knowledge, so even from their scanty means they made contributions for the regulation and reviving of the school life and for the re-establishment of the school systems. Thus the 1923 report of A.Kamalyan, the first education commissar of the

NKAR runs, "The rebuilding of the schools would have been impossible without those means contributed by the villagers. The people from Khachen, Varanda, Dizak districts have been especially active"<sup>695</sup>.

Through 1927-1930 about 30 new schools<sup>696</sup> were built in the region by the donations of the villagers. In 1920-s there were only 2 kinds of mixed labour schools in Nagorno Karabakh- A (first) grade 5-year school, and B(second) grade 4-year school<sup>697</sup>.

The introduction of the law on the obligatory primary (elementary) education played a great role in the development of education in NKAR. From 1930-31 primary education was obligatory for all the children of 8-11 age range and already in 1932/33 academic year 30,567 children<sup>698</sup> went to the (A) first-grade schools of the region.

The transfer to the obligatory 7 year education had been completed by the beginning of the Great Patriotic War. The new education system required well educated teacher staff. That is why a number of teacher training high schools were founded in the region and the republic (Azerbaijan). Thus in academic year of 1921-22 a teacher training high school (college) with two Armenian and Azerbaijani sections was opened in Shoushi.

In 1923 a teacher training college was opened in Hadrut and a teacher training faculty-in Shoushi<sup>699</sup>. In 1926 by the invitation of NKAR Education Commissariat a number of newly graduated teachers from Yerevan, Gyumri, Baku, Tiflis began to work in the regions' schools<sup>700</sup>. It should be mentioned that annually teacher training courses were held in Stepanakert.

However not all the teachers were given the opportunity to work in the schools. For instance strangely enough the commissariate did not allow the graduates from highly intelligent families to teach in schools. On August 10, 1924 the joint session of the regional and regional affairs committees discussed that question and adopted a decision to dismiss "precarious teachers"<sup>701</sup>. In this way more than 20 teachers were dismissed.

Fortunately similar extreme deflections were gradually overcome in further centuries. One of the greatest achievements of the Soviet Union was the elimination of mass ignorance of the population. For each region or district the government set up some limits and deadlines for the elimination of ignorance and illiteracy. The measures taken up for the purpose and the works carried out for it were directly controlled by special commissions.

Up to 1930 there were about 450 special clubs and groups in NKAR where more than 30,000 people become literate<sup>702</sup>. Before the outbreak of the World War II the majority of the population of the NKAR already could read and write.

Through 1950-80 certain measures were undertaken for attaining improvements in the Education system of NKAR. The greatest achievement of the system was the adoption of the law on the obligatory secondary education.

In 1923 there were 104, in 1940- 213 and in 1982- 183 schools in the autonomous region of Mountainous Karabakh<sup>703</sup>. These figures show that in the last decades of the 20th century the number of the schools decreased.

The new type of schools and technical colleges that were founded in the 1920s gave an opportunity to its pupils to receive secondary and professional education simultaneously. They also greatly helped their pupils to enter universities and colleges.

In 1920s there appeared the first industrial, agricultural, teacher training, art colleges and schools in the region and already in 1930 there were 6 technical schools with 2,000 pupils<sup>704</sup> there.

However some of the colleges stopped functioning late in the 30s. In 1980s there were 5 trade- technical colleges, 2 music colleges, 1 medical college, 1 culture study and 2 agricultural colleges in the NKAR<sup>705</sup>.

Hundreds of middle-quality specialists who left the high schools and colleges worked for the development of the national economy. From 1923 to 1993 the agricultural college of Stepanakert had 6821 graduates<sup>706</sup>, most of whom such as

academician Artashes Arakelyan, Doctors of Agricultural Sciences, professors Gurgen Kamalyan, Gurgen Shakaryan, Mikael Arakelyan, Yerem Safaryan, Verdy Hakobyan, Georgy Hakobyan, Hrachik Pharamazyan, Doctor of Biological sciences Suren Barkhudaryan became outstanding scientists.

A special teacher perfection institute with 17 departments was opened in Stepanakert in 1963. Annually more than 200 teachers took the perfection courses in institute.

Artsakh State University played a significant role in preparing specialists for the different fields of national economy. However the history of founding the basis for Artsakh State University dates back to 1960s.

In 1969 the Armenian sector of Baku Pedagogic Institute stopped functioning and it was transferred to Stepanakert, where, however, it had only two-Azerbaijani and Russian sectors. So on the basis of this sector Stepanakert Pedagogic Institute was founded in 1974. During the Armenian movement for Artsakh it became the branch of Kirovakan state Pedagogic Institute. In 1992, at the hottest point of Karabakhi war the State University of Nagorno Karabakh was founded on the basis of Stepanakert branch of Kirovakan state Pedagogic Institute and Armenian Architecture University. In 1995 the University was renamed and started to be called Artsakh State University. After the collapse of the USSR and the proclamation of the NKR, the state bodies sought ways for the perfection of school education, worked out principles for creating national schools, new school curriculums and writing new textbooks. The number of the Russian schools diminished in the republic. In the school year of 2000-2001 there were 216 schools in NKR.

Beginning with 1920's there also appeared a number of kindergardens and already in 1988 there were 98 kindergardens in the region<sup>707</sup>.

Artsakh gave to the world a constellation of such brilliant scientists as Leo (Arakel Babakhanyan), Ashot Hovhannisyan,

Arakel Arakelyan, Arsen Terteryan, Andranik Tchagharyan, Andranik Iosifyan, Rafael Mailyan, Armen Takhtajyan, Artyom Sargsyan, Samvel Grigoryan, Bagrat Ulubabyan, Ivan Knunyants, Nikolai Yenikolopov. Still in the 80s the Academy of Sciences of the USSR had 23 real members and more than 115 doctors<sup>708</sup> from the region.

The Society of the writers of Mountainous Karabakh was founded in March 1928. And with its help the works of Hakob Atalyan, Ashot Ulubabyan, Israyel Petrosyan, Gr. Movsisyan, Armo Khachumyan were published in 1930's. The poets S.Khanyan, V.Hakobyan, G.Gabrielyan, Hr.Beglaryan, A.Hovhannisyan, the prose-writers V.Ovyan, I.Alaverdyan, M.Hovhannisyan, K.Danielyan have become distinguished due to their works since 1960's.

The oppressive atmosphere did not give the writers an opportunity to work freely. They were obliged to sing the praises of proletarian internationalism, socialist way of living and to create the ideological and moral image of those who built communism. They were not allowed to write and introduce the reality, reveal the evil modes and manners of the society. The founding of printing houses played an important role in the enlivening of the social life. The first printing house of Stepanakert was founded in 1925. Later there appeared other printing houses in almost all the towns of Artsakh.

From the first days of the rule of the Soviet power the various (different) parties, organizations of Mountainous Karabakh were deprived of the opportunity to publish their newspapers. In fact there could not even be a word about the freedom of speech in the countries of the USSR.

1920/21 saw the publication of "Kavkazskaya Comuna" newspaper in Shoushi. From the beginning of 1920 till the middle of December the special commissariat of Karabakh published its official gazette in Azerbaijani language (the name of the paper could be translated into English as "The Have-nots of Karabakh").

The official newspaper (later called "Soviet Karabakh") of the Provincial Party Committee and Provincial Organizational Committee of Shoushi started to be published from April 4, 1923. Beginning from the 1980's the newspaper was published also in the Russian language. Many other newspapers and magazines such as "Yeritasard leninyan" (tr-d as the young follower of Lenin), "Kulturarshav" (tr-d as a cultural expedition), "Gharabagi batrak" (tr-d as the farm-labourer of Karabakh), "Kaits" (tr-d as sparkle").

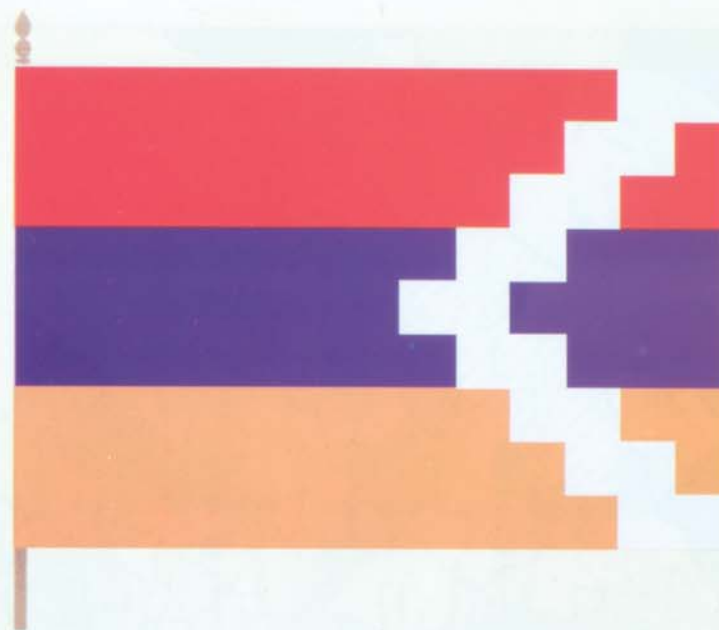
A number of newspapers and magazines were published in the districts of the region; thus "Shusha" was issued in Shoushi, "Karmir drosh"( tr-d as "red flag") - in Askeran, "Barekamutyun" (tr-d. as "friendship") - in Martakert, "Ashkhatank" ( tr-d as "labour") - in Martuni, "Kolntesakan" ( tr-d as "collective - farmer") - in Hadrut from the 30s till the end of the 80s. During the same period the silk-weaving factory of Stepanakert also had its own newspaper "Metaksagorts"(tr-d as silk-weaver).

In parallel with the Armenian liberation movement for Artsakh and the formation of NKR there appeared several printing and publishing houses, such as "Poligraph" State Close Joint-Stock company, "Mashtots", "Sona", "Aspar".

The newspaper "Soviet Karabakh" was renamed and started to be called first "Artsakh", "NK republic" and then "Azat Artsakh". "Stepanakert", "Shoushi", "Dizak", "Amaras", "Berd", "Jraberd"- were the newspapers that started to be published in the districts and towns of the republic.

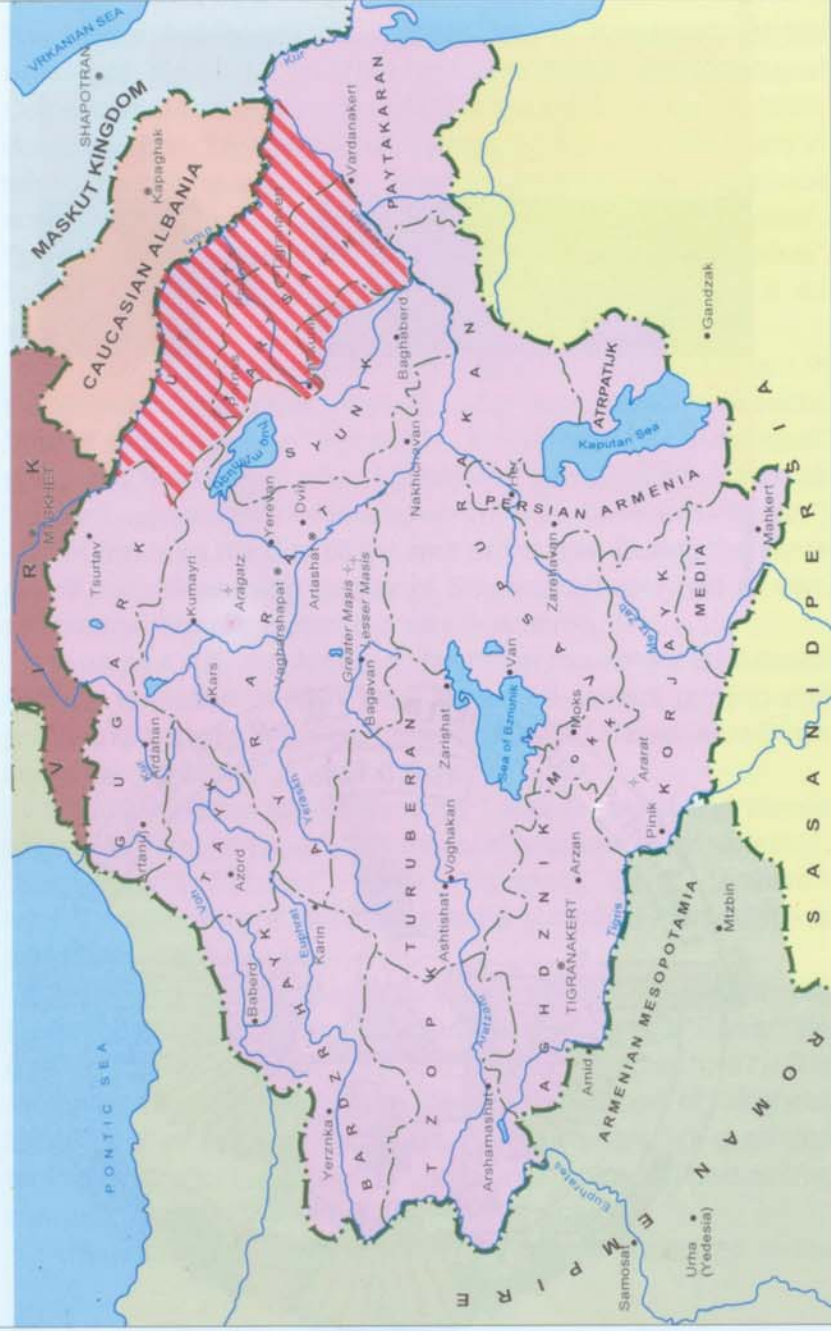
From the first phase of the Artsakhi movement the Dashnaksutiun party has published the newspapers "Paikar" (tr-d as "struggle"), and then "Kirs" and "Aparazh" (tr-d as "cliff "). The next phases of the movement saw the publication of "Yeghetsi louys" (tr-d as "let it be light"), "Tasserord Nahang" (tr-d as "the tenth province"), "Lusavorich" ("enlightener"), "Martik" (tr-d as "the warrior"), "ArPH" (The State University of Artsakh).

