

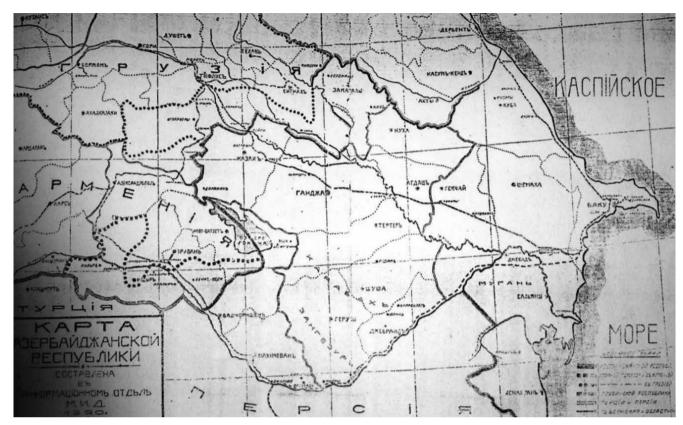
**By Musa GASIMLI,**Corresponding Member of the Azerbaijan National
Academy of Sciences, Professor

## RECORDS ON THE TRANSFER OF WESTERN ZANGAZUR TO ARMENIA

n November 10, 2020, the presidents of Azerbaijan and Russia as well as Armenia's prime minister signed a trilateral statement that put an end to the second Karabakh War, endorsing the victorious outcome of hostilities for Azerbaijan.

Clause 9 of the joint statement says, "All economic and transport links in the region shall be unblocked. The

Republic of Armenia shall guarantee the security of transport communication between the western regions of the Azerbaijan Republic and the Nakhchivan Autonomous Republic in order to arrange unimpeded traffic of citizens, vehicles and freight in both directions. Control over transport communications shall be exercised by the agencies of the Border Service of the Federal Security Service of Russia."



The clause also said the parties involved would concur on "ensuring the construction of new transport communications to link the Nakhchivan Autonomous Republic with Azerbaijan's western regions" (1).

The issue is also referenced in the Shusha Declaration, signed by Azerbaijani President Ilham Aliyev and Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan on June 15, 2021. The document says, "The parties note that the opening of the corridor between the western regions of the Azerbaijan Republic and the Nakhchivan Autonomous Republic (the Zangazur corridor) connecting Azerbaijan and Turkey and, as a continuation of this corridor, the construction of the Nakhchivan-Kars railway, will make an important contribution to the development of transport and communication links between the two countries" (2).

The mentioned transport corridor will cross the territory of Armenia in a section of the western part of Zangazur, a historical Azerbaijani province, which was part of the Karabakh khanate in the past.

## Origin of "Zangazur" place name, its ethnic composition and historical geography

According to available documents, the geographic name "Zangazur" was derived from the word "Zangi", which is a Turkic tribe (3). There are numerous titles with the same word root in Azerbaijan, including Zangilan,

a regional center located in the eastern part of the historic Zangazur.

In the 1860s, the Zangazur district was included in the Yelizavetpol (Ganja) governorate, in accordance with a local government and territorial reform carried out in the Russian Empire. According to the data traced back to 1916, the district occupied 6,742.92 sq. Verst (a Russian measure of length equal to around 1.1 km or 0.66 miles) (4).

The Zangazur district was part of the Karabakh Governorate-General during the period of the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic (ADR) (1918-1920) (5).

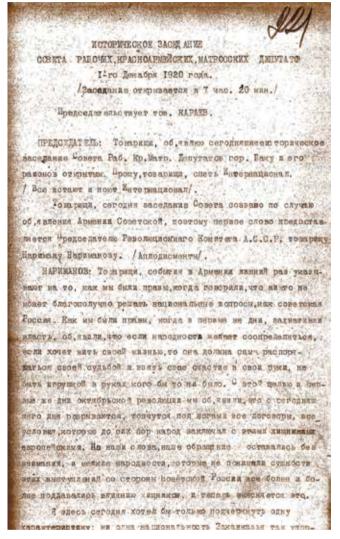
The territory called Zangazur covers a part of the historical Azerbaijani territories, including Gafan, Gorus and Garakilse (Sisian), Meghri in present-day Armenia, as well as the Zangilan, Gubadli and Lachin regions of Azerbaijan (6).

