

NOTES

Note on Terminology, Abbreviation, Transliteration, Calendar, and Maps

1. With the introduction of the 1936 constitution the adjectives “Socialist” and “Soviet” switched places in all the designations of the federal entities of the Soviet state.

Introduction

1. Letter from D. Kozachkov to Lazar’ Kaganovich, 26 October 1926, Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Rossiiskoi Federatsii (GA RF), fond (f.) 3316, opis’ (op.) 17, delo (d.) 721, listy (ll.) 49–50.

2. Lewis H. Siegelbaum and Leslie P. Moch, “Transnationalism in One Country? Seeing and Not Seeing Cross-Border Migration within the Soviet Union,” *Slavic Review* 75, no. 4 (2016): 970–86.

3. Kate Brown, *A Biography of No Place: From Ethnic Borderland to Soviet Heartland* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003), 40.

4. Vladimir Putin, “Address by the President of the Russian Federation,” 21 February 2022, <http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/transcripts/67828>.

5. Vladimir Lenin [Ul’ianov], “Address to the First All-Russian Congress of the Navy, 22 November/5 December 1917,” in his *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii* (hereafter *PSS*), 5th ed., 55 vols. (Moscow: Izdatel’stvo politicheskoi literatury, 1974), 35:115.

6. Benedict Anderson sees the map alongside the census and the museum as the main tools of exercising imperial power over the margins. See his *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, 3rd ed. (New York: Verso, 2003), 56–65.

7. Michael David-Fox, *Crossing Borders: Modernity, Ideology, and Culture in Russia and the Soviet Union* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2015), 48–71; Adeeb Khalid, “Backwardness and the Quest for Civilization: Early Soviet Central Asia in Comparative Perspective,” *Slavic Review* 56, no. 2 (2006): 232–35.

8. James M. Peterson and Jacek Lubecki, *Globalization, Nationalism, and Imperialism: A New History of Eastern Europe* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2023), 2–3.

9. Dominic Lieven, *Empire: The Russian Empire and Its Rivals* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 302–9.

10. Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 110–11; Josep M. Colomer, *Great Empires, Small Nations: The Uncertain Future of the Sovereign State* (New York:

Routledge, 2007), 3–17; Ulrike von Hirschhausen and Jörn Leonhard, *Empires: Eine globale Geschichte, 1780–1920* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2023), 14–18.

11. On “new imperial history,” see Ronald G. Suny, “Dialektika imperiï: Rossiia i Sovetskii soïuz,” in *Novaia imperskaia istoriia postsovetskogo prostranstva*, ed. Ilya Gerasimov et al. (Kazan: Tsentr issledovanii natsionalizma i imperii, 2004), 163–96; Mark R. Beissinger, “Soviet Empire as ‘Family Resemblance,’” *Slavic Review* 65, no. 2 (2006): 294–303; Juliette Cadiot, *Le laboratoire impérial: Russie-URSS, 1860–1940* (Paris: Éditions CNRS, 2007), 213; Ilya Gerasimov, Jan Kusber, and Alexander Semyonov, introduction to their *Empire Speaks Out: Languages of Rationalization and Self-Description in the Russian Empire* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 23–25; Valerie A. Kivelson and Ronald G. Suny, *Russia’s Empires* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017), 1–16; Lewis Siegelbaum and Krista Goff, introduction to their *Empire and Belonging in the Eurasian Borderlands* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2019), 3–4; Ilya Gerasimov, “Narrating Russian History after the Imperial Turn,” *Ab Imperio*, no. 4 (2020): 55–56; Shoshana Keller, *Russia and Central Asia: Coexistence, Conquest, Convergence* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2020), 15; Ilya Gerasimov, Alexander Semyonov, and Marina Mogilner, “Toward a Postnational History of Eurasia: Deconstructing Empires and, Denationalizing Groupness,” *Ab Imperio*, no. 1 (2023): 9–15; F. Benjamin Schenk, “‘A Sixth Part of the World’: The Career of a Spatial Metaphor in Russia and the Soviet Union, 1837–2021,” *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History* 24, no. 2 (2023): 352–53.

12. See, e.g., Siegelbaum and Goff, *Empire and Belonging*.

13. Lenin, “Chto delat’? Nabolevshie voprosy nashego dvizheniia,” in PSS, 6:117–20.

14. Francine Hirsch, *Empire of Nations: Ethnographic Knowledge and the Making of the Soviet Union* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2005), 7–8.

15. Jürgen Osterhammel and Jan C. Jansen, *Kolonialismus: Geschichte, Formen, Folgen*, 9th ed. (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2021), 73–80.

16. Paul Werth, “Russia’s Borders in the East and West,” *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History* 22, no. 3 (2021): 644.

17. Lynne Viola, “The Aesthetic of Stalinist Planning and the World of the Special Villages,” *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History* 4, no. 1 (2003): 103.

18. Nick Baron, “Nature, Nationalism and Revolutionary Regionalism: Constructing Soviet Karelia, 1920–1923,” *Journal of Historical Geography* 33 (2007): 573, 593.

19. Osterhammel and Jansen, *Kolonialismus*, 28–30, 73–77.

20. Camille Lefebvre, *Frontières de sable, frontières de papier: Histoire de territoires et de frontières, du jihad de Sokoto à la colonisation française du Niger, XIXe–XXe siècles* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2015), 413–20; Hélène Blais, “An Intra-Imperial Conflict: The Mapping of the Border between Algeria and Tunisia, 1881–1914,” *Journal of Historical Geography* 37 (2011): 178–90.

21. From a legal—and, as we will see, from a practical—point of view, William Partlett’s and Herbert Küpper’s fundamental assumption that indigenous populations in Soviet Central Asia or in the Caucasus were not an equal part of the Soviet demos is inappropriate. See, for example, Partlett and Küpper,

The Post-Soviet as Post-Colonial: A New Paradigm for Understanding Constitutional Dynamics in the Former Soviet Empire (Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar, 2022), 8. Despite equality before the law, instances of othering occurred in cultural practices. See Eric R. Scott, *Familiar Strangers: The Georgian Diaspora and the Evolution of Soviet Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 20–22.

22. Keller, *Russia and Central Asia*, 14. Problematizing Soviet rule in Central Asia as “colonial” is also one major topic of Gero Fedtke, *Roter Orient: Muslim-kommunisten und Bolschewiki in Turkestan, 1917–1924* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2020), 18. However, Botakoz Kassymbekova, Marlène Laruelle, Aminat Chokobaeva, and David Chioni Moore point to the potential of studying the history of Soviet Central Asia from a post-colonial perspective: Botakoz Kassymbekova, *Despite Cultures: Early Soviet Rule in Tajikistan* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2016), 199–204; Marlène Laruelle, *Central Peripheries: Nationhood in Central Asia* (London: UCL Press, 2021), 210–12; Botakoz Kassymbekova and Aminat Chokobaeva, “On Writing Soviet History of Central Asia: Frameworks, Challenges, Prospects,” *Central Asian Survey* 40, no. 4 (2021): 483–503; Botakoz Kassymbekova, “On Decentering Soviet Studies and Launching New Conversations,” *Ab Imperio*, no. 1 (2022): 115–20; and David Chioni Moore, “East, West, and South: Complex Asymmetries in Postcolonial/Post-Soviet Debates since 2001,” *Ab Imperio*, no. 1 (2024): 37. Chioni Moore’s “transhistorical” and “transgeographic” conception of “colonialism” is problematic for historic analysis as it turns into a timeless category.

23. Benedict Anderson made this a core argument of his study (*Imagined Communities*, 56–65).

24. Tereza Hendl et al., “(En)Countering Epistemic Imperialism: A Critique of ‘Westsplaining’ and Coloniality in Dominant Debates on Russia’s Invasion of Ukraine,” in *Contemporary Security Policy*, 4 December 2023, <http://doi.org/10.1080/13523260.2023.2288468>.

25. Marc Ferro, *Colonization: A Global History* (New York: Routledge, 1997), 15–17; Andrew Porter, *European Imperialism, 1860–1914* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 1994), 1–2; Osterhammel and Jansen, *Kolonialismus*, 19–24.

26. Terry Martin argues that “affirmative action” remained a Soviet core policy until 1991 (*The Affirmative Action Empire: Nations and Nationalism in the Soviet Union, 1923–1939* [Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2001], 461). On the challenge of “decolonization,” see also Alexander Herbert and Bryan Gigantino, “The Poverty of Cultural History: Decolonization, Race, and Politics in Post-Socialist Studies,” *LeftEast*, 1 January 2024, <https://lefteast.org/the-poverty-of-cultural-history-decolonization-race-and-politics-in-post-socialist-studies/>.

27. On the Paris Peace Conference and its global impact, see Manela Erez, *The Wilsonian Moment: Self-Determination and the International Origins of Anticolonial Nationalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); Leonard V. Smith, *Sovereignty at the Paris Peace Conference of 1919* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018); Maciej Górny, *Vaterlandszeichner: Geografen und Grenzen im Zwischenkriegseuropa* (Osnabrück: fibre, 2019); Elżbieta Kwiecińska, “Poland’s ‘Civilising Mission’ and Ukrainian Statehood at the Paris Peace Conference,” in *Making Ukraine: Negotiating, Contesting and Drawing the Borders in the Twentieth Century*, ed.

Constantin Ardeleanu and Olena Palko (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2022), 91–96.

28. The often-used bureaucratic terms *tselesoobrazno* and *tselesoobraznost'* are hard to translate. They appear in this book as “efficiently” and “efficiency.”

29. Report from Aleksandr Chervikov to the Politburo RKP(b), 30 November 1924, Tsentral'nyi derzhavnyi arkhiv vyshchykh orhaniv vlady ta upravlinnia Ukraïny (TsDAVO), f. 1, opys (op.) 2, sprava (spr.) 1808, arkush (ark.) 10–14.

30. Martin, *Affirmative Action Empire*, 274–82.

31. Francine Hirsch, “The Soviet Union as a Work-in-Progress: Ethnographers and the Category Nationality in the 1926, 1937, and 1939 Censuses,” *Slavic Review* 56, no. 2 (1997): 251–78; Ulla Connor, *Territoriale Grenzen als Praxis: Zur Erfindung der Grenzregion in grenzüberschreitender Kartographie* (Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2023), 94.

32. Robert Conquest, *The Last Empire* (London: Ampersand, 1962), 28–31; Olaf Caroe, *Soviet Empire: The Turks of Central Asia and Stalinism* (London: Macmillan, 1967), 145–49; Hélène Carrère d'Encausse, *The Great Challenge: Nationalities and the Bolshevik State, 1917–1930* (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1992), 179; Rakhim Masov, *Istoriia topornogo razdeleniia* (Dushanbe: Irfon, 1991), 113–14; Arslan Koichiev, *Natsional'no-territorial'noe razmezhevanie v ferganskoi doline, 1924–1927 gg.* (Bishkek: self-pub., 2001), 48–55.

33. Brown, *Biography of No Place*, 20.

34. Martin, *Affirmative Action Empire*, 10–12; Jeremy Smith, *Red Nations: The Nationalities Experience in and after the USSR* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013); Jeremy Smith, *The Bolsheviks and the National Question, 1917–1923* (London: St. Martin's Press, 1999); Ronald G. Suny, *The Revenge of the Past: Nationalism, Revolution, and the Collapse of the Soviet Union* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1993), 84–126; Gerhard Simon, *Nationalismus und Nationalitätenpolitik in der Sowjetunion: Von der totalitären Diktatur zur nachstalinistischen Gesellschaft* (Baden-Baden: Nomos, 1986), 34–82.

35. Hirsch, *Empire of Nations*; Martin, *Affirmative Action Empire*; Juliette Cadot, “Kak uporiadochivali raznoobrazie: Spiski i klassifikatsii natsional'nostei v Rossiiskoi imperii i v Sovetskom soiuze, 1897–1939 gg.,” *Ab Imperio*, no. 4 (2001): 177–206.

36. Hirsch, *Empire of Nations*, 14.

37. Anssi Paasi, *Territories, Boundaries and Consciousness: The Changing Geographies of the Finnish-Russian Border* (Chichester, UK: John Wiley and Sons, 1996); Mathijs Pelkmans, *Defending the Border: Identity, Religion, and Modernity in the Republic of Georgia* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006); Sabine Dullin, *La frontière épaisse: Aux origines des politiques soviétique, 1920–1940* (Paris: EHESS, 2014); Aleksandr Rupasov and Aleksandr Chistikov, *Sovetsko-finliandskaia granitsa, 1918–1938 gg. Ocherki istorii* (St. Petersburg: Avrora, 2016); Sören Urban-sky, *Beyond the Steppe Frontier: A History of the Sino-Russian Border* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2020).

38. Arne Haugen, *The Establishment of National Republics in Soviet Central Asia* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 235–37; Adrienne Lynn Edgar, *Tribal Nation: The Making of Soviet Turkmenistan* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2004), 46–47; Adeeb Khalid, *Making Uzbekistan: Nation, Empire, and*

Revolution in the Early USSR (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2015), 369; Arsène Saparov, *From Conflict to Autonomy in the Caucasus: The Soviet Union and the Making of Abkhazia, South Ossetia and Nagorno Karabakh* (London: Routledge, 2015), 137; Nick Baron, *Soviet Karelia: Politics, Planning, and Terror in Stalin's Russia, 1920–1939* (New York: Routledge, 2004), 48; Alexandr Voronovici, “Overlapping Spaces: Negotiating and Delineating the Ukrainian-Moldovan Border during the Interwar and Wartime Years,” in *Making Ukraine*, 210–37.

39. For Ukraine, see Hennadii Yefimenko, “Vyznachennia kordonu mizh USSR ta RSFR,” *Problemy istorii Ukraïny* 20 (2011): 135–76; Vasyľ Boyechko, Oksana Hanzha, and Borys Zacharchuk, *Kordony Ukraïny: Istorychna retrospektyva ta suchasnyi stan* (Kiev: Osnovy, 1994); and Vasyľ Boyechko, Oksana Hanzha, and Borys Zacharchuk, *Formuvannia derzhavnykh kordoniv Ukraïny, 1917–1940 rr.* (Kiev: AN USSR, 1991). For Belarus, see Sergei Khomich, *Territorii i gosudarstvennye granitsy Belarusi v XX veke: Ot nezavershennoi etnicheskoi samoidentifikatsii i vneshnepoliticheskogo proizvola k sovremennomu “status quo”* (Minsk: Ekonompress, 2011). For Georgia, see Nat’ela Mirianašvili, *sak’art’velos teritoriuli c’vilebani amierkavkasiis respublikebt’an, 1918–1938 cc.* (Tbilisi: universali, 2012). For Armenia, see Karen Xač’atryan, Hamo Suk’iasyan, and Gegam Badalyan, *Xorhdayan Hayastani ev lġin-i tarack’ayin korustnerē 1920–1930-akan t’vakannerin* (Yerevan: HHGAA, 2015).

40. Haugen, *Central Asia*, 209.

41. Hirsch, *Empire of Nations*, 7; Cadiot, *Laboratoire impérial*, 209–10; Khalid, *Making Uzbekistan*, 270.

42. Christian Teichmann, *Macht der Unordnung: Stalins Herrschaft in Zentralasien, 1920–1950* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2016), 243; Fedtke, *Roter Orient*, 417; Adeeb Khalid, “Nationalizing the Revolution in Central Asia: The Transformation of Jadidism, 1917–1920,” in *A State of Nations: Empire and Nation-Making in the Age of Lenin and Stalin*, ed. Ronald G. Suny and Terry Martin (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 156–59.

43. Konstantin Egorov, “Printsip federatsii, samoopredeleniie narodnosti i ekonomicheskoe raionirovanie” (The principle of federation, self-determination, and economic raionirovanie), 22 May 1922, GA RF, f. 5677, op. 4, d. 15, l. 92; Vladimir Dosov’s comment on Yegorov’s presentation, 15 May 1926, Arkhiv Rossiiskoi akademii nauk (ARAN), f. 350, op. 2, d. 74, l. 67.

44. Yurii Andropov reminded his audience on the occasion of the USSR’s sixtieth anniversary that the nationality question was of utmost importance for the functioning of the state (“Shest’desiat let SSSR,” in *Izbrannnye rechi i stat’ia* [Moscow: Izdatel’stvo politicheskoi literatury, 1983], 5–19).

45. This is my suggestion for operationalizing these terms. See also Leif Jerram, “Space: A Useless Category of Historical Analysis,” *History and Theory* 52, no. 3 (2013): 419.

46. For further reading on space, territory, and territorialization, see Charles S. Maier, “Consigning the Twentieth Century to History: Alternative Narratives for the Modern Era,” *American Historical Review* 105, no. 3 (2000): 808; Henri Lefebvre, *La production de l’espace*, 4th ed. (Paris: Anthropos, 2000), 35–57; Karl Schlögel, *Im Raume lesen wir die Zeit: Über Zivilisationsgeschichte und Geopolitik* (Munich: Carl Hanser, 2003), 393; David Delaney, *Territory: A Short Introduction*

(Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2005), 10–16; Nick Baron, “New Spatial Histories of 20th-Century Russia and the Soviet Union: Exploring the Terrain,” *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History* 9, no. 2 (2008): 433–47; Charles S. Maier, *Once within Borders: Territories of Power, Wealth, and Belonging since 1500* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2015), 6–8; Agnes Laba, *Die Grenze im Blick: Der Ostgrenzendiskurs der Weimarer Republik* (Marburg: Verlag Herder-Institut, 2019), 19–27; Goetz Herrmann and Andreas Vasilache, “Grenze, Staat und Staatlichkeit,” in *Grenzforschung: Handbuch für Wissenschaft und Studium*, ed. Dominik Gerst, Maria Klessmann, and Hannes Krämer (Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2021), 68–88.

47. On the notion of USSR as a façade federation see, e.g., Claire Mouradian, *L'Arménie*, 5th ed. (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 2013), 71; Richard Pipes, *The Formation of the Soviet Union: Communism and Nationalism 1917–1923*, 3rd ed. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997), vii; and Suny and Kivelson, *Russia's Empires*, 396.

48. David Newman, “Boundaries,” in *A Companion to Political Geography*, ed. John Agnew et al. (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2008), 126; Dominik Gerst and Hannes Krämer, “Methodologie der Grenzforschung,” in *Grenzforschung*, 124–25. On the older “essentialist” ideas, see Friedrich Ratzel, *Politische Geographie* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1897), 9–14, 471–95.

49. Stephan Rindlisbacher, “From Space to Territory: Negotiating the Russo-Ukrainian Border, 1919–1928,” *Revolutionary Russia* 31, no. 1 (2018): 99–100.

50. Laura Di Fiore, “The Production of Borders in Nineteenth-Century Europe: Between Institutional Boundaries and Transnational Practices of Space,” *European Review of History* 24, no. 1 (2017): 41. See also Nick Baron, Luminita Gatejel, and Stephan Rindlisbacher, “‘Drawing the Line’: Border Commissions in Eastern Europe,” *Journal of Modern European History* 22, no. 1 (2024): 3–5.

51. Peter Haslinger, “Dilemmas of Security: The State, Local Agency, and the Czechoslovak-Hungarian Boundary Commission, 1921–25,” *Austrian History Yearbook* 46 (2018): 193–200; Catherine Gibson, *Geographies of Nationhood: Cartography, Science, and Society in the Russian Imperial Baltic* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022), 176–216.

52. Jacobo García-Álvarez and Paloma Puente-Lozano, “Recent Geohistorical Research on Boundariummaking: Challenging Conventional Narratives on Borders and Modern State-Building,” *Geography Compass* 16, no. 1 (2022): 3.

53. Krista A. Goff, *Nested Nationalism: Making and Unmaking Nations in the South Caucasus* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2020), 161–66.

1. The Leninian Moment

1. Sergei Vvedenskii, “Ob izmenenii granitsy Kurskoi gubernii s Ukrainy,” 1924, GA RF, f. 5677, op. 5, d. 29, l. 101.

2. The regions of Julian March and Dalmatia are only one example. See Marina Cattaruzza, *Italy and Its Eastern Border, 1866–2016* (New York: Routledge, 2016).

3. Mark E. Blum and William Smaldone, introduction to *Austro-Marxism: The Ideology of Unity* (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 1:10–12; Börries Kuzmany, Matthias Battis, and Oskar Mulej, “Accommodating National Diversity within States: Territorial and Non-Territorial Approaches since the Late 19th Century,” *Nationality Papers* 50, no. 5 (2022): 851–52.

4. Otto Bauer, *Die Nationalitätenfrage und die Sozialdemokratie* (Vienna: Ignaz Brand, 1907), 510–19.

5. Iosif Stalin [Dzhugashvili], “Marksizm i natsional’nyi vopros,” in his *Sochineniia* (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel’stvo politicheskoi literatury, 1954), 2:296, 362–67. In proposing such an essentialist idea, Stalin excluded, for instance, the Jews from being a nationality, as they did not represent a majority of the population anywhere (except in the shtetl) and thus had no “territory.”

6. Roni Gechtman, “A ‘Museum of Bad Taste’? The Jewish Labour Bund and the Bolshevik Position Regarding the National Question, 1903–14,” *Canadian Journal of History* 43, no. 1 (2008): 49–50.

7. Bauer, *Nationalitätenfrage*, 22–23.

8. Stephen J. Blank, *The Sorcerer as Apprentice: Stalin as Commissar of Nationalities, 1917–1924* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1994), 8.

9. Lenin, “Tezisy po natsional’nomu voprosu,” in *PSS*, 23:314–21; Lenin, “O prave natsii na samoopredelenie,” in *PSS*, 25:255–320; Lenin, “Revoliutsionnyi proletariat i parvo natsii o samoopredelenii,” in *PSS*, 27:61–68; Lenin, “Chto delat’?,” in *PSS*, 6:117–20.

10. Lenin, “Nuzhen li obiazatel’nyi gosudarstvennyi iazyk?,” in *PSS*, 24:295.

11. Lenin, “K voprosu o natsional’nostiakh ili ob ‘avtonomizatsii,’” in *PSS*, 45:356–62.

12. Jesse Kauffman, *Elusive Alliance: The German Occupation of Poland in World War I* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2015), 106–40.

13. Woodrow Wilson, *Essential Writings and Speeches of the Scholar-President*, ed. Mario R. DiNunzio (New York: New York University Press, 2006), 403–7; Xosé M. Núñez Seixas, “Wilson’s Unexpected Friends: The Transnational Impact of the First World War on Western European Nationalist Movements,” in *The First World War and the Nationality Question in Europe: Global Impact and Local Dynamics*, ed. Xosé M. Núñez Seixas (Leiden: Brill, 2021), 37–64.

14. Erez, *Wilsonian Moment*, 6; Larry Wolff, *Woodrow Wilson and the Reimagining of Eastern Europe* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2020), 5–6, 238–39; Smith, *Sovereignty*, 10; Núñez Seixas, introduction to *First World War*, 1.

15. Suny, *Red Flag Unfurled*, 86–87.

16. Adeeb Khalid underlines this synchronicity in *Central Asia: A New History from the Imperial Conquests to the Present* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2021), 168.

17. Omer Bartov and Eric D. Weitz, eds., *Shatterzone of Empires: Coexistence and Violence in the German, Habsburg, Russian, and Ottoman Borderlands* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2015).

18. Erez, *Wilsonian Moment*, 56–61; Wolff, *Woodrow Wilson*, 168–227; Smith, *Sovereignty*, 102–42. John Connelly highlights the agency of the East Europeans

in these bordering processes: *From Peoples into Nations: A History of Eastern Europe* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2020), 360–61.

19. Górný, *Vaterlandszeichner*, 97–129.

20. Carole Fink, *Defending the Rights of Others: The Great Powers, the Jews, and International Minority Protection, 1878–1938* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 133–61.

21. Róbert Keményfi, “Grenzen-Karten-Ethnien: Kartenartige Konstituierungsmittel im Dienst des ungarischen nationalen Raumes,” in *Osteuropa kartiert: Mapping Eastern Europe*, ed. Jörn Happel and Christophe von Werdt (Berlin: Lit, 2010), 210–11; Górný, *Vaterlandszeichner*, 125–26.

