



Հարգելի՛ ընթերցող.

ԵՊՀ հայագիտական հետազոտությունների ինստիտուտը, չհետապնդելով որևէ եկամուտ, իր կայքերում ներկայացնելով հայագիտական հրատարակություններ, նպատակ ունի հանրությանն ավելի հասանելի դարձնել այդ ուսումնասիրությունները:

Մենք շնորհակալություն ենք հայտնում հայագիտական աշխատասիրությունների հեղինակներին, հրատարակիչներին:

Մեր կոնտակտները՝

Պաշտոնական կայք՝ <http://www.armin.am>

Էլ. փոստ՝ info@armin.am

**ACADEMY OF SCIENCES OF
THE ARMENIAN SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC**

ARTSAKH

(MOUNTAINOUS GHARABAGH)

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

1988

FOREWORD

COPYRIGHT © 1988 IN ALL LANGUAGES OUTSIDE THE USSR BY ARMENIAN POPULAR MOVEMENT . ALL RIGHTS RESERVED . THIS BOOK MAY NOT BE REPRODUCED IN WHOLE OR IN PART BY MIMEOGRAPH OR ANY OTHER MEANS , WITHOUT PERMISSION . FOR INFORMATION ADDRESS : A.P.M. , 26 MEL VASSILIOU , NEOS KOSMOS , 117 44 ATHENS , GREECE .

The Artsakh (Mountainous or Nagorny - in Russian - Gharabagh) Cause, which is an inseparable part of the Armenian Cause, has for the last few months emerged as the peaceful struggle of Armenians for the liberation of Artsakh from Azerbeidjani occupation .

It is obvious that this just struggle of the Armenian people will collide with the Pan-Turanist (an expansionist ideology , that claims to unify all people from Mediterrenean Sea till Pacific Ocean , who have turko-turanistic origin) interests disguised under the flag of socialism , comradeship and brotherhood . With the covert collusion of Zionism , Azerbeidjani blood thirsty mobs organised horrible massacres of Armenians living on Soviet Azerbeidjani territory , as in Soumgait , Girovabad , Baku , etc .

Like the Turkish fascist regime , the Soviet internal Pan- Turanists , with the help of most of the Soviet information and press services , present the Armenians' peaceful and constitutional struggle as "extremism" , "national egoism" , etc . , falsifying the historical facts and distorting the current events in Artsakh and the Soviet republics of Armenia and Azerbeidjan .

Taking into consideration this reality and the future developments of this problem , the Armenian Popular Movement decided to translate and publish in many languages this booklet , which is prepared by Soviet Armenia's historians and academicians .

The booklet was first published in Russian , in Yerevan , the capital of Soviet Armenia and handed to A.P. Yakovlev , a member of the politbureau of CPSU , while he was in Yerevan on 21 May 1988 . The Secretariat of CPSU pledged to study the booklet , as the point of view of the Armenians on the problem of Artsakh . But whether the Secretariat studied it or not , the Armenians were suprised to see the Soviet leadership and Gorbachov himself insisting that the Artsakh problem should be solved without any changes in Artsakh's status as an

Cover picture: " WE ARE OUR MOUNTAINS "

Sculptor: S. Baghdassarian

Monument representing the spirit of the Armenian highlands and its people at a hilltop near the entrance of Stepanagerd , capital of the ARTSAKH (Autonomous Region of Mountainous Gharabagh) .

Autonomous Region of Azerbeidjani SSR .

It is hoped that readers will be able to conclude that the facts and developments chronicled and illustrated in this booklet prove that there will be no logical solution to this problem unless Artsakh is freed from Azerbeidjani occupation .

The Armenian Popular Movement by publishing this booklet simply hopes to place at the disposal of readers a concise and clear picture of the essence of the Artsakh problem .

Inorder to help the readers , we have attached to this booklet a supplement including maps , photographs and some official documents connected to the problem .

ARMENIAN POPULAR MOVEMENT



MOUNTAINOUS GHARABAGH HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Editors:

K.A. KALOYAN , G.S. KHOUDAVERDIAN

Based on vast , practical resources the history of "Mountainous Gharabagh" (Historical Artsakh) has been researched since ancient times ; incidents pertaining to the borders of the constitutional status of Mountainous Gharabagh during the 1920s have been clarified ; the development of Mountainous Gharabagh during the last decades in economic , social , cultural and human rights areas has been examined ; reasons leading to the demand of the Armenian population of the Autonomous Region of Mountainous Gharabagh to be united with the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic , have been revealed .

The research is intended for a wide range of readers .



FROM THE PRESIDENCY OF THE ACADEMY OF SCIENCES OF THE ARMENIAN SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC

Incidents that took place in Mountainous Gharabagh and its surroundings attracted the attention of peoples in our country and abroad . Taking into account the fact that during the period of personality cult and isolation , large sectors of the population were deprived of an understanding of the true nature of historical and scientific information as distortion of facts was common practice . The Presidency of the Academy of Sciences of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic saw fit to prepare a report about Mountainous Gharabagh, from ancient times to the present .

The present paper does not purport to be perfect and detailed study of all the aspects of the problem . It clarifies briefly the main stages of the history of Mountainous Gharabagh as well as the recent incidents .

Specific documents are given at the end of the report .


The text is prepared by the following authors:

Academician , K.A. Kaloyan of the Academy of Sciences of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic (Arm. S.S.R.), director of the project ; Arm. S.S.R. Academy of Sciences correspondent members : V.P. Parkhoutarian , H.R. Simonian , V.E. Khotchapegian ; historians Dr. V.A. Mikaelian , Dr. B.M. Mouradian , Dr. G.S. Khoudaverdian , Dr. L.A. Khourshoudian ; jurist Dr. H.K. Parsekhov ; academician K.Kh. Sarkissian .

Persons that have taken part in prepublication preparations include geographer Dr. K. Avakian , academician P.N. Arakelian of the Academy of Sciences of the Arm. S.S.R. , architect Dr. V.M. Haroutunian , economist T.A. Asaderian , historian Dr. Kh. A. Parseghian , academician K.A. Proudian , geographer Dr. A.A. Melkounian , philologist Dr. K.N. Hovhannisian .

The paper has been examined and approved by the departments of History , Economics , Philosophy and Law . It has been approved by the Academy of Sciences of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic .





Министерство здравоохранения СССР
 Республиканское бюро судебно-медицинской экспертизы
ПРАВИЛЬНОЕ СВИДЕТЕЛЬСТВО О СМЕРТИ № 179
 (Семейное, гражданское, социальное, профессиональное и др.)
 Дата выдачи: 06.03.1988 г.

Имя: Миса Арсенович
 Фамилия: Арсенович
 Дата рождения: 1941 г.
 Место рождения: Армения, обл. Сунгит, микрорайон 18/24, кв. 2.

Убийство на улице, Сунгитской вол, обгоревшими 2-ей степени 2/3 тела, переломы костей таза, оскольчатые переломы черепной коробки с кровоизлиянием в головной мозг.

19) Misha Arsen Hampartsoumian


Date of birth: 1941

Date killed: February 28, 1988

Address: Soumgait, 4th region, bldg. 18/24, apt. 2.

Killed in the street, body burnt in third degree. Cerebral hemorrhage and skull fractures. Death certificate no: 179 issued on March 6, 1988.

gasoline. Death certificate no: 227 issued by ZAKS in Soumgait on March 12, 1988.



Министерство здравоохранения СССР
 Республиканское бюро судебно-медицинской экспертизы
СВИДЕТЕЛЬСТВО О СМЕРТИ ОТМ НАШЫНДА ШИРАДЭТЯНО
 (Семейное, гражданское, социальное, профессиональное и др.)
 Дата выдачи: 12.03.1988 г.

Имя: Армо Ашодович
 Фамилия: Арамян
 Дата рождения: 1928 г.
 Место рождения: Армения, обл. Сунгит, микрорайон 3/2 А, кв. 21.


Убит одновременно с сыном Артуром. Жена чудом избежала смерти.

21) Armo Ashod Aramian

Date of birth: 1928 Date killed: February 28, 1988

Address: Soumgait, 3rd region, bldg. 6/2A, apt. 21.

Cerebral hemorrhage and skull fractures. Killed with his son, Arthur. Wife survived by miracle. Death certificate no: 187 issued by ZAKS in Soumgait on March 3, 1988.



Министерство здравоохранения СССР
 Республиканское бюро судебно-медицинской экспертизы
ПРАВИЛЬНОЕ СВИДЕТЕЛЬСТВО О СМЕРТИ № 187
 (Семейное, гражданское, социальное, профессиональное и др.)
 Дата выдачи: 03.03.1988 г.

Имя: Ардаш Левонович
 Фамилия: Аракелиан
 Дата рождения: 1937 г.
 Место рождения: Армения, обл. Сунгит, квартал 41, д. 4, кв. 9.

Убийство произошло на улице.


20) Ardash Levon Arakelian

Date of birth: 1937

Date killed: February 29, 1988

Address: Soumgait, 41st region, bldg. 4, apt. 9.

Cerebral hemorrhage. Killed in the street. Body cut into pieces and burnt with



Министерство здравоохранения СССР
 Республиканское бюро судебно-медицинской экспертизы
СВИДЕТЕЛЬСТВО О СМЕРТИ ОТМ НАШЫНДА ШИРАДЭТЯНО
 (Семейное, гражданское, социальное, профессиональное и др.)
 Дата выдачи: 29.02.1988 г.

Имя: Ирена Согомоновна
 Фамилия: Мелкунян
 Дата рождения: 1962 г.
 Место рождения: Армения, обл. Сунгит, квартал 41 А, д. 2 Б, кв. 21.

Убита вместе с четырьмя другими членами семьи - матерью, отцом, двумя братьями. Обнаженной изведена на улицу. После издевательств и побоев сожжена.

22) Irena Soghomon Melkounian

Date of birth: 1962 Date killed: February 29, 1988

century) in the "Chronological Records of Georgia" [9] and by the Persian historian Hamdallah Ghazvini [10]. It was based on the Persian geographical list of names. The planes were called Bagh-i-safid (White Vineyard) in contrast to the mountainous region which was called Bagh-i-Siyagh, which in the Turkish language is equivalent to Gharabagh (Black Vineyard).

Greko-Roman and Armenian authors clearly mention that Artsakh and the neighbouring state of Oudik to the right of the river Kura, were part of Armenia, which had its borders with the neighbouring Kingdom of Aghvan by the river Kura. Below are some extracts from reports by ancient authors:

Strabon : . . . " Armenia consists of many mountains, planes and valleys . . . for example, there is the plane of the river Arax which flows through the border of the Aghvan Kingdom. Beyond that, there is Sagasena which also neighbours Aghvan and the river Kura ". [11]

Plinius the Elder : . . . " That race - the Aghvans who lived in the Caucasian mountains-reached, as said before, the banks of the river Kura, which is the border between Armenia and Iveria". [12]

Clavtius Ptolomea : "The borders of Greater Hayk are, from the north, part of Golkhita, Iveria and Aghvan by the river Kura as mentioned in the previous paragraph". [13]

Plutarch : " . . . When the Roman army spent the winter on that land -Armenia - as they were celebrating the Sadournalian feast, the Aghvans - no less than forty thousand - attacked them by crossing the river Kura to the East bank". [14]

Deon Casios : " . . . Oroys, the king of the Aghvans, who lived to the north of the river Kura . . . ". [15]

POLITICO-ADMINISTRATIVE HISTORY

According to the inscriptions of king Sartouri the second (8th century B.C.) preserved in the village of Dzovk, the Urartians reached the land of Ourdekhini (Artsakh) [16]. During the first half of the sixth century B.C., Artsakh within the Armenia of the Ervantunis was under the reign of Medea, while from 550-331 B.C., it was under the Achaemenian rule.

Artsakh at the end of the 4th century B.C. and neighbouring Oudik and Sunik continued to be part of the Ervantouni Kingdom [17]. It is

certified that this territory came under the rule of Tigranes the Second's Kingdom in the year 95 B.C. when the city of Tigranagard was founded [18]. Strabon [19], as well as ancient medieval Armenian sources, call Orkhisdena (Artsakh) an Armenian state [20]. According to "Ashkharhatsouits" (Maps), Artsakh was the tenth state of Armenia. It was composed of twelve provinces which were: Mius Hapant, Vaygounik, Per-tatsor, Medzgousank, Medzirank, Hardjank, Moukhank, Biank, Barsagank, Kousdi, Parnes and Goght [21]. When Armenia was divided between the Byzantine empire and Persia in 387 A.D., Artsakh remained within the Armenian realm until the fall of the Armenian Kingdom in 428 A.D. After this date, the Persians joined Artsakh with the Aghvan Kingdom to the east of river Kura, as is certified by the author of the "Geographical Maps". The same source certifies as well that the actual (that is, the left bank) of Aghvank, was located to the north of river Kura which has been, since ancient times, the border between Aghvank and Armenia [22]. After the fall of the Aghvan Kingdom in 469, Artsakh remained under the reign of the Persian marquisade formed within the country and its surroundings. Artsakh was given the name Aghvan (Aran). One hundred years later - end of the sixth century, beginning of the seventh century - the northern part of the Aghvan marquisade was divided into several small principalities, which adopted the names of the local ruling royal houses or races, thus making the names Aghvan or Aghvans useless. In the south, Oudik and Artsakh constituted a separate Armenian - Aranshahig - principality at the end of the fifth century. This latter was replaced by the Principality of Mihrans - of Persian origin - in the seventh century. Mihrans inherited the Aghvank administrative name, factually transferring it from the north to the south and thus giving this region a true geographical status. This nomenclature reminded the occasionally existing Persian marquisade, without having a relationship with the real "Aghvank". "Aghvank" pertaining to Oudik - Artsakh has been used by Armenian historians as a synonym to "Eastern Armenian territory", "North-eastern territory", "Aghvan territory" and "Khorin Hayk" (Deep Hayk) [23]. Eleven-twelfth century historian Matheos of Urha clarifies, when talking about "Aghvan", saying "Aghvan which is called Khorin Hayk . . ." [24]. The cultural-political history of the region is also the main theme of the 10th century Armenian historian Movses Gaghangadvatsou's "History of the Aghvans".

The Byzantine court , well versed in the politico-administrative changes of its neighbouring countries , knew well that the Khatchen Principality was found in Armenia . Emperor Constantine the Seventh Porphyrogenite (913-959) addressed a letter sent to the Prince of Khatchen "to Armenia" [25].

The history of the region has been circumstantially presented in the inscriptions of Kantsasar monuments during the reign of Hasan-Tchalal and his followers (nephew of Zakaria and Ivan the Longarmed) and also on monuments by Armenian architects , in the works and memoirs of Armenian historians Giragos of Kan- tsag , Vartan the Great , Sdepanos Orpelian and elsewhere . In an inscription of Kantsasar -1240- the grandson of Hasan-Tchalal , called also Hasan-Tchalal , describes himself as : " I , God's obedient servant , Tchalal Tavla Hasan , the son of Vakhtank , the grandson of the Great Hasan , am the sole monarch of the vast territories of Artsakh and Khatchen" . [26]

When the Aghvan definition is encountered - periodically - in the titles and documents of the princes of these regions , it has been , by the words of H. Orpeli "only in the figurative sense , in titles void of actual practical use" . [27]

During the late medieval period , unlike the central regions of Armenia that were under the domination of Turkey and Iran , the five Khatchen principalities (Varanta , Khatchen , Tizag , Tchrapert , Gulisdan) kept their relative independence . They turned their regions into a seat for the Armenian liberation movement with leanings towards the Russian .

Documentary sources clearly indicate the activities of these principalities in organizing the Armenian struggle against Persia of the Shahs and the Turkish Sultanate . Closely linked with the Khatchen (Gharabagh) problem are the missions of Isreal Ori , Reverend Minas and Hovsep Emin , that aimed to realize the Armeno-Russian friendship , along with the armed struggle of 18th century famous General David Beg (a great hero in Armenian history) .

It was only at the beginning of the 18th century that non-Armenian population masses , which had perhaps been transferred from Central and Minor Asia and Kurdistan to the Central Plateau regions , started having influence on the political issues of Mountainous Gharabagh .

According to the attestation of Sharaf-Khan of Tbilisi (16th century) " ... twenty four Turkish races were living in Aranian (Armenian) Gharabagh under the collective name of " *iklylr- ml-dort* " [28] (in Turkish meaning

twenty four) . These Kurdish races , as well as the "Otouz-iki" (in Turkish meaning thirty two) clan union occupied the whole of the Mili plateau (Gharabagh plateau) . The Otouz-iki clan structure included also smaller turkish races . Within this racial collection stood apart the Djivanshir race whose leader was considered the leader of the entire Otouz-iki union . In 1722 , the Djivanshir race was destroyed by the Armenian revolutionaries headed by David Beg . Later , Nadir-Shah of the Djivanshir race , relocated the remaining tribes of the Otouz-iki races in Iran , more specifically , in the Khorasan and Sarakhs regions [29] . After Nadir-Shah's death (1747), the latter were able to return to rural Gharabagh , where they were joined by the small races of Chinly and Timourchi-Hasanly from Georgia , part of the Genkerlous from Nakhitchevan and the Shahsevans from Moughan [30] . The leaders of the Djivanshir races invaded , from rural Gharabagh , the premountainous and mountainous areas and settled down there as local rulers under the name of Khans . [31]

These Khans could not , however , overcome the resistance of the local remaining Meliks . Disagreements between the latter two continued till 1813 , when Gharabagh was transferred to Russia in accordance with the "Gulisdan" treaty signed between Russia and Persia . After nine years the rule of the Khans came to a definite end [32]. Thus , the long-lived fear of the Gharabagh Meliks to exist under the Russian Protectorate ended by the transfer of the region to Russia . [33]

According to the "Gulisdan" treaty (1813) , which ended the 1804-1813 Persian-Russian war , the Khans of Gyandjai and Gharabagh were transferred to Russia , along with other north- eastern states of Eastern Armenia (Lori , Pambag , Shamshadin , Zankezour , Ghapan , Shoragial) [34] .

The Khans of Gyandjai and Baku as administrative units , were dissolved in 1804-1813 ; that of Shaki , in 1819 ; of Shirvan in 1820 ; of Gharabagh in 1822 and in 1826 , that of Talish . All these were transformed into Russian governorates [35] .

In accordance with the "Turkmenchai" treaty which ended the second Persian-Russian war (1826-1828) , the Yerevan and Nakhitchevan Khans , as well as the Ordubad province , were transferred to Russia . This completed the union of all east Armenian territories with Russia .

Immediately after the signing of the "Turkmenchai" treaty and

according to the warrant of tsar Nicolai the First of March 20 , 1828 , the Khans of Yerevan and Nakhitchewan - already transferred to Russia - constituted the Yerevan region . This latter included the provinces of Yerevan and Nakhitchewan as well as the Ordubad region [36] . According to the 1840 Bill , a new administrative structure came into existence in Transcaucasia : The Georgian emirate emerged with Tbilisi as center and the Caspian region with Shamakh as center . The majority of the eastern Armenian territories became part of the above mentioned emirate , while the others , including Gharabagh , were included in the Caspian region [37] . According to the new administrative changes of the 1840s , the states of Tbilisi , Koutais , Shamakh and Derbend were created in Transcaucasia . The eastern Armenian territories - as provinces - became part of the structure of the first three governorates [38] .

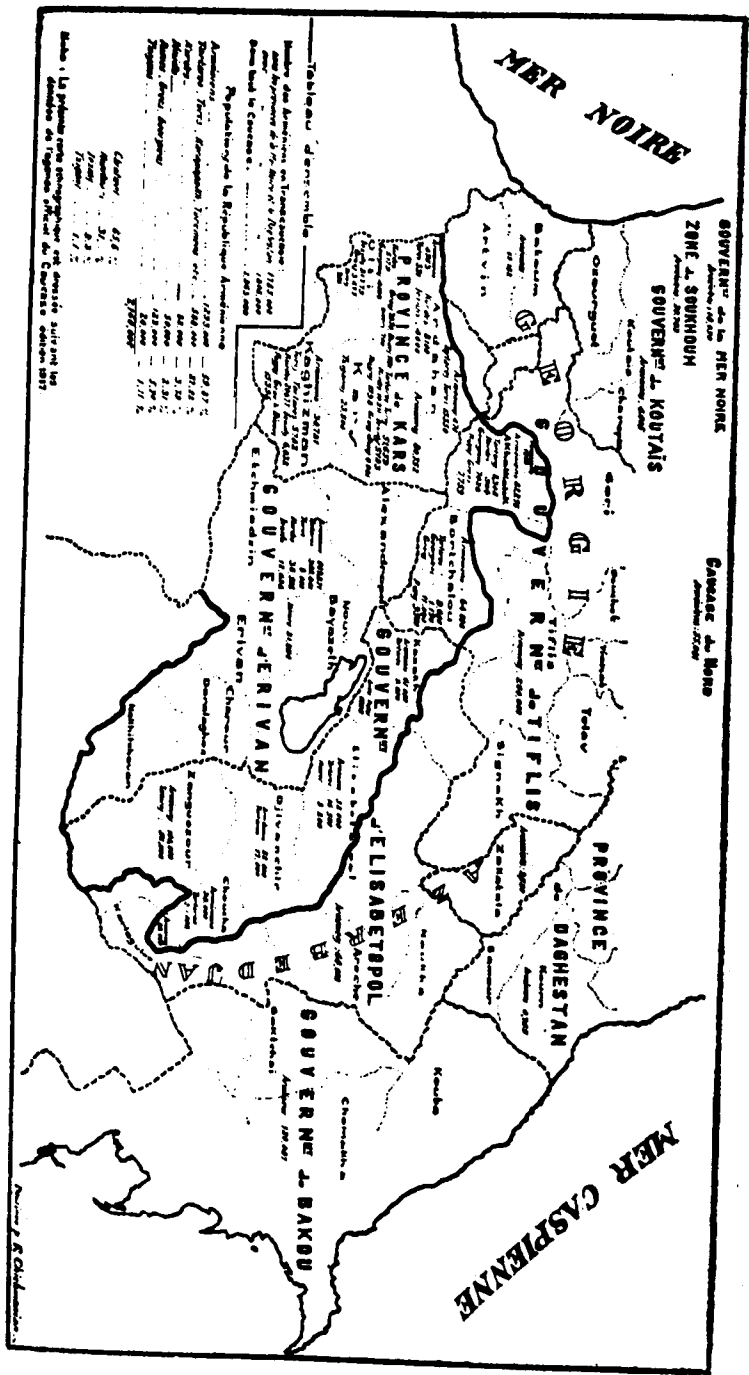
In accordance with the new constitution of December 9 , 1867 , Transcaucasia was divided into five governorates : Koutais , Yerevan , Elizabethpole , Tbilisi and Baku . The last two included six provinces each , while the others , five [39] .

Part of the territories of eastern Armenia and the province of Nakhitchewan were included in the state of Yerevan , while the governorates of Elizabethpole and Tbilisi included another part of eastern Armenia . Mountainous Gharabagh became fundamentally part of Elizabethpole [40]. This last territorial administrative structure lasted till 1917 with minor modifications .

THE ETHNIC STRUCTURE OF ARTSAKH-KHATCHEN (GHARABAGH) DURING THE PRE-REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD

Ancient sources testify that during the reign of Armenian kings Artaxes and Zareh (second century B.C.) , and those of Strabon (first century B.C.) [41] , the population of Armenia was monoglot - more specifically Armenoglot . The same thing applied also to Artsakh-Orkhisdena (see footnotes 13 to 15) . In the 7th century A.D. , Artsakh was not only an ethnic Armenian state, but it had its own new Armeno-Artsakhian dialect, about which testifies one of the travellers of Dionisios of Tragene , Estephanos of Sunik [42] . An additional testimony belongs to an unknown geographer in the beginning of the 13th century , according to whom the population of Khatchen (Artsakh) "is Armenian" (Armani

ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISIONS OF TRANSCAUCASIA, UNDER TSARIST RUSSIA IN 1917



and) [43], "... and while the Georgians call their ruler king" [44]. The fact that Georgians were aware of the ethnopolitical events of Khatchen is clarified by the information contained in the "History and Praise of Kings" [45]. At the beginning of the 15th century, the German Hanz Schildberger, who was then in Gharabagh, points out that the region is found in Armenian territory, and "the Armenian villages were forced to pay taxes to the heathens", i.e. the Moslem conquerors [46] (in the new Azeri translation, the paragraph about Gharabagh has been omitted from the text) [47].