According to the 1920 statistical data of ADR, the district's population made up 216,895 (7), including 120,587 Azerbaijanis and slightly less than 100,000 Armenians and people of other ethnic groups.

#### Zangazur issue after Azerbaijan's Sovietization

Following Azerbaijan's invasion by Bolshevik Russia, Dashnak Armenia continued to attack Azerbaijani

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residential areas in Zangazur. These attacks were marred by bloody pogroms carried out against civilians.

On April 30, 1920, i.e. two days after the Bolshevik coup in Azerbaijan, the republic's People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs issued a note to the Armenian government, notably, the foreign minister of the Republic of Armenia.

"The 'worker-peasant' government of the Azerbaijan SSR, represented by the Revolutionary Committee, demands the following: 1. Clear the territory of... Zangazur off your troops...2. Recede to your borders; 3. Cease interethnic carnage; otherwise, Revolutionary Committee of the Azerbaijan SSR will consider that it is in a state of war with the government of the Republic of Armenia. A reply to this note shall be received within a period of three days," the document said.

The mentioned passage was undersigned by Mirza Davud Huseynov, a senior official of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic (8).

**Ovanes Kachaznuni,** Prime Minister of Dashnak Armenia (1918-1920) and one of the leaders of the Dashnaktsutyun party, later admitted that mass pogroms were perpetrated against the Azerbaijani population in that period.

"Officially, we were not at war with Azerbaijan. We actually fought in Karabakh and there were also frequent clashes in Gazakh. A number of bloody battles occurred within the country with the local Muslim population in Agbab, Zod, Zangibasar, Vedi Bazaar, Sharur-Nakhchivan, Zangazur, etc.," he said (9).

On June 19, G. Ordzhonikidze sent a cable from Vladikavkaz to G. Chicherin, another Soviet politician.

"The Soviet government has been proclaimed in Zangazur and the above-mentioned territories consider themselves part of the Soviet Azerbaijan republic... Azerbaijan cannot do without...Zangazur by any means. Overall, in my opinion, a representative of Azerbaijan should be summoned to Moscow so that we could jointly resolve all outstanding issues regarding Azerbaijan and Armenia," the message reads (10).

**G. Chicherin,** who served as People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic (RSFSR), in turn, sent a cable to **G. Ordzhonikidze,** who represented the Military Revolutionary Council on the Caucasus Front, on July 2, 1920.

"The Armenian peaceful delegation adamantly disagrees with the disputed status of Zangazur... hoping that most of this territory will sooner or later be handed over to them after long-lasting resistance. On the other hand, it is necessary to concur with the government of Azerbaijan that our agreement with Armenia does not run counter to the demands of the Azerbaijani government. Since you wield tremendous influence in Baku, we request that you put it to use and achieve ... recognition of Zangazur as disputed territory by the Azerbaijani government," the cable said (11).

Thus, Chicherin suggested transferring to Armenia the territories that belonged to Azerbaijan from the historical and ethnic-cultural point of view. As for G. Ordzhonikidze, he offered to keep Zangazur within Azerbaijan, granting it the status of autonomy, and transfer the other "disputed" land to Armenia, citing a purported "Turkish threat" and economic considerations. According to Ordzhonikidze, the autonomy issue should not have been included in the agreement between the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic (RSFSR) and Armenia. He provided some arguments

to support his stance in a phone conversation with Chicherin.

"Azerbaijan is keen on unification...with Zangazur immediately and without negotiations. In my opinion, this must be done. **Both districts lean toward Baku economically.** In particular, these areas are currently completely separated from Erivan — after the Turkish Bayazet division wedged itself in. In case these districts remain disputed, they will undoubtedly be taken over by the Turks and the Armenian population will be entirely annihilated. We will not be able to prevent it from happening in any way," Ordzhonikidze claimed.

