

სომხური ეთნონაციონალური ექსპანსიონიზმის გეოპოლიტიკური ზომები სამხრეთ კავკასიაში

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რეზიუმე

სომხური ისტორიული პრეტენზიების გენეზისზე მითითებით, ჩვენ გამოვდივართ ფართოდ აღიარებული პარადიგმიდან, რომ „სომხური იდეა“ არის მრავალმრიანი ფენომენი, რომელიც მოიცავს მრავალ პოლიტიკურ, სოციალურ-ეკონომიკურ და იდეოლოგიურ-ფსიქოლოგიურ კონტექსტს. ყველა ეს კომპონენტი უხილავად არის წარმოდგენილი სომეხი ხალხის მეზობელ ერებთან და სახელმწიფოებთან კონფლიქტების გენეზისში.

სომეხი ხალხის ეთნოპოლიტიკურ სივრცეს ყოველთვის ახასიათებდა პრობლემებისა და წინააღმდეგობების ძალიან რთული და რთული ნაკრები, რამაც ხშირად გამოიწვია ომები, დეპორტაციები და ძალადობრივი დევნის სხვადასხვა ეთნიკურ ჯგუფებსა და სახელმწიფოებს შორის.

სომეხი ერის ისტორიული მისია, მისი განვითარების მთელი კურსით გამოწვეული, მიზნად ისახავს მეზობელი ერების და ქვეყნების ტერიტორიების მითვისებას.

სომეხი პატრიარქის [1] ბრალით ქართულ-სომხური ფედერალური სახელმწიფოს შექმნის მცდელობა მე-18 საუკუნის მეორე ნახევარში ჩაიშალა. ამიტომ ახალი სომეხი ეროვნული ლიდერები განსაკუთრებულ მნიშვნელობას ანიჭებდნენ კავკასიისთვის გეოპოლიტიკურ ბრძოლაში აღმოცენებულ რუსეთს.

XVIII საუკუნის ბოლოსთვის დაიწყო რუსეთ-სომხური საიდუმლო გეოპოლიტიკური ალიანსის ჩამოყალიბება, რომლის მიზანი იყო კავკასიაში სომხური სახელმწიფოს შექმნა საქართველოს, აზერბაიჯანისა და თურქეთის ტერიტორიებზე.

სომეხებს ჰქონდათ გრანდიოზული ოცნებები, რომლებიც მათ მიატოვეს მხოლოდ 1920 წელს, გიგანტურ სომხეთზე, რომელიც ბანაობდა სამი ზღვით - ადანიდან ტრაპიზონამდე - და გადაჭიმულია ბაქომდე. ასეთი სომხური სახელმწიფო შეიძლება შეიქმნას მხოლოდ

მეზობელი სახელმწიფოების ტერიტორიების ხარჯზე, მხოლოდ იმ ხალხების სისხლით, რომლებმაც ოდესღაც შეიფარეს და დაასახლეს ისინი თავიანთ მიწებზე.

1828-1830 წლებში რუსეთის პატრონაჟით სამხრეთ კავკასიაში 40 000 ირანელი და 100 000 თურქი სომეხი ჩამოსახლეს. აღვნიშნავთ იმ ფაქტს, რომ ჩამოსახლებულთა აბსოლუტური უმრავლესობა დასახლებული იყო ყარაბაღის მთიან რაიონებში და საქართველოს სამხრეთ რაიონებში.

მეცხრამეტე საუკუნის მეორე ნახევრის განმავლობაში რუსეთი გეგმავდა კიდევ უფრო გაფართოვდეს და განავითაროს თავისი დაპყრობითი და შეტევითი პოლიტიკა სამხრეთის მიმართულებით. რუსეთი კვლავ ცდილობდა სომეხების გამოყენებას თავის პოლიტიკაში და დაჰპირდა მათ ახალ ტერიტორიაზე სომხური სახელმწიფოებრიობის დამყარებას. დაიწყო თურქეთში სომეხების ბრძოლა „ეროვნული დამოუკიდებლობისთვის“, რომელიც ზოგჯერ ნამდვილ ომში გადაიზარდა. ეს სომხური მოძრაობა მოგვიანებით გახდა ცნობილი როგორც „სომხური საკითხი“.