The publication of a large number of new books led to the

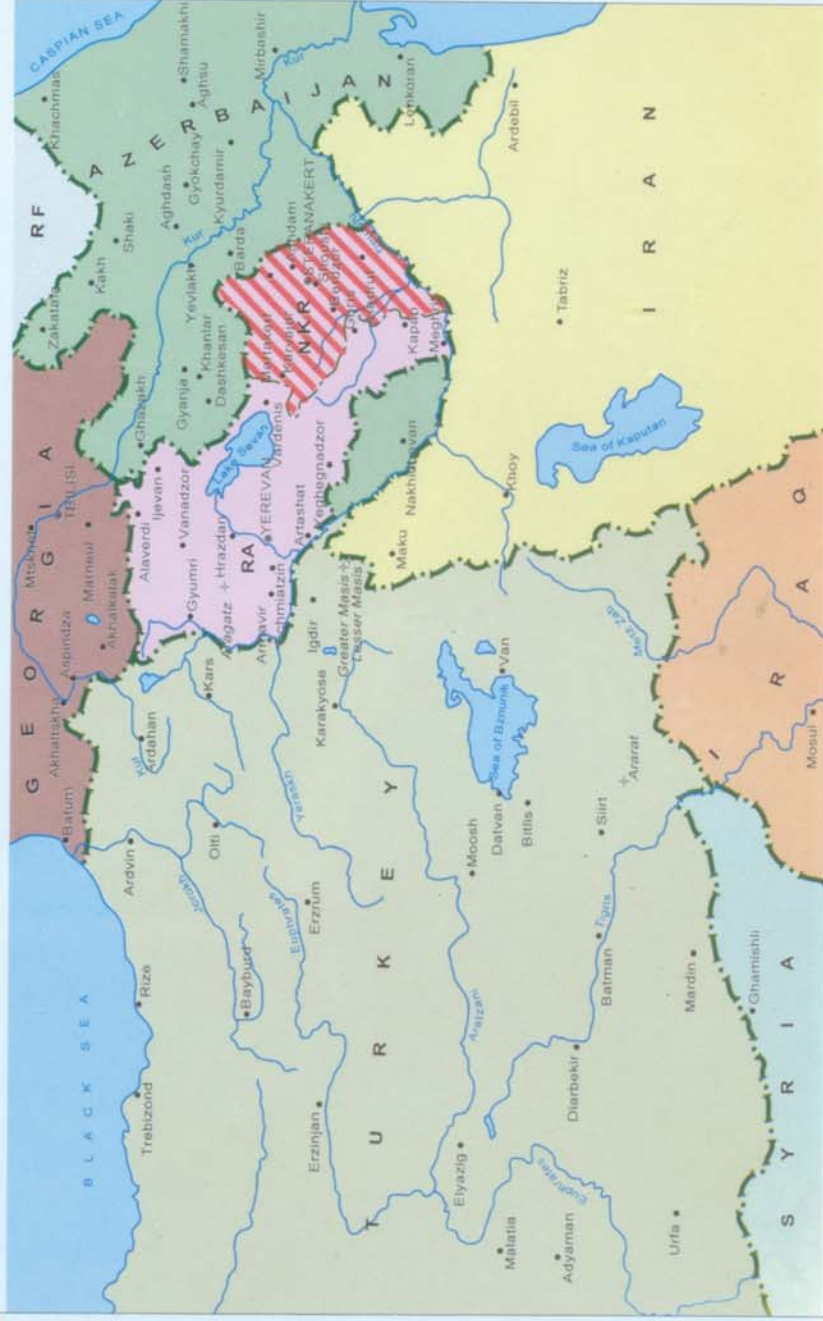




# METZ HAYK KINGDOM IN 298 TO 387

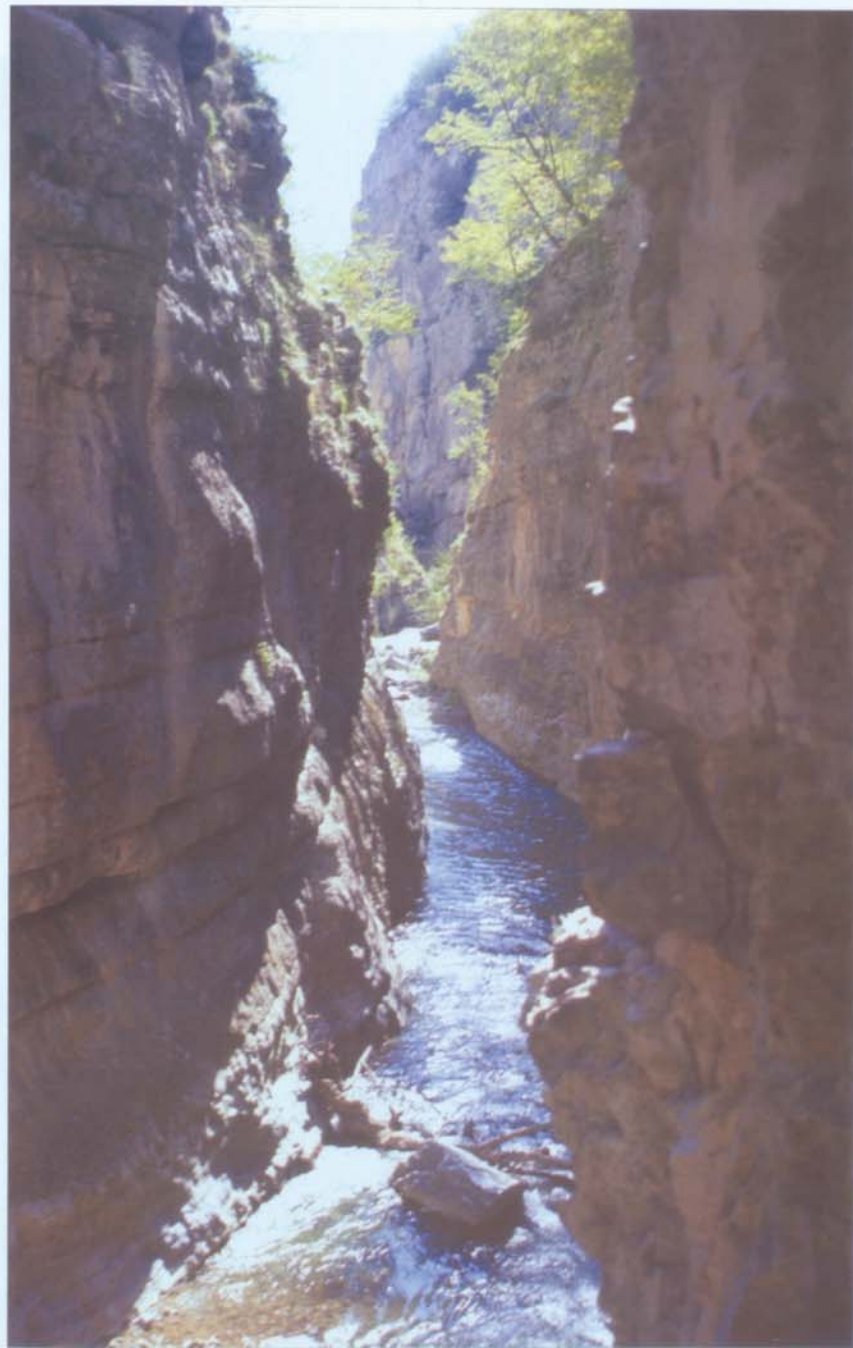


# CONTEMPORARY POLITICAL MAP OF THE REGION





The scene of the river Tartar



The scene of the river Dotkhu



Mount Mirav



A petroglyph. Kanvejar District



*A 2000 -year-old pine near Skhtorashen Village, Martuni District*



*An interweaving of nature and culture. Vardatagh Village*



A cross-stone of 916. Karvajar District



A cross-stone of the 12th century. Karvajar District



A cross-stone depicting a horseman in Koshik Monastery 1203



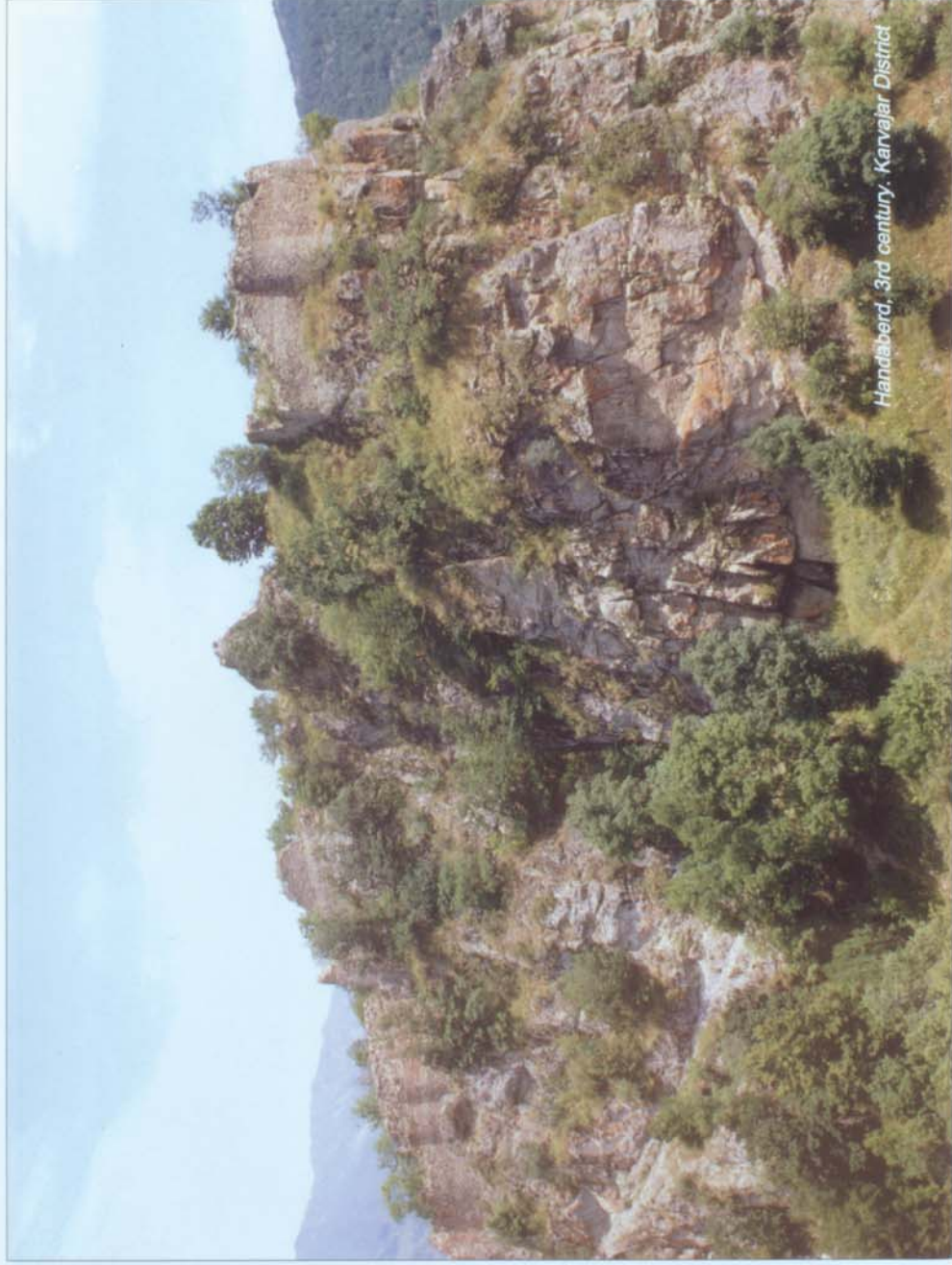
Cross-stones dating back to the 12th to the 13th centuries in Deg Fort, Kolatak Village, Martakert District