Ordzhonikidze argued that unification of these districts with Azerbaijan would "give a major trump-card to Azerbaijani communists".

"According to Gabrielyan [chairman of the Revolutionary Military Council of Armenia S.Ter-Gabrielyan – M.Q.], Armenian representatives would definitely go for it. If the solution of this issue takes such a turn, Azerbaijan may be forced to relinquish other provinces. I believe that... Zangazur ought to join Azerbaijan immediately. I will prompt Azerbaijan to declare autonomy of these provinces, but that idea should be put forward by Azerbaijan itself and it should not be cited in the agreement [the planned RSFSR-Armenia deal – M.Q.] under any circumstances," Ordzhonikidze said (12).

It is worth mentioning that although **Armenia** had not undergone "Sovietization" by that time, Chicherin insisted on the "disputed territory" concept.

"We are perfectly aware that a time will also come for the Sovietization of Armenia, but it is too early to tackle this now," Chicherin wrote in the July 8 cable addressed to Ordzhonikidze. "What can we accomplish in the first place? Currently, Zangazur may be declared as... disputed territory, which requires consent of the Azerbaijani government. This is vital for us and we should definitely conclude an agreement with Armenia. This is crucial given the current situation internationally and this necessitates announcing Zangazur as disputed territory as well, to say the least" (13).

On July 10, 1920, a letter pertaining to the Zangazur issue was sent to the central body of the Bolshevik Communist Party by **Nariman Narimanov**, chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the Azerbaijan SSR (AzSSR), **Polikarp Mdivani**, Secretary of the Communist Party of Georgia (the latter was not yet occupied by Bolshevik Russia) and a member of the Caucasus Bureau of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (of Bolsheviks), as

are smoon as sa tone wrote of houseass was to пи вонинская, оне виступала дине прочин русскаго или оравливма. Она продитала кровъ, и удивлямсь когда советския Россия об, являет, что националы ость диаламия - соносате се-AMPROF, TYOTA TOREDA ON CONTRACTOR MYOTA HETTER SETA CHO своичи своим, выньчей тивмон Гинго моте в в , скороз режова фитали Армании, причиской республами, извилось бы должны бели сейчис повыжнуть и сприменти России, ложни быти полив свиных поддельнивый советскум России», потоку что она единбевенно палинеся наименицай воск угночения изредностей, Fall Falleranced instanta company and read the or vector овмонироделения нарадносте", - но уч ваден совночнико оболинов. У свимо начала Арминия пдой все восия с таууронилы и вневними врагами совитской России. Дале Дечикич, когда импе об"прия, что и, ет , жи восствоговлегия жижирии имбериалистического строя в России, и в ото время данчажи всеми силам ии о, врзинали Депикита, о, держивали тептейкую свикь с этих разбейтиком, чако дев в то зе время од гелосре стветтим винятием весмиргого разбойтика - Агрини... Вот, именто на жуу стопоту я хотол би образить шинасто. Что по тут , "ойствительте. Раз ти велаень свебо, и, зелиень самоодне, свиться и лить своем лизивы, - вот тебе Совеская Рессия открывает минокую допоту, дет тобо свободу: лини соба. Но в вто врамя ота вакривает гиава и плиникает иметто к тому, кото рий явто ясто говонит, что и стреминев и восстатовлегив павского режима в Рассии, почему, товарищи, "обствительто, та Арматия, которая все время, я товорю, стремилась к свебо, е, дечему чет чале,, кочений все премя стянчался в Закавкавые там, чио всег, а стромнием и самосире, слегию, и втот чаво, же влуг плет с тем, жто хочет восстатовлетия парского резима. Очеть кросто, дотому что дравительство Авмения.....

well as **Anastas Mikoyan**, a plenipotentiary representative of the Revolutionary Military Council of the 11th Red Army. **Viktor Naneishvili**, who chaired the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan, 11th Army commander **Mikhail Levandovsky**, as well as Vesnik and Mikhailov, members of this army's Military Revolutionary Council, joined the imitative as well.