საკვანძო სიტყვები: სომხური საკითხი, სომხური იდეა, კავკასიისთვის გეოპოლიტიკური ბრძოლა.

ციტირებისთვის: სომხური ეთნონაციონალური ექსპანსიონიზმის გეოპოლიტიკური ზომები სამხრეთ კავკასიაში, ჟურნალი „ბიზნესი და კანონმდებლობა“, №3, 2022 წ. გვ. 58-64.

GEOPOLITICAL DIMENSIONS OF ARMENIAN ETHNO-NATIONAL EXPANSIONISM IN THE SOUTH CAUCASUS

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Referring to the genesis of Armenian historical claims, we proceed from the widely acknowledged paradigm that the “Armenian idea” is a multi-layered phenomenon, which includes many political, socio-economic and ideological-psychological contexts. All of these components are invisibly present in the genesis of the conflicts of the Armenian people with neighbouring nations and states.

The ethno-political space of the Armenian people has always been characterised by a very complex and intricate set of problems and contradictions, which have often led to wars, deportations and violent disputes between different ethnic groups and states.

The historical mission of the Armenian nation, prompted by the entire course of its development, has the aim of appropriating the territories of neighbouring nations and countries.

Through the fault of the Armenian patriarch,[1] the effort to create a Georgian-Armenian federal state failed in the second half of the 18th century. Therefore, the new Armenian national leaders gave special importance to Russia, which emerged in the geopolitical struggle for the Caucasus.

By the end of the 18th century, the formation of a secret Russian-Armenian geopolitical alliance began, which had as its goal the creation of an Armenian state in the Caucasus on the territories of Georgia, Azerbaijan and Turkey.

The Armenians had grandiose dreams, which they abandoned only in 1920, of a gigantic Armenia, bathed by three seas - from Adana to Trabzon - and stretching as far as Baku. Such an Armenian state could only be created at the expense of the territories of neighbouring states, only on the blood of those peoples who had once sheltered and settled them on their lands.[2]

Between 1828 and 1830, under Russian patronage, 40,000 Iranian and 100,000 Turkish Armenians were resettled in the South Caucasus. We note the fact that the vast majority of the settlers were settled in the mountainous regions of Karabakh and the southern regions of Georgia.[3]

Throughout the second half of the nineteenth century, Russia planned to further expand and develop its conquest and offensive policy in the southern direction. Russia again tried to use Armenians in its policy and promised them the establishment of Armenian statehood on the new territory. The struggle of Armenians in Turkey for their ‘national independence’ began, at times escalating into a real war. This Armenian movement later became known as the ‘Armenian Question’.

The history of the emergence of Armenian nationalist parties and their active work in favour of the so-called “Armenian national idea” actually begins in the nineties of the 19th century, but their origins are much deeper - they have their roots in previous centuries, when Armenians did not have their own statehood for many centuries, after the fall of the Ani kingdom (1045) (also, Bagratid Kingdom of Armenia).

The emergence and development of the Armenian nationalist movement from the outset was linked to the international situation and was largely determined by foreign policy factors. Thus, the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-1878 ended with the defeat of Turkey and the signing of the Treaty of San Stefano, according to which Turkey lost most of its possessions in the Balkans (Serbia, Romania), Bulgaria became an autonomous principality, besides South Bessarabia, Batumi, Ardahan, Kars and Bayazet passed to Russia [4]. It was by that time the Armenian movement began. In 1878, when the Russian armies moved deep into Anatolia, capturing Kars, Erzerum, and on another front, liberated Bulgaria and approached the outskirts of Constantinople, at this point the Armenians, deciding that their time had come, sent a deputation led by the Armenian patriarch in Constantinople Varzhabedian, who was received by the governor of the Caucasus, the Grand Duke Mikhail Nikolayevich [5]. At the same time the Armenian Patriarch Nerses appealed to the Russian government before the conclusion of the Treaty of San Stefano, where he “on behalf of the Armenian population” requested “the intercession of Russia” [6]. It was this Armenian initiative that caused the San Stefano Treaty to include \$16, under which Turkey was obliged to introduce reforms giving them self-government in those Vilayets where Armenians were compactly living [7].