22. Brendan Karch, “Plebiscites and Postwar Legitimacy,” in *Beyond Versailles: Sovereignty, Legitimacy, and the Formation of New Politics after the Great War*, ed. Marcus M. Payk and Roberta Pergher (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2019), 16–37; Thomas Mack Barker and Andreas Moritsch, *The Slovene Minority of Carinthia* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984), 146–71; Nina Jebesen and Martin Klatt, “The Negotiation of National and Regional Identity during the Schleswig-Plebiscite Following the First World War,” *First World War Studies* 5, no. 2 (2014): 181–211.

23. Alan Sharp, *The Versailles Settlement: Peacemaking after the First World War, 1919–1923*, 3rd ed. (London: Palgrave MacMillan 2018), 160–63.

24. Marina Cattaruzza, “The Making and Remaking of a Boundary: The Redrafting of the Eastern Border of Italy after the Two World Wars,” *Journal of Modern European History* 9, no. 1 (2011): 67–75; Peter Haslinger, *Der ungarische Revisionismus und das Burgenland, 1922–1932* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1994), 37–43, 193; Isabelle Davion, “Teschen and Its Impossible Plebiscite: Can the Genie Be Put Back in the Bottle?,” in Payk and Pergher, *Beyond Versailles*, 38–58.

25. Smith, *National Question*, 2–3; Per Anders Rudling, *The Rise and Fall of Belarusian Nationalism, 1906–1931* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2015), 73–76; Fabian Baumann, *Dynasty Divided: A Family History of Russian and Ukrainian Nationalism* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2023), 162–204; Etienne Peyrat, *Histoire du Caucase au XXe siècle* (Paris: Fayard, 2020), 77–82; Richard G. Hovannisian, *The Republic of Armenia* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971), 1:70–78; Tomohiko Uyama, “The Alash Orda’s Relations with Siberia, the Urals, and Turkestan: The Kazakh National Movement and the Russian Imperial Legacy,” in *Asiatic Russia: Imperial Power in Regional and International Contexts*, ed. Tomohiko Uyama (London: Routledge, 2012), 271–87; Khalid, *Making Uzbekistan*, 57–65.

26. Declaration of the Rights of the Peoples in Russia (signed by Stalin and Lenin), 2 November 1917 (15 November 1917, New Style), Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi arkhiv sotsial’no-politicheskoi istorii (RGASPI), f. 2, op. 1, d. 24219, ll. 1–2.

27. Yuri Slezkine, “The USSR as a Communal Apartment, or How a Socialist State Promoted Ethnic Particularism,” *Slavic Review* 53, no. 2 (1994): 420–21.

28. Timothy K. Blauvelt, “Ideology Meets Practice in the Struggle for the Transcaucasus: Stepan Shaumyan and the Evolution of Bolshevik Nationality Policy,” *Caucasus Survey* 8, no. 1 (2020): 90.

29. Jon Smele, *The “Russian” Civil Wars, 1916–1926: Ten Years That Shook the World* (London: Hurst and Co., 2015).
30. Hirsch, *Empire of Nations*, 6–7.
31. Lesley Chamberlain, *Lenin’s Private War: The Voyage of the Philosophy Steamer and the Exile of the Intelligentsia* (New York: St. Martin’s, 2007), 100–130.
32. Institut Marksizma-Leninizma pri TsK KPSS, ed., *Vtoroi s”ezd RSDRP, iiul’-avgust 1903 goda: Protokoly* (Moscow: Gosizdat, 1959), 421.
33. Stalin, “Kontrrevoliutsiia i narody Rossii,” *Proletarii*, 13 August 1917 (26 August 1917, New Style), reprinted in *Revoliutsionnoe dvizhenie v Rossii v avguste 1917 g.: Razgrom kornilovskogo miatezha*, ed. D. Chugaev, P. Avvakumov, and S. Gaponenko (Moscow: AN SSSR, 1959), 345–47.
34. Paul Werth, *How Russia Got Big: A Territorial History* (London: Bloomsbury, 2025).
35. Slezkine, “Communal Apartment,” 434–35.
36. Iosif Vareikis, “Novyi etap natsional’nogo stroitel’sтва v Srednei Azii,” in *Natsional’no-gosudarstvennoe razmezhevanie Srednei Azii*, ed. Isaak Zelenskii and Iosif Vareikis (Tashkent: Sredniaia Aziia, 1924), 59; Slezkine, “Communal Apartment,” 415.
37. Declaration on the Rights of the Working and Exploited People, 13 January 1918 (26 January 1918, New Style), in *Upravlenie delami Sovnarkoma SSSR, Sobranie uzakonenii i razporiazhenii pravitel’sтва za 1917–1918 gg.* (Moscow, 1942), 234.
38. Lenin, “O nashei revoliutsii: Po povodu zapisok N. Sukhanova,” in *PSS*, 45:381.
39. Lara Douds, *Inside Lenin’s Government: Ideology, Power and Practice in the Early Soviet State* (London: Bloomsbury, 2018), 169.
40. Douds, *Inside Lenin’s Government*, 96, 149–50.
41. Section 8 of the 1918 RSFSR constitution, in *Ocherk istorii sovetskoi konstitutsii*, ed. Yu. Kukushkin and O. Chistiakov (Moscow: Politizdat, 1987), 242.
42. Institut Marksizma-Leninizma pri TsK KPSS, *Vos’moi s”ezd RKP(b), mart 1919 goda: Protokoly* (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel’sтво politicheskoi literatury, 1959), 46–47.
43. Smith, *National Question*, 31–34; Blank, *Sorcerer as Apprentice*, 99–100; Slezkine, “Communal Apartment,” 422.
44. Cadiot, *Laboratoire impérial*, 128–29.
45. On the idea of a census as tool of governance, see David W. Darrow, “Census as a Technology of Empire,” *Ab Imperio*, no. 4 (2002): 145–47.
46. Khalid, *Central Asia*, 161–62.
47. Marko [Marco] Buttino, *Revoliutsiia naoborot: Sredniaia Aziia mezhdu padeniem tsarskoi imperii i obrazovaniem SSSR* (Moscow: Zven’ia, 2007), 271–80; Khalid, “Nationalizing the Revolution,” 146–47; Fedtke, *Roter Orient*, 276–83, 311–12.
48. Smith, *Bolsheviks and the National Question*, 47.
49. Daniel E. Schafer, “Local Politics and the Birth of the Republic of Bashkortostan, 1919–1920,” in Suny and Martin, *State of Nations*, 165–90; Smele, “Russian” Civil Wars, 49–50; Smith, *Bolsheviks and the National Question*, 47–48,

94–98; Norihiro Naganawa, “Tatars and Imperialist Wars: From the Tsar’s Servitors to the Red Warriors,” *Ab Imperio*, no. 1 (2020): 191–95.

50. “Protokol no. 25 ob”edinënnogo zasedaniia Kraikoma, Kraimusbiuro i Komiteta inostrannykh kommunistov KPT i predstavitelei Turkkomissii po voprosu ob avtonomii Turkeстана,” 17 January 1920, in *Rossii i Tsentral’naia Aziia: Konets XIX–nachalo XX veka. Sbornik dokumentov i materialov*, ed. Dina Amanzholova, T. Dalaeva, and G. Sultangalieva (Moscow: Novyi khronograf, 2017), 322.

51. Jörg Baberowski, *Der Feind ist überall: Stalinismus im Kaukasus* (Munich: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 2003), 250–52; Khalid, *Central Asia*, 172–74; Iurii Demin, “The Bolsheviks and the Soviet Socialist Republic of Iran, 1920–21: Moscow’s Politics and the Ambitions of Regional and Local Political Actors,” *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History* 25, no. 2 (2024): 273–98.

52. Fedtke, *Roter Orient*, 16; Khalid, “Nationalizing the Revolution,” 156.

53. A. Adigamov, “Zaiavlenie Bashrevkoma po voprosu o Tatarskoi Respublike,” *Zhizn’ natsional’nostei*, no. 5/61 (1920): 2.

54. Smith, *Bolsheviks and the National Question*, 93–94; Marina Cattaruzza, “Das nationale Problem der Sozialdemokratie und der internationalen kommunistischen Bewegung, 1889–1953,” in *Die Moderne und ihre Krisen: Studien von Marina Cattaruzza zur europäischen Geschichte des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Sacha Zala (Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2012), 249–50; Blank, *Sorcerer as Apprentice*, 22–29; for an example, see G. Skalov, “Ekonomicheskoe ob”edinenie sr.-aziatskikh respublik kak faktor natsional’noi politiki,” *Zhizn’ natsional’nostei*, no. 5 (1923): 40–45.

55. Mikhail Vladimirovskii, *Organizatsiia Sovetskoi vlasti na mestakh* (Moscow: Gosizdat, 1919), 7–9, 52–54.

56. Konstantin Egorov, *Raionirovanie SSSR: Sbornik materialov po raionirovaniu s 1917 po 1925 god* (Moscow: Planovoe khoziaistvo, 1926), 50–52; Vladimir Kruglov, *Organizatsiia territorii Rossii v 1917–2007 gg.: Idei, praktika, rezul’taty* (Moscow: IRI RAN, 2020), 57–58.

57. Smith, *Bolsheviks and the National Question*, 51–52; Stalin, “Politika sovetskoi vlasti po natsional’nomu voprosu v Rossii,” in *Sochineniia*, 4:351–63.

58. Institut Marksizma-Leninizma pri TsK KPSS, *Voz’moi s’ezd RKP(b)*, 425.

59. Blank, *Sorcerer as Apprentice*, 52–53, 208–9.

60. On the Turkbiuro and its successor institution, the Sredazbiuro, see Shoshana Keller, “The Central Asian Bureau, an Essential Tool in Governing Soviet Turkestan,” *Central Asian Survey* 22, no. 2/3 (2003): 281–97; and Fedtke, *Roter Orient*, 294–312.

61. Smith, *Bolsheviks and the National Question*, 184; Khalid, *Central Asia*, 177.

62. Manuil’s’kyi, Letter to Stalin, 2 September 1922, in *TsK RKP(b)-VKP(b) i natsional’nyi vopros*, ed. L. Gatagova, L. Kosheleva, and L. Rogovaia (Moscow: Rosspen, 2005), 1:76–77.

63. Stalin, Letter to Lenin, 22 September 1922, in *TsK RKP(b)-VKP(b)*, 1:78.

64. Stalin, Letter to Lenin, 22 September 1922, in *TsK RKP(b)-VKP(b)*, 1:78.

65. Lenin, Letter to Lev Kamenev, 26 September 1922, in *PSS*, 45:212, italics in the original.

66. Stephen J. Blank, "The Transcaucasian Federation and the Origins of the Soviet Union, 1921–1922," *Central Asian Survey* 9, no. 4 (1990): 36–37.

67. Blank, "Transcaucasian Federation," 48.

68. Jeremy Smith, "The Georgian Affair of 1922: Policy Failure, Personality Clash or Power Struggle?," *Europe-Asia Studies* 50, no. 3 (1998): 519–44; Segvard Kharmandarian, *Lenin i stanovlenie Zakavkazskoi Federatsii, 1921–1923* (Yerevan: Aiastan, 1969), 347–71; Stephen F. Jones, "The Establishment of Soviet Power in Transcaucasia: The Case of Georgia, 1921–1928," *Soviet Studies* 40, no. 4 (1988): 631–32; Stephen Kotkin, *Stalin*, 3 vols. (London: Allen Lane, 2014), 1:477–81.

69. Smith, *Bolsheviks and the National Question*, 202–5; Pipes, *Formation of the Soviet Union*, 269–81; Simon, *Nationalismus*, 37; Blank, "Transcaucasian Federation," 51–52.

70. Lenin, "K voprosu o natsional'nostiakh," in *PSS*, 45:356–62.

71. Smith, *Bolsheviks and the National Question*, 187–88.

72. Smith, *Bolsheviks and the National Question*, 237; this distinction became even more striking after Stalin's ascent to power (Martin, *Affirmative Action Empire*, 356–62).

73. Institut Marksizma-Leninizma pri TsK KPSS, *Dvenadtsatyi s"ezd RKP(b), 17–25 apreliia 1923: Stenograficheskii otchet* (Moscow: Politizdat, 1968), 691–97; Martin, *Affirmative Action Empire*, 19–20, 75, 274–76; Hirsch, *Empire of Nations*, 94–98.

74. George Liber, "Korenizatsiia: Restructuring Soviet Nationality Policy in the 1920s," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 14, no. 1 (1991): 15–23; Cadiot, *Laboratoire imperial*, 134–38; Baberowski, *Feind ist überall*, 316–19.

75. B. F. Sultanbekov, ed., *Tainy natsional'noi politiki TsK RKP: Chetvertoe soveshchanie TsK RKP s otvetstvennymi rabotnikami natsional'nykh respublik i oblastei v g. Moskve 9–12 iunია 1923 g. Stenograficheskii otchet* (Moscow: Insan, 1992), 4–9; Blank, *Sorcerer as Apprentice*, 188–89.

76. Kotkin, *Stalin*, 1:497.

77. Stalin, Concluding address at the Fourth Convention of the TsK RKP(b) with distinguished party activists from the national republics and oblasti, 12 June 1923, in Sultanbekov, *Tainy natsional'noi politiki*, 260.

78. Sultanbekov, *Tainy natsional'noi politiki*, 265.

79. Sultanbekov, *Tainy natsional'noi politiki*, 262.

80. Khalid, *Central Asia*, 177.

81. Shorthand notes of the enlarged commission of the TsIK SSSR to draft the constitution for the USSR, 14 April 1923, in *TsK RKP(b)-VKP(b)*, 1:120–24; sections 1b and 6 of the 1924 constitution, in *Ocherk istorii*, 266–68.

82. Kruglov, *Organizatsiia territorii*, 114.

83. Martin, *Affirmative Action Empire*, 33–41; Cadiot, "Kak uporiadochivali raznoobrazie," 186–87; Stephan Rindlisbacher and Frank Grelka, introduction to "Our Work with the Masses Is Not Worth a Kopeck . . .": A Document Collection on German and Polish Rural Soviets in Ukraine during the NEP, 1923–1929 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2021), 26.

84. Tsentral'ne statystychnе upravlinnia USRR, *Natsional'nyi sklad sil's'koho naselennia Ukraїny* (Kharkiv: TsSU USRR, 1927), 198; Cadiot, *Laboratoire impérial*, 132–34.

85. “Protokol zasedaniia TsK RKP(b) po voprosu o vydelenii Chechni iz sostava Gorskoi Respubliki, 22 October 1922,” in *TsK RKP(b)-VKP(b)*, 1:88–89; Jeronim Perović, *Der Nordkaukasus unter russischer Herrschaft: Geschichte einer Vielvölkerregion zwischen Rebellion und Anpassung* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2015), 242–52.

86. Liudmyla Hutsalo, “Reformuvannia ta likvidatsiia natsional’nykh administratyvnykh odynts,” *Visnyk Akedemii pratsi i sotsial’nykh vidnosyn Federatsii profsilok Ukrainy*, no. 5 (2005): 148–49.

87. Malte Rolf, “Nationalizing an Empire: The Bolsheviks, the Nationality Question, and Policies of Indigenization in the Soviet Union, 1917–1927,” in Núñez Seixas, *First World War*, 78–79.

88. Blank, *Sorcerer as Apprentice*, 86–87.

89. Martin, *Affirmative Action Empire*, 356–57; Slezkine, “Communal Apartment,” 434; Lieven, *Empire*, 290.

90. For further discussion on this metaphor, see Schenk, “‘Sixth Part of the World.’”

2. Gosplan

1. Minutes of the ninety-first meeting of the Section for Raionirovanie, 1 June 1922, Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi arkhiv ekonomiki (RGAE), f. 4372, op. 15, d. 63, l. 87. The State General Planning Commission was founded in 1921 as a temporary adjunct to the Council of Labor and Defense (STO) but was soon institutionalized. Two years later, its name was shortened to State Planning Commission. Though the emergence of Gosplan is crucial to understanding the early Soviet state, there have been only a few monographs on the subject—most of which are now rather old: see Mark R. Beissinger, *Scientific Management, Socialist Discipline and Soviet Power* (London: Tauris, 1988); Michael Ellman, *Socialist Planning*, 3rd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014); Heiko Haumann, *Beginn der Planwirtschaft: Elektrifizierung, Wirtschaftsplanung und gesellschaftliche Entwicklung Sowjetrusslands, 1917–1921* (Düsseldorf: Bertelsmann, 1974); Alec Nove, *An Economic History of the USSR, 1917–1991* (London: Penguin, 1992); and Eugène Zaleski and Marie-Christine MacAndrew, *Planning for Economic Growth in the Soviet Union, 1918–1932* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1971).

2. Ol’ga Sukhova and Ol’ga Filenkova, “Natsional’nyi vopros i raionirovanie v RSFSR v 1920-e–nachale 1930-kh godov: Upravlencheskie strategii i ikh realizatsiia. Po materialam Povolzh’ia,” *Noveishaia istoriia Rossii*, no. 1 (2017): 66.

3. Blank, *Sorcerer as Apprentice*, 160–62; Perović, *Nordkaukasus*, 344–45; Stephen Velychenko, *Painting Imperialism and Nationalism Red: The Ukrainian Marxist Critique of Russian Communist Rule in Ukraine, 1918–1925* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015), 13–14.

4. Simon, *Nationalismus*, 34–40; Pipes, *Formation of the Soviet Union*, 269–81.

5. Hirsch, *Empire of Nations*, 82. Hirsch dedicated the second chapter of her book (62–98) to the debate on regionalization (*raionirovanie*) between Narkomnats and Gosplan; see also Slezkine, “Communal Apartment,” 427; and Blank, *Sorcerer as Apprentice*, 82–85.

6. Section for Raionirovanie, Minutes of the sixth session, 24 January 1923, RGAE, f. 4372, op. 15, d. 137b, l. 7.

7. Konstantin Egorov, “Avtobiograficheskie materialy” (Autobiographical materials), 15 November 1954, RGAE, f. 634, op. 1, d. 41, l. 1.

8. Alun Thomas, *Nomads and Soviet Rule: Central Asia under Lenin and Stalin* (London: Tauris, 2018), 43.

9. On experts in the West, see Górný, *Vaterlandszeichner*, 113.

10. “Regionalization” (regional scale) or “districtization” (district scale) are the literal translations of the Russian term *raionirovanie*, however “territorialization” would combine both aspects.

11. Shorthand notes of the first session of the Commission for Raionirovanie (Komissiiia po raionirovaniu SSSR) at the TsIK, 14 November 1925, GA RF, f. 6892, op. 1, d. 40, ll. 10–11; Boris Knipovich, *Metodologiia raionirovaniia* (Moscow: Gosizdat, 1921), 5–8.

12. Mikhail Vladimirkii, “Osnovnye momenty ekonomicheskogo raionirovaniia” (Considerations on economic raionirovanie), 13 February 1928, ARAN, f. 350, op. 2, d. 250, ll. 14–15.

13. Nailya Tagirova, “Mapping the Empire’s Economic Regions from the Nineteenth to the Early Twentieth Century,” in *Russian Empire: Space, People, Power, 1700–1930*, ed. Jane Burbank, Mark von Hagen, and Anatolyi Remnev (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007), 128–31; Marina Loskutova, “Regionalisation, Imperial Legacy, and the Soviet Geographical Tradition,” in *Empire De/Centered: New Spatial Histories of Russia and the Soviet Union*, ed. Sanna Tuoma and Maxim Waldstein (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2013), 136–37.

14. Nick Baron, “The Mapping of Illiberal Modernity: Spatial Science, Ideology and the State in Early Twentieth-Century Russia,” in *Empire De/Centered*, 111–13; Tagirova, “Mapping,” 131–32.

15. Tagirova, “Mapping,” 131.

16. Tagirova, “Mapping,” 133.

17. Loskutova, “Regionalisation,” 140.

18. See also the compilation of the most influential prerevolutionary concepts on raionirovanie in Knipovich, *Metodologiia raionirovaniia*, maps 1–17.

19. Ol’ga Shul’gina, “Administrativno-territorial’noe delenie Rossii v XX veke: Istoriko-geograficheskii aspekt” (diss., MGPU, Moscow, 2005), abstract, 20–21; Boris Knipovich, Presentation on methods to organize agricultural raiony, 26 March 1921, RGAE, f. 4372, op. 15, d. 2, ll. 14–17; Lenin, “Tezisy po natsional’nomu voprosu,” 23:317.

20. Baron, “Mapping of Illiberal Modernity,” 116–19.

21. Walter Christaller, “Wie ich zu der Theorie der zentralen Orte gekommen bin: Ein Bericht, wie eine Theorie entstehen kann, und in meinem Fall entstanden ist,” *Geographische Zeitschrift* 56, no. 2 (1968): 93; on the reception of Christaller’s model, see Karl R. Kegler, *Deutsche Raumplanung: Das Modell der ‘zentralen Orte’ zwischen NS-Staat und Bundesrepublik* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2015).

22. Walter Christaller, *Die zentralen Orte in Süddeutschland: Eine ökonomisch-geographische Untersuchung über die Gesetzmässigkeit der Verbreitung und Entwicklung der Siedlungen mit städtischen Funktionen* (Jena: Fischer, 1933).

23. Sovnarkom, decree of 18 January 1918, GA RF, f. 5677, op. 4, d. 1, l. 2.

24. Commentary on Sovnarkom's decree of 18 January 1918, GA RF, f. 5677, op. 4, d. 1, l. 8.

25. Circulars of the AK VTsIK, 1920–1921, GA RF, f. 5677, op. 4, d. 1, ll. 36, 41, 50, 61, 121, 132.

26. Nikolai Bukharin and Yevgenii Preobrazhenskii, *Azbuka kommunizma* (Petrograd: Gosizdat, 1920), § 47.

27. Lenin, "O 'levom' rebiachestve i o melkoburzhuzaznosti," in PSS, 36:300–301; Friedrich Asschenfeldt and Max Trecker, "From Ludendorff to Lenin? World War I and the Origins of Soviet Economic Planning," *Europe-Asia Studies* 76, no. 1 (2024): 10–28.

28. On spatial legibility and illegibility, see James C. Scott, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 11–52; William Rankin, *After the Map: Cartography, Navigation, and the Transformation of Territory in the Twentieth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016), 15; and Martin Jeske, *Ein Imperium wird vermessen: Kartographie, Kulturtransfer und Raumerschließung im Zarenreich, 1797–1919* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2023), 45. See also Darrow, "Census as a Technology," 145–47; and Konstantin Egorov, "V. I. Lenin o sotsialisticheskome raionirovanii" (V. I. Lenin on socialist raionirovanie), around 1954, RGAE, f. 634, op. 1, d. 2, ll. 2–4.

29. Circular of the AK VTsIK, 12 January 1921, GA RF, f. 5677, op. 4, d. 1, ll. 52–60.

30. Hirsch, *Empire of Nations*, 21–24.

31. Manfred Hildermeier, *Geschichte der Sowjetunion, 1917–1991: Entstehung und Niedergang des ersten sozialistischen Staates* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1998), 236; Nove, *Economic History*, 82–83, 93–95.

32. Douds, *Inside Lenin's Government*, 129–31.

33. GOELRO stands for Gosudarstvennaia komissiiia po elektrifikatsii Ros-sii (State Commission for the Electrification of Russia).

34. On the GOELRO project, see G. Krzhizhanovskii, *Ob elektrifikatsii* (Moscow: Gosizdat, 1921); and Gosudarstvennaia komissiiia po elektrifikatsii Ros-sii, *Plan elektrifikatsii RSFSR: Vvedenie k dokladu 8-mu s"ezdu sovetov* (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe tekhnicheskoe izdatel'stvo, 1920).

35. Karl Schlögel, *Petersburg: Das Laboratorium der Moderne, 1909–1921* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 2009), 370–73.