The letter laid out joint views regarding Zangazur, while discussions on its transfer to Armenia during talks with this country were deemed as a measure contradicting revolutionary interests in the Caucasus. The signatories noted that **Zangazur**, which had close economic and cultural links to Baku, was not connected to Erivan whatsoever. The letter cited the 1919 congress of the Armenian rural residents of Karabakh as a graphic example of this conclusion. It said that despite the provocations of Armenian agents, the Armenian residents unequivocally supported unification with Azerbaijan on condition of ensuring tranquility for the population. Moreover, the letter regarded as a betrayal, a pro-Armenian stance and

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weakness of the Soviet government the fact that the "Muslim masses", i.e. the Azerbaijani population, were not retained within the previous borders of Azerbaijan.

"They should not make Azerbaijan ashamed by their hesitation concerning the Zangazur issue," the letter said (14).

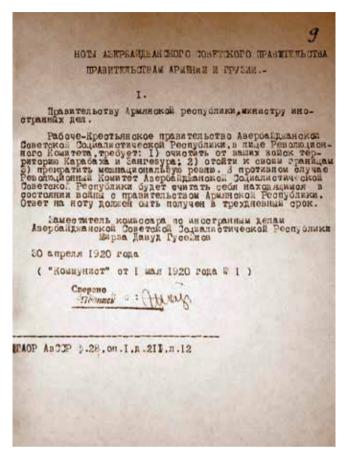
"The center has recognized the independence of Georgia and Armenia. But at the same time, the Center is handing over Azerbaijan's disputed territories to Armenia," N. Narimanov told Vladimir Lenin with regard to the central government's stance on this issue (15).

In his letter sent to Lenin, Narimanov held Chicherin responsible for this course of developments.

"If the Center finds it beneficial to sacrifice Azerbaijan and retain control over Baku alone, i.e. its oil, and if it abandons its policy in the East, so be it, but I have to warn you that they cannot keep control over Baku without a united Azerbaijan with such neighbors as treacherous Dashnaks and Georgian Mensheviks. On the other hand, I would like to ask you what the Center thinks of us, Muslims, and how it could solve such important issues without our involvement. The Center may not trust us, but even such responsible colleagues as Ordzhonikidze and Mdivani disagree with the Center's decisions. They keep saying that

Muslim communists have sold Azerbaijan to Russia. That very Russia recognizes the independence of Georgia and Armenia, but when it comes to Azerbaijan, for some reason it deems as disputed the territories that were indisputable before the Soviet government was established," the letter said (16).

On July 15, the issue of establishing peace with Armenia was discussed at a meeting of the Bureau of the Central Committee of Azerbaijan's Communist Party. The meeting was attended by A.I. Yegorov, a well-known Soviet military leader, representative of the Revolutionary Military Council of the 11th Red Army, A. Mikoyan, the AzSSR People's Commissar for Naval Affairs Aliheydar Garayev, People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs Mirza Davud Huseynov, Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars N. Narimanov, People's Commissar of Education and Commissar of the Workers and Peasants' Inspection Dadash Buniatzade, and member of the Azerbaijan Revolutionary Committee Mirbashir Gasimov. Participants also included Chairman of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan V. Naneishvili, G. Ordzhonikidze, as well as Yelena Stasova, an employee of the Caucasus Bureau of the Soviet Communist Party's Central Committee, members of the Military Council of



the 11th Red Army, and RSFSR's authorized representative in Armenia **Boris Legrand** (17). As a result of the discussions, a resolution comprised of four clauses was passed. According to its first clause, Zangazur was to adjoin Azerbaijan.

On August 10, 1920, the Entente powers signed the Treaty of Sevres, which marked the defeat of the Ottoman Empire.

On the same day, Bolshevik Russia signed an agreement with Dashnak Armenia. The latter's government, encouraged by the Entente countries, launched a war against the Kemalist government of Turkey, which had to wage fierce battles on several frontlines simultaneously. During the Turkish-Armenian war, Bolshevik Russia, having assumed the role of Armenia's patron, sought to prompt this country to side with it and at the same time started to put pressure on Azerbaijan to avoid its rapprochement with the Kemalist government, whose victory over the Dashnaks appeared pre-determined.