The Ilkhani rulers, who were very well acquainted with the religious and ethnopolitical realities of Gharabagh, by recognizing the spiritual leader (Catholicos of Kantsasar) of Aghvan Armenians, expected that the Armenian kings of Cilicia recommend "that the Armenians of Kantsasar, in the state of Aghvan, accept this Catholicos as their leader and master, and in matters of religion abide by his advices and preachings" [48].

The ethnic structure of Gharabagh did not undergo substantial changes during the following centuries. About its Armenian population certifies the allocution addressed by the spiritual leaders and the Meliks of the region to Catherine I in 1725, according to which Gharabagh was divided into six regions, each containing 30, 40 or 50 villages with 600, 500, 400, 200, 100 or 50 parishes in each village [49]. This regional existence of Armenians is also confirmed by Turkish official sources, in which it is said that the populations of the mountainous villages of Gharabagh "are of Armenian origin." [50]. In 1769, Irakli II (Georgian king) mentions that, "the Khans (the five Melikates of Gharabagh) is a state consisting of seven administrations, **the entire population is Armenian** and the seat of the Armenian Patriarch is there" [51]. A few years later (in 1783), General K.A. Potyomkin in a report addressed to Catherine II, says: "Not having yet your Majesty's orders, I, General Potyomkin, ordered Ibrahim-Khan of Shoushi, to be under my subjection. Here it is worth suggesting that this latter's region, which is **composed of Armenian peoples**, be put back under Armenian national rule, thus re-creating a Christian nation in Asia, which corresponds to the promises made by your Majesty through me to the Armenian Meliks" [52].

In the decree issued by Pavel I in 1797, the Armenian population is mentioned to be 11 thousand families [53].

Finally, a concrete proof of the above mentioned historical facts, is

the existence in the region of more than 1000 Armenian inscriptions and hundreds of Christian worship monuments. Furthermore, medieval Moslem or any other worship monuments or inscriptions are non-existent in this region. It was only in the second half of the 18th century, during the reigns of Panah Khan and Ibrahim Khan, that small Moslem tribes lived in the Shoushi region of mountainous Gharabagh [54]. Although Moslems have a high birth rate, they constituted, at the time, only 5% of the regional population. The hypothesis which says that Gharabagh during the 1830s was populated by Armenians brought from Iran, has no real foundation. According to a descriptive research of 1823, and before the above hypothesis came into existence, there were already 5107 parishes in mountainous Gharabagh [55]. Only 500 families ever came to the region from Iran, of which 300 families returned, and the majority of the rest died of plague [56].

In 1914, the Gharabagh diocese of the Armenian Church was comprised of 222 active churches, 188 clergymen, 206,768 parish members, and 224 villages. [57]

If we take into consideration the many invasions and the exterminatory efforts of the Persians and Turks, the "great massacre" of Khatchen population in the days of Atapeg Uzbeg mentioned by Persian source the resettlement of Armenians of Gharabagh in the regions of Lori, Shamshadin and Gakheth (Telavi) in the days of Teymouraz II and Irakli II, the 1905-1906 massacre of Shoushi and surrounding villages, we can see clearly the horrors that Armenians of the region have gone through and understand the firm devotion of the Armenians of Gharabagh to their homeland.

THE CULTURAL HERITAGE OF MOUNTAINOUS GHARABAGH

In an area of about 4,400 square kilometers there are more than 1600 historical and architectural monuments, such as fortresses, monasteries, churches, chapels, bridges, caravan serailles (small resthouses), residences, summer palaces, old cemeteries, "khatchkar"s (memorial-cross), etc [58]. The essential part of the monuments are Christian worship-structures constructed by the many Armenian generations of the region.

Chronologically, these monuments represent all the aspects of

medieval history including the period extending from the fourth century (date at which Armenians being the first nation to accept Christianity officially) till the 19th century . The fact that the essential part of the ethno-cultural monuments belongs to the Armenian people is not only proven by the ethnological demography - past and present - of the region , but also through written sources and locally written or reproduced manuscripts and hundreds of inscriptions . On the walls of Kantsasar monastery alone there are 182 preserved inscriptions strictly in Armenian [59] . The Christian architectural structures and monuments, specifically monasteries like Kantsasar, Amaras , Tativank, Hagopavank, Kedchavank (vank in Armenian means monastery) and churches like Ghazantchetsots , Vatchakani , Okhdadoni , etc , represent the Artsakhian school of Armenian architecture and are considered unique monuments appreciated worldwide .

It is strange that of the 1600 monuments only 64 have been officially declared as worthy of preservation . The rest, including the famous Amaras monastery (4th century) , have been intentionally neglected . This has cleared the way for pseudo-archeologists , treasure hunters , fervents of Moslem archeological monuments , to take advantage of them , often using explosive devices to facilitate their "explorations" , thus unmistakably dishonouring these Christian monuments . Even in touristic maps and guides , the monuments mentioned are those of the end of 18th century and 19th century , namely the period when mosks and palaces of khans (Shoushi) appeared in the territory .

Recommendations to visit these Armenian monuments of many centuries and/or their urgently needed renovation has never interested the Azerbeidjani government and officials . This has led - in the last decades - to the destruction of tens of old residences , cemeteries , memorial crosses , inscriptions , etc [60] , which often formed a "prosperous source" to provide stones for the construction of villas , shops and clubs in Azerbeidjani villages . Flat intaglios of the Ghazantchetsots church served as a target for shooters . The basilique of Akoulets has been completely destroyed ; the church of Megrets has been largely destroyed and has been converted into a movie theater ; the church of Ganatch Jam (Green Hour) has been roughly restored and converted into a hall for drinking mineral water .

Intentions behind such acts are clearly shown by the example of the autonomous region of Nakhitchevan Federal Soviet Socialist Republic ,

where Armenians and Armenian monuments are almost non-existent (in the beginning of the 20th century , Armenians constituted 46 % of the population) . Thirty monuments , including 19 churches, 3 temples, 2 churchyards , a campanile, three ancient cemeteries, etc. were destroyed in the Nakhitchevan Federal Republic during the period of 1930-1978 .

NOTES OF CHAPTER 1

- 1- K.A. Ghapantsian, *Chetto Armeniaca*, Yerevan , 1931, p.104 .
- 2- Strabon , "Geographica" , XI , XIV , 4 .
- 3- Agatangeghos , "History of Armenians" , Tbilisi , 1913, book II, chapter 8 , p 113 : - "Zoranamag" , see N. Adonts , "Armenia During the Justinian Era" , Yerevan , 1971 , p. 251 .
- 4- Vartan , "Geography" , Paris , 1960 , p. 11 . This 13th century author specifically uses the name "Artsakh - at present Khatchen" .
- 5- Movses Gaghangadvatsi , "History of Aghvan" , Yerevan , 1983 , book III . chapter 23 , p. 340 .
- 6- Constantine VII Porphyrogenite , "About the Byzantine Royal Ceremonies" book II , chp. 48 . - "Foreign Sources about Armenia and Armenians" , vol. 6 Yerevan , 1970 , p. 151 . - N.D. Migloukho-Maglai , "13th Century Geographical Research in Persian" . - "New Report on the Armeno-Aghvan Geographical History" . - "Scientific Report of the Institute of Orientology" , vol. IX , Moscow-Leningrad , 1954 , p. 204 (in Russian) .
- 7- Movses Khorenatsi , III , 3 , p. 260 .
- 8- "The Armenian Army in the 18th century : History of the Armeno-Russian Strategic Cooperation" , Yerevan, 1968, p. 376 , 378 (in Russian) .
- 9- "Kartlis Tskhovreba" , vol. II , Tbilisi , 1959 , p. 240 (in Georgian) .
- 10- Hamd-Allah Mustawfi of Qazvin , "The Geographical part of the Nuzhat-al-Qulub" , translated by G. Le Strange , Leyden , 1919 , pp. 173-174 . "Zeili Tarihi-Kuzita" , Baku , 1986 , p. 91 , 95 , 127 (in Russian) . - Compare I.B. Bedrutchewsky , "Hamd-Allah Qazvin as a Reference of Socio-Economic History of Eastern Caucasus" , Academy of Sciences of the USSR . - "Lraper" , 1937 . no: 4 , pp. 873-920 (in Russian) .
- 11- Strabon , XI , XIV , 4 .
- 12- Plinius , "Natural History" VI , 39 .
- 13- Ptolomea , "Geography" , V , XII , 1 .
- 14- Plutarch , "Vies Paralleles" , (Pompeus XXXIV) .
- 15- Dion Casios .

- 16- K.A. Melikishvili , "Urartean Coneiform Inscriptions" , Moscow , 1960 , p. 316 , 446 (in Russian) .
- 17- Movses Khorenatsi , "History of Armenians" , book II , chp. 44-45 , pp. 169-170 .
- 18- Sepeos , "History" , Yerevan , 1979 , p. 125 .
- 19- Strabon , XI , XIV , 4 .
- 20- Agatangeghos , "History of Armenia" . -Movses Khorenatsi , "History of Armenians" . - Yeghiche , "For Vartan and War of Vartanants" . - "Zoranamag" .
- 21- S.D. Yeremian , "Armenia According to Ashkharhatsouits" , Yerevan , 1963 , p. 105 .
- 22- Op. cit., p. 105 . - Compare A.B. Novoseltsev , about the political borders of Armenia and the Caucasian Aghvan in ancient times : "Caucasus and Byzantium" , chp. I , Yerevan , 1979 , pp. 10-18 . Facts by the author are based upon the works of Strabon, Plutarch , Dion Casios , Ptolemea and Pavstos Puzant .
- 23- The theory of primary sources , see A.Sh. Menatsaganian , "About the Literature of Caucasian Aghvan" , 1969 , pp. 62-64 (in Russian) .
- 24- Matheos Ourhayetsi , "Chronology" , Vagharshabad , 1898 , p. 230 .
- 25- Constantine VII Porphyrogenite , op. cit. .
- 26- H. Orpeli , "Chosen Works" , Yerevan , 1963 , p. 158 (in Russian) .
- 27- Op. cit. , p. 347 . About the genealogy of Armenian princes see C. Toumanoff "Manuel de Genealogie . . ." etc. , Rome , 1976 , pp. 236-240 .
- 28- Sharaf-Khan Ibn Shamseddine of Btilisi , "Sharaf-Name" , vol I , Moscow , 1967 , p. 370 (in Russian) .
- 29- Mirza-Atikyozal Beg , "Gharabagh-Name" , p. 47 . - Mirza- Djamal Chivanshir , "History of Gharabagh" , pp. 118-119 (in Russian) .
- 30- Mirza-Atikyozal Beg , op. cit. , p. 56 . - "Archives of Russian Foreign Policy" , 1758 , chp. 2 , no: 9 (in Russian) .
- 31- For details see Mirza-Atikyozal Beg , op. cit. , pp. 53-60 . - Mirza-Djamal Chivanshir , op. cit. , pp. 65-70 , 120-126 . - A. Baguikhanov , "Gulistan-Iran" , Baku , 1926 , pp. 127-128 (in Russian) . - "Notes of Caucasian Archeological Commission" , vol. I , pp. 120-124 , 695 .
- 32- For details see Mirza-Atikyozal Beg , Mirza-Djamal Chivanshir . Raffi , "Khamsai Melikutiunner" . - Mirza- Yousouf Nersesov , Gharabaghi , "Tarih-i-Safi" . - Ahmedbeg Djivanshir , "About the Political Existence of Gharabagh Region 1747-1805" , Baku , 1961 (in Russian) .
- 33- A.O. Hovhannisian , "Russia and the Armenian Liberation Movement, Around the end of the 18th century" , Yerevan , 1947 . -Ibid , "Hovsep Emin" , Yerevan , 1945 . - Ibid , "The Unification of Transcaucasia with Russia and the International Relationship in the Beginning of the 19th century" , Yerevan , 1958 . - "The unification of Eastern Armenia with Russia" , collections of documents , vol. I and II .
- 34- "The Russian Economic and Political Treaties with the Orient" , St. Petersburg , 1869 , pp. 208-214 .
- 35- "History of Azerbeidjan" , Baku , 1960 , p. 20 (in Russian) .
- 36- "Collection of Documents Pertaining to the History of Armenian Origin" , Moscow , 1833 , p. 278 .
- 37- "History of Armenians" , Yerevan , 1974 , p. 209 .
- 38- "Caucasian Almanac 1849" , Tbilisi , 1848 , pp. 37-40 (in Russian) .
- 39- "The Accounts of the Caucasian Viceroy . . ." , Tbilisi , 1873 , pp. 49-50 (in Russian) .
- 40- "History of Armenians" , Yerevan , 1981 , pp. 15-16 .
- 41- Strabon , op. cit. , 5 .
- 42- N. Adonts , "Dionisios of Trague and the Armenian Travellers" , Baku , 1915 , p. 187 .
- 43- Academy of Sciences of the USSR , Institute of Oriental Literature , Manuscript 253 , p. 202b .
- 44- N.D. Migloukho-Maglai , op. cit. , pp. 204-205 .
- 45- "Kartlis Tskhovreba" , p. 60 , 77 (in Georgian) .
- 46- Johan Schildberger , "The Voyages in Europe , Asia and Africa in 1394-1427" , Odessa , 1866 , p. 110 .
- 47- Ibid. , Baku , 1984 , p. 67 .
- 48- Persian Documents in "Madenataran" , Yerevan , 1956 , pp. 248-249 .
- 49- "Armenian-Russian Relationships in 1830s" , Yerevan , 1967 , vol. II , section II , document 315 , p. 249 (in Russian) .
- 50- "Ottoman Constitution for Western Armenia" , Yerevan , 1964 , p. 120 .
- 51- "Warrants and other Historical Documents Concerning Georgia in the 18th century" , St. Petersburg , 1891 , document 198 , p. 434 (in Russian) .
- 52- National Institute for Strategical-Historical Archives , Fund 52 , table 2 , booklet 32 , no: 1 .
- 53- "Complete collection of the Laws of the Russian Empire" , vol. 24 , p. 761 , no: 18189 (in Russian) .
- 54- In the 9-13th century , Turkish speaking races came into existence in Near-Eastern Asia and Caucasus . In later years , in the Eastern Caucasus and North-Western Persia , new ethnic formations took place which gave rise to a group of people (in the beginning of 20th century) , which later was known as Azerbeidjani . See academician V.V. Bartold , "Works" , Moscow , 1963 , p. 703 . - V. Khoudadov , "Contemporary Azerbeidjan" . - "Novi Vostok" , no: 3 , Moscow , 1923 , p. 167 etc. (in Russian) . - A.K. Alekperov , "Archeological and Ethnical Studies of Azerbeidjan" , Baku , 1960 , pp. 71-77 (in Russian) . - Compare K. Kh. Sarkesian , B.M. Mouradian , "Lraper" , 1988 , no: 5 , pp. 43-44 .
- 55- "The Character of the State of Gharabagh formed in 1823 " , Tbilisi , 1866 (in Russian) .
- 56- "Lraper" (Armenian newspaper), 1973 , no: 8 , pp.12-22 . - "Courier of

Yerevan University", 1979, no: 2, pp. 42-45.

57- "Ararad" monthly newspaper, 1914, p. 637.

58- For their description see Sh. M. Megerditchian, "Historical-Architectural Monuments of Mountainous Gharabagh", Yerevan, 1980. - "Ararad" 1896, pp. 43-45, 233-234. - Ibid, 1871, pp. 432-435. - "Soviet Armenia", 31/5/1988.

59- "Armenian Inscriptions", Artsakh, Yerevan, 1982.

60- In the 1970s, in the central region of Fizul, rare constructions, pertaining to ritual, were revealed (Armenian church), which ever since "disappeared". See "Soviet Armenia" 14/6/1988.



ARMENIAN DEMONSTRATORS CONFIRM
"SELF-DETERMINATION IS NOT EXTRIMISM" (IN RUSSIAN)

CHAPTER 2

MOUNTAINOUS GHARABAGH FROM 1918 TO 1923

During 1918-1920, when the anti-soviet forces detached Transcaucasia from Soviet Russia, the Mousavat (extreme right nationalists) government of Azerbeidjan tried several times to occupy Mountainous Gharabagh, Nakhitchevan and Zankezour regions. However, the working masses of these regions always defended their rights and lands from such misfeasances. It was around June 3, 1919, that the military consultant of the 11th Red Army, S.M. Girov, pointing out the impossibility of Mousavat government's demands, informed V.I. Lenin that, "Armenian Gharabagh and Zankezour regions reject the Azerbeidjani rule" [1]. From 1918-1920, Mountainous Gharabagh was governed by the Armenian National Council. [2]

After the installment of Soviet sovereignty in Azerbeidjan on April 28, 1920, the president of the Azerbeidjani Revolutionary Committee, N. Narimanov, under the pretext of prohibiting the government (Rightist) of confederate Armenia of becoming strong, and not to discredit the Soviet rule in Azerbeidjan, demanded the annexation of Mountainous Gharabagh, Nakhitchevan and Zankezour regions. This proposal was backed by certain Azerbeidjani and Transcaucasian political activists. Narimanov was backed also by Stalin. In a rebuking telegram to K. Ordjonitse, Stalin wrote: "It is my opinion that we should definitely defend one of the opponents, in this case, Azerbeidjan together with Turkey" [3]. Some Armenian Bolsheviks considered that such a step could be taken temporarily, on condition that these regions go back to Armenia after the establishment of Soviet sovereignty in the republic.

Insisting on the annexation of Mountainous Gharabagh and Zankezour to Azerbeidjan, N. Narimanov said: "There is no power in the world that can stop us from exerting pressure on the people of these two regions to express their wish to unite with Azerbeidjan" [4]. His main argument was "that these regions belonged to Azerbeidjan in the times of the Mousavats, and that to yield these territories to Armenia would be an insult for the Soviets not only in Azerbeidjan, but also in Turkey and

Persia. [5] Henceforth , the Azerbeidjani government resorted to several additional measures to accomplish this aim . The president of the Gharabagh State Revolutionary Committee , Asad Karayev , wrote clearly and truly about these measures in his advisory letters sent on July 19 , 1920 , to the Revolutionary Committee of the province of Koris. He wrote: "Your old policy of conquering Gharabagh and Zankezour with armed forces is absolutely wrong . We know that our forces were defeated and retreated, **but today, our money instead , is performing miracles** . Again and again , repeat , don't spare any amount of money ; **Increase salaries , give presents and anything they wish** . Our government has appropriated the sum of 200 million roubles for the annexation of Gharabagh and Zankezour ." [6]

On the very next day on July the 21st , Asad Karayev conveyed , to the same committee , a set of strict measures pertaining to the same political belief . He wrote: "It is sad that , to this day , 90 percent of the Zankezour villages are not disarmed . It is even sadder that the Armenian population of Zankezour has not been exterminated . Their intellectual elite and military leaders are still in these villages Let's make an effort to arrest the prominent Armenians . . . and leave aside humanitarian principles by which countries cannot be conquered and nations created To weaken the Armenian resolution , kill a Russian soldier and throw the blame on them , you know what the Russians will do to the Armenians . In Zankezour , spare no individual nor property so that this cursed race (the Armenians) will never stand on its feet again ." [7] These are but a few of the monstrous means by which Azerbaidjanis wanted to annex Gharabagh and Zankezour .

The Central Committee of the Russian Communist (Bolshevik) Party did not share the opinion of those who wanted to annex the mentioned regions . On June 24 , 1920 , V.I. Lenin wrote to K. Tchitcherin (the minister of foreign affairs) : "Is it not possible to settle these problems with Narimanov by peaceful means?" . Tchitcherin's reply to his leader was: "Gharabagh has been an Armenian territory since ancient times ." [8]

Under the prevailing circumstances the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party found it best to establish , temporarily , local councils in these regions assisted by Soviet troops . Based on this

policy Tchitcherin cabled Ordjonitse on June 19 , 1920 saying "Gharabagh , Zankezour , Shoushi , Nakhitchevan and Djoulfa shouk belong neither to Armenia nor to Azerbeidjan , but should remain under the control of the Russian army , parallel to the existing local councils since any other decision will jeopardize our politics of peace ." [9] On this same day , Tchitcherin wrote to Lenin his critical remarks concerning the Armenian territories and described Narimanov's claims as "Moslem oriented desires," at the same time emphasizing that , "If Narimanov's Moslem oriented policy is ever realized , it will lead to bloody confrontations , acute crises and the strengthening of the Armenian Federal (rightist) Government ." [10]

A short while later , on July 9 , 1920 , K.Tchitcherin cabled K Ordjonitse on the same issue saying: "The Mousavats (Azerbeidjar rightists) declared several times that , if Gharabagh and Zankezou remain under the temporary control of the Russians instead of transferring them to Azerbeidjan , then they will abort the establishment of Soviet rule in Baku . Inform us clearly and concretely what the whole issue is about . **If the purpose is to allow the accomplishment of the expansionary tendencies of the Moslem nationalists then this is bad politics** , since with such a spirit we will only encourage the development of nationalistic tendencies . . . and by doing so we will encourage the development of nationalistic instincts . . . and we will be no different from the Mousavats , moreover , we will be helping them . If the issue is to enlarge the Soviet territorial influence this can be achieved instead through the presence of the Russians in the region . **Finally , if this is an indication of disguised Moslem nationalistic influence , (or for that purpose any anti-Moslem influence) , we should definitely resist it ."** [11]

On June 26 , 1920 , K. Tchitcherin , in a direct communication with K Ordjonitse , clarified the policy of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party (RCP) by saying: "Insist that the disputed territories between Armenia and Azerbeidjan be occupied not by Azerbeidjani forces , but by the Russian armies and the problem of territorial dispute be postponed till the creation of favorable political conditions . We hope that we will be able to prevent our friends in Baku from contravening the political decisions of the Soviet Central Committee" [12] .

On June 29 , 1920 , K. Tchitcherin sent a letter to V.I. Lenin criticizing J. Narimanov's endeavors concerning the pure Armenian territories , saying : "We made constant efforts to prevent our friends (the Azerbeidjanis) from exerting political pressure and engaging in military operations against Armenia . The aim of a military operation is the pretentions of the Azerbeidjani government to the vast territories which always belonged to Armenia , and actually are now under the sovereignty of the Armenian Republic . The Azerbeidjani government has presented a claim for the Gharabagh , Zankezour , Sharour-Daralakiaz , Nakhitchevan , Ordoubad and Djoulfa regions ." [13]

Soon after, on July 7 , 1920 , the Central Committee of the RCP Political Bureau , under the presidency of V.I. Lenin , took firm decision-orders concerning the political situation in Caucasia . Article 8 in particular , ordered the communists operating in Caucasia to explain to the population in the disputed areas , that the Russian forces had occupied them temporarily to prevent interethnic massacres , and that the issue of territorial claims , will be solved through a mixed committee , supervised by a Russian envoy and "representing the actual ethnic structure and desires of the population ." [14]

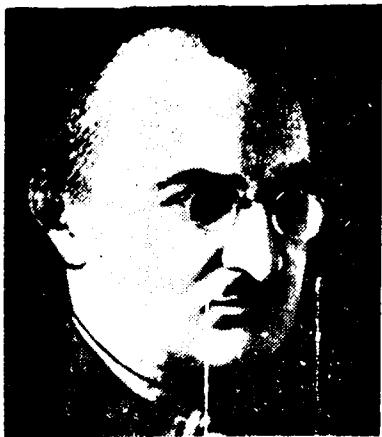
The essence of the decision-orders was Lenin's principle that populations should have the right of self-determination . This could be

achieved only through the presence of the Soviet Russian armies which could guarantee free expression of the will of the populations and prevent possible violence caused by Azerbeidjani occupation of these areas . K. Tchitcherine fought against such occupation , in accordance with the decision of the Central Committee of RCP .