36. Ivan Aleksandrov, *Ekonomicheskoe raionirovanie Rossii* (Moscow: Tipografiia III Internatsional, 1921), 11–15; Konstantin Egorov, "Razvitie teorii sovetskogo ekonomicheskogo raionirovaniia v trudakh Gosplana" (The theoretical development of Soviet economic raionirovanie in Gosplan's studies), no date, RGAE, f. 634, op. 1, d. 5, ll. 133–34; Konstantin Egorov, "Razvitie teorii sovetskogo ekonomicheskogo raionirovaniia v trudakh prof. A. G. Aleksandrova" (The theoretical development of Soviet economic raionirovanie in Prof. A. G. Aleksandrov's studies)," no date, RGAE, f. 634, op. 1, d. 5, ll. 140–41; Minutes of the fifth session of the Section for Raionirovanie at Gosplan, 10 June 1921, RGAE, f. 4372, op. 15, d. 2, l. 42.

37. Konstantin Egorov, “Ekonomicheskoe raionirovanie i administrativnaia reforma RSFSR,” *Vlast’ soveto*, no. 4–6 (1922): 25; I. Vechelovskii, On raionirovanie, 1922, RGAE, f. 4372, op. 15, d. 63, ll. 99–102.

38. E. P. Malysheva, “Administrativno-territorial’noe ustroistvo Svetskogo gosudarstva,” in *Administrativno-territorial’noe ustroistvo Rossii*, 218; Circular from the VTsIK Administrative Territorial Commission, 24 January 1921, GA RF, f. 5677, op. 4, d. 1, l. 61.

39. Alan Ball, “Building a New State and Society: NEP, 1921–1928,” in *The Cambridge History of Russia*, ed. Ronald G. Suny (New York, Cambridge University Press, 2006), 3:168–69; Lewis H. Siegelbaum, *Soviet State and Society between Revolutions, 1918–1929* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 83–84.

40. Nove, *Economic History*, 78–81.

41. Haumann, *Beginn der Planwirtschaft*, 109.

42. Even in 1924, members of the party leadership complained about the inconclusiveness of the existing demographic data; see Yan Rudzutak, Report on national delimitation of Central Asia to the TsK RKP(b), 26 October 1924, in *TsK RKP(b)-VKP(b)*, 1:246.

43. Map on the GOELRO plan, undated, RGAE, f. 634, op. 1, d. 7, l. 17; Ivan Aleksandrov, *Elektrifikatsiia i transport* (Rostov-na-Donu: Gosizdat, 1921), 4.

44. Vladimirskii, *Osnovnye polozeniiia*, 8; Section for Raionirovanie, Minutes of the twelfth session, 22 July 1921, RGAE, f. 4372, op. 15, d. 2, ll. 65–70; Konstantin Egorov, “Natsional’noe razmezhevanie i ekonomicheskoe raionirovanie” (National delimitation and economic raionirovanie), 15 May 1926, ARAN, f. 350, op. 2, d. 74, l. 14; Vladimirskii, “Osnovnye momenty ekonomicheskogo raionirovaniia,” ARAN, f. 350, op. 2, d. 250, l. 15; Afanasii [Panas] Butsenko, Report on raionirovanie in Ukraine, 1924, TsDAVO, f. 1, op. 2, spr. 1807, ark. 2–3.

45. Minutes of the Section for Raionirovanie, RGAE, f. 4372, op. 15, dd. 2, 63, 137b, 138b, 323.

46. Egorov, “Avtobiograficheskie materialy,” RGAE, f. 634, op. 1, d. 41, l. 1.

47. Hirsch, *Empire of Nations*, 69; Sukhova and Filenkova, “Natsional’nyi vopros,” 64.

48. Egorov, “Ekonomicheskoe raionirovanie,” 25–26.

49. Section for Raionirovanie, Minutes of the twenty-eighth session, 10 April 1922, RGAE, f. 4372, op. 15, d. 63, ll. 140–38.

50. Gleb Krzhizhanovskii, introduction to *Voprosy ekonomicheskogo raionirovaniia SSSR: Sbornik materialov i statei, 1917–1929 gg.* (Moscow: Gosizdat, 1957), 6–7.

51. Map of the territorial units proposed by Gosplan, 6 January 1925, GA RF, f. 6892, op. 1, d. 49, ll. 5–6.

52. L. Hamilton Rhinelander, “The Creation of the Caucasian Vicegerency,” *Slavonic and East European Review* 59, no.1 (1981): 15–40.

53. Mikhail Vladimirskii’s address to the Section for Raionirovanie, 26 May 1921, RGAE, f. 4372, op. 15, d. 2, l. 1.

54. Vladimirskii’s address to the Section for Raionirovanie, RGAE, f. 4372, op. 15, d. 2, l. 1.

55. Section for Raionirovanie, Minutes of the second session, 31 May 1921, RGAE, f. 4372, op. 15, d. 2, ll. 29–34. For further discussion on “mental maps,” see F. Benjamin Schenk, “Mental Maps: Die Konstruktion von geographischen Räumen in Europa seit der Aufklärung,” *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 28, no. 3 (2002): 493–514.

56. Egorov, “Printsip federatsii,” GA RF, f. 5677, op. 4, d. 15, ll. 94–95; Smith, *National Question*, 15.

57. Presidium of the Section for Raionirovanie, Minutes of the first session, 20 October 1921, RGAE, f. 4372, op. 15, d. 3, l. 3.

58. S. Korichev, “K voprosu ob ekonomicheskome raionirovanii RSFSR,” *Zhizn’ natsional’nostei*, no. 12/147 (1922): 4–5.

59. Hirsch, *Empire of Nations*, 78–79.

60. Egorov, “Ekonomicheskoe raionirovanie,” 25–26; Egorov, *Raionirovanie SSSR*, 10–11; Egorov, “Printsip federatsii,” GA RF, f. 5677, op. 4, d. 15, ll. 92–94.

61. Section for Raionirovanie, Minutes of the fourth session, 7 June 1921, RGAE, f. 4372, op. 15, d. 2, l. 41.

62. Egorov, *Raionirovanie SSSR*, 42–47; Pëtr Alampiev, *Ekonomicheskoe raionirovanie SSSR* (Moscow: Izdatel’stvo ekonomicheskoi literatury, 1959), 1:108–21.

63. Quoted according to Konstantin Egorov, “M. I. Kalinin o problemakh ekonomicheskogo raionirovaniia” (M. I. Kalinin on the problems of economic raionirovanie), 20 November 1958, RGAE, f. 634, op. 1, d. 2, l. 26.

64. Alampiev, *Ekonomicheskoe raionirovanie*, 1:129–30.

65. Institut Marksizma-Leninizma pri TsK KPSS, *Dvenadtsatyi s’ezd RKP(b)*, 697. See also Malysheva, “Administrativno-territorial’noe ustroistvo,” 219–20.

66. Comments made by Tsagurian at the conference of the All-Union Commission for Raionirovanie, 14 November 1925, GA RF, f. 6892, op. 1, d. 40, ll. 15, 21.

67. Konstantin Egorov, *Ekonomika raionov SSSR: Po materialam raionnykh kontrol’nykh tsifr na 1927–1928 god* (Moscow: Gosizdat, 1928), 53.

68. Section for Raionirovanie, Minutes of the sixty-ninth session, 5 October 1922, RGAE, f. 4372, op. 15, d. 63, ll. 24–23; Section for Raionirovanie, Minutes of the seventieth session, 9 October 1922, RGAE, f. 4372, op. 15, d. 63, ll. 22–20; Egorov, *Raionirovanie SSSR*, 116–19; Konstantin Egorov, “Istoriia raionirovaniia” (History of raionirovanie), 1959, RGAE, f. 634, op. 1, d. 5, l. 425; Resolution of the All-Union Commission for Raionirovanie, 5 January 1926, GA RF, f. 6892, op. 1, d. 41, ll. 20–21; Ivan Aleksandrov, *Osnovy khoziaistvennogo raionirovaniia SSSR* (Moscow: Ekonomicheskaiia zhizn’, 1924), 63–64.

69. Egorov, *Ekonomika raionov SSSR*, 46–47.

70. Etienne Peyrat, “Soviet Federalism at Work: Lessons from the History of the Transcaucasian Federation,” *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 65, no. 4 (2017): 534–35.

71. Section for Raionirovanie, Minutes of the seventy-third session, 23 October 1922, RGAE, f. 4372, op. 15, d. 63, l. 13.

72. Malysheva, “Administrativno-territorial’noe ustroistvo,” 219.

73. Perović, *Nordkaukasus*, 344–45.

74. Kruglov, *Organizatsiia territorii*, 122–23.

75. On the significance of the volost court system, see Jane Burbank, “Thinking Like an Empire: Estate, Law, and Rights in the Early Twentieth Century,” in *Russian Empire*, 200–201.

76. A. Kamenskii, “Tsentral’noe i mestnoe upravlenie i territorial’noe ustroistvo v kontekste reform XVIII veka,” in *Administrativno-territorial’noe ustroistvo*, 88–90; Afanasii [Panas] Butsenko, *K voprosu raionirovaniia Ukrainy* (Kharkiv: Gosizdat Ukrainy, 1925), 6–11; Konstantin Egorov, “Osnovnye printsipy organizatsii novykh sovetskikh territorial’nykh obrazovaniy” (The basic organizational principles of the new territorial formations), no date, RGAE, f. 634, op. 1, d. 5, ll. 144–45; Baron, “Nature, Nationalism,” 568; Jeske, *Imperium wird vermessen*, 45.

77. Tagirova, “Mapping,” 127; Ekaterina Pravilova, *Finansy imperii: Den’gi i vlast’ v politike Rossii na natsional’nykh okrainakh, 1801–1917* (Moscow: Novoe izdatel’stvo, 2006), 33–40.

78. Vladimirkii, *Osnovnye polozheniia*, 6–7; I. Murugov, “Teoriia i praktika raionirovaniia” (Theory and practice of raionirovanie), 28 March 1927, ARAN, f. 350, op. 2, d. 191, ll. 2–6; Krasnovskii, “Administrativno-khoziaistvennoe raionirovanie Turkestanskoi SSR” (The administrative-economic raionirovanie of Turkestan), 1923, GA RF, f. 6892, op. 1, d. 34, l. 54; Egorov, *Raionirovanie SSSR*, 8; Konstantin Egorov, “Osnovy raionirovaniia RSFSR,” in *Voprosy ekonomicheskogo raionirovaniia*, 182–83. Tracy McDonald chose this slogan as the title for her book on Soviet policies in rural areas during the 1920s: *Face to the Village: The Riazan Countryside under Soviet Rule, 1921–1930* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011).

79. Section for Raionirovanie, Minutes of the seventy-fourth session, 30 October 1922, RGAE, f. 4372, op. 15, d. 63, ll. 11–19; Joint meeting of Gosplan’s Section for Raionirovanie and UkrDerzhplan’s Section for Raionirovanie, 5 January 1924, TsDAVO, f. 1, op. 2, spr. 1801, ark. 2–4.

80. Ivan Cherliunchakevych, Address to Commission for Raionirovanie at the TsIK, 18 June 1925, GA RF, f. 6892, op. 1, d. 7, l. 2.

81. Narodnyi komissariat vnutrennikh del RSFSR, *Territorial’noe i administrativnoe delenie Soiuzs SSR* (Moscow: NKVD, 1928), 21; Tsentral’ne statystychnye upravlinnia USRR, *Natsional’nyi sklad*, v. The Moldovan Autonomous Socialist Soviet Republic counted as equal to an okrug. Note that between 1919 and 1928 the total territory of the UkrSSR changed several times.

82. Butsenko, *K voprosu*, 11–13; I. Yaroshevich, Presentation on raionirovanie in Ukraine, 6 November 1923, RGAE, f. 4372, op. 15, d. 137b, ll. 41–48; Cherliunchakevych, Address to the Commission for Raionirovanie, GA RF, f. 6892, op. 1, d. 7, l. 2.

83. Yaroslava Vermenykh and Oleksandr Androshchuk, *Zminy administrativno-terytorial’noho ustroiu Ukraïny XX–XXI. st.* (Kiev: NAN Ukraïny, 2014), 78–85; Oksana Sahach, “Zminy v administrativno-terytorial’nomu podili USRR na pochatku 20-kh rr. XX st.,” *Regional’na istoriia Ukraïny*, no. 4 (2010): 167–76.

84. Filipp Makharadze, “O raionirovanii ZSFSR” (On the raionirovanie of the ZSFSR), 5 June 1925, sak’art’velos šinagan sak’meta saministros ark’ivi–partiuli ark’ivi (SŠSSA-PA), f. 13, op. 3, d. 78, l. 3.

85. Most archival documents of the Section for Raionirovanie at Zak-Gosplan concern the wages of its members and applications for leave. See sak'art'velos uaxlesi istoriis c'entraluri ark'ivi (SUIC'A), f. 631, op. 1, d. 457; and Gregor'ian, Remarks at the Conference of the All-Union Commission for Raionirovanie, 17 May 1926, GA RF, f. 6892, op. 1, d. 42, l. 28.

86. "Itogi soveshchaniia po raionirovaniu pri Komissii raionirovaniia Gosplana ZSFSR" (Results of the Convention on Raionirovanie held by the Commission of Raionirovanie at Gosplan ZSFSR), no date, RGAE, f. 4372, op. 15, d. 376, l. 10. Plans for raionirovanie were hotly debated in official Transcaucasian periodicals such as *Zaria vostoka* (Dawn of the East) but without any practical impact. See, for example, "K raionirovaniu Zakavkaz'ia," *Zaria vostoka*, no. 798, 7 February 1925, 1; "Eshche o raionirovanii Zakavkaz'ia," *Zaria vostoka*, no. 800, 10 February 1925, 1; "K voprosu o raionirovanii Zakavkaz'ia," *Zaria vostoka*, no. 804, 14 February 1925, 1; "K voprosu o raionirovanii Gruzii," *Zaria vostoka*, no. 805, 15 February 1925, 1; "Opiat' o raionirovanii Zakavkaz'ia," *Zaria vostoka*, no. 809, 20 February 1925, 1; and "Eshche o raionirovanii Zakavkaz'ia," *Zaria vostoka*, 27 February 1925, 1.

87. A. Gegechkori, Report on raionirovanie in Georgia, 8 October 1924, GA RF, f. 5677, op. 5, d. 487, l. 30.

88. The Georgian SSR had in addition three autonomous subunits—Abkhazia, Ossetia, and Ajara.

89. V. Ordzhonikidze, *Temi SSR Gruzii: Ikh ekonomicheskie i finansovye vozmozhnosti* (Tiflis: GruzGosplan, 1926), viii–ix.

90. Ordzhonikidze, *Temi SSR Gruzii*, 4–7.

91. Report of the Armenian Commission for Raionirovanie, 14 November 1925, GA RF, f. 6892, op. 1, d. 40, l. 107.

92. Raionirovanie Commission for Central Asia at Sredazbiuro TsK VKP(b), Shorthand notes, 2 September 1926, Tsentral'nyi gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Kyrgyzskoi Respubliki (TsGA KR), f. 949, op. 2, d. 11, l. 101.

93. Raionirovanie Commission for Central Asia, TsGA KR, f. 949, op. 2, d. 11, ll. 98–99.

94. Raionirovanie Commission for Central Asia, TsGA KR, f. 949, op. 2, d. 11, l. 100.

95. Raionirovanie Commission for Central Asia, TsGA KR, f. 949, op. 2, d. 11, ll. 104, 128.

96. Raionirovanie Commission for Central Asia, TsGA KR, f. 949, op. 2, d. 11, l. 98.

97. Raionirovanie Commission for Central Asia, TsGA KR, f. 949, op. 2, d. 11, l. 104.

98. Raionirovanie Commission for Central Asia, TsGA KR, f. 949, op. 2, d. 11, l. 115.

99. Raionirovanie Commission for Central Asia, TsGA KR, f. 949, op. 2, d. 11, ll. 128, 143.

100. Z. Mieczkowski, "The Economic Regionalization of the Soviet Union in the Lenin and Stalin Period," *Canadian Slavonic Papers* 8, no. 1 (1966): 111–12.

101. Coordinating Commission at Gosplan, Minutes of the twenty-fourth session, 23 October 1923, RGAE, f. 4372, op. 15, d. 138b, ll. 37–38.

102. Minutes of the directory board of IuVPlan, 29 March 1923, Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Rostovskoi oblasti (GARO), f. R-98, op. 1, d. 115, l. 18.

103. Nikolai Eizmont to the NKVD RSFSR, 14 April 1923, GA RF, f. 5677, op. 4, d. 393, l. 1.

104. Rudling, *Rise and Fall*, 136.

105. Letter from the Belarusian Sovnarkom to the RSFSR Council of Labor and Defense (STO), 17 August 1921, in *Gosudarstvennye granitsy Belarusi: Sbornik dokumentov i materialov v dvukh tomakh*, ed. V. Snapkovskii et al., 2 vols. (Minsk: BGU, 2012–2013), 1:170–72; Decision of the Politburo TsK RKP(b), 12 July 1923, in *Gosudarstvennye granitsy Belarusi*, 1:195.

106. Minutes of the commission to transfer parts of Vitebsk Guberniia to the BSSR, 2–14 April 1924, in *Gosudarstvennye granitsy Belarusi*, 1:282–83; decision of Politburo TsK VKP(b), 18 November 1926, in *Gosudarstvennye granitsy Belarusi*, 2:10–11; Hirsch, *Empire of Nations*, 149–55; Rudling, *Rise and Fall*, 209–21; Khomich, *Territorii*, 223; Evgenii Karelin, “Zapadnaia oblast’ Gosplana: Iz istorii ekonomicheskogo raionirovaniia strany 1920-e gody,” *Rossiiskaia istoriia*, no. 2 (2010): 15–18.

107. Section for Raionirovanie at UkrDerzhplan, Minutes, 29 July 1923, TsDAVO, f. 337, op. 1, spr. 2128, ark. 8.

108. Section for Raionirovanie at UkrDerzhplan, Minutes, 19 May 1923, TsDAVO, f. 337, op. 1, spr. 2128, ark. 5.

109. Industrial Section at Gosplan SSSR, Minutes, 23 February 1924, TsDAVO, f. 337, op. 1, d. 2128, ark. 35; Map of sugar production in the RSFSR-UkrSSR borderland, no date, TsDAVO, f. 337, op. 1, d. 2128, ark. 42.

110. Commission for Raionirovanie at UkrDerzhplan, “Vopros o vneshnikh granitsakh Ukrainy,” 28 March 1924, TsDAVO, f. 337, op. 1, spr. 2128, ark. 47.

111. Vvedenskii, “Ob izmenenii granitsy Kurskoi gubernii s Ukrainy” (On the border revision between Kursk Guberniia and Ukraine), 1924, GA RF, f. 5677, op. 5, d. 29, ll. 101–3.

112. Kruglov, *Organizatsiia territorii*, 124–25.

113. Gleb Krzhizhanovskii, “Tezisy po raionirovaniu” (Theses on raionirovanie), 1925, GA RF, f. 6892, op. 1, d. 50, l. 11.

114. Questionnaire signed by Konstantin Egorov, 1926, TsDAVO, f. 1, op. 3, spr. 600, ark. 3; Ukrainian translation of Egorov’s questionnaire, 1926, Derzhavnyi arkhiv Kharkivs’koï oblasti Ukraïny (DAKhO), f. 845, op. 3, spr. 678, ark. 364–66.

115. Questionnaire signed by Konstantin Egorov, 1926, TsDAVO, f. 1, op. 3, spr. 600, ark. 3–4.

116. Materials of the Territorial Commission of Kharkiv Okruha, DAKhO, f. 845, op. 3, spr. 679–80.

117. Report from the Lozovskii Raion, 1926, DAKhO, f. 845, op. 3, spr. 679, ark. 148–51; Report from the Belodukhovskii Raion, 1926, DAKhO, f. 845, op. 3, spr. 680, ark. 103; Report from Belo-Kolodetskii Raion, 1926, DAKhO, f. 845, op. 3, spr. 680, ark. 124. The reports and the designation of the raiony are in Russian.

118. Shorthand notes of the All-Union Commission for Raionirovanie, 21 May 1926, GA RF, f. 6892, op. 1, d. 40, l. 74; S. Lepskii, On the financial

aspects of raionirovanie, 1925, GA RF, f. 6892, op. 1, d. 50, ll. 51–52; discussion of presentation by I. Mugurov at the Institute for Soviet Construction, 28 March 1927, ARAN, f. 350, op. 2, d. 191, ll. 37–38.

119. Reply to questionnaire from the Bol'she-Pisarevskii RIK, 1 October 1926, DAKhO, f. 845, op. 3, spr. 680, ark. 134. The report and the designation of the raion are in Russian.

120. Paper delivered by Konstantin Egorov to the All-Union Commission for Raionirovanie, 5 January 1926, GA RF, f. 6892, op. 1, d. 41, ll. 4–5.

121. Egorov, "Natsional'noe razmezhevanie," ARAN, f. 350, op. 2, d. 74, l. 31; Alampiev, *Ekonomicheskoe raionirovanie*, 1:148.

122. Comments regarding Konstantin Egorov's paper at the convention of the All-Union Commission for Raionirovanie, 5 January 1926, GA RF, f. 6892, op. 1, d. 41, ll. 40–51.

123. All-Union Commission for Raionirovanie, Invitation to a conference on the state of raionirovanie on 17 May 1926 in Moscow, 27 February 1926, TsDAVO, f. 1, op. 2, spr. 3158, ark. 84–85.

124. Iosif Magidovich, Report on Central Asia at the conference of the All-Union Commission for Raionirovanie, 17 May 1926, GA RF, f. 6892, op. 1, d. 42, l. 3.

125. Magidovich, Report on Central Asia, GA RF, f. 6892, op. 1, d. 42, l. 12. Before 1917 rivalries and alliances among local elites led to the division or merger of volosti. See Mirlan Bektursunov, "The Rise of the 'Lineage Proletariat': The Soviet State's Class Policy and Kyrgyz Lineage Society in the 1920s," *Ab Imperio*, no. 1 (2024): 110–13.

126. Magidovich, Report on Central Asia, GA RF, f. 6892, op. 1, d. 42, l. 18.

127. In these shorthand notes, he is named Gregor'ian, whereas in the Transcaucasian documents he appears as Grigorian; SUIC'A, f. 607, op. 1, d. 219, ll. 116–17, 118–23.

128. Presentation of the Transcaucasian delegation at the conference of the All-Union Commission for Raionirovanie, 17 May 1926, GA RF, f. 6892, op. 1, d. 42, ll. 28–31.

129. These designations *t'emi* (in Georgian) and *gavarak* (in Armenian) referred to the old imperial unit of *politseiskii uchastok* (police sectors). Within the Caucasian Viceroyalty the administrative tier of *politseiskie uchastki* corresponded to the volost level in most other parts of the Russian Empire.

130. Presentation of the Transcaucasian delegation, GA RF, f. 6892, op. 1, d. 42, l. 37.

131. Comments made by Ingorokva at the conference of the All-Union Commission for Raionirovanie, 17 May 1926, GA RF, f. 6892, op. 1, d. 42, l. 52; report of the Armenian delegation at the conference of the All-Union Commission for Raionirovanie, 21 May 1926, GA RF, f. 6892, op. 1, d. 40, ll. 106–7.

132. Ingorokva, Report on raionirovanie in Georgia at the All-Union Commission for Raionirovanie, 17 May 1926, GA RF, f. 6892, op. 1, d. 42, l. 68.

133. Comments made by Egorov at the conference of the All-Union Commission for Raionirovanie, 17 May 1926, GA RF, f. 6892, op. 1, d. 42, ll. 55–57.

134. Komissiiia TsIK UzSSR po raionirovaniuu, *Materialy po raionirovaniuu Uzbekistana* (Samarkand: UzTsIK, 1926), vi.

135. Saak Ter-Gabrielian, Report on raionirovanie in Uzbekistan to the TsK VKP(b), not later than 27 September 1926, in *TsK RKP(b)-VKP(b)*, 1:432–36.

