

BIBLIOGRAPHY

The most important sources for this study were documents housed in the state and party archives of several countries located in the post-Soviet space. Until 2022, they were easily accessible. They reveal for the most part the negotiations between the various actors at different levels of hierarchy in all of the regions addressed here. For instance, the documents of the commissions related to the revisions of the Russian-Ukrainian border are almost completely preserved at the Russian and Ukrainian state archives (GA RF in Moscow and TsDAVO in Kiev). Most of the records of the Sredazbiuro surrounding the formation of the national territories in Central Asia are stored in the archive of the Communist Party (RGASPI) in Moscow, while documents concerning the establishment of the national territories in the South Caucasus are in a collection of ZSFSR records kept at the Central Archive of Contemporary History (SUIC'A) in Tbilisi. The files of the Zakkraikom are also stored in Tbilisi, but at the Archive of the Georgian Ministry of Internal Affairs (SŠSSA-PA). Statistical materials and ethnographic analyses are housed at the Russian State Archive of the Economy (RGAE). Even though all of these documents were fully accessible until 2022, they are not always organized in a way that makes it easy to use them. For example, documents concerning certain commissions, such as those led by Aleksandr Cherviaikov and Saak Ter-Gabrielian, are spread out among different folders. Consequently, scholars have to piece together the various stages in the decision making as if it were a jigsaw puzzle—with some pieces (still) missing.

Some of the archival documents have been published. Most of Vladimir Lenin's writings were edited by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism in the 1960s and 1970s and printed in the *Complete Collected Works* (Polnoe sobranie sochinenii, PSS). With regard to the nationality question in the early Soviet state, the two volumes edited by L. Gatagova et al. between 2005 and 2009 are of particular value.¹ For certain territorial issues, such as the establishment of the border between the RSFSR and the BSSR, extensive volumes of documents have been compiled and edited by V. Snapkovskii et al.² The minutes of the party congresses and Lenin's and Stalin's collected works were already edited and published

during the Soviet era. Despite their ideological biases, they can serve as a point of reference for the evolution of thinking within the Bolshevik leadership. The extensive publishing activity that occurred during raionirovanie in the 1920s has for the most part never been revisited. Notable exceptions are Gleb Krzhizhanovskii's anthology from 1957 and Pëtr Alampiev's critical compilation from the early 1960s.³ The main documents produced during this debate have been largely ignored to this day.

Archives

ARAN Arkhiv Rossiiskoi akademii nauk (Archive of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow)

f. 350 Kommunisticheskaia akademiia TsIK SSSR, 1918–1936

DAKhO Derzhavnyi arkhiv Kharkivs'koï oblasti Ukraïny (State Archive of Kharkiv Oblast, Kharkiv)

f. 203 Kharkovskii gubernskii ispolnitel'nyi komitet sovetov rabochikh, krest'ianskikh i krasnoarmeiskikh deputatov, 1919–1925

f. 845 Kharkovskii okružnyi ispolnitel'nyi komitet sovetov rabochikh, krest'ianskikh i krasnoarmeiskikh deputatov, 1922–1930

DASO Derzhavnyi arkhiv Sums'koï oblasti Ukraïny (State Archive of Sumy Oblast, Sumy)

f. 32 Sums'kyi okružnyi vykonavchyi komitet, 1923–1930

GA RF Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Rossiiskoi Federatsii (State Archive of the Russian Federation, Moscow)

f. 3316 Tsentral'nyi ispolnitel'nyi komitet SSSR (TsIK SSSR), 1922–1938

f. 5677 Administrativnaia komissiia pri prezidiume VTsIKa, 1918–1938

f. 6892 Komissiia Tsentral'nogo ispolnitel'nogo komiteta SSSR po raionirovaniu, 1922–1928

GARO Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Rostovskoi oblasti (State Archive of Rostov Oblast, Rostov-na-Donu)

f. R-98 Kraistatbiuro, Rostov-na-Donu, 1920–1934

f. R-1485 Kraevoi ispolitel'nyi komitet iugo-vostoka, 1924; Severo-Kavkazskii kraevoi ispolnitel'nyi komitet, 1924–1934