On November 4, Baku hosted a meeting of the Political Bureau (Politburo) of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan, attended by members of the Caucasus Bureau, which discussed "a re-

port by Comrade Legrand on the situation in Armenia". The meeting was chaired by **G. Kaminsky**, Executive Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan. N. Narimanov, M.D. Huseynov, A. Garayev, A. Yegorov, I. Stalin, G. Ordzhonikidze, Y. Stasova, the RSFSR's plenipotentiary envoy in Georgia **Aaron Sheinman**, RSFSR's authorized representative in Armenia **B. Legrand**, member of the Revolutionary Military Committee and Revolutionary Military Council of Armenia **Saak Ter-Gabrielyan** (18) were among participants as well.

Confidential decisions were passed after B. Legrand's report was delivered. Politburo members arrived at a conclusion regarding the issue of including a clause on the transfer of Zangazur to Armenia in the text of the future Russian-Armenian peace deal that such a measure would be politically and strategically unsuitable and could only be taken in a predicament. N. Narimanov was tasked with substantiating this stance.

These decisions were being made in Baku under pressure from the Kremlin amid an ongoing war between Dashnak Armenia and Turkey. A Dashnak defeat in this conflict was beyond a doubt and **the Bolshevik elite in the Kremlin was more concerned over further fate of the Soviet reign in Baku.** 

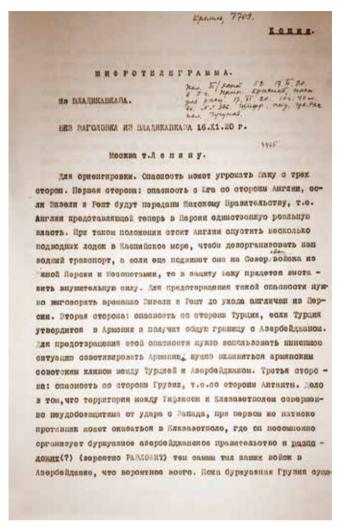
Based on G. Ordzhonikidze's information, I. Stalin, Commissar of the People's Workers and Peasants Inspectorate and People's Commissar for Nationalities of the RSFSR, sent a cable to V. Lenin from Vladikavkaz on November 16, 1920.

"Baku may come under threat from three directions," Stalin noted. "The first threat is posed from the south, i.e. from England, if Enzeli and Rasht are handed over to the Shah government, i.e. England, which currently represents the only real power in Persia. In this situation, if England floats several submarines into the Caspian Sea in order to disorganize our water transport and if it moves to advance its troops northward from southern Persia and Mesopotamia, an impressive force will have to be employed to defend Baku. In order to avert such a threat, it is necessary to reach agreement temporarily over those very Enzeli and Rasht prior to a British pullout from Persia."

Stalin believed that another threat was posed by Turkey if the latter "asserts itself in Armenia and gains a shared border with Azerbaijan".

"In order to prevent this danger, the current situation should be used for the Sovietization of Armenia. It is necessary to drive an Armenian Soviet





## wedge between Turkey and Azerbaijan," the cable said.

"The third threat emanates from Georgia, i.e. from the Entente," Stalin wrote. "The point is that the territory between Tiflis and Yelizavetpol is completely unprotected from a blow from the west and the enemy may end up in Yelizavetpol after an initial assault where it would undoubtedly organize a bourgeois Azerbaijani government and station a home front (and probably thereby decompose) the rear units of our troops in Azerbaijan, which is highly likely."

Stalin also said that "as long as bourgeois Georgia exists, this will be the most serious of all threats" and powerful forces would have to be continuously mobilized to counter Georgia.

"We have to Sovietize Georgia right now to thwart this danger and concentrate our troops in Zagatala and use suitable reasoning to move toward Tiflis, not to mention the fact that the Sovietization of Georgia would take away the rear front from the North Caucasus counter-revolution-

aries and the North Caucasus would thereby be completely pacified," the cable said (19).