A set-in-wall cross-stone in Bri Yeghtsi. Martuny District



Mayraberd, 18th century. Askeran District



*Handaberd, 3rd century. Karvajar District*



*Gyulistan Fort, 16th to 18th centuries. Shahumian District*





*Jraberd, Metz Shen, Martakert District*



*Kachaghakaberd, 9th century, Martakert District*



*Amaras Monastery, 4th century*



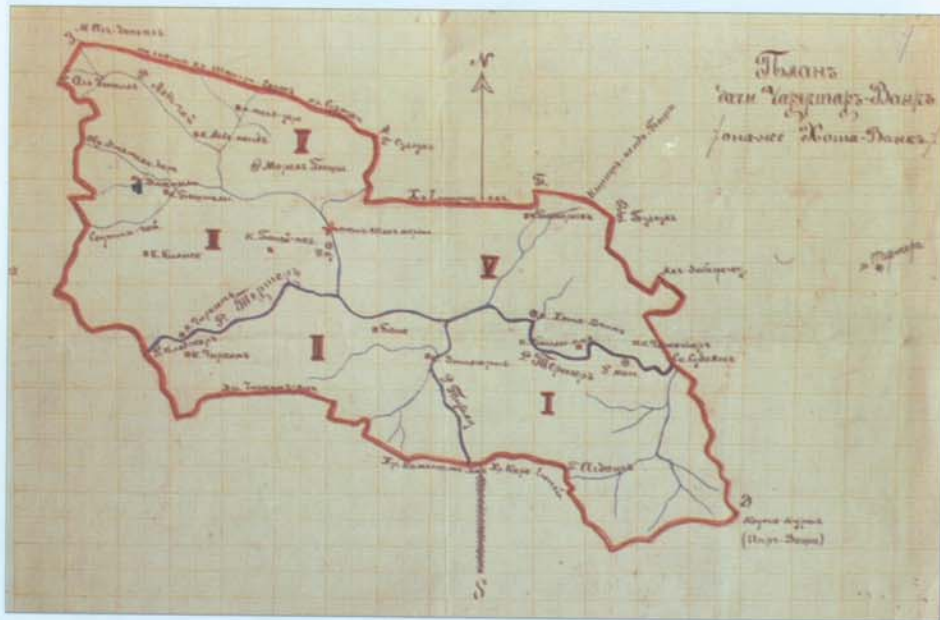
*Tzitzemavank, 6th century. Kashatagh District*



A rock-cut church in Kashatagh District



Yeritsmankants Monastery, 17th century. Martakert District



Davivank, 1st to 13th centuries, and the map of the monastic estates



Glichavank, 1241 to 1246. Hadrut District



Gandzasar, 1216 to 1238, Martakert District



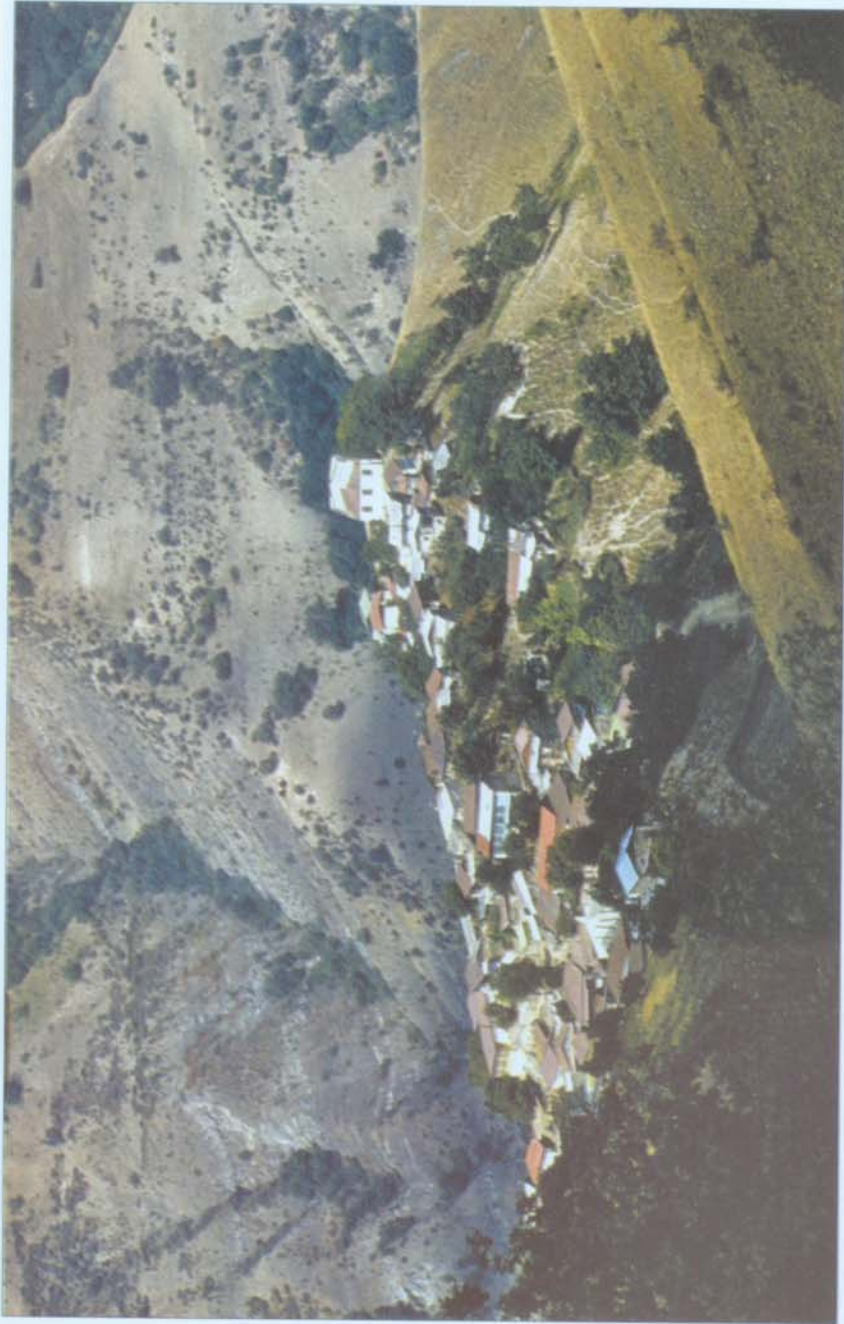
Ghazanchetsots Church, 19th century, Shoushi City



*Khudaperin Bridge, 6th to 7th centuries*



*Lalazar Bridge, 19th century. Kashunik District*



A scene of a mountainous village in Artsakh (Metz Shen, Berdadzor)



Carpets made in Artsakh, 19th century



*We and Our Mountains. Stepanakert (by sculptor Sargis Baghdasarian)*

expanding of the library net and the increase of the number of the books in library funds. The Maksim Gorky library was opened in 1924 by the decision of NKAR government (now the it is called Mesrop Mashtots library).

In 1924 there were only 2,097 books in the library and in 2001 the number of the books was equal to 170,390<sup>709</sup>.

In 1983 there were 220 libraries with 1,5 million books<sup>710</sup> in NKAR. Unfortunately many of those libraries were destroyed in the years of the war. According to the present-day data there are 6 culture houses, 127 clubs and 136 libraries, 6 music and 1 art colleges<sup>711</sup> in the regions of Mountainous Karabakh.

In 1924 films were shown for the first time in Stepanakert and already in 1983 there were 195 film-showing clubs (small primitive cinemas) in NKAR<sup>712</sup>. The first radio programs in NKAR were broadcasted in 1988<sup>713</sup>.

Artsakh State Museum of History and Country Study is one of the most important scientific, cultural and ethnographic centres of the country. It was founded in 1938<sup>714</sup>. 35,000 articles of historical value are now kept in the exhibition halls and funds of the museum. In 1997 some of the exhibits of the museum, especially the highly expensive carpets were exhibited in Paris, Marseilles, Lyons.

The museum has its branches in Shoushi, Martuni, Hadrut and Martakert, Berdashen and Berdzor. The house museum of aviation marshal Armenak Khamperyants in Mets Taghlar and that of artillery colonel general Mikael Parseghov in Kolkhozashen are of special interest.

Vahram Papazyan State Dramatic Theatre is another important cultural centre and it has had its own significant role and great place in the 2,000 year long history of Armenian theatre. It was founded in 1932 by Karo Alvaryan who was one of the Armenian highly merited actors. At first the theatre was called in the name of M.Gorky<sup>715</sup>. Such famous actors and actresses as Siranuysh, Hovh.Abelyan, Zhasmen, Vahram Papazyan



performed plays on the stage of that theatre and deeply impressed the audience. Gurgen Harutyunyan, Mikael Harutyunyan, Benik Ovchyan, Margo Balasanyan, Kajik Harutyunyan nowadays continue to perform on Karabakhian stage with great devotion and love.

The founding of the Artsakh State Song and Dance Ensemble by Honoured Culture Worker of Armenia, composer Telemek Ter-Avetisyan in 1958 was also an important event for the Armenian culture. The Honoured Actors Yuri Davidov, Ashot Babayan, Robert Grigoryan and the Honoured Actress Nairuhi Alaverdyan did much for the development of the activities of the Ensemble.

The Children and Youth Song Ensemble "Artsakhi Balikner" was formed in December, 1992, during one of the hardest phase of the liberation movement of Artsakh.

The State Variety Ensemble "Karabakh"(1997), "Vararakn" Chamber(1990) and "Varanda" children's choirs and Martuni regional "Knar" Ensemble also had great success.

The Artsakhian Ensembles and choirs had numerous concerts in the republics of the former USSR as well as in such foreign countries as Holland, France, USA and Greece.

The Association of artists which was founded in NK in 1988 included 12 artists, whose works were exhibited in NK and abroad.

Architecture and sculpture also developed greatly in Nagorno Karabakh.

Among the best architectural works in Artsakh are the complex raised in the memory of those Armenian fighters who died in the Great Patriotic War, the Palaces of Culture and Youth in Stepanakert, Martuni, Chartar, Berdashen. The Freedom Square, Central Stadium, parks, memorial fountains and the monument of the streets in Stepanakert show the great advance of the Armenian Architecture. One of the best samples of Artsakhian sculpture is the famous "We and our mountains" by Sarkis Baghdasaryan. The sculpture has already become the symbol of

Artsakh. The cultural achievements of the Armenians of Artsakh would have been greater and more if not for the persecutions and obstacles created by the Azerbaijani authorities.

For making Mountainous Artsakh its inextricable part for ever, the the Azerbaijani authorities tried to cut the Armenians of Artsakh off from their spiritual-cultural roots. Thus the "scientists" of Azerbaijan worked out the so called Albanian "theory"<sup>716</sup>, according to which the inhabitants of Artsakh and its neighbouring districts were Albanians which were armenified by force and who in fact were the direct ancestors of Azerbaijani people. So they tried to hang the label "Albanian-Azerbaijani" on those cultural values which had been created by the Armenian of Artsakh for centuries.

The No 145 decision of the Council of Azerbaijani SSR ministers adopted on April 27, 1988 declared all the historical monuments in Artsakh, Nakhijevan, Utik and other territories to be Albanian-Azerbaijani, and to have no connection with the Armenian people<sup>717</sup>. And so due to this policy "The present generation of Azerbaijan is sure that Karabakh is the historical part of Azerbaijan, that khachkar (cross-stone) is in fact khachdash(Azerbaijani for "stone" is "dash") , that the Armenians are aliens, self-invited guests on their land"<sup>718</sup>.

Though the Azerbaijanians considered the cultural values created by the Armenians to be their own, they annihilated them, especially the churches, cross-stones (khachkars) and the temples in Baku, Gandzak, Shamakhi, Nukhi, Artsakh and Utik. The teaching of Armenian History was banned in the schools. A.Volski, the chief of the special department of Central Committee of the Soviet Union Communist Party remarked, "The former leaders of Azerbaijan kept driving the issue of Karabakh into a deadlock, tried to cut the natural connections of its Armenian population with Armenia, create serious cultural and language obstacles and difficulties for the Armenian speaking intelligents. All this is true"<sup>719</sup>.