Naturally, this Armenian initiative led to considerable tension between the Sultan government and the Armenian community in Turkey, and the seeds of enmity and mistrust were sown.[8] Armenian nationalists adopted the idea of creating a “Greater Armenia from sea to sea” and unrest began in Sasun, Van and other regions. Naturally, Turkey could not forgive the betrayal of the Armenian population, the results of which were unfortunate for the Armenians.

We have to note that contrary to the San Stefano Agreement, according to which the reforms were to be controlled by Russia alone, this function was now assigned to the six powers that participated in the congress.[9] However, the powers were in no hurry to solve the so called “Armenian problem”. The first Armenian nationalist party “Armenakan” was created under such circumstances, with its centre located in Van and branches in Tbilisi, Baku, Trabzon, Constantinople, as well as in Persia and the USA [10]. The program of the party stated that its aim was “to obtain by revolutionary means the right for the Armenian people to lead their own

lives" [11]. It also stated that the revolutionary work of the party should be deployed only among the Armenian population, as "forces should not be wasted on the deployment of the revolutionary movement among neighbouring nations, for the outlook, demands and development of the Armenian people differ significantly from other nations, which can affect the development of the revolutionary movement, slowing it down" [12].

Some other revolutionary organizations and parties were formed among Armenians [13], but they were short-lived and yielded the palm to "Dashnaksutun".

After unsuccessful attempts of Armenian political organizations to tear off some territories from Turkey back in 1878 to create an Armenian state, Armenian leaders continued their policy of occupation of territories already inside the Russian Empire and the result of the new Armenian movement was the emergence of the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict in 1905. In their pogroms in Baku, the Armenian side pursued the aim of 'cleansing the mixed populated territory of Azerbaijanis' - thereby preparing an ethnic base for an independent 'great Armenian state'. For the same purpose, in November 1905 the Armenians carried out a bloody massacre of the Georgian population of Tiflis. They sought to liberate the city from non-Armenians and prepare Tiflis for the capital of a future independent "great Armenian state". At the same time, the Dashnaks decided to separate the Borchali and Akhalkalaki districts from the Tiflis province and from these territories to form a new - Alexandropol province [14].

Although Tsarism could have unceremoniously undertaken administrative and territorial reforms and transferred a certain part of Georgian territories to the Armenians, it did not consider it expedient to create an explosive situation in the run-up to the World War. Therefore, the Tsarist regime targeted the eastern vilayets of the Ottoman Empire, cleverly suggesting to the Armenians the gravity of their position in Turkey.

It was quite easy to agitate the Turkish Armenians. Once upon a time at a meeting one of the Dashnaks would object to an uprising in Turkey, saying that all Armenians would be slaughtered there, while others would reply: "Blood must be shed and the civilised world would take notice". This is how the leaders of "Dashnaksutun" were thinking about their plans [15].

On the eve of the First World War the Young Turks tried to persuade Armenians to take an active stand on the side of Turkey. However, the Armenian leaders had other aims. The aspirations of the Armenian nationalists were seen by the Turkish leadership as treason against the interests and ideals of the Turkish Empire [16].

The Russian troops of the 1st Caucasus Army crossed the Turkish border on 4 November 1914. The numerous Armenian committees of the "Gnchak" and "Dashnaksutyun" parties in the rear of the Turkish troops began to organise mass disturbances, robberies, killings of civilians, attacks on state institutions, mosques, etc [17].

The Dashnak leaders were well aware, that they would never achieve their objectives in Turkey by peaceful means - there were simply no prerequisites for that. Therefore in 1914, when the war started, and especially in the spring of 1915, when the Russian army counter-offensive started, they decided to implement their tactic of "emptying the void". The Dashnaksutun emissaries, who were at the head of armed gangs (rebel groups), launched a general uprising of the Armenian population in the vilayet of Van, which was at the epicentre of the unfolding hostilities. During the Russian offensive in the southern part of the Turkish front these volunteers committed a merciless massacre of the peaceful Turkish population. Turkish villages occupied by Dashnak units were "liberated" from living people and turned into ruins filled with disfigured victims [18].