The fact that there was Soviet rule in Azerbeidjan but a federative (rightist) government in Armenia , made the Central Committee of the RCP delay its decisions concerning the territorial and administrative divisions of the area till more favorable political conditions prevailed , namely , the establishment of a Soviet government in Armenia , and the free expression of the will of the Armenian people . This proved that the Central Committee of the RCP was guided by the indisputable truth that the "disputable" territories with their native Armenian population have belonged to Armenia since ancient times .

It is not incidental that , on the very next day , after the establishment of Soviet rule in Armenia (Nov. 29 , 1920) these territories were declared an inseparable part of it . On December 1 , 1920 , the Azerbeidjani Revolutionary Committee declined , in a special declaration , the disputed territories to the benefit of Armenia .

"The Azerbeidjani proletarian government , receiving word from the revolted peasants of Armenia that a Soviet Socialist Republic is established there , salutes the victory of our neighbouring brothers . From this day on the former borders between Armenia and Azerbeidjan



ASKANAZ MRAVIAN



SAHAK DER-KAPRIELIAN



SARKIS GASSIAN



ALEXANDER MIASNIGIAN

are declared non-existent . Mountainous Gharabagh , Zankezour and Nakhitchevan are recognized as inseparable parts of the Armenian Socialist Republic .

Long live the brotherhood between the working classes of Soviet Armenia and Azerbeidjan .

President of the Azerbeidjani Revolutionary Committee

N. NARIMANOV

Popular Commissar of Foreign Affairs

HUSEYNOV

November 30 , 1920 . " [15]

Welcoming the declaration of the Azerbeidjani Revolutionary Committee , J. Stalin wrote in his "Long Live Soviet Armenia" article in Pravda: "On December 1, Soviet Azerbeidjan renounced its claim of the disputed regions and declared "the transfer of Zankezour , Nakhitchevan and Mountainous Gharabagh to Soviet Armenia ." [16] In this same issue was published the communique received from Baku on December 2 , 1920 , and signed by K. Ordjonigitse , where he said : "Inform comrades Lenin and Stalin the following : "We have just received a communique from Yerevan that a Soviet government has been established there . . . Yesterday, Azerbeidjan already declared the transfer of Nakhitchevan , Zankezour and Mountainous Gharabagh to Armenia." [17]

Such a solution to the territorial problem was welcomed by V.I. Lenin ,



SERGEY GIROV

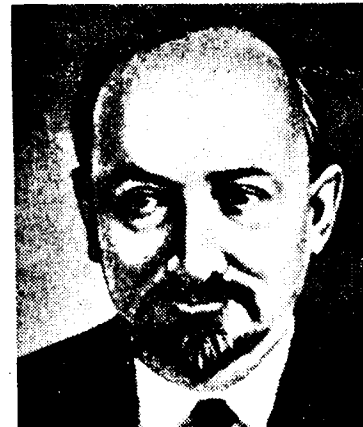


K. ORDJONIGITSE

K.G. Ordjonigitse , S.M. Girov and the members of the Armenian Communist Party and government . On December 12 , 1920 , Lenin received in the Kremlin the delegates of Soviet Armenia , S. Der-Kaprielian and A. Mravian and inquired how the territorial problems with Azerbeidjan were solved . S. Der-Kaprielian answered that these problems had found their correct solution . [18]

The decision of the Azerbeidjani Revolutionary Committee to transfer Zankezour , Nakhitchevan and Mountainous Gharabagh to Armenia received the warm approval of one of the greatest partisans of Leninism, K.G. Ordjonigitse . During the Baku - Soviet committee meeting held on December 1 , 1920 , concerning the establishment of Soviet government in Armenia , Orchonigitse said in his speech : "Comrades , in response to Narimanov's policy , Soviet Azerbeidjan proved to the entire world in general , and to the Armenian proletariat in particular , that only a Soviet government is capable of solving our local and also inter-national ethnic problems . Comrade Narimanov's declaration , which he himself read to us , is very clear in content . According to him the so-called Armeno-Moslem problems in Transcaucasia , which caused numerous interethnic quarrels, are centered in the region of Zankezour , Nakhitchevan and Gharabagh . . . Today , the President of the Azerbeidjani Republic declares "that terrible dispute exists no longer "... This declaration is extremely important and unprecedented in human history ." [19]

The declaration of the Azerbeidjani Revolutionary Committee was



K.V. TCHITCHERINE



NARIMAN NARIMANOV

warmly received by the President of the Armenian Revolutionary Committee , S. Gassian . In a telegram sent to N. Narimanov , Gassian wrote : "The Military Revolutionary Committee of the Soviet Socialist Republic of Armenia accepted with warm , brotherly feelings the November 30 , 1920 decision of the Azerbeidjani Soviet government pertaining to the regions of Zankezour , Nakhitchevan and Mountainous Gharabagh . This decision is an unprecedented , vital example of interrelationships among neighboring countries where rule is maintained by a proletariat led by socialist , constructive and brilliant ideas , not by bloodshed , destruction and enslavement of neighboring countries to expand territorial borders . Problems seeming difficult and unsolvable thus far , are easily , quickly and positively arranged by Soviet governments to the satisfaction of all sides ." [20]

On June 3 , 1921 , the Caucasian Bureau meeting of the RCP , in the presence of K. Ordjonitse , F. Makharatse , N. Narimanov , Al. Miasnigian and others , took the decision (point 5) and advised the government of Arm. SSR to declare in its communique the reattachment of Mountainous Gharabagh to Armenia . [21]

According to this decision , the "Soviet Armenia" newspaper (Yerevan, no: 106 , June 19 , 1921) declared to the entire Armenian nation the following decree issued by the Popular Council concerning the reattachment of Mountainous Gharabagh:

"Based on the declaration of the Revolutionary Committee of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic (RSFSR) and in accordance with the agreement between the Armenian and Azerbeidjani Soviet Socialist Republics , Mountainous Gharabagh is proclaimed to be an unseparable part of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic (Armenian SSR) .

President of the Popular Council of Armenia
AL. MIASNIGIAN (AL. MARDOUNI)
Secretary of the Popular Council of Armenia
M. GHARABEKIAN

June 12, 1921 , Yerevan ." [22]

At the same time, the government of Soviet Armenia appointed A. Mravian as its special plenipotentiary for Mountainous Gharabagh .

The declaration of the Revolutionary Committee of Azerbeidjan , the decree of the Popular Council of Armenia , discussions with V.I. Lenin , the article of J.V. Stalin and the speech of K. Ordjonitse were largely

propagated among the Armenian proletariat ; This brought forth an unprecedented political awakening , a unanimous approval of the population and a new wave of hatred towards the Armenian nationalists (rightists) because of their defamation of Soviet Azerbeidjan and the Soviet authority in general .

Unfortunately , the exultation of the Armenian population was short-lived . The position of the Soviet Azerbeidjani leadership underwent radical changes concerning the issue of Mountainous Gharabagh . N. Narimanov (President of the Council of Ministers of Azerbeidjani Soviet Socialist Republic) demanded that Mountainous Gharabagh be left within the Azerbeidjani territorial structure , otherwise "the popular council does not bear the responsibility of the consequences . . . "since by such a nature of affairs "we reestablish anti-Soviet movements in Azerbeidjan" . [23]

However , prominent bolsheviks working in Caucasia, K.K. Ordjonitse , S.M. Girov and others maintained firmly their decision to find a fair solution to the problem . In his meeting with the foreign affairs commissariat of the Azerbeidjani SSR , M.D. Huseynov on June 1921 , K.K. Ordjonitse , underlining the necessity of reattaching Mountainous Gharabagh to Armenia , said: "The Gharabagh problem is one of honor for Soviet republics , and thus its solution must be decisive and final ." [24] On June 26 , 1921 , K. Ordjonitse and S. Girov cabled N. Narimanov: "If you are interested in our opinion , then it is the following: To finally clarify the misunderstandings and to establish friendly relationships in solving the problem of Mountainous Gharabagh, we must follow the following principle: no Armenian village should be attached to Azerbeidjan and no Azeri village can be attached to Armenia ." [25]

On July 4 , 1921 , the Bureau of the Caucasian Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party (RCP) held a meeting in the presence of J. Stalin for the solution of the problem of Mountainous Gharabagh , and decided with a majority vote to reattach the region to Soviet Armenia (for this decision voted K. Ordjonitse , S. Girov , Al. Miasnigian , Y. Figatner) [26] .

In the annual report of the 9th Soviet General Assembly of the RSFSR, the committee of foreign affairs , 1920-21 , it was mentioned officially that: "A treaty was signed in July with Azerbeidjan and Mountainous Gharabagh was reattached to Soviet Armenia ." [27]

N. Narimanov , however, protested and demanded that the problem be transferred to the Central Committee of the RCP , to which the Caucasian Central Bureau agreed . However , the decision of the Caucasian bureau of the RCP Central Committee was not fulfilled . A new meeting was called for the very next day . After re-examining the previous decision , the Bureau approved N. Narimanov's desire without further discussion and voting . The approval said: "Based on the fact that peace should reign between Moslem and Armenian nations and good economic ties should exist between upper/lower Gharabagh and Azerbeidjan , Mountainous Gharabagh must be left within the borders of Azer. SSR , granting it vast autonomy with Shoushi as administrative center ."[28]

The Central Committee of the Armenian Communist Party refused to accept such a solution for the Gharabagh problem . In its meeting held on July 16 , 1921 , the 5th of July 1921 decision of the Caucasian Bureau was rejected categorically . [29]

The fifth of July 1921 decision was made under pressure exerted by J. Stalin and acute threatening declarations made by N. Narimanov . He defended his position not only by presenting the reattachment as a possible "disaster" , but also by using the "tactic of resignation" . He said that if Mountainous Gharabagh is reattached to Armenia , then "the Popular Committee of Azerbeidjan will forego its responsibilities ." [30] In fact , no discussions were held in the later meeting . During the first meeting of the Communist Party of Armenia (June 26-29 , 1922) , Al. Miasnigian , in response to the question "why Mountainous Gharabagh was not reattached to Armenia" , said: "If we analyze the last decision of the Caucasian Bureau , we get the feeling that it was made as if Aharonian , Toptchibashev and Tchekhengelin were present (these were representatives of the Transcaucasian republics before the Soviet revolution) . Azerbeidjan threatens to cut the oil supplies if Armenia insists on reattaching Mountainous Gharabagh ." [31]

The July 5 decision of the Caucasian Bureau could not withstand the criticism . It contradicted the Leninian principle of self determination of peoples . Besides , the issue was never voted on . The decision argued for "the necessity of peace between the Moslems and the Armenians , " which meant that Mountainous Gharabagh must be uncontestedly reattached to Soviet Armenia . This necessity could also be certified by historical facts .

It is evident that decisions concerning territorial claims should be based on historical, ethnic and economic criteria. In this case, historical and ethnic factors were obviously neglected , and the economic point of view was the only decisive factor . This was definitely wrong , since , during that period Baku was the only huge industrial center to which was related not only Mountainous Gharabagh , but the whole of Transcaucasia .

The fact that the argument "peace should exist between Armenians and Azerbeidjanis" should form the basis of the decision , remains very doubtful . The question arises , why should the Azerbeidjanis be against the reattachment of an area highly populated by Armenians (in those years 95%) to Armenia? In this case , it is understood that the Azerbeidjanis could live peacefully with Armenians only under the condition that Mountainous Gharabagh is attached to Azerbeidjan .

Thus , the 5th of July , 1921 , decision of the meeting of the RCP Central Committee is considered unfounded . With this decision , they artificially detached Mountainous Gharabagh (a land populated by us and belonging to us for centuries) from Armenia . Moreover , the 1923 regional divisions were made in such a way that Mountainous Gharabagh would never have common borders with the Arm. SSR despite the fact that such borders already existed . In addition , certain regions also belonging to Mountainous Gharabagh were detached from the region .

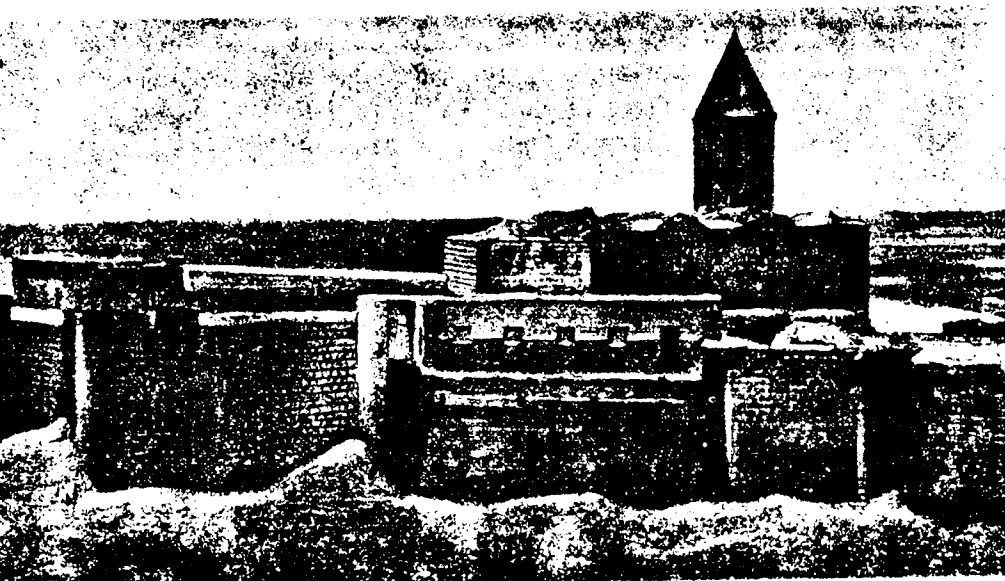
It should be mentioned that when decisions concerning regional divisions were being made , V.I. Lenin was lying sick in bed and J. Stalin had taken the solution of these problems into his own hands .

* * *

The State of Nakhitchevan was also an undetachable part of Armenia both in ancient and medieval times , until the unification of the eastern Armenian territories with Russia . In 1829 , it became part of the governorate of Yerevan belonging to Armenia . For centuries , Nakhitchevan was one of the political and cultural centers of Armenia .

The March 16 , 1921 treaty which was signed in Moscow between Kemalist Turkey and Soviet Russia , gave birth to the Federative SSR of Nakhitchevan within the realm of the Azerbeidjani SSR .

Turkey , discontented with the detachment of the region of Kars and the province of Sourmalou , insisted stubbornly that Nakhitchevan be also detached from Soviet Armenia .



ASDABAD (NAKHITCHEVANIAN AUTONOMOUS SSR IN AZERBEIDJAN) ST. STEPANOS ARMENIAN MONASTORY IN LATE 19TH CENTURY (above) , AND IN 1987 (below) . NOW COMPLETELY DEMOLISHED BY AZERBEIDJANI SSR GOVERNMENT



In its effort to include the region of Nakhitchevan also within the realm of Azerbeidjan (like Mountainous Gharabagh) , Turkey made use of the prevailing favorable external political situation and solicited the help of certain Azerbeidjani communists . The latter included a member of the Revolutionary Committee of Azerbeidjan , B. Shakhtakhtinski , who declared in Azerbeidjan his opposition to the Dec. 1 , 1920 decision of the Revolutionary Committee (reattachment to Armenia of the regions of Nakhitchevan, Zankezour and Mountainous Gharabagh) . In Nakhitchevan, the plenipotent of the 11th Red army , Velibegov , later wrote that B. Shakhtakhtinski stated that the Azerbeidjani Revolutionary Committee had betrayed the interests of Nakhitchevan by reattaching it to Armenia . B. Shakhtakhtinski urged the Azerbeidjanis of Nakhitchevan to side with Turkey , saying: "You must have confidence in the Turks , they are your only salvation , stand firmly by their side ." [32] The dissatisfaction of the Azerbeidjani nationalists was heard well in Turkey , whose leaders (making use of the prevailing favorable international political situation during the Sovieto-Turkish negotiations , in 1921) , demanded the attachment of Nakhitchevan to Azerbeidjan . The dream of the Turks and Azerbeidjani nationalists was now realized .

Article 3 of the Sovieto-Turkish treaty said: "The two negotiating parties agreed that the region of Nakhitchevan , with its borders as mentioned in the first supplement to the treaty , is to form an autonomous region under the sovereignty of Azerbeidjan , with the condition that this latter cannot yield it to a third nation ." [33] Naturally , by a 'third nation' they meant Armenia .

Turkey's demand was a new way of expressing anti-Armenian policy which continued even after the establishment of the SSR of Armenia .

The proponents of the idea to attach mountainous Gharabagh to Azerbeidjan put the emphasis , and still do to date , on economic aspects . The question arises then ; if in the above demand , they were governed by economic aspects , why then not reattach the state of Nakhitchevan to Soviet Armenia with whom it already had firm economic coordination .

NOTES OF CHAPTER 2

- 1- S.M. Girov . "Articles , Speeches , Documents" , vol. I , Moscow , 1936 , p. 144 (in Russian) .
- 2- Arm. S.S.R. Center of National Historical Archives . Fund 100 , Table 1 , booklet 243 , no: 50-57 . - Marxism-Leninism Foundation , section of Arm.

- archives . Fund 1022 , table 4 , booklet 50 , no: 1-11 .
- 3- Arm. S.S.R. National Central Archive of Oct. Revol. Fund 130 , table 4 booklet 496 , no: 142 .
- 4- Marxism-Leninism Foundation ,Central Committee Archive . Fund 64 , table 2 booklet 5 , no: 80 .
- 5- S.M. Girov , op. cit., p. 231 .
- 6- Marxism-Leninism Foundation , op. cit., Fund 64 , table 1, booklet 10 , no: 9-10 .
- 7- Ibid .
- 8- Ibid , op. cit., Fund 2 , booklet 1451 , no: 2 .
- 9- Op. cit., Fund 64 , table 2 , booklet 5 , no: 19 .
- 10- Op. cit., Fund 2 , booklet 1451 , no: 2 .
- 11- Op. cit. Fund 64 , table 2 , booklet 5 , no: 52 .
- 12- Arm. S.S.R. National Central Archive . . . op. cit. Fund 130 , table 4 , booklet 496 , no: 115 .
- 13- Marxism-Leninism Found. op. cit.
- 14- Ibid .
- 15- "Communist" newspaper , Yerevan , no: 2 . 7/12/1920 (in Russian) .
- 16- "Pravda" , no: 273 , 4/12/1920 (in Russian) .
- 17- K.K. Ordjonigitse . Articles and Speeches . vol. I , Moscow , 1956 , p. 142 (in Russian) .
- 18- See A. Mravian , Articles and Speeches , Yerevan , 1986 , p. 222 .
- 19- K.K. Ordjonigitse , op. cit., pp. 140-141 .
- 20- Arm. S.S.R. National Central Archives . . . op. cit. Fund 40/113 , table 3 , booklet 2 , no: 13 .
- 21- Marxism-Leninism Found., op. cit., Fund 64 , table 2 , booklet 1, no: 77 .
- 22- "Bakinsky Rabotchi" newspaper , Baku , 22/6/1921 (in Russian) .
- 23- Marxism-Leninism Found., op. cit., Fund 64 , Table 2 , booklet 7 , no: 13 .
- 24- Ibid., Fund 85 , table 13 , booklet 66 , no: 1 .
- 25- Ibid., Fund 85 , table 18 , booklet 229 , no: 1-2 .
- 26- Ibid., Fund 17 , table 13 , booklet 384 , no: 66 .
- 27- "Foreign Policy Documents of the U.S.S.R." vol. 4 , Moscow , 1960 , p. 711 (in Russian) .
- 28- Marxism-Leninism Found. Fund 17 , table 13, booklet 384 , no: 67 .
- 29- Marxism-Leninism Found. Arm. division of Archive . Fund 1 , booklet 40 , no: 29 .
- 30- Marxism-Leninism Found., op. cit., Fund 64 , table 2 , booklet 7 , no: 13 .
- 31- Ibid., Fund 1 , table 1 , booklet 232 , no: 22-23 .
- 32- Arm. S.S.R. National Hist. Archive , Fund 114 , table 1 , booklet 45 , no: 13 .
- 33- "Foreign Policy Documents . . ." op. cit., vol. III , Moscow , 1969 , pp. 598-599 .

CHAPTER 3

THE PROBLEM OF MOUNTAINOUS GHARABAGH IN LIGHT OF THE LENINIAN UNDERSTANDING OF NATIONAL SELF-DETERMINATION

M.S. Gorbachov , in his speech to the workers and peoples of Azerbeidjan and Armenia , concerning the problems pertaining to Mountainous Gharabagh , said: "We face unsolved problems in our country . We never evade the frank discussion of the different ideas and proposals , however , this must be done calmly , in a democratic manner and within the constitutional context . We should avoid damaging our peoples' ethnic and national structure in the least ."[1]

The solutions of these problems , as mentioned by M.S. Gorbachov , should not contradict our socialist principles , morality and the traditional brotherhood and friendship of our Soviet peoples . To solve our problems we should base our judgment only on Leninian principles of national politics .

We are paying the price of our past mistakes in the areas of communal relationships and economic matters . The problem of Gharabagh has existed since the very first years of Soviet rule . The situation that developed and the accompanying circumstances are the result of Stalin's subjective and impulsive decision .

The Leninian norms for the determination of national identity , in particular those used for the national-territorial divisions of the Soviet countries (which have been shaken) , should form our common economic , political and spiritual driving force .

In the core of the Leninian understanding of national-territorial divisions lies the idea of free , democratic self-determination which V.I. Lenin defined and cultivated until the beginning of the revolution (Oct. 1917) , and took as the basis for national-governmental development in the Soviet Union and within the context of international relations .

This means that territorial changes can take place only within the borders of the USSR and by the free will of the population . For example , in our national problem of Mountainous Gharabagh, the Armenians who live there and constitute an absolute majority (75%) , of their own free will to unite with their kinsfolk in a country within the border of the USSR .

Considering that a people has the right to settle its own territorial problems , V.I. Lenin pointed out that self-determination constitutes the prime factor for territorial control and changes in national borders . He said: "We insist that territorial borders be determined by the free will of the people ," [2] which means that to change national borders , in the first place , the freely expressed will of the people should be taken into consideration .

The foreign policy of the Soviet Union was based on the Leninian principles which were consistently used in the socialist countries in case of national border problems . Otherwise said , determination of national borders of socialist countries had a prominent place in Lenin's teachings .

In his policy Lenin devoted special attention to national-territorial problems and their legal aspects among socialist countries and believed that such difficulties should inevitably be solved by these same countries . He was convinced in the historical fact that imperialistic capitalism "destroys more the democratically determined borders" and foresaw "that socialism which is going to replace imperialism , is going to inherit less democratically determined national borders , and more imperialistic occupation in Europe and elsewhere in the world ." [3] Thus , he developed an overall socialist policy for the democratic solution of national problems , giving special attention to national-territorial problems among socialist countries . Lenin was convinced that such problems will be inevitable , but that their solution should be based on democratic principles and norms . This meant that free self-determination should be a principle requirement . [4]

Lenin was also convinced that democratic principles for the

solution of national-territorial problems among socialist republics should be applied more thoroughly and consistently . "National borders should be determined democratically , that is , according to the will and "inclinations" of population . Capitalism undermines such inclinations , thus preventing the close relationship among nations . Socialism . . . renders absolute freedom to such inclinations and thus facilitates tremendously normal relations and fusion among peoples" . [5]

Lenin , in his strife against imperialistic capitalism and his efforts for regrouping the people , believed that the future harmonious relationships among republics could be achieved only by the quick and thorough solution of national-territorial disputes based on the above mentioned principles . He wrote: "Based on these principles , the slightest disputes and distrusts will be completely resolved , and more rapid interrelationships and fusion among nations will be accomplished . . ." [6]

V.I. Lenin developed the principles for the solution of national-territorial problems among nations , including socialist nations , and laid down the methods and ways for the people to express their free will .