The current situation was discussed in a telephone conversation between Stalin, Lenin, RSFSR People's Commissar for Military and Naval Affairs **L. Trotsky** and Politburo member L. Kamenev. Participants were informed about Stalin's cable, which was sent by G. Ordzhonikidze on November 30 from Baku to P. Mdivani, who had been appointed RSFSR's mediator in Turkish-Armenian peace talks. The cable noted, "It is necessary to gain Alexandropol for Armenia, which is becoming Soviet, in talks with the Kemalists."

The cable said with regard to avoiding mediation efforts in Armenia-Turkey peace negotiations that "both the Turks and Armenians should be reminded that in this case the Zangazur issue... cannot be a topic of discussion at an Armenian-Turkish conference, given that these provinces are disputed by Armenia and Azerbaijan, which is allied to Russia" (20).

### Declaration on handover of Zangazur's western part to Armenia

The Sovietization of Armenia gave Bolshevik Russia additional trump cards to ramp up pressure on Azerbaijan. The Politburo and the Organizing Bureau of the Central Committee of Azerbaijan's Communist Party discussed issues pertaining to the relations with Armenia at is session held on November 30. Participants decided "to indicate that there are absolutely no borders between Soviet Azerbaijan and Soviet Armenia". In particular, a decision was made that "Zangazur would go to Armenia". Moreover, Soviet Azerbaijan was expected to establish "an inseparable military and economic alliance with Soviet Armenia (with a particular reference to oil)", while People's Commissariat of the Navy was to be tasked to put an end to hostilities against Armenia on the frontline. In addition, "a Soviet coup in Armenia was to be reported at a plenary session of the Council" and Nariman Narimanov was instructed to read out a relevant declaration (21).

In compliance with the mentioned decision, Narimanov, who chaired the Council of People's Commissars of the Azerbaijan SSR, addressed a ceremonial meeting of the Baku Council over the establishment of the Soviet rule in Armenia on December 1. Announcing the declaration, he made a particular reference to the issue of Zangazur's transfer to Armenia (22).

"Soviet Azerbaijan, accommodating the struggle of the fraternal Armenian working people against the Dashnak

authorities, who have been shedding the blood of our best innocent communist fellows within Armenia and Zangazur, declares that from now onward no territorial issues might be the cause of bloodshed between centurylong neighbors: Armenians and Muslims... All military action within Zangazur will be suspended and the troops of Soviet Azerbaijan are to be withdrawn. In addition, Soviet Azerbaijan widely opens its gate to Soviet Armenia (to avail of) such inexhaustible wealth as oil, kerosene and other products," he said (23).

The same stance was put forward by N. Narimanov and M.D. Huseynov in a congratulatory cable sent on the occasion of the Soviet authorities' taking charge in Armenia. On December 2, a day after the mentioned declaration was announced, a peace treaty was signed between the RSESR and Soviet Armenia.

### Response to transfer of Zangazur's western part to Armenia

N. Narimanov's statement about the transfer of Zangazur to Armenia drew mixed reactions. The decision was vigorously welcomed by all Bolshevik Armenian leaders.

"Well done, Azerbaijanis. We'll start blaring (about it) in the media now," Secretary of the Caucasus Regional Committee of the All-Union Communist Party, **Amayak Nazaretyan**, said in a phone conversation with G. Ordzhonikidze on December 1 (24).

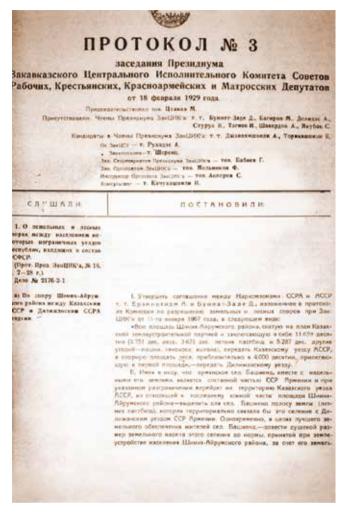
On December 2, G. Ordzhonikidze said in a message sent from Baku to V. Lenin and I. Stalin that "yesterday Azerbaijan... announced the transfer of...Zangazur in favor of Armenia" (25).