136. Jones, “Establishment of Soviet Power,” 619–20.

137. Anonymous, “O prichinakh nesootvetstviia provedeniia raionirovaniia s setkoi Gosplana” (On the reasons why raionirovanie was not conducted according to the standards of Gosplan), 1928, GA RF, f. 6892, op. 1, d. 47, ll. 1–10.

138. Anonymous, “O prichinakh nesootvetstviia,” GA RF, f. 6892, op. 1, d. 47, ll. 18, italics added.

139. Chugunov, Comments on I. Mugurov’s presentation at the Institute of Soviet Construction, 28 March 1927, ARAN, f. 350, op. 2, d. 191, ll. 44–49.

140. Sheila Fitzpatrick, introduction to *Cultural Revolution in Russia, 1928–1931* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1978), 8–40. Matthew Payne broadened Fitzpatrick’s concept for the cultural realm, extending it to different fields of the economy, in *Stalin’s Railroad: Turksib and the Building of Socialism* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2001), 4–5. Michael David-Fox criticizes this use of “Cultural Revolution” and has proposed “Great Break” instead (*Crossing Borders*, 108–32); see also Siegelbaum, *Soviet State and Society*, 224–26. Here I prefer the term “Cultural Revolution” as it emphasizes the qualitative change that took place in 1928–1929. Concepts discussed in the 1920s that were expected to be implemented with the consent of the local population were decreed after 1929 without consideration of particular needs in different regions. Changes in these years produced new concepts not on how to best manage the Soviet state but on how to implement the existing concepts by force.

141. Egorov, “Natsional’noe razmezhevanie,” ARAN, f. 350, op. 2, d. 74, l. 7.

142. Dosov, Comments on Egorov’s presentation, 15 May 1926, ARAN, f. 350, op. 2, d. 74, l. 67.

143. Vladimirkii, “Osnovnye momenty raionirovaniia,” ARAN, f. 350, op. 2, d. 250, l. 25.

144. Vladimirkii, “Osnovnye momenty raionirovaniia,” ARAN, f. 350, op. 2, d. 250, ll. 20–21. On Gosplan’s role in the first five-year plan, see Nove, *Economic History*, 142–43.

145. Stalin, “O zadachakh khoziaistvennikov,” in *Sochineniia*, 13:39.

146. Gosplan SSSR, *Problemy rekonstruktsii narodnogo khoziaistva SSSR na piatiletie: Piatiletanii perspektivnyi plan na 5 s’ezde gosplanov* (Moscow: Planovoe khoziaistvo, 1929); Grigorii Fel’dman, “Analiticheskii metod postroeniia perspektivnykh planov,” *Planovoe khoziaistvo*, no. 12 (1929): 97–127.

147. Ellman, *Socialist Planning*, 9–10.

148. Stalin, “Politicheskii otchet Tsentral’nogo Komiteta XVI s’ezdu VKP(b),” in *XVI s’ezd Vsesoiuznoi Kommunisticheskoi Partii (b): Stenograficheskii otchet* (Moscow: Gosizdat, 1930), 45.

149. Hiroaki Kuromiya, *Stalin’s Industrial Revolution: Politics and Workers, 1928–1932* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 162–70; Hiroaki Kuromiya, *Freedom and Terror in the Donbas: A Ukrainian-Russian Borderland, 1870–1990s* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 151–61.

150. “O likvidatsii okrugov: Postanovlenie TsIK i SNK SSSR,” *Zaria vostoka*, no. 2466, 26 July 1930, 1; Shul’gina, “Administrativno-territorial’noe delenie

Rossii v XX veke,” 226–34; P. Zaitsev, “Pochemu uprazdniaetsia okružhnoe zveno v sisteme sovetskogo apparata,” in *Ot okruga k raionu: Sbornik statei i offitsial’nykh materialov* (Moscow: Vlast’ sovetov, 1930), 35–36.

151. To concentrate on the bigger picture, I must neglect certain episodes of territorial reform. For example, the Ukrainian Soviet government dissolved the okruhy (okruga) in 1930 and introduced oblasti only in early 1932. For over a year, there was no intermediary level between the center in Kharkiv and the small-scale raiony: Tsentral’nyi ispolnitel’nyi komitet SSSR, *Administrativno-territorial’noe delenie Soiuza SSR: Izmeneniia, proizshedshie s 1 noiabria 1931 g. po 1 iulii 1932 g.* (Moscow: Vlast’ sovetov, 1932), 10–11.

152. Kruglov, *Organizatsiia territorii*, 127–29.

153. Decree on the administrative division of the Armenian SSR, 20 July 1921, Hayastani azgayin arkhiv (HAA), f. 123, op. 1, d. 6, l. 66.

154. Convention for Raionirovanie ZSFSR at Zakkraikom, mid-1930, SŠSSA-PA, f. 13, op. 8, d. 64, ll. 1–9.

155. Report to the Zakkraikom on the results of raionirovanie, 12 February 1931, SŠSSA-PA, f. 13, op. 9, d. 89, ll. 1–34; Stalin, “Politicheskii otchet Tsentral’nogo Komiteta XVI s’ezdu,” 45.

156. Egorov, “Avtobiograficheskie materialy,” RGAE, f. 634, op. 1, d. 41, l. 2.

157. Boris Shtoulberg et al., “Soviet Regional Policy,” in *Regional Development in Russia: Past Policies and Future Prospects*, ed. Hans Westlund et al. (Cheltenham: Elgar, 2000), 53–54. In Armenia, for example, a certain Professor A. Z. Tamashev published a leaflet on cattle breeding that explained how crossbreeding should be carried out in each raion depending on climate and fertility: *Porodnoe raionirovanie i osnovnye printsipy metizatsii krupnogo rogatogo skota v SSR Armenii* (Erivan’: IRSKh, 1933), 31–34.

158. Niccolò Pianciola, “Stalinist Spatial Hierarchies: Placing the Kazakhs and Kyrgyz in Soviet Economic Regionalization,” *Central Asian Survey* 63, no. 1 (2017): 84–85; Gosplan SSSR, *Piatiletanii plan narodno-khoziaistvennogo stroitel’sтва SSSR*, 3rd ed. (Moscow: Planovoe khoziaistvo 1930), 3:302–60.

159. Sarah I. Cameron, *The Hungry Steppe: Famine, Violence, and the Making of Soviet Kazakhstan* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2018); Robert Kindler, *Stalins Nomaden: Herrschaft und Hunger in Kasachstan* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2014); Niccolò Pianciola, “The Benefits of Marginality: The Great Famine around the Aral Sea, 1930–1934,” *Nationalities Papers* 48, no. 3 (2020): 513–29.

160. Martin, *Affirmative Action Empire*, 291–302, 345–56; search warrants of the Zakkraikom, 13 February 1936, SŠSSA-PA, f. 13, op. 14, d. 7, l. 1.

161. Shul’gina, “Administrativno-territorial’noe delenie,” 226–39.

162. For example, Pëtr Alampiev considered the intellectual achievements of the 1920s (despite some minor adjustments) a model of emulation for the Soviet state’s future territorial policy (*Ekonomicheskoe raionirovanie SSSR*, 1:223–24).

163. Hirsch, *Empire of Nations*, 293–302; Martin, *Affirmative Action Empire*, 442–51.

164. Malysheva, “Administrativno-territorial’noe ustroistvo,” 226–31; Kruglov, *Organizatsiia territorii*, 231–34.

3. Ukraine and the RSFSR

1. Stefan Rudnyckyj, *Ukraina und Ukrainer*, 2nd ed. (Berlin: Kroll, 1915); Yefim Karskii, *Etnograficheskaia karta belorusskogo pelmeni* (St. Petersburg: n.p., 1903); Guido Hausmann, “Das Territorium der Ukraine: Stepan Rudnyc’kyjs Beitrag zur Geschichte räumlich-territorialen Denkens über die Ukraine,” in *Die Ukraine: Prozesse der Nationsbildung*, ed. Andreas Kappeler (Cologne: Böhlau, 2011), 145–57; Vytautas Petronis, *Constructing Lithuania: Ethnic Mapping in Tsarist Russia ca. 1800–1914* (Stockholm: Stockholm University, 2007), 138–73; Dorota Michaluk, “Emerging States and Border-Making in Times of War: Negotiating the Ukrainian-Belarusian Borders in 1918,” in *Making Ukraine*, 164–69; Volodymyr Kravchenko, *The Ukrainian-Russian Borderland: History versus Geography* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2022), 15–46.

2. Darius Staliūnas, “The Identification of Subjects according to Nationality: In the Western Region of the Russian Empire in 1905–1915,” *Ab Imperio*, no. 3 (2020): 66–67.

3. Thomas Chopart, “Identifier, légitimer, stigmatiser: Les matériaux de la Délégation ukrainienne à la Conférence de la Paix de Paris, 1918–1920,” *Matériaux pour l’histoire de notre temps*, 113–14, no. 1 (2014): 180–85; Borislav Chernev, “Ukraine’s Borders at the Brest-Litovsk Peace Conference, 1917–18,” in *Making Ukraine*, 78–81.

4. On the western border, see Jan Jacek Bruski, “The Path to the Treaty of Riga: The Establishment of the Polish-Ukrainian Border, 1918–21,” in *Making Ukraine*, 124–26.

5. Tsentral’noe statisticheskoe upravlenie, *Vsesoiuznaia perepis’ naseleniia 1926 goda* (Moscow: TsSU, 1928), 11:10.

6. Agreement between the Provisional Government and the Central Rada, 4 July 1917 (17 July 1917, New Style), in *Revoliutsiia i natsional’nyi vopros: Dokumenty i materialy po istorii natsional’nogo voprosa Rossii i SSSR v XX veke*, ed. Semën Dimanshtein (Moscow: Kommunisticheskaia akademiia, 1930), 3:62–63; Provisional instructions of the Provisional Government to the General Secretary in Ukraine, 4 August 1917 (17 August 1917, New Style), in Dimanshtein, *Revoliutsiia i natsional’nyi vopros*, 3:63–64; Blank, *Sorcerer as Apprentice*, 3–4; Hennadii Yefimenko, “Die Grenzziehung zwischen der Sowjetukraine und Russland: Kriterien, Verlauf, Ergebnisse,” *Nordost-Archiv* 27 (2018): 171–73.

7. Third Universal of the Central Rada, 7 November 1917 (20 November 1917, New Style), TsDAVO, f. 1115, op. 1, spr. 4, ark. 9.

8. Immo Rebitschek, “State Building under Occupation: Pavlo Skoropadsky’s Hetmanate in 1918,” *Revolutionary Russia* 32, no. 2 (2019): 226–50.

9. Konstantin Drozdov, “Belgorodchina v sostave Ukrainskoi derzhavy getmana P. P. Skoropadskogo: Okkupatsiia ili prisoedinenie?,” *Belgorodskii kraevedcheskii vestnik*, no. 6 (2006): 11–35.

10. Stephen Velychenko, *State Building in Revolutionary Ukraine: A Comparative Study of Governments and Bureaucrats, 1917–1922* (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 2011), 208–23; Smele, ‘Russian’ Civil Wars, 91–103.

11. Torsten Wehrhahn, *Die Westukrainische Volksrepublik: Zu den polnisch-ukrainischen Beziehungen und dem Problem der ukrainischen Staatlichkeit in den Jahren*

1918 bis 1923 (Berlin: Weissensee, 2004), 223–27; Benjamin Conrad, *Umkämpfte Grenzen, umkämpfte Bevölkerung: Die Entstehung der Staatsgrenzen der Zweiten Polnischen Republik, 1918–1923* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2014), 99–102, 204–9.

12. Decision of the Ukrainian Sovnarkom, 6 January 1919, TsDAVO, f. 2, op. 1, spr. 14, ark. 11.

13. Minutes of the Ukrainian Sovnarkom, 28 November 1918–31 January 1919, TsDAVO, f. 2, op. 1, spr. 14.

14. Meeting of representatives from the RSFSR and the UkrSSR, 25 February 1919, TsDAVO, f. 2, op. 1, spr. 47, ark. 93; note on the partition of Chernigov Guberniia, 2 May 1919, TsDAVO, f. 2, op. 1, spr. 47, ark. 75. See also Boyechko, Hanzha, and Zacharchuk, *Kordony Ukrainy*, 51.

15. Letter from the VUTSVK to the VTsIK, 17 March 1920, GA RF, f. 5677, op. 1, d. 170, ll. 3–6; correspondence between the Administrative Commission of the VTsIK and the NKID RSFSR, December 1921/January 1922, GA RF, f. 5677, op. 1, d. 168, ll. 5, 11, 12, 14; minority report of the Ukrainian delegation with the Chervikov Commission, 28 November 1924, GA RF, f. 6892, op. 1, d. 5, l. 18.

16. The chairman of the Donetsk gubrevkom to the VTsIK, 14 March 1920, GA RF, f. 5677, op. 1, d. 83, l. 19; Semën Sul'kevich, *Administrativno-politicheskoe stroenie SSSR*, part 1: *Izmeneniia administrativno-territorial'nykh deleniia SSSR za period s 1917 goda po 1924 god* (Leningrad: Izvestiia TsIK SSSR i VTsIK, 1924), 215.

17. Correspondence between the Ukrainian and the Russian Soviet governments, TsDAVO, f. 2, op. 1, spr. 47, ark. 1–51; correspondence between the NKVD RSFSR and the Donetsk ispolkom, October/November 1920, GA RF, f. 5677, op. 1, d. 83, ll. 49, 51; decision of the VTsIK, 26 April 1920, GA RF, f. 5677, op. 1, d. 83, l. 29; Konstantin Egorov, Report on the claims of the RSFSR on territories of the UkrSSR in the region of the River Derkul, 5 April 1927, GA RF, f. 1235, op. 27, d. 222, l. 4; Yefimenko, “Vyznachennya kordonu,” 159–60, 166; Yurii Galkin, introduction to *Sbornik dokumentov o pograničnom spore mezhdru Rossiei i Ukrainoi v 1920–1925 gg. za Taganrogsko-Shakhtinskuiu territoriiu Donskoi oblasti* (Moscow: Shcherbinskaia tipografiia, 2007), 7–15.

18. Conrad, *Umkämpfte Grenzen*, 245–51.

19. Voronovici, “Overlapping Spaces,” 210–37.

20. Hirsch, *Empire of Nations*, 70–79.

21. In the 1930s, a stricter official distinction between these terms was established: *narodnost'* referred to ethnicity, *natsional'nost'* to nationality. See Hirsch, *Empire of Nations*, 37–42; Cadiot, *Laboratoire impérial*, 189; and Laruelle, *Central Peripheries*, 20–22.

22. Shorthand notes of the Commission to Revise the Borders between the RSFSR, the UkrSSR, and the BSSR at the Presidium of the TsIK SSSR (hereafter Chervikov Commission), 1 July 1924: GA RF, f. 3316, op. 17, d. 322, ll. 56–72; Hirsch, *Empire of Nations*, 104–8, 120–21; Cadiot, *Laboratoire impérial*, 13–14, 157–58; Adeeb Khalid, “National Consolidation as Soviet Work: The Origins of Uzbekistan,” *Ab Imperio*, no. 4 (2016): 191.

23. Rogers Brubaker, *Nationalism Reframed: Nationhood and the National Question in the New Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1996), 7.

24. The term “centrist” is taken from Panas Butsenko, who used it to describe his network or “faction” within the KP(b)U. See Butsenko, “Otdel’nye vpechatleniia o pervom s’ezde KP(b)U” (Some impressions from the first congress of the KP[b]U), 1927, TsDAVO, f. 1, op. 3, spr. 2504, ark. 167.

25. Elena Borisēnok, *Fenomen sovetskoi ukrainizatsii, 1920–1930-e gody* (Moscow: Evropa, 2006), 40, 52–54; Smith, *National Question*, 123–25; Velychenko, *Painting Imperialism*, 158–59; Jurij Borys, *The Russian Communist Party and the Sovietization of Ukraine: A Study in the Communist Doctrine of the Self-Determination of Nations* (Stockholm: P.A. Norstedt, 1960), 258–66; James E. Mace, *Communism and the Dilemmas of National Liberation: National Communism in Soviet Ukraine, 1918–1933* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1983), 49–62; Butsenko, “Otdel’nye vpechatleniia,” TsDAVO, f. 1, op. 3, spr. 2504, ark. 167–70.

26. Elena Borisēnok, *Stalinskii prokonsul Lazar’ Kaganovich na Ukraine: Apogei sovetskoi ukrainizatsii, 1925–1928* (Moscow: Rodina, 2021), 108–47.

27. Institut Marksizma-Leninizma pri TsK KPSS, *Dvenadtsati s’ezd RKP(b)*, 691–96.

28. Afanasii Butsenko, “K uregulirovaniu granits USSR s RSFSR,” *Pravda*, no. 179/3111, 9 August 1925, 5.

29. Nikolai Eizmont to the Administrative Commission of the NKVD RSFSR, 14 April 1923, GA RF, f. 5677, op. 4, d. 393, l. 1; map showing border revisions between the North Caucasus Region and Ukraine, 1924, GARO, f. R-4185, op. 1, d. 143, l. 7.

30. Minutes of the IvVPlan directory board, 29 May 1923, GARO, f. R-98, op. 1, d. 115, l. 18; report by Vasilii Khronin published in *Sovetskii iug* on 11 March 1924, TsDAVO, f. 1, op. 2, spr. 1872, ark. 3; minutes of the Extraordinary Commission of the Politburo KP(b)U on the Issue of the Taganrog and Shakhty Regions, 19 April 1924, TsDAVO, f. 337, op. 1, spr. 2128, l. 77.

31. Vasilii Khronin, ed., *Materialy po voprosu o prisoedinenii k iugo-vostochnoi oblasti Taganroghskogo, Aleksandro-Grushevskogo i Kamensko-Ekaterininskogo raionov Ukrainy* (Rostov-na-Donu: Tipografiia Shtaba TsKVO, 1924).

32. *Sovetskii iug*, no. 166/1164, 27 July 1924, 3.

33. Tahanrih okrvynkonkom to the VUTsVK, 14 March 1924, TsDAVO, f. 1, op. 2, spr. 1872, ark. 2.

34. Minutes of the UkrDerzhplan presidium, 22 May 1923, GA RF, f. 5677, op. 4, d. 393, l. 18; report of Tahanrih okrvynkonkom, 28 April 1924, TsDAVO, f. 1, op. 2, spr. 1872, ark. 15–25; Letavin, “Administrativnoe raionirovanie Donoblasti” (Administrative raionirovanie of Donetsk Oblast), 1924, TsDAVO, f. 337, op. 1, d. 2128, ll. 87–102; minutes of the South Industrial Section at Gosplan, 1 June 1923, RGAE, f. 4327, op. 15, d. 204, l. 35.

35. UkrDerzhplan, Report to the VUTsVK, 22 May 1923, GA RF, f. 5677, op. 4, d. 393, ll. 18–19; UkrDerzhplan, Draft to revise the borders in the north and the east of the UkrSSR, 3 August 1923, RGAE, f. 4372, op. 15, d. 327, l. 25.

36. Commission for Raionirovanie at UkrDerzhplan, “Vopros o vneshnikh granitsakh Ukrainy” (The question of the external borders of Ukraine), 28–29 March 1924, TsDAVO, f. 337, op. 1, spr. 2128, ark. 46–72.

37. B. Sukhov, Memorandum on the sugar industry (including a map), 1924, TsDAVO, f. 337, op. 1, spr. 2128, ark. 36–41.

38. Mykhailo Hrushevs'kyi, "K voprosu o vostochnykh granitsakh Ukrainy" (On the question of the eastern border of Ukraine), 1924, GA RF, f. 5677, op. 5, d. 28, ll. 23–30. On Hrushevs'kyi and his complex relationship with Soviet power, see Christopher Gilley, *The 'Change of Signposts' in the Ukrainian Emigration: A Contribution to the History of Sovietophilism in the 1920s* (Stuttgart: ibidem, 2009), 200–218; Expert opinions of the VUTsVK on the border revision with the RSFSR, 15 September 1924, Natsional'ny arkhiv Respubliki Belarus' (NARB), f. 6, op. 1, d. 349, ll. 30–57.

39. Decision of the TsIK to install the Chervikov Commission, 11 April 1924, GA RF, f. 3316, op. 17, d. 322, l. 87.

40. Avel' Ehlukidze to Avram Zolotarevskii, July 1924, GA RF, f. 6892, op. 1, d. 5, l. 32.

41. Decision of the TsIK to install the Chervikov Commission, GA RF, f. 3316, op. 17, d. 32, l. 87.

42. Afanasii [Panas] Butsenko, "K voprosu uregulirovaniia gosudarstvennoi granitsy USSR, RSFSR i BSSR" (To the question of regulating the state borders of the UkrSSR, RSFSR, and BSSR), undated, TsDAVO, f. 1, op. 2, spr. 1807, ark. 29; A. Korobov, "Konspekt materialov po regulirovaniu granits mezhdu USSR i RSFSR" (Summary of documents on regulating the borders between the UkrSSR and the RSFSR), 30 July 1924, GA RF, f. 5677, op. 5, d. 25, ll. 17–22.

43. Afanasii Butsenko, "K voprosu ob uregulirovanii gosudarstvennoi granitsy USSR s RSFSR i BSSR," *Izvestiia*, no. 239/2274, 18 October 1924, 3; Arsenii Khomenko, "Glavneishie statisticheskiye dannye o chislennosti ukraintsev v prilegaiushchikh k Ukraine uездakh Kurskoi i Voronezhskoi gub. i Donskoi oblasti" (The main statistical data on the numbers of Ukrainians in the border uyezdy of Kursk and Voronezh Gubernii and Donetsk Oblast), 1924, TsDAVO, f. 1, op. 2, spr. 1807, ark. 59–63.

44. Minutes of the Politburo TsK KP(b)U, 27 July 1924, Tsentral'nyi derzhavnyi arkhiv hromads'kykh obiedan' (TsDAHO), f. 1, op. 6, spr. 48, ark. 95.

45. Martin Latsis, "Krasnyi terror," *Krasnyi terror: Ezhenedel'nik Chrezvychainoi komissii po bor'be s kontr-revoliutsiei na Chekho-Slovatskom fronte*, no. 1 (1 November 1918): 1–2.

46. Slezkine, "Communal Apartment," 420–21.

47. Shorthand notes of the Chervikov Commission, 1 July 1924, GA RF, f. 3316, op. 17, d. 322, ll. 63–64.

48. Elena Borisėnok, "Ukraine i Rossiia: Spor o granitsakh v 1920-e gody," in *Regiony i granitsy Ukrainy v istoricheskoi perspektive*, ed. Leonid Gorizontov (Moscow: Strategia, 2005), 225.

49. Egorov, *Raionirovanie SSSR*, 8–12; see also the Shorthand notes of the Chervikov Commission, July–November 1924: GA RF, f. 3316, op. 17, d. 322, ll. 55–73; GA RF, f. 5677, op. 5, d. 26, ll. 33–65; GA RF, f. 6892, op. 1, d. 19, ll. 21–35; and GA RF, f. 6892, op. 1, d. 20, ll. 3–30.

50. Minutes of the Politburo RKP(b), 12 July 1924, RGASPI, f. 17, op. 3, d. 448, l. 5.

51. Galkin, *Sbornik dokumentov*, 60.

52. Their absence was not the result of a misunderstanding, because they had been invited well in advance to join the meeting on 13 October in Moscow.

See Aleksandr Chervikov's telegram to all members of the commission, 29 September 1924, NARB, f. 6, op. 1, d. 349, ll. 102–3.

53. Minutes of the Chervikov Commission, 13 October 1924, GA RF, f. 5677, op. 5, d. 26, l. 15; Afanasii [Panas] Butsenko, Report to the TsK KP(b) U, between 23 October and 26 November 1924, TsDAVO, f. 1, op. 2, spr. 1807, ark. 67.