The Ottoman government initially opted for defensive tactics, suppressing rebellions in individual regions. The government perceived these as isolated incidents, despite Armenians fleeing with their weapons and the large role of religious leaders in the uprisings. A message was sent to the Armenian patriarch at this time stating that there were not enough gendarmes to restore public order in the country because of the war, and that if the disturbances caused by the Armenians did not stop, "the government would be forced to take harsher measures for the defence of the country" [19].

All these attempts by the Ottoman government to solve the problem peacefully have been documented. During the period when the Ottoman troops were fighting on the front line, the Armenian actions were carried out as planned: "For the independence of the Armenians, in order to serve the interests of the Allies". But it should not be forgotten that the actions of the Armenian gangs in the rear of the Ottoman troops - under international law - are nothing less than high treason [20].

On 21 February 1914, 30,000 ethnic Turks were killed in Kars and Ardahan by trained Armenian gangs. Babies were taken away and thrown into the fire. The murders were preceded by brutal torture. One of the direct organizers of these murders was the ideologist of the Armenian terrorist organization "Gnchak", deputy of the Turkish Parliament Stepan Ter-Danielyan [21].

Seeing such actions of the Dashnak "heroes" and aware of the Tsarist plan to "solve" the so-called Armenian question, the Turkish government decided in April 1915 on the general deportation of Armenians living in Turkey.

The reason for resettlement was the treachery and extermination of the ethnically Turkish population in the territories seized by the Russian Empire, where the establishment of an 'independent' Armenia was envisaged. The purpose of relocating the Armenians on the Iranian and Caucasian front lines was not to exterminate them, but to ensure the security of the Turkish state.

Sharing the skin of an unkilld bear was premature. Ironically, Russia withdrew from the war after the revolutionary explosion in 1917, the Russian army left the occupied ter-

ritories and with them hundreds of thousands of Armenians moved to the Transcaucasus and settled in the Georgian and Azerbaijani lands [22].

On 20 November 1917, the Petrograd Sovnarkom proclaimed: "We declare that the treaty dividing Turkey and 'taking away' 'Armenia' from her is torn up and destroyed. As soon as hostilities cease, the Armenians will be assured the right to freely determine their own destiny" [23].

The declaration was agreed with Germany. In practice it meant renouncing the protection of the Turkish Armenians. Such a decision of the Bolsheviks was (as it later turned out, erroneously) dictated by the belief that the Turkish leader M. Kemal was going to be at the forefront of the struggle of the oppressed peoples of the East against world imperialism.

The Bolshevik coup in Russia and their policy on the 'Armenian issue' threw the Dashnaks (who were so close to their cherished goal) into disarray and the Armenian public wondered how to proceed.

The leaders of the Dashnaks repeatedly indulged the Armenian people with illusions, instilling in them unrealistic hopes of establishing a "Great Armenia" and assuring them that the Dashnaksutiun was supported by powerful forces, referring to Russia, then to England and France. The interests of these powers undoubtedly converged on the "Armenian issue", but this interest did not yet mean that they were prepared to provide real comprehensive and large-scale assistance, without which Dashnaksutyun's plans were doomed to failure.

However, the Armenian nationalist organisations quickly adapted to the new political realities. Having realised that the plans for the creation of "Armenian statehood" in the territory of Turkey had become considerably more difficult, if not completely failed, the Dashnaks switched to the implementation of this idea in the Transcaucasus.

As early as the beginning of 1918, the Dashnaksutyun party began implementing a criminal plan to oust Azerbaijanis from their ancestral lands for their subsequent colonisation by Armenians. For this purpose, the Dashnaks actively recruited Armenian armed units who had previously fought in the Russian army on the Caucasus front.