On the same day, Stalin wrote a letter saying "Azerbaijan voluntarily relinquished disputed provinces and declared the transfer of Zangazur to Soviet Armenia on December 1" (26).

Nevertheless, a number of Armenian media reports, in fact, confirmed that the measure taken by the leaders of Soviet Azerbaijan was made under pressure of those "from above", evidently, referring to the Russian government.

"We welcome Azerbaijan's renouncing Zangazur... on the orders from Moscow," the Dashnak newspaper **Ashkhatavor** reported.

"However, Russia, having handed over Zangazur..., is trying to appease Armenia. Citizens of the latter will not accept turning Armenia into a Russian province. Armenia must have independent borders," the report said (27).



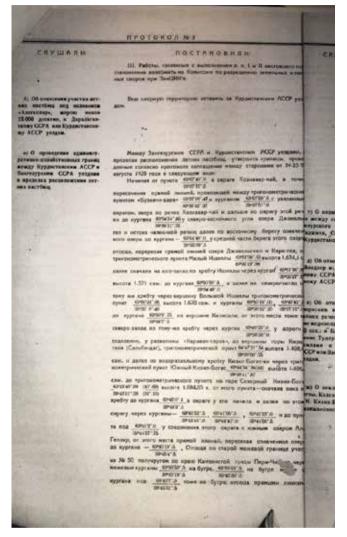
"By giving up Zangazur...Azerbaijan is seeking to help powerless Armenia. Azerbaijan has chosen a path that substantially contributes to peaceful co-existence of the two nations," Ashkhatavor said (28).

Thus, Zangazur was transferred to Armenia in the aftermath of strong pressure exerted by Bolshevik Russia without any valid historical, demographic, ethnic or cultural basis. Moreover, Azerbaijan was shown as an alleged initiating party in that handover. It was not long before the consequences of the move emerged.

#### **Settlement of Armenians in western Zangazur**

Zangazur's transfer to Armenia did not cause any substantial actions in this regard. However, the reference to "the Zangazur district of the Ganja governorate" was removed from official documents. The text of the Decree on conducting a census in the territory of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic, issued by the Revolutionary Committee on May 19, 1921, did not include the term "Zangazur" either (29). Furthermore, the Dashnak administration was abolished in the western





part of Zangazur in the summer of 1921. On July 20, the Zangazur district was established, in accordance with a decree of the Council of People's Commissars of the Armenian SSR on the administrative and territorial division. Authorities of the Armenian SSR embarked on **deliberately altering the** ethnic composition of the population in western Zangazur. First, they began preventing Azerbaijani stock breeders from using summer pastures. On May 2, 1922, chairman of the Council of People's Commissars **G. Musabayov** said in a in governmental report presented at the All-Azerbaijan Congress of Soviets (Councils) that almost 9/10 of Azerbaijan's territory was made up of plains and local residents were in need of mountainous areas, but the Azerbaijani population had been deprived of access to summer pastures for four years.

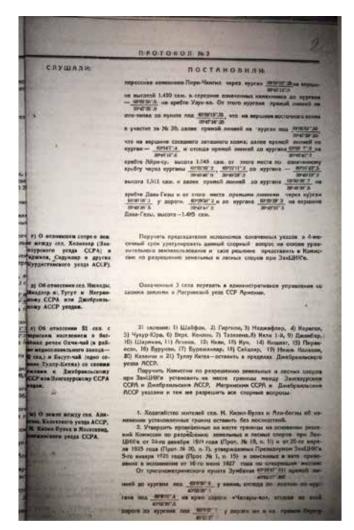
"The issue has been resolved with fraternal Armenia on acceptable grounds. Currently, Armenia allows our cattle

breeders to enter those summer pastures," the report said (30).