For Lenin , the prime issue was the manifestation of the free expression of the will of people , while the way this expression was made was of minor importance . "Whether their wish is expressed in the press or in popular meetings , in the decisions of political parties or by agitation and outbursts against national oppression , is of little importance ." [7]

Voting , as the most democratic method of self-determination and as the simplest way for the free expression of the will of peoples concerning the solution of national-territorial problems , was developed thoroughly by V.I. Lenin . He said that the right of self-determination actually implied "that the decision concerning detachment should be made by public vote in the region to be detached ." [8] Lenin considered voting to be the way in which "the detachment of a certain territory under conditions of political freedom and democracy could be achieved ." [9]

Voting , as a way of expressing the free will of populations in solving national-territorial disputes among Soviet republics , was used in the Soviet Union since the days of Lenin . For example , according to the March 23 , 1919 treaty between RSFSR and Bashgir Autonomous SSR governments , a public inquiry was conducted in 6 regions of the province of Zlatousd and 4 regions of the province of Oufa . In another instance , on May 27 , 1920 , the decree issued by All-Unions Executive Central Committee (All UECC) and the Council of the Popular Commissars decided that , till the decision of the workers of the provinces of Belebeyev and Birsg , these latter , inclusion in the Autonomous SSR of Tatarisdan should be delayed . According to the August 26 , 1920 decree issued also by All UECC and the Council of the Popular Commissars concerning the formation of the Kirgiz Autonomous SSR , inclusion of the regions populated by Kirgiz people , but thus far , part of the Tourkisdan republic , was to be preceded by the decision of the Kirgiz working masses [10] . Such regional public votes were conducted in accordance with the Soviet constitution for internal affairs .

In later periods , changes in the national borders among socialist republics took place without public voting , which obviously reflected high standards of socialist internationalism , whereby existed the willingness to yield regions to neighboring socialist countries in the name of peace and brotherhood . the USSR counts many instances of such national-territorial changes among neighboring socialist countries . In 1954 a vast region , namely the Crimean peninsula , was transferred to Ukraine from the RFSSR . Several territorial changes also took place in Uzbekisdan and Ghazagheddan .

In 1969 , the regions of Girov and Pakhto-Aralyan were transferred from the SSR of Ghazakheddan to Uzbekisdan . Several villages (an area of 959 thousand hectares) , 1 million 554 thousands hectares of pasture land from the region of Chimkenti , and 1 million 100 thousand hectares of land from the region of Ghzel-Orda were also transferred to Uzbekisdan . The

Republic of Kirkizia transferred to Tatchikisdan an immense piece of land which was part of its coal sources ; Biolorussia gave 2 thousand square kilometers to Litvia . All these territorial transfers took place without bloodshed and hysteria , with a positive brotherly spirit .

Voting , as a means of expressing public will in the most democratic , regulated and exact manner , is stated by the constitution , whose article 5 foresees that "the most crucial national issues" should be subject to public examination and public vote .

It is clear that a region's population is the only decisive force which can arrange its territorial problems . The Soviet constitution and the Soviet teaching both accept that the will of the people is the highest legal power . Thus , they insist that results of the public vote be regarded binding .

In the formative declaration of the USSR was mentioned that "this union is the outcome of the free will of people having equal rights" . Based on the principles of free will and free self-determination not only the economic problems of the USSR , but also territorial changes among socialist republics and other national-governmental organizations within the realm of the Soviet Union should be solved .

In the light of the legal and other registers of the Soviet constitution , as well as the international obligation of the USSR , article 78 states that "territorial changes within the Union republics cannot take place without consent of the Union" , and that "border changes between republics can take place only by their mutual consent , " under no circumstances must they be considered an act of political oppression and refusal or partial restriction of the rights self-determination .

The essence of the above mentioned article (concerning the republics of the Union) reflects the norms applied to all the nations in protecting their territorial sovereignty and defending them from unilateral misfeasance . The possibility of border-territorial changes , in accordance with the free will and

self-determination of the concerned populations , cannot be an exception neither under international law nor according to the Soviet constitution . This latter statement constitutes the unconditional norm of international rights and the prime principle of the Soviet constitution (article 70).

According to the constitution of the USSR , internal and external border-territorial changes should be accomplished based on the principle of self-determination . This segment of the Supreme Soviet law is compulsory for all republics of the Union .

Arbitrary interpretation of the Supreme Soviet Socialist law , in the sense of limiting the right of self-determination , is in direct conflict with the Leninian principles of national policy and national-territorial divisions among Soviet republics and governmental structures . Thus , such an interpretation will make the constitution give rise to a chaotic situation , if it prevents the transfer of regions from one republic to the other , while granting free entry into the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics .

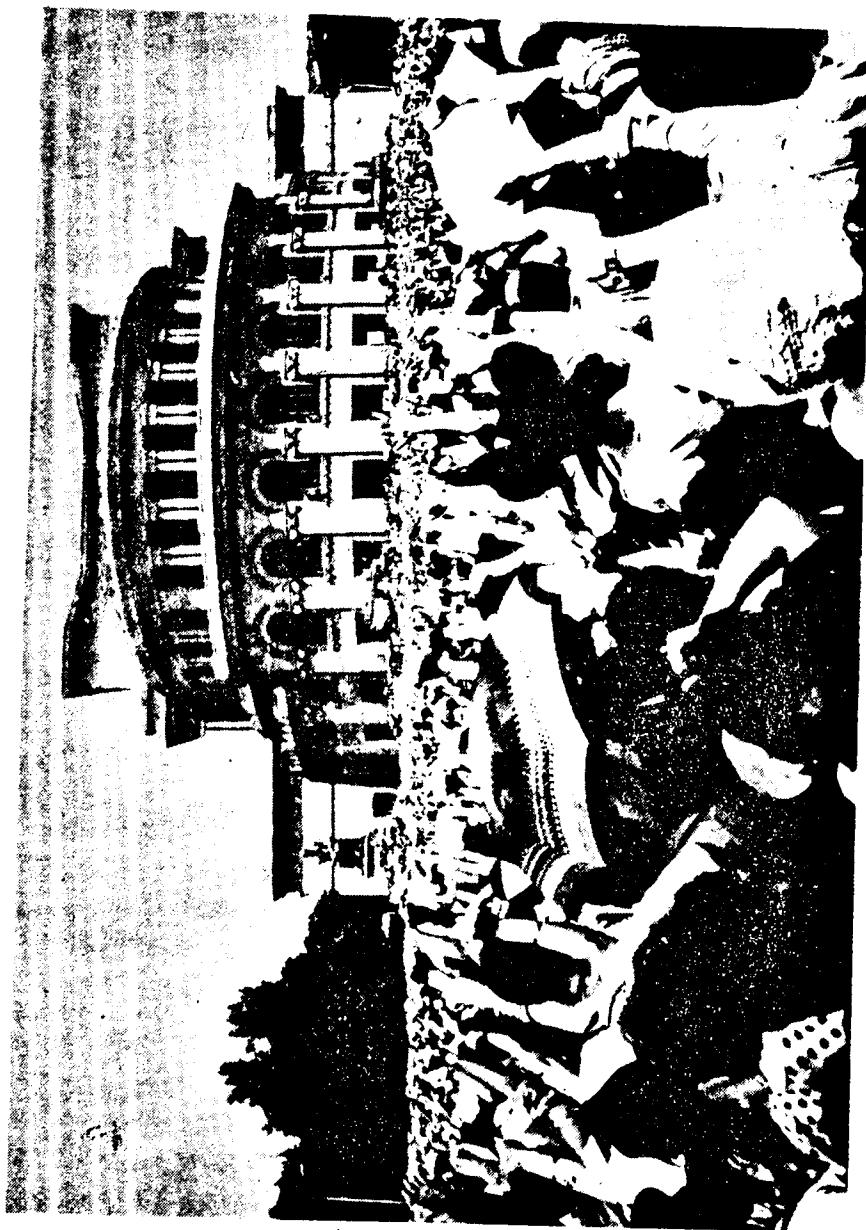
Some republics exerted an effort to "perpetuate" the territorial "status-quo" , taking the unification of the Soviet nations as a pretext . According to them , any transfer or changes in their territorial structure was to be considered as a misfeasance to the Leninian principles of free self-determination and the basic norms of the multinational Soviet Union .

The great Union of Soviet Socialist Republics cannot renounce this principle of Lenin . He clearly forewarned that , "to abandon the accomplishment of peoples' free self-determination will be an act of treason to socialism in its era ." [11]

Such a critical situation can be put to right only by the Leninian democratic principles and norms for national and territorial structure . "We can and we must revive the most equitable Leninian attempt for all socialist populations " (Pravda) . [12]

NOTES OF CHAPTER 3

- 1- "Communist" , Yerevan , 27/2/1988 (in Russian) .
- 2- V.I. Lenin , "Complete Collection of Works" , vol. 31 , p. 436 .
- 3- Ibid., vol. 30 , p. 21 .
- 4- Ibid., vol. 27 , p. 260 .
- 5- Ibid., vol. 30 , p. 21 .
- 6- Ibid., vol. 30 , p. 22 .
- 7- Ibid., vol. 35 , p. 14 .
- 8- Ibid., vol. 27 , p. 255 .
- 9- Ibid., vol. 25 , p. 291 .
- 10- "R.S.F.S.R. Administration Demography" .1919 , no: 46 , article 451. 1920 , no: 51 , article 222 . 1920 , no: 76 , article 359 .
- 11- V.I. Lenin , op. cit., vol. 30 , p. 18 .
- 12- "The Principles of Restructuring Revolutionary Thinking and Performance" , "Pravda" , 5/4/1988 .



JUNE 1988: THE OPERA SQUARE IN YEREVAN - THE SYMBOL OF ARMENIAN STRUGGLE FOR ARTSAKH

CHAPTER 4

PROBLEMS OF DEMOGRAPHIC AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS OF THE AUTONOMOUS REGION OF MOUNTAINOUS GHARABAGH

The outflow of the Armenian population from Mountainous Gharabagh began after its inclusion within the structure of the Azerbeidjani SSR . The policy of the Azerbeidjani government to limit the rights of the Armenians in this autonomous region , and its efforts to replace Armenians by Azerbeidjanis , led to the acute diminution of the former . Thus , from 1926 to 1979 , Armenians increased at the rate of 10.2% , whereas Azerbeidjanis increased 3 times more , since more normal conditions of growth were provided for them . If Armenians represented 94.4% of the population of Mountainous Gharabagh in 1923 , the 1979 census indicated that they accounted for only 75.9% [1] . Between 1926 and 1979 , the Armenian population of the Autonomous Region of Mountainous Gharabagh increased by only 11.4 thousands , while the Azerbeidjanis increased by 24.7 thousands [2] . Between 1926-1936 , Armenians of Mountainous Gharabagh grew by 21.1 thousands , however , between 1929- 1979 their number diminished by 10,000 due to their forced extrusion by the Azerbeidjanis . Until the Second patriotic World War , the growth rate of the Armenian population of Mountainous Gharabagh was slightly higher than that of the Azerbeidjanis . It was only later that the situation was reversed . The losses of the Armenians from Mountainous Gharabagh , in the Second patriotic World War , were 20,000 . The average outflow was 2000 per year during the period 1926-1979 ; whereas , the opposite process was taking place for the Azerbeidjanis with nearly 1000 persons per year coming to Mountainous Gharabagh , between 1959-1979 . During these latter years the Azerbeidjani population of Mountainous Gharabagh more than doubled , while Armenians increased by 12% only [3] . During the period lying between the two census years of 1970 and 1979 , the absolute rate of growth of Armenians in the region diminished sensibly because of unfavorable growth conditions , and the total increase amounted to only 2000 persons . Only one tenth of the

**AUTONOMOUS REGION OF MOUNTAINOUS GHARABAGH
POPULATION SIZE AND DISTRIBUTION BY NATIONALITY (1000 OF PERSON) (7)**

	1926	1939	1959	1970	1979
TOTAL POPULATION	125,3	150,8	130,4	150,3	162,2
ARMENIANS	111,7	138,8	110,1	121,1	123,1
PERCENTAGE	89,1	88,1	84,4	80,6	75,9
AZERBEIDJANIS	12,6	14,1	18,6	27,2	37,3
PERCENTAGE	10,1	9,3	13,8	18,1	22,9
RUSSIANS	0,6	3,2	1,8	1,3	1,3
PERCENTAGE	0,5	2,1	1,4	0,9	0,8

local-born Armenians stayed in the region , the 9/10th immigrated . As a consequence , the Armenian population of Mountainous Gharabagh increased from 111.7 thousands in 1926 to 123.1 thousands in 1979 [4] . The Azerbeidjani population increased from 12.6 thousands to 37.2 thousands during this same period [5] . This information is given in the table →

The Armenian population of Mountainous Gharabagh would have doubled despite the immigration , if normal growth conditions had prevailed . If the population of Mountainous Gharabagh amounted to 4.4% of the entire population of the Azerbeidjani SSR in 1926, it constituted only 2.65% in 1987 [6] . Automatically , such intentional efforts let to a decrease in the growth rate and an increase in the death rate , thus giving rise to an older generation of Armenians in the region .

It is evident from the above table that in later years the situation has become worse .

Mountainous Gharabagh although basically an agricultural region (in 1979 only 44% of the population lived in cities) [8] , witnessed a severe reduction of Armenians living in rural areas . Between 1923-1979 the region's rural population decreased by 61.3 thousands [9] . During this period , tens of Armenian villages were wiped out [10] ; in the meantime , Azerbeidjanis of rural areas constantly increased in number . Changes in population size and distribution were a true expression of socio-economic and cultural standards . In addition , many national problems existed both in Mountainous Gharabagh and other regions of the Azerbeidjani SSR , where Armenians were found . These in turn have been reflected in the socio-economic policy adopted in Mountainous Gharabagh which , in its globality was one of destruction of Armenian interests and a continuation of chasing native Armenians out of their territory .

Although population growth rate has been minimal , and in recent years the working class has diminished greatly in size , all work opportunities are not fully utilized . The population of Mountainous Gharabagh has always had a high level of education . Locally born , highly qualified specialists have always contributed greatly to the social and economic aspects of the region . However , such opportunities have always been limited for them . Despite its being an agricultural region , job opportunities in these areas too have decreased immensely.

Finding jobs for the new generation is a serious problem, not only in the leading production areas, but also in agriculture. The absolute majority of the youth, which leaves the region to get higher education do as not have the possibility of returning to it, because of the lack of specialized centers and institutions corresponding to educational fields. As a consequence, schools and pupils are also decreasing in number [11].

As mentioned above, the economy of Mountainous Gharabagh is agricultural in nature. Its industry consists basically of a few kinds of production plants established in the pre-revolutionary period. These include the production of silk and wrought silk, wine, cognac, shoe products, furniture, construction materials and lighting equipments. Practically, no additions have been made in the vital production areas. Progress between 1971-1980 in industrial sector was governed by the fact that the region had lower standards during previous years than other regions of the Azerbeidjani SSR. For example, during the 1950s the per capita income in Mountainous Gharabagh was one tenth the amount of the Azerbeidjani SSR in general. Moreover, this progress was the result of an increase in the specialized production facilities of agricultural raw materials; for example, cognac production increased 5.3 times, wine 2.3 times between 1970-1985, furniture 2.8 times. These increases do not always reflect factual progress because of price inflations. This latter situation captured attention due to an increasing dissatisfaction of the Mountainous Gharabagh population, expressed by massive protests to the concerned central committees. Oppression of the so called "exactingness" of the Armenian population reflected negatively - and very soon - on the regional progress. Thus, during the period 1981-1986, the increase of industrial production in Mountainous Gharabagh amounted to 129% which was inferior to that of the republic (136.3%) and the Azerbeidjanis populated state of Nakhitchevan in the Azerbeidjani SSR (203%) [12].

At present, volume of industrial output and per capita production is lower in Mountainous Gharabagh than in the rest of the Azerbeidjani SSR.

The per capita income of the region during the period 1981-1985 was two times lower than that of the Azerbeidjani SSR, and 2.7 times lower in 1986 [13]. During the last fifteen years no constructions and basic production facilities were planned for, and no capital inflow took place.

A budget of 147 million roubles was reserved for Mountainous Gharabagh for the period 1971-1986 to be spent on planned projects. Only 75% was utilized, with the major part going to the construction of the Sarsangsk water dam for the irrigation of planes in lower areas, the majority of which was found outside the region. The lack of raw materials and huge deficiencies in supplies resulted in delays in construction schedules and unfinished projects which, in turn, led to substantial losses in Mountainous Gharabagh popular economy. The region which is separated from Armenia by a very narrow strait of land, practically has neither economic nor cultural ties with it, although local Armenians want and demand it. Only 2% of the import-export transactions of Mountainous Gharabagh are with Armenia and Georgia [15]. This small region produced, between 1981-1985, on the average 145.7 thousand tons of grapes, 11 thousand tons of meat, 55 thousand tons of milk per year, which are superior to the Azerbeidjani SSR per thousand capita production.

Soviet government purchases from the region are quite high compared with those from Azerbeidjan and other agricultural regions. For example, per capita purchases from the region in 1986 were 4.6 times those from Nakhitchevan for cattle and poultry, 2.7 times for milk, more than 1.4 times for grains and 1.5 times for grapes [16]. The region, which comprises 4.4 thousand square kilometers, grows 100 thousand heads of cattle, more than 275 thousand sheep and goats and 95 thousand pigs (40% of total pigs in Azerbeidjan) [17]. The amount of animals per square kilometer is 1.2 times higher than the total of Azerbeidjan, and 1.7 times higher than the Autonomous region of Nakhitchevan [18].

The social situation is not much better. For example, the number of hospital beds per 10,000 persons surpasses the ratio in Armenia and in Azerbeidjan. This however, is the result of a huge population exodus from the region. Although the number of medical doctors doubled in the region during 1971-1986, yet their ratio per 10,000 is lower than that of Azerbeidjan (In 1970 there were 240 medical doctors in Mountainous Gharabagh). Hospital beds increased 18% [19]. Considering the number of medical doctors in all specializations and the number of hospital beds, both per 10,000 persons, the ratios were 1.2 times and 1.7 times respectively lower than Azerbeidjan [20]. At present, there are 28.7 medical doctors per 10,000 person in

Mountainous Gharabagh , whereas in Azerbeidjan there are 38.4 [21] .

Although the volume of governmental and cooperative construction projects is sensibly decreasing , yet projects that have been approved are not carried out .

During the last two decades (1966-1986) , 55.3% of the housing constructions were carried out by the private sector , while in Azerbeidjan it was only 41.6% . The high level of per-capita living space in the region is due to the massive outflow of the population , especially the youth . There are many typical Armenian style , beautiful houses in numerous villages of the region , that have been converted to residences for the senior citizens , and to vacant houses for "summer residences" .

The communication system is lamentable . In many villages the possibility of finding jobs in the public sector is extremely limited (especially for elderly people) , and the only way to find work is mostly in the small private sector . The inexistence of proper roads and the difficulty of reaching markets is pushing the population out of villages . Until recently , there were no railroads connecting Mountainous Gharabagh to other regions , and the newly constructed railroad (18 Kms) to Sdepanagerd , by no means solves the problem of communication . There are no asphalt paved , direct roads connecting Mountainous Gharabagh to regional centers and nearby Armenia .

The March 24 , 1988 session of the Council of Ministers of the USSR and the Central Committee of the CPSU , was devoted to the solution of the socio-economic problems of Mountainous Gharabagh , and decisions "concerning the 1988-1995 socio- economic progress of the Autonomous Region of Mountainous Gharabagh in the Azerbeidjani SSR" .

This decision is the living proof of the effort exerted by the party and the government for the progress of Mountainous Gharabagh . The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the USSR and the Council of Ministers of the USSR instructed the union's concerned organizations to prepare , between 1988-1989 , a global plan extending till the year 2005 for the socio-economic development of Mountainous Gharabagh . This represents a major step leading to the correction of errors committed in the areas of economy and social structure , and to the progress of the region's production and manufacturing facilities .

The Armenians of Mountainous Gharabagh suffer not only from

iniquities committed for decades in social and economic aspects and a threatening outflow of the population , but also from continuous harassment and the undermining of their national dignity .

It is obvious that appropriate attention must be devoted to Mountainous Gharabagh which was a region rich with Armenian culture , traditions and history . The city of Shoushi was considered at the end of the previous century the third largest in Transcaucasia after Baku and Tbilisi . Till the beginning of the revolution in 1916 , it had a population of 41.1 thousand , the majority of which were Armenians . Twenty one newspapers and magazines were published there , 19 in Armenian and only 2 in Russian [22] . Today , although all these could not be compared with modern norms and standards of progress , yet they represent the true testimony of cultural wealth and national traditions . Armenian interests' in Mountainous Gharabagh witnessed constant malevolence . Armenian history was banned from national schools, literature was reduced to a bare minimum, educational activities were subjected to tight control and cultural ties of all sorts with Soviet Armenians were prohibited . These represent but a few of the atrocities endured by the Armenian population of Mountainous Gharabagh . Such hostilities certainly restrict the constitutional rights of autonomy . Similar conditions prevailed in the Armenian populated regions of Shahumian , Dashkesan , Khanlar , Shamkhor , Kedabeg , etc . For instance , legitimate constitutional demands of the population of the village of Chardakhlou in the region of Shamkhor , were denied outright [23] .

Similar negative attitudes contradict clearly Soviet fundamental norms , and disturb the proletarian brotherly relationships between the Armenian and Azerbeidjani peoples . The fact that Armenians of Mountainous Gharabagh might face the same faith as those in Nakhitchevan , creates great anxiety .

Between 1918-1920 , Armenians of Nakhitchevan as well as other regions of Azerbeidjan (Baku , Shoushi) , were massively slaughtered by Turkish tyrants and Mousavats (extreme right wing in Azerbeidjan) . In his article "Revolution and Counter Revolution" , sent to V.I. Lenin in 1906 [24] , V. Vorovsgy stated that: " . . . the Armenian working classes constitute the most conscious element of the Caucasian proletariat . They represent the best symbol of the Caucasian revolution To fight this revolutionary force , the nation farthest from Armenians in social structure and religious beliefs in Caucasia , namely the Tartars ,

gathered and organized themselves . They enjoyed the full freedom to massacre , loot and tyrannize the Armenians ." [25]

According to statistical information , the old Armenian region of Vakhitchevan counted 53.9 thousand Armenians (40% of the population) in 1917 . In 1926 there were 11,276 Armenians (5 times less) , and at present there are only around 1-2 thousand Armenians after the census of 1979 , there were 3.4 thousand Armenians representing 1.4% of the entire population) . From the 44 Armenian villages of the pre-revolutionary period , only 2 villages exist [26] .

The Central Committee of Azerbeidjan and Nakhitchevan , systematically forbade the Armenians , who had a narrow escape from the 1918-1921 massacres and had fled to Nakhitchevan , to return to their homeland . From 1922 to 1926 , the Armenians who had escaped from Nakhitchevan , presented many petitions to the governments of Azerbeidjan and Nakhitchevan to return to their lands that had been since neglected .

However , in his telegram dated June 24 , 1922 to the SSR of Armenia , the president of the Council of the Popular Committee of Azerbeidjan , Mousabegov , said that : "The Supreme Executive Committee of Azerbeidjan (SEC Azer.) prohibits the massive resettlement of Armenians within Azerbeidjani borders" [27] .