One of the first large-scale operations by Armenian formations to ethnically cleanse the territories of the Transcaucasus from Azerbaijanis was carried out in the province of Erivan. Between February 17 and 21, 1918, regular Armenian armed formations under the command of Colonel Pirumov, using artillery, razed 21 Azerbaijani villages to the ground in that province. Erivan province 197 Azerbaijani villages were plundered and destroyed [25].

This punitive operation was an integral part of the Dashnaksutyun policy of ethnically cleansing the territory of Erivan province from Azerbaijanis and subsequently transforming these native Azerbaijani lands into the centre of Armenian statehood in the Transcaucasus. After all, as of 1 January 1916, Azerbaijanis constituted approximately 40% of the population of the Erivan province [26].

The punitive operation against the peaceful Azerbaijani population of the Erivan province was a kind of "the general rehearsal" for the Dashnak formations before the March events of 1918. These events which have led only in Baku to death of more than 12 thousand innocent peaceful Azerbaijanis, are one of the most terrible and tragic pages of the modern history of Azerbaijan.

This is precisely the way the best representatives of the Armenian people tried to cleanse the territories of neighbouring nations from non-Armenians to create their own ethno-political space with the subsequent aim of establishing an independent "great Armenian state".

On 26 May 1918 Georgia declared independence, but it caused an outburst of indignation among the Dashnaks,[27] the Armenian Bolsheviks and the whole Armenian public. [28] It was seen as a betrayal of the interests of the Armenian people. Thus, the Bolshevik Shaumyan assessed the declaration of independence of Georgia as follows: "The declaration of independence of Georgia indicates a new crime by the Mensheviks. This is a new attempt at betrayal of the Armenian people neighbouring Georgia, an incredible, shameless betrayal" [29].

Such an attitude towards the proclamation of Georgian independence by Armenian political parties and the public is explained by the Turkish ultimatum of 26 May 1918, and the attitude of the parties represented in the Transcaucasian Sejm.

The Turkish ultimatum of 26 May 1918 demanded the immediate alienation in favour of the Ottoman Empire of Nakhichevan district, excluding Ordubad, half of Sharuro-Daralagyaz district, all of Surmalin district, Echmiadzin district, half of Erivan district, most of Alexandropol district and all of Akhalkalaki district [30].

In the opinion of the Dashnaks, the Georgian Mensheviks declared Georgia a separate republic only in order to start separatist negotiations with Turkey and hand over the entire so-called Armenia to them.[31]The declaration of Georgian independence, so negatively perceived by the Dashnaks, forced the Turkish government to make significant adjustments in its plans towards Armenia. Thus, during the signing of the Batumi Agreement the head of the Turkish delegation, Khalil Bey, stated: "The Ottoman imperial government managed its feelings with great calm and instructed me to sign a document recognising the existence of an Armenian government" [32].

The Dashnak leaders, long dreamed of becoming masters of an independent Armenian state, were delighted by the generosity of the Young Turks.[33] On May 28 1918 the Central Armenian National Council in Tiflis declared Armenia an independent republic and the Dashnak government reluctantly left for Erivan, the capital of the new state, on June 17.

The new independent Armenia was formed from parts of the historical territories of Georgia and Azerbaijan, this territory amounted to 9,000 square kilometres. The plan

to create a "Greater Armenia" failed, although the creation of the Armenian geopolitical space was a significant step in the Armenian national cause.

After Germany's defeat in the World War Armenia as a faithful ally of the Entente in the Caucasus counted on the special favour of Britain, France and the United States and demanded a promise of the expansion of the Armenian borders. According to Javakhishvili a fantastic map of Armenia was published in Istanbul, on which Armenia was stretched from the Black Sea to the Caspian Sea and from a place north of Seleucia to Ardabil the border of Armenia ended at the Caspian Sea. Batumi, Akhaltsikhe, Mtskheta and even Tbilisi appeared on this map to be within the limits of Armenia, while Georgia received only a small, narrow strip" [35].

Although Armenia ceased to exist politically in 1045, its borders had never been defined in this way. However, the post-war international situation and the position of Turkey allowed the Dashnaks to demand expansion of Armenia to the limits presented in the map.