54. Minutes of the Chervikov Commission, 21 October 1924, GA RF, f. 5677, op. 5, d. 26, ll. 20–21.

55. Minutes of the Bilateral Commission for Border Revision between Donets'k Huberniia and North Caucasus Krai, 8 September 1924, TsDAVO, f. 1, op. 2, spr. 1871, ark. 11; minutes of the Bilateral Commission for Border Revision between Donets'k Huberniia and North Caucasus Krai, 22 September 1924, GA RF, f. 6892, op. 1, d. 14, ll. 4–5; "Prisoedinenie k iugo-vostoku Taganrogs'kogo i Shakhtinskogo raionov," *Sovetskii iug*, no. 225/1228, 3 October 1924, 3.

56. Butsenko, "K voprosu ob uregulirovanii gosudarstvennoi granitsy," 3.

57. Shorthand notes of the Chervikov Commission, 1 July 1924, GA RF, f. 3316, op. 17, f. 322, l. 56.

58. Poloz and Cherliunchakevych, "O vneshnikh granitsakh USSR" (On the external borders of the UkrSSR), undated, GA RF, f. 3316, op. 17, d. 322, ll. 42–46; Butsenko often referred to the Twelfth Party Congress in his reports; see "K voprosu uregulirovaniia gosudarstvennoi granitsy," TsDAVO, f. 1, op. 2, spr. 1807, ark. 31.

59. Minutes of the Chervikov Commission, 23 October 1924, GA RF, f. 5677, op. 5, d. 26, ll. 23–24; Minutes of the Chervikov Commission, 27 November 1924, GA RF, f. 5677, op. 5, d. 26, ll. 28–29; Minutes of the Chervikov Commission, 28 November 1924, GA RF, f. 5677, op. 5, d. 26, ll. 30–31.

60. Minutes of the Chervikov Commission, 23 October 1924, GA RF, f. 5677, op. 5, d. 26, ll. 23–24.

61. Section for Raionirovanie, Minutes of the forty-first session, 1 June 1922, RGAE, f. 4372, op. 15, d. 63, l. 87; Egorov, "Printsip federatsii," GA RF, f. 5677, op. 4, d. 15, ll. 94–95.

62. Afanasii [Panas] Butsenko, Report to the TsK KP(b)U, TsDAVO, f. 1, op. 2, spr. 1807, ark. 67. Butsenko's original letter is in Russian. Therefore the geographic names appear in Russian transcription.

63. Report of the Briansk gubispolkom, 10 September 1924, GA RF, f. 5677, op. 5, d. 23, ll. 1–2; Kursk Gubplan, "Ob izmenenii granitsy Kurskoi gubernii s Ukrainoi" (On the border revision between Kursk Guberniia and Ukraine), undated, GA RF, f. 5677, op. 5, d. 29, ll. 66–67.

64. Butsenko, Report to the TsK KP(b)U, TsDAVO, f. 1, op. 2, spr. 1807, ark. 68–69.

65. Letter from Butsenko to UkrDerzhplan, 25 October 1924, TsDAVO, f. 337, op. 1, spr. 2129, ark. 11.

66. Yegorov Subcommission, Minutes of the first session, 23 October 1924, RGAE, f. 4372, op. 15, d. 328, l. 28.

67. Letter of the TsSU to Avel' Enukidze, 10 October 1924, RGAE, f. 4372, op. 15, d. 327, l. 225; Yegorov Subcommission, Minutes of the third session, 12 November 1924, GA RF, f. 5677, op. 4, d. 389, l. 10.

68. D'iakonov, "Zakliuchenie po voprosu o prisoedinenii iuzhnykh uezdov Voronezhskoi gub. smezhnykh s Kharkovskoi gub. k USSR" (Summary of the question of the transfer of the southern uezdy of the Voronezh Guberniia to the UkrSSR), not later than 13 November 1924, GA RF, f. 6892, op. 1, d. 17, ll. 1–2; Górný, *Vaterlandszeichner*, 207–27.

69. D'iakonov, "Zakliuchenie po voprosu," GA RF, f. 6892, op. 1, d. 17, l. 22.

70. Rashin (chairman of the HATK) and Sliusarev (HubStatbiuro), Report to the Donets'k HATK, 14 November 1924, TsDAVO, f. 1, op. 2, spr. 1825, ark. 8.

71. Rashin and Sliusarev, Report to the Donets'k HATK, TsDAVO, f. 1, op. 2, spr. 1825, ark. 7. Rashin and Sliusarev erroneously speak about *raionirovanie* in Central Asia instead of "delimitation" (*razmezhevanie*).

72. Minutes of the Voronezh gubispolkom, 15–18 November 1924, GA RF, f. 6892, op. 1, d. 17, l. 25–27.

73. Minutes of the Voronezh gubispolkom, GA RF, f. 6892, op. 1, d. 17, l. 25.

74. Report of the Yegorov Subcommission to the Cherviakov Commission, 26 November 1924, GA RF, f. 3316, op. 17, d. 322, l. 17; Shorthand notes of the Cherviakov Commission, 27 November 1924, GA RF, f. 5677, op. 5, d. 26, l. 47.

75. Shorthand notes of the Commission Tasked with Constructing the Ok-ruga and Raiony, 21 March 1925, GA RF, f. 6892, op. 1, d. 27, l. 68; Butsenko, *K voprosu raionirovaniia Ukrainy*, 6–8.

76. Shorthand notes of the Cherviakov Commission, 28 November 1924, GA RF, f. 6892, op. 1, d. 20, l. 17.

77. Shorthand notes of the Cherviakov Commission, 27 November 1924, GA RF, f. 5677, op. 5, d. 26, l. 45.

78. Shorthand notes of the Cherviakov Commission, 28 November 1924, GA RF, f. 6892, op. 1, d. 20, l. 21.

79. Minutes of the Cherviakov Commission, 27 November 1924, GA RF, f. 5677, op. 5, d. 26, ll. 28–29.

80. Shorthand notes of the Cherviakov Commission, 28 November 1924, GA RF, f. 6892, op. 1, d. 20, l. 3.

81. Martin, *Affirmative Action Empire*, 274–82.

82. Minutes of the Cherviakov Commission, 27 November 1924, GA RF, f. 5677, op. 5, d. 26, ll. 28–29.

83. Minutes of the Cherviakov Commission, 28 November 1924, GA RF, f. 5677, op. 5, d. 26, ll. 30–31.

84. Borisēnok, "Ukraina i Rossiia," 229.

85. Shorthand notes of the Cherviakov Commission, 28 November 1924, GA RF, f. 6892, op. 1, d. 20, ll. 20, 27.

86. Minutes of the Cherviakov Commission, 28 November 1924, GA RF, f. 3316, op. 17, d. 322, l. 6.

87. Minority opinion of the RSFSR representatives, 29 November 1924, GA RF, f. 3316, op. 17, d. 322, l. 5.

88. Minutes of the VTsIK, 17 November 1924, GA RF, f. 3316, op. 17, d. 718, l. 41.

89. Minutes of the Cherviakov Commission, 27 November 1924, GA RF, f. 3316, op. 17, d. 322, l. 8.

90. Shorthand notes of the Commission for Raionirovanie RSFSR, 14 November 1924, GA RF, f. 6892, op. 1, d. 19, l. 17.

91. Report from Cherviakov to the Politburo RKP(b), 30 November 1924, TsDAVO, f. 1, op. 2, spr. 1808, ark. 11.

92. Minutes of the Politburo RKP(b), 11 December 1924, RGASPI, f. 17, op. 3, d. 480, 10, l. 3.

93. Letter from Cherviakov to Butsenko, 8 January 1925, TsDAVO, f. 1, op. 2, spr. 3143, ark. 3.

94. Minutes of the Cherviakov Commission, 23 January 1925, GA RF, f. 3316, op. 17, d. 718, ll. 70–71.

95. Afanasii [Panas] Butsenko, “Dokladnaia zapiska po voprosu ob uregulirovanii gosudarstvennykh granits USSR, RSFSR i BSSR” (Report on the question of regulating the state borders of the UkrSSR, RSFSR, and BSSR), May 1927, TsDAVO, f. 1, op. 3, spr. 2524, ark. 11–12.

96. UkrDerzhplan, Note on Shakhty and Taganrog, 1924, TsDAVO, f. 1, op. 2, spr. 1871, ark. 51–52; Vasilenko, “Pro derzhavni mezhi pomizh USRR ta RSFR” (On the state borders between the UkrSSR and the RSFSR), 14 August 192[8], TsDAVO, f. 1, op. 3, spr. 2523, ark. 12.

97. Afanasii [Panas] Butsenko, Report on border revisions to the VUTsVK and to the Politburo KP(b)U, after December 10, 1924, TsDAVO, f. 1, op. 2, spr. 1808, ark. 61; Afanasii [Panas] Butsenko, Reply to Cherviakov’s proposal from 8 January 1925, undated, NARB, f. 6, op. 1, d. 349, l. 118.

98. Letter from Cherviakov to Kviring, 8 January 1925, NARB, f. 6, op. 1, d. 349, l. 121.

99. Afanasii Butsenko, “K uregulirovaniu granits USSR s RSFSR,” *Pravda*, no. 179/3111, 9 August 1925, 5.

100. Douds, *Inside Lenin’s Government*, 73–81.

101. Shorthand notes of the Cherviakov Commission, 27 November 1924, GA RF, f. 5677, op. 5, d. 26, l. 51.

102. Minutes of the Bilateral Commission for the Implementation of Changes to the Borders between the RSFSR, the UkrSSR, and the BSSR (hereafter Ter-Gabrielian Commission), 17 July 1926, GA RF, f. 6892, op. 1, d. 24, ll. 1–2.

103. Petitions from citizens of Gomel’ Guberniia requesting the transfer of their villages to Ukraine, 1925–1928, TsDAVO, f. 1, op. 2, spr. 3277, 368 ark.

104. Petition from the village of Eremino, Starodub Volost, to the VUTsVK, 25 May 1925, TsDAVO, f. 1, op. 2, spr. 3277, ark. 12. The petitions from the villages of Novosel’ka, Pestrikovo, Nestruevo, Savenki (all of them part of Starodub Volost, RSFSR) used the exact same wording. See TsDAVO, f. 1, op. 2, spr. 3277, ark. 13, 15, 16, 17.

105. Afanasii [Panas] Butsenko, Table showing the areas requested for transfer from the RSFSR to the UkrSSR, 1924, GA RF, f. 3316, op. 17, d. 322, l. 81; Cherliunchakevych, “O vneshnikh granitsakh USSR,” GA RF, f. 6892, op. 1, d. 13, l. 4.

106. Petition from P. Danechkin to the VTsIK, 15 March 1926, GA RF, f. 3316, op. 17, d. 720, l. 12.

107. Shorthand notes of the Ter-Gabrielian Commission, 17 July 1926, GA RF, f. 6892, op. 1, d. 24, l. 14.

108. Petition from Nikon Seroshtan to the VTsIK, 20 August 1926, GA RF, f. 3316, op. 17, d. 720, l. 9.

109. Petition from Nikon Seroshtan to the Territorial Commission of Sumy Okruha, 15 March 1926, Derzhavnyi arkhiv Sums'koï oblasti Ukraïny (DASO), f. 32, op. 1, spr. 72, ark. 139–40.

110. Shorthand notes of the Ter-Gabrielian Commission, GA RF, f. 6892, op. 1, d. 24, ll. 29–31.

111. VUTsVK to Sumy Okruha ATK, DASO, f. 32, op. 1, spr. 398, ark. 1.

112. Act of transfer for a part of Miropol'e Volost from the RSFSR to the UkrSSR, 2 September 1927, DASO, f. 32, op. 1, spr. 389, ark. 69; explanatory note to the VUTsVK minutes (table with all the settlements at stake), 1 April 1927, TsDAVO, f. 1, op. 3, spr. 604, ark. 1.

113. Petition from 433 citizens from the village (*sloboda*) of Zaoleshenka, Sudzha Volost, Kursk Guberniia, 22 February 1925, TsDAVO, f. 1, op. 2, spr. 1841, ark. 37, capitalization according to the original.

114. For further discussion of this problem, see Stephen Kotkin, *Magnetic Mountain: Stalinism as a Civilization* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 198–237.

115. Panas Butsenko, Note on a document from the Commission for National Minority Affairs in Sudzha Volost, TsDAVO, f. 1, op. 2, spr. 1841, ark. 65.

116. Petition from sixty citizens in the village of Uspens'ka to join the RSFSR, 20 November 1924, GA RF, f. 6892, op. 1, d. 14, l. 28; petition from a rally of citizens in the village of Uspens'ka, 29 November 1924, GA RF, f. 6892, op. 1, d. 14, l. 31.

117. Shorthand notes of the Second Bilateral Russian-Ukrainian Subcommission for the Implementation of Border Changes in the Taganrog and Shakhty Regions, 2–3 December 1925, TsDAVO, f. 1, op. 2, spr. 3143, ark. 169–73.

118. Petition from P. S. Vertelo to VTsIK and TsIK, 11 March 1927, TsDAVO, f. 1, op. 3, spr. 2562, ark. 15–16.

119. Afanasii [Panas] Butsenko to the TsK KP(b)U, 29 July 1927, TsDAVO, f. 1, op. 3, spr. 2524, ark. 1–3.

120. Minutes of the VKP(b) faction at TsIK, 25 May 1927, GA RF, f. 3316, op. 64, d. 412 b, l. 1.

121. Shorthand notes of the Second Bilateral Russian-Ukrainian Subcommission for Taganrog and Shakhty, TsDAVO, f. 1, op. 2, spr. 3143, ark. 176.

122. Report by Slepnev, head of the railway administration in Chertkovo, 15 November 1926, GA RF, f. 3316, op. 17, d. 721, l. 17.

123. Report by director of the Chertkovo slaughterhouse, August 1926, GA RF, f. 406, op. 13, d. 380, l. 22.

124. Senior Inspector Mikhailov to the People's Commissariat of Internal Trade (NarkomVnutorg) of North Caucasus Krai, 24 April 1925, GA RF, f. 406, op. 13, d. 380, l. 259.

125. Report by the former (Dmitrev) and current (Yevdokimov) directors of the Chertkovo slaughterhouse, 15 February 1926, GA RF, f. 406, op. 13, d.

380, ll. 154–55; report from NarkomVnutorg to the Council for the Economy (EKOSO) RSFSR, 16 March 1927, GA RF, f. A-259, op. 11b, d. 3279, l. 6.

126. NarkomVnutorg RSFSR to the NarkomVnutorg UkrSSR, 22 June 1926, GA RF, 5677, op. 5, d. 20, l. 42.

127. Report from Starobil's'k Okruha to the VUTsVK, undated, TsDAVO, f. 1, op. 2, spr. 1809, ark. 52–53.

128. Panas Butsenko, "Dokladnaia zapiska ob ispravlenii gosudarstvennykh granits USSR i Severo-Kavkazskogo Kraia v raione st. Chertkovo" (Report on correcting the state borders of the UkrSSR and North Caucasus Krai in the raion of the stanitsa Chertkovo), 6 December 1926, TsDAVO, f. 1, op. 2, spr. 1809, ark. 23–30.

129. Kozachkov to Kaganovich, GA RF, f. 3316, op. 17, d. 721, ll. 49–50.

130. The border between North Caucasus Krai and the UkrSSR was deliberately excluded from the discussions by the Chervikov Commission. See Minutes of the Chervikov Commission, 1 July 1924, GA RF, f. 5677, op. 5, d. 26, l. 7.

131. Shorthand notes of the Ter-Gabrielian Commission, 17 July 1926, GA RF, f. 6892, op. 1, d. 24, ll. 43–47; Butsenko, "Dokladnaia zapiska ob ispravlenii gosudarstvennykh granits USSR i Severo-Kavkazskogo Kraia v raione st. Chertkovo," f. 1, op. 2, spr. 1809, ark. 23–28; map showing the territorial claims of the Russian side, 1926, TsDAVO, f. 1, op. 2, spr. 1809, ark. 70.

132. S. Il'in, "Zakliuchenie po voprosu o raione stanitsii Chertkovo" (Summary on the question about the stanitsa Chertkovo), undated, GA RF, f. 3316, op. 17, d. 721, ll. 36–33.

133. Minutes of the TsIK, 8 March 1927, GA RF, f. 3316, op. 17, d. 721, l. 77; minutes of the TsIK, 26 November 1927, GA RF, f. 3316, op. 17, d. 721, l. 98.

134. Minutes of the Bilateral Russian-Ukrainian Subcommittee for the Implementation of Border Changes in the Region of Graivoron, 2 April 1926, TsDAVO, f. 1, op. 3, spr. 630, ark. 14; shorthand notes of the Second Bilateral Russian-Ukrainian Subcommittee for Taganrog and Shakhty, TsDAVO, f. 1, op. 2, spr. 3143, ark. 183; minutes of the Bilateral Commission Formed in Accordance with TsIK Decision of 11 February 1928, 28 February 1928, TsDAVO, f. 1, op. 2, spr. 3274, ark. 2–3.

135. P. Ia. Likhnev-Fin'kovskii, "Uchastie zemleustroitelei v kul'turno-prosvetitel'noi rabote," *Zemleustroitel'* 1, no. 1 (1924): 6–8.

136. Minutes of the Bilateral Russian-Ukrainian Subcommittee for Graivoron, TsDAVO, f. 1, op. 3, spr. 2546, ark. 52; minutes of the second meeting of the Bilateral Commission for Border Revisions between Donetsk Huberniia and North Caucasus Krai, 8 September 1924, TsDAVO, f. 1, op. 2, spr. 1871, ark. 8; map of land use between Stalino Okruha and Taganrog Okrug, 1927, TsDAVO, f. 1, op. 2, spr. 3274, l. 77.

137. Minutes of the VUTsVK, 10 July 1928, TsDAVO, f. 1, op. 4, spr. 1199, ark. 1.

138. VTsIK to the VUTsVK, 13 August 1928, TsDAVO, f. 1, op. 3, spr. 2563, ark. 15.

139. Forest Administration of the UkrSSR to the Briansk gubispolkom, 22 October 1927, TsDAVO, f. 1, op. 3, spr. 2563, ark. 14.

140. VUTsVK to the TsIK and the VTsIK, 31 July 1928, TsDAVO, f. 1, op. 4, spr. 1199, ark. 2.
141. TsIK to the VUTsVK, 12 October 1928, TsDAVO, f. 1, op. 4, spr. 1199, ark. 3.
142. Minutes of the VTsIK, 25 March 1929, TsDAVO, f. 1, op. 4, spr. 1199, ark. 8.
143. Citizens of Ohybne to the VUTsVK, signed by 149 households, 20 January 1927, TsDAVO, f. 1, op. 3, spr. 623, ark. 4.
144. Voronezh gubispolkom to the VUTsVK, 28 December 1926, TsDAVO, f. 1, op. 3, spr. 623, ark. 28.
145. Kupians'k Okruha Land Administration to the newspaper *Bednota* (Poverty), 13 December 1926, TsDAVO, f. 1, op. 3, spr. 623, ark. 25.
146. Valuiki UIK to the Kupians'k okrvykonkom, 21 January 1927, TsDAVO, f. 1, op. 3, spr. 623, ark. 18.
147. Article in *Bednota*, 22 October 1926, TsDAVO, f. 1, op. 3, spr. 623, ark. 13–17.
148. TsIK to the VUTsVK, 4 February 1927, TsDAVO, f. 1, op. 3, spr. 623, ark. 20.
149. Citizens of Ohybne to the VUTsVK, TsDAVO, f. 1, op. 3, spr. 623, ark. 5.
150. Afanasii [Panas] Butsenko, "Dokladnaia zapiska po voprosu ob uregulirovaniu gosudarstvennykh granits mezhdu USSR i RSFSR" (Report on the question about the regulation of the state borders between the UkrSSR and the RSFSR), 9 July 1927, TsDAVO, f. 1, op. 3, spr. 2504, ark. 200.
151. Shorthand notes of Stalin's meeting with Ukrainian writers, 12 February 1929, RGASPI, f. 558, op. 1, d. 4490, l. 19. See also Leonid Maximenkov, "Stalin's Meeting with a Delegation of Ukrainian Writers on 12 February 1929," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 16, no. 3–4 (1992): 361–431.
152. Martin, *Affirmative Action Empire*, 291–302.
153. Mace, *Communism*, 100–111.
154. Martin, *Affirmative Action Empire*, 345–56; Mace, *Communism*, 296–98.
155. Di Fiore, "Production of Borders," 41–43; Haslinger, "Dilemmas of Security," 193–200; Catherine Gibson, "Attuning to Emotions in the History of Border-Making: The Estonian-Latvian Boundary Commission in 1920," *Journal of Modern European History* 22, no. 1 (2024), 44–45.

4. Central Asia

1. In 1926 only Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan had the status of union republics. Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan were autonomous republics within the RSFSR, Tajikistan an autonomous republic within Uzbekistan. Karakalpakstan was at the time an autonomous oblast within the Kazakh ASSR.
2. Julia Obertreis, *Imperial Desert Dreams: Cotton Growing and Irrigation in Central Asia, 1860–1991* (Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2017), 60–64.
3. Stefan Kirmse, "Raumkonzepte von Zentralasien: Ein historischer Überblick," in *Die politischen Systeme Zentralasiens: Interner Wandel, externe*

Akteure, regionale Kooperation, ed. Jakob Lempp, Sebastian Mayer, and Alexander Brandt (Wiesbaden: Springer, 2020), 27.

4. Maya Peterson, *Pipe Dreams: Water and Empire in Central Asia's Aral Sea Basin* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 11–17; Hirschhausen and Leonhard, *Empires*, 416–25.

5. Haugen, *Central Asia*.

6. Alexander Morrison, *The Russian Conquest of Central Asia: A Study in Imperial Expansion, 1814–1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021), 537–38; Keller, *Russia and Central Asia*, 112–13; Isabelle Ohayon and Tomohiko Uyama, “Mediators of the Empire in Central Asia, 1820–1928,” *Cahiers du monde russe* 56, no. 4 (2015): 617–20; Tetsu Akiyama, *The Qirghiz Baatir and the Russian Empire: A Portrait of a Local Intermediary in Russian Central Asia* (Leiden: Brill, 2021), 1–11.

7. Daniel R. Brower, *Turkestan and the Fate of the Russian Empire* (London: Routledge, 2003), 20–25; Jennifer Keating, *On Arid Ground: Political Ecologies of Empire in Russian Central Asia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022), 210–12; Fedtke, *Roter Orient*, 55–56; Morrison, *Russian Conquest*, 4.

8. Jörn Happel, *Nomadische Lebenswelten und zarische Politik: Der Aufstand in Zentralasien 1916* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2010), 15; Keller, *Russia and Central Asia*, 141–42; Ian W. Campbell, “Nationalizing Violence in a Collapsing Empire: A View from the Steppe,” *Ab Imperio*, no. 3 (2020): 112–13; Alexander Morrison, Cloé Drieu, and Aminat Chokobaeva, introduction to *The Central Asian Revolt of 1916: A Collapsing Empire in the Age of War and Revolution* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2020), 19–20; Alexander Morrison, “Bab’i Bunty in Semirech’e: Gender, Class, and Ethnicity in Central Asia during the First World War,” *Revolutionary Russia* 36, no. 1 (2023): 46–48.

9. For further discussion, see Khalid, *Central Asia*, 147–98; Svetlana Gorshenina, *Asie centrale: L'invention des frontières et l'héritage russo-soviétique* (Paris: Éditions CNRS, 2012), 189–300; and Fedtke, *Roter Orient*.

10. Khalid, *Central Asia*, 157–62; Reinhard Eisener, *Buchara im Strudel der Russischen Revolution: Auftakt und revolutionäres Umfeld, 1917–1919* (Potsdam: Thetis, 2023), 252–67.

11. Buttino, *Revoliutsiia naoborot*, 339–48; Fedtke, *Roter Orient*, 299–300.

12. Norihiro Naganawa, “Officious Aliens: Tatars’ Involvement in the Central Asian Revolution, 1919–21,” *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History* 24, no. 1 (2023): 81–90.