The decision of the governments of Nakhitchevan and Azerbeidjan remained unchanged despite the continuous petitions presented by the Armenian refugees of Nakhitchevan [28] , and the issue was finally closed in 1926 by the April 26 decision of the SEC of Nakhitchevan , and by the May 29 decision of the SEC of Azerbeidjan [29] . Needless to say , such decisions were unfounded and ridiculous . Numerous Armenian villages and properties in Nakhitchevan have been deserted and are in a devastated state at present .

The continuous outflow of Armenians exists even in contemporary Azerbeidjan . During the period lying between the 1970 and 1979 census , Azerbeidjan's total population increased 17.6% , while Azerbeidjanis alone increased 25% (932 thousand) . The number of Armenians decreased from 483.5 thousand to 475.5 thousand [30] . During this same period , 10,000 Armenians left Azerbeidjan annually . The demography of Armenians in the Azerbeidjani SSR changed essentially . They immigrated to Armenia and other republics of the Union . Armenians of northern Caucasia , middle Asia and other regions

came mainly from Mountainous Gharabagh , Girovabad , Shamkhor , Khanlar , Dashkesan , etc .

The number of other minorities have also decreased in Azerbeidjan . Thus , the 1970 and 1979 census indicates , that the Russian population of the republic decreased from 510 thousand to 475 thousand [31] . Other minorities in Daghsdan , such as the Taliches , the Tartars , The Persians , also diminished in number or completely disappeared . As another example , according to the 1926 census , 41.2 thousand Kurds lived in Azerbeidjan . At present the Kurdish national province does not exist and Kurds are not mentioned in official documents [32] . This shows clearly the discrimination of the Azerbeidjanis leadership against the minorities .

In Soviet Armenia , during the initial , most severe periods of Soviet rule, Armenians tried to repatriate not only their own refugees , but also thousands of Azerbeidjani , who had fled to Persia and Azerbeidjan during the reign of the "Armenian Confederative Revolutionary Party" (Tashnag , rightist government) . In a very short period of time , 80% of the refugees returned to their homeland - Armenia [33] . They were all given land , homes and facilities according to their professions in such a manner , that the per-capita land for an Azerbeidjani was higher than that for an Armenian [34] . The Azerbeidjani government, on the other hand , did its best to prevent Armenians who had fled Azerbeidjan to return to their homeland - Azerbeidjan . Thus , only 8.3% (12,330) returned [35] , while the rest settled with enormous difficulties in Soviet Armenia which was considered one of the most densely populated republics of the Union at the time .

The national policy of the SSR of Armenia is clearly evident in the fact that , under the most severe conditions of repatriation of Armenians from abroad and republics of the Union (1926-1979) , the Russians increased 3.6 times , the Kurds 3.4 times and the Azerbeidjanis 2.1 times [36] . This latter figure does not include Azerbeidjanis who settled in the enlarged , irrigated planes surrounding the rivers Kura and Arax , after a decision by the Union government in 1948-1952 to rehabilitate this above mentioned regions by Azerbeidjanis from the Armenian , Georgian and middle-Asian republics , in response to a request made by Azerbeidjan [37] . During this same period , from Soviet Armenia alone , 58.5 thousand Azerbeidjanis were repatriated to the above mentioned planes . However , the majority returned to Armenia [38] .

There are 2.3 thousand Azerbeidjanis in Armenia (1979 census) . They have 2 schools , a theatre , and a faculty in the K. Apovian Armenian Pedagogical Institute . In Baku , on the contrary , where there are 200 thousand Armenians , they closed down the Armenian theatre , pedagogical institute , the cultural centers , and of the 76 Armenian schools that existed during the Second World War , none exists today [39] .

Considering all that was mentioned above , Mountainous Gharabagh has obviously been neglected in both social and economic areas . The only way to solve all these disadvantageous problems , is to reunify Mountainous Gharabagh with the Armenian SSR .

NOTES OF CHAPTER 4

- 1- Autonomous Region of Mountainous Gharabagh: "50 Years in the Friendship of Soviet Family" . Stepanagerd , 1973 , p. 11 (in Russian) . - "The Transcaucasian Sov. Federal Socialist Rep. in Numbers" . Tbilisi , 1923 , p. 3 (in Russian) . - "The Structure and Quantity of the People of the U.S.S.R." Moscow , 1984 , p. 126 (in Russian) .
- 2- "50 Years . . ." , op. cit., p. 33 . - "The Structure . . ." op. cit., p. 126 .
- 3- "The Results of All-union Census in 1959" , Azerbeidjani S.S.R. , Moscow , 1963 , p. 140 (in Russian) . - "The Structure . . ." op. cit., p. 126 .
- 4- "50 Years . . ." op. cit., p. 33 . - "The Structure . . ." op. cit., p. 126 .
- 5- Ibid .
- 6- "The Transcaucasian Sov. Fed . . ." op. cit., pp. 4-5 . - "The Popular Economy of Azerbeidjani S.S.R. on the Eve of the Great Oct. Revolution" , Baku , 1987 , p. 3 , 270 .
- 7- "50 Years . . ." op. cit., p. 33 . - "The Structure . . ." op. cit., p. 126 .
- 8- Ibid., p. 14 .
- 9- "50 Years . . ." op. cit., p. 31 . - "Structure . . ." op. cit., p. 126 .
- 10- "50 Years . . ." op. cit., pp. 31-33 .
- 11- See "Soviet School" , 17/12/1987 .
- 12- "The Popular Economy . . ." op. cit., p. 11 , 258 , 271 , 272 , 279 .
- 13- Ibid ., p. 3 , 11 , 270 , 279 .
- 14- "Communist" , Baku , 11/3/1988 (in Russian) .
- 15- Ibid .
- 16- "The Popular Economy . . ." op. cit., pp. 285 , 273-277 .
- 17- Ibid ., pp. 3 , 98 , 257 , 262 , 270 , 275 .
- 18- Ibid ., the same pages .
- 19- Ibid ., p. 271 .
- 20- Ibid ., pp. 3 , 12 , 270 , 282 .

21- Ibid ., pp. 12, 282 .

22- "Caucasian Almanac" in 1917 , Tbilisi , 1916 , Department of Statistics , p. 193 (in Russian) . - Soviet Armenian Encyclopedia , vol. 4 , p. 579 .

23- "Isvestia" , 18/4/1987 (in Russian) . - "Selskaia Djizen" , 24/12/1987 (in Russian) .

24- V.I. Lenin. op. cit., vol. 11 , p. 577 .

25- V.V. Vorovsky . The Works . vol. 3 , Moscow , 1933 , pp. 106-107 .

26- "Caucasian Almanac", op. cit., pp. 215-221 . - "The Structure and ... " op. cit., p. 126 .

27- "Arm. S.S.R. National . . ." op. cit., Fund 130 , table 4 , booklet 8 , no: 13 .

28- Ibid ., Table 6 , booklet 197 .

29- Ibid ., booklet 73 . - "Bakinsky Rabotchy" , 6/5/1925 .

30- "The Results of All-union Census in 1970" , vol. 4 , Moscow , 1972 , p. 180 (in Russian) . - "The Structure . . ." op. cit., p. 126 .

31- Ibid .

32- "The Transcaucasian Soviet . . ." op. cit., pp. 6-7 . - "The Structure . . ." op. cit., p. 126 .

33- "Arm. S.S.R. National . . ." op. cit., Fund 130 , table 6 , booklet 19 , no: 36 .

34- Ibid . Fund 123 , table 16 , booklet 1095 , no: 5 . - "Selskaia Djizem" , 1927 , no: 10 , 11 .

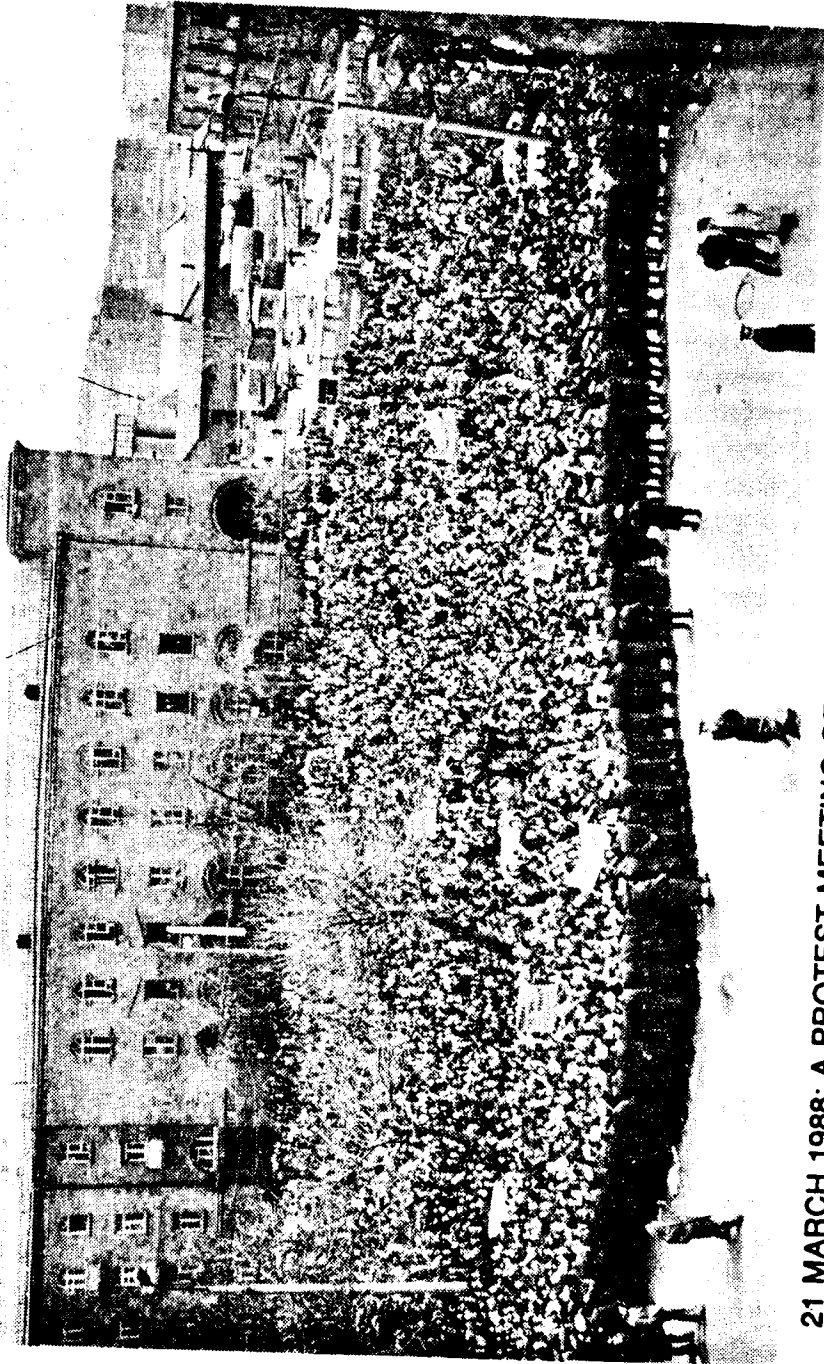
35- "Arm. S.S.R. National . . ." op. cit. Fund 130 , table 6 , booklet 19 , no: 40 , 48 .

36- "Soviet Armenia in Numbers . Statistical Report , 1923-1927" , Yerevan , 1928 , pp. 10-11 (in Russian) . - "The Structure . . ." op. cit., p. 134 .

37- "The Themes of the History of Azerbeidjani Economy in the 5th International Colloquium of the History of Economy" . Baku , 1970 , p. 19 (in Russian) .

38- Ibid .

39- "Avanguard" , Yerevan , 27/4/1988 , no: 52 .



21 MARCH 1988: A PROTEST-MEETING OF ARMENIANS AGAINST DESINFORMATION
CAMPAIGN OF SOVIET PRESS IN FRONT OF PRESS HOME IN YEREVAN

CHAPTER 5

EVENTS IN MOUNTAINOUS GHARABAGH AND ITS SURROUNDING REGIONS

The February-March 1988 events in Mountainous Gharabagh were no incidental, nor were they provoked by outside factors. The revolutionary restructure and democratization efforts permitted Mountainous Gharabagh to correct all the errors committed in determining the constitutional structure. Such a step is possible only when deviations from the Leninian national principles are cleared, and the rights of the Armenians in Mountainous Gharabagh for socio-economic and cultural progress are respected.

All enterprises, institutions, golkhoz and sovkhoz industrial groupings held continuous meetings during the year 1987, and unanimously decided to reattach Mountainous Gharabagh to the Armenian SSR. Their decisions were presented to the appropriate governmental bodies at the proper time.

In 1988, the councils of the members of parliament of Mountainous Gharabagh and its regions, decided to detach the region from the Azerbeidjani SSR and to reattach it to the Armenian SSR.

The February 20, 1988 extraordinary session of the council of the parliament for regional affairs held in Stepanagerd, adopted the following decision: "After examining the demands of the council for regional affairs of the parliament of Mountainous Gharabagh, to reattach the region to the Armenian SSR, and their request to interfere on their behalf with the Supreme Councils of the Azerbeidjani and Armenian Soviet republics, the extraordinary session decides the following: "In response to the desires of the working classes of Mountainous Gharabagh and its Armenian population, to request from the Supreme Councils of the Azerbeidjani and Armenian SSRs to look into the problem of detaching Mountainous Gharabagh from the Azerbeidjani SSR and reattaching it to the Armenian SSR. Moreover, to request from the Supreme Council of the USSR to find a positive solution to the detachment of Mountainous Gharabagh from the Azerbeidjani SSR and its reattachment to the Armenian SSR." [1] To support the decision of

the regional council , massive demonstrations began to take place in Stepanagerd .

After the requests of the extraordinary session of the councils of the parliament of Mountainous Gharabagh , working classes of Armenia , who had always supported their kinsfolk in their desires , did their moral duty by unanimously accepting the decision of the Armenians of Mountainous Gharabagh . Their support was expressed by demonstrations and meetings starting February 21 , 1988 . The number of people taking part in such meetings and demonstrations grew day by day , sometimes reaching a million or more , and all these took place with the Leninian spirit for social restructure and national policy . The demonstrators carried the flags of the USSR and Armenian SSR , pictures of V.I. Lenin and M.S. Gorbachov , screens with inscriptions like "Lenin-party-Gorbachov" , "In the name of Perestrojka , democratization and Glasnost" . Prominent representatives from the scientific and cultural fields, workers , students and members of different organizations delivered speeches during these demonstrations . To mention but a few , we had the speeches of the President of the Academy of Sciences of the Armenian SSR , the renounced astrophysicist , member of the Supreme Council of the USSR Victor Hampartsoumian , member of the Supreme Council of the Armenian SSR writer S. Khanzadian , the USSR popular actors S. Sarkissian and H. Chekijian , poets S. Gaboudigian , R. Tavoyan and others .

Representatives of minorities living in Soviet Armenia also took part, such as Russians, Ukrainians , Kurds , Assyrians and war veterans and workers . These people presented papers , letters , telegrams and decisions addressed to the Soviet government, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the USSR and secretary general M.S. Gorbachov in which they emphasized their unanimous support of the wishes of the Armenian population of Mountainous Gharabagh .

During the first three days of massive demonstrations , the central and local mass communication media ignored these events and the important decision taken by the extraordinary session of the council for regional affairs of Mountainous Gharabagh . Later, the "Time" television program described the constitutionally legitimate demands of the Armenians of Mountainous Gharabagh as "provoked by extremists and nationalists ."

Such a quick , unfounded and provocative evaluation resulted in

increasing the number of demonstrators . Moreover , it encouraged Azerbeidjani newspapers , such as "Bakinsku Rabotchi" , "Maladeoj Azerbeidjana" and "Azerbeidjan" to declare war against "these rascals" , "extremists" , "nationalists" , "provocative groups" who dared create the problem of Mountainous Gharabagh . In the days which followed , the mass communication , central and republican media did not tackle the reasons underlying this movement , nor did they present different versions for a solution , but emphasized the necessity to preach internationalism and friendship between nations . Needless to say , demonstrators both in Armenia and Mountainous Gharabagh and supporters in other republics , never opposed the ideas of internationalism and friendship between nations . During these demonstrations in Armenia , not even once , hostile meetings were held against Azerbeidjan , nor any incidents took place that could hurt the friendship of nations .

The meeting accorded to the representatives of the Armenian Republic, by secretary general of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee M.S. Gorbachov and secretary of the SCPCC A.N. Yakovlev, induced great pleasure to the Armenians . The meeting was narrated on TV by poetess Sylva Gaboudikian .

On February 26 , the secretary of the SCPCC V.I. Dolgikh , who was in Yerevan , appeared on Armenian television and read general secretary Gorbachov's appeal to the populations and workers of Armenia and Azerbeidjan .

The appeal emphasized that incidents in Mountainous Gharabagh and its surroundings caused anxiety and that "many defects and difficulties were accumulated there" . M.S. Gorbachov mentioned that, "we are not against an open examination of different ideas and proposals , but these should be done according to democratic processes , constitutional requirements , with calm spirits , without hurting our peoples' union ." He called upon the workers of both republics "to demonstrate political sagacity and patience , to return to normal life and preserve public order" [2] . Gorbachov's appeal was simultaneously broadcast in the Azerbeidjani SSR . On the same day , the Armenian Communist Party meeting decided to ask the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the USSR to create a special committee to examine the problem of Mountainous Gharabagh during the next (19th) session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the USSR , which

was to deal with interrelationships among nations . [3]

General secretary Gorbachov's appeal was accepted with great understanding and hope . On February 27 , the proponents of demonstrations that took place in Yerevan decided to end them , return to their jobs and work tenfold to regain what was lost . These were carried out with great enthusiasm and this decision was conveyed to general secretary Gorbachov by a telegram .

The population of the Armenian SSR hoped that the problem of Mountainous Gharabagh would be thoroughly examined by the party of the country and the members of the Supreme Soviet . This hope was realized after the Central Committee of the Communist Party Political Bureau instructed the secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the USSR to look into the problems of Mountainous Gharabagh .

The events took a different turn in the Azerbeidjani SSR . Fanatics , who were given full liberty to act in Soumgait between February 27-29 , organized a genocide under the slogan "Death to Armenians" , killing , raping , looting and massacring people . More than 400 innocent people were killed or declared missing , and more than 1000 persons were wounded , mutilated and disfigured . 3000 persons fled to Armenia from Soumgait , and their testimony reminds us of the first genocide of the twentieth century by the Turks , who in 1915 atrociously exterminated more than 1.5 million innocent Armenians . These massacres and atrocities were unanimously condemned by the population of Armenia , the Supreme Council of Armenian SSR and Armenians all over the world .

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbeidjan and the mass media presented the barbarism in the socialist republic as acts of disorderly hooliganism , without giving them a true political evaluation and review . The short and poor information given in the press testify that the acts in Soumgait were committed after the appeal of secretary general Gorbachov (Feb. 26) , and they had as an aim to shake Soviet authority , destroy Perestroyka , and complicate the problem of Mountainous Gharabagh . The "Isvestia" daily newspaper wrote that "we should accept the unbelievable , painful and brutal fact that people were killed and morally destroyed for the simple reason that they were Armenians ." [4] It is worth mentioning the delay of the interference of the army stationed near Baku , giving the killers more time to execute

their plan . This point too was ignored by the press and the information media . After the bloody events of Soumgait , the Supreme Councils of republics of the Union held meetings where they expressed their concern about the turn of events in the region , which were "in contradiction with the principles of our country to have and strengthen friendship , brotherhood and positive interrelationships among people," [5] and came up with several decisions .

Certain mass media information systems , especially in the Azerbeidjani SSR , strove to equate between the Soumgait massacres and events in Mountainous Gharabagh and Soviet Armenia .

The situation in Armenia was extremely tight because of the atrocious massacres in Soumgait , and in the absence of official informations , different interpretations and evaluations of news were in circulation with mounting tension and rage . In spite of that , not a single hostile behavior or physical and verbal brutality was permitted towards the 160 thousand Azerbeidjanis living in Soviet Armenia . In these difficult conditions , Armenians demonstrated extreme sanity and control , and their legitimate rage did not obscure their consciousness .

To express their mourning and accumulated pain for the innocent victims in Mountainous Gharabagh and other regions of Azerbeidjani SSR , a protesting march was organized by tens of thousands of mourning people on March 8 , 1988 towards the 1915 Genocide memorial monument in Dzidsernagapert . The judicious control of the Armenians was further demonstrated by cancelling the demonstrations intended for March 26 , 1988 .

After the bloody events of Soumgait , the mass media abroad , especially foreign radio stations broadcasting about the USSR , began to devote great attention to the situation in Mountainous Gharabagh , often exploiting these events to indulge in anti- Soviet propaganda . It is too naive to believe that our ideological adversaries would give up the opportunity to use events of Mountainous Gharabagh to complicate the situation , and present Soumgait massacres as an organized genocide of the Armenians . It is also naive and incorrect to believe that events in Mountainous Gharabagh were provoked and manipulated by western intelligence organizations . This latter idea was primarily presented by the Azerbeidjani media which , irrationally and without evidence , tried to associate events of Mountainous Gharabagh with "foreign provocation" [6]

It was natural that Armenians abroad would not remain indifferent to these events . Demonstrations took place in Paris , New York , Montreal, Toronto , Washington, Los Angeles, Sidney, Beirut , Bouenos Aires , Milano , Bonn , etc., guided by slogans such as "we believe in Perestroyka", "we believe in Gorbachov" , and expressing their faith in the restructure and democratization policies of the Soviet Union . According to the media abroad , embassies and representatives of the USSR in Montreal, Washington , Paris , Athens , San Fransisco , Bonn and other cities received delegations of Armenians living in these countries , who presented petitions to the Soviet government and M.S. Gorbachov to reattach Mountainous Gharabagh to Soviet Armenia . The Armenian press abroad wrote about the events in Mountainous Gharabagh in a very unbiased manner mentioning that "it is time to correct the errors of Stalin . To uphold the legitimate , rightful demands of Armenians , based on Leninian principles , consolidate the Gorbachovian principles of democratization and restructuring" [7] . "Demonstrations are not against Gorbachov , who introduced the principles of democratization and preservation of human rights among the Soviet people ." [8] "We have faith that Gorbachov's policy of democratization and restructuring will help give us our rightful demands ." [9]

Analyses made abroad by Armenian leaders , meetings and the media to help realize the demands of the Armenians of Mountainous Gharabagh , took into consideration the Soviet-American bilateral negotiations and the efforts made to decrease international tension . They also pointed out that the majority of Armenians abroad had a favorable attitude towards the Soviet Union .

The real roots and reasons of the events are found in Mountainous Gharabagh itself . They lie in the negligence of the Leninian principles of national policy , in the oppression of the Armenians and their rights , which prevailed eversince the region came under Azerbeidjani rule and was disregarded and left in isolation , till democratization and restructuring in the Gorbachovian era . The intolerable situation in Mountainous Gharabagh is clearly evident in the numerous , unanimous and obstinate attempts of the Armenians to change the constitutional structure of their region . A further evidence is the February 1988 meetings' demand which was approved by the regional council and the March 17, 1988 session of the regional committee of the Communist

Party of Mountainous Gharabagh , where they declared: "Expressing the wishes of the Armenians in the autonomous region , the majority of the communists in Mountainous Gharapagh asks the political bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the USSR to examine the problem of the Autonomous Region of Mountainous Gharabagh and reattach it to Soviet Armenia , thus correcting the historical error which was committed in the 1920s concerning the belonging of Mountainous Gharabagh ." [10]

The demonstrations which took place in Armenia in support of the population of Mountainous Gharabagh were also an expression of the suppressed will of the working classes for decades . The deep faith of the demonstrators in the party and its policy urged them to parallel the interests of the people with those of the country , to appreciate the spirit of Gorbachov's appeal , and return to their jobs and education .