According to archive material, during negotiations[36] Armenian Minister of Foreign Affairs S. Tigranian in Yerevan declared to diplomatic representative of Georgia in Armenia that Armenia may cede Akhalkalak and Borchalo provinces to Georgia if Georgia will support Armenian government in its intention to add Karabakh and the mountainous part of the Kazakh province to the latter[37]. Mdivani, of course, could not give any promises to S. Tigranian and immediately ruled out the possibility of Georgia's participation in the planned aggression of Armenia against Azerbaijan. Subsequently, according to the documents, Tigranian raised this issue several times in a conversation with S. Mdivani, but did not receive any support from him. Tigranian then put forward an idea of a joint (Georgian-Armenian) action against Turkey.[38] However, Tigranian's idea was not supported in Georgian government circles.[39]

On December 7, 1918 Armenia suddenly attacked Georgia without declaring a war. With this action the Dashnak leaders of Armenia wrote one of the blackest pages in the history of Georgian-Armenian relations!

As a result of the Armenian attack on December 15 and 16 the Georgian capital was directly threatened. Under these circumstances on December 17, 1918 an emergency meeting of the Georgian Parliament was held in Tbilisi. N.N. Jordania said in his speech: "Something happened that should not have happened ... Responsibility for this historic crime falls entirely on the government of Kachaznuni." [39] On the same December 17, mobilization was announced, General G. Mazniashvili was appointed commander of the Georgian army, acting against the Armenian troops, General G. Kvinitadze was appointed as Chief of Staff.[40] Personnel changes were made both in the national army and in the guard. Subsequently, the Armenian army was defeated and expelled from Georgian territory.

At 12 o'clock on December 31, 1918 the hostilities

ceased. Armenian troops were pushed back to the positions previously occupied, the enemy was defeated.

Thus, the plans of the Armenian leadership to cut off significant territories from Georgia failed.

Commenting on the treacherous attack of Armenia on Georgia I.A. Javakhishvili wrote: "...Despite the painful lessons of history, the Armenian rulers did not hesitate to invade Georgia and seize our capital by force, it is not difficult to imagine how much their appetite will increase when they again forget the bitter days of history. Therefore, the Georgian people and their government... are obliged to pay due attention to the state borders and to strictly defend them. This will not hinder either fraternity - unity or good neighbourly relations with those who really think of fraternity and good neighbourliness"[41].

In Paris the Armenian delegation printed a new map of Armenia, according to which the boundaries of Armenia included: Akhalkalaki district, Akhaltsikhe district, Borchali district, Tbilisi, Mtskheta, Gori, Batumi and part of Batumi province,[42] this map also included Trapezund, Kars and Ardahan regions. The Armenian government delegation presented this map to the World Conference for approval of the Armenian state within the boundaries shown on the map and stated: "The Armenians, deceived and abandoned by the Georgians and betrayed by the Tatars, joined the Turks, after the defeat of Russia and the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, defended the front with their military units and held the Turkish advance for 7 months".

Having lost Cilicia, having lost its natural harbours, Mersin and Hayes, the Armenian people would be doomed to wither in their mountains, without communication with the Mediterranean Sea and, not having a possibility to breathe, Armenia would lose its lungs.

"The life and future of Armenians on the Mediterranean Sea" [43].

However, the falsity of the map and statistics presented by the Armenian delegation immediately became clear to all and deprived the Armenian delegation's fantastic plans of all credibility in the eyes of the French, British and American representatives. "The plan for the Great Armenia," Javakhishvili wrote, "has disintegrated and disappeared like a soap bubble." [44]

During the Paris peace conference Armenia did not receive the expected support from the British. There was hope for the United States. President W. Wilson promised help and on his orders Colonel Haskell was sent to Armenia to prepare the whole of Transcaucasia for a mandate rule. But the Senate calculated the possible costs and decided that supporting Armenia would cost American taxpayers too much: £151.2 million over 5 years. To Wilson's appeals for remembrance of humanism, the senators replied, "We do not wish to get involved in European affairs, even though considerations of humanity demanded it" [45].