And this is one of the reasons why the Armenians of Artsakh rose against the Azerbaijanian tyranny and fought for saving the century-long national culture and for preserving their self-dependance.

## AFTERWORD

The unwreckable ship of the Artsakhian people has crossed the stormy ocean, fought against evil and enemies and reached the harbour of the 21st century, which is a haven for opening new horizons.

Preserving the customs and traditions of their great ancestor Hayk, the Armenians of Artsakh have always struggled for freedom, independence and for those cultural values which had been created in previous centuries.

The NKR is now building its statehood, it overcomes the difficulties which are common for all small and economically weak republics. This newly proclaimed republic asks the world powers to have a fair trial of the problem and to recognize its independence.

Today the Armenians of Artsakh with their peaceful and creative work try to have a share in the universal values and want to feel themselves the inextricable part of the global community.

## REFERENCES

1. "Grakan tert", (Literary newspaper), December 22, 1989.
2. Leo, Armenian History, vol. 3, book 2, Yerevan, 1973, pages 10-11.
3. The Armenian History by Pavstos Byuzand, Tiflis, 1912, p. 314.
4. B.Ulubabyan, Artsakh History, Yerevan, 1994, pages 11-12.
5. S.Melkoumyan, Mountainous Karabakh, Yerevan, 1990, p. 12.
6. A.Shirakatsi, The Annals, translation, references and commentaries by A.Abrahamyan and G.Petrosyan, Yerevan, 1979, p. 295.
7. S.Sargsyan, Historical and geographical specifications, Yerevan, 1996, p. 30.
8. M.Barkhutareants, Artsakh, Baku, 1895, p. 23.
9. S.Sargsyan, Historical and geographical specifications, p. 40.
10. In the same work, p. 43.
11. In the same work, p. 58.
12. S.Yeremyan, Armenia according to "Ashkharatsoits", Yerevan, 1963, p. 71.
13. B.Ulubabyan, Artsakh History, p. 44.
14. M.Barkhutareants, Artsakh, p. 25.
15. The same work, p. 24.
16. S.Sargsyan, Historical and geographical specifications, p. 56.
17. In the same work, p. 62.
18. S.Yesayan, The Archaeology of Armenia, vol. 1, Yerevan, 1992, p. 33.
19. "Khorhrdayin Karabakh", September 18, 1976.
20. B.Piotrovsky, The Archaeology of Transcaucasus, L., 1949, p. 87-88.
21. Kh.Samuelyan, The culture of Ancient Armenia, Yerevan, 1941, p. 309.
22. B.Piotrovsky, The Archeology of Transcaucasus, p. 55.
23. U.Asryan, Mountainous (Nagorno) Karabakh in late Bronze and early Iron Era (II-I millennium B.C), Stepanakert, 1999, p. 11.
24. T.V.Gamcrelidze, V.V.Ivanov, Indoeuropean languages and Indoeuropeans, vol.2, Tbilisi, 1984, p. 896.
25. V.V.Sedov, The origination and early history of the Slavic people, M., 1979, p. 19.
26. V.V.Bunak, "The Anthropologic composition of the population of Caucasus", the Journal of Georgian State Museum, vol. 13A, 1946, p. 94.
27. R.Virkhov, The role of Caucasus in the history of civilization, 1895, p. 66.
28. A.Israyelyan, The culture and beliefs in Armenia in the late Bronze Era, Yerevan, 1976, p. 36.
29. M.Khorenatsi, Armenian History, Yerevan, 1981, p. 153-154.
30. K.Patkanov, Studies in the dialects of the Armenian language, St. Petersburg, 1869, p. 35.
31. "Khorhrdayin Karabakh", August 14, 1988.
32. "Khorhrdayin Karabakh", August 7, 1988.
33. A.Hakobjanyan, About the origination of the liberation movement for Artsakh, Yerevan, 2001, p. 6.
34. G.Jahukyan, About the origination(formation) of the dialects of Armenians of Artsakh, "Lraber", no. 5, 1991, p. 53.
35. O.Babayan, Some linguistic generalities of Grabar and Karabakhian dialect, "Artsakh", no. 2, 1990, p. 85.
36. Hovh. Karageozyan, Cuneiform inscriptions in Ayrarat and its neighbouring provinces, Yerevan, 1988, p. 85.
37. K.Ghaphadaryan, Historical-archaeological remarks about the Kyrikyan principality of Nor-Berd(New-Castly), "Report" on the USSR Science Academy Armenian department, 1940, No 4-5, p. 179.
38. Hovh. Karageozyan, the mentioned work, p. 121-123.
39. The archaeological excavations of Erebuni, p. 38.
40. Hovh. Karageozyan, the mentioned work, p. 117-118.
41. Armenian History, Science Academy, pub. 1, Yerevan, 1971, p. 313-314. B.Ulubabyan, Episodes of the History of Armenian Eastern Provinces, Yerevan, 1981. K.Ghaphadaryan, The History of Urartu, Yerevan, 1940, G.A.Melikashvili, Urartian wedge-like inscriptions, M., 1960.
42. Gr.Ghapantsyan, the mentioned work, p. 186.
43. B.Piotrovsky, The Kingdom of Van, M., 1954, p. 92.
44. Hovh. Karageozyan, the mentioned work, p. 40-41.
45. M.V.Nikolsky, The wedge-like inscriptions of Transcaucasus, Materials on the archaeology of Caucasus, V, M, 1896, p. XXXI, G.A.Melikashvili, Urartian wedge-like inscriptions, M., 1960, p. 2.
46. Movses Kaghankatvatsi, History of the Albanian Land, Yerevan, 1983, p. 353.
47. Stephanos Orbelyan, History of the Sisakan Province, Tiflis, 1911, p. 278.
48. B.Ulubabyan, Gandzasar, Yerevan, 1981, p. 98.
49. B.Piotrovsky, the mentioned work, p. 32.
50. See; The inscriptions of Rusa I in Bayazet and Tsovinar, the noted, 265, 266.
51. Hovh. Karageozyan, the mentioned work, p. 139.

52. G.A.Melikashvili, the mentioned work, p. 36.
53. B.Ulubabyan, Artsakh History, p. 18.
54. Yu. Asryan, the mentioned work, p. 5.
55. I.M.Dyakonov, Urartian writings and documents, M.-L., 1963, No 7, p. 7.
56. Makar Bishop Barkhutareants, History of Albania, n.1, Vagharshapat, 1902, p.41.
57. Nagorno Karabakh, Historical document, Yerevan, 1988, p. 10.
58. Makar Bishop Barkhutareants, History of Albania, p. 22.
59. History of the Armenian People, No 1, Yerevan, 1971, p. 508.
60. S.G.Barkhudaryan, The Armenian-Albanian Kingdom of Derbend, Historical-philological Journal, No 3, 1969, p.134.
61. M.Khorenatsi, p. 190-191.
62. S.T.Yeremyan, Armenia according to "Ashkharhatsoyts", p. 57.
63. M.Khorenatsi, p. 199.
64. G.A.Tiratsyan, "The Armenian History" by Movses Khorenatsi and "Geography" by Strabon, a few facts about the history of Armenia in 3-4th century, BC, BM, 1962, No 6, p. 8.
65. Strabon, Geography, M., 1964, XI, XIV, 5.
66. Strabon, XI, III, 2.
67. H.Hyubshman, The toponyms of Ancient Armenia, tr-d by H.Pilezikchyan, Viena, 1907, National-depository (Matenadaran), No 53, p. 22-23.
68. Strabon, XI, XIV, 5.
69. M.Khorenatsi, p. 154.
70. Leo, Armenian History, vol. 3, p. 10-11.
71. Strabon, XI, XIV, 15.
72. H.Hyubshman, the mentioned work, p. 26-27.
73. M.Khorenatsi, p. 163.
74. R.Virkhov, the mentioned work, p. 66.
75. S.Karapetyan, Armenian cultural monuments in the region of Karabakh, Yerevan, 1999, p. 160.
76. Armen Karageozyan, About the localization of Kashatagh district, Journal of Social Sciences, 1987, No 1, p. 44.
77. "Soviet Azerbaijanian encyclopedia", vol. 7, Baku, 1983, p. 14.
78. D.Akhundov, The Architecture of old and early medieval Azerbaijan, Baku, 1986, p. 26-27.
79. D.Akhundov, the mentioned work, p. 31.
80. S.Yeremyan, The development of towns and town-life in Armenia, Journal of Ancient History, 1953, No 3, p. 11.

81. History of king Heracle written by bishop Sebeos, Tiflis, 1912, p. 148, 283.
82. Emil Ryosler, The Archaeological Research in Transcaucasus, "Caucasus", 1903, p. 2.
83. The Archaeological findings in Caucasus, "Caucasus", 1884, N 222, p. 2-3.
84. The Armenian History, vol.1, p. 260.
85. R. Geyushev, Christianity in Caucasian Albania, Baku, 1984, p. 65.
86. D. Akhundov, ment. work., p. 171-175.
87. K. Trever, Essays on the History and Culture of Albania, M.-L, p. 321-322.
88. Dion Cassius, Roman History, (Per. Latisheva V.V.) Journal of Ancient History, 1948, N 2, book 11, vol. 4, p.7.
89. Sh.Mkhrtychyan, Artsakh, Yerevan, 1991, p.26.
90. Strabon, Selected and translated by Hr.Acharyan, Yerevan, 1940, p. 31.
91. K.Gan, "The information about Caucasus left by Greek and Roman writers", I, Tiflis, 1884, p. 109.
92. Ptolomeus, Geography, V, XII, 1.
93. "The information about Caucasus left by ancient Roman and Latin writers", selected, translated and suggested for publishing by V.V.Latishev, vol. 1, St.Petersburg, 1890, p. 611.
94. In the same work, p. 611.
95. M.Khorenatsi, "Ashkharhatsoyts", Venice, 1881, p. 29.
96. Abas-Kuli-Agha Bakikhanov, Giulistan-Iran, Baku, 1926, p. 8.
97. Pavstos Byuzand, The Armenian History, Tiflis, 1912, p. 314.
98. S.Barkhudaryan, the mentioned work, p. 134.
99. Pavstos Byuzand, The Armenian History, Yerevan, 1987, p. 401.
100. History of Armenian People, vol. 2, p. 112.
101. S.T.Yeremyan, Armenia according to "Ashkharhatsoyts", p. 116-118.
102. S.T.Yeremyan, Essays on the History of the USSR. The crisis of slave-owning system and the formation of feudalism on the territory of the USSR in III-IX centuries, M., 1958, p. 194.
103. M.Khorenatsi, p. 26.
104. "The work by Yeghishe about Vardanank and the Armenian war", Yerevan, 1957, p. 94.
105. History of the Armenian church, New Nakhijevan, 1908, p. 8.
106. St.Orbelyan, History of Syounik, Yerevan, 1986, p. 76.
107. Movses Kaghankatvatsi, History of the Albanian Land, Yerevan, 1969, p. 23.