If a correct evaluation is to be made concerning the events in Mountainous Gharabagh and its surroundings , it should be based on what came in the press conference that M.S. Gorbachov held during his official visit to southern Yugoslavia , where he said: "Nobody raised the issue of detachment from Soviet rule , the Soviet Union or socialism . No ! Both the party and the Leninian principles of national interrelationships are recognized and respected . The essence of the events is that there are cultural and ethnic issues that were lately neglected , and many problems are accumulated ." [11]

It is essential to mention that even after such a positive evaluation of the events of Mountainous Gharabagh , certain sectors of the Azerbeidjani mass media continued to approach the matter in a biased manner which was contrary to what Gorbachov said . The false information was partly corrected by the writer and orator , the president of the Soviet committee for peace , K. Borovigi , who discussed the events in Mountainous Gharabagh in a televised meeting called "position taking" .

Time will prove the unfoundedness of the stubbornly insistence that "hooligans" and "nationalists" were included in the movement of hundreds of thousands of workers of Armenia and Mountainous Gharabagh . Such insistence is simply the continuing efforts of those who "want to destroy national interrelationships" [12] and distort justice by force .

So , the events in Mountainous Gharabagh are in no way anti-socialist

and anti-soviet and do not hinder the program of the revolutionary restructure and democratization efforts ; on the contrary , the political freedom which was the result of democratization and restructuring clearly allowed the free expression of the wishes of the population of Mountainous Gharabagh .

It was with the best interest of Mountainous Gharabagh in mind that the June 15, 1988 meeting of the Supreme Council of Armenian SSR decided to reattach Mountainous Gharabagh to Soviet Armenia . The republic's Supreme Court appealed to the Supreme Council of the USSR to examine the appeal and find a positive solution to the problem.

[13]

To conclude , it is very clear from the analysis of the events in Mountainous Gharabagh and its surrounding regions that its constitutional problem is a primary one in the area of national interrelationships , and should be solved in light of restructure and democratization spirit , based on the Leninian principles of national policy of the Communist Party of the USSR . The sooner this problem is resolved , the quicker will the reestablishment of friendly relations between the Armenian and Azerbeidjani peoples be achieved .

NOTES OF CHAPTER 5

- 1- "Soviet Gharabagh" daily newspaper , 21/2/1988 .
- 2- "Communist" newspaper , Yerevan , 27/2/1988 .
- 3- Ibid., 28/2/1988 .
- 4- "Isvestia" , 14/3/1988 .
- 5- "Pravda" , 23/3/1988 .
- 6- "Bakinsky Rabotchy" , 8/3/1988 .
- 7- "Nor Or" (Armenian newspaper) , U.S.A. , 11/3/1988 .
- 8- "California Courier" , U.S.A. , 3/3/1988 .
- 9- "Massis" , U.S.A. , 9/3/1988 .
- 10- "Soviet Gharabagh" , 18/3/1988 .
- 11- "Pravda" , 17/3/1988 .
- 12- "Isvestia" , 15/4/1988 .
- 13- "Communist" , Yerevan , 16/6/1988 .

DOCUMENTS

DOCUMENT 1

APPEAL TO THE PEOPLES AND WORKERS OF ARMENIA AND AZERBEIDJAN

Dear Friends ,

I appeal to you concerning the events in Mountainous Gharabagh and the surrounding regions . The issue has been raised to detach this autonomous region from Azerbeidjani SSR and reattach it to the Armenian SSR . The problem has become very acute and dramatic and has given way to tensions and unconstitutional incidents .

Frankly I say , the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is displeased with such a turn of events that might have serious consequences .

We are not against an open examination of different ideas and proposals , but these should be done according to democratic processes , constitutional requirements and in a calm spirit , without hurting our peoples' union . It is impossible to subject matters pertaining to the faith of a nation to emotional and superficial treatment .

It is of the utmost importance to treat internal problems not only in terms of local interests , but also taking into consideration the rejuvenation of the revolutionary process in the country .

Yes , there are unsolved problems in our life , however , dissensions and provocation of distrust among peoples will only prevent their solution and contravene our socialist principles ; morality , traditional friendship and brotherhood among Soviet peoples .

We live in a multinational country ; moreover , all republics , regions , also cities and towns are multinational .

The essence of Leninian policy is that each individual , each nation be able to progress freely , that each nation be self- sufficient in all political and public aspects such as language , culture , traditions and beliefs .

Socialist internationalism is our biggest source of power . Our aim is true

brotherhood and union among nations .

The words of the great Armenian poet Yeghishe Tcharents , in his poem dedicated to Soviet Azerbeidjan ring very true :

"In the name of our past sufferings ,

In the name of our life full of progress ,

In the name of our immortal treaty and peaceful life ,

To our brother nation greetings , greetings ."

The words of the Azerbeidjani great poet S. Vourghouny echo similar feelings: "We don't live as separate neighbours , but as peoples intermingled with each other . Our nations have exchanged daily bread and necessities since ancient times ."

No mother agrees that her children be subject to national disputes instead of friendship , equality , strong mutual ties , namely , the true achievements of socialism .

Many difficulties and mistakes are accumulated in the Autonomous Region of Mountainous Gharabagh . The new appointed leadership of the region should resort to fast means to rectify the situation . The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has adopted clear measures and follows their application on a day-to-day basis .

Most urgent is to concentrate on the control of the existing situation namely , the solution of accumulated economic , social and other problems in Armenia and Azerbeidjan in the spirit of restructure and democratization that is being introduced in our country .

It is important to appreciate and strengthen the traditional friendship between the Armenian and Azerbeidjani peoples acquired during the time of Soviet rule . Only such an approach corresponds to the preservation of the rights of all peoples in the USSR .

You know we intend to consecrate a special plenum of our party's Central Committee for the study of interrelations among nations and the examination of issues social, economic , cultural , etc . in nature . These problems should be solved in the light of the Leninian principles of national policy .

We are all Soviet citizens , we have our general history , our victories , we have behind us big achievements , sorrows and losses . We are engaged in the great task of restructure on which depends the faith of every individual , our country and socialism .

I appeal to you , comrades , to your integrity , sense of responsibility , and consciousness . In this hour of crisis , let us defend our Soviet internationalism , in the firm belief that only in the solidarity of our nation can

we guarantee the progress of our peoples and the prosperity of all individuals .

I implore you to demonstrate political maturity and patience , to return to normal life and preserve public order .

It is time for judicious and strict decisions .

M. GORBATCHOV

("Soviet Armenia" , February 27 , 1988)

DOCUMENT 2

THE MARCH 24 , 1988 DECISION OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE USSR AND THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS OF THE USSR CONCERNING THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC MEASURES TO BE ADOPTED DURING 1988-1995 FOR THE PROGRESS OF THE AUTONOMOUS REGION OF MOUNTAINOUS GHARABAGH IN THE AZERBEIDJANI SSR .

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the USSR and the Council of Ministers of the USSR point out that with the brotherly help of all the peoples of the Soviet Union , the Autonomous Region of Mountainous Gharabagh has accomplished many achievements in social and economic progress , and has secured a strong technological basis for the public economy . During the last 15 years alone the volume of the industrial production of the region has increased more than 3 times , and agricultural production 1.5 times . The contribution of the region to the whole republic and nations has factually increased and the speed of project completion has risen . Conditions of the population have improved in terms of dwelling area , hospitals , libraries and clubs .

Despite these facts , the last years are considered times of decreasing industrial production . Existing plans for dwelling constructions are not executed . Socio-cultural progress has fallen short of peoples' increasing demands . There has been a lack of discipline in many work committees and a decreasing responsibility to carry out production plans and administer supply obligations . The instability in work performance has affected negatively the national economy of the region .

These deficiencies are the result of a weakening in the organizational and leadership role of the party and Soviet government , a slowdown of radical economic reforms , and a lower standard in party politics for the populated

regions despite conditions of increasing democratization and restructure .

To guarantee the future social and economic progress of the Autonomous Region of Mountainous Gharabagh , and to correct the above mentioned deficiencies , the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the USSR and the Council of Ministers of the USSR have decided the following:

1) To the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbeidjan , the Council of Ministers of the Azerbeidjani SSR , Azerbeidjani Communist Party Regional Committee for Mountainous Gharabagh , the executive committee of the parliament of the Autonomous Region of Mountainous Gharabagh , Soviet and regional parties and other minor party organizations - multiply political and organizational efforts to strengthen the working classes in accordance with the June 1987 and February 1988 Session decisions of the 27th General Assembly of the Communist Party of the USSR ; also to draw the guidelines for the party's restructuring policy , the technological progress , the socio-economic achievements and production increases .

To consider of prime importance the task of educating the working classes and the entire population in term of internationalization , brotherhood , friendship and mutual assistance . Categorically forbid offensive behavior towards other nations and the least expression of nationalistic feelings .

To devote continuous attention and effort to strengthen the economic and social structure of the Autonomous Region of Mountainous Gharabagh within the general governmental program of the USSR - including the national committee for science and technology and the Academy of Sciences - to prepare during 1988-1989 a detailed program extending till the year 2005 for the social and economic development of the region and the increase in productivity and resources .

Starting with the year 1989 , to implement the plan intended for the quick progress within the social structure , such that during the 13th five-year plan , the level of rising construction areas will be 1.4 times , so that by the year 2000 each family will have a separate apartment or a personal dwelling unit . To secure a uniform educational system in the public schools by the year 1995 , and for this purpose to build 9-10 new , modern schools .

During 1989-1990 and the 13th five-year plan , to project the construction of a cultural centre (in the city of Sdepanagerd) with a capacity of 850 persons , a 400-bed regional hospital , a dispensary with a turnover capacity of 600 persons , a student club , a public hospital , as well as dwelling houses and other constructions for social activities as mentioned in supplement

2) In the year 1988 , to prepare a complex and constructive plan for the ministry of press and communication medias , and the national committee for radio and television broadcasting of the USSR , and implement this plan during 1988-1989 , so that the Autonomous Region of Mountainous Gharabagh and neighbouring areas can receive clear broadcasts of union programs as well as Armenian and Azerbeidjani programs of the area . Parallel to the above mentioned , improve the local radio and television broadcasting programs .

3) Taking into consideration the wishes of the Armenians living in the Azerbeidjani SSR , instruct the ministry of culture of the USSR and the council of ministers of the Azerbeidjani SSR to:

- examine the possibility of constructing an Armenian theater for dramatic arts in the city of Baku .

- plan for a convention for the renovation and reconstruction of historical and cultural monuments in the Autonomous Region of Mountainous Gharabagh , with the intentions of engaging Armenian archeologists and specialists for this purpose .

4) To reconstruct during the 12th five-year plan the publishing , printing and distribution premises of the national committees of the USSR , as well as the printing houses of the city of Sdepanagerd and all the regional centers of the Autonomous Region of Mountainous Gharabagh , to develop the printing and distribution of Armenian literature in response to the demands of the Armenian population of the region .

5) Instruct the ministry of civil aviation of the USSR , to examine in 1989 , the reconstruction of the airport of the city of Sdepanagerd and the possibility of equipping the control tower with the most developed and modern devices to enable it to receive huge jets and carriers , and include essential suggestions before the 13th five-year plan is finalized .

6) To improve water distribution to the population of the Autonomous Region of Mountainous Gharabagh , and increase the irrigated , agricultural areas , to instruct the ministry of agriculture and water distribution of the USSR to:

- develop a plan during 1988-1990 for the construction of a 30-million cubic meter dam on the river Badaratchai and implement its first phase in 1993 and the rest during the 13th five-year plan .

- to develop a plan for the construction of a 20 million cubic meter dam on the river Gargatchai and examine implementation possibilities during the 13th and 14th five-year plans .

- to allocate for 1988-1990 , the sum of 12 million rubles for the pre-planning and pre-calculation phases of the above mentioned Badaratchai and

Gargatchai dam projects and secure the necessary funds .

- to secure and supply the necessary funds and technology to complete the works of the water and sewage systems of the Autonomous Region of Mountainous Gharabagh , and for the furnishing of all towns and villages with central water distribution systems .

instruct the Council of Ministers of the Azerbeidjani SSR to accomplish water distribution to the city of Sdepanagerd and its regional centers , during the 12th five-year plan .

7) To improve food provisions for the population , and to cultivate and secure the supply of agricultural rare materials , instruct the Ministry of Agriculture of the USSR and the Council of Ministers of the Azerbeidjani SSR , to construct during the period 1988-1994 the necessary factories for the processing of agricultural products in the Autonomous Region of Mountainous Gharabagh .

8) Instruct the Ministry of Agriculture to prepare in 1989 the necessary plans for the construction of a plant in the town of Askeran for processing grains with a capacity of 250 tons per day , and the execution of the plan during 1990-1991 .

9) For the future improvement of the transportation system of the Autonomous Region of Mountainous Gharabagh , instruct the Council of Ministers of the Azerbeidjani SSR to plan and implement in 1989 , a network for public and industrial transportation systems , such that the volume of road construction will increase by 1.5-2 times . In 1988-1990 to reconstruct the Koris-Latchin-Sdepanagerd highway (75 kms. long) .

10) Instruct the Ministry of Energy and Electricity of the USSR to supply the production and distribution of the necessary energy and electric power to all the vital institutions of the Autonomous Region of Mountainous Gharabagh , and appropriate the required machinery and equipment to the concerned planning units .

11) Instruct the Ministry of Energy of the USSR to plan , in 1989 , a division of the "Azertransgas" gas pipeline to reach the town of Hatrout (through the Fizouli-Djebrayil secondary pipeline) .

In 1989 , prepare a plan for the construction of Mir-Bashir-Mardagerd-Kelbadjar gas pipeline and implement it during 1990-1991 .

Instruct the Ministry of Energy and Agriculture of the USSR to include in 1989-1990 and the 13th five-year plan of the USSR , the construction of a 550 kms gas pipeline with its distribution system , in the Autonomous Region of Mountainous Gharabagh for the development of social and economic aspects

12) Instruct the Council of Ministers of the Azerbeidjani SSR to cooperat

with the concerned ministries of the USSR for the planning and implementation of means that will increase , by the end of the 13th five-year plan , the industrial production of the Autonomous Region of Mountainous Gharabagh 1.5-1.8 times , the volume of machine production 2.6 times , the volume of agricultural products 1.3-1.4 times , and the volume of consumer goods and construction materials significantly .

For these purposes determine the appropriate sources of capital and amount of funds , establish temporary monetary and technical bases for construction , repair and transportation , and equip them with the necessary machinery and equipment .

13) To initiate the population of the Autonomous Region of Mountainous Gharabagh to constructive occupations and develop their industrial productivity, to instruct the ministries of electrical , communication , light and forestry industries of the USSR to plan , implement , develop and construct relevant projects during 1988-1994 . To instruct the above mentioned ministries to channel the necessary means and funds , via deputies and Soviet officials of the region , to develop facilities for the improvement of standards of living and social structure . Instruct the ministries of light and forestry industries of the USSR to supply their counterparts in the Azerbeidjani SSR with necessary machinery and technology for the phase-by-phase implementation of planned projects in 1989-1990 .

14) To increase the volume of constructions in the Autonomous Region of Mountainous Gharabagh , instruct the Council of Ministers of the Azerbeidjani SSR to cooperate with the national committees of the USSR for planning and construction , to develop during the first half of 1988 a plan for the improvement of the construction industry and related materials , to be implemented during 1989-1995 considering an increase of 1.8-2 times in construction areas during the 13th five-year plan , with priorities given to concrete construction , commercial dwelling and construction material facilities.

Instruct the Ministry of Construction Industry of the USSR to supply the Ministry of Construction of the Azerbeidjani SSR in 1989-1990 with stone-yards , machinery and technology to furnish the plant for construction materials of the city of Sdepanagerd .

Instruct the ministries of road construction, construction , and consumer products , and the committee of national supplies of the USSR , to supply the Council of Ministers of the Azerbeidjani SSR with the necessary facilities for the construction and equipment during 1989-1992 of 4 brick plants each with an annual capacity of 5 million bricks .

Instruct the Ministry of National Construction of the USSR to help the Ministry of National Constructions of the Azerbeidjani SSR in 1989 , to establish a planning committee in the city of Sdepanagerd .

15) To begin implementation of all earlier mentioned instructions :

In 1988 increase the amount of funds appropriated for the Council of Ministers of the Azerbeidjani SSR by 12.4 million roubles with 3.9 million roubles for construction . The entire burden of such amounts shall fall on the National Reserve Funds of the Council of Ministers of the USSR .

Instruct the committee of National Industry and Supplies , and the Ministry of Agriculture and Water Supply of the USSR , to equip the Council of Ministers of the Azerbeidjani SSR with the necessary technology and know-how to satisfy population needs of the Autonomous Region of Mountainous Gharabagh in 1988 .

16) Instruct the committee of National Planning of the USSR , to provide the Council of Ministers of the Azerbeidjani SSR , with national funds necessary for the financing of project proposals planned for by the 13th five-year plan in addition to the funds required by the five-year plan of 1989-1990 .

17) Instruct the National Committee of Popular Education of the USSR , the Council of Ministers of the Azerbeidjani SSR , and the Council of Ministers of the Armenian SSR , to provide the Armenian schools of the Autonomous Region of Mountainous Gharabagh , as well as other Armenian schools in the Azerbeidjani SSR with organizational and pedagogical methods and implementation plans for the improvement of education .

18) Instruct the National Committee of Popular Education of the USSR to cooperate with the Council of Ministers of the Azerbeidjani SSR and the Council of Ministers of the Armenian SSR , to prepare in 1988 plans by education experts for the possibility of enrolling students from the Autonomous Region of Mountainous Gharabagh , in institutions for higher education in the Armenian SSR .

19) Instruct the National Committee of Popular Education of the USSR , and the Council of Ministers of the Azerbeidjani SSR , to better the standard of specialists in higher education and professionals , and in order to satisfy the needs of the Autonomous Region of Mountainous Gharabagh in similar areas , to hasten the equipping of the pedagogical institute of the city of Sdepanagerd with the most modern technological methods of education , experimental equipment and computerized systems .

20) To satisfy the demand of the Armenians living in the Autonomous Region of Mountainous Gharabagh to use the Armenian language alongside with

Azerbeidjani for names of commercial and other organizations and billboards , - instruct the Council of Ministers of the Azerbeidjani SSR to look into the matter and find a positive solution for it .

21) Instruct the Central Committee of the Azerbeidjani Communist Party , the Council of Ministers of the Azerbeidjani SSR , the regional committee for Mountainous Gharabagh of the Azerbeidjani Communist Party and the parliament of the Autonomous Region of Mountainous Gharabagh , to direct all political , economic , organizational and other units towards the implementation of all the above mentioned instructions , with priorities given to issues of economic and social nature , and take advantage of all facilities granted by parliament to local soviets , to organize the popular economy of the region .

- By all means , encourage the working class initiative and creativity , their deep urge for reconstruction , perfection in style , criticism and self-criticism in accordance with the call of the Communist Party of the USSR for democratization .

- To enlighten continuously and consistently the population of the region with all aspects of ongoing social and economic projects , analyze project proposals in depth , acquaint the people with the highest standards of productivity and modern technology , thus accomplishing the requirements of real restructure .

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the USSR and the Council of Ministers of the USSR believe firmly that communists of the Autonomous Region of Mountainous Gharabagh in the Azerbeidjani SSR , and all workers will exhibit political maturity , understanding and responsibility of contemporary issues , and will reflect collectivism and organization . It is the duty of all functioning committees to fortify Armeno- Azerbeidjani and other peoples' friendship , to strive to correct committed errors , and accomplish all unfinished projects of the 12th five-year plan and those of 1988 .

General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist
Party of the USSR

M.S. GORBATCHOV

President of the Council of Ministers of the USSR

N. RIJKOV

("Soviet Armenia" , March 29 , 1988)

DOCUMENT 3

DECLARATION OF THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE OF AZERBEIDJAN CONCERNING THE RECOGNITION OF MOUNTAINOUS GHARABAGH , ZANKEZOUR AND NAKHITCHEVAN AS AN 'INDIVISIBLE PART OF THE ARMENIAN SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC .

November 30 , 1920

To all , to all , to all !

Convey to the Armenian population , the November 30 decision of the Revolutionary Committee of Azerbeidjan in the name of the Azerbeidjani SSR.

"Being informed that the revolted working classes have declared Armenia a Soviet Socialist Republic , the proletarian government of Azerbeidjan hails the victory of the brother-population . From this day on , former borders between Armenia and Azerbeidjan are considered cancelled . Mountainous Gharabagh , Zankezour and Nakhitchevan are considered indivisible parts of the Armenian SSR .

Long live the brotherhood and union of the proletariats of Soviet Armenia and Azerbeidjan .

President of the Revolutionary Committee of Azerbeidjan

N. NARIMANOV

Popular Commissar for Foreign Affairs

HOUSEYNOV

("Communist" , Yerevan , 7 December , 1920)

DOCUMENT 4

LETTER OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE ARMENIAN REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE , S. GASSIAN , TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE AZERBEIDJANI REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE , N. NARIMANOV

January , 1921

It was with great pleasure that the Revolutionary Committee of the Armenian SSR accepted the November 30, 1920 decision of the government of the Azerbeidjani SSR , concerning Mountainous Gharabagh , Zankezour and Nakhitchevan .

This decision is an unprecedented example of mutual interrelationship among neighbouring countries , where the proletariat factually rules , based on constructive socialist ideas and not on expansive tendencies with regard to neighbouring countries and their enslavement and subjugation . Soviet nations quickly and easily solve problems that have so far seemed difficult and unsolvable .

The unselfish decision of Soviet Azerbeidjan gave Soviet Armenia the confidence to stretch a friendly hand to its neighbour of many centuries . After Soviet socialism was declared in the two countries based on proletarian rule , there was no more the need for capitalistic and nationalistic sentiments , and the fear of armed threat among the proletariat of neighbouring countries . The fair solution of this problem by the Azerbeidjani government forms a firm basis for the economic and political cooperation of the two republics , whereas the existence of the grievance was used as a tool for the mutual destruction and suppression of the two populations by the dictatorial Armenian Federative Revolutionary Party (Armenian rightist party) and the Mousavats .

There will be no more dictatorial and savage pressure exerted by non-socialist and foreign countries neighbouring Soviet Armenia . All citizens will enjoy all benefits of Soviet rule .

Long live the brotherhood between the republics of Soviet Armenia and Azerbeidjan .

Long live our great ally , the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic (RSFSR) .

Long live the revolution of international proletariat and its struggling core , the communist internationalist .

President of the Revolutionary Committee of Armenia

S. GASSIAN

(National Archives of the Armenian SSR , October Revolution of Soviet Union , fund 40113 , no: 13) .

DOCUMENT 5

DECREE OF THE COUNCIL OF POPULAR COMMISSARS OF ARMENIA CONCERNING THE REUNIFICATION OF MOUNTAINOUS GHARABAGH WITH ARMENIA

June 12, 1921

On the basis of the declaration of the Revolutionary Committee of

Ազրբեյջանի Սոցիալիստական
Խորհրդային Հանրապետության Սեյմի
կողմից գերազանցաբար և հաջողաբար
ու՛րա Ազրբեյջանի Սոցիալիստական
Խորհրդային Հանրապետության Իրենիերի
հասարակարգի Իրենիերի մէջ եղած
համաձայնութեան հիման վրայ յայ-
տարրուում է որ Լեռնային Ղարա-
բաղը այժմանից կազմում է Հա-
յաստանի Սոցիալիստական Խորհրդա-
յին Հանրապետության մեջ մտնող

Վանք:
Հայաստանի Սոցիալիստական Խորհրդային
Հանրապետության Ժողովուրդների Սեյմի
նախագահ Ա. ՄԱՍՆԻՅԱՆ (Ա. Մասնիկ)

Կառավար Մ. ՉԱՄԱԴՆԻՍՆ
1988 թ. Փետրվար 21
ՓԵՆՆՈՑ

На основании декларации Рев-
кома Социалистической Совет-
ской Республики Азербайджан
и соглашения между Правитель-
ством Советских Социалисти-
ческих Республик Армения и
Азербайджан объявляется, что
Нагорный Карабах отныне яв-
ляется неотъемлемой частью Со-
циалистической Советской Рос-
сии Республики Армения.