- HAA Hayastani Azgayin Arkhiv (National Archives of Armenia, Yerevan)
- f. 112 Tsentral'nyi ispolnitel'nyi komitet Armianskoi SSR
 - f. 113 Sovet narodnykh komissarov Armianskoi SSR
 - f. 123 Narodnyi komissariat zemledeliia
- NARB Natsional'ny arkhiū Respubliki Belarus' (National Archives of the Republic of Belarus, Minsk)
- f. 6 Tsentral'nyi ispolnitel'nyi komitet BSSR, 1919–1937
- RGASPI Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi arkhiv sotsial'no-politicheskoi istorii (Russian State Archive of Socio-Political History, Moscow)
- f. 2 Lenin (Ul'ianov), Vladimir Ilich, 1871–1923
 - f. 17 Tsentral'nyi komitet KPSS, 1898/1903–1991
 - f. 62 Sredneaziatskoe biuro TsK VKP(b) (Sredazbiuro), 1922–1934
 - f. 64 Kavkazskoe biuro TsK RKP(b) (Kavbiuro), 1920–1922
 - f. 558 Stalin (Dzhugashvili), Iosif Vissarionovich, 1878–1953
- RGAE Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi arkhiv ekonomiki (Russian State Archive for the Economy, Moscow)
- f. 634 Konstantin Egorov, 1897–1982
 - f. 4372 Gosudarstvennyi komitet po planirovaniu
- SŠSSA-PA sak'art'velos šinagan sak'meta saministros ark'ivi—partiuli ark'ivi (Archives of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Georgia–Party Archive, Tbilisi)
- f. 13 Zakavkazskii kraevoi komitet (Zakkraikom), 1922–1937
- SUIC'A sak'art'velos uaxlesi istoriis c'entraluri ark'ivi (Central Archive of Contemporary History of Georgia, Tbilisi)
- f. 607 Zakavkazskii tsentral'nyi ispolnitel'nyi komitet (ZakTsIK), 1922–1936
 - f. 612 Soiuznyi sovet Federativnogo soiuza sotsialisticheskikh respublik Zakavkaz'ia, 1922–1923
 - f. 617 Sovet narodnykh komissarov ZSFSR, 1923–1937
 - f. 631 Zakavkazskaia gosudarstvennaia planovaia komissia (ZakGosplan), 1924–1936
 - f. 660 Zakavkazskii narodnyi komissariat zemledeliia (Zaknarkomzem), 1929–1936

TsDAHO Tsentral'nyi derzhavnyi arkhiv hromads'kykh obiedan' Ukraïny (Central State Archive of Public Organizations of Ukraine, Kiev)

f. 1 Tsentral'nyi komitet KP(b)U

TsDAVO Tsentral'nyi derzhavnyi arkhiv vyshchykh orhaniv vldy ta upravlinnia Ukraïny (Central State Archive of the Highest Ukrainian State and Government Organs, Kiev)

f. 1 Vseukraïns'kyi tsentral'nyi vykonavchyi komitet (VUTsVK), 1920–1935

f. 2 Rada narodnykh komisariv Ukraïns'koi RSR

f. 337 Ukrderzhplan

TsGA KR Tsentral'nyi gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Kyrgyzskoi Respubliki (Central State Archive of the Kyrgyz Republic, Bishkek)

f. 20 Ispolnitel'nyi komitet KAO, 1924–1927

f. 21 Tsentral'nyi ispolnitel'nyi komitet Kirgizskoi ASSR, 1927–1937

f. 949 Komissiiia po raionirovaniu, 1924–1930

TsGA RK Tsentral'nyi gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Respubliki Kazakhstan (Central State Archive of the Republic Kazakhstan, Almaty)

f. 698 Tsentral'noe statisticheskoe upravlenie

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