108. Movses Kaghankatvatsi, History of the Albanian Land, Yerevan, 1983, p. 12.
109. Michael Asori, Chronicle, Jerusalem, Annex, p. 33.
110. S.Karapetyan, the mentioned work, p. 86.
111. Agatangeghos, Armenian History, Tiflis, 1914, p. 20.
112. B.Ulubabyan, Artsakh History, p. 25.
113. M. Kaghankatvatsi, p. 55.
114. Agatangeghos, Armenian History, p. 432.
115. Pavstos Byuzand, p. 23-24.
116. M. Kaghankatvatsi, p. 29.
117. M.Khorenatsi, p. 293.
118. Koryun, the Life of Mashtots, Yerevan, 1981, P. 51.
119. M. Kaghankatvatsi, p. 251.
120. H. Manandyan, Critical review of the History of the Armenian people, vol. B (2), part A (1), Yerevan, 1957, p. 286-287
121. Yeghishe, The History of Vardanants, Yerevan, 1989, p. 27.
122. Yeghishe, p. 21
123. M. Mkryan, The History of old literature (5-9 cent.), Yerevan, 1976, p. 230.
124. Ghazar Parpetsi, Armenian History, Yerevan, 1982, p. 100-103.
125. Yeghishe, p.87.
126. B. Ulubabyan, Episodes of the History of Eastern Armenia, Yerevan, 1981, p. 150.
127. Ghazar Parpetsi, p. 107.
128. K. Juzbashyan, From Avarayr battle to the peace agreement of Nvarsak, Yerevan, 1989, p. 165
129. H. Muradyan, About Vardanants rebel, Yerevan, 1989, p. 41.
130. Ghazar Parpetsi, p. 149.
131. M. Aghabekyan. Some etymological observations concerning the toponym Albania, Historical-philological Journal, No 1, p. 172.
132. H. Muradyan, the ment. work, p. 65.
133. Ghazar Parpetsi, p. 155.
134. M. Kaghankatvatsi, p. 86.
135. In the same work, p. 87.
136. Yeghishe, p. 191.
137. In the same work, p. 75.
138. H. Muradyan, the ment. work, p. 81.
139. In the same work, p. 92.
140. S.T. Yeremyan. The national liberation struggle of the Armenians

- against the Persians in 450-451, Journal of Ancient History, 1951, N 4
141. E. Lalayan, Writings, vol. 2, Yerevan, 1988, p. 449.
142. A.Ghanalanyan, Legends, Yerevan, 1969, p. 229. E. Lalayan, Writings, vol. 2, p. 40.
143. Kh.Samuelyan, the mentioned work, p. 314.
144. Sargis Archbishop Jalaleants, A Journey to Metz Hayastan, part 2, Tiflis, 1858, p.339.
145. Yeghishe, p. 251, 255.
146. History of the Armenian People, vol. 2, Yerevan, 1971, p. 188.
147. Yeghishe, p. 247- 249.
148. St.Orbelyan, p. 72.
149. "Grkeri Ashkharh", March 2, 1991.
150. B.Ulubabyan, The toponyms "Albania", "Aghvank" and "Aran". Historical Philological Journal, 1971, No 3, p. 116.
151. M. Kaghankatvatsi, p. 11-12.
152. In the same work, p. 12.
153. In the same work.
154. Sargis Archbishop Jalaleants, p. 248.
155. M. Kaghankatvatsi, p. 52.
156. M. Kaghankatvatsi, p. 285.
157. Strabon, book 11, Charter 4(D).
158. Leo, Armenian History, vol. 2, p. 149-150.
159. "Khorhrdayin Karabakh", October 20, 1989.
160. In the same work.
161. M. Kaghankatvatsi, p. 62.
162. St.Orbelyan, p. 86.
163. St.Orbelyan, p. 118.
164. Makar Bishop Barkhutareants, Artsakh, p. 235-236.
165. History of the Armenian People, vol. 2, p. 212.
166. S.T. Yeremyan, "Ashkharhatsoyts", p. 115.
167. S.V.Yushkov, Concerning the issue about the borders of ancient Albania "Historical Records Academy of Sciences of the USSR", vol. 1, M., 1937, p. 137.
168. N.P.Pigulevskaya, Concerning the reform of Khosrov Anushirvan, Journal of Ancient History, 1937, No 1.
169. M. Kaghankatvatsi, p. 171.
170. M. Kaghankatvatsi, p. 7. The same B.Ulubabyan, The church and culture of Eastern Armenia, Yerevan, 1998, p. 120-121.
171. St.Orbelyan, p. 90-92. B. Ulubabyan, Episodes of the History of Eastern

- Armenia, p. 204-205.
172. S.T. Yeremyan, "Ashkharhatsoyts", p. 70.
  173. Sebeos, p. 175.
  174. S.T. Yeremyan, Armenia in VI-VII centuries, "The History of the USSR in III-I centuries", M., 1958, p. 219, also "Syounik and the defense of the Sassanids of Caucasian passayes", 1941, No 7.
  175. Sebeos, p. 175.
  176. M. Kaghankatvatsi, p. 80.
  177. History of the Armenian People, vol. 2, p. 293-294.
  178. M. Kaghankatvatsi, p. 149-150.
  179. Leo, Armenian History, vol. 2, p. 252.
  180. Sebeos, p. 125.
  181. In the same work.
  182. H.Manandyan, vol. B, p. 153-154.
  183. M. Kaghankatvatsi, p. 151.
  184. M. Kaghankatvatsi, charter 14.
  185. M. Kaghankatvatsi, p. 177.
  186. In the same work, p. 187.
  187. Sebeos, p. 175.
  188. History of the Armenian People, vol. 2, p. 315.
  189. In the same work, p. 316.
  190. B. Ulubabyan, Episodes of the History of Eastern Armenia, p. 243.
  191. M. Kaghankatvatsi, p. 227.
  192. M. Kaghankatvatsi, p. 225.
  193. B. Ulubabyan, "Zrutsaran", Yerevan, 1987, p. 172.
  194. The details of the ivasions of Bugha see -Leo, Armenian History, vol. 2, p. 434-446.
  195. History of the Armenian People, vol. 2, p. 358.
  196. Tovma Artsruni and Ananun, The History of the Artsruni dynasty, Yerevan, 1985, p. 279-281.
  197. In the same work, p. 285.
  198. Leo, Armenian History, vol. 2, p. 446.
  199. M. Kaghankatvatsi, p. 199.
  200. Leo, Armenian History, vol. 1, Book 1, p. 329.
  201. In the same work, p. 330.
  202. M. Kaghankatvatsi, p. 251.
  203. In the same work, p. 256-257.
  204. Leo, Armenian History, vol. 2, p. 332.
  205. B.Khalat'yants, The Arab chroniclers about Armenia, Vien, 1912, p. 25.

206. History by Catholicos Hovhannes, Jerusalem, 1867, Charter 33.
207. B. Ulubabyan, "The Principality of Khachen in the X-XVI centuries", Yerevan, 1975, p. 73-75.
208. S.Barkhudaryan, Archives of the Armenian lithography, vol. 5, Yerevan, 1982, p. 12.
209. M. Kaghankatvatsi, p. 273.
210. E.Krimski, Pages from the History... of Azerbaijan, Sheki, Collection "In memory of N.Mar", M-L., 1938, p. 374.
211. Constandin Tsiranatsin. About the ceremonies of Byzantine royal court, Book II, Charter 48.
212. M. Kaghankatvatsi, Book 2, Charter 22.
213. S.Barkhudaryan, Epitaph with the name of prince Hamam, The "Report" ("Teghagir") of the Science Academy, 1964, No 1, p. 63.
214. Collection of materials for describing the settlements and tribes of Caucasus, Tiflis, 1908, Issue No 38, p. 57. Raffi, Collection of Novels, vol. 10, p. 498.
215. Melikset-Bek, The Georgian sources about Armenia and the Armenians, part A, Yerevan, 1934, p. 203.
216. M. Kaghankatvatsi, p. 389.
217. History by Catholicos Hovhannes, p. 383.
218. In the same work, p. 392.
219. M. Kaghankatvatsi, p. 373.
220. Melikset-Bek, The Georgian sources about Armenia and the Armenians, part A, p. 155.
221. Makar Bishop Barkhutareants, Artsakh, p. 306-307.
222. Asoghik, Patmutyun Tiezerakan, S.-P., 1885, p. 198.
223. Vardan Vardapet, Collection of History, Venice, 1862, p. 103.
224. In the same work, p. 135.
225. Gh.Alishan, Sisuan, Venice, 1885, p. 71.
226. Leo, Armenian History, vol. 2, p. 446.
227. Makar Bishop Barkhutareants, Artsakh, Yerevan, 1999, p. 201.
228. B. Ulubabyan, Artsakh History, p. 59.
229. Nick.Adonts, The glory of the Bagratid family, "Historical studies", Paris, 1948, p. 143.
230. Anania Mokatsi, "Ayrarat", 1897, p. 143.
231. "Tarikh al-Kamil Ibn al-Asira", translated by P.K.Zhuze, Baku, 1940, p. 120.
232. Matheos Urhayetsi, Chronicle, Yerevan, 1991, p. 146.
233. Vardan Vardapet, p. 180.

234. Siaset Name, A book about the rule of Vizier Nizam al-Mulk in century, translated by B.N.Zakhodera, M.-L., 1949.
235. History of the Armenian People, vol. 3, p. 470.
236. "The Archives of the Armenian lithography", vol 2, p. 139.
237. Mkhitar Gosh, Zhazh Gandzaka. Gh.Alishan, Hayapatum, p. 361.
238. K.Gandzaketsi, the Armenian History, Yerevan, 1961, p. 117.
239. Gh.Alishan, Hayapatum, p. 386.
240. In the same work.
241. St.Orbelyan, p. 336.
242. In the same work, p. 336-337.
243. K.Gandzaketsi, p. 162.
244. The Georgian sources about Armenia and the Armenians, vol. 2, p. 13.
245. K.Gandzaketsi, p. 163.
246. St.Orbelyan, p. 337.
247. G.Hovsepian, The Khaghbakyan or Proshyan family in the Armenian History, Antilias, 1969.
248. H.Manandyan, vol. 3, p. 158.
249. S.Jalaleants, p. 38, 103, 111, 141.
250. H.Orbeli, Ancient Findings, No 160.
251. M.Gosh, Code of Laws (Datastanagirk), p. 70-73.
252. Vardan Vardapet, p. 140.
253. See;records about the building of Gandzasar.
254. "Scientific writings of the USSR Science Academy Institute of Oriental studies", vol. 9, L., 1954, p. 204.
255. Rashid ad-Din, Collection, vol. 1, book 1,2, translated from Persian by A.A.Khetyagurova and O.I.Smirnova, M.-L., 1952, p. 208-209.
256. Ibn al-Asir, translated from the original, A.N.Ter-Ghevondyan, Yerevan, 1981, p. 303.
257. "Arab sources about Armenia and the neighbouring countries", Jakut Al Hamavi, Abul-Fida, Ibn Shaddad, prepared by H.T.Nalbandyan, Yerevan, 1965, p. 233.
258. K.Gandzaketsi, p. 234-235.
259. In the same work, p. 236.
260. K.Gandzaketsi, p. 237-238.
261. In the same work, p. 243-252.
262. "Georgian Chronicle (1207-1318)", translated from old Georgian, foreword and references prepared by P.Muradyan, Yerevan, 1971, p. 74.
263. K.Gandzaketsi, p. 267.
264. H.Stepanyan, The Armenian struggle against Tatar-Mongol yoke, Yerevan, 1990, p. 68.
265. S.A.Kozin, Precious History, Mongol Chronicle, 1240, M.-L., 1941, vol. 1, p. 193-194.
266. "Materials on the History of Turkmenia and the Turkmen people", vol. 1, M.-L., 1939, p. 474.
267. K.Gandzaketsi, p. 313.
268. Grigor Aknerts, p. 20-21.
269. K.Gandzaketsi, p. 313.
270. In the same work, p. 356.
271. In the same work, p. 389-390.
272. K.Gandzaketsi, p. 391, Vardan Vardapet, p. 152.
273. B. Ulubabyan, "The Principality of Khachen in the X-XVI centuries", p. 234.
274. Grigor Khlatetsi, Memorandum of the Disaster, Vagharshapat, 1897, p. 6, Bishop Karapet, Materials about the Armenian principalities, vol. 2, the Dopyan and Melik Shahnazaryan dynasties, Ejmiatsin, 1914, p. 84.
275. B. Ulubabyan, "The Principality of Khachen in the X-XVI centuries", p. 292.
276. Nagorno Karabakh, Historical document, Yerevan, 1988, p. 8.
277. Tovma Metsopetsi, History of Tamerlane and his successors, Paris, 1860, p. 40-46.
278. Leo, Armenian History, vol. 2, Book 2, Yerevan 1973, p. 18.
279. In the same work, p. 17.
280. "Turkish sources about Armenia,the Armenians and Transcaucasus", part 1, Yerevan, 1961, p. 33.
281. A.Davrizhetsi, History, Ejmiatsin, 1896, p. 609.
282. A.Hovhannisean, Geghama and Tsara dynasties of meliks, "Banber of the Armenian Institute of Science", vol. 1 and 2, 1921-1922, p. 105-113.
283. A.Hovhannisyan, Episodes(extracts) from the history of the Armenian liberation movement, Yerevan, 1957, vol. B, p. 24.
284. Chronological Dictionary, p. 243-244, A.Davrizhetsi, Histori, Yerevan, 1988, p. 81-82.
285. Chronological Dictionary, p. 242.
286. Smbat Ter-Avetisyan, The list of the monuscripts of Amenaprkich church in Nor-Jugha, A, p. 137.
287. A.Davrizhetsi, Histori, Yerevan, 1988, p. 25.
288. A.Davrizhetsi, Histori, p. 85.
289. In the same work.
290. Leo, Collection of novels, Yerevan, 1973, vol. 3, Book 2, p. 21. "Persian