Председатель Совета Народных
Комиссаров С. С. Р. Армения
А. МАСНЯКОВ (А. МАРДУНИ)
Секретарь М. ГХАРАПЕГИАН

12 июня 1921 г.
Эривань.

Հայաստանի Սոցիալիստական
Խորհրդային Հանրապետության
Սեյմի կողմից գերազանցաբար
ու՛րա Ազրբեյջանի Սոցիալիստական
Խորհրդային Հանրապետության
Իրենիերի հասարակարգի Իրենիերի
մէջ եղած համաձայնութեան
հիման վրայ յայտարրուում է
որ Լեռնային Ղարաբաղը
այժմանից կազմում է Հայաստանի
Սոցիալիստական Խորհրդային
Հանրապետության մեջ մտնող
կողմից
Հայաստանի Սոցիալիստական
Խորհրդային Հանրապետության
Սեյմի նախագահ Ա. ՄԱՍՆԻՅԱՆ
(Ա. Մասնիկ)
Կառավար Մ. ՉԱՄԱԴՆԻՍՆ
1988 թ. Փետրվար 21
ՓԵՆՆՈՑ

THE CONTENTS OF DOCUMENT 5 ISSUED DURING THAT PERIOD IN (from left to right)
ARMENIAN , RUSSIAN AND AZERBEIDJANI LANGUAGES

Azerbaijani SSR and the treaty signed by the Armenian and Azerbaijani SSRs, it is guaranteed that Mountainous Gharabagh is an indivisible part of the Armenian SSR from this date on .

President of the Council of Popular Commissars of the Armenian SSR
A. MIASNIGIAN (AL. MARDOUNI)
Secretary
M. GHARAPEGIAN

("Soviet Armenia" , Yerevan , June 19 , 1921)

DOCUMENT 6

DECISION OF THE 20TH EXTRAORDINARY SOVIET SESSION OF THE PARLIAMENT OF THE AUTONOMOUS REGION OF MOUNTAINOUS GHARABAGH , CONCERNING THE PRESENTATION TO THE ARMENIAN AND AZERBEIDJANI SUPREME SOVIETS OF THE DEMAND TO TRANSFER THE AUTONOMOUS REGION OF MOUNTAINOUS GHARABAGH FROM THE AZERBEIDJANI SSR TO THE ARMENIAN SSR .

February 20 , 1988

After acknowledging and analyzing the demand presented to the Armenian and Azerbaijani SSR Supreme Soviets by the session of the parliament of the Autonomous Region of Mountainous Gharabagh and the regional Soviet parliament concerning the transfer of the Autonomous Region of Mountainous Gharabagh from the Azerbaijani SSR to the Armenian SSR, the extraordinary session of the Mountainous Gharabagh regional Soviet parliament decides :

Expressing the wish of the proletariat of the Autonomous Region of Mountainous Gharabagh , request the Azerbaijani and Armenian Supreme Soviets to demonstrate understanding towards the demand of the Armenian population of Mountainous Gharabagh and solve the problem of transferring the Autonomous Region of Mountainous Gharabagh , from the Azerbaijani SSR to the Armenian SSR . At the same time , apply to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR for a positive solution of the problem of transferring the Autonomous Region of Mountainous Gharabagh from the Azerbaijani SSR to the Armenian SSR .

("Soviet Gharabagh" , daily newspaper , February 21 , 1988)

DOCUMENT 7

DECISION OF THE PLENUM OF THE REGIONAL COMMITTEE OF MOUNTAINOUS GHARABAGH OF THE AZERBEIDJANI COMMUNIST PARTY CONCERNING THE DEMAND OF THE PROLETARIAT AND COMMUNISTS OF THE REGION TO REATTACH THE AUTONOMOUS REGION OF MOUNTAINOUS GHARABAGH TO THE ARMENIAN SSR .

March 17 , 1988

The Plenum of the Regional Committee of Mountainous Gharabagh of the Azerbeidjani Communist Party decides :

Expressing the wish of the Armenian population of the region and the will of the absolute majority of the communists of Mountainous Gharabagh , request the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the USSR to examine and positively solve the problem of reattaching the Autonomous Region of Mountainous Gharabagh to the Armenian SSR , thus correcting the error committed during the 1920s in determining the territorial belongingness of Gharabagh .

("Soviet Gharabagh" , March 18 , 1988)

DOCUMENT 8

DECISION OF THE SUPREME SOVIET PRESIDENCY OF THE AZERBEIDJANI SSR CONCERNING THE APPEAL MADE BY THE PARLIAMENT OF THE AUTONOMOUS REGION OF MOUNTAINOUS GHARABAGH TO THE SOVIET PARLIAMENT TO TRANSFER THE REGION FROM THE AZERBEIDJANI SSR TO THE ARMENIAN SSR .

June 13 , 1988

The Presidency of the Supreme Soviet of the Azerbeidjani SSR states that in accordance with the constitutions of the USSR and the Azerbeidjani SSR the legal status of the Autonomous Region of Mountainous Gharabagh is determined by "the constitutional rights of the Autonomous Region of Mountainous Gharabagh , " accepted by the Supreme Soviet of the Azerbeidjani SSR as presented by the parliament to the Soviets of the region .

This constitutional right allows the satisfaction of all economic , social and spiritual needs and demands of nations and representatives of the Autonomous

Region of Mountainous Gharabagh . The situation in Mountainous Gharabagh and the serious problems of the working class indicate that until lately , the political leadership of the region has allowed many defects to occur and disregard of the national identity to take place .

The March 24 , 1988 decision of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and the Council of Ministers of the USSR concerning the "1988-1995 period measures undertaken to hasten the socio-economic development of the Autonomous Region of Mountainous Gharabagh" and the application of these measures by the Central Committee of the Azerbeidjani Communist Party and the Council of Ministers of the republic , are expected to create favorable conditions in developing the productivity and solving problems cultural , residential and social in nature .

After thoroughly examining the appeal made by the parliament of the Autonomous Region of Mountainous Gharabagh and the regional Soviets to transfer the Autonomous Region of Mountainous Gharabagh from the Azerbeidjani SSR to the Armenian SSR , the Presidency of the Supreme Soviet of the Azerbeidjani SSR finds it unacceptable , since its application jeopardizes the mutual benefits of the republic's Armenians and Azerbeidjanis alike and contradicts the efforts made to enhance restructure and strengthen friendship between nations .

The Supreme Soviet of Azerbeidjan asserts firmly that the Armenian and Azerbeidjani peoples are ready to strengthen and defend the brotherhood and friendship that exists between them in response to the appeal made by the Secretary General of the Communist Party Central Committee of the USSR , comrade M.S. Gorbachov . They are willing to contribute positively to the regeneration of socialist revolution .

President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Azerbeidjani SSR

S. TATLIEV

Secretary of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Azerbeidjani SSR

R. KAZIEVA

("Bakinski Rabotchi" , daily newspaper , June 14 , 1988)

DOCUMENT 9

**E DECISION OF THE SUPREME SOVIET OF THE ARMENIAN SSR ,
↓ RESPONSE TO THE FEBRUARY 20 , 1988 DECISION OF THE**

**EXTRAORDINARY SESSION OF THE REGIONAL SOVIETS OF THE
AUTONOMOUS REGION OF MOUNTAINOUS GHARABAGH
PARLIAMENT OF THE AZERBEIDJANI SSR CONCERNING "THE
PRESENTATION TO THE SUPREME SOVIETS OF ARMENIA AND
AZERBEIDJAN , THE ISSUE TO TRANSFER THE AUTONOMOUS
REGION OF MOUNTAINOUS GHARABAGH FROM THE
AZERBEIDJANI SSR TO THE ARMENIAN SSR".**

Yerevan , June 15 , 1988

The Supreme Soviet of the Armenian SSR points out that the issue of Mountainous Gharabagh , and many unsolved problems concerning relations between nations , are of central concern to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the USSR . This is manifested in the appeal - full of a spirit of socialist internationalism - of the General Secretary of the Communist Party Central Committee of the USSR , M.S. Gorbachov made to the Armenian and Azerbeidjani peoples . This appeal was gratefully welcomed by the working classes and the entire population of Soviet Armenia .

By a decision of the Politbureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the USSR the secretariat of the Central Committee is advised to organize an analysis of the problems accumulated in the Autonomous Region of Mountainous Gharabagh and means of developing interethnic relationships and present them to the Central Committee of the Communist Party and the Council of Ministers of the USSR for investigation .

Of vital importance is the decision of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and the Council of Ministers of the USSR pertaining to the measures to hasten the socio-economic development of the Autonomous Region of Mountainous Gharabagh .

The Armenian Supreme Soviet defends unanimously the thesis presented by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the USSR to the 19th all-union party meeting , according to which special attention should be devoted to the development of means for the political restructuring in the light of the entire future development program of the Union of Soviets . In addition , special attention should also be devoted to problems of interethnic relations, to development and progress of all peoples and nations .

The Supreme Soviet of the Armenian SSR decides :

1) That after thoroughly examining the February 28 , 1988 decision of the regional parliament of the Autonomous Region of Mountainous Gharabagh in the Azerbeidjani SSR , and considering the tense political situation in Mountainous Gharabagh and its surroundings , as well as the desire of the

Armenian population of the Autonomous Region of Mountainous Gharabagh and the Armenian SSR , to agree to transfer the Autonomous Region of Mountainous Gharabagh to the Armenian SSR , based on the 70th article of the Constitution of the USSR concerning the right of self-determination .

2) To request the Supreme Soviet of the USSR to examine and find a positive solution to the transfer of the Autonomous Region of Mountainous Gharabagh from the Azerbeidjani SSR to the Armenian SSR .

3) That the Supreme Soviet of the Armenian SSR places great faith in the Supreme Soviet of the Azerbeidjani SSR to prevent such a decision from destroying the friendly and neighbourly relationships between the two republics. A similar attitude is hoped for by the Azerbeidjani people .

President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Armenian SSR

H. VOSGANIAN

Secretary of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Armenian SSR

N. SDEPANIAN

("Soviet Armenia" , June 16 , 1988)

DOCUMENT 10

**DECISION OF THE SUPREME SOVIET OF THE ARMENIAN SSR TO
CONDEMN THE CRIMES COMMITTED IN THE AZERBEIDJANI SSR
CITY OF SOUMGAIT.**

Yerevan , June 15 , 1988

The Supreme Soviet of the Armenian SSR unanimously condemns the crimes committed against the Armenian population in the city of Soumgait , in February of 1988 .

The Supreme Soviet of the Armenian SSR presents its deepest condolences to the families and relatives of the victims , and its sympathy to the innocent sufferers .

President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Armenian SSR

H. VOSGANIAN

Secretary of the Pesidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Armenian SSR

N. SDEPANIAN

("Soviet Armenia" , June 16 , 1988)

SUPPLEMENTS

DOCUMENT 1

THE DECISION OF 21st JUNE 1988 , TWENTIETH EXTRAORDINARY SESSION OF THE SOVIETS OF THE AUTONOMOUS REGION OF MOUNTAINOUS GHARABAGH PARLIAMENT CONCERNING THE PREVAILING SITUATION IN THE REGION AND THE MEASURES UNDERTAKEN FOR STABILIZATION .

Sdepanagerd, June 21, 1988

The Soviets of the Autonomous Region of Mountainous Gharabagh parliament decided:

1) *In its 20th extraordinary session of February 20, 1988, the Soviets of the Autonomous Region of Mountainous Gharabagh parliament requested the Supreme Soviets of the Armenian , and Azerbeidjani SSRs , in accordance with the wishes of the working classes of the Autonomous Region of Mountainous Gharabagh , to exhibit understanding vis-a-vis the demands of the Armenian population of Mountainous Gharabagh and solve the problem of transferring the Autonomous Region of Mountainous Gharabagh from the Azerbeidjani SSR to the Armenian SSR . At the same time to request the Supreme Soviet of the USSR to positively resolve the transfer of the Autonomous Region of Mountainous Gharabagh from the Azerbeidjani SSR to the Armenian SSR .*

The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Azerbeidjani SSR in its session of June 13, 1988, and the Supreme Soviet of the Azerbeidjani SSR in its 7th meeting of the 11th session of June 17, 1988 found our proposal , after examining it, unacceptable .

A thorough and detailed examination of the decision of the supreme national authorities of the Azerbeidjani SSR leads to the conclusion that both the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Azerbeidjani SSR and the Supreme Soviet of the Azerbeidjani SSR have not understood correctly the meaning and content of the February 20, 1988 decision of the Parliament of the Autonomous Region of Mountainous Gharabagh. Their negative decision reminds us more of a hasty , evasive reply than a realistic step by a supreme authority of a soviet socialist republic . A rejection of the free

self-determination of nations , based on Leninian principles , contradicts the spirit of supreme authorities of soviet socialist republics .

2) *The Soviets of the Autonomous Region of Mountainous Gharabagh Parliament expresses its disagreement with the decisions of the June 13, 1988 session of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Azerbeidjani SSR , and the 7th meeting of the 11th session of June 17, 1988 of the Supreme Soviet of the Azerbeidjani SSR concerning "the request by the Soviets of the Autonomous Region of Mountainous Gharabagh Parliament to transfer the region from the Azerbeidjani SSR to the Armenian SSR ." Taking into consideration the tense situation in Mountainous Gharabagh , the wishes of the Armenian population of the region, and departing from the Leninian principles for free self-determination of nations incorporated in the national structure of all republics, the Soviets of the Autonomous Region of Mountainous Gharabagh Parliament find it of the utmost importance to request once again the Supreme Soviet of the USSR to examine very carefully the June 15, 1988 decision of the Supreme Soviet of the Armenian SSR , which agreed to accept the Autonomous Region of Mountainous Gharabagh into the Armenian SSR , and the decision of February 20, 1988 session of the Soviets of the parliament of the region concerning "the transfer of the Autonomous Region of Mountainous Gharabagh from the Azerbeidjani SSR to the Armenian SSR ," and find a positive solution to the problem.*

To diffuse the tense, complex situation in the region and go back to normal course of work , request the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR to detach, temporarily and as a sole alternative to our demand, the Autonomous Region from the Azerbeidjani SSR and place it under the disposition of the USSR as soon as possible and until a final positive solution is found for the problem .

3) *The Soviets of the Autonomous Region of Mountainous Gharabagh Parliament appeals to the Supreme Court of the USSR to explain the political and legal situation in the Azerbeidjani SSR city of Soumgait and the attempt of the Supreme Court of the Azerbeidjani SSR to distort the massive errors committed by the authorities representing the brigandism and massacres as acts of huligans . The Soviets of the region also emphasizes the fact that the malfesances committed by the people of Soumgait, which are absolutely in contradiction to socialist principles , have done tremendous damage to the political and moral existance of the Azerbeidjani and Armenian peoples and to their traditional neighbourly relationship . Based on point 7 of article 27 of the Supreme Law of the USSR , the region's Soviets request that all criminal acts*

be examined objectively and in detail by the Supreme Court of the USSR and a strict but fair verdict be pronounced.

4) Approve, in the name of the 19th all union party meeting, the appeal of the present session of the parliament of the regional Soviets.

5) The Soviets of the Autonomous Region of the Gharabagh Parliament appeal to all the working classes to return to a normal course of action in all undertakings, communal and national efforts, to join forces in closing gaps in industrial productions prior to the date of the 19th session of the Communist Party of the USSR.

Acting President of the Executive Committee of the Soviet of the Autonomous Region of Mountainous Gharabagh Parliament

SH. M. BEDROSSIAN

Secretary of the Executive Committee of the Soviet of the parliament of the Autonomous Region of Mountainous Gharabagh

R.V. KHATCHIYAN

("Sovedagan Gharabagh", June 24, 1988)

DOCUMENT 2

DECISION OF THE 8TH SESSION OF THE 20TH MEETING OF THE SOVIETS OF MOUNTAINOUS GHARABAGH PARLIAMENT CONCERNING THE DECLARATION TO DETATCH THE AUTONOMOUS REGION OF MOUNTAINOUS GHARABAGH FROM THE AZERBEIDJANI SSR.

July 12, 1988

The 27th general assembly of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union outlined the basis for socio-economic progress, a righteous development of soviet democracy, and an improved party strategy for a better socialist governmental system. This constituted the beginning of the country's national and public revolutionary restructure.

Problems pertaining to the period of restructure should not be solved based on old principles of individualism and stagnation. Revolutionary restructure demands a corresponding revolutionary thinking.

The new way of thinking during the era of restructure revealed the fact that problems pertaining to ethnic and national interrelationships were completely distorted and presented in a positive manner. This is why the 27th general assembly of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, in its 19th all-union

session, acutely emphasized that all our achievements could not present an unproblematic status in our ethnic and national interrelationships.

Many soviet generations strove hard to achieve the present unique status of the union of the republics. The national flag of the USSR encompasses the union of all nations and its working classes, their right of self-determination, the renaissance and progress of national cultures, the progress of underdeveloped national regions, the conquest of national disunions.

It was fairly mentioned in the 19th all-union session of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, that the basic energy for the unification of the nations had weakened because of a departure from the Leninian principals of national policy, a deviation from legality during the period of individualism and because of an isolationist pshychology and ideology. Achievements in solving national problems were accepted in absolute terms and inter-national relationships were pictured as non-problematic. Requirements for the socio-economic and cultural progress of republics, autonomous regions and national groupings were not thoroughly considered. Problems typical to the development of nations did not receive prompt solutions, which led often to shortages and disorders.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union insists that inter-national problems be revealed at the proper time and be solved based on the Leninian principles of national policy.

This means, after Lenin himself, that a fierce battle be carried against national injustice which is the greatest barrier against the strengthening of socialist solidarity.

The problem of Mountainous Gharabagh occupies a leading position in this respect. It emerged on the fifth of July 1921, when by a personal, unjust interference by Stalin himself, this region with a 94.6% of its population Armenian, was included in the realm of the Azerbeidjani SSR, without giving heed to the desire of its population. The problem intensified during the following decades when by a premeditated plan of the Azerbeidjani government, all Armenian educational institutions and cultural centers were shut-down in all cities and towns of the republic, all historical monuments were destroyed, and the history of the Armenian people was distorted. To preserve their existence, the Armenians were obliged to flee their ancestral homes and seek refuge in other regions of the Soviet Union.

Such a policy concerning ethnic minorities is incongruent with the Leninian principles of national policy. The disguise of these principles has led to a tremendous damage of political, moral, socio-economic and spiritual life of the

Armenian population of the region.

Despite the appeal of the Secretary General of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the USSR , M.S. Gorbachov, the decision of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and the Council of Ministers of the USSR, the above mentioned national injustices continue in the region.

The only way to solve the problem of Mountainous Gharabagh is by detaching it from the Azerbeidjani SSR and reattaching it to the Armenian SSR.

As a conclusion, the Soviets of the Autonomous Region of Mountainous Gharabagh Parliament decides the following:

1) Taking into consideration the prevailing situation in the region, emphasize once more the following:

- Expressing the national will of the absolute majority of the population of Mountainous Gharabagh, and based on the rights of self-determination of peoples which forms the heart of the Leninian principles of national policy, declare the detachment of the Autonomous Region of Mountainous Gharabagh from the Azerbeidjani SSR.

2) Taking into consideration the extremely precarious situation in the region, the complete indifference and carelessness of the Azerbeidjani authorities , the fact that relations with the Azerbeidjani SSR are factually disrupted , the Soviets of the Autonomous Region of Mountainous Gharabagh Parliament finds the application of the June 15, 1988 decision of the Supreme Soviet of the Armenian SSR concerning the problem of Mountainous Gharabagh, as the only plausible solution.

3) The Soviets of the Autonomous Region of Mountainous Gharabagh Parliament hope that the reattachment of the region to the Armenian SSR will be favourably accepted by all working classes and people of the USSR.

4) Advise the regional Executive Committee of the Parliament of Mountainous Gharabagh to act as an intermediary with the Supreme Soviet to rename the Autonomous Region of Mountainous Gharabagh , the Autonomous Armenian Region of ARTSAKH.

Acting President of the Regional Soviets Central Committee of the Parliament of Mountainous Gharabagh

SH. M. BEDROSSIAN

Secretary of the Regional Soviet Central Committee of the Parliament of Mountainous Gharabagh

R.V. KHATCHIYAN

("Soviet Gharabagh", July 13, 1988)

DOCUMENT 3

THE DECISION OF THE PRESIDIUM OF THE SUPREME SOVIET OF THE USSR CONCERNING THE DECISIONS OF THE SUPREME SOVIETS OF THE ARMENIAN AND AZERBEIDJANI SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS PERTAINING TO THE PROBLEM OF MOUNTAINOUS GHARABAGH.

July 18, 1988, the Kremlin, Moscow

1) The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR after examining the June 15, 1988 demand of the Supreme Soviet of the Armenian SSR concerning the request of the Soviets of the Autonomous Region of Mountainous Gharabagh Parliament to reattach the region to the Armenian SSR , and the June 17, 1988 rejection of the Supreme Soviet of the Azerbeidjani SSR to reattach the Autonomous Region of Mountainous Gharabagh to the Armenian SSR, finds it inconvenient to change existing borders between the Armenian and Azerbeidjani SSRs, drawn in accordance with constitutional basis.

The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, in its above decision is based on article 78 of the Constitution, according to which the area of a republic of the Union cannot be changed without prior consent of the concerned republic. An alternative decision would hurt mutual interests of the two republics and national interrelationships in the area.

The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR points out that during the years of Soviet rule based on Leninian principles of national policy, the working classes of Mountainous Gharabagh have achieved great improvements in the areas of economy, science and social structure, under the leadership of the communist party and other soviet organizations. Despite this, numerous problems pertaining to Armenian national interests , especially cultural, educational and political have remained unsolved for long periods of time , thus neglecting constitutional rights of the autonomous region. Such negative mishaps remained unsolved and accumulated over the years . Ruling authorities in the Armenian and Azerbeidjani SSRs and the Autonomous Region of Mountainous Gharabagh appraised the created situation very superficially, did not recognize the danger of neglecting the appeals for national-territorial changes , and adopted a passive attitude. The situation in the two republics became explosive, the economy and the interrelationship between the Armenian and Azerbeidjani peoples were greatly damaged. These acts were rightfully condemned by the working classes of our country.

In an effort to correct misdeeds and to improve the situation in Mountainous

Gharabagh, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the parliament of the USSR have undertaken appropriate measures to improve the economy, cultural activities, standards of living of the working classes, socialist legality and social structure, and to strengthen the brotherhood and coordination between the peoples of the Armenian and Azerbeidjani SSRs. Necessary steps have been taken to enlarge ties between the Autonomous Region of Mountainous Gharabagh and the Armenian SSR. The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR has found it adequate to send its representatives to Mountainous Gharabagh to ensure and oblige the execution of all decisions in cooperation with the representatives of the Armenian and Azerbeidjani SSRs.

2) The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR appeals to both the Armenian and Azerbeidjani working classes, political and governmental institutions, to spare no effort to reestablish the brotherly relations between the two peoples.

The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR recommends that the Council of Ministers of the USSR, the Soviets of the parliaments of the Armenian and Azerbeidjani SSRs and their planning and executive units do their utmost to normalize the situation in Armenia, Mountainous Gharabagh and other regions of Azerbeidjan. Also, to secure the proper application of Soviet laws and constitutional norms of the USSR, to reestablish order among the working classes, stop definitely all activities leading to national enmity and the use of democratic right for anti-democratic purposes.

The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR delegates the commission for inter-national problems to examine all the issues and present its recommendations as soon as possible to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR for examination.