13. P. Lepeshinskii, Letter to Lenin, 19 May 1920, in *Rossii i Tsentral’naia Aziia*, 344–47.

14. Smith, *National Question*, 99–101; Niccolò Pianciola, “Décoloniser l’Asie centrale? Bolcheviks et colons au Semireč’e, 1920–1922,” *Cahiers du monde russe* 49, no. 1 (2008): 107–14; Happel, *Nomadische Lebenswelten*, 314–15.

15. Shoshana Keller, *To Moscow, Not Mecca: The Soviet Campaign against Islam in Central Asia, 1917–1941* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2001), 44–47; Khalid, “Backwardness,” 239–41; Cameron, *Hungry Steppe*, 77–79; Fedtke, *Roter Orient*, 179; Adeeb Khalid, *The Politics of Muslim Cultural Reform: Jadidism in Central Asia* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 80–82; Eisener, *Buchara*, 26–43.

16. Khalid, *Making Uzbekistan*, 295–96.

17. Keller, *Russia and Central Asia*, 139; Fedtke, *Roter Orient*, 379–81, 455; Uyama, “Alash Orda,” 271–87; Xavier Hallez, “Le ralliement des Kazakhs au pouvoir soviétique, 1917–1920: Convictions politiques, système tribal et contexte russe,” *Cahiers du monde russe* 56, no. 4 (2015) 746–47; Jipar Duissembieva, “‘The Kara Kirghiz Must Develop Separately’: Ishenaaly Arabaev, 1881–1933, and His Project of the Kyrgyz Nation,” in *Creating Culture in (Post) Socialist Central Asia*, ed. Ananda Breed, Eva-Marie Dubuisson, and Ali Iğmen (Cham: Palgrave, 2020), 18–35; Anton Ikhsanov, “Aleksandr Nikolaevich Samoilovich (1880–1938) i ego polevye informanty: Konstruirovaniye turkmenskoi kul’turnoi identichnosti” (PhD diss., Higher School of Economics, Moscow, 2023).

18. Khalid, *Muslim Cultural Reform*, 288–89; Khalid, *Making of Uzbekistan*, 53–54; Sergei Abashin, *Natsionalizmy v Srednei Azii: V poiskakh identichnosti* (St. Petersburg: Aleteia, 2007), 183–84; Gorshenina, *Asie centrale*, 206.

19. Keller, *Russia and Central Asia*, 152; Khalid, *Making Uzbekistan*, 123–24.

20. The Communist Party of Turkestan had 23,810 members, while the Communist Party of Bukhara had 2,216 and the Communist Party of Khorezm had 774 members: Report on party members in the Central Asian republics, 1 March 1924, RGASPI, f. 62, op. 2, d. 91, l. 40. Concerning the role of European Bolsheviks in Central Asia, see Botakoz Kassymbekova and Christian Teichmann, “The Red Man’s Burden: Soviet Officials in Central Asia in the 1920s and 1930s,” in *Helpless Imperialists: Imperial Failure, Fear and Radicalization*, ed. Maurus Reinkowski (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013), 163–86; and Hirsch, *Empire of Nations*, 164.

21. Stenograph of the Territorial Commission for Delimitation of the Central Asian Republics (hereafter Delimitation Commission), 17 August 1924, RGASPI, f. 62, op. 2, d. 104, l. 134.

22. The intricate evolution of the term *sart* cannot be discussed here. For a comprehensive analysis, see Abashin, *Natsionalizmy*, 95–176; Hirsch, *Empire of Nations*, 112–13; and Sergei Abashin, “Empire and Demography in Turkestan: Numbers and the Politics of Counting,” in *Asiatic Russia*, 129–49.

23. Khalid, *Making Uzbekistan*, 14–16; Abashin, *Natsionalizmy*, 180–81; Khalid, “Nationalizing the Revolution,” 155–58.

24. Until 1925 the people now known as Kazakh and the state known as Kazakhstan were referred to in Russian administrative language as Kirgiz and the Kirrespublika, respectively. On the Kirrespublika, see Dina Amanzholova, “Ispytanie vlast’iu: Iz istorii formirovaniia biurokratii Kazakhskoi ASSR, 1920-e gg.,” *Cahiers du monde russe* 56, no. 4 (2015): 753–91. Some parts of Astrakhan Guberniia and the Magyshalk Peninsula of Turkestan were attached to the Kirrespublika. On the details of border making between the Kirrespublika and the Turkestan ASSR, see Alun Thomas, “The Caspian Disputes: Nationalism and Nomadism in Early Soviet Central Asia,” *Russian Review* 76, no. 3 (2017): 502–25; and Gorshenina, *Asie centrale*, 206–7.

25. Buttino, *Revoliutsiia naoborot*, 21–27; Matthew J. Payne, *Stalin’s Railroad: Turksib and the Building of Socialism* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2001), 68, 134.

26. Marco Buttino, “Central Asia, 1916–1920: A Kaleidoscope of Local Revolutions and the Building of the Bolshevik Order,” in *The Empire and Nationalism at War*, ed. Eric Lohr et al. (Bloomington, IN: Slavica Publishers, 2014), 109–35; Sergei Abashin et al., “Soviet Rule and the Delimitation of Borders in the Ferghana Valley, 1917–1930,” in *Ferghana Valley: The Heart of Central Asia*, ed. S. Frederick Starr (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 2011), 99. For instance, Iosif Magidovich, a leading Soviet geographer in Central Asia, was unable to visit certain parts of the region even in the mid-1920s due to Basmachi guerrilla activity (Report on Central Asia, 17 May 1925, GA RF, f. 6892, op. 1, d. 42, l. 3).

27. “Protokol No. 25 ob”edenennogo zasedaniia Kraikoma, Kraimusbiuro i Komiteta inostrannykh kommunistov KPT i predstavitelei Turkkomissii,” in *Rossiiia i Tsentral’naia Aziia*, 314–18; Abashin, *Natsional’izmy*, 182–84; Naganawa, “Officious Aliens,” 82; Eisener, *Buchara*, 428–30; Buttino, *Revolutsiia naoborot*, 349–51.

28. “Doklad dopolnitel’nyi Turkdelegatsii (po delam Turkestana) lichno tov. Leninu, 16 June 1920,” in *Rossiiia i Tsentral’naia Aziia*, 369.

29. Mirzohid Rahimov and Galina Urazaeva, “Central Asian Nations and Border Issues,” *Conflict Studies Research Centre* 10, no. 5 (2005): 2–3; Gorshenina, *Asie centrale*, 199–200; Abashin, *Natsionalizmy*, 183; Eisener, *Buchara*, 348–52.

30. Lenin, Letter to Stalin, 28 November 1921, in PSS, 44:255; Lenin, “Zamechaniia o proekte resheniia TsK o zadachakh RKP(b) v Turkestane,” in PSS, 41:435.

31. Abashin, *Natsionalizmy*, 182–84.

32. Fedtke, *Roter Orient*, 400–410; Abashin, *Natsionalizmy*, 187; Gorshenina, *Asie centrale*, 202.

33. Keller, “Central Asian Bureau,” 281–97; Gorshenina, *Asie centrale*, 203–4; Fedtke, *Roter Orient*, 310.

34. Abashin et al., “Soviet Rule,” 105–6; Mirlan Bektursunov, “‘Two Parts—One Whole?’ Kazakh–Kyrgyz Relations in the Making of Soviet Kyrgyzstan, 1917–24,” *Central Asian Survey* 42, no. 1 (2022): 109–26.

35. Ryskulov, Letter to Stalin, 20 February 1922, in *Rossiiia i Tsentral’naia Aziia*, 465–66; Turar Ryskolov, Address to the plenum of TsK KPT, 28 July 1923, RGASPI, f. 62, op. 3, d. 9, ll. 14–16; see also Gorshenina, *Asie centrale*, 218–21.

36. Chika Obiya, “When Faizulla Khojaev Decided to Be an Uzbek,” in *Islam in Politics in Russia and Central Asia: Early Eighteenth to Late Twentieth Centuries*, ed. Stéphane A. Dudoignon and Hisao Komatsu (London: Kegan Paul, 2001), 111–13; Ivan Trainin, “O plemennoi avtonomii,” *Zhizn’ natsional’nostei*, no. 2 (1923): 19–25.

37. “Vypiska iz postanovleniia Orgbiuro TsK RKP(b) po Turkestanskim vo-prosam,” 31 January 1924, in *Rossiiia i Tsentral’naia Aziia*, 524.

38. Gero Fedtke, “Wie aus Bucharern Usbeken und Tadschiken warden: Sowjetische Nationalitätenpolitik im Lichte einer persönlichen Rivalität,” *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft* 54, no. 3 (2006): 214–31; Iosif Vareikis to Stalin, 27 March 1924, in TsK RKP(b)-VKP(b), 1:189–91.

39. Theses of the TsK of the Bukharan Communist Party, 10 March 1924, RGASPI, f. 62, op. 2, d. 101, l. 3. This document was edited and commented

on by Adeeb Khalid in “National Consolidation as Soviet Work: The Origins of Uzbekistan,” *Ab Imperio*, no. 4 (2016): 185–200.

40. Ingeborg Baldauf, “Some Thoughts on the Making of the Uzbek Nation,” *Cahiers du monde russe et soviétique* 32, no. 1 (1991): 79–96.

41. Haugen, *Central Asia*, 115–37; Thomas, *Nomads*, 45, 49; Victoria Clement, *Learning to Become Turkmen: Literacy, Language, and Power, 1914–2014* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2018), 5; Hirsch, *Empire of Nations*, 112–13; Abashin, “Empire and Demography,” 129–49.

42. Tetsu Akiyama, “Why Was Russian Direct Rule over Kyrgyz Nomads Dependent on Tribal Chieftains ‘Manaps’?,” *Cahiers du monde russe* 56, no. 4 (2015): 627–28; Nathan Light, “Kyrgyz Genealogies and Lineages: Histories, Everyday Life, and Patriarchal Institutions in Northwestern Kyrgyzstan,” *Genealogy* 53, no. 2 (2018): 5–6; Duissembieva, “Kara Kirghiz,” 15–16; Bektursunov, “Lineage Proletariat,” 101–3.

43. Thomas, *Nomads*, 25; Cadiot, *Laboratoire impérial*, 167; Fedtke, *Roter Orient*, 30–31; Fedtke, “Wie aus Bucharern,” 219–20; Abashin, *Natsionalizmy*, 188–90.

44. Mezhlauk to Stalin, 28 March 1924, RGASPI, f. 62, op. 2, d. 101, l. 53.

45. Sultanbek Khodzhanov, Minority opinion, 29 May 1924, RGASPI, f. 62, op. 2, d. 101, ll. 133.

46. D. R. Ashimbaev, *Kto est' kto v Kazakhstane: Entsiklopedicheskii slovar'*, 12th ed. (Almaty: Credo, 2012), 1189.

47. Grigorii Broido, note to the TsK RKP(b), prior to 4 June 1924, in *TsK RKP(b)-VKP(b)*, 1:216–20.

48. Decision of the KPT to dissolve Turkestan in favor of national entities, 23 March 1924, RGASPI, f. 62, op. 2, d. 101, l. 67; Mochanov, Report on Central Asia, May–June 1924, RGASPI, f. 62, op. 2, d. 91, l. 27.

49. Conquest, *Last Empire*, 28–31; Caroe, *Soviet Empire*, 145–49; Philip Shishkin, *Restless Valley: Revolution, Murder, and Intrigue in the Heart of Central Asia* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014), 238.

50. The Soviet ambassador to Bukhara, Znamenskii, to Karklin, 16 February 1924, RGASPI, f. 62, op. 2, d. 88, ll. 12–13; Znamenskii to Karklin, 15 March 1924, RGASPI, f. 62, op. 2, d. 88, ll. 23–24; minutes of the Uzbekistan Commission within the Sredazbiuro, 10 May 1924, RGASPI, f. 62, op. 2, d. 101, ll. 12–14; Karklin to the TsK RKP(b), 2 June 1924, in *TsK RKP(b)-VKP(b)*, 1:207–8; Zelenskii and Vareikis, introduction to *Natsional'no-gosudarstvennoe razmezhevanie*, 8–9; Fedtke, *Roter Orient*, 402–10.

51. Minutes of the Uzbekistan Commission, RGASPI, f. 62, op. 2, d. 101, ll. 14; Peyrat, “Soviet Federalism,” 548–49.

52. Shorthand notes of the Sredazbiuro, 10 May 1924, RGASPI, f. 62, op. 2, d. 100, l. 10.

53. Minutes of the Sredazbiuro, 11 May 1924, RGASPI, f. 62, op. 1, d. 20, ll. 240–41. For a short time in mid-1924, it was not clear whether the Kirgiz-Kazak part of Turkestan was to form a separate, small Kirrespublika to counterbalance the larger entity of the same name in the north. For more information on this topic, see Gorshenina, *Asie centrale*, 230–31.

54. Edgar, *Tribal Nation*, 50–51.

55. Memorandum of a Khorezmian delegation to the Sredazbiuro, undated, RGASPI, f. 62, op. 2, d. 101, l. 64; minutes of the Politburo RKP (b), 12 June 1924, RGASPI, f. 17, op. 3, d. 443, ll. 17–18.

56. However, there were no Karakalpak or Tajik subcommissions. See Minutes of the Delimitation Commission, 16 August 1924, RGASPI, f. 62, op. 2, d. 110, ll. 19–20; and Gorshenina, *Asie centrale*, 221–25.

57. Shorthand notes of the Delimitation Commission, 16 August 1924, RGASPI, f. 62, op. 1, d. 104, l. 1.

58. Shorthand notes of the Delimitation Commission, 16 August 1924, RGASPI, f. 62, op. 1, d. 104, l. 2.

59. Shorthand notes of the Delimitation Commission, 16 August 1924, RGASPI, f. 62, op. 1, d. 104, l. 3.

60. Stalin, “Marksizm i natsional’nyi vopros,” in *Sochineniia*, 2:296.

61. Shorthand notes of the Delimitation Commission, 16 August 1924, RGASPI, f. 62, op. 1, d. 104, l. 9.

62. Shorthand notes of the Delimitation Commission, 16 August 1924, RGASPI, f. 62, op. 1, d. 104, l. 13.

63. Shorthand notes of the Delimitation Commission, 16 August 1924, RGASPI, f. 62, op. 1, d. 104, l. 23. In this era, “Muslim” could still be used as an ethnographic signifier.

64. Shorthand notes of the Delimitation Commission, 16 August 1924, RGASPI, f. 62, op. 1, d. 104, l. 20.

65. Edgar, *Tribal Nation*, 62–66; Haugen, *Central Asia*, 185–88.

66. Shorthand notes of the Delimitation Commission, 16 August 1924, RGASPI, f. 62, op. 1, d. 104, ll. 30–31. As mentioned above, before 1917 people could easily identify with more than one category. “Kipchak” or “Kurama” could denote linguistic or kinship affiliations; see Hirsch, *Empire of Nations*, 112–13; Abashin, “Empire and Demography,” 129–49; and Haugen, *Central Asia*, 139–45.

67. Shorthand notes of the Delimitation Commission, 16 August 1924, RGASPI, f. 62, op. 1, d. 104, ll. 35–37.

68. Shorthand notes of the Delimitation Commission, 16 August 1924, RGASPI, f. 62, op. 1, d. 104, l. 66.

69. Shorthand notes of the Delimitation Commission, 16 August 1924, RGASPI, f. 62, op. 1, d. 104, l. 68, italics added.

70. *Aul*: mobile settlement of yurts. *Kisblak*: wintering place for nomads.

71. Shorthand notes of the Delimitation Commission, 16 August 1924, RGASPI, f. 62, op. 1, d. 104, l. 69, italics added.

72. Shorthand notes of the Delimitation Commission, 16 August 1924, RGASPI, f. 62, op. 1, d. 104, l. 79.

73. Shorthand notes of the Delimitation Commission, 16 August 1924, RGASPI, f. 62, op. 1, d. 104, ll. 79–80, italics added.

74. Shorthand notes of the Delimitation Commission, 16 August 1924, RGASPI, f. 62, op. 1, d. 104, ll. 82–84.

75. Shorthand notes of the Delimitation Commission, 16 August 1924, RGASPI, f. 62, op. 1, d. 104, l. 90.

76. Minutes of the Delimitation Commission, 17 August 1924, RGASPI, f. 62, op. 2, d. 103, l. 9.

77. Shorthand notes of the Delimitation Commission, 17 August 1924, RGASPI, f. 62, op. 2, d. 104, ll. 107–10.

78. Minutes of the Uzbekistan Commission, 10 May 1924, RGASPI, f. 62, op. 2, d. 101, ll. 40–41; Duissembieva, “Kara Kirghiz,” 35–36.

79. Shorthand notes of the Delimitation Commission, 17 August 1924, RGASPI, f. 62, op. 2, d. 104, ll. 112–13.

80. Shorthand notes of the Delimitation Commission, 17 August 1924, RGASPI, f. 62, op. 2, d. 104, ll. 113–14.

81. Shorthand notes of the Delimitation Commission, 17 August 1924, RGASPI, f. 62, op. 2, d. 104, l. 115.

82. In doing so, they were acting as “ethnonational entrepreneurs” before the ethnic community was even constituted; see Rogers Brubaker, *Ethnicity without Groups* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004), 10–12.

83. Shorthand notes of the Delimitation Commission, 17 August 1924, RGASPI, f. 62, op. 2, d. 104, l. 117.

84. Shorthand notes of the Delimitation Commission, 17 August 1924, RGASPI, f. 62, op. 2, d. 104, l. 119, italics added.

85. Shorthand notes of the Delimitation Commission, 17 August 1924, RGASPI, f. 62, op. 2, d. 104, l. 128.

86. Shorthand notes of the Delimitation Commission, 17 August 1924, RGASPI, f. 62, op. 2, d. 104, l. 135.

87. Shorthand notes of the Delimitation Commission, 17 August 1924, RGASPI, f. 62, op. 2, d. 104, ll. 136–38.

88. Shorthand notes of the Delimitation Commission, 17 August 1924, RGASPI, f. 62, op. 2, d. 104, ll. 137–44.

89. Shorthand notes of the Delimitation Commission, 17 August 1924, RGASPI, f. 62, op. 2, d. 104, ll. 145–47.

90. Shorthand notes of the Delimitation Commission, 17 August 1924, RGASPI, f. 62, op. 2, d. 104, ll. 157–64.

91. Shorthand notes of the Delimitation Commission, 17 August 1924, RGASPI, f. 62, op. 2, d. 104, ll. 178.

92. Shorthand notes of the Delimitation Commission, 17 August 1924, RGASPI, f. 62, op. 2, d. 104, l. 182.

93. Shorthand notes of the Delimitation Commission, 17 August 1924, RGASPI, f. 62, op. 2, d. 104, ll. 184–85.

94. Shorthand notes of the Delimitation Commission, 17 August 1924, RGASPI, f. 62, op. 2, d. 104, ll. 185–87.

95. Minutes of the secret session of the Sredazbiuro, 20 August 1924, RGASPI, f. 62, op. 1, d. 21, l. 194.

96. Shorthand notes of the Delimitation Commission, 21 August 1924, RGASPI, f. 62, op. 2, d. 104, ll. 188–89. The Uzbek subcommission did not indicate whether these volosti would be part of the Kirgiz-Kazak or the Kara-Kirgiz entity.

97. Shorthand notes of the Delimitation Commission, 21 August 1924, RGASPI, f. 62, op. 2, d. 104, l. 190.

98. Shorthand notes of the Delimitation Commission, 21 August 1924, RGASPI, f. 62, op. 2, d. 104, l. 192.

99. Shorthand notes of the Delimitation Commission, 21 August 1924, RGASPI, f. 62, op. 2, d. 104, l. 196.

100. Shorthand notes of the Delimitation Commission, 21 August 1924, RGASPI, f. 62, op. 2, d. 104, ll. 204–7.

101. Shorthand notes of the Delimitation Commission, 21 August 1924, RGASPI, f. 62, op. 2, d. 104, ll. 227–33.

102. The Tajik entity would eventually gain ASSR status within Uzbekistan.

103. Shorthand notes of the Delimitation Commission, 21 August 1924, RGASPI, f. 62, op. 2, d. 104, ll. 233–34.

104. Fedtke, “Wie aus Bucharern,” 219–20.

105. Minutes of the session of the Sredazbiuro, 31 August 1924, RGASPI, f. 62, op. 1, d. 22, ll. 39–46.

106. These were later attached to Uzbekistan; see Gorshenina, *Asie centrale*, 268–69.

107. Shorthand notes of the Delimitation Commission, 6 September 1924, RGASPI, f. 62, op. 2, d. 104, l. 263.

108. Minutes of the Editorial Commission, 6 September 1924, RGASPI, f. 62, op. 2, d. 110, l. 18.

109. Sultanbek Khodzhanov, Note of protest, undated, RGASPI, f. 62, op. 2, d. 110, ll. 11–12.

110. Minutes of the Sredazbiuro, 7 September 1924, RGASPI, f. 62, op. 2, d. 110, ll. 4–12.

111. Haugen, *Central Asia*, 206–10.

112. “Iz dokladnoi zapiski chlenov BukhTsIK,” 7 October 1924, in *Rossiiia i Tsentral’naia Aziia*, 530–32; VTsIK minutes, 29 December 1924, TsGA KR, f. 20, op. 1s, d. 108, l. 2.

113. Only after the issue had been settled did the all-union edition of *Izvestiia* launch a campaign about delimitation in Central Asia starting with B. Maiberg, “Natsional’no-gosudarstvennoe razmezhevanie respublik Srednei Azii,” *Izvestiia*, no. 207/2242, 11 September 1924, 2.

114. RGASPI, f. 62, op. 2, d. 177, l. 41, quoted according to Rahimov and Urazaeva, “Central Asian Nations,” 13. Masov later borrowed Zelenskii’s expression for his book title: *Istoriia topornogo razdeleniia* (History of a division done with an axe).

115. “Sredne-aziatskoe razmezhevanie,” *Izvestiia*, no. 214/2249, 19 September 1924, 2; “Natsional’noe razmezhevanie Srednei Azii i Khorezmskaia Respublika,” *Izvestiia*, no. 215/2250, 20 September 1924, 3.

116. In Khorezm, the proponents for independence had been purged in the interim. The Khorezmian Communist Party now favored participation in delimitation; see Gorshenina, *Asie centrale*, 225.

117. Minutes of the Politburo TsK RKP (b), 13 October 1924, RGASPI, f. 17, op. 3, d. 468, l. 2.

118. Yan Rudzutak, report on the national delimitation of Central Asia to the TsK RKP(b), 26 October 1924, in *TsK RKP(b)-VKP(b)*, 1:242–47.

119. Egorov to Ter-Gabrielian, October 1925, GA RF, f. 6892, op. 1, d. 29, l. 24.

120. Abashin, *Natsionalizmy*, 189–94; Khalid, *Central Asia*, 207–9; Fedtke, “Wie aus Bucharern,” 225–28.

121. Gorshenina, *Asie centrale*, 284; Aidarbekov's address to the Constitutive Assembly of the Kara-Kirgiz AO, 27 March 1925, TsGA KR, f. 20, op. 1, d. 11, l. 1k.

122. Haugen, *Central Asia*, 208–9.

123. Between 1925 and 1936 the term *kazak* was used in Russian. After 1936 it was replaced with *kazakh*. On the renaming of the Kirgiz Autonomous Socialist Soviet Republic into Kazak Autonomous Socialist Soviet Republic, see the VTsIK decree, 15 June 1925, in *Sobranie uzakonenii i rasporiazhenii rabochego i krest'ianskogo pravitel'stva RSFSR*, no. 43 (1925): 321; and David Gullette, *The Genealogical Construction of the Kyrgyz Republic: Kinship, State and 'Tribalism'* (Leiden: Global Oriental, 2010), 162–65.

124. Minutes of the Commission for Raionirovanie in the Kirgiz AO, 5 November 1925, GA RF, f. 6892, op. 1, d. 26, l. 5; Martin Jeske, "Ein Imperium wird vermessen: Kartographie, Kulturtransfer und Raumerschließung im Zarenreich (1797–1919)" (PhD diss., University of Basel, 2019), 360–61.