- documents, decrees of Matenadaran", selected and worked out by H.D. Papazyan, vol. 2, 1601-1650, Yerevan, 1959, p. 89-100.
291. Leo, in the same work, p. 23.
292. B. Ulubabyan, Artsakh History, Yerevan, 1994, p. 132.
293. M. Bishop Barkhutareants, Artsakh, Bagu, 1895, p. 406.
294. Magazine "Ararat", 1915, p. 791.
295. "Archives of the Armenian Lithography", vol. 3, prepared and selected by A. Barkhudaryan, Yerevan, 1973, p. 332.
296. In the same work.
297. Leo, vol. 3, book 2, p. 27.
298. S. Karapetyan, Armenian cultural monuments in the Karabakh region, Yerevan, 1999, p. 14.
299. S. Kamalyants, S. Nshan of Khota temple, "Arzagank", 1892, No 111, p. 1-2.
300. G. A. Ezov, The relations of Peter the Great with the Armenian people, St. Petersburg, 1898, p. 386.
301. Leo, Collection of novels, vol. 3, Book 2, Yerevan, 1973, p. 119.
302. G. A. Ezov, p. 340-341.
303. Yesayi catholicos Hasan Jalalyan, History of the events of the Albanian Land, Shoushi, 1839, p. 58.
304. "Armenian-Russian relations in the first quarter of XVIII century", vol. I-II, part I, document 194-195.
305. A page from the History of Transcaucasus peoples, Yerevan, 1953, p. 82-83. Stepanos Shahoomyan, History about Davit Bek, p. 10-11.
306. Yesayi Hasan Jalalyan, Brief History of the Albanian Land, Jerusalem, 1882, p. 45-49.
307. G. A. Ezov, doc., vol. 227.
308. S. M. Solovyev, History of Russia, Moscow, 1968, vol. 18, p. 73.
309. A. Abrahamyan, the ment. work, p. 131.
310. B. Ulubabyan, "Zrutsaran", Yerevan, 1987, p. 261.
311. V. B. Barkhudaryan, V.K. Voskanyan, Armenian-Russian historical connections and the unification of Esatern Armenia with Russia, Yerevan, 1978, p. 126.
312. A. Abrahamyan, the ment. work, doc. N 1325.
313. A. Abrahamyan, the ment. work, p. 125.
314. G. A. Ezov, p. 430, A. Abrahamyan, the ment. work, p. 125-126.
315. G. A. Ezov, p. 459.
316. Leo, Collection of novels, vol. 3, Book 2, Yerevan, 1973, p. 174.
317. A. Abrahamyan, the ment. work, p. 130.
318. "Armenian-Russian relations in the 60s of the XVIII century", collection of the documents, made up by V. K. Voskanyan, Dzh. O. Galustyan, V. M. Martirosyan, Yerevan, 1978, p. 23.
319. S. Karapetyan, Armenian cultural monuments in the region of Karabakh, Yerevan, 1999, p. 12.
320. S. Karapetyan, the ment. work, p. 12.
321. Leo, vol. 3, Book 2, p. 176.
322. "Turkish sources about the Armenians of Armenia and the other peoples of Transcaucasus" prepared by A.Satrasyan, vol. 1, Yerevan, 1964, doc. 375, point 5 and doc. 376.
323. Raffi, "The Principalities of Khamsa", M. Barkhudaryan, Artsakh.
324. V. A. Parsamyanyan, The participation of Polish Armenians in the rebel led by Davit Bek, Yerevan, 1962, p. 142.
325. History of the Armenian People, p. 161, History of Azerbaijan, Baku, 1958, vol. 1, p. 312.
326. "Armenian-Russian relations in the second third of the XVIII century", Yerevan, 1978, vol. 3, p. 27.
327. In the same work, p. 35.
328. Matenadaran, the Fund of Melik-Shahnazaryans, folder 241, doc. 124.
329. History of the Armenian People, vol. 4, p. 181.
330. Abraham Kretatsi, Ejmiatsin, 1870, p. 13.
331. History of the Armenian People, vol. 4, p. 183.
332. Leo, vol. 3, p. 254.
333. M. Bishop Barkhutareants, The Albanian Land and its neighbours, Artsakh, Yerevan, 1999, p. 199.
334. Leo, vol. 3, Book 2, p. 254.
335. M. Bishop Barkhutareants, p. 198-199.
336. History of Azerbaijan, Baku, 1958, vol. 1, p. 337.
337. Raffi, Collection of novels, vol. 10, Yerevan, 1964, p. 200.
338. Leo, vol. 3, Book 3, Yerevan, 1973, p. 271.
339. A. Butkov, Materials on the new history of Caucasus, St. Petersburg, 1889.
340. Karabakh, The writings of Jemil Jevanshir Karabaghi, Tiflis, 1853, p. 11-12.
341. Akhmed-bek, Jevanshir, About the political existance of Karabakhian khanate from 1747 to 1805, Shoushi, 1901, p. 22.
342. Z. T. Grigoryan, The centuries-old friendship of Armenian and Russian peoples, Yerevan, 1960, p. 157.
343. B.Ulubabyan, Golden Chain, Yerevan, 1979, p. 228.



344. Movses Kaghankatvatsi, History of the Albanian Land, Moscow, 1860, p. 270-271.
345. S. M. Solovyev, History of Russia from the oldest times, writings, Moscow, 1998, book 1, vol. 1 -2, p. 73.
346. A.P. Novoseltsev, L.V. Cherennin, V. P. Shusharin, J. N. Tchanov, Old Russian state and its international significance, Moscow, 1965, p. 385.
347. G. A. Galoyan, Russian and Transcaucasian peoples, Yerevan, 1978, p. 36.
348. Kirakos Gandzaketsi, the Armenian History, Yerevan, 1982.
349. G. A. Ezov, The friendship and relations of Peter the Great with the Armenian people, St. Petersburg, 1898, p. 12.
350. M.K. Zulalyan Armenia in the first half of XVIII cent. , Moscow, 1971, p. 18.
351. History of the Armenian People, published by the Science Academy of the Soviet Armenia, Yerevan, 1972, vol. 4, p. 138.
352. S.P. Poghosyan, History of the Armenian People, Yerevan, 1965, vol. 2, p. 260.
353. History of the Armenian People, vol. 4, p. 128.
354. K. Hovhannisyan, Pages from the History of the liberation movement of Eastern Armenia.
355. B. Ulubabyan, "Zrutsaran", vol.1, p. 246.
356. Ts. Aghayan, The role of Russia in the fate of Armenian people, Yerevan, 1981, p. 75.
357. G. A. Ezov, the ment. work, p. 24-27.
358. Armenian-Russian relations..., vol. 2, part 1, doc. 79.
359. G. A. Ezov, the ment. work, p. 76.
360. A. Hovhannisyan, Epizodes from the history of Armenian liberation movement, Yerevan, 1959, vol. 2, p. 523.
361. G. A. Ezov, the ment. work, doc. 98, 100, 103, 204.
362. Armenian-Russian relations in the first third of XVIII cent., vol. 2, part.1, doc. 161.
363. In the same work, p. 360-364.
364. Valerian Matcharadze, Materials from the history of Russian-Georgian relations of the second half of the 18th century, No 3, part 1, Tbilisi, 1988, p. 358, in Georgian.
365. M. G. Nersisyan, A. Suvorov and Russian-Armenian relations in 1770-1780, Yerevan, 1981, p. 50.
366. K. Ghahramanyan, Northern Artsakh, Struggle for existence, Yerevan, 1993, p. 47.

367. M. G. Nersisyan, A. Suvorov and...p. 58.
368. Matenadaran, man. No 2803, p. 315.
369. O. P. Markova, "Russia, Transcaucasus and the International Relations in XVIII cent"., Moscow, 1966, p. 183.
370. A. N. Iohanisyan, Russia..., p. 183.
371. G. A. Galoyan, Russia and the Transcaucasian peoples, Yerevan, 1978, p. 131.
372. O. P. Markova, Russia..., p. 183.
373. A. N. Iohanisyan, Russia..., p. 237.
374. V. B. Harutyunyan, "The Origin of the Artsakhian Issue", St., 1998, p. 12.
375. B. Ulubabyan, Artsakh History, p. 160.
376. Armenian sources about Agha Muhammad's invasions of Transcaucasus (1795-1797), worked out by R. T. Titanyan, Yerevan, 1981, p. 19.
377. Vardan Odznetsi, The political and church history of the Armenian land for young and old, Matenadaran, man. 4331, No 135.
378. Leo, vol. 3, p. 385.
379. In the same work.
380. Vardan Odznetsi, Matenadaran, man. 4331, No. 158.
381. Mirza Jusuf Nersesov, "True History", Yerevan, 2000, p. 71-72.
382. Butkov, materials on the new history of Caucasus, St. Petersburg, 1969, p. 209.
383. Leo, vol. 3, p. 396.
384. Armenian sources about Agha Muhammad's invasions, p. 21.
385. A. Jevanshir, p. 38.
386. Armenian sources about Agha Muhammad's invasions, p. 192.
387. Leo, vol. 3, p. 409.
388. Leo, vol. 4, p. 249.
389. V. Potto, The first volunteers of Karabakh in the epoch of the ruling of the Russian Empire, Tiflis, 1902, p. 24 - 29.
390. History of the Armenian People, vol. 5, p. 127.
391. "Vern", 1937, No 1, p. 7.
392. "Tesaket", N 15, p. 25.
393. Soviet-Iranian relations in agreement, conventions and treaties, Moscow, 1946, p. 24-26.
394. Institution for ruling the Transcaucasian land, decree of 10, April 1840, "the second collection of laws", vol. V, N. 13368.
395. M. Khorenatsi, Armenian History, Yerevan, 1981, p. 293.

396. Movses Kaghankatvatsi, *History of the Albanian Land*, Tiflis, 1912, p. 50-51.
397. G. H. Harutyunyan, *The Artsakhian school in the 5-19th centuries*, Stepanakert, 2000, p. 12.
398. *The outstanding representatives of Armenian culture in V-XVIII centuries*, Yerevan, 1976, p. 266.
399. "Brief History of Georgia", Venice, 1904, p. 122-123.
400. M. Barkhudaryan, "Artsakh", Yerevan, 1995, p. 83, M. Santosyan, "The Eastern Armenian school in the first half of the 10th century", Yerevan, 1964, p. 10-18.
401. H. Hakobyan, *The medieval art of Artsakh*, Yerevan, p. 29.
402. Movses Kaghankatvatsi, *History of the Albanian Land*, Yerevan, 1983, book 3, p. 7.
403. Leo, vol. 2, book 2 p. 446.
404. O. S. Yeganyan, *The collection of Armenian monuments of Gandzasar, "Ejmiatzin"*, 1971, D, p. 59-62.
405. H. Hakobyan, *The Miniature-painting of Artsakh-Utik in 13-14th century*, Yerevan, 1989, p. 32.
406. S. Karapetyan, the ment. work, p. 179.
407. *The colophons of the Armenian manuscripts, XIII cent.*, Yerevan, 1984, p. 228.
408. K.Gandzaketsi, p. 280.
409. H. Hakobyan, the ment. work, Yerevan, 1991, p. 31.
410. M. Abeghyan, *History of ancient Armenian literature*, book 1, Yerevan, 1944, p. 370.
411. As. Mnatsakanyan "About the literature of the Albanian Land", Yerevan, 1966, p. 169.
412. See Mkhitar Gosh, 'Fables', pub. Em. Pivazyan, Yerevan, 1951.
413. K.Gandzaketsi, *Armenian History developed by J. A. Melik Ohanjanyan*, Yerevan, 1961, p. 49.
414. See "Tchrakagh" Moscow, 1859, vol. 1, book (tetrak) C (III), p. 69-76, book (tetrak) D (IV), p. 105-112.
415. Raffi, *Collection of novels*, vol. 10, Yerevan, 1959, p. 186, note 1.
416. A. Abrahamyan. *The rules of Davit Alavkavordi, Analyses and Original*, from monthly "Ejmiatsin", 1953.
417. *History of the Armenian People*, vol. 3, p. 820.
418. Pavstos Byuzand, *Armenian History*, Yerevan, 1968, p. 75.
419. M. Kaghankatvatsi, p. 285, 319.
420. T. Toromanyan, *Materials on the history of the Armenian architecture*, Yerevan, 1948, p. 25.
421. "Studies on the history of culture of the peoples of the East" written in honour of A. Orbeli, M.-L., 1960, p. 144-151. A. L. Jakobson, "From the History of Medieval Armenian Architecture" (Gandzasar church XIII cent.).
422. Mickael Asori, *Chronicle*, Jerusalem, 1871, Annex, p. 33.
423. A. Ghulyan, *Melikal castles of Artsakh and Syounik*, Yerevan, 2001, p. 12.
424. S. Karapetyan, the ment. work, p. 65.
425. H. Hakobyan, the ment. work, Yerevan, 1989, p. 19.
426. See. *History of Azerbaijan*, vol. 1, Baku, 1958, R. Geyushev, "Christianity in Caucasian Albania", Baku, 1984, D. Akhundov, "The Architecture of Azerbaijan in Old and Early Middle Ages", Baku, 1986, D. Akhundov, "Symbols of Idols and the Picture of the World Inscribed on the Stones of Caucasian Albania", Baku, 1982.
427. *Archives of the Armenian lithography*, vol. 5, Yerevan, 1982, p. 12.
428. H. Abikh, *The Archaeological researches of the land that lies between Araks and Kur. The Reports of the Caucasian department of the geographical society of the Russian Empire*, book 8, 1873, p. 63 (Russian).
429. See. "Meghu Hayastani", 1885, No 78, p. 2-3, "Nor dar", 1892, No 15, p. 2, "Bizandion", 1901, No 1492.
430. S. Karapetyan, *The Turkish school about the Armenian khachkars*, "RA", 1995, March 10, No 49, p. 2.
431. Movses Kaghankatvatsi, *History of the Albanian Land*, Yerevan, 1983, p. 187.
432. L. A. Durnova, *Sketches on the medieval Armenian arts*, Moscow, 1979, p. 153-154.
433. B. Ulubabyan, "The Principality of Khachen in the X-XVI centuries", p. 267.
434. V.S. Temurjyan, *Carpet-Weaving in Armenia*, Yerevan, 1955, p. 66.
435. In the same work, p. 67.
436. K.Gandzaketsi, *Armenian History*, p. 216.
437. K.Gandzaketsi, p. 215.
438. I.A.Orbeli, Hasan-Jalal prince of Khachen, *Yade sword-handle with Armenian writing*, "Selected works", Yerevan, 1963, p. 135-174.
439. V.Potto, *Heroic defense of Shoushi fortress*, St.Petersburg, 1903, p. 30.
440. V.Potto, *The first volunteers of Karabakh*, p. 62.
441. V.Potto, *The first volunteers of Karabakh*, p. 63-64.