3) In light of the efforts made by the 19th all-union session of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to accentuate attempts of restructure and strengthening of national interrelationship, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR advises all the Supreme Soviet presidiums of all republics and autonomous regions, and Soviets of parliaments to encourage and develop the solution of inter-national conflicts, based on principles of internationalism. No effort should be spared so that each Soviet individual, irrespective of nationality, feels a rightful citizen anywhere in the Soviet Union. Problems pertaining to inter-national relations must be solved without delay, taking into utmost consideration the interests of all nations and countries of our socialist fatherland.

President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR
A. GROMIKO
 Secretary of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR
T. MENTESHASHVILY
 ("Soviet Armenia" daily newspaper, July 20, 1988)

DOCUMENT 4

SOME OF THE ARMENIAN MARTYRS OF SOUMGAIT

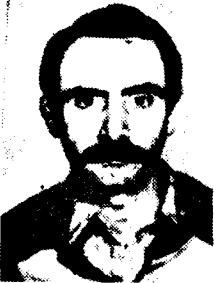
In the following pages, we present a small number of the martyrs of the massacre of Soumgait, along with the death certificates issued by the legal authorities or the death certificates issued by the office of Personal Affairs called ZAKS.

To cover the reality of the massacres and distract the population, Azeri government authorities try to separate death dates from those of death certificates issued. Also, death certificates have been issued from the city of Baku for people killed in Soumgait.



1) **Soghomon Markar Melkoumian**
 Date of birth: 1931
 Date killed: 29 February, 1988
 Address: Soumgait, 41st str., bldg. 26, apt. 21.

Killed with his wife and three children . Bodies burnt and mutilated, skull crushed.



Мартiros Агванян
1951г. рождения.
Проживал по адресу: Бaku, пр. Ленина д.1., кв. 16.

Кромокалгия в головной мозг, в 1988г. в количестве от 15,00 млрд до 16,70 млрд в районе хвостатого ядра мозга на микрофотографии марки "РА" или "АА" без явлений глыбчатости, инфильтрации, а также отека.

СВИДЕТЕЛЬСТВО О СМЕРТИ № 117/11-11-0003
Выдано в г. Баку 29 февраля 1988г.
Имя: Агванян Мартiros
Фамилия: Агванян
Дата рождения: 1951
Место рождения: Баку, пр. Ленина д.1., кв.16


2) Gary Ardeom Mardirov

Date of birth: 1951

Date killed: 29 February, 1988

Address: Baku, Lenin str., bldg. 43, apt. 16.

Cerebral hemorrhage. On February 29, 1988, between the hours of 3:30 and 4:30 p.m. he was taken out by force from a "RAF" or "OUAZ" type bus, was killed and his body was burnt. Death certificate no: 490, issued by ZAKS on March 14, 1988 from the Nizami region in Baku.



Рабан Арсал Бекасов
1931г. рождения.
Проживал по адресу: Сумгаит, 4 квартал, д.27 А, кв. 12.

Убийство произошло дома. Кромокалгия под оболочкой, в веществе и желудочках головного мозга, перелом костей черепа и ребер слева, тулая трещина таза.

СВИДЕТЕЛЬСТВО О СМЕРТИ № 490
Выдано в г. Баку 14 марта 1988г.
Имя: Бекасов Рабан
Фамилия: Бекасов
Дата рождения: 1931
Место рождения: Сумгаит, 4 квартал, д.27 А, кв.12

3) Arshag Aslan Babayan

Date of birth: November 18, 1931

Date killed: February 28, 1988

Address: Soumgait, 4th str., bldg. 27, apt. 12.

Killed in his own house. Cerebral hemorrhage and skull fractures. Ribs of the left chest broken. Acute body mutilation. Death certificate no: 117, issued on March 3, 1988.



Аршак Аслан Бабаян
1936г. рождения.
Проживал по адресу: Сумгаит, 3 микрорайон, д. 6/2 А, кв. 16.

Кромокалгия под менингеальными оболочками в веществе и желудочках головного мозга. Убита и его жена - Р. Арушакян / официально считается пропавшей без вести/.

СВИДЕТЕЛЬСТВО О СМЕРТИ
ОТМЫ БАТМАНДА ШОБАДЖИАН
Имя: Бабаян Аршак
Фамилия: Бабаян
Дата рождения: 1936
Место рождения: Сумгаит, 3 микрорайон, д.6/2 А, кв.16


4) Vladimir Hovhannes Aroushanian

Date of Birth: 1936

Date killed: February 28, 1988

Address: Soumgait, 3rd region, bldg. 6/2A, apt. 16.

Cerebral hemorrhage. Killed with his wife who is considered officially missing . Death certificate no: 199 issued by ZAKS in Soumgait on February 8, 1988.



Владимир Фирруз Аршакьян
Около 75 лет.
Проживал по адресу: Сумгаит, 17-й микрорайон, д. 51, кв. 50

Убита дома, тело разрублено многочисленными ударами топора.

СВИДЕТЕЛЬСТВО О СМЕРТИ № 199
Выдано в г. Сумгаит 8 февраля 1988г.
Имя: Аршакьян Владимир
Фамилия: Аршакьян
Дата рождения: около 1913
Место рождения: Сумгаит, 17-й микрорайон, д.51, кв.50

Date of birth: exact date unknown, approximately 75 years of age.
Date killed: unknown

Address: Soumgait, 17th region, bldg. 51, apt. 59.

Killed in her own house. Body cut into pieces by an ax.



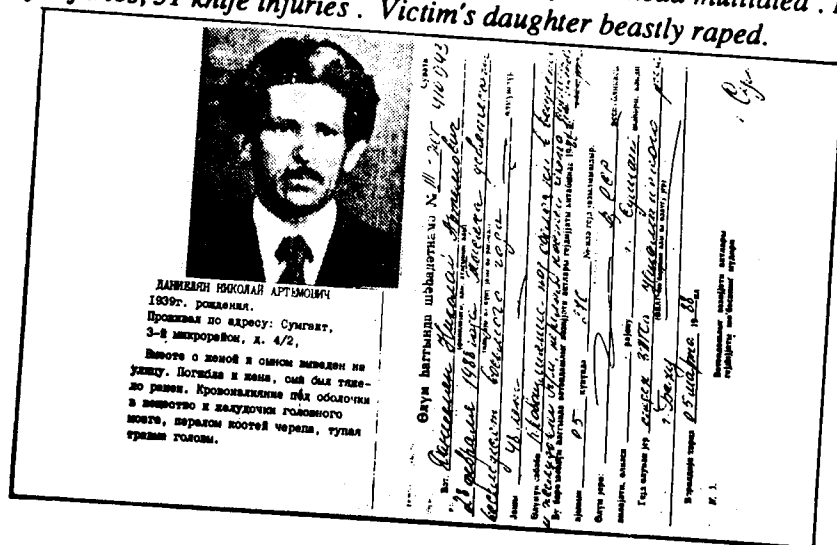
6) **Yersile Bakhshi Movsesova**

Date of birth: 1902

Date killed: February 28, 1988

Address: Baku

Killed in 3rd region of Soumgait, in bldg. 6/2A apt. 18. Cerebral hemorrhage and skull fractures. Fractured chest ribs. Body and head mutilated. Besides many injuries, 31 knife injuries. Victim's daughter beastly raped.



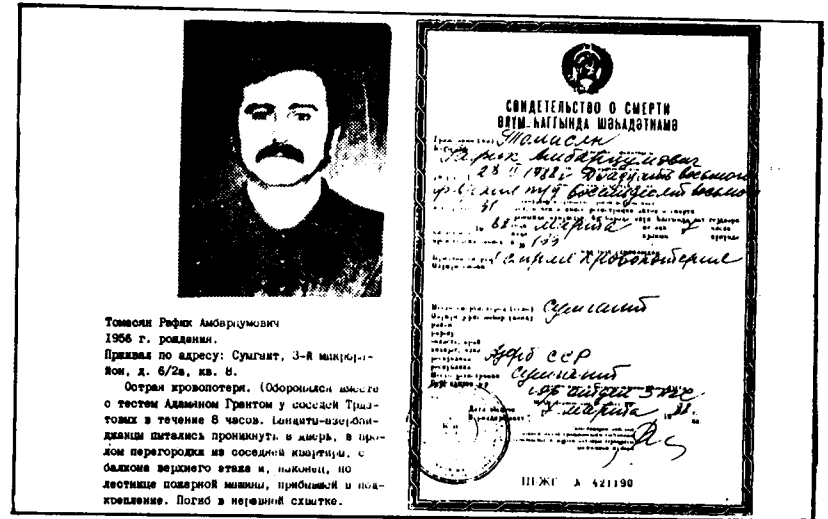
7) **Nikolai Ardeom Tanyellan.**

Date of birth: 1939

Date killed: February 28, 1988

Address: Soumgait, 3rd region, bldg. 4/2A.

Forcedly dragged into the street with wife and son. Wife also killed and son heavily wounded. Cerebral hemorrhage and skull fractures. Head heavily mutilated. Death certificate no: 276 issued by ZAKS from the Nizami region in Baku on March 5, 1988.



8) **Raffig Hampartsoum Tovmassian**

Date of birth: 1956

Date killed: February 28, 1988

Address: Soumgait, 3rd region, bldg. 6/2A, apt. 8.

Heavy hemorrhage. Took refuge with his father-in-law Hrants Atamian at his neighbour's, the Dertadovs for 8 hours. Azeri murderers tried to enter his apartment by destroying neighbour's balcony and with help of the fire squad ladders. Killed by the Azeri murderers after a ferocious and hopeless struggle. Death certificate no: 199 issued by ZAKS in Soumgait on March 7, 1988.


9) **Valeri Manuel Avanesian**

Date of birth: 1957

Date killed: February 28, 1988

Address: Soumgait, 5th region, bldg. 19/28, apt. 1.

Heavy cerebral hemorrhage. Fractured ribs. Left cheek-bones broken. Deep wounds in the stomach region. Killed with his brother Albert in the street.



Аванесик Назерик Манвелович
1957г. рождения.
Проживал по адресу: Сумгаит,
5 квартал, д. 19/28, кв. ...

Кровоизлияния под оболочку, в вещество
и желудочки головного мозга, ушибленная
рана скуловой области слева, надлобный ра-
бар, проникающая колото-резанная рана ки-
воте с повреждением брюшины. Убит на ули-
це одновременно с братом Валерием.

Врачебное свидетельство о смерти № 170
Дата выдачи 4 марта 1988


Место смерти: Армения, обл. Сумгаит, район Сумгаит, д. 19/28, кв. 5

1. Пол: муж
2. Дата рождения: 1957
3. Дата смерти: 1988
4. Место смерти: Армения, обл. Сумгаит, район Сумгаит, д. 19/28, кв. 5

2. Место наступления смерти: Армения, обл. Сумгаит, район Сумгаит, д. 19/28, кв. 5

3. Причина смерти: 1) кровоизлияние под оболочку и в вещество головного мозга; 2) ушибленная рана скуловой области слева; 3) надлобный рабар; 4) проникающая колото-резанная рана живота с повреждением брюшины.

Death certificate no: 170 issued on March 4, 1988.



Аванесик Альберт Манвелович
1955г. рождения.
Проживал по адресу: Сумгаит,
5 квартал, дом 19/28, кв. 1.

Централ кровоотери, ранение левого легкого и межреберной артерии, проникающая колото-резанная рана левой половины грудной клетки. Убит на улице одновременно с братом Валерием.

Врачебное свидетельство о смерти № 164
Дата выдачи 4 марта 1988

Место смерти: Армения, обл. Сумгаит, район Сумгаит, д. 19/28, кв. 1

1. Пол: муж
2. Дата рождения: 1955
3. Дата смерти: 1988
4. Место смерти: Армения, обл. Сумгаит, район Сумгаит, д. 19/28, кв. 1

2. Место наступления смерти: Армения, обл. Сумгаит, район Сумгаит, д. 19/28, кв. 1

3. Причина смерти: 1) кровоизлияние под оболочку и в вещество головного мозга; 2) ушибленная рана скуловой области слева; 3) надлобный рабар; 4) проникающая колото-резанная рана живота с повреждением брюшины.

10) Albert Manuel Avanesian

Date of birth: 1955


Date killed: February 28, 1988

Address: Soumgait, 5th region, bldg. 19/28, apt. 1.

Heavy hemorrhage. Left lung and surrounding veins heavily damaged. Knife cuts on the left chest. Killed with his brother Valeri in the street. Death certificate no: 164 issued on March 4, 1988.

11) Arthur Armo Aramian

Date of birth: 1963



Арами Артур Арамович
1963г. рождения.
Проживал по адресу: Сумгаит,
3 микрорайон, д. 6/2 А, кв. 21.

Кровоизлияния под оболочку, в вещество и желудочки головного мозга.
Убит одновременно с отцом, мать чудом избежала смерти.

СВИДЕТЕЛЬСТВО О СМЕРТИ
ВЛМ НАГЫНДА ШОБАДТЯНО
Дата выдачи 29 февраля 1988

Место смерти: Армения, обл. Сумгаит, район Сумгаит, д. 6/2 А, кв. 21

1. Пол: муж
2. Дата рождения: 1963
3. Дата смерти: 1988
4. Место смерти: Армения, обл. Сумгаит, район Сумгаит, д. 6/2 А, кв. 21

2. Место наступления смерти: Армения, обл. Сумгаит, район Сумгаит, д. 6/2 А, кв. 21

3. Причина смерти: 1) кровоизлияние под оболочку и в вещество головного мозга; 2) ушибленная рана скуловой области слева; 3) надлобный рабар; 4) проникающая колото-резанная рана живота с повреждением брюшины.

Date killed: February 29, 1988

Address: Soumgait, 3rd region, bldg. 6/2A, apt. 21.

Cerebral hemorrhage. Killed with his father. Mother survived by miracle.

Death certificate no: 189 issued by ZAKS in Soumgait on March 3, 1988.



ЛАНЦЕХИ СЕТА ОСИПОВНА
1937г. рождения.
Проживала по адресу: Сумгаит,
3-й микрорайон, д. 4/2,

Веще от мужа и синим выведены на улицу, убиты после издевательств. Убит и муж. Синю удалили с места в больнице.
Кровоизлияние под и над оболочку и в вещество и желудочки головного мозга, перелом костей черепа, тулая травма головы.

СВИДЕТЕЛЬСТВО О СМЕРТИ
ВЛМ НАГЫНДА ШОБАДТЯНО
Дата выдачи 28 февраля 1988

Место смерти: Армения, обл. Сумгаит, район Сумгаит, д. 4/2

1. Пол: женщина
2. Дата рождения: 1937
3. Дата смерти: 1988
4. Место смерти: Армения, обл. Сумгаит, район Сумгаит, д. 4/2

2. Место наступления смерти: Армения, обл. Сумгаит, район Сумгаит, д. 4/2

3. Причина смерти: 1) кровоизлияние под оболочку и в вещество головного мозга; 2) ушибленная рана скуловой области слева; 3) надлобный рабар; 4) проникающая колото-резанная рана живота с повреждением брюшины.


12) Seta Osip Tanielian

Date of birth: 1937

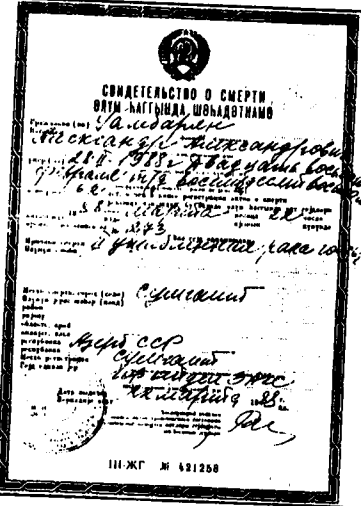
Date killed: February 28, 1988

Address: Soumgait, 3rd region, bldg. 4/2

Dragged into the street by force with son and husband, beastly raped and killed with husband. They were able to save the son in the hospital. Cerebral hemorrhage and skull fractures. Head heavily mutilated. Death certificate no:



Гхамбарян Александр Александрович,
1928г. рождения.
Проживал по адресу: Сумгаит,
3-й микрорайон, д. 17, кв. 40.
Убит у себя дома ударом дома
по голове, черепно-мозговая
травма.



Министерство внутренних дел
Азербайджанской ССР
Сумгаитский районный отдел милиции
III-ЖГ № 431258


13) Alexander Alexander Ghambarian

Date of birth: 1928

Date killed: February 28, 1988

Address: Soumgait, 3rd region, bldg. 17, apt. 40.

Killed in his own house by an iron-bar blow on the head. skull mutilated.



Арушяни Размелла Атаназовна,
1939г. рождения.
Проживала по адресу:
Сумгаит, 3-й микрорайон, д.6/2а,
кв. 16.

ВМЛПСКА ИЗ ОБРАЩЕНИЯ
ТОЖАБЫЙИ
28.02.1988г. около 24-00 часов на центральной
проходной трубкообразного завода вышел грузчик
АРУШАНИ РАЗМЕЛЛА АТАНАЗОВНА, 1939 года рожде-
ния, ирмянск. близнесты. Последний раз ее видели
общающуюся в группе бесчинствующих лиц на улице
Мира в районе железнодорожного переезда.
Свидетели: Павловский С.К.
Козленко А.Н.

Вне всяких сомнений Р.Арушяни нет в живых,
по некоторым сведениям тело ее сожгли. В тот же
день, 28 февраля, на квартире был убит муж Р.Ару-
шяни - Арушяни Шахматер.

Интересно, что при выделении квартиры в г.Бaku
ее детям, как семье потерпевших по време траги-
ческих событий в г.Сумгаите, Арушяни Размелла
Атаназовна не была включена в ордер на поиск жив-
труп.

14) Razmella Atanaz Aroushanian

Date of birth: 1939

Date killed: unknown

Address: Soumgait, 3rd region, bldg. 6/2A, apt. 16.

A notice posted on the bulletin board of the factory where she worked, reads as


follows:

"Comrades,

On February 28, 1988, at 12 midnight, Razmella Atanaz Aroushanian, born in 1939, left the pipe manufacturing factory and is reported missing since then. She was seen for the last time naked among a group of murderers near the train station in Mir street.

Investigators: Pavlovski and Rozlenko"

Razmella Aroushanian has been undoubtedly killed. According to some witnesses her body has been burnt. On the very same day, February 28, 1988, her husband, Vladimir Aroushanian, was killed in their own apartment. It is interesting to know that Razmella Aroushanian's name did not appear on the list of Soumgait massacre survivors, when her children were being given apartments by the government authorities in Baku.



АВАКИЯ ЛОЛА ПАВЛОВНА
1961 г. рождения.
Проживала по адресу: Сумгаит, 54-й квартал,
д. 10/13, кв. 37.

28-го февраля 1988г. после нападения на квар-
ту Л.Авакия изнасиловали, обливавшую водой на ули-
цу, заставляли танцевать, кололи ножом туловище на
теле сигареты. После убийства тело было изуродова-
но, опознать удалось по мизинцу на руке.

Отец - Михаил Павел сказал, что он был в ту-
рпах: в Сумгаите, Баку и Мардакенах (в 20 км от
Баку) и нашел труп своей дочери в Мардакенах. Они
были под номером 71 среди неопознанных трупов.
Михаил Павел Осипович для свідетельского показани
и в Баку и в Мардакенах. В трех моргах он видел би-
ва 100 трупов, слякоченных штабелями.

Путь Л.Авакия - Авакия Александр, был взломан де-
портационный.

15) Lola Pavel Avakian

Date of Birth: 1961

Date killed: February 28, 1988

Address: Soumgait, 54th region, bldg. 10/13, apt. 37.

On February 28, Lola Avakian was attacked in her own apartment, was beastly raped and dragged naked into the street. She was forced to dance naked. Her body was full of knife wounds and cigarette burns. She was mutilated after being killed. She was identified by a birth mark on the index finger of her right hand. Her father, Pavel Manuelian, looked for his daughter's body in the morgues of Soumgait, Baku and Marдаken (20 kms. from Baku) and finally found her in the latter place. The body bore the number 71 on the list of

Address: Soumgait, 41st region, bldg. 2, apt. 21.

Killed along with the four members of her family, her mother, her father and two brothers. She was dragged naked into the street, was beaten, raped and then burnt to death. Cerebral hemorrhage and skull fractures. Death certificate no: 269 issued by ZAKS in Soumgait on March 22, 1988.



23) Raissa Arsen Melkounian

Date of birth: 1934 Date killed: February 29, 1988

Address: Soumgait, 41st region, bldg. 2, apt. 21.

Killed with her husband and three children. She was dragged naked into the street and killed. Her corpse was then raped by the murderers. Heavy hemorrhage, skull fractures, internal organs mutilated, ribs broken, body full of scratches. Death certificate no: 271 issued by ZAKS in Soumgait on March 22, 1988.



24) Edward Soghomon Melkounian

Date of birth: 1960

Date killed: February 29, 1988

Address: Soumgait, 41st region, bldg. 2, apt. 21.

Killed with father, mother, brother and sister. He served in the Soviet army in Afghanistan. Cerebral hemorrhage and skull fractures. The body was so heavily burnt that the only way to identify him were his shoes. Death certificate no: 270 issued by ZAKS in Soumgait on March 22, 1988.



25) Igor Soghomon Melkounian

Date of birth: 1957

Date killed: February 29, 1988

Address: Soumgait, 41st region, bldg. 2, apt. 21.

Killed with his father, mother, brother and sister. He was dragged into the street, beaten and burnt to death alive. Neck broken, lungs full of carbon monoxide. Death certificate no: 268 issued by ZAKS in Soumgait on March 22, 1988.

26) Emma Shirin Krikorian

Date of birth: 1930

Date killed: February 29, 1988

Address: Soumgait, 3rd region, bldg. 5/2, apt. 45.

She was dragged naked into the street, brutally raped and killed. Heavy hemorrhage, spinal cord fractures, broken ribs. Body covered with blows. Death certificate no: 274 issued by ZAKS in Soumgait on February 29, 1988.



Григорян Эмма Шириновна,
1900г. рождения.
Проживала по адресу: Сумгаит,
3-й микрорайон, д. 5/2, кв. 45.
Обнаженной выведена на улицу,
убита после садистских надругательств. Вок, кровоизлияние, разрыв задней стенки желудка с повреждением стенки прямой кишки и брыжеей тонкой кишки, забрызганная гематома, порезом 2-й, 6-й ребер опреле и 10-го грудного позвонка.

The following martyrs do not have identification photos.-

27) Tamara Kerasim Mekhtieva

Date of birth: around 70-75 years of age.

Address: Soumgait, 3rd region, bldg. 16, apt. 49.

A lonely woman with no relatives. She was killed on February 28, 1988 and her body thrown on the building stairs where it was found by her neighbour.

28) Natalia Vartanian

Date of birth: around 70-75 years of age.

Address: Soumgait, 1st region, bldg. 15/35, apt. 32.

Witnessing all the massacres and atrocities in Soumgait and not being physically capable of bearing them, she died of heart attack in the Soumgait Party building, where she had taken refuge.

29) Arousiag Aslan Sairian

Date of birth: 1914

Address: Soumgait, 14th region, Azizbegov str., bldg. 38/5, apt. 8.

On February 29, her daughter Hermonia found her dead in her own apartment whose door was broken open. Arousiag Sairian was buried in Soumgait on March 1, 1988 without the presence of her daughters and relatives who had taken refuge in the Soumgait Party building, along with other Armenians transferred there by the army.

30) Unknown - a month old baby

This child died in the arms of citizen Zaven Badassian in the building of the

"Vourgouni" political club, where several Armenians were transferred by the army for refuge. Although body of the child bore no traces of violence, yet his name is included in the list of Soumgait martyrs because his death is the result of the prevailing chaotic situation in the city, the lack of medical care and proper hygienic conditions.



AN ARMENIAN KHATCHKAR (STONE-CROSS) IN MEMORY OF ARMENIAN MARTYRS MASSACRED BY AZERI MOBS IN SUMGAIT, ERECTED NEAR THE MEMORIAL COMPLEX IN YEREVAN TO THE VICTIMS OF 1915 ARMENIAN GENOCIDE