

ՀԱՅԱՍՏԱՆԻ ՀԱՆՐԱՊԵՏՈՒԹՅԱՆ  
ԳԻՏՈՒԹՅՈՒՆՆԵՐԻ ԱԶԳԱՅԻՆ ԱԿԱԴԵՄԻԱ  
ՊԱՏՄՈՒԹՅԱՆ ԻՆՍՏԻՏՈՒՏ

---

ԿԱՐԵՆ ԽԱԶԱՏՐՅԱՆ, ՀԱՄՈ ՍՈՒՔԻԱՍՅԱՆ,  
ԳԵՂԱՄ ԲԱԴԱԼՅԱՆ

**ԽՈՐՀՐԴԱՅԻՆ ՀԱՅԱՍՏԱՆԻ ԵՎ ԼՂԻՄ-Ի  
ՏԱՐԱԾՔԱՅԻՆ ԿՈՐՈՒՍՏՆԵՐԸ  
1920-1930-ԱԿԱՆ ԹՎԱԿԱՆՆԵՐԻՆ**

ԵՐԵՎԱՆ-2015

Կարեն Համլետի Խաչատրյան, Համո Կարենի Սուքիասյան,  
Գեղամ Միհրանի Բադալյան

**ԽՈՐՀՐԴԱՅԻՆ ՀԱՅԱՍՏԱՆԻ ԵՎ ԼՂԻՄ-Ի ՏԱՐԱԾՔԱՅԻՆ  
ԿՈՐՈՒՍՏՆԵՐԸ 1920-1930-ԱԿԱՆ ԹՎԱԿԱՆՆԵՐԻՆ**



Карен Гамлетович Хачатрян, Амо Каренович Сукиасян,  
Гегам Мигранович Бадалян

**ТЕРРИТОРИАЛЬНЫЕ ПОТЕРИ СОВЕТСКОЙ АРМЕНИИ  
И НКАО В 1920-1930-ЫХ ГОДАХ**



Karen H. Khachatryan, Hamo K. Sukiasyan,  
Gegham M. Badalyan

**THE TERRITORIAL LOSSES OF SOVIET ARMENIA AND  
THE NKAR IN THE 1920-1930S**

## THE TERRITORIAL LOSSES OF SOVIET ARMENIA AND THE NKAR IN THE 1920-1930s

### Summary

**Khachatryan K. H.** *Doctor of Sciences (History)*

**Badalyan G. M.** *PhD in History*

**Sukiasyan H. K.** *PhD in History*

In the book, on the basis of the many-sided research of archival documents and materials, scientific and historical literature are presented the territorial losses of both Soviet Armenia and NKAR. For the first time in the Armenian historiography it is system presented the policy of the Communist Party and Soviet governmental bodies in formation of the borders in 1920-1930s, including the process of forcible annexation of native Armenian lands to Turkey, Soviet Azerbaijan and Soviet Georgia.

As a result of the research, it has been revealed that according to the Russian-Armenian Erevan Treaty of December 2, 1920 Soviet Russia recognized Soviet Armenia within the territory constituting more than 43000 km<sup>2</sup>. But afterwards, the position of Soviet Russia in the question of the formation of the borders of Soviet Armenia changed. In spite of some diplomatic efforts of the authorities of Soviet Armenia to achieve a just decision relating to the question of its borders, the Bolsheviks illegally (by the Moscow and Kars Soviet-Turkish treaties of 1921) ceded to Turkey Armenian territories of Kars and Ardahan, the district of Surmalu (Surb Mari) (with Holy for Armenians Mountain Ararat-Masis); the district of Nakhijevan was unlawfully put under the protectorate of Soviet Azerbaijan and on July 5, 1921 Nagorno-Karabakh was illegally annexed to the latter. As a result, at the end of 1921-the beginning 1922 the territory of Soviet Armenia varied in the range of 32000-33000 km<sup>2</sup>. Territorial losses of Soviet Armenia, compared with the agreement of December 2, 1920 constituted more than 10000-11000 km<sup>2</sup>.

In March 1922, after the formation of the Transcaucasian Federation among the questions between Soviet Armenia, Soviet Azerbaijan and Soviet Georgia the territorial-border issues were the most problematic. Due to the principal disagreements these disputes continued to the dissolution of the Federation in 1936.

As a result of the realization of of the Armenian-Georgian territorial demarcation substantial Armenian territories (Javakhk, Northern Lori) turned out to be included in Soviet Georgia. A part of Lori, the former Neutral zone, remained in Soviet Armenia, but in this section of the Armenian-Georgian border the ArmSSR subsequently had some territorial losses too. It should be noted that the establishment of a final border between

the two neighboring republics during the Transcaucasian Federation did not reach the end, and the process of validation of the border between them remained incomplete.

The most difficult was the process of the territorial demarcation between Soviet Armenia and Soviet Azerbaijan. The key disputes were concerning the frontier regions the Shnogh-Ayrum section of the border, the area of Alagyolar lakes, 21 villages of Kapan and 3 villages of Meghri. The study of the archival documents obviously show that the question of the disputed territories was decided to the detriment of the interests of the Armenian side. As a result, the Armenian statehood appeared to be limited within vulnerable borders on the territory of only 29742.59 km<sup>2</sup>.

Until the mid of 1921 Nagorno-Karabakh was an Armenian separate administrative territorial unit, in fact a sovereign state formation; it had never been a member of the newly formed artificial "Azerbaijan" state. On July 5, 1921, by the decision of the Caucasian Bureau of the CC RCP (B) all the Nagorno-Karabakh (as an autonomous region) was illegally handed over to Soviet Azerbaijan. The authorities of the latter, however, did not hurry with the release of Nagorno-Karabakh as a regional autonomy. Only under severe political pressure of the Soviet leadership of Armenia and the Soviet Transcaucasian Federation (in particular A. Myasnikyan) Soviet Azerbaijan in the beginning of July 1923 finally declared the formation of the Autonomous Oblast of Nagorno Karabakh (AONK) which, according to the new Soviet Constitution of 1937, was renamed Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region (NKAR). However, in violation of the above-mentioned decision of the Caucasian Bureau, the autonomous region has been allocated only from the part of Nagorno Karabakh the rest of its territory artificially formed «Azerbaijani» districts - «Kurdistan», Gyandja (Arm. Gandzak), Kelbajar (Arm. Karvachar), Jabrayil (Arm. Jrakn), Lachin (Arm. Berdzor) and others. Thus, from the entire territory of Mountainous Artsakh (Nagorno Karabakh), which was about 8000 square km., in 1923-1924 Azerbaijani authorities cut about 3,000 square km. In this case, however, the territorial losses were not over. According to the Constitution (the Regulations) of AONK of 1924, where were mentioned also towns and villages included in its territory, the total area was up to 5,000 square km. However, in subsequent years, the Azerbaijani authorities periodically cut off from it about 600 square km territory with a predominantly Armenian population which was incorporated to neighboring areas. As a result - at the end of the 1930s the territory of Nagorno-Karabakh was only 4,400 square km. Moreover, the NKAR was artificially cut off from Soviet Armenia with which it had had though small (about 6-8 km.) but a common border.

Thus, as a result of the territorial losses in the 1920-1930s NKAR, Soviet Armenia and later its legal successor the Third Republic of Armenia appeared from the strategic perspective in unfavorable conditions. Due to the heroic victory of the Armenians in the Artsakh Liberation War has been liberated a considerable part of the Armenian territories annexed to Azerbaijan during the Soviet period. They constitute inseparable part of the NKR - the Artsakh Republic.