442. V.Potto, Heroic defense of Shoushi fortress, p. 32.
443. V.Potto, The first volunteers of Karabag, p. 68.
444. "The colonial policy of Russian Czarism in Azerbaijan in the 20-60s of XIX century", part 1, M.-L., 1936, p. 21.
445. V.Parsamyan, History of the Armenian People(1801-1917), vol. 3, Yerevan, 1967, p. 128.
446. History of the Armenian People, vol. 5, Yerevan, 1974, p. 209.
447. " The Caucasian Calendar" of 1849, Tiflis, 1848, p. 37-40.
448. "Nagorno Karabakh", a historical document, Yerevan, 1988, p. 16.
449. A.Gilkhandanean, Caucasian lands, its people, history ;Paris, 1943, part 1, p. 259.
450. History of the Armenian People, vol. 5, p. 208.
451. St.Lisitsyan, The Armenians of Mountainous Karabakh (liberatory glimpses), "Armenian ethnography and folklore", No 12, Yer., 1981, p. 17.
452. Documents and materials on the History of the Armenian people, the social-politic and economic situation in the eastern Armenia after the unification with Russia (1830-1870), Yer., 1993, p. 204-205, 208.
453. A. Yeritsyants, The all-Armenian patriarchate and the Armenians of Caucasus in the 19th century, b, 1895, p. 557.
454. "Mshak", 1888, vol. 94, p. 1.
455. "Complete collection of the laws of the Russian Empire", vol. 1, XXXV, 1859, N 34324.
456. St. Lisitsyan, The Armenians of Zangezour, Yer. 1969, p. 50.
457. "Review of the Russia's possessions in Caucasus" in statistic, ethnographic, topographic and financial aspects, M., 1836, part 1, p. 63.
458. The History of Azerbaijan, vol. 2, Baku, 1960, p. 164.
459. "Azgagrakan handes" ("Ethnographic magazine"), book 2, 1897, p. 81.
460. In the same work, p. 91-92.
461. In the same work, p. 89.
462. In the same work, p. 86.
463. The History of Azerbaijan, vol. 2, Baku, 1960, p. 227.
464. "Azgagrakan handes", 1897, p. 87.
465. The History of Azerbaijan, vol. 2, Baku, 1960, p. 227.
466. A. Arakelyan, Silk-worm breeding in the autonomous region of Mountainous Karabakh, Stepanakert, 1939, p. 12.
467. Sh. Mkrtychyan, "Artsakh", Yer., 1991, p. 46.
468. The History of Azerbaijan, vol. 2, Baku, 1960, p. 237.
469. In the same work, p. 224.
470. "Azgagrakan handes", book B, p. 91-92.
471. St. Gulishambarov, Review of the factors and works of Caucasus, Tiflis, 1894, p. 320.
472. "Azgagrakan handes", book B, p. 99.
473. A. Arakelyan, the ment. work, p. 15.
474. "Mshak", 1888, No 100.
475. "Zarya Vostoka", 1927, N 1527.
476. "Azgagrakan handes", book B, p. 98.
477. Encyclopedia-dictionary by Brockgauz and Ephron, 1909, book 79, vol. 40, p. 25.
478. "Azgagrakan handes", book B, p. 98.
479. V. Sevyan, Shoushi, Yer., 1991, p. 54.
480. "Documents and materials on the history of the Armenian people... ", p. 34.
481. "Review of the Russian lands in Caucasus", part 1, St. Petersburg, 1836, p. 199.
482. The History of the Armenian People, vol. 5, p. 268.
483. M. Taghiadyan, A Journey to Armenia, Kalkata, 1847, p. 324-326.
484. "Algemeine Zeitung", 15 November, 1846.
485. L. H. Ter-Gasparyan, Shoushi, Yer., 1993, p. 54.
486. Leo, History of the Armenian parish school of Karabakh, Tiflis, 1914, p. 68.
487. "Azgagrakan handes", book B, p. 112.
488. The History of Azerbaijan, vol. 2, Baku, 1960, p. 256-257.
489. Leo, vol. 3, p. 523.
490. "Martik", April 15-21, 1998.
491. Raffi, Collection of novels, vol. 9, Yerevan, 1958, p. 323-324.
492. D. Petrossyan, The expedition of the group led by Kukuyan, Yer., 1992, p. 21.
493. M. Varandean, The History of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation or Dashnaksutiun, Yer. 1992, p. 71.
494. D. Petrossyan, the ment. work., p. 9.
495. M. Varandean, the ment. work., p.150.
496. G. Lazyan, The Revolutionaries of Halep, vol. 1, pub. B, 1990, p. 329.
497. "Khorhrdayin Gharabagh", November 1, 1989.
498. M. Varandean, the ment. work., p.223.
499. The Armenian revengers, Part 1, Kirovakan, 1990, p. 8. magazine "Artsakh", July-August, 1989, p. 60.

500. "Russkie Vedomosti" N 173, 1905.
501. N. Duman, Project of the national self-defense, Yer., 1992, p. 7.
502. "Grakan tert", February 9, 1990.
503. A. Gyulkhandaryan, Armenian -Tatar conflicts, vol. 1, Paris, 1933, p. 55.
504. "Grakan tert", February 9, 1990.
505. "The Republic of Nagorno Karabakh", April 24, 1995.
506. N. Duman, Project of the national self-defense, Geneve, 1907, p. 64.
507. "Iskra", N 15, 23, 1919.
508. The State Archive of NKR, Fund 268, I. 1, B. 34, p. 3.
509. "Slovo", April 16, 1920.
510. "The Republic of NK", January 28, 1995.
511. M. Taghiadyan, A Journey to Armenia, Kalkata, 1847, p. 292.
512. "Azg", May 9, 1997.
513. G. Harutyunyan, the ment. work., p. 20.
514. "Khorhrdayin Hayastan", February 17, 1990.
515. "Khorhrdayin Dprot", July 27, 1989.
516. "Dprot", No 1, 1875.
517. "The Caucasian Calendar" for 1900.
518. R. H. Ter-Gasparyan, Shoushi, p. 111.
519. G. Levonyan, The Armenian book writing and the art of printing, Yer., 1946, p. 231-233.
520. Shoushi - a century of its cultural life, 1820-1920, Yerevan, 1992.
521. Raffi, Collection of novels, vol. 10, Yerevan, 1959.
522. Materials on the Armenian principality, vol. I, The Principality of Dizak, Vagharshapat, 1913, Materials on the Armenian principalities, vol. II, Dopyan and Melik-Shahnazaryan dynasties, Ejmiatsin, 1914.
523. V. Sevyan, Shoushi, Yerevan, 1991, p. 98.
524. "Khorhrdayin Hayastan", February 17, 1990.
525. "Taraz", 1893, No 35, p. 540.
526. "Azgagrakan handes", book B, Tiflis, 1897 p. 107.
527. "Mshak", September 11, 1897.
528. S. Avagyan, The most important seats of the Armenian culture, Yerevan, 1991, p. 71.
529. The History of Azerbaijan, vol. 2, Baku, 1960, p. 130-133.
530. B. Khandamiryan, S. Harutyunyan, History of the Armenian Theatre (1891-1905), Yerevan, 1978, p. 53.
531. See. Shoushi - a century of its cultural life, 1820-1920, Yerevan, 1992.
532. Leo, The thirty year old Armenian benevolent organization in Caucasus (1881-1911), Tiflis, 1911, p. 11.

533. "Azgagrakan handes", book B, Tiflis, 1897 p. 103-104.
534. M. Taghiadyan, p. 266.
535. Sh. Mkrtychyan, The Historical architectural monuments of Mountainous Karabakh, Yerevan, 1985, p. 217, 220, 221.
536. "Grakan tert", December 1, 1989.
537. Hr. Atcharyan, From the memoirs of my life, Yerevan, 1967, p. 254.
538. Rafael Israelyan, Articles, studies, glimpses, Yerevan, 1982, p. 20-21 and 129-131.
539. Matenadaran, man. No 2734, p. 3.
540. "Azgagrakan handes", 1897, p. 96.
541. "Hayrenik", Boston 1927, No 11, p. 109.
542. "Avangard", 1991, No 34.
543. "Avangard", 1991, No 35.
544. "Mshak", 1991, No 42.
545. In the same work.
546. RA, State Archives of History, fond 200, list 1, doc. 49, p. 47.
547. "The NK Republic", 1997, No22.
548. RA, the State Archives of History, fond 201, list 1, doc. 41, p. 2.
549. "Yerkir", 1993, no 99.
550. RA, State Archives of History, fond 200, list 1, doc. 41, p. 12.
551. "Yerkir", 1993, no 99.
552. Mickaelyan, The Republic of Armenia and the issue of Artsakh, 1918-1920, "Droshak", September 9, 1992, p. 31.
553. RA, the State Archives of History, fond 150, list 1, doc. 252, p. 171-182.
554. In the same work, fond 190, list 1, doc. 252, p. 154.
555. In the same work, fond 150, list 1, doc. 252, p. 175.
556. In the same work, fond 199, list 1, doc. 9, p. 67-68.
557. RA, State Archives of History, fond 200, list 16, doc. 563, p. 29-35.
558. "Khorhrdayin Gharabagh", 1989, no 257.
559. See in the same work.
560. RA, the State Archives of History, fond 200, list 1, doc. 581, p. 98.
561. H. Abrahamyan, "The Liberation struggle of Artsakh", Yerevan, 1991, p. 40.
562. The Constitution of Socialist Riussian Federation, M., 1925, p. 13. "The Constitution of the USSR - political legal commentaries", M. 1982, p. 242.
563. "Hayreniki dzain", 1989, no 45.
564. RA, Social-political Party Archives, fond 2, doc. 1451, p. 2.
565. "Communist" (Yerevan), December 7, 1920, also "Communist" (Baku),