In September 1919 the Dashnak newspaper "Ashkhatavor" published an article critical of British policy in Trans-

caucasia. The threat of a Turkish invasion hung over Armenia as British troops withdrew. In response, Scotland Liddell[46] harshly criticised the domestic and foreign policy of the Dashnaks. "Instead," he wrote, "of persuading their countrymen to live in peace with their neighbours - and wait until the peace conference (the Paris conference) settles many disputed issues, many Armenian leaders, the Dashnaks and others are turning the people against the Muslims".

... Armenian leaders are infatuated with the silly idea that where there are Armenians there should be only Armenian laws and no others. And their dreams of a future Armenia have reached to the idea of an Armenia with access to three seas - the Black Sea, the Mediterranean and the Caspian Sea. If such Armenia could be created, only 3% of its population would be Armenians.

... And finally, we cannot believe in any way that the Dashnak party is a true representative of the thoughts and aspirations of the Armenian people and a dedicated defender of their needs." [47]

Such harsh criticism of the Dashnaks was certainly connected with the project of establishing an American protectorate over Armenia and was indicative not only of the aggravation of Armenian-English, but also Anglo-American relations.

The British troops withdrew from Baku in the summer of 1919. In the meantime General A. I. Denikin, under the slogan of the "United and Great Russia", continued his offensive to the south. In this situation on 16 June 1919 Azerbaijan and Georgia signed a military-political treaty. However, the Dashnaks chose a different path, they concluded a secret military alliance with Denikin. [48] This alliance was certainly directed against both Georgia and Azerbaijan.

After the defeat of Denikin's main forces in 1920, a new war with Turkey was imminent in Armenia. Turkey demanded that Armenia renounce the Treaty of Sèvres [49] and, consequently, certain territories.

In the autumn of 1920 hostilities began between Turkey and Armenia. The Bolshevik leadership was sympathetic to Turkey as Armenia was considered an outpost of the Entente. The Entente countries, in turn, were hesitant to help Armenia.

Armenia renounced the Treaty of Sevres at the end of November 1920 [49]. Hope remained with Soviet Russia. On 29 November 1920 Soviet power was established in Armenia.

Thus, the policy of the Armenian Nationalist Party "Dashnaksutyun" failed. Its ambition to create a "Greater Armenia from sea to sea" brought inexhaustible suffering to the Armenian people first and foremost. The historical crime of the Dashnaks was the organization of mass protest against the Turkish state and its results.

The worldwide political events at the end of the 20th century, associated with the collapse of the Soviet Union, could not lead to a 'renaissance' of the ancient Armenian dream. With the independence of Armenia in 1991, the 'Armenian question' returned to the international arena.

The Armenian-Azerbaijani war and the occupation of the Nagorny Karabakh region, according to Armenian ideologists, is the beginning of the process of creating a 'Greater Armenia'. Armenian emissaries have had their geopolitical dreams and are now building plans to seize new territories from neighbouring countries.

All of a sudden, it dawned on Armenians in Georgia and Azerbaijan that they do not live in those countries, but in part of the territory of "Greater Armenia", so the descendants of refugees from Turkey began to demand annexation of Javakheti to Armenia, while in Yerevan Armenian minds concocted historical absurdities about the right of Armenians to the southern regions of Georgia [50].

The Georgian intelligentsia found it unserious to enter into a polemic with the "Greater Armenia" Taxis. The Armenian ideologists felt that the Georgians bowed their heads to the majesty of the Armenian intellect and in their speeches demanded that Georgia annex Javakheti to Armenia. In Georgian political and social circles it was now clear that the Armenians had turned their gaze to the southern borders of Georgia [51].