125. Minutes of the VTsIK, 6 October 1925, TsGA KR, f. 21, op. 1, d. 114, l. 71.

126. Dublitskii to Petrovskii, undated, TsGA KR, f. 21, op. 2, d. 76, l. 31.

127. Minutes of the Border Revision Commission for Central Asia at the TsIK, 20 March 1926, TsGA KR, f. 21, op. 14, d. 11, ll. 3–8.

128. Minutes of the Raionirovanie Commission for the Kara-Kirgiz AO, 5 March 1925, TsGA KR, f. 20, op. 1, d. 118, ll. 25–27; Minutes of the Border Revision Commission for Central Asia at the TsIK, 21 March 1926, TsGA KR, f. 21, op. 14, d. 11, l. 10.

129. Not to be confused with Isfara Volost, mentioned previously. In other documents Chai-Kuluk Volost is called "Chap-Kuluk."

130. Minutes of the Border Revision Commission for Central Asia at the TsIK, 25 March 1926, TsGA KR, f. 21, op. 14, d. 11, ll. 11–16; Komissiiia TsIK UzSSR po raionirovaniuu, *Materialy*, 107–8.

131. Aleksandr Beloborodov, "Doklad o rabote komissii po uregulirovaniuu pograniichnykh sporov mezhdru RSFSR, UzSSR, TrkSSR" (Report on the work of the commission tasked with regulating border troubles between the RSFSR, Uzbekistan, and Turkmenistan), 25 May 1926, GA RF, f. 6892, op. 1, d. 26, ll. 18–19.

132. Minutes of the VTsIK, 30 August 1926, TsGA KR, f. 21, op. 3, d. 156, l. 11; minutes of the TsIK, 10 September 1926, GA RF, f. 6892, op. 1, d. 26, l. 24.

133. Report of the Osh okrispolkom, 30 August 1926, TsGA KR, f. 21, op. 1, d. 418, l. 48.

134. Report of the Osh okrispolkom, 30 August 1926, TsGA KR, f. 21, op. 1, d. 418, l. 49.

135. Biashim Kul'besherov, Report to the TsIK SSSR, undated, GA RF, f. 6892, op. 1, d. 45, l. 8.

136. Minutes of the TsIK, 10 September 1926, GA RF, f. 6892, op. 1, d. 26, l. 24. Here they had in mind the Uch-Kurgan rail hub in the southeast of the town of Fergana in Kokand Okrug, not the town (and rail hub) of the same name to the northwest of Andijan.

137. Biashim Kul'besherov, Report to the TsIK, GA RF, f. 6892, op. 1, d. 45, l. 17.

138. Minutes of the Border Revision Commission between the RSFSR and the UzSSR, 24 January 1927, GA RF, f. 6892, op. 1, d. 45, l. 5.

139. Minutes of the Border Revision Commission between the RSFSR and the UzSSR, 25 January 1927, GA RF, f. 6892, op. 1, d. 45, l. 6; Act of the local border commission, 14 February 1927, TsGA KR, f. 21, op. 14, d. 1, l. 6.

140. Biashim Kul'besherov, Report to the TsIK, GA RF, f. 6892, op. 1, d. 45, ll. 23–28.

141. Minutes of the TsIK, 4 May 1927, TsGA KR, f. 21, op. 2, d. 45, l. 133. On the present-day impact of these borders, see Rashid Gabdulhakov, "The Highly Securitized Insecurities of State Borders in the Fergana Valley," *Central Asia Fellowship Papers* 9 (2015): 7–9.

142. Act of the bilateral Uzbek-Kyrgyz Border Revision Commission, 28 March 1928, TsGA KR, f. 21, op. 14, d. 1, ll. 8–9.

143. Masov, *National Catastrophe*, 76; Koichiev, *Razmezhevanie*, 48, 54–55.

144. Act between the Osh (Kyrgyzstan) and Khujand (Uzbekistan) okrispolkomy, 14 February 1927, TsGA KR, f. 21, op. 14, d. 1, l. 6.

145. Isfana VIK to the TsIK of the KASSR, 3 April 1928, TsGA KR, f. 21, op. 14, d. 1, l. 57.

146. Minutes of the TsIK, 20 August 1927, GA RF, f. 3316, op. 64, d. 412, l. 6. This decision did not affect the South Caucasus. There the ZakTsIK was exclusively responsible for administrative-territorial issues.

147. Shorthand notes of the discussion between Stalin and Ukrainian writers, 12 February 1929, RGASPI, f. 558, op. 1, d. 4490, l. 19.

148. Hirsch, *Empire of Nations*, 176–86; Kassymbekova, *Despite Cultures*, 65.

149. Agreement of the bilateral Tajik-Kyrgyz commission, 8 July 1938, TsGA KR, f. 21, op. 14, d. 25, ll. 18–19.

150. Christine Bichsel, *Conflict Transformation in Central Asia: Irrigation Disputes in the Ferghana Valley* (London: Routledge, 2009), 106–12; Madeleine Reeves, *Border Work: Spatial Lives of the State in Rural Central Asia* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2014), 205–40; Muzaffar Olimov and Saodat Olimova, "Integration vs Disintegration: State Borders and Border Conflicts in the Isfara Valley," in *Post-Soviet Borders: A Kaleidoscope of Shifting Lives and Lands*, ed. Sabine von Löwis and Beate Eschment (New York: Routledge, 2023), 196–97; Anna Matveeva, "Divided We Fall . . . or Rise? Tajikistan-Kyrgyzstan Border Dilemma," *Cambridge Journal of Eurasian Studies*, no. 1 (2017): 4.

151. Reeves, *Border Work*, 85; Smith, "Nationality Policy," 987; Olimov and Olimova, "Integration," 193–94.

152. Haugen, *Central Asia*, 167–69; Alfrid K. Bustanov, *Soviet Orientalism and the Creation of Central Asian Nations* (New York: Routledge, 2015), 136.

153. Brubaker, *Ethnicity without Groups*, 10–12. On clientelism, see Timothy K. Blauvelt, *Clientelism and Nationality in an Early Soviet Fiefdom: The Trials of Nestor Lakoba* (London: Routledge, 2021), 232–34.

5. Armenia and Azerbaijan

1. Tsentral'noe statisticheskoe upravlenie, *Vsesoiuznaia perepis' naseleniia 1926 goda*, 14:6–10; Daniel Müller, *Sowjetische Nationalitätenpolitik in*

Transkaukasien, 1920–1953 (Berlin: Köster, 2008), 77–90; Laurence Broers, *Armenia and Azerbaijan: Anatomy of a Rivalry* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2019), 51–55; Goff, *Nested Nationalism*, 21.

2. Georgi Derluguian, *Bourdieu's Secret Admirer in the Caucasus: A World-System Biography* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 185–97; Jeremy Smith, “Nagorno Karabakh under Soviet Rule,” in *The South Caucasus beyond Borders, Boundaries and Division Lines: Conflicts, Cooperation and Development*, ed. Mikko Palonkorpi (Turku: Juvenes, 2015), 9–25; Timothy K. Blauvelt, “‘From Words to Action!’ Nationality Policy in Soviet Abkhazia, 1921–1938,” in *The Making of Modern Georgia, 1918–2012: The First Georgian Republic and Its Successors*, ed. Stephen F. Jones (London: Routledge, 2014), 232–62.

3. Saparov, *From Conflict to Autonomy*, 137, 176–77; Svante E. Cornell, “Autonomy as a Source of Conflict: Caucasian Conflicts in Theoretical Perspective,” *World Politics* 54, no. 2 (2002): 275.

4. Goff, *Nested Nationalism*, 218–20; Jamil Hasanli, *Sovetskii Azerbaidzhan: Ot otpepli k zamorozkam, 1959–1969* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2020), 388–424.

5. Sara Brinegar, “The Oil Deal: Nariman Narimanov and the Sovietization of Azerbaijan,” *Slavic Review* 76, no. 2 (2017): 372–73; Audrey L. Altstadt, “The Baku City Duma: Arena for Elite Conflict,” *Central Asian Survey* 5, no. 3–4 (1986): 61–63; Ronald G. Suny, *The Baku Commune, 1917–1918: Class and Nationality in the Russian Revolution* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1972), 5–8.

6. Christopher Rice, “Party Rivalry in the Caucasus: SRs, Armenians, and the Baku Union of Oil Workers, 1907–08,” *Slavonic and East European Review* 67, no. 2 (1989): 228–43; Baberowski, *Feind ist überall*, 63–70.

7. Suny, *Baku Commune*, 13–27; Soli Shahvar and Anatoly Mishaev, “The Re-Radicalization of Baku Provincial Workers in 1916,” *Revolutionary Russia* 36, no. 1 (2023): 60–63.

8. Reinelder, “Caucasian Vicegerency,” 15–40.

9. Hovannisian, *Republic of Armenia*, 1:28–33; Peyrat, *Histoire du Caucase*, 77–86; Timothy K. Blauvelt and Adrian Brisco, “Who Wanted the TDFR? The Making and the Breaking of the Transcaucasian Democratic Federative Republic,” *Caucasus Survey* 8, no. 1 (2020): 1–8.

10. Hovannisian, *Republic of Armenia*, 1:93–249; Peyrat, *Histoire du Caucase*, 87–88; Mouradian, *L'Arménie*, 62–64; Arsène Saparov, “Nagorno-Karabakh Conflict: What's Next?,” *Ab Imperio*, no. 3 (2023): 187–88.

11. Suny, *Baku Commune*, 336–37; Blauvelt, “Ideology Meets Practice,” 90; Alun Thomas, “Revisiting the ‘Transcaspian Episode’: British Intervention and Turkmen Statehood, 1918–1919,” *Europe-Asia Studies* 75, no. 1 (2023): 138–40.

12. Eric Lee, *The Experiment: Georgia's Forgotten Revolution, 1918–1921* (London: Zed, 2017).

13. For apologetic document editions from the Georgian side, see *Iz istorii armiansko-gruzinskikh otnoshenii: 1918 god. Pogranichnye konflikty, peregovory, voyna, soglasenie* (Tiflis: n.p., 1919); and *Dokumenty i materialy po vneshnei politike Zakavkaz'ia i Gruzii* (Tiflis: n.p., 1919).

14. Agreement between the Armenian and Georgian plenipotentiaries on the establishment of a neutral zone, 7–15 January 1919, HAA, f. 113, op. 3, d. 1, l. 22.

15. Brinegar, "Oil Deal," 375–76.
16. Peyrat, *Histoire du Caucase*, 103–4; Agreement between the three Transcaucasian republics and the RSFSR on railway, telegraph, and postal services, 24 May 1922, SUIC'A, f. 612, op. 1, d. 93, l. 5.
17. Stephan Rindlisbacher, "Between Proclamations of Friendship and Concealed Distrust: The Turkish-Soviet Border Commission, 1925–1926," *Journal of Modern European History* 22, no. 1 (2024): 56–57.
18. Shorthand notes of the Moscow conference between the RSFSR and the Grand National Assembly of Turkey, March 1921, HAA, f. 113, op. 3, d. 23, ll. 102–27; Treaty of Kars between three Transcaucasian republics and the Grand National Assembly of Turkey, 13 October 1921, HAA, f. 113, op. 3, d. 54, ll. 15–19; Jones, "Establishment of Soviet Power," 627; Peyrat, *Histoire du Caucase*, 102–5.
19. Decision of the TsK RKP(b) signed by Stalin, 5 April 1922, RGASPI, f. 64, op. 1, d. 61, l. 9; Baberowski, *Feind ist überall*, 253–55.
20. Smith, *National Question*, 196; Blank, "Transcaucasian Federation," 41.
21. Lenin to Lev Kamenev, 26 September 1922, in PSS, 45:212.
22. Kharmandarian, *Lenin i stanovlenie zakavkazskoi federatsii*, 240.
23. Peyrat, "Soviet Federalism," 533–34; Brinegar, "Oil Deal," 384–85.
24. Jones, "Establishment of Soviet Power," 631; Kharmandarian, *Lenin i stanovlenie Zakavkazskoi Federatsii*, 347–71.
25. "Pervyi Zakavkazskii s'ezd sovetov," *Zaria vostoka*, no. 149, 13 December 1922, 1.
26. Blank, "Transcaucasian Federation," 51–53.
27. Claire P. Kaiser, *Georgian and Soviet: Entitled Nationhood and the Specter of Stalin in the Caucasus* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2023), 24.
28. "Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the Transcaucasian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic," *Zaria vostoka*, no. 197, 11 February 1923, 5; Peyrat, "Soviet Federalism at Work," 536–38.
29. Jones, "Establishment of Soviet Power," 632–34; Georges Mamoulia, *Les combats independantistes des Caucasiens entre URSS et puissances occidentales: Le cas de la Géorgie, 1921–1945* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2009); Kaiser, *Georgian and Soviet*, 90–91.
30. For further discussion of this problem, see Bruce Grant, "An Average Azerbaijani Village, 1930: Remembering Rebellion in the Caucasus Mountains," *Slavic Review* 63, no. 4 (2004): 703–31; and response of the TsK RKP(b) to the Georgian uprising, 27 October 1924, in TsK RKP(b)-VKP(b), 1:248–51.
31. Claire Mouradian, *De Staline à Gorbatchev: Histoire d'une république soviétique. L'Arménie* (Paris: Éditions Ramsay, 1990), 26–34. This book cannot discuss the "Armenian genocide" in depth; see, e.g., Thomas De Waal, *Great Catastrophe: Armenians and Turks in the Shadow of Genocide* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).
32. This number is based on an internal report of the Transcaucasian government from 11 November 1927 to fund suitable accommodation for these refugees, SUIC'A, f. 617, op. 1, d. 1800, l. 34. On the refugee issue, see Jo Laycock, "Developing a Soviet Armenian Nation: Refugees and Resettlement in the Early Soviet South Caucasus," in *Empire and Belonging*, 97–111; and Nick

Baron and Peter Gatrell, "Population Displacement, State-Building, and Social Identity in the Lands of the Former Russian Empire, 1917–23," *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History*, 4, no. 1 (2003): 51–100.

33. On 1 February 1928 there were 5,096 people working in Transcaucasian institutions: 1,224 Georgians, 1,175 Armenians, 134 Turks, 1,885 Russians, and 678 others (table, SSSA-PA, f. 13, op. 6, d. 250, l. 30).

34. Smith, *National Question*, 63–64.

35. Tsentral'noe statisticheskoe upravlenie, ed., *Vsesoiuznaia perepis' naseleñiia 1926 goda*, 14:6–10.

36. Brinegar, "Oil Deal," 375–80; Suny, *Baku Commune*, 350; Jones, "Establishment of Soviet Power," 622.

37. Cadot, *Laboratoire impérial*, 138.

38. Peyrat, "Soviet Federalism," 535–36; Scott, *Familiar Strangers*, 37–41.

39. Smith, *National Question*, 69–70; Mouradian, *De Staline à Gorbatchev*, 32–36.

40. Saparov, *From Conflict to Autonomy*, 117–23; Minutes of the Kavbiuro, 4 and 5 July 1921, RGASPI, f. 85, op. 18, d. 58, ll. 17–18. For one of many assumed intrigues behind this decision of the Kavbiuro in 1921, see Derlugian, *Bourdieu's Secret Admirer*, 185–87.

41. Decision on the provisional border between Armenia and Georgia, 6 November 1921, NAA, f. 113, op. 3, d. 1, l. 66; see also Mirianašvili, *sak'art'velos teritoriuli*, 105; and Xaç'atryan, Suk'iasyan, and Badalyan, *Xorhridayan Hayastani*, 145–46.

42. Aleksandr Beloborodov to the ZakTsIK, 3 March 1923, SUIC'A, f. 607, op. 1, d. 69, l. 91; Mikhail Skibitskii's report to the ZakTsIK, 1923, SUIC'A, f. 607, op. 1, d. 71, ll. 14–15. On the ill-defined borders, see Daniel Müller, "Die Armenier in den Kreisen Džebail', Šuša und Dževanšir des Gouvernements Elizavetpol' nach den amtlichen 'Familienlisten' von 1886," in *Osmanismus, Nationalismus und der Kaukasus: Muslime und Christen, Türken und Armenier im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. Fikret Adanir and Bernd Bonwetsch (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2005), 69.

43. Müller, "Armenier in den Kreisen," 65–83.

44. Commission of the Zakkraikom tasked with solving the misunderstandings in the border regions, 6 November 1922, SUIC'A, f. 612, op. 1, d. 39, l. 32.

45. Chkhenkeli, Report on the history of the ZakTsIK Territorial Commission, 3 September 1927, SUIC'A, f. 607, op. 1, d. 1148, l. 14; Baberowski, *Feind ist überall*, 366–67.

46. Plan to transform the rural economy of the ZSFSR, November 1927, SUIC'A, f. 607, op. 1, d. 541, l. 37.

47. S. Voshchinskii, Report to the Zakkraikom on border issues in Borchaly Uezd, after 24 September 1924, SSSA-PA, f. 13, op. 3, d. 42, l. 29.

48. Yakov Kochetkov, Report to the ZakTsIK on the pastures in the Delizhan region of Armenia, 4 July 1924, SUIC'A, f. 607, op. 1, d. 218, l. 21; Budget of the Transcaucasian Land and Forest Commission, 1928/29, SUIC'A, f. 607, op. 1, d. 2270, l. 46.

49. The Territorial Commission of the ZakTsIK had different designations: Commission for the Establishment of Uezd Borders (Komissiia po

ustanovleniiu granits uezdov, 10 February 1923–30 January 1924); Commission to Resolve Issues of Land, Forest, and Water Use among the Republics of the ZSFSR (Komissiiia po razresheniiu sporov po zemle-leso-vodopol'sovaniuu mezhdru respublikami, vkhodiashchimi v sostav ZSFSR, 30 January 1924–20 July 1927); Commission to Resolve Land and Forest Issues among the Republics of the Transcaucasian Federation (Komissiiia po razresheniiu zemel'nykh sporov mezhdru respublikami Zakfederatsii, 20 July 1927–?). Their minutes are kept in SUIC'A, f. 607, op. 1, d. 68; SUIC'A, f. 607, op. 1, d. 78; and SUIC'A, f. 607, op. 1, d. 197. I could not find any documented activity for this commission after 14 March 1929.

50. Authorization of the ZakTsIK Territorial Commission, 20 July 1927, SUIC'A, f. 607, op. 1, d. 1148, ll. 8–9.

51. Chkhenkeli, The history of the ZakTsIK Territorial Commission, SUIC'A, f. 607, op. 1, d. 1148, l. 14.

52. Map of the economic administrative border between the SSRA and AzSSR, 15 June 1935, SUIC'A, f. 607, op. 1, d. 3720, l. 8.

53. Mountain ridges separating the Erivan' from Yelizavetpol' Guberniia in the east and southeast from Lake Sevan pose an exception.

54. Saparov, "Nagorno-Karabakh Conflict," 188. For further discussion of this problem, see Steven R. Ratner, "Drawing a Better Line: *Uti Possidetis* and the Borders of New States," *American Journal of International Law* 90, no. 4 (1996): 590–624.

55. Contract between Asad-bek Sultanov and four inhabitants of Bashkend, 22 March 1911 (4 April 1911, New Style), SUIC'A, f. 607, op. 1, d. 92, ll. 62–63.

56. Chkhenkeli, "Spravka po povodu upolnomochennykh Shinykh-Airumskogo obshchestva" (Inquiry on the occasion of the representatives of the Shinykh-Airum community), 13 September 1929, SUIC'A, f. 607, op. 1, d. 2543, l. 18. In related documents, the individual Dzhamfar Rassul-ogly also appears as Dzhamfar Kuli and Dzhamfar Guly Khasan-ogly.

57. Note by Sen'ko, 6 August 1923, SUIC'A, f. 607, op. 1, d. 92, l. 42.

58. Act between the representatives of Shinikh Airum and Bashkend, 25 August 1923, SUIC'A, f. 607, op. 1, d. 92, l. 60.

59. Act between Shinikh Airum and Bashkend, SUIC'A, f. 607, op. 1, d. 92, l. 60.

60. Note by Sen'ko, SUIC'A, f. 607, op. 1, d. 92, l. 42.

61. Act between Shinikh Airum and Bashkend, SUIC'A, f. 607, op. 1, d. 92, l. 60.

62. On the term *kulak*, see Sheila Fitzpatrick, *Stalin's Peasants: Resistance and Survival in the Russian Village after Collectivization* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 28–31.

63. Petition from the peasants in Krasnoe Mikhailovka, 12 September 1925, SUIC'A, f. op. 1, d. 3735, l. 8. The people in the Russian settlement of Krasnoe Mikhailovka expected their village to be more prosperous under Azerbaijani rule. They also argued that taxes were too high in Armenia.

64. Chairman of the Bashkend rural soviet to the ZakTsIK, September 1925, SUIC'A, f. 607, op. 1, d. 539, l. 65.

65. Minutes of the Bashkend village assembly, 17 September 1925, SUIC'A, f. 607, op. 1, d. 539, l. 72.

66. Folder of the local commission for Shinikh Airum, September–December 1925, SUIC'A, f. 607, op. 1, d. 539.

67. Report of the surveyor for Dilizhan Uezd (SSRA) to Onanov, 18 September 1925, SUIC'A, f. 607, op. 1, d. 3735, l. 7.

68. Onanov, Report to the ZakTsIK, 18 September 1925, SUIC'A, f. 607, op. 1, d. 539, l. 6.

69. Khaustov and Sen'ko, Report on incidents in Shinikh Airum, 16 September 1925, SUIC'A, f. 607, op. 1, d. 539, l. 26.

70. Report by Zardanian, senior forester, 25 September 1925, SUIC'A, f. 607, op. 1, d. 3735, l. 17.

71. Statement by Abgar Kharatian in the report of the Shamshad forestry on the unlawful action of Azerbaijani representatives within the territory of Armenia, 25 October 1925, SUIC'A, f. 607, op. 1, d. 3735, l. 27.

72. Minutes of the ZakTsIK Territorial Commission, 2 November 1925, SUIC'A, f. 607, op. 1, d. 197, l. 44.

73. Decision of the ZakTsIK, 8 February 1926, SUIC'A, f. 607, op. 1, d. 574, l. 4–5.

74. Kovalev, Report to the ZakTsIK, 22 October 1926, SUIC'A, f. 607, op. 2, d. 4119, l. 3.

75. Telegram from the ArmNarkomzem to the ZakTsIK with handwritten note regarding the urgency of the issue, 27 October 1926, SUIC'A, f. 607, op. 2, d. 4119, l. 2.

76. Kiazimov, secretary of the AzTsIK, to the ZakTsIK, 4 November 1926, SUIC'A, f. 607, op. 2, d. 4119, l. 10.

77. Minutes of the ZakTsIK Territorial Commission, 11 January 1927, SUIC'A, f. 607, op. 1, d. 197, l. 74.

78. Decision of the ZakTsIK, after 11 January 1927, SUIC'A, f. 607, op. 1, d. 1136, l. 19.

79. Decisions of the ZakTsIK, 18 February 1929, SUIC'A, f. 607, op. 1, d. 1150, ll. 93–96.

80. Telegram from representatives of Shinikh Airum to Mikhail Kalinin, 7 May 1929, SUIC'A, f. 607, op. 1, d. 2543, l. 16.