- December 2, 1920, "Bakinski rabochi", December 9, 1920.
566. "Communist", December 2, 1920, October Great Social Revolution and the victory of the Soviet power in Armenia, collection, Yerevan, 1957, p. 497-498.
567. Nagorno Karabakh in 1918-1923. Collection of documents and materials, Yerevan, 1992, p. 649-650.
568. In the same work, p. 650.
569. "Komsomolskaya pravda", September 18, 1990.
570. L. Khurshudyan, Reform (Perestroika) and the ways of national problem solution, "Yerekoyan Yerevan", April 13, 1989.
571. Avo, Nzhdeh - his life and activities, Beirut, 1960, p. 289.
572. "Mshak", October 22, 1920.
573. RA, State Archives of History, fond 114, doc.70, p. 11-12.
574. RA Social Political State Archives, fond 1022, list 1, doc1-2
575. Bloody book, Goris, 1921, p. 78-84.
576. RA, the State Archives of History, fond 314, list 1, doc. 141, p. 184-185.
577. Bloody book, p. 43.
578. RA, the State Archives of History, fond 314, list 1, doc. 111, p. 54-55.
579. Bloody book, p. 2.
580. RA, the State Archives of History, fond 200, list 2, doc. 94, p. 9.
581. H. Abrahamyan, Nagorno Karabakh in the period of socialism building(1920-1937), Scientific thesis, Yerevan, 1972, p. 48.
582. "Nork", 1990, no 6, p. 88.
583. RA, the State Archives of History, fond 1022, list 8, doc. 189, p.5-6.
584. H. Abrahamyan, Tevan, Yerevan, 1998, p. 16.
585. The State Archive of NK, f. 485, l. 1, doc. 14, p. 70.
586. About the formation of Nagorno Karabakh Autonomy in Azerbaijanian SSR 1918-1925. Documents and materials, B. 1989, p. 94.
587. Documents..., p. 94.
588. In the same work, p. 97.
589. Documents..., p. 101.
590. In the same work, p. 99-100.
591. In the same work, p. 103.
592. The first Caucasian session of communist organizations (communiqué), Tiflis, 1922, p. 41-42.
593. Documents..., p. 96.
594. The first Caucasian session of communist organizations (communiqué), Tiflis, 1922, p. 41-42.
595. The NKR State Museum of History and Country Study, f. 2, l. 37, doc. 5569, p. 1-7.
596. . Documents..., p. 129.
597. Nagorno Karabakh in 1918-1923, Collection of documents and materials, Yerevan, 1992, p. 667-668.
598. Nagorno Karabakh..., p. 667-668.
599. The 20th session of the Regional Committee of (Communist) Party (Bolsh.), stenographic report, M., 1968, p. 487.
600. The twentieth session of the Regional Committee of (Communist) the Party (Bolsh.), p. 660.
601. Documents..., p. 151.
602. RA, State Archives of History, fond 1, list 3, doc. 12, p.3.
603. Documents..., p. 149-150.
604. "Khorhrdayin Gharabagh", July 24, 1924.
605. . H. Abrahamyan, Nagorno Karabakh in the period of building socialism (1920-1937), p. 54.
606. The State Archive of NKAR, f. 23, list 1, doc. 2, p. 52.
607. "Communist", 1923, No 76.
608. In the same work, 1921, No 52.
609. . H. Abrahamyan, Nagorno Karabakh in the period of building socialism (1920-1937), p. 63.
610. G.A.Kocharyan, Nagorno Karabakh, Baku, 1925, p. 92.
611. "Communist", 1967, No 126.
612. The State Archive of NKR, f. 23, list 1, doc. 68, p. 20-21.
613. "Zarya Vostoka", 1927, No 1407.
614. The State Archive of NKR, f. 3, list 1, doc. 62, p. 47.
615. . H. Abrahamyan, Nagorno Karabakh in the period of socialism building (1920-1937), p. 65.
616. The State Archive of NKR, f. 2, list 1, doc. 135, p. 41.
617. G.A.Kocharyan, p. 32.
618. In the same work, p. 16.
619. "Communist", 1925, No 196.
620. "Zarya Vostoka", 1928, No 36.
621. G.A.Kocharyan, the mentioned work, p. 31.
622. The State Archive of NKR, f. 33, list 1, doc. 45, p. 5.
623. Bukharin N., The Political will of Lenin, "Communist", 1988, No 2, p. 98.
624. The Communist party of the Soviet Union in formulae and decisions, part 2, p.786.

625. The State Archive of NKR, f. 33, list 1, doc. 45, p. 5.
626. "Khorhrdayin Gharabagh", 1930, No 3.
627. In the same work, 1930, No 1.
628. In the same work, 1930, No 7.
629. The State Archive of NKR, f. 18, list 1, doc. 130, p. 48.
630. Gr.Hovhannisyanyan, the mentioned work, p. 181.
631. "Zarya Vostoka", February 12, 1930.
632. "Khorhrdayin Gharabagh", 1930, No 3.
633. A. Abrahamyan, the mentioned work, p. 181.
634. "Khorhrdayin Gharabagh", 1931, No 1.
635. The State Archive of NKR, f. 23, list 1, doc. 179, p. 169.
636. The achievements of the Soviet Karabakh in figures, Stepanakert, 1963, p. 20.
637. "Revolution and nationalities", No 11, p. 54.
638. The achievements of the Soviet Karabakh in figures, p. 82.
639. Gr.Hovhannisyanyan, the mentioned work, p. 51.
640. The achievements of the Soviet Karabakh in figures, p. 65.
641. "Soviet Karabakh", October 6, 1988.
642. A.Isakov, The Armenian Admirals in the Great Patriotic war, Yerevan, 1946, p. 51-52.
643. "Martik", April 28-May 10, 1995.
644. M.Balayan, V.Balayan, Yu.Asryan, Artsakh State Museum of History and Country Study, Stepanakert, 1999, p. 21. See also "The Republic of NK", May 9, 1998.
645. F.S.Shahramanyan, The Young Communist League of Nagorno Karabakh during the years of the Soviet Union Patriotic War (1911-1945), Baku, 1963, p. 29.
646. Artsakh State Museum of History and Country Study, f. 2.
647. M.Balayan, V.Balayan, Yu.Asryan, the mentioned work, p. 22.
648. S.Karapetyan, The brave sons of the Mountainous land, Baku, 1969, p. 6.
649. The history of the formation of the autonomy of Nagorno Karabakh within the Azerbaijanian SSR 1918-1925, Documents and materials, Baku, 1989, p. 149.
650. V.Grigoryan, The forced assimilation of Muslim national minorities in Azerbaijan, Yerevan, 1992, p. 26.
651. G.A.Kocharyan, p. 35.
652. "Communist", January 8, 1929.
653. The NKAR of Azerbaijanian SSR in 60 years, Baku, 1983, p. 160.
654. "Khorhrdayin Gharabagh", June 18, 1988.
655. "Khorhrdayin Gharabagh", December 18, 1990.
656. The national economy of Azerbaijanian SSR, On the 70th anniversary of Great October, Baku, 1987, p. 265, 273-277.
657. "Pravda", January 15, 1989.
658. Nagorno Karabakh 50 years (1923-1973), Statistic collection, Stepanakert, 1974, p. 17.
659. The All-Union Census of Azerbaijanian SSR in 1959, M., 1969, p. 140.
660. NKAR, 50 years in the friendly Soviet family, p. 33.
661. In the same work.
662. Mountainous Karabakh, Historic reference, Yerevan, 1988, p. 46, NKAR, 50 years in friendly Soviet family, p. 33.
663. "Khorhrdayin Gharabagh", November, 1, 1989.
664. "Hayastani Hanrapetutiun", April 18, 1997.
665. V. Khodgabekyan, Artsakh in the Ordeal hour, Yerevan, 1991, p. 66.
666. Ruben, The Dispute of Gandzak, Karabakh, "Droshak", 1926, no 2, p. 52.
667. A. Abeghyan, We and our neighbours, "Hayrenik", 1928, no 1, p. 139.
668. Sarur, The situation in Azerbaijan, "Droshak", 1930, no 4, p. 119-120.
669. In the same work, p. 120.
670. "Zarya Vostoka", May 24, 1931.
671. Perestroyka and national relations (about the events in Mountainous Karabakh and around it), Yerevan, 1989, p. 40.
672. I. Aliev, Nagorno Karabakh, History facts, events, Baku, 1989, p. 89.
673. "Khorhrdayin Hayastan", April 25, 1990.
674. "The Republic of NK", November 23, 1994.
675. The N61 minutes of November 23, 1977 presidium of the USSR Minister Council, K-4133.
676. "Sovetakan Gharabagh", February 21, 1988.
677. "Pravda", February 24, 1988.
678. S. Melkoumyan, Nagorno Karabakh, Yerevan, 1990, p. 38, Nagorno Karabakh, historical report, p. 74-84.
679. "Martik", January 25, 1995.
680. Sumgait...Genocide ...Democracy, Yerevan, 1990, p. 20.
681. Yeghia Nacharyan, The black envelope of Artsakhi issue, Beirut, 1989, p. 5, 7-8.
682. "Sovetakan Hayastan", June 16, 1988.
683. "Izvestya", June 8, 1989.
684. "Martik", January 25, 1995

685. "Sovetakan Hayastan", January 15, 1989.
686. "Khorhrdayin Gharabagh", August 17, 1989.
687. V. Tovmasyan, V. Atajanyan, Ju. Nersisyan, The issue of Karabakh, Stepanakert, 1991, p. 15. See "Khorhrdayin Hayastan", November 30, 1989.
688. "Khorhrdayin Hayastan", December 3, 1989.
689. "Hayastani Hanrapetutiun", September 3, 1991.
690. "Hayastani Hanrapetutiun", December 10, 1991.
691. About some political, judicial aspects of the Issue of Mountainous Karabakh, Yerevan, 1991, p. 15-16.
692. "Martik", January 26 - February 1, 1995.
693. S. Hasratyan, Karabakhian War, Yerevan, 2001, p. 59.
694. "Khorhrdayin Gharabagh", No 11, 1924.
695. The State Archive of NKR, f. 10, list 1, doc. 1, p. 15.
696. In the same work., f. 1, l. 2, doc. 28, p. 11.
697. G. Harutyunyan, The Development of national education in Mountainous Karabakh, Yerevan, 1985, p. 90.
698. The State Archive of NKR, f. 3, list 2, doc. 68, p. 23.
699. N. A. Pashaev, The victory of cultural revolution in Soviet Azerbaijan, M., 1976, p. 240.
700. H. Abrahamyan, Nagorno Karabakh during the building of socialism (1920-1937), Candidate Thesis, Yerevan, 1972, p. 266.
701. "Khorhrdayin Gharabagh", June 28, 1924.
702. The State Archive of NKR, f. 10, list 1, doc. 2, p. 161.
703. NKAR of Azerbaijanian SSR in 60 years Anniversary statistic collection, Baku, 1983, p. 13.
704. G. Harutyunyan, the ment. work., p. 120.
705. I. Muslyumov, I. Mosesova, E. Sargsyan, Soviet Nagorno Karabakh, Baku, 1983, p. 134.
706. A. Danielyan, Native Hearth, Yerevan, 1993, p. 37.
707. Statistic Annual, B. 1989, part 2, p. 14.
708. I. Muslyumov, I. Mosesova, E. Sargsyan, the ment. work., p. 146.
709. Documents given by the NKR Ministry of Culture, Youth and Sport Issues.
710. I. Muslyumov, I. Mosesova, E. Sargsyan, the ment. work., p. 144.
711. Documents given by the NKR Ministry of Culture, Youth and Sport Issues.
712. I. Muslyumov, I. Mosesova, E. Sargsyan, the ment. work., p. 144.
713. "Khorhrdayin Gharabagh", No 14, 1929.
714. For details about the Museum see in "Artsakh State Museum of History and Country Study", M.Balayan, V.Balayan, Yu.Asryan, Stepanakert, 1999.
715. For details about the Theatre see in I. Alaverdyan's Armenian State M. Gorki dramatic Theatre in Stepanakert, Yerevan, 1983.
716. For details about the mentioned antiscientific "theory" see in "About the issues of Albanian literature" by As. Mnatsakanyan, Yerevan, 1966, Yu. Bronley, October and the development of international relations in the USSR, M., 1987.
717. B. Ulubabyan, Artsakhi Struggle for Existence, vol. 1, Yerevan, 1993, p. 179.
718. Z. Balayan, "Tchanaparh" (tr-ed as "Way"), Yerevan, 1989, p. 590.
719. "Pravda", January 15, 1989.

VAHRAM RAZMIK BALAYAN

# ARTSAKH HISTORY

FROM TIME IMMEMORIAL

UP TO OUR DAYS

Photos by Samvel Karapetian  
Page Design by Armen Gevorgian



---

"Zangak-97" Press

---

Address: 49/2 Komitas Ave, Yerevan, 375012, Republic of Armenia  
Tel.: (+3741) 23 26 48, 23 25 28, Fax: (+3741) 54 06 07  
E-mail: [info@zangak.am](mailto:info@zangak.am), URL: [www.zangak.am](http://www.zangak.am)