Georgian scholars, with a little delay, did proceed to expose the Armenian "sages". Soon, Georgian newspapers published works, scientific articles and whole monographs were devoted to Armenian problem, in a word, a decent scientific response was given to all Armenian claims. To our surprise, the Armenians were hushed up, the Georgian public had the naivety to think that the Armenians had realised their mistake and the issue was over. However, some time later, shocking articles and statements by Armenian scribblers appeared in Armenian media and online websites [51]. In particular, they started claiming that Armenians were an autochthonous ethnos on territories of Ponto-Caucasus space. In a veiled form, there is an idea that Armenians are the autochthons of Abkhazia and the entire Western Georgia. A certain number of Armenians in the Krasnodar region, which appeared there mainly after the earthquake in Armenia, now gives grounds for Armenian ideologists to add this region to the contours of a future "Greater Armenia". Such actions were the cause of the Armenian calamities at the beginning of the twentieth century; by their actions, the representatives of the Armenian people are once again preparing a new fate for the Armenian people, and they alone will have to regret it.

The centuries-long Armenian ethnic expansion of the historical regions of Georgia and Azerbaijan could not blur the historical borders of our states. However, the Armenians, by rebranding Georgian and Azerbaijani toponyms and entire regions, thought that they lived not in Georgia and Azerbaijan, but in Armenia. At present, the new Armenian geopoliticians, having embraced the ancient, age-old secrets and aspirations of their people, have updated their rights to the beloved regions of neighbouring states with new political "concepts", so that the ancient idea is now being given a new form corresponding to the new era.

The creative talent of Armenian scientists can be envied, there is no equivalent in the world history of such disrespect to a neighbouring country, falsification of its entire historical past and such a crude attempt to appropriate its cultural heritage as is done by Armenian pseudo-scientists.

Thus, the Azerbaijani and Georgian lands, fertilized with the blood of our ancestors, have now become fertile ground for the Armenian false homeland to flourish. History knows of no cases of Armenian heroes fighting for the now claimed land. However, we know Movses Khorenatsi, Faustos Buzand, Jovhannes Draskhanakertzi and their likes today Suren Ayvazyan, Vahe Sargsyan and others, who create more and more tales for the rising Hayrans, preparing an ideological basis for future annexations of foreign territories.

From the history of Armenia it is well known that the lack of resilience and instinct for self-preservation created very favourable conditions for the settlement of this amazing people in different countries of the world. Every corner of Georgia was coveted by them, but in times of enemy offensives, when Georgians were holding their ground, or engaged in unequal combat, the hospitable Armenians, having laid down their arms before a strong enemy, immediately turned into their welcome allies and began to fight against those with whom they lived - their weakened hosts. This happened today, before our eyes in August 2008, when the Russian military machine shamefully invaded Georgia, Armenians were ready to revolt in Javakheti, but the world community stopped the rusty Russian tanks, and our "brothers" Armenians were quiet, waiting for a new opportunity.

In this aspect, M. Izoria notes in her paper: "...Regarding the prospects of the South Caucasian republics joining NATO, against the background of Tbilisi's institutional readiness to join the alliance, the main obstacle is still the situation around Georgia's two occupied regions". [53]. Undoubtedly, Georgia's entry into NATO's military-political bloc and the accession to the European Union are the primary goals of Georgia's foreign policy, while the obstacle will be resolved for political reasons.

The Karabakh conflict, in both its historical and current manifestations, is a continuation of the ancient Armenian idea of expanding the Armenian ethnic space. The Armenian invasion and occupation of this historic Azerbaijani region by Russian armed forces has resulted in a significant geo-ethnic change in the region. This mega-ethnic substratum continues to settle in neighbouring countries, aiming to expand its geopolitical range.

Proceeding from the above, the new geopolitical function of Turkey as a regional power, based on its geo-historical position, should determine the distribution of geocivilizational boundaries and put an end to the Armenian historical insurgencies, and finally withdraw Russia from the South Caucasus for the final establishment of peace in the region.

The states of the South Caucasus could build a unique Caucasian civilization, but when Azerbaijan and Georgia talk about a united Caucasus, our Armenian neighbours counter

this idea with their own - the idea of a "Greater Armenia". It seemed that after the flight from Karabakh, the Armenian geopoliticians will abandon this crazy idea forever, but no, they with renewed zeal began to promote ownership of the historical Georgian region of Samtskhe-Javakheti to Armenia, and the trouble is that they are supported in this by the geopolitical centres. With their new geopolitical games, the Armenian leaders are again preparing new sufferings for their own people.

USED LITERATURE:

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