However, those words were a far cry from reality and rather promotional. Although no war was raging at the time, an acute refugee problem remained unresolved. The Armenian Bolshevik leadership was not much different from its Dashnak predecessors, preventing the displaced residents from returning to their homes. Therefore, Azerbaijan's Central Executive Committee (CEC) had to set up a special body to deal with refugee affairs. The established commission was instructed to study the situation on the ground and eliminate the undesirable consequences.

The government of the Transcaucasian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic set up a similar commission. Its first meeting was held on June 9, 1922 and attended by **S. Todria and A. Erzikyan**, the People's Commissars of Agriculture of the Georgian SSR and Armenian SSR, as well as M.D.Huseynov, the People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs of the Azerbaijan SSR, Nakhchivan representative F. Baghirov, as well as Kakabadze, Ter-Kazaryan and Aliyev, who had an advisory role in the discussions. First, participants considered a cable from Heydarov, chairman of the Nakhchivan district executive committee, and Musayev, a deputy Executive Secretary, which said that refugees from Zangazur face challenges caused by local authorities upon return to native land from the Gubadli district. A final statement of the commission said that due to the absence of available land in the territory of the Armenian SSR, the government of the Azerbaijan SSR "should be advised to settle almost 28,000 ethnic Azerbaijani refugees from Armenia" on its soil and also settle Armenians from the Armenian SSR itself in their villages. Thus, in fact, the displaced persons were formally denied an opportunity to return home.

A similar decision was passed on another issue concerning refugees from Zangazur based in the Ordubad district of the Nakhchivan region (31). The land dispute was reviewed at a session of the commission on land-related issues of the Transcaucasian CEC held on January 9, 1927. On January 11, the CEC's presidium discussed Clause 1 of the minutes from the January 9 meeting "On establishing an administrative and economic border between the Zangazur and Meghri districts on the one hand, and Kurdistan and Karyagi on the other." A decision was made further that **three Azerbaijani villages, namely, Nuvady, Einadzor and Tugut, with their allotted land, would be handed over to the** 



Meghri district of Armenia, while the issue on "the remaining part of the disputed territory" between the Zangazur and Karyagi districts in the basins of the Okhchi and Basit rivers, which included 21 villages and settlements settled by the Turks, remained unresolved. In order to conduct a more detailed delineation of the borders and "find the most appropriate solution in this issue", a decision was made to delegate a commission consisting of Azerbaijani and Armenian People's Commissars for Agriculture chaired by Transcaucasian Central Executive Committee member Vano Sturua at the earliest convenience (33).

On February 18, 1929, the Transcaucasian committee's Presidium held another discussion on outstanding land disputes between the South Caucasus republics. A decision was passed that the summer pasture area Ala-Gellar covering 12,000 Dessiatin (a land measure equivalent to 2.7 acres) remained as part of the Kurdistan district; the borders between the two republics in a section of the Zangazur district of Armenia and the

Kurdistan district of Azerbaijan were approved "according to a protocol of the 1928 agreement between the parties dated August 24, 25 and 26". Participants revisited and endorsed the previous decision to hand over the Azerbaijani villages Nuvady, Einadzor and Tugut to Armenia. A total of 21 settlements with Azerbaijani population remained within the Jabrayil district of Azerbaijan, while nine villages were transferred to Armenia (34).

Thus, **Zangazur**, **historical Azerbaijani territory**, **was deliberately divided.** Western Zangazur was transferred to Armenia, which amounted to severing the link between the mainland Azerbaijani territory and the Nakhchivan region and Turkey.

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On the initiative of Azerbaijani President Ilham Aliyev, the text of the trilateral statement of November 10, 2020 and the Shusha Declaration signed on June 15, 2021 included clauses on a **transport link between Azerbaijan's main territory and the Nakhchivan Autonomous Republic.** The above-mentioned facts lead to a conclusion that this initiative is aimed at restoring the historical justice. In 2021, the East Zangazur economic region was created in accordance with the Azerbaijani President's decree. Thus, the place-name "Zangazur" became part of the socio-political vocabulary used in the country.

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