81. Petition from the community of Shinikh Airum, 22 June 1929, SUIC'A, f. 607, op. 1, d. 2543, l. 9.

82. Chkhenkeli, "Po povodu zhaloby upolnomochennykh," SUIC'A, f. 607, op. 1, d. 2543, l. 18.

83. Minutes of the ZakTsIK, 29 October 1929, SUIC'A, f. 607, op. 1, d. 2543, l. 29.

84. Skibitskii, "O zemel'nykh sporakh" (On land issues), 9 March 1927, SUIC'A, f. 607, op. 1, d. 557, l. 38.

85. Demographic composition of the Niuvadi rural soviet, without date, SUIC'A, f. 607, op. 1, d. 1149, l. 10.

86. Petition from the villages of Niuvadi, Tugut, and Einazur, 16 October 1925, SUIC'A, f. 607, op. 1, d. 1149, l. 11.

87. Skibitskii, “O zemel’nykh sporakh,” SUIC’A, f. 607, op. 1, d. 557, l. 38.
88. Megri Uezd ispolkom to the ZakTsIK Territorial Commission, 20 October 1926, SUIC’A, f. 607, op. 1, d. 1149, l. 14.
89. Petition from the poor peasants in Niuvadi, 10 February 1927, SUIC’A, f. 607, op. 1, d. 1765, l. 16; Petition from the poor peasants in Niuvadi, 11 April 1927, SUIC’A, f. 607, op. 1, d. 1765, l. 44.
90. Report to the ZakTsIK Territorial Commission, 25 October 1928, SUIC’A, f. 607, op. 1, d. 1148, l. 60.
91. Decisions of the ZakTsIK, 18 February 1929, SUIC’A, f. 607, op. 1, d. 1150, ll. 93–96.
92. Skibitskii, “O zemel’nykh sporakh,” SUIC’A, f. 607, op. 1, d. 557, l. 38.
93. Act issued by Rukhiladze on the border between the villages of Zor and Sevakiar, 26 August 1926, SUIC’A, f. 607, op. 1, d. 1156, ll. 6–7.
94. Act on the border between Zor and Sevakiar, SUIC’A, f. 607, op. 1, d. 1156, l. 13.
95. Firid Memed Ali-ogly, Petition, undated, SUIC’A, f. 607, op. 1, d. 1156, l. 17.
96. ZakTsIK Territorial Commission to the ispolkom in Zangezur, 8 July 1927, SUIC’A, f. 607, op. 1, d. 1156, l. 18.
97. Zangezur ispolkom to the ZakTsIK Territorial Commission, 6 October 1927, SUIC’A, f. 607, op. 1, d. 1156, l. 21.
98. Information bulletin at the ZakTsIK, undated, SUIC’A, f. 607, op. 1, d. 2281, l. 29.
99. Minutes of the local territorial commission (Zangezur/Karabakh), 29 April 1930, SUIC’A, f. 607, op. 1, d. 2281, l. 41.
100. Chkhenkeli and Eganov, Report to the presidium of the ZakTsIK, 31 October 1929, SUIC’A, f. 607, op. 1, d. 2270, l. 58 and 61; Chkhenkeli, Report on the activities of the Territorial Commission, 10 January 1931, SUIC’A, f. 607, op. 1, d. 2270, ll. 68–71.
101. Budget for field surveying in 1931, SUIC’A, f. 607, op. 1, d. 2270, l. 71.
102. Glavnoe upravlenie geodezii i kartografii pri Sovete ministrov SSSR, *Armianskaia SSR*, 1:50,000 (Moscow: General’nyi shtab, 1973–1990). See, e.g., the sheets K-38–128-A (Bashkend, 1973) or K-38–116-A (Tauz, 1976); and Hasanli, *Sovetskii Azerbaidzhan*, 420–24.
103. Siegelbaum and Moch, “Transnationalism in One Country?,” 984–86.
104. Christine Bichsel highlighted the everyday significance of demarcation based on examples from the Fergana Valley (*Conflict Transformation*, 106–12).
105. Similar developments can be observed in Central Asia. See Stephan Rindlisbacher and Alun Thomas. “Paths Not Taken: How Did Nomadism Affect Border-Making during National Delimitation in Central Asia?” *Ab Imperio*, no. 2 (2023): 117–41.
106. This is how the surveyor Mikhail Skibitskii defined these forms of nonsedentary cattle breeding (SUIC’A, f. 607, op. 1, d. 541, l. 14). I use these terms as they were used in the Transcaucasian political discourse during the 1920s and 1930s. On the problematic term *kochevnik* in early Soviet debate, see Thomas, *Nomads*, 30–37; and Cameron, *Hungry Steppe*, 23, 56–57.

107. Saparov, “Nagorno-Karabakh Conflict,” 186.

108. Minutes of the Transcaucasian conference on the pasture issue, 5 April 1931, SUIC'A, f. 607, op. 1, d. 3113, l. 29. There were about thirty thousand nomads in Georgia and thirty-thousand nomads in Azerbaijan. By contrast, nomads made up a clear majority in the Kyrgyz and Kazakh Autonomous Republics in the 1920s.

109. Mikhail Skibitskii, “Kochevoi vopros” (The nomad issue), November 1927, SUIC'A, f. 607, op. 1, d. 541, l. 37. Nomads and seminomads also wandered between Georgia and Armenia and between Azerbaijan and Georgia, but compared to the extent of movement between the Armenian and Azerbaijani republics, they were fewer in number and produced much less paperwork for federal state and party administrators.

110. Tsentral'noe statisticheskoe upravlenie, *Vsesoiuznaia perepis' naseleniia 1926 goda: Kratkie svodki. Narodnost' i rodnoi iazyk naseleniia SSSR* (Moscow: TsSU, 1928), 124; Tsentral'noe statisticheskoe upravlenie, *Vsesoiuznaia perepis' naseleniia 1926 goda*, 14:10; Dadash Buniat-Zade, Report to the ZakTsIK, 2 September 1924, SUIC'A, f. 607, op. 1, d. 1146, ll. 72–73; Report of the ZakSNK Pasture Commission, 1930, SUIC'A, f. 607, op. 1, d. 219, l. 116.

111. Baberowski, *Feind ist überall*, 82–83.

112. Martin, *Affirmative Action Empire*, 23–24.

113. Yanni Kotsonis and David Hoffmann, introduction to *Russian Modernity: Politics, Knowledge, Practices* (London: MacMillan, 2000), 9; David-Fox, *Crossing Borders*, 51–52; Thomas, *Nomads*, 18.

114. For the period between 1924 and 1925, 39,105 desiatinas (1 desiatina = 0.011 square kilometers) in Armenia were leased to nomads from Azerbaijan. See Report of the ZakSNK Pasture Commission, no date, SUIC'A, f. 607, op. 1, d. 219, l. 82.

115. Grigorian, “Tezisy po voprosu o zemleustroistve i raspredelenii v pol'zovanie razlichnykh ugodii (pastbishch i t. d.) i likvidatsii sporov na etoi pochve” (Theses on the question of land amelioration and the distribution of different lands [pastures, etc.] and the liquidation of such troubles), 1929, SUIC'A, f. 607, op. 1, d. 219, ll. 118–19.

116. Shota Palavandishvili, Report to the Zakkraikom on the pasture issue, 1927, SSSA-PA, f. 13, op. 5, d. 109, l. 2; Note by the Zakkraikom, 5 May 1928, SSSA-PA, f. 13, op. 6, d. 290, l. 98.

117. Report by the ZakSNK Pasture Commission, SUIC'A, f. 607, op. 1, d. 219, ll. 82–83.

118. Decision of the ZakTsIK to introduce a unified agricultural tax, 23 April 1923, SUIC'A, f. 607, op. 1, d. 38, l. 69.

119. “Konstitutsiia,” *Zaria vostoka*, no. 197, 11 February 1923, 5 (chapter v, paragraph zh).

120. Payrat, “Soviet Federalism,” 546–50.

121. Minutes of the Zakkraikom, 6 November 1922, SUIC'A, f. 612, op. 1, d. 66, l. 95.

122. Reports on the cattle plague appeared in the state and party newspaper *Zaria vostoka*: “Chumnaia epizootiia,” no. 57, 25 August 1922, 2; “Epizootiia,” no. 350, 14 August 1923, 2; “Bor'ba s chumoi na skote,” no. 1136, 28 March 1926, 3; “Chuma likvidirovana,” no. 1150, 14 April 1926, 2; “Chuma

vnov' poiavilas'," no. 1166, 5 May 1926, 2; Skibitskii, "Kochevoi vopros," SUIC'A, f. 607, op. 1, d. 541, l. 35.

123. NKVD SSRA to the ispolkom in Dilizhan, 19 May 1924, HAA, f. 113, op. 3, d. 120, l. 108.

124. Khimiashvili and Mamikoian, Report on Turkish communities in Borchaly, Dilizhan, and Kazakh, 3 May 1925, SSSSA-PA, f. 13, op. 3, d. 314, ll. 7–8; shorthand notes of the Transcaucasian Convention on the Pasture Issue, SUIC'A, f. 607, op. 1, d. 3113, ll. 39–40.

125. Grigorian, "Tezisy po voprosu o zemleustroistve," SUIC'A, f. 607, op. 1, d. 219, l. 121.

126. Decision of the ZakTsIK, 4 September 1924, SUIC'A, f. 607, op. 1, d. 541, l. 1a. At the same time, Soviet experts were still debating whether Soviet modernization would be compatible with nomadism. For further discussion, see Cameron, *Hungry Steppe*, 46–47.

127. Buniat-Zade, Report to the ZakTsIK, SUIC'A, f. 607, op. 1, d. 1146, ll. 72–73.

128. Mikhail Miasnikov (aka Miasnikian), "Bor'ba partii s izvrazheniem leninizma" (The party's struggle with deviations from Leninism), 9 January 1925, SSSSA-PA, f. 13, op. 3, d. 40, ll. 10–11.

129. Shota Palavandishvili, Report to the Zakkraikom, 5 May 1928, SSSSA-PA, f. 13, op. 6, d. 290, l. 19. In Kazakhstan, party functionaries such as Filipp Goloshchëkin came to similar conclusions (Cameron, *Hungry Steppe*, 54–55, 59).

130. Palavandishvili, Report to the Zakkraikom, SSSSA-PA, f. 13, op. 6, d. 290, l. 20.

131. Fitzpatrick, *Stalin's Peasants*, 49–53; Scott, *Seeing Like a State*, 217–18; Baberowski, *Feind ist überall*, 687–91; Paul R. Gregory, *The Political Economy of Stalinism: Evidence from the Soviet Secret Archives* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 40–44.

132. Rally of TsK AKP(b), 31 January–1 February 1930, SSSSA-PA, f. 13, op. 8, d. 84, ll. 10–13; ZakGPU, Report on incidents during the collectivization campaign in February and March 1930, SSSSA-PA, f. 13, op. 8, d. 84, l. 24; Peyrat, *Histoire du Caucase*, 147–49.

133. Nicolas Werth, "Un état contre son peuple: Violences, répressions, terreurs en Union soviétique," in *Le livre noir du communisme: Crimes, terreur et répression*, ed. Stéphane Courtois et al. (Paris: Robert Laffont, 1997), 164–77.

134. Minutes of the TsK AKP(b), 15 February 1930, SSSSA-PA, f. 13, op. 8, d. 193, l. 10.

135. ZakGPU, Report on incidents during the collectivization campaign in the spring of 1930, SSSSA-PA, f. 13, op. 8, d. 84, ll. 14–24. See also Timothy K. Blauvelt, "Resistance and Accommodation in the Stalinist Periphery: A Peasant Uprising in Abkhazia," *Ab Imperio*, no. 3 (2012): 80; and Lynne Viola, *Peasant Rebels under Stalin: Collectivization and the Culture of Peasant Resistance* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 132–45.

136. Stalin, "Golovokruzhenie ot uspekhev: K voprosam kolkhoznogo dvizhenia," *Pravda*, no. 60/4505, 2 March 1930, 1.

137. Minutes of the ZakTsIK presidium, 29 April 1931, SUIC'A, f. 660, op. 1, d. 1487, l. 2.

138. Petition from the executive board of the sovkhos Ovtsevod to the Armenian Narkomzem, 24 August 1931, SUIC'A, f. 660, op. 1, d. 1482, ll. 3; decision of the Armenian Narkomzem, 15–16 October 1931, SUIC'A, f. 660, op. 1, d. 1482, ll. 4–7a.

139. Minutes of the ZakTsIK presidium, 28 March 1932, SUIC'A, f. 660, op. 1, d. 2447, l. 23.

140. Report on cattle breeding in the ZSFSR, 1931, SŠSSA-PA, f. 13, op. 9, d. 186, l. 84.

141. Peyrat, "Soviet Federalism," 546.

142. Conference at the ZakNarkomzem, 17 May 1932, SUIC'A, f. 660, op. 1, d. 2447, ll. 32–36.

143. Zakkraikom, Report on the collectivization campaign, 22 April 1932, SŠSSA-PA, f. 13, op. 9, d. 94, ll. 7–8; Beriia to Stalin, 21 November 1934, SŠSSA-PA, f. 13, op. 12, d. 95, ll. 1–3.

144. Report of the Orginstrootdel at Zakkraikom, 13 March 1932, SŠSSA-PA, f. 13, op. 10, d. 151, l. 5; Dadash Buniatzade, Report on the situation in Armenia, 27 April 1934, 27 April 1934, SŠSSA-PA, f. 13, op. 12, d. 13, ll. 1–2; report on cattle breeding, SŠSSA-PA, f. 13, op. 9, d. 186, l. 85.

145. Conference on Cattle Collectives at the Zakkraikom, 7 January 1932, SŠSSA-PA, f. 13, op. 10, d. 150, ll. 24–31.

146. Report on cotton cultivation in Tauz Raion, 16 January 1931, SŠSSA-PA, f. 13, op. 8, d. 192, ll. 4–7; Pirumov, Report to the Azerbaijani Narkomzem on construction work in Kazakh Raion, 20 February 1932, SŠSSA-PA, f. 13, op. 11, d. 177, ll. 1–2.

147. Ter-Sarkisov, Report of Ovtsevod Trest, 7 January 1932, SŠSSA-PA, f. 13, op. 10, d. 150, ll. 23–24.

148. Sarah Cameron depicts the horrific outcome of the famine in Kazakhstan as the result of long-term natural and social effects, as well as short-term political decisions (*Hungry Steppe*, 13–14). See also Kindler, *Stalins Nomaden*, 11–12; and Mehmet Volkan Kaşıkçı, "Making Sense of Catastrophe: Experiencing and Remembering the Kazakh Famine in a Comparative Context," *Journal of Contemporary History*, 58, no. 2 (2023): 223–46.

149. Dolidze, Report to the presidium of the Zakkraikom on the situation in Armenia, 27 April 1934, SŠSSA-PA, f. 13, op. 12, d. 13, ll. 9–10. Data from the 1937 census indicate an increase of about a third in the population of all three South Caucasian Republics compared to 1926, while the population of the North Caucasus, Ukraine, and especially Kazakhstan shrank. See Valentina Zhiromskaia, ed., *Vsesoiuznaia perepis' naseleniia 1937 goda: Sbornik dokumentov i materialov* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2007), 30–32.

150. Dolidze, Report to the Zakkraikom, SŠSSA-PA, f. 13, op. 12, d. 13, l. 7.

151. Cameron, *Hungry Steppe*, 177.

152. Buniatzade, Report on the situation in Armenia, SŠSSA-PA, f. 13, op. 12, d. 13, ll. 2–6.

153. Report from the Orgotdel to the TsK KP(b)A, 5 February 1930, SŠSSA-PA, f. 13, op. 8, d. 84, l. 41.

154. Kindler, *Stalins Nomaden*, 233; Botakoz Kassymbekova, "Humans as Territory: Forced Resettlement and the Making of Soviet Tajikistan, 1920–38," *Central Asian Survey* 30, no. 3–4 (2011): 358–59.

155. Cameron, *Hungry Steppe*, 89–96; Gosplan SSSR, *Piatiletanii plan*, 3:371; Niccolò Pianciola argues that economic regionalization is a major factor in explaining why the famine in early 1930 struck nonsedentary pastoral societies in Kazakhstan so much harder than in the Kyrgyz ASSR (“Stalinist Spatial Hierarchies,” 86).

156. Beriia to Stalin, 21 November 1934, SŠSSA-PA, f. 13, op. 12, d. 95, l. 12.

157. Minutes of the pasture committees, 22–23 August 1934, HAA, f. 112, op. 1, d. 681, ll. 65–67.

158. Saparov, “Nagorno-Karabakh Conflict,” 189.

159. Florian Mühlfried mentions this conscious neglect in the case of the Georgian highlands in *Being a State and States of Being in Highland Georgia* (New York: Berghahn, 2014), 57–60. Olivier Ferrando points to a similar policy in Tajikistan (“Soviet Population Transfers and Interethnic Relations in Tajikistan: Assessing the Concept of Ethnicity,” *Central Asian Survey* 30, no. 1 [2011]: 42–43).

160. The long-lasting dispute between the villages of Alibegly (Azerbaijan) and Moseskend (Armenia) is another striking example: Report to the ZakTsIK Territorial Commission, 17 December 1928, SUIC'A, f. 607, op. 1, d. 213, l. 78.

161. Peyrat, “Soviet Federalism,” 551; Peyrat, *Histoire du Caucase*, 173. In the 1930s, the Soviet economy was increasingly centralized, and the ZSFSR also lost much of its intermediary role.

162. Kaiser, *Georgian and Soviet*, 80–86; Saparov, “Nagorno-Karabakh Conflict,” 191–93.

163. On nonsolutions in political conflicts, see Christine Bell and Jan Pospisil, “Navigating Inclusion in Transitions from Conflict: The Formalised Political Unsettling,” *Journal of International Development* 29, no. 5 (2017): 576–93.

6. How to Contextualize “Khrushchev’s Gift”?

1. Vladimir Medinskii, “K chitateliu,” in *Istoriia Kryma*, ed. S. Kodzov (Moscow: Olma, 2016), 6; A. Romanov, “Georgievskie tsveta snova nad Krymom: Vossoedinenie Kryma s Rossiei, 2014 god,” in *Istoriia Kryma*, 456–58.

2. Minutes of the Chervikov Commission, 27 November 1924, GA RF, f. 5677, op. 5, d. 26, l. 28.

3. Decision of the Chervikov Commission, 23 January 1925, GA RF, f. 5677, op. 5, d. 26, l. 32. See also minutes of the Politburo, 11 December 1924, RGASPI, f. 17, op. 3, d. 480, l. 3; Chervikov to Butsenko, 8 January 1925, TsDAVO, f. 1, op. 2, spr. 3143, ark. 3.

4. Central Administrative-Territorial Commission (TsATK) to the VUTsVK, 30 June 1925, TsDAVO, f. 1, op. 2, spr. 1808, ark. 79–80; minutes of the TsIK, 16 October 1925, GA RF, f. 3316, op. 17, d. 718, l. 159.

5. Demographic data for the territories to be transferred from the RSFSR to the UkrSSR on 1 March 1926, based on the 1920 census, DAKhO, f. 845, op. 3, spr. 677, ark. 50; transfer act for territories from Kursk Guberniia to Hlukhiv, Konotop, and Sumy Okruhy, 14 April 1926, TsDAVO, f. 1, op. 3, spr. 642, ark. 2–3; Pashkovskii, Report on the transfer of the Putiv’ region to the UkrSNK, VUTsVK, and TsK KP(b)U, 26 March 1926, TsDAVO, f. 1, op. 2, spr. 2356, ark. 9–10.

6. Transfer act, 14 April 1926, TsDAVO, f. 1, op. 3, spr. 642, ark. 8–9.

7. *The Tale of the Campaign of Igor: A Russian Epic Poem of the Twelfth Century*, trans. Robert Craig Howes (New York: W. W. Norton, 1973), 33; demographic data for the territories to be transferred, DAKhO, f. 845, op. 3, spr. 677, ark. 50; Strelets, Report on the transfer of Putivl' Uezd, no date, TsDAVO, f. 1, op. 2, spr. 3256, ark. 2.

8. Butsenko to Enukidze, 24 February 1926, GA RF, f. 3316, op. 17, d. 718, l. 255.

9. Enukidze to Butsenko, 10 March 1926, GA RF, f. 3316, op. 17, d. 718, l. 257; decision of the VTsIK, 15 March 1926, GA RF, f. 3316, op. 17, d. 718, l. 259.

10. Ryl'sk UIK to the Ukrainian People's Commissariat for Finance (Narkomfin), 7 March 1926, TsDAVO, f. 1, op. 3, spr. 645, ark. 4–5.

11. Note of protest from the Ukrainian delegation to the All-Union Commission for Raionirovanie, 10 March 1926, TsDAVO, f. 1, op. 3, spr. 645, ark. 13–14; Ukrainian delegation, Note of protest regarding the handling of the transfer, 14 April 1926, TsDAVO, f. 1, op. 3, spr. 642, ark. 29–30.

12. Butsenko to Avel' Enukidze, no date, TsDAVO, f. 1, op. 3, spr. 620, ark. 17.

13. I. Akulov, Report to the Politburo VKP(b), 11 December 1935, with handwritten notes by Stalin, GA RF, f. 3316, op. 65, d. 151, l. 5.

14. Decision of the Supreme Soviet UkrSSR, 15 October 1944, GA RF, f. 7523, op. 15, d. 101, l. 1; decision of the Supreme Soviet RSFSR, 18 October 1944, GA RF, f. 7523, op. 15, d. 101, l. 2; ukaz of the Supreme Soviet SSSR, 5 November 1944, GA RF, f. 7523, op. 15, d. 101, l. 4.

15. Transfer act for the Dar'ino-Yermakovka Rural Soviet from Rostov Oblast (RSFSR) to Roven'ky Raion (UkrSSR), 9 September 1945, GA RF, f. 385, op. 17, d. 434, ll. 9–10.

16. Andreas Kappeler, *The Russian Empire: A Multiethnic History* (London: Longman, 2001), 377–82; Müller, *Sowjetische Nationalitätenpolitik*, 135–37; Walter Sperling, *Vor den Ruinen von Grosny: Leben und Überleben im multiethnischen Kaukasus* (Berlin: Matthes & Seitz, 2023), 200–203.

17. Edgar Anderson, "How Narva, Petseri, and Abrene Came to Be in the RSFSR," *Journal of Baltic Studies* 19, no. 3 (1988): 204–10.

18. Decision of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet SSSR on the transfer of Crimea from the RSFSR to the UkrSSR, 19 February 1954, GA RF, f. 7523, op. 57, d. 963, ll. 1–3.

19. Sometimes only formal decisions on territorial transfers are stored, as in the case of the Dzhetysai, Kirov, and Pakhtaaraal' Raiony between Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan, 12 May 1971, Tsentral'nyi gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Respubliki Kazakhstan (hereafter TsGA RK), f. 698, op. 14, d. 779, l. 19.

20. Baberowski, *Verbrannte Erde*, 328–29; Fitzpatrick, *Everyday Stalinism*, 27.

21. Even though readers presume that the author of an autobiography tells his or her "truth," individual biases are by default part of the product. See Philippe Lejeune, *Le pact autobiographique* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1975), 44–45; and Pierre Bourdieu, "L'illusion biographique," *Actes de la Recherche en Sciences Sociales* 62–63, no. 1 (1986): 69–72.

22. Vladimir Putin, "Address by the President of the Russian Federation," 22 February 2022, <http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/transcripts/67828>;

Dmitrii Karaichev, “Mify o nezakonnosti peredachi Kryma v 1954 godu,” *Zerkalo nedeli*, 11 January 2013, <https://zn.ua/internal/mify-o-nezakonnosti-peredachi-kryma-v-1954-godu.html>.

23. Documents on the solemn ceremonies on the occasion of the Pereiaslav anniversary in Kiev, May 1954, TsDAVO, f. 1, op. 16, spr. 490, ark. 92–111.

24. Jeffrey Burds, “Bor’ba s banditizmom v SSSR v 1944–1953 gg.,” *Sotsial’naia istoriia: Ezhegodnik* (2000): 169–90; Grzegorz Motyka, *Ukraińska partyzantka, 1942–1960: Działalność Organizacji Ukraińskich Nacjonalistów i Ukraińskiej Powstańczej Armii* (Warsaw: Rytm, 2006), 424–52.

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Conclusion

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Glossary

1. With the constitution of 1936 the adjectives “Socialist” and “Soviet” switched places in all the designations of the federal entities of the Soviet state. As this book refers mostly to the era before 1936, the glossary prefers the order “Socialist Soviet Republic.”

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